

Stuart Debauchery in Restoration Satire

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Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Figures and Illustrations.....	v
List of Abbreviations	vi
Note on <i>Poems on Affairs of State</i> titles	vii
 Stuart Debauchery in Restoration Satire	
Introduction – Making a Merry Monarch.....	1
Chapter I – Abundance, Excess, and <i>Eikon Basilike</i>	8
Chapter II – Debauchery and English Constitutions.....	66
Chapter III – Rochester, “Rochester,” and more <i>Rochester</i>	116
Chapter IV – Satirists and Secret Historians	185
Conclusion – From “Shepherd Charles” to Circe’s Swine.....	241
 Bibliography.....	 248

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Abstract

The Restoration Era, 1660-1688, has long borne a reputation as an exceptionally debauched period of English history. That reputation is however a caricature, amplified from a handful of recognizable features. That rhetoric of debauchery originates in the Restoration's own discourse, constructed as a language for opposing the rising French-style absolutism of the late Stuart kings, Charles II and James II. When Charles II was restored in 1660, enthusiastic panegyrist returned to the official aesthetics of his father Charles I, who had formulated power as abundance through pastoral, mythological, and utopian art. Oppositional satirists in the Restoration subverted that language of cornucopian abundance to represent Charles II and his court as instead excessive, diseased, and predatory. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9, Williamite satirists and secret historians continued to wield these themes against the exiled Jacobites. Gradually, the political facets of Stuart excess dulled, but the caricature of the debauched Restoration survived in eighteenth-century state poem collections and historiography. The authors most emphasized in this study are John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and Andrew Marvell. Works by John Milton, John Dryden, Edmund Waller, King Charles I, and Gilbert Burnet also receive sustained attention.

List of Figures and Illustrations

- Figure 1 *A Proclamation against Debauched and Prophane Persons* (1660), 2.
- Figure 2 Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria* (ca. 1632-1634), 15.
- Figure 3 William Marshall, frontispiece, in Robert Herrick, *Hesperides* (London, 1648), 34.
- Figure 4 Frontispiece, in *Eikon Alethine* (London, 1649), 56.
- Figure 5 Anthony van Dyck, *Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson*, 102.
- Figure 6 Frontispiece, in John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, *Poems* (1680), Wing R1753, Huntington Library, 121.
- Figure 7 William Dobson, *Charles II, When Prince of Wales, with a Page*, 195.
- Figure 8 [William Dobson], *Charles II, as Prince of Wales*, 196.
- Figure 9 Frontispiece, *Eikon Basilike Deutera* (1694), 198.

List of Abbreviations

CELM	<i>Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700</i> , ed. Peter Beal (online).
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
EEBO	Early English Books Online.
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue.
<i>ODNB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (online).
OED	Oxford English Dictionary.
<i>POAS</i>	Early-modern editions of Poems on Affairs of State, see below.
Source Index	<i>Source Index to English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702</i> , ed. Harold Love (online).

Note on Poems on Affairs of State titles

The multitude of *Poems on Affairs of State* volumes from 1689 onward boast a confusing array of very similar titles. Many of these volumes are only distinguishable from one another in the sub- or sub-sub-title, and most have different contents. I have chosen to follow a consistent logic of abbreviation rather than to provide any comprehensive list. Those entitled *Poems on Affairs of State*, or with close variations on that title, are abbreviated as *POAS* and designated with the year as announced on the frontispiece. If two distinct books appear in the same year under the *POAS* heading, I add a keyword from the full title, for example, *POAS from K. James* (1703) and *POAS from Cromwell* (1703). If a volume announces itself as a sequel, an Arabic numeral is added accordingly. For example, *The Third Part of Poems on Affairs of State* (1689) becomes *POAS3* (1689). Competing state-poem series, such as *State-Poems Continued from the Time of Oliver Cromwell...*, or *The Muses Farwel to Popery and Slavery...*, are truncated accordingly to *State-Poems* or *The Muses Farwel*.

The long-form title, *Poems on Affairs of State*, is reserved wherever possible for the modern Yale University Press edition, a series edited by George deForest Lord *et al.*

Introduction

Making a Merry Monarch

Cast your Capps and Cares away, this is the Beggars Holiday
 At the Crowning of our King, Thus we ever Dance and Sing:
 Be it Peace or be it Warre, Here at Liberty we are,
 And enjoy our Ease and Rest, to the Fields wee are not Prest,
 Nor are Call'd into the Towne, To be troubled with a Gowne.
 In the world look out and see, where's so happy a King as he,
 Where the Nation live so free, And so happy as doe wee.¹

The Restoration witnessed the revival of a narrative of national abundance that had informed the aesthetics of Charles II's father's and grandfather's reigns, during which time Stuart power had been formulated in paradisaical, idyllic, or pastoral terms. That the Restoration was met with delight and goodwill is a common historical assessment. Charles II's return marked an end to the failed settlements and military tensions that followed Oliver Cromwell's death, and it suggested a possible return to the stability and abundance of English courtly culture in the 1630s, remembered as "halcyon days," and so named for the kingfisher associated in myth with a season of peace and harmony. Such watershed moments as the reopening of the theatres are often cited to contrast the two eras of Stuart England with the perceived Puritan sobriety and military seriousness of the Interregnum. But Restoration brought the challenge of self-representation to the nascent regime. To bridge the early and late Stuart reigns, myths of monarchical continuity were carefully wrought. A celebratory emphasis on the anniversary of the Restoration rather than on the standard hereditary accession date distanced Charles II's reign from the regicide and helped

¹ John Wilson, *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads* (London, 1660), 22-3.

to whitewash the mid-century collapse of monarchy.² A clumsy propagandistic strategy could easily have proven destructive by placing the wrong emphasis on the humiliations, defeats, and exile of the House of Stuart in the 1640s and 50s. Instead the art of the 1630s provided Restoration tributes, odes, and panegyrics with more appropriate material in which dynastic continuity could be celebrated.

But the distinction between festivity and debauchery is a fine one, and mostly a matter of perspective. Those uneasy with monarchy and courtly pomp decried them using the language of excess.

Scholarly and historical commentary on the goodwill of the Restoration often understates the bacchanalia of that moment in 1660. Public joy and optimism certainly greeted Charles II, but other less optimistic accounts also emphasized the disorderly celebrations for the king's return and coronation. The immediate public responses to the Restoration were so exuberant that they provoked a royal response in one of Charles II's first political acts as king. On 30 May 1660, Charles issued, from Whitehall, *A Proclamation against Debauched and Profane*

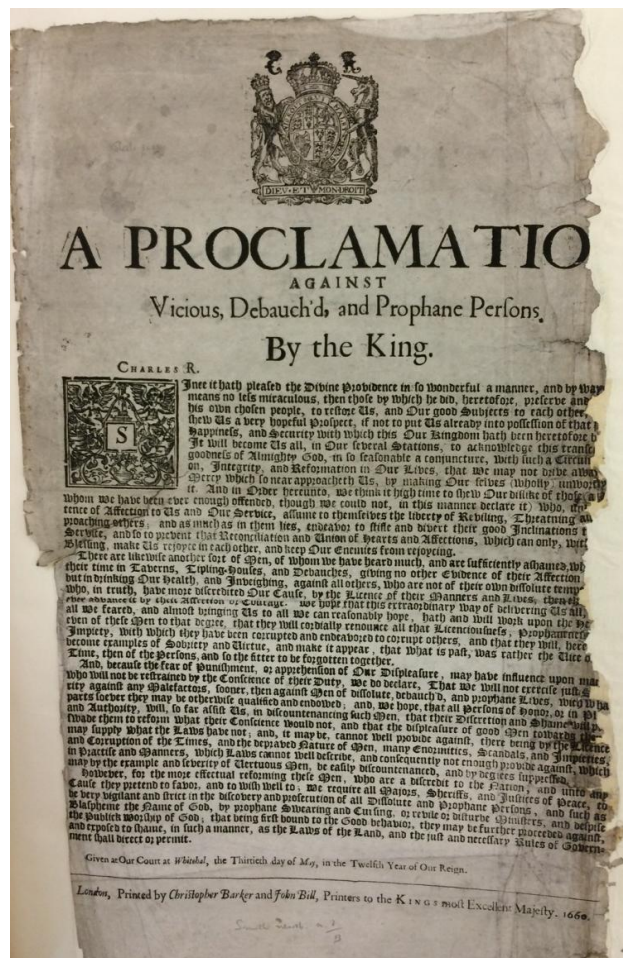


Figure 1: *A Proclamation against Debauched and Profane Persons* (1660).

² Lois Potter, "The Royal Martyr in the Restoration," in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (London: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 244.

*Persons, who, on Pretense of Regard to the King, revile and threaten others,*³ an attempt to temper excessive celebrations. Edmund Ludlow alleges in his memoir that the proclamation was a concession “for the satisfying of the presbiterians, for whom he [had yet?] a job to doe,” in the name of public order and morality.⁴ Nor was this a riotous celebration limited to a single London evening. The public’s disorderly response to the king’s return was widespread and persistent. Pepys records a reading of that proclamation on 4 June in the royal fleet.⁵ But even in his first days as *de facto* king, when he issued proclamations for order, anecdotes speak of Charles II himself as a man of excess. Ludlow’s account makes much of a perceived royal double-standard:

But within a night or two, being privately invited to a supper in the city of London, he was there till one or two of the clock in the morning, violating his owne law of drinking healths to excess (as he did also at the Mulbery Garden, and many other places whither he was invited).⁶

Here, in the mind of a puritan republican, the rake and the tyrant merge. The king’s freedom to “violat[e] his own law” represents the exceptionalism of the monarch. Not beholden to law, temporal or spiritual, his is very much a libertine position. As Ludlow would have it, Charles subordinates all other dictates to his own freedom to pursue pleasure. For the king, the newly-opened bounty of the nation is presented for his enjoyment, but that enjoyment is forbidden to the public.

Pepys’s account of the coronation the following spring offers an even more vivid anecdote that aligns royalist sympathy and public debauchery. These entries are the longest

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II. 1660-1661*, ed. Mary Anne Evert Green (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860), 2.

⁴ Edmund Ludlow, *A Voice from the Watch Tower: Part Five: 1660-1662*, ed. A.B. Worden (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 158.

⁵ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1970), 1:169.

⁶ Ludlow, 158.

of the earliest years of Pepys's diary, overflowing with detailed description of the coronation procession in its magnificence. Pepys's own day climaxes in a sea of wine:

At last I sent my wife and her bedfellow to bed, and Mr. Hunt and I went in with Mr. Thornbury (who did give the company all their wines, he being yeoman of the wine-cellar to the King) to his house; and there, with his wife and two of his sisters and some gallant sparks that were there, we drank the King's health and nothing else, till one of the gentlemen [sic] fell down stark drunk and there lay spewing. And I went to my Lord's pretty well. But no sooner a-bed with Mr. Sheply but my head begun to turne and I to vomitt, and if ever I was foxed it was now – which I cannot say yet, because I fell asleep and sleep till morning – only, when I waked I found myself wet with my spewing. Thus did the day end, with joy everywhere. (22-23 April 1661, 2:87)

For Pepys and his companions to drink to such excess is rare. This particular debauch, to the point of “spewing,” conflicts with his other censures of too-heavy consumption. A few months before (1 November 1660), he had deplored such excess in Sir William Batts: “But a deadly drinker he is, and grown exceedingly fat” (1:280). And some months after the coronation, Pepys laments the court's affinity for drink: “at Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much æmulacion, poverty, and the vices of swearing, drinking and whoring, that I know not what will be the end of it but confusion” (2:167). Pepys seems thus to distinguish a good-will celebration from an outright debauch. Though himself no teetotaller, as his continually strained oaths against strong drink testify, the festivities of the court are of such scale as to give concern both for the moral implications and for the public's perception of courtly behaviour: “I see no content or satisfaccion anywhere in any one sort of people” (2:167). Both friends and foes of English monarchy repeated Pepys's misgivings. Witnesses attest to the festivity of the court. In royalist discourses, particularly in panegyric, the language of abundance celebrates the court as a source of happiness and plenty. But that propaganda extolling Stuart abundance vied with a hostile response to the same basic facts. More moderate tracts circa 1660 emphasize the burden that luxury-obsessed tyrants can

place on a nation. George Wither, for example, subtly compares Charles II to Caligula.⁷ These texts lament luxury and consumption even while refraining from explicit denunciation of the House of Stuart. Ludlow's fears were not a unique anxiety about Stuart abundance; they are rather a vivid example of a wider reaction against such excess.

This study traces the development of this response, from early Caroline abundance to the debauched Restoration as documented in eighteenth-century satire and historiography. Chapter I begins with courtly materials of the 1630s and argues the role of abundance in the representation of Charles I. The masques, courtly poetry, and portraiture of the Personal Rule (1629-40) consistently identified the Stuarts with the pastoral mode, and with themes and tropes of plenitude, and peace, which I collectively characterize as an aesthetic of abundance. That aesthetic continued to be associated with the Stuarts beyond the fall and death of Charles I: cavalier nostalgia in the Interregnum emphasized the same set of tropes. Significantly, supporters of Parliament and the commons during the civil war manipulated the same tropes in their anti-Stuart polemic, relying on an oppositional logic that, in effect, dismantled "abundance" as excess, gluttony, desertification, and tyranny. *Eikon Basilike* and responses to it, especially Milton's, take a central position in this chapter, as that monument collects and assembles the tropes of Stuart abundance. Additionally, since it was thought to have had "the greatest run in many impressions that any book has had in our age,"⁸ it is the foremost monument of the early Stuart era.

Chapter II follows the aesthetic of abundance from that elegiac monument into the consummation of its promises in the 1660 Restoration. To create continuity with the earlier

⁷ George Wither, *A Triple Paradox* (London, 1661); see also Nicholas von Maltzahn, "Stephen Bardle. *The Literary Underground in the 1660s: Andrew Marvell, George Wither, Ralph Wallis, and the World of Restoration Satire and Pamphleteering*" (review), in *The Review of English Studies* 65 (2014): 935-7.

⁸ Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time: Vol I. From the Restoration of King Charles II to the Settlement of King William and Queen Mary at the Revolution* (London, 1724), 50.

Stuart era, the themes used to celebrate Charles I were revived in panegyrics for Charles II. The style of the Caroline and cavalier poets returns in Restoration panegyrics of Robert Wild, Edmund Waller, and John Dryden, and in the broadsheets that at first anticipate and later celebrate and commemorate the Restoration. In the most important oppositional literary development of the 1660s, however, the state satires of Andrew Marvell contest ideals of Stuart abundance and question Restoration panegyric with the language of affliction and disease, especially in his Advice-to-a-Painter poems. As had the Interregnum tropes of desertification, gluttony, or excess, here disease subverts the claims for peace and plenitude inherent in Stuart abundance. In the seventeenth century, disease was understood as having an intrinsic, causative relationship with immorality and impropriety, which lends it particular potency as a device in political satire. Marvell's representations of poxed aristocrats reveal the moral fibre of the ruling élite. Those rakes in power undermine the national bounty and peace proclaimed in panegyric, both by their debauched and hypocritical conduct, and by the spread of their characteristic disease.

Chapter III also explores Restoration satire, considering primarily Rochester's first major appearance in print as a development of the strategies identified in Marvell. Rochester's poetry questions the idealism proclaimed in Stuart abundance, but without any particular concern for national health and plenitude as is common to earlier "state" satires. Rochester's usually carnal and libertine verse instead reinforces the relationship between English Restoration aristocracy and debauchery, while disease fades into the background. Significantly, the first edition of Rochester's posthumous *Poems on Several Occasions* (1680) and Gilbert Burnet's *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester* (1680) place these concerns amid the violent contests of Exclusion parliaments. These texts,

as a pair, present Rochester as the inside witness to the Restoration's worst excesses, and do so in an emerging Whig constitutionalist language. Thus, through Rochester, his works, his biographers, and the efforts of his editors, the Stuarts were more directly associated with debauchery, and that debauchery was connected to popery and absolutist aspirations.

Chapter IV follows the trajectory of Stuart Excess from the Glorious Revolution (1688-9) into the long eighteenth century. Late in the period, that debauchery was commonplace enough for William Cowper to present it as the singular characteristic of Restoration manners, serving more as a premise from which he could draw other conclusions about English letters. That judgment came readily to Cowper long after its extensive repetition in Revolutionary materials. Secret historians such as John Phillips had in the 1690s created detailed portraits of the depravity of Charles II and James II. The editors and publishers of state-poem collections presented Restoration satire in Augustan terms, as if to argue those works were of a like value to the classical texts that had opposed the tyrannies of Imperial Rome. The changing poetic reputations of Marvell and Rochester after the Glorious Revolution reveal the changing political construction of Stuart excess. Marvell in 1689 was re-imagined as a poetical champion of constitutional liberties, a value which had previously been assigned only to his prose, and through the eighteenth century his reputation increased as the virtuous man in a corrupt age. Rochester entered print in part as a critic of such corruption, but as Stuart excess became commonplace knowledge rather than the subject of debate, Rochester's political aspect was eventually forgotten, and he became instead a symbol of the aristocratic excess he had at first served to denounce.

Chapter I

Abundance, Excess, and *Eikon Basilike*

The Restoration of Charles II was a cultural revival as well as a political one. Royalism in the 1660s returned to tropes, modes, and styles that had dominated courtly aesthetics during the Caroline zenith of the 1630s. The public celebrated the end of sober and military “Puritan” government and toasted a new beginning for peaceful and abundant Stuart rule. Royalist representation in the 1660s encouraged this perspective and drew on that older language of abundance and fertility in constructing the new public image of Charles II.¹ This was a continuation of a cavalier nostalgia that had in the Interregnum romanticized the Personal Rule of Charles I as an English golden age, then squandered in civil disorder. The court of Charles I and Henrietta Maria had constructed that golden age in literature, theatre, and the visual arts. While the continent was ravaged by the Thirty Years War (1618-48), England had enjoyed a period of relative growth. Early and late, such works represent the king and queen as guiding the nation and invigorating the landscape. In this propaganda, peace, *otium*, the halcyon, and the golden age became politically significant themes. The crown seized on the contrast between continental war and domestic growth as a justification of Charles I’s lack of support for protestant allies. The official “England” of Charles I’s Personal Rule was a sheltered island paradise, in contrast to a turbulent or desertified world abroad. England enjoyed peace and fecundity provided by the king, personally.

¹ Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 92.

While royalists celebrated the Restoration as a regaining of that Stuart-led paradise, their opponents also inherited a vocabulary with which to contest that fantasy. Public controversies of the 1640s and 50s contain many hostile responses to the abundance that King Charles I and his supporters had proclaimed. There, the king is less a fountainhead of plenitude for the common weal than a glutton whose appetite causes mass deprivation. Oppositional discourses demonized the celebration turned debauch, and transformed abundance into excess. The most common versions of such attacks are the often-stereotyped “Puritan” invectives against the greed of “Belial,” but excess wears other masks. Majesty becomes luxury. Affluence becomes greed. Fertility becomes appetite. And Stuart abundance becomes an intemperate excess that results in widespread desertification. The anti-Stuart rhetoric of the Restoration and Revolution draws on earlier pro- and anti-Stuart materials from the 1630s, 40s, and 50s.

Literary scholars and historians have considered the centrality of the golden-age idyll in Caroline and civil-war aesthetics. Already in 1961, C.V. Wedgwood made the general claim for this period’s distinctiveness in English poetics and cultural memory:

Few epochs in our history have been saluted by contemporary poets with so much courtly gaiety, or mourned with so much lyrical tenderness, as the decade which preceded the Civil War. The 1630’s, that blessed time of peace, seen through the smoke and smother of the ensuing years of Civil War, acquired a magical beauty even for those who had not at the time been in close sympathy with the royal government.²

Moreover, the “blessed ... peace” of the period was not just the belated projection of disaffected cavaliers. That nostalgia drew on the idealism of the previous decade. In the 1630s, English high culture had celebrated the nation’s peace and abundance. In Marxist

² C. V. Wedgwood, *Poetry and Politics under the Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 34; see also Maren-Sofie Røstvig, *The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal Volume I 1600-1700* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1962).

and New Historicist readings of that culture, upper-class proclamations of an ongoing English golden age ignored the realities of labour and the radically unequal distribution of wealth in the period, and may have even contributed to fissures within English society.

Annabel Patterson argues that such courtly extravagance factionalized pastoral art throughout the Personal Rule:

The queen's fixation on pastoral drama was one of the factors that exacerbated class conflict and disputes over economics. When the crisis came in 1640, pastoral ideology had incorporated a new and local credo: that the opponents of idyllicism or Arcadianism were also the opponents of poetry, the theatre, and the arts in general.³

Nigel Smith objects to such strict superimpositions of social class and mode, specifically in respect to readings that may too simply put the leisurely "royalist" pastoral in opposition to the labour of "honest" Puritan georgic. But he implicitly affirms the royalist connotations assigned to pastoral and landscape in the 1630s in discussing the martyrdom of Charles I in Denham's royalist *Cooper's Hill*: "the poetry of landscape which so often deployed pastoral and georgic took within itself not so much class struggle as the very immediate fact of regicide, recast as royal sacrifice, as a means of registering a new age."⁴ Further studies emphasize how much the idyllic poetry of the 1630s advanced politics in the Personal Rule.

As Sharon Achinstein argues,

The cult of irenicism and the myth of England's halcyon era played over and over in court masque, painting and poem, Charles's avowed pacifism and repudiation of the military slaughters taking place in Europe, could be seen at best as a wishful idyll, at worst as an out-and-out lie. It was certainly a politically charged portrait.⁵

³ Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 151. See also Jim Casey, "'Equall freedome, equall fare': The Illusion of Egalitarianism in the Country House Poem," *Early English Studies* 3 (2010): np. Casey argues that the cornucopian abundance of the country-house genre whitewashes a significant class-power imbalance.

⁴ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 320-1.

⁵ Sharon Achinstein, "Milton and King Charles," in *The Royal Image*, ed. Corns, 151.

And Robert Wilcher contests those histories that claim the Caroline idyll was a wishful creation of cavalier nostalgia, and notes the extent to which it influenced contemporary aesthetics. Wilcher credits this aesthetic movement to “writers and painters commissioned by the King or Queen, by poets seeking patronage, and by courtiers simply celebrating their own delight in an environment which favoured the cultivation of the arts.”⁶ Against those who see England as then divided between two parties, Kevin Sharpe complicates any easy distinction between Caroline artistic “court” and traditional “country” cultures, and demonstrates that “the champions as well as the critics of a puritan morality” are identifiable in both spheres.⁷ Sharpe thus finds this political language in use beyond escapist fantasies or tributes. Charles I, unlike his father, was not a scholar-king with a love of controversy, instead preferring order and believing that the king’s word was for the resolution of dispute, not its continuation: “question and debate” shifted thus from traditional sites to the supposedly “sycophantic” court masques.⁸ The chivalric style of the masque became the mode of decorous address, and “intrinsically a political language in early modern England” by means of which all parties appealed to the king.⁹ Courtly culture, Sharpe maintains, was essential to Caroline representation: “It is appropriate to view the court itself as an important image of the king. Charles I himself clearly saw it as ‘a pattern’ of his kingship.”¹⁰ The scholarly consensus is that England enjoyed an era of relative peace and growth during the 1630s, and that the government employed pastoral and arcadian art in arguing or exaggerating its own successes. The court, its policies, and the favoured idyllic modes came

⁶ Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 8.

⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 189, 194-5.

⁹ Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 261. Also Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, chapter 6.

¹⁰ Sharpe, “The Royal Image: an afterword,” 302-3.

to signify one another. What remains to be examined is the legacy of these tropes of abundance, for their influence lasted well beyond the 1630s.

The trope of Stuart abundance was not restricted to idealistic representations in the arts and conventional poetic optimism. Even political philosophy in this period responds to abundance. These claims map notably onto Hobbes's discourse of nature, and may comment on how both royalist and oppositional minds could see politics in the pastoral. Hobbes was an attentive observer of seventeenth-century history: he wrote *Leviathan* in the second half of 1649, during the collapse of that English pastoral ideal. Hobbes's observations of Charles's Personal Rule informed his philosophy and constitute much of *Leviathan*'s "substantive recollection of experience."¹¹ It follows that Hobbesianism and pastoralism may thus speak to each other. Traditional pastoral is the optimistic representation of humanity at its most natural, in the worry-free conditions of the abundant golden age. Caroline representation associates those conditions with kingship. By contrast, Hobbes's state of nature for mankind is brutish and short because the "natural" human is "a self-moving and self-directing appetitive machine."¹² The brutality of that state is a specific and inevitable consequence of scarcity:

And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their end (which is principally their own conservation, and sometimes their delectation only) endeavour to destroy or subdue one another. And from hence it comes to pass that where an invader hath no more to fear than another man's single power, if one plant, sow, build, or possess a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come prepared with forces united to dispossess and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his labour, but also of his life or liberty. And the invader again is in the like danger of another.¹³

¹¹ Noel Malcolm, ed., in Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), 1:11.

¹² Klaas Tindemans, "Nature, Desire, and the Law: On Libertinism and Early Modern Legal Theory," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12 (2012): 133-145, 137.

¹³ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Malcolm, 2:190.

Life in this state of nature is a struggle for limited resources. As a fountain of peace and abundance, Stuart monarchy makes the claim that it resists the deprivations and fears that prevail in a competitive state. In Caroline rhetoric, abundance and peace are equivalent to sovereignty, and the sovereign is a natural agent. Together the Personal Rule and the Interregnum represent the poles of this quasi-Hobbesian model. On one hand, philosophy of *Leviathan* describes the royalist position,¹⁴ to which Hobbes was sympathetic at this time. Stuart supporters idealized monarchy's stability: humanity can escape natural, brutal scarcity and enjoy the abundance of a well-governed state. For the royalists, the fall into the Interregnum is a fall into a lawless state of nature. Without the king the idyll collapses into desertification and violence. On the other hand, for foes of the Stuarts, the Personal Rule was an extreme example of that state of nature: a tyranny with a limitless appetite. The king symbolizes intemperance and profanity, and his abandonment of his duties as sovereign in favour of appetitive tyranny caused the crisis of the 1640s. The Interregnum thereby represents a series of attempts to re-establish the social compact of sovereignty and to repair the damages of royal excess, even if Hobbes himself objected to such justification for rebellion.

The most important text in the history of Stuart peace and Stuart appetite is *Eikon Basilike*, and it is too deeply embedded in its contexts to consider in isolation. Its 1649 publication at the regicide situates it at the century's political and chronological middle. This singularly influential piece of royalist propaganda offers a lens through which seventeenth-century political discourse may be brought into focus. It collects the tropes and

¹⁴ For Hobbesian arguments to serve competing ideologies simultaneously is not without analogue in seventeenth-century controversy. See, for example, Jon Parkin, "Liberty Transpros'd: Andrew Marvell and Samuel Parker" in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis, (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1999). Parkin argues that Hobbesian philosophy complicatedly informed both Marvell's and Parker's positions in the toleration debates of the late 1660s and early 1670s.

arguments of earlier royalist plenty – the idyll of the 1630s and the nostalgic pining of the 1640s – into a unified articulation of Charles I’s life, suffering, and death. Its mass republication projected that sentiment into following decades. Such success led Stuart supporters to repeat its themes. The immediate responses to *Eikon Basilike* are similar anthologies, but of oppositional rhetoric. Anti-royalist arguments had little choice but to engage with *Eikon Basilike*’s argument or contend with its legacy, even if indirectly. It is the epilogue to the early Stuart era, the climax of the Interregnum, and a new beginning for Caroline representation. The evolving tropes identifiable in *Eikon Basilike* were all recycled and distorted by authors who represented the House of Stuart throughout the Interregnum, Restoration, and Glorious Revolution.

Thus to approach *Eikon Basilike* we must begin with the court of Charles I and his queen, Henrietta Maria, who were England’s foremost patrons of art and high culture. Under their watch, court-sponsored art was mythological, pastoral, and evocative of the golden age. Stuart pastoralism existed in a diffuse sense, a combination of arcadian aesthetics and themes of growth and abundance. Van Dyck’s 1632-1634 portrait of the royal couple (fig. 2), much reproduced and given a place of prestige in the royal collection,¹⁵ encapsulates the relationship between Charles I, his queen, peace, and the arts. The queen, her gaze on the viewer, holds an olive branch that Charles I has given to her; Charles I, his gaze on Henrietta Maria, receives from her a laurel. Monarchy’s crown, orb, and sceptre occupy the left-most part of the composition. They stand before a possibly-theatrical curtain, a misty sylvan landscape (perhaps painted theatrical scenery?) in the background. Such arcadianism characterized the platonic court masque and pastoral poetry, arguing in favour of powerful monarchy, which, through the divine virtue of the princely figure (or

¹⁵ John Peacock, “The Visual Image of Charles I,” in *The Royal Image*, ed. Corns, 225.



Figure 2: Anthony Van Dyck, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria* (ca. 1632-1634).

couple) establishes harmony and abundance for the country. Further popular-cultural efforts reinforced those arguments. The republication and official promotion of the *Book of Sports* (1618, 1633) emphasized rural festivals, maypoles, and reinforced national celebrations through symbols of pagan plenty. Those festivities' most vivid literary monument is in the work of Robert Herrick, which has been variously considered an attempt at "protecting traditional English holiday pastimes,"¹⁶ or a "Stuart programme of social control."¹⁷ Even the controversial church renovations mandated by Archbishop Laud and backed by Charles I projected plenty and opulence in "a determined attempt to hammer home a Caroline version of the royal supremacy over both secular and clerical estates."¹⁸ Caroline court culture extends this trope to the celebration of the King and court as the animating force of the "English garden." Abundance also includes marital fertility and childbirth, and for Charles I

¹⁶ Leah S. Marcus, "Robert Herrick," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry Donne to Marvell*, ed. Thomas Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 175-6.

¹⁷ Michael Wilding, "John Milton: The Early Works," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry Donne to Marvell*, ed. Thomas Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 234.

¹⁸ James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 15.

and Henrietta Maria it emphasized the fertility especially of the royal marriage. Caroline poets of all political registers seized on the novelty of English royal births, which had not occurred in living memory. The King and Queen, “over the course of fifteen years” brought “four sons and five daughters;” the last surviving royal child before them had been Edward VI, in 1537.¹⁹ The laurel, the halcyon, the maypole, and the royal children combined in an argument for the regime’s merits. The House of Stuart provided potency, plenty, and prosperity for its subjects, and, through the chaste royal marriage, a fertile family of virtuous heirs to project that abundance into a stable future.

More generally, when speaking of the nation at large, the tropes of abundance most often emphasize peace and plenty. Pro-Stuart productions, including materials sponsored by, paying tribute to, or pining for the courtly culture of the 1630s, consistently associate that regime with the positive aspects of abundance. Poets of all registers draw from a pool of tropes and figures that comprise a language of abundance in a diffuse pastoral mode, which (anticipating Pope’s definition) “is an image of what they call the Golden age ... when the best of men followed the employment.”²⁰ The Caroline pastoral mode is not populated by Spenserian swains and oaten pipes, those characteristic figures of a narrowly defined pastoral genre. The Caroline pastoral is a more inclusive, mythologically-inflected or arcadian style that claims freedom from the toils of a fallen world, with significant emphasis on *otium* and plenty, usually in some lush sylvan setting. *Otium*, or leisure, in these materials includes peace, music, romantic love, and the seemingly omnipresent halcyon. Plenty appears as cornucopian harvest, fecund growth, fruits, and flowers. These offer

¹⁹ Ann Baynes Coiro, “‘A ball of strife’: Caroline poetry and royal marriage,” in *The Royal Image*, ed. Corns, 29.

²⁰ Alexander Pope, “A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry,” in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, 6 vols., ed. John Butt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 1:23-33, ll. 39-43.

images of blooming gardens, blissful paradises, and of England as a new Eden, provided and defended by the king.

Critically, the pastoral mode and arcadian motifs carry deep associations with courtly and aristocratic sentiment in the seventeenth century. Landscape and estate poetry make the same arguments in microcosm, praising the patron lords and ladies of local estates as national poets had for king and country. Verdant spaces that are invigorated by the aristocratic genius are found most notably in country-house poems. Those country estates are centres of prosperity even for those who live on the fringes, providing “superabundant fertility which enabled the tenantry to enjoy the holiday and communal feast.”²¹ Early examples such as Aemilia Lanyer’s “Description of Cookham” and Ben Jonson’s “To Penshurst” describe bountiful and pious estates in contrast with the “proud, ambitious heaps”²² of more ostentatious aristocrats. Later country-house poets such as Waller, Carew, and Marvell follow Jonson’s example in emphasizing peace and plenty of the virtuous estate against the toil and vice of the city and outside world generally.

The association between artistic productions, tropes of abundance, and the House of Stuart was so strong that through the 1640s and 50s, pastoral and arcadian modes continued as predominantly royalist tropes. Even with the collapse of the Personal Rule and subsequent ouster of Charles I as sovereign, the Stuart arcadian mode maintained its popularity in the aesthetics of those who would soon come to be known as royalists. Nostalgia for the peace and abundance of the Personal Rule became a focal point for cavaliers following the parliamentary crises and the beginning of armed hostilities. Such statements functioned as performances of “allegiance to the office of the crown and the

²¹ Malcolm Kelsall, *The Great Good Place* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 35.

²² Ben Jonson, “To Penshurst,” in *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols., ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947; Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 2012), 1. 101.

person of the King at a time when the authority of both was being challenged.”²³ Even where not explicitly political, the pastoral language of the 1630s dominated royalist poetics well after the rise of the parliamentary cause. The verses of such royalist poets as Thomas Stanley, James Shirley, Robert Herrick, and Henry King all celebrate the pastoral “Stuart festival,” both before and after the constitutional crises.²⁴ Booksellers in the 1640s and 50s republished the poetry of the 1630s as a lament for lost idyll. Golden-age rhetoric, where cavalier verse adapts this nostalgic literature, features the classical pastoral tradition’s dichotomy of leisure and toil. Whereas the classical golden age situates *otium* in a hazy, ephemeral past, the royalist lament identifies the 1630s as the particular setting for a golden age and places the king at the centre of that peaceful leisure. As Charles I dominates nature in his masque performances, such as *The Triumph of Peace* (1634) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), he is remembered in the later nostalgia as having provided the nation with the peace, plenitude, and leisure that pastoral praises as *otium*.

These Stuart masques were the most elaborate and prestigious platforms for the arcadian aesthetic, and served as a model for later royalist works. That opulent and sometimes overwhelming experience was without parallel in English arts and culture. During James I’s reign the combined efforts of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones refined the form and established an idyllic mode with which the court masque is identified. The Caroline masque elevated the form to a new height, not least because the king was now sometimes producer and performer rather than patron and spectator. The complex stage operations of the Jacobean masque had been designed with a forced perspective optimized for the king’s

²³ Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, 24.

²⁴ Loxley, *Royalism*, 32.

seat: the masque was presented to the king in the most complete sense.²⁵ Once the king became an active participant, the performance became an official statement. Whether a masque was presented to or by the king, it affirmed England's debt to the crown for peace and plenitude.

For example, Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* allegorizes the dependence of prosperity, peace, and national happiness on the law, the king, and the crown's powers. Charles I did not perform in it. Rather, the Inns of Court produced it to commemorate the birth of James, Duke of York, and as a statement of loyalty to the crown in the wake of William Prynne's sprawling anti-court and anti-theatrical tome *Histriomastix* (1632).²⁶ It features as main masquers Irene (Peace), Eunomia (Law), and Dice (Justice, also known as Astræa). Irene credits England's present perfect state, reflected in the microcosm of the masque, to the creative powers of Charles I and Henrietta Maria:

two skies
Are to be seen,
One starry, but an aged, sphere
Another here,
Created new and brighter from the eyes
Of King and Queen.²⁷

The peaceful idyll is a "new" condition for England, resulting from the vision and policy ("eyes") of Charles I. The new peace contrasts with what had been an interventionist foreign policy of James I, which Charles had abandoned in the 1630s, leaving protestant allies on the continent to their own devices. The cultivated peace leads to further benefits: Eunomia joins

²⁵ Thomas N. Corns, *A History of Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 41.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 183; Clifford Leech, ed., *A Book of Masques*, general ed. Gerald Eades Bentley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 277.

²⁷ James Shirley, *The Triumph of Peace*, in Leech, ed., *A Book of Masques*, 277-313, ll. 495-500.

Irene, and in duet the two allegorical figures describe the further paradisaical productions of that royal source of bounty. Eunomia begins,

Peace is gentle and doth still invite
Eunomia. (ll. 524-5)

To which Irene responds,

Thou dost beautify, increase
And chain security with peace. (ll. 529-30)

And together they proclaim,

The world shall give prerogative to neither
We cannot flourish but together. (ll. 539-40)

Lest the point be lost, the chorus concludes,

Irene enters like a perfumed spring,
Eunomia ripens every thing,
And in the golden harvest leaves
To every sickle his own sheaves. (ll. 541-4)

The allegorical assertion here is that law and peace rise from the generative gaze or policy of the royal couple and initiate paradisaical abundance: “flourishing,” “harvest,” “sheaves.” Dice then joins Irene and Eunomia for a song in celebration of the combined perfection of peace, law, and justice: the Stuart programme. The masquers together bow to the king and queen and sing an ode to “pay the duty to our birth” (l. 591). As is customary, the printed text – the channel by which the private masque becomes a public event – makes much of the opulence of the performance and design, “which was, for the variety of the shows, and richness of the habits, the most magnificent that hath been brought to the court in our time” (ll. 782-4). The original textual notes emphasize for every entrance the rich fabrics and precious metals involved in the costumes and sets. This production marries peace, order, bounty, harvest,

and wealth. This happiness flows entirely from the power, right, and policy of the royal couple.

This strategy intensified in Charles I and Henrietta Maria's performance in Inigo Jones and William Davenant's *Salmacida Spolia* (1639/40). It allegorizes the troubles that Charles then faced in the wake of the failed Bishops' Wars in Scotland and the summoning of the Short Parliament: "Discord, a malicious Fury, appears in a storm and by the invocation of malignant spirits, proper to her evil use, having already put most of the world into disorder, endeavours to disturb these parts, envying the blessings and tranquillity we have long enjoyed."²⁸ Fury complains of her past difficulty in spreading her influence to England, "Thou over-lucky, too-much-happy isle" (l. 114), which had (as Shirley argues) because of royal influence remained peaceful throughout the tumults of the Thirty Years War until the presently rising Parliamentary crisis. Concord and The Genius of Great Britain sing an address "to The Queen Mother," "The Stream from whence our blessings flow" (l. 303). The scenery then reveals Charles with the other masquers, "sitting in the Throne of Honour, his Majesty highest in a seat of gold adorned with palm trees, between which stood statues of the ancient heroes" (ll. 331-2). Henrietta Maria leads her ladies as a band of silver-clad Amazons. Amid the pomp, the masque argues that the political tensions in Scotland and England are within the power of the king to resolve peacefully, so long as his subjects trust in his royal prerogative. Whether this masque is evidence of detached courtly narcissism or a statement of confidence in the face of rising opposition, it clearly credits the good fortunes that England enjoyed in the 1630s to the power of divine right, citing as evidence the violence and instability suffered by England's neighbours and allies.

²⁸ Inigo Jones and William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia*, ed. T. J. B. Spencer in *A Book of Masques*, 347-370, ll. 1-4.

The arcadian pastoral language reinforced claims of an ongoing English golden age far beyond the masques. It colours the works of those poets and playwrights of the 1630s who later came to be classified as courtly or cavalier. Even though Edmund Waller, for example, tends usually toward a heroic mode, many pastoral turns grace his early poetry, mostly in his verses to the Sidney family, with references to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*.²⁹ His otherwise heroic "Of the danger of His Majesty (being Prince) Escaped in the rode at St. Andrews"³⁰ imagines Henrietta Maria's appearance in pastoral epic terms:

She the glad morning which her beams doth throw
Upon their smiling leafes, and gild them so:
Like bright *Aurora*, whose refulgent Ray
Foretells the fervour of ensuing day:
And warnes the shepherd with his flocks retreat
To leafie shadows from the threatened heat.³¹

When praising the queen's beauty, Waller offers *otium* in a pastoral retreat to a cool verdant shelter. Similarly, the verse of Thomas Carew, also a courtier to Henrietta Maria, favours arcadian pastoralism. For example, in "The Spring" the speaker describes a romantic withdrawal to a sylvan garden:

in the cooler shade
Amyntas now doth with his Cloris sleepe
Under a sycamoure.³²

Even in "A Rapture," Carew imagines an erotic encounter, however frenzied, as a leisurely escape made possible by a space of mythological peace:

²⁹ See Edmund Waller, "On My Lady Dorothy Sidney's Picture," in *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed., G. Thorn-Drury (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1893; New York: Greenwood, 1963), 43, ll. 11-12: "All the rich flowers through his Arcadia found, / Amazed we see in this one garland bound."

³⁰ For the dating of Waller's early works, see Timothy Raylor, "The Early Poetic Career of Edmund Waller," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69 (2006): 239-266. Raylor convincingly argues on the basis of both internal and external evidence that "Of the danger..." and other Waller lyrics which had long been dated to the court of James I in the 1620s are in fact of the court of Charles I in the 1630s.

³¹ Waller, "Of the Danger His Majesty [Being the Prince] Escaped in the Road at Saint Andrews," in *Poems*, ed. Thorn-Drury, 1-7, ll. 119-24.

³² Thomas Carew, "The Spring," in *The Poems of Thomas Carew*, ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 3, ll. 20-2.

I Will enjoy thee now my Celia, come
And flye with me to Love's Elizium.³³

In "To my Mistresse in Absence," Carew's arcadian pastoral mixes with the language of Platonic love, as favoured by his royal patroness:

Yet let our boundlesse spirits meet,
And in love's speare each other greet;
There let us work a mystique wreath,
Unknown unto the world beneath.³⁴

Though such lines seem at first to suggest a withdrawn poetics of fantasy, given the emphasis on irenics in English politics and policy, Carew's "sycamoure," "Elizium," and "mystique wreath" are statements of loyalty to the court and king. The withdrawn spaces of rest and peace are quiet England itself: to withdraw and enjoy such peace is to place trust in the administrative abilities of the king, who provides and maintains those spaces.

That Caroline arcadian spirit is also exemplified in a songbook written by Thomas Bushell and set to music by Simon Ives. Bushell unites the arcadian royal marriage with arguments for divine right in *The Severall Speeches and Songs, At the Presentment of Mr. Bushells Rock to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Aug. 23. 1636*, which commemorates the dedication of the "Rock of Enstone," a luxurious resort in Oxfordshire. This "conceit typical of its age"³⁵ sings a hyperbolic arcadian pastoral for the royal couple at the height of Charles I's Personal Rule. The book mimics printed masques in that it features a series of singers who each contribute their own reflections on the day's courtly virtues. The first song, styled "The *Hermits* speech ascending out of the ground as the KING entred the Rock," depicts the king as an energizing force: "he purchas'd at a price / This field, then

³³ Carew, "A Rapture," in *Poems*, ed. Dunlap, 49-53, ll.1-2.

³⁴ Carew, "To My Mistress in Absence," in *Poems*, ed. Dunlap, 22, ll. 10-14.

³⁵ George C. Boon, "Bushell, Thomas (b. before 1600, d. 1674)," *ODNB*.

sterill, now his Paradise.”³⁶ The Hermit appeals to the king as a divine force who rules by divine right: “If then you be the God of Brittaines earth, / And rule this Ile, (as sure you are by birth) / Vouchsesafe a blessing” (A2^v). The second entry, “M^r Bushell his Contemplation upon the Rock,” praises the location as a precious pastoral paradise:

Ile bring you to a ROCK, that for it’s pleasure
The Indies cannot purchase with their treasure,
Where none but virgin silence liveth there
And sweetest Musicke charmes the chastest eare
The fountaines times doe keepe to birds that sing. (A3^v)

Here the irenecism runs thick. The purity of “virgin silence” somehow seems no contradiction to the “sweetest music.” The *otium* of the grotto is England’s greatest asset – the ongoing peace is of greater value than any of the wide world’s treasures. The peace encourages trade and enriches an England not at war, by contrast with imperial Spain. The third entry, “A Sonnet within the pillar of the Table at the Banquet,” extends these themes and presents the bounties of paradise to the king and queen:

We no golden apples give,
Here’s no Adam, here’s no Eve:
Not a Serpent dares appeare,
Whilst your Majesties stay here.
Oh then sit, and take your due,
Those the first fruits are that grows
In this Eden, and are throwne
On this Altar as your owne. (A4^r)

The king and queen, as Adam and Eve, are the masters of paradise and great parental authorities. But in their majesty they surpass our mythical forebears, repelling corrupting forces and thus perpetuating and stabilizing the paradisaal harvest. Bushell deifies them: Charles is “earth’s Jove.” Pastoral England is the envy of the world:

If we live another yeare

³⁶ Thomas Bushell, *The Several Speeches and Songs, at the presentment of Mr. Bushell’s Rock to the Queenes Most Excellent Majesty* (Oxford, 1636), A2^r.

By your grace and favour here;
 Italy, and France, and Spaine
 Of their fruits shall boast in vaine. (A4^r)

The songbook continues with more of the same. Echo praises the queen (A4^v), and the rocks lament that they have not voices to express gratitude for the blessing of the royal presence (B1^r-B2^r). Bushell's panegyric clumsily crams into its praise so many of the conventional forms and figures of the paradisaical mode that it begins to trip over its own claims. Evidently the entrepreneurial Bushell judged that such an address was expected, welcome, and potentially productive in obtaining royal favour. It may have succeeded: in 1637 the crown awarded Bushell letters patent for the operation of a branch mint in Aberystwyth.³⁷

The pastoral-arcadian mode coloured royalist writing also in the Interregnum. The nostalgic preface to Abraham Wright's later cavalier anthology *Parnassus Biceps or Severall Choice Pieces of Poetry, Composed by the best Wits that were in both the Universities before their Dissolution* (1656), gives a retrospective of England's artistic state in a "well practised gesture."³⁸ Wright's position is as typical of cavalier nostalgia as Bushell's was of Caroline abundance:

These leaves present you with some few drops of that Ocean of Wit, which flowed from those two breasts of this Nation, the two *Universities*; and doth now (the sluices being puld up) overflow the whole Land; or rather like those Springs of Paradiice, doth water and enrich the whole world, whilst the Fountains themselves are dryed up, and that Twin-Paradise become desart.³⁹

England had for Wright after 1642 become a cultural desert, yet cavalier literary culture's residual force continued to create a royalist identity. Many of the works in his anthology were composed during the Personal Rule, and "may have been no more than a random

³⁷ Boon, "Bushell," *ODNB*.

³⁸ Loxley, *Royalism*, 9.

³⁹ [Abraham Wright], *Parnassus Biceps, Or Severall choice pieces of poetry, composed by the best wits that were in both the universities before their dissolution* (London, 1656), A2^r.

selection of university poems which Abraham Wright happened to have at hand at a particular time,⁴⁰ but the timing of their entry into the wider public sphere of print connects them just as much to the 1640s and 50s. Because of such anthologies the Caroline style continued in the commercial print of the Interregnum. But when those works consider the present condition of the country, whether in statements originating from poets or from such enterprising booksellers as Humphrey Moseley, they adopt a tone of loss. England, once an arcadian paradise, is in its present state of affairs a muddy, bloody, joyless desert. For these poets (and for their publishers and public), the great island paradise that is England is, as Shakespeare's John of Gaunt had it, "now leas'd out" (*Richard II*, II.1, l. 59).

In the 1640s and 50s, poetry was a significantly royalist sphere, in that most poetic production had connections to the court or to royalist activities. Rory Tanner observes that at the beginning of the Long Parliament, there appears to be no such thing as "Parliamentary poetry," despite a wealth of royalist manuscript verse on all political subjects:

No significant concentration of parliamentarian poetry written directly in response to the failure at Westminster has survived in the extant manuscript miscellanies. At the time, citizens seem to have chosen either to riot for the Commons or to turn poet for Charles.⁴¹

And despite (or because of) political and military defeats, the Interregnum witnessed a boom in royalist literary publications. Many texts first printed in the 1640s were works of the 1630s, given new life. Much literature of the 1630s, especially monarchist texts, had circulated in manuscript, not least at the universities. Economic limitations and restricted access to institutional resources often forced students to resort to personal transcriptions, commonplace books, and manuscript exchanges. Those collections that entered wider

⁴⁰ Peter Beal, "Introduction," in Abraham Wight, *Parnassus Biceps* (Facsimile; Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), xv.

⁴¹ Rory Tanner, "Representing Parliament: Poets, MPs, and the Rhetoric of Public Reason, 1640-1660." (PhD diss., University of Ottawa, 2014), 75.

spheres of transmission still “reflect[ed] the interests and circumstances of the students who were their most assiduous first compilers.”⁴² These interests tended to align with the court and crown. Established patronage systems and King’s Scholarships maintained a strong link between Christ Church, Westminster, and English courtly culture. Both universities had regularly issued commemorative poetry collections for the crown, and those publications had increased during the 1630s.⁴³ The crown supported the universities, and the universities facilitated the further production of such poetry as the crown favoured. Later publishers and booksellers fuelled royalist nostalgia through the later printing of such university and courtly works that prior to the 1640s had existed only in manuscript. Thomas Carew died in 1640, but John Dawson sold editions of his poems in 1640 and 1642, as did Humphrey Moseley in 1651. Edmund Waller was in exile when Moseley and Thomas Walkley published their unauthorized competing 1645 Waller collections, which were the first printings of Waller’s poetry. Moseley also sold 1646 editions of Suckling’s plays, a 1647 folio of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, and a 1651 collection of the works of William Cartwright, among many other deceased or exiled royalist poets and playwrights of the 1630s: “In the midst of the austere Commonwealth/Protectorate period, Moseley served to preserve the courtly and royalist aesthetic.”⁴⁴ Moseley was the preeminent publisher of English poetry and drama during the Interregnum, and his prefaces “assert his own position as a critic and guardian of good literature.”⁴⁵ That good literature was substantially supportive of the Stuarts. One of the commendatory verses to William Cartwright’s *Poems* (1651) praises him for having

⁴² Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), 95.

⁴³ Loxley, *Royalism*, 21-2.

⁴⁴ Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 260.

⁴⁵ John Curtis Reid, “Humphrey Moseley, Publisher,” *Oxford Bibliographical Society: Papers and Proceedings* II.II (Oxford, 1928; Nedeln, Leichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 69; Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 304; Jerome de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 69.

“brought to light” the works of such other Cavalier and royalist staples as Suckling, Carew, Waller, Beaumont and Fletcher, Davenant, Stanley, Crashaw, Shirley, Cleveland, and Cowley.⁴⁶

Moseley’s publication of *Poems of Mr. John Milton* (1645) might seem an exception to any claim that he was the champion of royalist arts in print, but that book tells a different, more complicated, story. The Milton of *Poems* (1645) is a delicate mixture of puritan, republican controversialist and erudite gentleman with ties to courtly culture, if not courtly politics.⁴⁷ Nor was he as yet the notorious apologist of the regicide. Milton’s reputation as a “monarchomach” and “divorcer” was in 1648 not enough to prevent Peter Gunning, a future Restoration bishop, from sending a copy of *Poems* (1645) among several less controversial volumes of verse to the exiled cavalier baron Christopher Hatton, anticipating that the baron will “happily like” it.⁴⁸ *Poems* (1645), is of a “well established type” for single-author poetry volumes in that period, though readers “may well have been surprised ... by the association of the name John Milton and poetry.”⁴⁹ That Moseley published Milton may have been less surprising at the time than that Milton had written poetry and masques. Readers familiar with Milton as the champion of puritan liberty may have not expected his courtly style along side that “more militant spirit.”⁵⁰ The (in)famous frontispiece portrait is (allegedly) of a 21-year-old Milton, and thus directs attention away from the conflicts of

⁴⁶ Jo. Leigh, “To the Stationer (Mr. Moseley) on his Printing Mr. CARTWRIGHT’S Poems,” in William Cartwright, *Comedies, tragi-comedies, with other poems* (London, 1651), *1^{v-r}.

⁴⁷ For further discussion of the complexities of the “Mr. John Milton” as represented in Moseley’s edition, see Richard M. Johnson, “The Politics of Publication: Misrepresentation in Milton’s 1645 *Poems*,” *Criticism* 36 (1994): 45-71.

⁴⁸ Nicholas von Maltzahn, “An early comment on Milton’s *Poems* (1645),” *Milton Quarterly* 48 (2014): 15-18.

⁴⁹ Steven N. Zwicker, “The Day that George Thomason Collected His copy of *The Poems of Mr. John Milton, Both English and Latin, Compos’d at Several Times*,” *Review of English Studies* 64 (2013): 231-245, 235.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 239.

1645, to the stability of 1630. The stationer's register dates it to October 6, but it was "likely issued late in December or early January – perhaps some time between Christmas and the feast of the circumcision."⁵¹ *Poems* (1645) opens with "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," which is arguably a tribute to the infant Charles II.⁵² A nativity poem in winter 1645/6 may have appealed to the nostalgia of discontented royalists with a lingering loyalty to the old Church of England, for Parliament had then recently forbidden Christmas celebrations.⁵³ "L' Allegro" celebrates the English festive culture of the *Book of Sports*; even the sober "Il Penseroso" promotes such arcadian scenes as "arched walks of twilight groves" (l. 133). An internal title page introduces the masque *Comus* as having been "Presented at Ludlow-Castle, 1634 before The Earl of Bridgewater, Then President of Wales" (67). The 1637 stand-alone edition of *Comus* reminds the reader that the Earl of Bridgewater was "one of His Majesties most honorable Privie Counsell."⁵⁴ The 1645 frontispiece further advertises that "The songs were set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Maiesties private musick." Such assertions of "Milton's sociability," remind the reader that "Milton's pre-war artistic associates included figures that had strong connections with the court culture of the 1630s and with the royalist cause."⁵⁵ Even the prophetic preface to "Lycidas," which "by occasion fortels the ruin of our corrupted Clergy,"⁵⁶ could thus conflate presbyterian "philistinism," which "implicitly threatened" Milton's ecclesial and artistic visions,⁵⁷ with Laudian prelacy, for as Milton himself would

⁵¹ Ibid, 231.

⁵² Coiro, "A ball of strife," in *The Royal Image*, ed. Corns, 35-8.

⁵³ Zwicker, "The day," 236.

⁵⁴ [John Milton], *A maske presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, on Michaelmasse night*, (London, 1637), A1^r.

⁵⁵ Nicholas McDowell, "Dante and the Distraction of Lyric in Milton's 'To My Friend Mr Henry Lawes,'" in *Review of English Studies* 59 (2008): 232-254, 236, 237.

⁵⁶ John Milton, *Poems Both English and Latin* (London, 1645), 57.

⁵⁷ McDowell, "Dante," 244.

declare in 1646, “New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large.”⁵⁸ In short, *Poems* (1645) is not in any obvious way offensive to the royalist reader, nor is it any obvious statement of such puritan iconoclasm as Milton might elsewhere personify. And so whether a book’s publication was motivated aesthetically, politically (as the examples of Beaumont and Fletcher and of Cartwright, which editions feature vocally royalist prefaces), or opportunistically (as is the likely case for Waller, whose exile prevented him from taking legal action against the booksellers), these impressions indicate that English verse remained generally courtly, even after the passing of the English court.

Cavalier poetry was reborn as disaffected speech for the 1640s and 50s, and it adopted the style of the 1630s with diverse strategies. In some cases, royalist laments appeal to the pastoral aspects of the “demi-paradise” as a supernatural or liminal space that is decidedly separate from the civil wars and wasted lands. In Marvell’s lyrics, lament for the war-torn present vies with arcadian heterotopias. Because the idealistic modes have such strong associations with the court or royalism, political nostalgia lurks in Marvell’s subtexts. In his *Elegy Upon the Death of My Lord Francis Villiers* (1648), Venus swiftly conveys the fallen aristocratic youth, son of Charles I’s assassinated favourite, “Out of the noise and blood, and killing war,” to an undying pastoral paradise, “Where in her gardens of sweet myrtle laid / She kisses him in the immortal shade.”⁵⁹ The goddess admits the cavalier hero to an Elysian peace in her “immortal” gardens, away from and in opposition to the “noise and blood” and “vulgar bodies” of the ongoing war. Similarly, Marvell’s “The Nymph

⁵⁸ John Milton, “On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament,” in *The Complete Poems*, ed. John Leonard, 87 (London: Penguin, 1998), l. 20; see also Peter Lindenbaum, “Humphrey Moseley,” in *Dictionary of Literary Biography Vol 170: The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700*, ed. James K Bracken and Joel Silver (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996) 180-1. Lindenbaum holds that by following “Lycidas” with the masque *Comus*, *Poems* (1645) softens the anti-clerical claims of the puritan pastoral.

⁵⁹ Andrew Marvell, *Elegy Upon the Death of My Lord Francis Villiers* in *The Poems of Andrew Marvell* (rev. ed.), ed. Nigel Smith (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), 11-17, ll. 112-4.

Complaining for the Death of her Fawn” mourns of the invasion of “wanton troopers” into “the flaxen lillies’ shade”⁶⁰ and the tainting of her garden with the blood of that hyperbolically pure and innocent pet. In neither example is Marvell’s connection to cavalier values direct. There is no need to openly pine for the “better” times of the Personal Rule with these pastoral and arcadian figures: the dichotomies between the gruesome present and some lost pastoral perfection readily enough evoke that Stuart peace of the 1630s. In the Villiers elegy, the past is situated in his gallant youth and he, now dead, is whisked off to a mythical place appropriate to his aristocratic stature and loyalty. For her part, the Nymph laments the ideal grove now defiled by unruly troopers. Either space is unobtainable, infinitely separate from the present dystopia: Venus’s garden by the limits of life and death, the Nymph’s by the limits of the past and present. Such a dichotomy between a present waste and an absent ideal animates many other Marvellian lyrics, for example, “The Unfortunate Lover,” the “Mower” poems, and “Upon Appleton House.” That style contrasts with the more explicit nostalgia of “To his Noble Friend Mr Richard Lovelace, upon His Poems.”

James Shirley suffered greater personal losses than the younger Marvell in the civil wars, having been a playwright before the closure of the theatres, and having served in the royalist forces. His poetry also uses a pastoral mode to express his unease with the new English landscape: disaffected royalism lurks in the secondary inferences of “The Garden” (1646). Here Shirley strikes a balance between old and newer gardens, between traditional inheritance and new-fangled ways of tending the English countryside. This lyric begins with the rejection of a present garden in favour of an imagined ideal:

⁶⁰ Marvell, “The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn,” in *Poems*, ed. Smith, 65-71, l. 1, l. 81.

This garden does not take my eyes,
 Though here you show how art of men
 Can purchase nature at a price
 Would stock old Paradise again.⁶¹

The first garden's unsatisfying aspects follow from men's hubristic attempts to "purchase nature at a price," a possible gesture toward Parliament's seizure and sale of church, crown, and royalist estates. A royalist could consider those estates as the "natural" property of the king, at least in contrast to Parliament's coercive claim. Conversely, the speaker's dreamed garden retreat begins in a more traditional grant or donation:

Give me a little plot of ground
 Where might I with the sun agree,
 Though every day he walk the round,
 My garden he should seldom see. (9-12)

The speaker prefers a simple garden to one overrun with innovation, luxury, or complexity. He also eschews the more modern capitalist sale of land ("purchase at a price," the morality and legality of which was disputed in the 1640s⁶²) in favour of a grant ("give me").

Certainly these political inferences are secondary to the poem's themes of retreat, but they are many, and they are consistent. There, and in the typical symbolism of the sun, lurks Shirley's sympathy for the yet-living king, opposed to the rapid changes of a Parliament-controlled Interregnum. The speaker trivializes "those tulips that such wealth display" (l. 13), which (as well as a reference to competing Dutch interests) rejects the values and risks of commerce. More preferable is "the violet's drooping head" (l. 18), which in the common symbolism of the colour purple further identifies the melancholy speaker with monarchy and fealty.

⁶¹ James Shirley, "The Garden," in *Poetry and Revolution: An Anthology of British and Irish Verse 1625-1660*, ed. Peter Davidson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 214-5, ll. 1-4.

⁶² Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, 156.

As literature was factional, literary criticism accordingly allowed royalists to lament the age in the terms of abundance. The commendatory verses on the politically-timed publication of Moseley's *Beaumont and Fletcher folio* (1647) provide numerous further examples. A chorus of poetic voices, many of them gentlemen amateurs, breaks the silence of royalist isolation. Robert Gardiner pines for Stuart artistic production. The new volume "at last unsequesters the Stage, / Brings backe the Silver, and the Golden Age."⁶³ This "unsequestering" is a direct reference (unlike Shirley's) to the parliamentary seizure of royalist lands, now expanded to include the moratorium on theatre. To reestablish theatre, as mediated in the print surrogate of the folio, would renew two abundant states: the "Golden Age" of the Stuart halcyon days, and the silver, a likely gesture to theatrical profits. Roger L'Estrange provides a yet more hostile portrait of the current state of English affairs in that "Mankinde *is* fall'n againe, shrunke a degree" (c1^r) into dullness and irreligion, prompting the query,

Have you not seene the Suns almighty Ray
 Rescue th' affrighted World, *and* redeeme Day
 From blacke despaire
 Fletcher sets the world cleare
Of all disorder and reformes us here. (c1^v)

That last line is awkwardly ambiguous: is Fletcher held to provide or to banish the possibly ecclesiastical "reformes"? It is unambiguous that L'Estrange presents Fletcher as the fix, and declares that he can cure the nation's "black despaire" and "disorder." L'Estrange's politics are little hidden behind remarks on the present status of wit and art in England. Given the force of arcadianism in 1630's royalism, such criticism in 1647 has political implications, especially in the collected works of a court-sponsored playwright. Though this

⁶³ Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1647), c2^r.

landscape is not literally blasted, in the absence of the king and his culture, the kingdom is an intellectual desert.

Of course, Robert Herrick offers the clearest associations between the crown and abundant growth. While the prefatory remarks of



Figure 3: William Marshall, Frontispiece, in Robert Herrick, *Hesperides* (London, 1648).

Parnassus Biceps and of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio each debate manners, by contrast Herrick, “a long-standing royalist,” considers the landscape itself. *Hesperides* (1648) declares its royalism explicitly.⁶⁴ The William Marshall frontispiece (fig. 3) features a detailed crown opposite a bust (probably) of the poet in an arcadian paradise of cherubs, laurels, the Hill of Parnassus, and the Spring of Helicon.⁶⁵ The title’s Hesperides were the nymphs of a mythological paradise, from whom Hercules was ordered to steal the golden apples (also evoked by Bushell, above). The first page begins with a large-type dedication to the “The Most Illustrious and Most Hopeful Prince, CHARLES, Prince of *Wales*.” Herrick’s poems celebrate then-forbidden “Christmas jollity,” “traditional games and customs” and thus “in the context of the English Civil War” *Hesperides* represents “the expression of a

⁶⁴ Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, 265.

⁶⁵ J. Max Patrick, in Robert Herrick, *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick* (New York: New York University Press, 1963), 7.

political sentiment.”⁶⁶ Nor are all of his claims veiled. “TO THE KING, Upon his coming with his Army into the West” depicts Charles I and his army as revitalizing the withered countryside with fecundity and fertility:

The Drooping West, which hitherto has stood
As one, in long-lamented-widow-hood;
Looks like a Bride now, or a bed of flowers,
Newly refresh't both by the Sun, and showers.⁶⁷

The wars and ongoing conflicts have poisoned the landscape. Without the king, that territory collapses into mourning (“widow-hood”). His return is a rebirth, and winter gives way to spring. The re-energized West becomes again a Stuart arcadia, ending its bleak wartime state in favour of the more celebratory marriage (“like a Bride”) and floral abundance. More explicitly, in “The bad season makes the Poet sad,” Herrick connects the monarch and paradise, wishing “if that golden Age wo’d come again, / And *Charles* here rule, as he before did Raign” (ll. 7-8). “The Hock-Cart, or Harvest Home,” dedicated to another royalist poet, “the Right Honourable *Mildmay*, Earle of *Westmorland*” imagines a cornucopian georgic state, and the speaker implores the “Sons of Summer, by whose toile, / We are the Lords of Wine and Oile” (ll. 1-2) to observe the social order. As “The patient Oxe” (l. 48) serves the ploughman, the harvesters must remember,

... your Lords word’s true,
Feed him ye must, whose food fils you.
And that this pleasure is like raine,
Not sent ye for to drone your paine.
But for to make it spring againe. (ll.49-55)

In this idealized depiction of agriculture, the sufferings of the labourers are mitigated by the pleasure and gratitude of the Lord. In turn, the harmonious community enjoys utopian

⁶⁶ Thomas N. Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue in English Political Literature, 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 102.

⁶⁷ Robert Herrick, *The Complete Poetry*, 2 vols., ed. Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), 1:25, ll. 3-6.

“Feast,” “mirth,” and “Merryment.” It is easy to understand these imperatives as applying to the commons and king as much as to the harvesters and their lord.

Such associations of abundance with social order extend beyond active royalist, courtly circles, and embattled cavaliers. Claims of a historical decline from the 1630s into the 1640s come from across class boundaries. Unsurprisingly, poetic voices of the gentry and aristocracy lament the loss of the festive Caroline court, but more populist publications also often adopt the pastoral view of monarchy. Broadside ballads cry out for the lost king and the prosperity that he symbolizes: *Alas poore Trades-men what shall we do?* (1646?) presents the tradesmen’s current problems as a clear nostalgic lament. The first part of the two-part song identifies the ongoing civil war with poverty and the personal rule with prosperity:

Whilst we were wel imploied
and need not for to play,
We plenty then enjoyed.⁶⁸

The second part ends with an explicitly royalist prayer for peace, abundance, and the king’s return to power:

Our Gracious king
The Lord preserve and blesse
With safe return
So them that long misse Him.

So even in popular poetry the idyll of the Caroline era informs commentary on both the past and the future: nostalgia was not only for exiled courtiers and sequestered cavaliers.

Further examples of nostalgia for the “royalist garden” are many and varied. In echoing earlier country-house poems, Katherine Philips’s “A Country-life” represents an estate as a fecund refuge for endangered royalist values. The works of Mildmay Fane, Earl

⁶⁸ *Alas poore Trades-men what shall we do? Or, London’s complaint through badness of trading for work being scant, their substance is fading* (London, 1646?).

of Westmorland, plot a decline from the paradisaical *otium* of the 1630s into the toil of the 1650s. For example, “A Dialogue between a Hunting Swain and a Sheperdes weeping the Loss of Pain” laments the new hazards in the fields and pines for a better past with familiar figures:

Ther was a time when our Great Pan
 And Flocks Protector kept these plains
 Making them like th’ Arcadian
 Where all Security stil reignes.⁶⁹

That peace was spoiled by “Giants” who “Chas’t all protection from this place” (ll. 22-4) by turning the pastures into battlefields: a conventional allusion to the ruin of the classical Golden Age. Abraham Cowley in his “A Discourse by way of Vision Concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell” bemoans with the familiar language the loss of wealth and abundance that existed in the 1630s under Charles I. Bounty and happiness are ubiquitous themes in royalist representations of the king, far eclipsing other avenues for expressions of loyalty and sympathy. By comparison, poets rarely represent the king as striking down or smiting his enemies, an approach more common to panegyric (or elegy) for Oliver Cromwell. Charles I is, or was, a king whom his supporters first and foremost preferred to depict in concert with abundance and peace.

What distinguishes the post-1640 literary climate from that of the 1630s is the growing opposition to that idyllic mode. In the Interregnum, the former court’s propagandistic tools were turned against it. A battle over the connotations of abundance – growth, wealth, and plenty – and of excess – gluttony, luxury, and desertification –

⁶⁹ Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, *The Poetry of Mildmay Fane, second Earl of Westmorland: From the Fulbeck, Harvard, and Westmorland manuscripts*, ed. T.G.S. Cain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 274-6, ll.16-19. Westmorland alone could prove a site of fruitful study, given the recent publication of many hitherto unknown poems. Even a cursory glance through this manuscript material reveals dozens of examples of “abundant” poetry on these themes.

represents a significant feature of political discourses of the period. Oppositional materials attack and subvert these aesthetic markers of royalism by reimagining the role of the king in abundance and reconfiguring royalist tropes. Royal majesty, rather than causing the fields to blossom in majesty, now ploughs the population into slavery. In either case the king transforms the landscape, but whereas in Herrick that force creates paradisaic leisure, in the Interregnum prose works of Milton and like-minded writers, it causes toil and suffering.

Oppositional writers begin to distort Stuart utopias into satirical dystopias soon after the end of the Personal Rule. The anonymous author of the play-pamphlet *Canterburie His Change of Diot* (1641) turns the cornucopian feast into a monstrosity by characterizing Archbishop Laud as a glutton who in the first act devours “the rarest dainties, drest after the Italian fashion.”⁷⁰ But of all delicacies, his favourite is human ears, which he harvests from an advocate and a divine: “Come Lawyer, your two eares will make me. That is almost a little dish for rarity” (A2^v). The playlet’s ostensible purpose is to attack Laud for the punitive cropping of the ears of Puritan divines and of the lawyer William Prynne. A 1647 newspaper picks up the same caricature in railing against Oxford episcopalians who sought to enforce by oaths the Book of Common Prayer and prelatical hierarchy: “they are too great for little England to contain them, their Hierarchie will soon eat up our Monarchie, little *Laud* had such a device on foot, who would thinke such a pigmeys should have such a Giant-like stomack?”⁷¹ To depict the king’s chosen archbishop as a “tyrant” glutton of refined and rare delicacies translates the older language of abundance into the language of excess. In *Of Reformation* Milton had fired similar volleys against clerical appetite: “why the *Prelats* labour’d it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their Bellies;” “But when through

⁷⁰ *A New Play called Canterburie his Change of Diot* (London, 1641), A2^v.

⁷¹ *Mercurius Anti-Pragmaticus Num 2, Communicating some remarkable Intelligence, from Thursday Octob.21 to Thursday Octob.28.1647* (London, England), 5.

Constantines lavish Superstition they forsook their *first love*, and set themselves up two Gods instead, *Mammon* and their Belly;” or “Let us not be so overcredulous, unless GOD hath blinded us, as to trust our dear Soules into the hands of men that beg so devoutly for the pride, and gluttony of their own backs, and bellies.”⁷² That royalist feasting and luxury existed in the personal rule is not contested, but here Laud’s and the clerics’ feasts are a grim prodigy rather than a cornucopian festival. The feast is upon the nation, not for it. For that archbishop to be represented as finding carnal pleasure in devouring the bodies of English subjects is a grim attack on the supposed plenitude of the court that supports him.

The ravenous cavalier is another common target of tracts. One 1643 discursive broadsheet defines “*Cavaleeres*” as “Canibals.”⁷³ Another more imaginative libel depicts the mad dog “*Towzer*” as threatening to “eate as good Rumps and Kidneys as thou, base cur dost.”⁷⁴ Elsewhere Prince Rupert’s “*Munkey*” is described as a great fan of French dainties *en masse*, and “she will eate more then a parish Mid-wife,” stealing such snacks from the city’s shops and stalls all the while Rupert’s “*Cavaleeroes bold / that live at Oxford uncontroled / ... are halfe drunkish.*”⁷⁵ And a 1645 epistolary account of the occupation of Huntington recalls the king standing by as his soldiers eat, drink, and plunder such that “very many people are not left with one penny.”⁷⁶ Time and again anti-royalist pamphleteers make popular appeals that depict the royalist army as possessed of an appetite that wastes the countryside. The body of oppositional attacks is much smaller than that which celebrates

⁷² John Milton, *Of Reformation*, in *Complete Prose Works*, 7 vols., ed. Don M. Wolfe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953): 1:514-617, 1:540, 1:543, 1:576-7, 1:610.

⁷³ *The [New] Interpreter* (Oxford 1643). [ESTC S2085]

⁷⁴ [John Taylor], *A Dialogue, or Rather a Parley between Prince Ruperts Doge whose name is Puddle, and Tobies Dog whose name is Pepper, &c.* (London, 1643 [1642]), A4v.

⁷⁵ *An Exact Description of Prince Ruperts Malignant She-Monkey* (London, 1643), A3^v.

⁷⁶ *The Royall Entertainment of the King, by the Royalists of Huntington* (London, 1645), 6.

abundance, but even this handful of examples provides insight into responses to royalist panegyric. These oppositional texts contest especially the royalist trope of plenitude.

The battle between pro- and anti-Stuart literatures intensified at the regicide. No piece of royalist propaganda is more prominent than *Eikon Basilike* (1649), though in literary scholarship it is often subordinate to Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (1649). Its penitential and forgiving memoir of the civil wars relies extensively on the utopian tropes of fertility and abundance and on the tragic disruption of those conditions. *Eikon Basilike*, with the reactions against it, of which Milton's is best known, lies at the heart of mid-century debates between royalist abundance and royalist excess.

Many scholars have addressed the literary aspects of the *Eikon Basilike*. Elizabeth Skerpan identifies it as a generically hybrid text, a "unique combination of epideictic and Puritan rhetoric with the deliberative genre," which "would dominate monarchist discourse in years to come."⁷⁷ Elizabeth Sauer reads it as a theatrical performance reminiscent of and drawing on the representational style of the masques, but as a presentation that now put the masque before the public, not only the court.⁷⁸ David Norbrook argues that in addition to its lament for the sufferings of the king and the nation, it explains the collapse of the arts: "The king became, for admirers, and for many later literary critics, an emblem of a dying order, a lost union of church, state and aesthetic beauty which had been disrupted by a brutal modern impiety and philistinism."⁷⁹ Along similar lines, James Loxley declares *Eikon Basilike* to be

⁷⁷ Elizabeth Skerpan, *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution, 1642-1660* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 100. Skerpan further explores on the autobiographical and personal elements of *Eikon Basilike*'s representation of Charles I in "Eikon Basilike and the rhetoric of self-representation," in *The Image of the King*, ed. Corns, 122-41.

⁷⁸ Elizabeth Sauer, *'Paper-Contestations' and Textual Communities in England, 1640-1675* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 73.

⁷⁹ David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 192.

the “apotheosis” of sacramental, royalist poetics.⁸⁰ Thomas Corns argues its influence on subsequent royalist representation: “the royalist response to the crises of the 1640s ... finds defence and expression ... in a myriad of texts imitative of the idiom of *Eikon Basilike*.”⁸¹ In sketching the conditions for Milton’s rebuttal, David Loewenstein notes the challenges presented by *Eikon Basilike*’s “symbolic depth.”⁸² And most recently Kevin Sharpe situates it as an artistic focal point, commemorating the forms of Charles I’s cultural zenith, and projecting those features into the future: “If *Eikon Basilike* again legitimized the representations the poets had fashioned, it also drew on them, honouring in its verses the forms of loyalist poetry which had made its own poetics and politics possible.”⁸³

Eikon Basilike, ostensibly written by Charles I,⁸⁴ first appeared in the days and weeks following the regicide. The book offered an act of royalist resistance at what seemed the nadir of Stuart fortune and power. It supplied an anecdotal secret history,⁸⁵ irresistible to many. The mournful speaker (hereafter the “King,” to differentiate the dramatized speaker from the historical Charles I) reflects on the political and military conflicts of the previous decade. The book reveals a sympathetic royal conscience commenting on the events that led to the King’s ultimate defeat and destruction, at odds with the now-official Parliamentary

⁸⁰ Loxley, *Royalism*, 181-2.

⁸¹ Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue*, 128. Corns’s fourth chapter also examines in greater detail the parallels between *Eikon Basilike* and the works of Robert Herrick and Richard Lovelace.

⁸² David Loewenstein, *Representing Revolution in Milton and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 128.

⁸³ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 307.

⁸⁴ Ultimate credit for composition is presently given to Edward Symmons and John Gauden, later Bishop of Exeter, who produced a manuscript that Charles corrected. Symmons and Gauden worked from manuscripts which Charles had been producing from 1642, and which he sent to Symmons to be compiled into a single defence. For a recent literature review, see Robert Wilcher, “Eikon Basilike: The Printing, Composition, Strategy, and Impact of ‘The King’s Book’,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, edited by Laura Lunger Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), *passim*.

⁸⁵ For more on these categories see Annabel Patterson *Early Modern Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chapters 5 and 6, and Sharon Achinstein, “Milton and King Charles” in *The Royal Image*, ed. Corns. Neither Patterson nor Achinstein consider *Eikon Basilike* as an example of “secret history,” but aside from its royalist ideology, it is a fine example of the genre as they describe it.

history. The memoir in *Eikon Basilike* balances the destruction it laments with hopes for England's renewed abundance in a Stuart future. The King recalls how during the 1630s England and Scotland were an idyllic garden, under his paternal eye, but how the events of 1639-42 have reduced them to anarchy and desert. He associates the language of gardens, growth, and prosperity with his own Personal Rule and the reigns of his predecessors, in opposition to present affliction of the church and the nation by plague, famine, and sterility. England had been idyllic and innocent, if to a tragic fault. Too great plenty ushered in luxury and a sudden moral decay in the King's subjects who, unchecked, devoured the garden in a gluttonous frenzy. In the present day to which the King speaks, that prosperity and plenitude has caused a fall from paradise. A number of secondary causes have reduced England to a wasteland. Even so, the text proposes a better future. A concluding apostrophe to his son (the future Charles II, the "Prince") prognosticates a return to lost Stuart (and Tudor, as *Eikon Basilike* appeals to lawful inheritance) plenty via the restoration of a rightful monarchy.⁸⁶ It is a basic dramatic plot: the destruction of the English idyll comes as a consequence of the disruption of an established and natural political order, and that order's restoration promises a comic resolution.

Like the masques of the Personal Rule, *Eikon Basilike* thus emphasizes the centrality of the monarch in a system that produces harmony and plenitude. Relying on the generative symbolism of the sun, it depicts the King's removal from the legislative process as depriving that system of its productive capacity: "without whose reason concurrent with theirs (as the sun's influence is necessary in all nature's productions), they cannot beget or bring forth any

⁸⁶ Skerpan, *The Rhetoric of Politics*, 107-9.

one complete and authoritative act of public wisdom, which makes the laws.”⁸⁷ The civil wars were a fundamental violation of the basic prosperity of the nation. The King’s objective as a belligerent was only to re-establish that lost harmony and happiness:

The Treaty at Uxbridge gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation as I did, I am confident the war had then ended nor were the remaining differences so essential to my people’s happiness or of such consequence as in the least kind to have hindered my subjects’ either security or prosperity, for they better enjoyed both many years before ever those demands were made. (147)

During these “many years before” (i.e. during the Personal Rule), the King and his court amply provided England’s “security” and “prosperity,” whether paternally or autocratically. The King characterizes his antagonists in Parliament as persecutors who disregard the necessary role of monarchy in the creation of wealth and growth, which abundance the King figures as his benevolent gift to his subjects: “we do not much blame the unkindness of the generality and the vulgar; for we see God is pleased to try both our patience by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those who, having eaten of our bread and being enriched by our bounty, have scornfully lift themselves up against us” (75). Royal assent is a fertile boon, but even in a golden age it was unable to sate the appetites of the Crown’s enemies: “if some men’s hydropic insatiableness had not learned to thirst by how much more they drank, which no fountain of royal bounty was able to overcome, so resolved they seemed either utterly to exhaust it or to obstruct it” (70).

The King consistently returns to that language of peace and growth in commemorating his paradisaical kingdom and its destruction. As in *The Triumph of Peace* (1633), lawful monarchy necessarily precedes prosperity, but in *Eikon Basilike* the King asserts that his subjects had failed to comprehend that message. The Long Parliament was

⁸⁷ Charles I, King of England, *Eikon Basilike with selections from Eikonoklastes*, ed. Jim Daems and Holly Faith Nelson (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006), 99.

for the King the moment of that collapse: “but as swine are to gardens and orderly plantations, so are tumults to Parliaments and plebeian concourses to public counsels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions” (64). *Eikon Basilike* draws on the masque’s arcadian mode for a representation of the destruction of peace. The Personal Rule was a garden or orchard, carefully cultivated, orderly, fertile, and lively, owing to Charles I’s regal successes. The tumults of the Long Parliament figure as the ravaging of that garden by swine – an antimasque to the orderly ideal. The King’s evocation of “plantations” distinguishes *Eikon Basilike* from other pastoral, horticultural, and sylvan panegyrics such as country-house poems. A “Plantation” is not merely a garden of delight, but also a source of sustenance and a straightforward view of wealth in a land-based economy. For the “swine” to thus scourge the King’s “Plantation” is not merely an assault on perceived luxury and leisure, but rather a step toward poverty and famine.

Appropriately then, the King characterizes attacks on the Stuart “garden” and its institutions as a kind of “gluttony.” The hostile commons comprise a mob of appetites loosed in the King’s orchard. Sequestration likewise represents the devouring of a healthy institution, “wherein some men’s zeal for bishops’ lands, houses, and revenues hath set them to work to eat up episcopacy” (143). The demolition of the church and subsequent establishment of presbyterianism is the poaching of the healthiest part of a herd:

the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have benee more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights than the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest deer, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration. (118)

This is of course an exercise in poor husbandry, and the implications are twofold. First, for the King to claim the Church of England to be “the fattest deer” is to congratulate his own

administrative skills. The growth of that well-tended church further suggests that its liturgical truth surpasses that of its too-reformed rivals. Significantly, for the church to be the “fattest deer” indicates either abundance or excess, depending on the context and connotation. Anti-Laudian divines may agree that the church of the 1630s was fat or corpulent.⁸⁸ Puritans would praise the church of the 1640s and 50s, stripped of such luxuries as gold, altar railings, music, and iconography, as properly lean in contrast. But the King is among those who prefer a “fatter” deer. That Parliament liquidated those possessions, leaving the weak “Rascal-herd” of Presbyterians, Independents, and other factions, allows him to indict those reforms as short-sighted and greedy. Second, the use of “deer” rather than any more domestic animal (sheep, cattle, or swine) indicates aristocratic privilege. Such inappropriate slaughter constitutes poaching, which has associations with trespass, invasion, and treason – violations of legal right and privilege. More conventional pastoral figures represent congregations as flocks of sheep guided by shepherds. Spenser, for example, in *The Shepheardes Calendar* allegorizes good and bad pastors as vigilant or negligent swains. Such “flocks” in *Eikon Basilike* would carry a confessional rather than political nuance, thereby arguing for Charles’s role as a patron overseeing the Church rather than as the rightful master of a violated property.

Reckless consumption recurs in the King’s account. As frequently as the Parliamentarians are gluttons or poachers, they are identified with ravenous animal appetites:

Let not holy things be given to swine nor the church’s bread to dogs. Rather let them go about the city, grin like a dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied. Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them or theirs. (121)

⁸⁸ See Milton, *Of Reformation*, “And verily some such matter it was as want of a fat Dioces that kept our Britain Bishops so poore in the Primitive times;” in *Prose Works*, 1:543.

The King's left-handed prayers for forgiveness use these and other pleas for divine mercy as the vehicle for enumerating his enemies' faults. *Eikon Basilike's* success has been attributed to this strategy of concealing "the marks of its polemic,"⁸⁹ and representing itself as an end to conflict rather than as another volley in an ongoing debate. In this respect, the King compares his lost church and kingdom to a godly vineyard destroyed by beasts: "*Forgive their sins and errors who have deserved Thy just permission to let in the wild boar and subtle foxes to waste and deform Thy vineyard, which Thy right hand hath planted and the dew of heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate*" (146). That the prayer forgives his enemies as beasts, yet not as men, is crucial to the cautiously conciliatory, martyrological tone: beasts lack the necessary *mens rea* for evil, or as Hobbes puts it, "To make Covenants with bruit beasts, is impossible; because not understanding our speech, they understand not, nor accept of any translation of Right; nor can translate any Right to another: and without mutuall acceptation, there is no covenant."⁹⁰ Charles I's acknowledged fault is that he created too much prosperity, which theme echoes through contemporary royalist tracts, even those that take different approaches to royal veneration.⁹¹ The garden, watered by "the dew of heaven," proves too great a temptation for the bestial appetites of boar and foxes. His enemies' failings in economy and diplomacy are the inevitable consequences of trusting overwhelming abundance to these mindless brutes.

In this respect the luxury of a prosperous nation had combined with the administrative failures to which the King confesses to cause that gluttonous frenzy. The King's inability to anticipate that gluttonous response is his admitted failure, his *hamartia*.

⁸⁹ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 392.

⁹⁰ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 2:210.

⁹¹ Elizabeth P. Skerpan, "Rhetorical Genres and the Eikon Basilike," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 11 (1985): 99-111, 104-5.

He never wholly denies responsibility, but he turns those acknowledged failures to propagandistic advantage in arguing his other successes. His prayers place the tumults and sufferings of the civil wars in dichotomy with the peace and plenty of his personal reign, and he begs forgiveness for making England too prosperous: “*Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of Thy afflictions ... Let this fiery trial consume the dross which in long peace and plenty we had contracted ... Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not Thy grace. What is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance*” (177). The consistent distinction between the peaceful 1630s and the troubled 1640s allows *Eikon Basilike* to rely on those tropes so common to earlier courtly materials in reinforcing the myth of the “halcyon days.” Such is his plea for divine mercy for England in his concluding prayer: “*Divert, I pray Thee, O Lord, Thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous cities whose plenty is prone to add fuel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries*” (182-3).

The King accepts a mantle of failure on the condition that he failed only in having given too freely to his subjects. The only real administrative failure that he concedes is having overlooked the commons’ dangerous appetites. The lament for the devoured abundance balances with an anticipated return to prosperity. That narrative projects providence onto the King’s life and impending death. Even though the text consists largely of the King’s personal anecdotes, the appended addresses to his children place those struggles in a generational context. Biblical parallels link these contests of heredity to the nation’s ruin. Twice he makes extended reference to King Ahab’s theft of Naboth’s vineyard (1 Kings 21): “Thus Naboth’s vineyard made him the only blasphemer of his city

and fit to die” (118); “*Let them be as Naboth’s vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their families, and a sting to their consciences*” (121).

He of course puts himself, even though like Ahab a King, in the position of the murdered victim Naboth, who refused to surrender his ancestral vineyard for another of equivalent value. The vineyard, like the plantation, represents fecundity and abundance in addition to the further festive connotations of wine, but its significance as an inheritance is equally relevant to the deposing of the House of Stuart from its rightful possession. The King’s letter to the Prince furthers this theme in considering David and Rehoboam, the Israelite kings whose plentiful reigns also corrupted their subjects:

The one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing kingdom, the other softened by the unparalleled prosperity of Solomon’s court and so corrupted to the great diminution both for peace, honor, and kingdom by those flatteries which are as unseparable from prosperous princes as flies are from fruit in summer, whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away. (184)

The King accepts the parallel between his reign and Rehoboam’s. Both were born into flourishing courts and inherited prosperous kingdoms but failed as leaders in practice. The bounty of their kingdoms attracted “Flies” and flatterers, who undermined their respective educations and growth.

Thus the letter to the Prince connects *Eikon Basilike*’s memoirs to England’s unfolding history. Even though the King continued the prosperity that he inherited, his lack of “Davidic” virtues undermined the flourishing nation. The anticipated Prince has had the opposite experience in his coming of age: his virtue has been cultivated in suffering. That son, the heir to the “vineyard,” represents a future Stuart of new prosperity, which happiness will be defended in the better incorruptibility of a leader schooled in strife rather than luxury:

This advantage of wisdom you have above most princes, that you have begun and now spent some years of discretion in the experience of troubles and exercise of

patience; wherein piety and all virtues, both moral and political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as trees set in winter, than in the warmth and serenity of times or amidst those delights which usually attend princes' courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone either to root up all plants of true virtue and honor or to be contented only with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits such as tend to the public good. (184)

Tacitly, the King again characterizes the early Stuart reigns as “times of peace and plenty.”

The centrality of the public good here promotes tropes of growth in understanding the “providence” of divine right. The standard categories of abundance and fertility continue here in opposition to sterility: warmth and serenity versus winter, leaves and fruit versus withering, flourishing versus decrease, summer and fruit versus adversity and cold weather. The young Prince’s virtue is essential for the nation’s future well-being. One of his most concise instructions is that “Piety will make you prosperous” (185). The past and future kings together follow a natural mutability cycle: the sufferings and death of the father belong to the winter which leads in turn to the son’s summer-like prosperity. This argument appeals to contemporary millenarian views of the civil war which had anticipated monarchy’s end as a consequence of hypothesized historical cycles.⁹² If the civil wars and the impending regicide are the end of an English kingdom, the anticipated return of the son, Charles II (whose birth was also marked by a new star) represents germination of another kingdom to come. The central “meaning” or purpose then of the King’s life, trials, and sufferings (and the nation’s equivalent experience) is the providential creation of a godly crown prince to lead the nation to even greater prosperity.

As it thereby writes itself into history, *Eikon Basilike* engages with the ongoing literary exchanges on kingship and excess. The King responds to oppositional representations of him, and he discusses those attacks that question the language of royal

⁹² Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, “The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,” in *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change*, second ed. (London: Macmillan, 1972), 47.

abundance. He rebukes oppositional authors for their tendency to “gall” him with accusations of gluttonous excess: “I might be represented by them to the world, the more inhumane & barbarous: Like some Cyclopic Monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my owne Subjects” (103). Such “vinegar of falsity” (102) allows the King all the more to emphasize his status as a victim or a saintly martyr. His brief sketch of those hostile depictions is essentially a caricature of caricatures, but it is nonetheless an apt criticism. His enemies, he claims, depict him as flesh-eating giant sustained on the suffering of his subjects (much like the depictions of Archbishop Laud earlier in the 1640s). England and the King are still associated with feasting, but in the eyes of his enemies, the table is no longer set for the common wealth; rather the commonwealth exists only for the nourishment of the King. Neither position disputes the wealth of England: whether distributed to his subjects or devoured at his table, that prosperity in the 1630s is remembered as an era when the nation provided amply.

Eikon Basilike was no isolated lament: it anticipated response. However, the early responses to *Eikon Basilike* are far more methodical than the King’s caricature of his opposition anticipated, favouring factual dispute, or manipulation of the same set of tropes against the royalist cause. The first significant print rebuttal to *Eikon Basilike* was the anonymous *Eikon Alethine*, dedicated to the Council of State in August 1649, two months before Milton’s further rejoinder in *Eikonoklastes*. For the most part, the author of *Eikon Alethine* avoids engaging with *Eikon Basilike* on the metaphorical, rhetorical, and allusive levels by which earlier materials had attacked this central theme of royalist propaganda. Much of *Eikon Alethine*’s argument instead disputes facts and authorship (it refers to the author of *Eikon Basilike* as “the Doctor,” rather than as the King, attributing the work to

Charles I's chaplains). Any engagements with the more figurative aspects of *Eikon Basilike* are kept conspicuously minimal, with only a few brief mentions of King Ahab as a justly punished tyrant, and no explicit discussion of the metaphorical English garden. The low profile of Stuart abundance in the *Eikon Alethine* suggests a hesitancy to address that theme, perhaps indicative of the weight of decades of royalist propaganda.

To counter those claims of supposed Stuart prosperity, *Eikon Alethine* instead contests the language of nourishment and excess. Because of the strength of those claims, rather than attack the House of Stuart in its long-established aesthetic stronghold, *Eikon Alethine* uses those metaphors to deprive *Eikon Basilike* of its status as a genuine Stuart production. With authorship in question, *Eikon Basilike* itself could then come under attack without need to debate the historical details of English or Stuart abundance. The prefatory "Epistle to the Reader" contextualizes *Eikon Basilike* as a deceptive illusion that dazzles its reader with "*Hocus Pocus*" falsehoods, in opposition to *Eikon Alethine*'s own plain, self-evident truth.⁹³ Visual metaphors enumerate the deceptive qualities of the King's refined rhetoric, but *Eikon Alethine* also addresses the vineyard symbol: "shall painted Grapes allure you? Though they should, yet consider, they are but shew to entice, not substance to satisfie: But tis impossible that painted clusters should intoxicate your heads, or make you reel from your fidelity to your country" (A3^v). Though a reference to the legendarily realistic paintings of Zeuxis, the grapes also recall the "Naboth" claims in *Eikon Basilike*. The associated and likely theatrical "paint" suggests that any claims of monarchy having been the source of abundance are props to distract from more important governmental problems. The preface urges readers to approach such arguments critically:

⁹³*Eikon Alethine: The Portraiture of Truths most sacred Majesty truly suffering, though not solely* (London, 1649), A3^f.

Be not cheated out of your innocency by this subtile Serpent with an Apple of *Sodom*, which at the touch of truth will fall to ashes: Be not afraid to enter Paradise for this painted Cherubin armed with a seeming Sword of Sophistry flashing with Rhetoricke: Sell not your birthrights, your freedoms for a messe of Pottage so full of *Colloquintida* as this supplanter offers you. (A4^v)

This passage is heavily allusive, first to Esau's squandered birthright in Genesis 25, second to the pottage and poisoned herbs of 2 Kings 4, and third to the "Apples of Sodom" as described by Josephus.⁹⁴ It also serves multiple persuasive purposes. First, insofar as the pottage is a symbol of Esau's birthright, the passage urges readers not to surrender their constitutional rights as Englishmen for empty promises and the slavery of continued Stuart authority. Secondly, as a bowl of poisoned herbs, the pottage cautions against believing pro-Stuart deception and double dealings.

Eikon Alethine thus inverts two of the central themes of *Eikon Basilike* and Stuart royalism: the King's supposed rightful reign becomes itself a tyrant's theft, and the abundance of that dynasty proves toxic. Likewise the Genesis reference of "painted Cherubin," also continues the evocation of theatre and the mythological court masque, in which cherubs and cupids are popular motifs. Here, however, they act as tyrannical devices for awing and intimidating a populace. The cherubs obstruct the public's entry to an Eden which contains not the luxuries of golden-age abundance, but *Eikon Alethine*'s republican truth and godliness. Those guardians deflect naive readers toward the temptations of the courtly lifestyle, to enforce the tyranny of kings. Hyperbolic plenitude is not the appeal of *Eikon Alethine*'s imagined Eden – abundance is excess – and its more puritan paradise is

⁹⁴W.L. Walker, "Apples of Sodom," *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, accessed February 6, 2015, <http://biblehub.com/topical/s/sodom.htm>. The wild colocynth has been identified by some writers as the mythical fruits, described by Josephus (BJ, IV, viii, 4), that enticingly grow in the ruins of Sodom but which dissolve into smoke and ash at a touch. See also *Paradise Lost*, Book X ll. 561-7, in which the now-serpentine fallen angels are tormented by "the fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew / Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flamed." Alistair Fowler glosses that Miltonic image with reference to the same passage from Josephus and Deut 32:32f: "Their vine is of the vine of Sodom..." John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, second edition, ed. by Alastair Fowler (Harlow: Longman, 2006), 570 n. 562.

perhaps a freedom from such material temptations. The pottage and the cherubim are at odds with the supposedly shared abundance of the 1630s. Moreover, to characterize the King of *Eikon Basilike* as a serpent offering the “Apple of Sodom” complicates the figuration of England. Rather than this paradise’s regal overseer, he is a deceiver and its destroyer. The fruit and the paradisaical garden of that golden age are illusions, and so by consequence is the supposed abundance of the Personal Rule. The King fails to provide any real nourishment, despite claims of and appeals to an age of growth and plenty. Moreover, the featured ingredient, “Apples of Sodom” or “*Colloquintida*,” furthers suggestions of toxins in disguise. To characterize *Eikon Basilike* as “pottage” suggests that it is a careless mash of any available materials, a base substance used to feed the reader indiscriminately, or, if an allusion to Esau’s pottage of lentils, at best a pauper’s meal and no cornucopian feast. But “*Colloquintida*,” or colocynth, is a bitter apple commonly used as a purgative.⁹⁵ The apples hidden in this pottage, rather than nourishing, providing life, or instilling knowledge, will bring upon the reader unexpected and unpleasant pharmacological effects.

So *Eikon Alethine*’s overview of *Eikon Basilike*’s style strategically mixes metaphors. On one hand, the symbolism works within general connotation of “pottage” as a simple, if miscellaneous, form of nourishment. Its later descriptions of *Eikon Basilike* abandon the argument that it is a careless miscellany. Rather, it finds a pastoral metaphor to claim that the king’s book is so carefully constructed as to be overwrought:

We are warned to *beware of Wolves coming in Sheeps cloathing*, and therefore need not to wonder to see the Impostor end with such a shew of Godlinesse the elaborate elegancy of their [the King’s] phrase, may apparently demonstrate that they were conceived and delivered rather to move men more than God; the so much licking of them into a form, proves them Whelps of an uncleane beast; but a Lamb or

⁹⁵ Lanfranco of Milan, *A Most Excellent and Learned Worke of Chirurgerie*, trans. John Hall (London, 1565): Eeeiiij^v, “By a little meale, the bitternesse of Colocinthis was cured in the potage pot.”

Kid brought forth in a perfect forme, were only fit for Sacrifice to the God of *Israel*.
(8)

The refined style and careful composition of *Eikon Basilike* is, for the author if *Eikon Alethine*, exposes of its dangerous qualities. To compare the begetting of a text to a birth is a commonplace.⁹⁶ To characterize a godless opponent as a wolf in sheep's clothing is a cliché. But to present a text as a new-born goat or lamb is unusual: *Eikon Basilike* is a grotesque birth from godless stock. The carnal "licking" and "uncleanliness" are foreign to the mythic "elegancy" of the court masque aesthetic that, via the pastoral figure of livestock, it reflects and distorts. The overwrought and highly refined rhetoric used in *Eikon Basilike* is evidence of its deceptive and "unclean" qualities both.

Livestock metaphors also advance *Eikon Alethine*'s stigmatizing of the alleged oppression and dreaded forced Roman Catholic conversion of England. The Welsh and the Irish serve the author as metaphorical oxen in the enslaving of the nation:

The ignorant Heathenish *Welch* would be the zealoussest assertours of the Protestant Religion of *Charles* the first, as the *Irish* are of *Charles* the second (aske *Prag*. else;) and therefore I believe the two Oxen of equal strength and beauty, so strongly drew the Plow of the holy Church, plowing up Gospel-preaching, and making deep furrowes on the backes of all that durst appear religious, to make us all like the first and the Popes Nuncio, and Masse were publickly tollerated, and the Jesuits, Priests, Monkes, and Fryars openly maintained, to sow Tares in the ground so wel broken up, to render us not different from the last in Religion. (54-5)

Eikon Alethine distorts the common trope of an English pastoral garden into a tyrannical, georgic, plantation. Wales and Ireland here are enslaved (and, as oxen, castrated) servants, labouring to produce a poisonous harvest of popery. The gospel is "plowed," rather than tended or otherwise treated with due reverence. The spiritual ground is "broken up,"

⁹⁶ See Ben Jonson, "On My First Son" in which Jonson proclaims his deceased infant son to be "his best piece of poetry," or Marvell's *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, in Andrew Marvell, *The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell*, 2 vols., ed. Martin Dzelzainis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1:111, where he calls the book of his opponent, Samuel Parker, "a very lusty baby."

suggesting that the damage done by Charles I and Archbishop Laud to English protestantism far exceeds that of the sequestration which Shirley and other royalists had lamented.

Even the “halcyon” is turned against *Eikon Basilike*. The Uxbridge treaty that the King celebrates and castigates Parliament for having broken was in this hostile judgment just further double-dealing or “hocus pocus.” The ceasefires for which the royalist forces had negotiated were, according to *Eikon Alethine*, in fact ploys to prepare for continued fighting:

Thus those king-fishers spent those *Halcion* dayes in hatching Cockatrices, and those *Oxford honest men* were like Besiegers, who when they omit their open batteries, are most busie in undermining: whose unworthy double-dealings had caused such well-grounded jealousies, that no rational thing can judge they could be easily allayed.
(83)

The “Halcyon,”⁹⁷ a familiar allusion to Ovid, indicates a continued engagement with the standard rhetoric of royalist nostalgia on the part of the author of *Eikon Alethine*. But here, that halcyon kingfisher in its mystical nesting peace hatches a grotesque and lethal cockatrice, the mythical prodigy with a lethal gaze. That Stuart “halcyon” becomes less a symbol of loyalty, love, and peace and more a calm before the storm of further bloodshed. *Eikon Alethine*’s strategy against Stuart abundance is more or less to strip the paint from the grapes. The common Stuart symbols return, but as deformed chimeras which expose the falsehoods and manipulations which those tropes once served.

For his part Milton prefers an oblique approach in his rebuttals of the claims abundance made in *Eikon Basilike*. *Eikon Alethine*’s address of the King as “doctor” had challenged the authority of *Eikon Basilike*’s speaker, and emphasizes the theatricality of that production (including the frontispiece, which draws a theatrical curtain to reveal a Jesuit, fig. 4). Milton’s approach to the controversy indicates that he recognized the futility of

⁹⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Frank Justus Miller and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1984), Book XI, ll. 410-748.

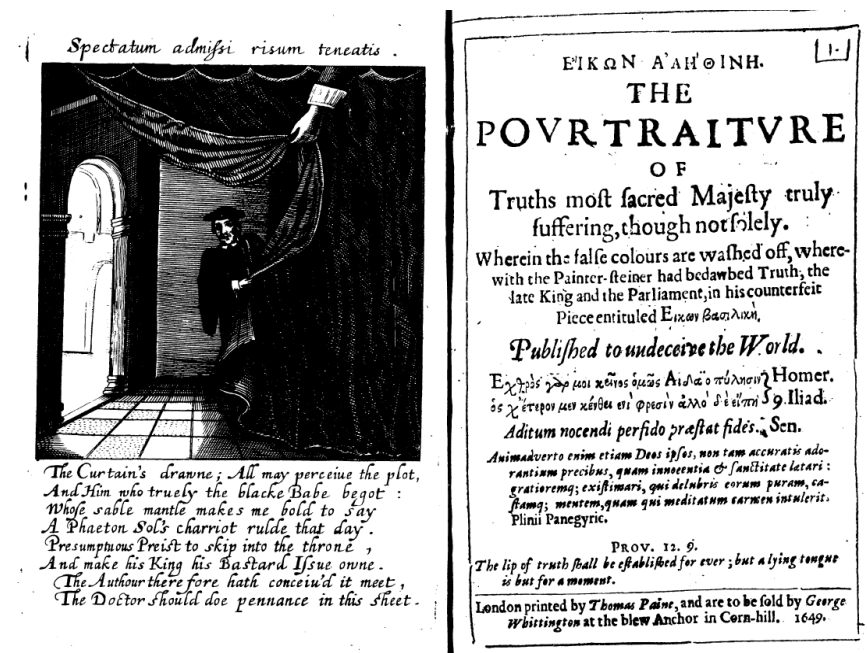


Figure 4: Frontispiece, in *Eikon Alethine*, London, 1649.

questioning the authenticity of a book that had so captivated the English public, and that to address the arguments and narratives would be more beneficial in a public-relations war. *Eikonoklastes*, in line with its polemical purpose as an “image breaker,” avoids engaging head-on with *Eikon Basilike* on that metaphorical level. Instead, Milton restricts himself in most cases to animadverting on *Eikon Basilike*’s sympathetic confessions with more informed logical arguments, coolly presented. However defamatory, Milton aims “to depersonalize the king’s struggle so that civil war might be elevated into history, a realm distant from the mixed and trivial genres – the fancies, allusions, and forgeries – of the *Eikon Basilike*.”⁹⁸ When *Eikonoklastes* addresses the royalist history of England’s fall from fertility to desertification, it does so indirectly and avoids any contest over polemical metaphors, which is consistent with Milton’s more reserved prose style in the late 1640s.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, 45.

⁹⁹ Thomas Corns, *The Development of Milton’s Prose Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 88.

Milton's handling of *Eikon Basilike*'s inclusion of princess Pamela's prayer from *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* also shows him wrestling with Stuart claims for abundance, while revealing the complicity of these propaganda wars. Critics and historians have long supported Milton's accusations against the King's "plagiarism" in this respect, but that may be a lingering sympathy in Whig or liberal historiography. That the controversial prayer was an addition to later editions of *Eikon Basilike*, among appended materials said to be passed from the King to Bishop Juxon, is sometimes overlooked. That the text never attributes its composition to the King (the prayers are only said to have been "Used by His Majesty," 205) is also ignored in light of the accusation of plagiarism which anchors the debate: "It is probable that if Milton had ignored Pamela's prayer in *Eikonoklastes* no one would ever have questioned its use by the King."¹⁰⁰ Later controversialists responded by distancing Charles I from the prayer, instead crediting unscrupulous publishers or even the Protectorate government. A conspiracy theory in the 1690s alleged that Milton and Bradshaw had personally suborned printers to include the prayer "so as to be able to attack Charles for using it in his final devotions."¹⁰¹ Many supporters and opponents of Charles I agreed that Pamela's prayer was a dishonest and embarrassing inclusion, and usually debate only the placement of blame.

Milton's grounds for objection are commonly understood in terms of set forms of prayer as rejected by Puritans. But could Pamela's prayer have been originally intended as something of a quiet allusion, which fact Milton chose to misread as an ethical violation and

¹⁰⁰ Merritt Y. Hughes, "New Evidence on the Charge That Milton Forged the Pamela Prayer in the *Eikon Basilike*," *The Review of English Studies* 3 (1952): 130-140, 136.

¹⁰¹ Merritt Y. Hughes, "Date, Occasion, and Method of *Eikonoklastes*" in Milton, *Prose Works*, ed. Wolfe: 3:153.

“a peece of mockery”?¹⁰² Milton thoroughly denounces the impropriety of romance in a devotional work, claiming “then are these painted Feathers, that set him off so gay among the people, to be thought few or none of them his own” (3:365). Even though he condemns the prayer’s use, he delicately skirts that prayer’s significance in favour of questions of authorship and propriety as to avoid reinforcing associations between the Stuarts, romance, and especially Princess Elizabeth, who like Pamela, was then a captive.¹⁰³ In consideration of the parallels between Pamela and the real princess Elizabeth, and between *Arcadia* and the Stuarts’ love for pastoralism and chivalry, some deliberate evocation of that text by the editors of *Eikon Basilike* seems possible.

To downplay the symbolic aspects of the Pamela prayer is a strategy consistent with the remainder of *Eikonoklastes*. Hesitation on Milton’s part to engage with the more literary aspects of *Eikon Basilike* has been noted:

More damaging than Milton’s failure finally to discredit royal words was the nearly unanswerable difficulty presented by the *Eikon*’s representation of royal performance and a royal image. As one who had been on the fringes of the Caroline court, and indeed authored a masque, Milton understood, but here could not find a way to contest, the theatricalities of Caroline power.¹⁰⁴

Where *Eikon Alethine* debates and contests, Milton runs with metaphors, reduces them to simplicity, and drags them to less elegant places. Milton in the main handles the King’s rhetoric of the fertile garden by reflecting the King’s own devices. In response to the King’s comparison of Parliament to swine, he writes, “*But, saith he, as Swine are to Gardens, so are Tumults to Parlaments.* This the Parliament, had they found it so, could best have told us. In the meane while, who knows not that one great Hogg may doe so much mischief in a Garden

¹⁰² Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, in *Prose Works*, ed. Wolfe: 3:335-601, 3:364.

¹⁰³ Nicole A. Jacobs, “Robbing His Captive Shepherdess: Princess Elizabeth, John Milton, and the Memory of Charles I in the *Eikon Basilike* and *Eikonoklastes*,” *Criticism* 54 (2012): 244-5.

¹⁰⁴ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 402.

as many little Swine” (3:390). He dodges any discussion of whether or not England was a garden, then spoiled, and responds instead *ad hominem*. His retort, perhaps astutely, avoids opening any debate on the nation’s present state or past decline, and simply shifts the King out of the role of gardener and into that of the glutton. Elsewhere he uses a similar strategy in characterizing the King as a scavenger:

And those six Members all men judg’d to have escap’d no less than capital danger; whom he so greedily pursuing into the House of Commons, had not there the forebearance to conceal how much it troubl’d him, *That the Birds were flowne*. If som Vultur in the Mountains could have op’nd his beak intelligibly and spoke, what fitter words could he have utter’d at the loss of his prey? (3:439)

Puritan anxieties over consumption also allow Milton to retort the King’s accusations of insatiableness against the commons back upon the court. Where in the corresponding passage from *Eikon Basilike* the King accuses the rebels of drinking too freely from his fountain of abundance, Milton makes the same charge of an insatiable thirst among the King’s cavaliers:¹⁰⁵

Hee passes to another reason of his denials, *Because of some mens hydropic unsatiableness, and thirst of asking, the more they drank, whom no fountaine of regall bountie was able to overcome*. A comparison more properly bestow’d on those that came to guzzle in his Wine-cellar, then on a freeborn People that came to claime in Parlament thir Rights and Liberties, which a King ought therfore to grant, because of right demanded; not to deny them for feare his bounty should be exhaust, which in these demands (to continue the same Metaphor) was not so much as Broach’d; it being his duty, not his bounty to grant these things. (3:411)

The King gives freely of wine – festivity and debauchery – yet he is too frugal with the better “Rights and Liberties” demanded by the “freeborn people.” Milton again extends the metaphor to new meanings which serve his purposes, rather than choosing to contest it directly. In this fashion, Milton in his role as mouthpiece of the Council of State avoids

¹⁰⁵ The associations, both positive and negative, of cavaliers with drinking have been thoroughly considered in Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

turning the controversy into a series of competing metaphors for the nation and for kingship, choosing instead to aim at his opponents' rhetorical excesses. In the first chapter, Milton easily realigns Charles I with the covetous Ahab rather than the victimized Naboth: "illegal actions, and especially to get vast summs of Money, were put into practise by the King and his new Officers, as Monopolies, compulsive Knight-hoods, Cote, Conduct and Ship-mony, the seizing not of one *Naboths* Vineyard, but of whole Inheritances" (3:353). But the passage comes with no direct reference to any of *Eikon Basilike's* many evocations of the Naboth/Ahab myth. Rather than dispute the features of Stuart abundance or Parliamentary greed in respect to the biblical vineyard, and rather than animadvert, reprint, and reinforce *Eikon Basilike's* full claims, he presents an alternative reading of an allusion so heavily emphasized by his opponent, and then continues with his own arguments.

Similarly, Milton's diction when discussing Charles's tricky rhetoric of divine right – which Milton claims that he hides under a hypocritical and tyrannical veil of "reason," "judgement," and "conscience" – draws on the language of growth and death. He claims that in the Book of Common Prayer (which earlier he sarcastically compares to manna for all palates), scripture

Was barreld up ... with many mixtures of thir own, and which is worse, without salt. But suppose them savoury words and unmix'd, suppose them *Manna* it self, yet if they shall be hoarded up and enjoynd us, while God every morning raines down new expressions into our hearts, in stead of being fit to use, they will be found like reserv'd *Manna*, rather *to breed wormes and stink*. (3:505)

Appealing to the more reformed preference for a worship based on a personal relationship with the divine over the rigor of orthodoxy and tradition, Milton compares the King's religious policies to the biblical hoarding of manna, and thus the spoiling of a divine gift (Exodus 16:19-21). While Milton admits that grace and the gospel are manna-like spiritual

nourishment, when that worship is diluted (“mixtures of thir own”), confined, stored, or improperly preserved (“barreld up ... without salt”), as he claims to be the case with the Book of Common Prayer or other rigid liturgy, that spiritual food becomes corrupt.

Similarly, Milton characterizes Caroline theatrical fertility as a debauched and amoral paganism that pollutes proper worship:

And who knows not the superstitious rigor of his Sundays Chappel, and the licentious remissness of his Sundays Theater; accompanied with that reverend Statute for *Dominical Jiggs* and May-poles, publish'd in his own Name, and deriv'd from the example of his Father *James*. (3:358-9)

The maypole and the theatre, long symbols of happiness and prosperity for royalists, are now “general miscarriages of State” (3:359), that is, both errors of administration and unfertile births. In earlier days Milton had in “L’ Allegro” celebrated the maypole (l. 120), provided a commemorative poem to Shakespeare’s second folio, and written two masques of his own. But now in *Eikonoklastes* he is in sterner mood. He seeks to distinguish history from metaphor, and thus handles the events of the war separately from the propagandistic battles. Whereas these passages all touch metaphorical figures used by the King in *Eikon Basilike* – fruit, manna, and maypoles – in none of them does Milton turn to closer animadversion. Such direct response he instead reserves for his fact-checking of the King’s anecdotes and personal reflections. The historical claims require direct response, but it was imperative for Milton that the literary struggle not distract from discrediting the King as a historical witness. Nonetheless, Milton seems to have recognized that the metaphorical levels of *Eikon Basilike* had a value that could not be ignored, and thus variously made efforts to undermine the King’s connection with fertility and abundance in favour of death, sterility, and excess.

The seeming caution with which *Eikon Alethine* and *Eikonoklastes* handle the language of pastoralism and plenitude defies easy explanation. Such hesitation – in which

the oppositional authors merely approach the issue – could suggest that the golden-age themes were too strongly associated with Stuart kingship, and to contest them openly could prove futile. Alternately, given the economic challenges facing the Council of State, such a battle could prove counterproductive in a public-relations war, which position could be evidenced in Milton’s sardonic dismissal of Pamela’s prayer. Readers could construe any engagement with the prayer’s contents or meaning as an attack on the popular and pious Princess Elizabeth. His hesitance could also indicate that royalist pastoralism was so commonplace and cliché by 1649 as to place such dispute beneath the dignity of animadversion. But the regularity by which the controversialists rely on competing figures of speech, whether in using *Eikon Basilike*’s (and the Stuarts’) own metaphors and allusions against them without direct reference, or in attacking with devices in binary opposition to those of abundance – poison, death, and desertification – indicates an awareness of this ongoing trope and some impulse to undermine it.

The magazine of metaphors that *Eikon Basilike* assembled remains common through the 1650s. For royalists, a squandered halcyon age combines with Charles I’s martyrdom in the historical tragedy of Stuart England. More parliamentary texts argued against appetite and luxury while cautioning against Stuart deception. The discourses even penetrate texts that have little to do with the Stuarts themselves. For example, many of the more perplexing symbols in Marvell’s Protectorate poems can be explained within the logic of Stuart abundance and excess. In “The Unfortunate Lover,” written around or shortly after the regicide, the eponymous lover leaves an elysian paradise, but is shipwrecked and ultimately tortured by cormorants in a storm, which rapacious bird Ovid in *Metamorphoses* book XI

juxtaposes with the peaceful halcyon – a fall from halcyon peace to chaotic torment.¹⁰⁶

Marvell depicts “Restless” Cromwell in *An Horatian Ode* as a falcon, the warlike qualities of which also find enough exploration in the same section of *Metamorphoses XI* to suggest another kind of anti-halcyon symbolism. Similar identification of Caroline court culture with festivity can go some way toward explaining some of the relative sobriety in Marvell’s ostensibly anti-royalist works. *The First Anniversary of the Government under H.H. the Lord Protector*, a contrast to Marvell’s more energetic early royalist verse, praises Cromwell without the diction that normally eulogizes or elegizes Charles I. Marvell prefers to identify Cromwell with the “light” of gospel and the “stone” of might rather than the more Stuart fountains and growth. Only once in that lengthy panegyric does Marvell make reference to national bounty:

Then did thick mists and winds the air deform,
And down at last thou pour’dst the fertile storm;
Which to the thirsty land did plenty bring,
But though forewarned, o’ertook and wet the king.¹⁰⁷

Charles I is so strongly identified with “the fertile” and “plenty” that those themes cannot be entirely separated from him even in a panegyric to his usurper. Here however, Marvell subverts that bounty to represent the liberty for which the nation was “thirsty” during the Personal Rule, and which Cromwell provides. The “forewarning” is further glossed as an allusion to Elijah’s prophecy of rain to King Ahab (1 Kings 18:44), again echoing *Eikon Basilike*. Together these examples indicate a continued life for that discourse of Stuart abundance. “The Unfortunate Lover” and the “Horatian Ode” further develop that language into devices that contrast ongoing events with the Stuart era; “The First Anniversary” in

¹⁰⁶ Neal Hackler, “Marvell’s Ovidian ‘Corm’rants’,” *Notes and Queries* 61 (2014): 366-9.

¹⁰⁷ Marvell, *The First Anniversary of the Government under H. H. the Lord Protector*, in *Poems*, ed. Smith, 281-98, ll. 235-8.

praising Cromwell with distinct terms tacitly confirms that those tropes maintained a monarchical association.

Anti-monarchical pamphlets too continue in the direction set forth by the *Eikon* tracts. *English Liberty and Property Asserted in Pursuance of the Statute Laws of This Common Wealth* (1657) wields the parable of Naboth's vineyard in support of its argument that scripture condemns monarchy (6).¹⁰⁸ And for that pamphleteer, monarchy is an inherently predatory institution: "doth not the Office of King-ship in the very nature and being thereof, tend directly by advancing prerogative to the enslaving of the people, by whom it is establisht, and by magnifying its own power and grandeur perpetually to prey upon the peoples liberty, and property" (5). James Harrington's *Oceana* appeals to national strength in terms of a Virgilian Georgic as predicated on strength, virtue, and diligence: "the Tillage bringing up a good Souldiery, bringing up a good Common-Wealth."¹⁰⁹ Harrington's preference for moderated labour by free people quietly opposes the spontaneous abundance of the pastoral Stuart aesthetic. While Harrington's sober rhetoric stops short of explicitly accusing a tyrannical king of acting as a cannibalistic "Cyclopic Monster," he also insists that aristocratic excesses inhibit the fertility and growth of the nation. He further uses France as an example of a nation that fails to follow these maxims of diligence and so liberty there suffers as a result, a parallel to absolutist and crypto-catholic cavalier court culture.

And so in the 1650s the Stuart tropes of the 1630s continued in English literature as a point of reference for authors with very different views of the exiled dynasty. Even though

¹⁰⁸ *English liberty and property asserted in pursuance of the statute laws of this common-wealth. Discovering Israels sin in chusing a king, by several questions humbly propounded to the grave senators at Westminster. And to all others, who have the power of this nation in their hands* (London, 1657).

¹⁰⁹ James Harrington, *The Common-Wealth of Oceana* (London 1656), B1^v.

Eikon Basilike was the most frequently printed book of its time, it was not alone in projecting that language into subsequent decades. The opposition to the exiled Charles II worked diligently in its public relations campaigns to complicate or undermine association between his family and English prosperity, and contributed to the continued life of those tropes. The language of the halcyon era, that peace a requisite for the lost national happiness, continues as a symbolic premise even in such complexly ambivalent works as Marvell's lyrics. The decades of civil war and Cromwellian militarism had, if anything, strengthened common associations between the House of Stuart and the golden-age rhetoric so promoted in the 1630s.

Chapter II

Debauchery and English Constitutions

After the initial Restoration excitement over a return to the golden age of the 1630s had waned, Charles II's court established its own identity and reputation, independent of his father's, and distanced from the expectations created by Interregnum royalist nostalgia. Royalist panegyrics, such as those by Edmund Waller, Robert Wild, and John Dryden, continued to emphasize the relationship between Stuart kingship and plenitude. Oppositional materials however adopted new responses to the older panegyric position. In the proto-Whig discourses of the 1660s,¹ notably in contributions by Andrew Marvell, criticisms of tyranny subordinate the debate over abundance and excess to other strategies. The satires of the 1660s explore these themes as personal aspects of the new king's character or, to avoid *lèse-majesté*, the character of his closest courtiers. The transgressions of the ruling class come to signify a corruption different from that which had consumed the land in the minds of Charles I's foes. In Restoration materials, the aristocracy carries a distinct disease that threatens England and endangers national health. Such a strategy further put abundance in question: disease, like excess or appetite, is a foil to plenitude. Afflictions disrupt peace: war, famine, and pestilence keep common company. Since disease had moral associations, it served satirists well as shorthand for the appetites and character flaws of the 1660s aristocracy. The king, whose effortless presence in Herrick's poetry causes the fields

¹ The terms "Whig" and "Tory" of course did not enter the English political lexicon until the Exclusion crisis, but stances espousing constitutional government, opposing absolutism, favouring toleration for protestants, and promoting a trade-oriented economics are identifiable long before. Terms such as "Whiggish" or "proto-Whig" are a useful shorthand for these positions in the 1660s and 70s.

to blossom, in anti-royalist tracts instead ploughs the population under into slavery. In both royal majesty reshapes the landscape, but whereas in Herrick it creates a garden of delight, in hostile representations it spreads pain and contagion. When the aesthetic of abundance returned with Charles II, disease came into satire in force, and along with it came the satirical language of debauchery.

Broadly speaking, the Restoration has long borne a reputation as a debauched historical era. Accusations of sexual excess against Charles I are conspicuously scant.² By contrast Charles II's extramarital liaisons and illegitimate children are well known, then and now. It is commonplace to see his inner circle – Buckingham, Dorset, Sedley, and Rochester among others – represented as careless libertines.³ Rochester especially has long been “appropriated for meditations on satire, morality, libertinism, and repentance.”⁴ The reputation of Restoration literature has followed a similar path. The rake comedies of Wycherley, Etherege, and Ravenscroft and the sexualized verse of Rochester and Behn are often enough held together as representative of “Restoration Literature,” however contemporary with the canonical works of Milton and Bunyan. Alexander Pope would later denounce the immoral Restoration court and crown for promoting “*Dullness*” and “*Obscenity*.”⁵ Whence comes such emphasis on the era's debauchery and sexuality?

The Restoration's festive sexuality merely seem prominent in contrast with the Protectorate, which receives the opposite treatment for “puritan” repression. These extremes of aristocratic debauchery and puritan repression alike may have been exaggerated in Whig

² Corns, *History*, 167.

³ See John Harold Wilson, *The Court Wits of the Restoration* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948).

⁴ Nicholas Fisher, and Matt Jenkinson “Rochester and the Specter of Libertinism,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70, no. 4 (2007): 537-52, 551-2.

⁵ Pope, “An Essay on Criticism,” in *Poems*, ed. Butt, 1:195-326, l. 532.

history, especially when an eighteenth-century political settlement, which represented itself as a more moderate monarchy, needed to exclude the possibility of a second Stuart Restoration. Contrast and bias notwithstanding, the representation of the Restoration as a period of aristocratic and literary libertinism has roots in some verifiable facts. Charles II was the parent of numerous illegitimate children, as was his long time mistress Barbara Palmer, Lady Castlemaine. Rochester did in fact die from complications of alcoholism and (likely) venereal disease. Many of the period's plays that were successful enough to become standards in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London stage are indeed sex comedies. Nonetheless, the generalization is faulty. Hostile representations magnified the individual excesses of such aristocrats as Rochester and Lady Castlemaine for polemical advantage. The moral dangers of a debauched Restoration state and culture were hotly debated in their own time amid questions of law, government, and church. Ecclesiastical polity, constitution, and economic wellbeing were debated in terms of what could be called political morality, analogous to the debates on political economy which Habermas identifies as the foundation of the eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere.⁶ Divines such as John Owen and Samuel Parker took for granted that a strong nation required a strong moral foundation while debating on that moral infrastructure.

Luxury was a corrupting force. Harrington warns that luxury will reduce a population to subservient effeminacy, as had supposedly already occurred in France.

Marvell's "The Mower against Gardens" decries "Luxurious man" for his hubristic

⁶ Neal Hackler, "From Stage to Page: Restoration Theatre and the Prose of Andrew Marvell" (MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2010), 40; for the relationship between political economy and the public sphere, see Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger & Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 28-9.

enclosure of nature's "wild and fragrant innocence" in exotic and depraved gardens.⁷ Milton also identifies luxury in the moral collapse before the flood. His description swells into what could also be a puritan's caricature of the excess that had provoked the English civil wars:

All was now turned to jollity and game,
To luxury and riot, feast and dance,
Marrying or prostituting, as befell,
Rape or adultery, where passing fair
Allured them; thence from cups to civil broils. (XI:714-18)

Milton had long voiced the commonplace that passions unbridled may issue in slavery and conflict, whether as dramatized in the charge against "lewdly-pampered Luxury" in his *Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle* (769-70) or his stern judgment in the Digression "that liberty sought out of season in a corrupt and degenerate age brought Rome itself into further slavery."⁸ But by the time *Paradise Lost* was published, his voice joined in what was a growing chorus against the corruptions ensuing from excess.

Importantly, such promiscuous "prostituting," "rape," and "adultery," as *Paradise Lost* has it, carries a close association with disease in seventeenth-century thought. Disease indicates moral failure. In the oppositional discourses that slowly re-emerged following the Restoration "honeymoon," disease became an idiom for political problems because of a longstanding conceptual relationship with morality, though the logic of that relationship varies. Publications had already used disease and cure as a metaphor for the pre-Restoration constitutional crises. Broadshets such as the anti-monarchical *A Cure for the State, or an Excellent Remedy Against the Apostacy of the Times* (1659) or Edward Matthews's vocally royalist *King Charles the II His Restitution: The Best Cure for Englands Confusion or A most Sovereign Salve for the healing the Sores of the three Nations* (March 1660) put that

⁷ Marvell, "The Mower against Gardens," in *Poems*, ed. Smith, 131-4, l. 1, l. 34.

⁸ John Milton, *History of Britain*, in *Prose Works*, ed. Wolfe, 5:449.

metaphor front and centre. Elsewhere affliction and healing contribute to more complex similes. The anonymous republican author of *A Common-Wealth or Nothing: or, Monarchy and Oligarchy Prov'd Parallel in Tyranny* (1659, dated June 14 by Thomason) uses a medical analogy against the returning monarchy and the collapsing military dictatorship:

might we not at this very juncture ... hope to preserve the Interest of the Commonwealth, though we put the absolute freedom of Election into the People's power? otherways, may not a Physitian force his Patient for the accomplishment of his cure? does not true Liberty stand in need sometimes of necessary limitations?⁹

Importantly, affliction is usually held as a sign of divine displeasure. Alarm (or smug satisfaction) over divine wrath informs many of the responses to the plagues in the Netherlands and England in the 1660s. Ludlow recalls the earliest post-Restoration episcopal ceremonies with an understanding that God expresses displeasure through His affliction of idolaters: “The only son of Sir Thomas Witherington, being sent by his father to pay his homadge to this idoll, in his journey was (by the just hand of the Lord) taken out of this life *by a violent feaver*.”¹⁰ For the father's idolatry, the “just” Lord inflicts punishment on the son and prevents an idolatrous ritual: Ludlow sees disease providentially, as the hand of God. From his apocalyptic view, poxes and plagues upon the ungodly and reprobate are retribution for their having dismantled the godly republic of the Interregnum.

Importantly, Ludlow's apocalyptic epidemiology is only slightly eccentric in comparison to more naturalistic seventeenth-century understandings of disease. Physicians also correlated medical distempers with moral excesses, albeit without adducing Ludlow's divine wrath. Even the more empirical Galenic and Paracelsian medicines theorized that disease bloomed by means of efficient causes. That syphilis was contracted through contact

⁹ *A Common-Wealth or Nothing: or, Monarchy and Oligarchy Prov'd Parallel in Tyranny* (London, 1659).

¹⁰ Ludlow, *A Voice from the Watch Tower*, 158 (emphasis original).

with infected bodies was well-known and easily observable, but classical, medieval, and Renaissance proto-theories of germs were little propagated because they were of little practical use. The material causes of disease were beyond the control of physicians, so treatment and prevention instead addressed efficient and secondary causes, “macro-phenomena,” such as emotion and environment.¹¹ The physician worked to control potentiality and prevent diseases from advancing to full symptomatic affliction. Whether disease was providential, divinely retributive, or a natural process, the symptoms of an affliction revealed the inner life of the afflicted. Because even the most naturalistic epidemiologies of contagion cited environmental and behavioural causes, satirists could link personal conduct, disease, and royalist high culture. Venereal diseases proved especially useful in this respect. The tendencies of such a moralist as Ludlow to amplify debauchery made royalism especially vulnerable to the political exploitation of these associations. In the 1620s and 30s, the playhouses were regularly closed when plague threatened.¹² Later, long exiles in France and the Netherlands exposed cavaliers to foreign infection. Syphilis famously disfigured William Davenant, the face of the Duke of York’s theatrical company; Suckling teases him for “a foolish mischance / That he had got lately travelling in France.”¹³ Anti-absolutist texts place special emphasis on French contagion when they decry the expanding influence of Louis XIV.

Restoration satire thus uses the pox as a literal accusation because it was viewed as a physical expression of character and conduct. By way of contrast, disease is also often theorized as a metaphor: to describe a thing as it is not. In Restoration satirical usage,

¹¹ Vivian Nutton, “The seeds of disease: An explanation of contagion and infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance,” *Medical History* 27 (1983): 1-34, 2.

¹² Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 136.

¹³ Sir John Suckling, “A Sessions of the Poets,” in *The Works of Sir John Suckling: The Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. Thomas Clayton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), ll. 46-7.

disease is more than metaphorical. (Metaphorical uses of diseases such as cancer or tuberculosis stigmatize the disease itself: resignation, hopelessness, repression, and dwindling vitality.¹⁴) Most Restoration satirists accuse specific persons of infection. Aristocrats are not compared to a pox that afflicts the nation: they have the pox, and they spread it. A metaphorical accusation could compare a political crisis to a sickness in the nation and a political expedient to a cure. When satirists use the pox symbolically, they are alleging literal infection in their targets. As the pox was understood as being effectively caused by moral distempers, that infection's outward symptoms signify moral decay. Satirical disease thus plays an opposite role to the fecundity, abundance, and growth to which royalist discourses appeal, as the pox sucks the life from the nation. Because of the relationship with sexually transmitted disease, debauchery was a severe threat to the moral health, political economy, and general safety of the nation. Nor are these representations of illness parts of allegorical representations or fictitious narratives, but instead allegations of literal infection in the bodies that form the corporate political whole. At issue in these satires is the moral implications of disease, and the social contexts in which satirists construct their attacks.

In some cases, disease is part of caricature or an archetype. Etherege's early play *The Comical Revenge, or, Love in a Tub* (1664) provides an example of the clap functioning as such a punch line. Dufoy, in the *dramatis personae* a "saucy" and "impertinent" Frenchman, is the fop and a cosmopolitan clown in the play's festive entourage. He repeatedly remarks on his own venereal disease, in a mix of direct, underhand, and offhand references that make his affliction fundamental to his character. This identity arises even in his response to his master's demand for urgent service: "I vil be ver quick begar; I am more

¹⁴ Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 25-6.

den half de Mercurié.”¹⁵ Dufoy’s disease emphasizes his uncouth, crude, and foreign aspects, which are the premise of many of the play’s jokes. But he is not only infected: he is drunk, lazy, violent, and blasphemous. His impertinence puts him at odds with the other (English) characters, who take revenge on him, organizing a humiliation in a tub. Disease in Dufoy is written into his debauchery, irreligion, and irreverence. Moral and physical corruptions are contiguous elements of a single personality. As a manservant to a knight, Dufoy stands in for the spread of disease and the Frenchification of the aristocracy and the upwardly-mobile gentry. He is in England at the behest of his urbane master, and is thereby a distinctly imported threat. That threat serves as a recognizable aspect of a particular anti-social caricature: disruptive, un-English, and deserving of ridicule.

In satires, the twin themes of debauchery and imported disease played the more serious role of contesting Stuart abundance. Renewed Stuart panegyrics at the Restoration anticipated further stability built on royal fertility and monarchical continuity. But anti-royalist writing, which had previously responded to the memory of the 1630s in the language of excess and appetite, now expands those categories to include sexual excess and debauchery. In the Restoration works of Milton, Marvell and others, plagues, poxes, venereal diseases, miscarriages, and stillbirths mix with transgressive and depraved acts, which as a whole are symptomatic of illness in nation and state. Oppositional writers note growing concern for the immoral and illegal conduct of the Stuarts and their companions. For satirists and the writers of anti-monarchical tracts, the centres of debauchery and disease were the courtly circles of King Charles II and his brother James, Duke of York. The

¹⁵ George Etherege, *The Comical Revenge*, in *The Plays of Sir George Etherege*, ed. Michael Cordner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), V.5, ll. 41-2.

dissolution of kingly “honour” and “virtue” in the pursuit of luxury and debauchery threatened rule and law.¹⁶

The general desire for stability depended on lawful monarchical heredity, which in turn might seem to depend on the values of virtuous marriage as had been promoted by Charles I and Henrietta Maria. But seventeenth-century libertine thought, at least in its most recognizable form, is philosophically hostile to those traditional and sacramental values. The famous rakes of the Restoration stage rail against marriage, even if they ultimately succumb to it in (nearly) all such comedies. Those ranting speeches may have been modelled on real conversations. Pepys records well-informed episodes, somewhere between anecdote and rumour, attributing such behaviour and values to the ruling aristocracy as early as 7 October 1660:

To my Lord's and dined with him; he all dinner time talking French to me and telling me the story how the Duke of Yorke hath got my Lord Chancellors daughter with child, and that she doth lay it to him, and that for certain he did promise her marriage and had signed it with his blood, but that he by stealth had got the paper out of her Cabinet. And that the King would have him to marry her, but that he will not. So that the thing is very bad for the Duke and them all; but my Lord doth make light of it, as a thing that he believes is not a new thing to the Duke to do abroad. Discoursing concerning what if the Duke should marry her, my Lord told me that among his father's many old sayings that he had writ in a book of his, this is one: that he that doth get a wench with child and marries her afterward it is as if a man should shit in his hat and then clap it upon his head. (1:260-1)

Here we get a glimpse of an aristocratic libertine's attitudes toward sex, marriage, and paternity: a farce worthy of Etherege, Wycherly, or Behn, except that the actors are James, Duke of York, Ann Hyde, and the king himself. The whole episode is relayed by Pepys's patron, the Master of the Great Wardrobe and Privy Counsellor Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. Even though this passage withholds any harsher censure such as that found in

¹⁶ Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 19-20.

Marvell's later reflections on Ann Hyde's fertility (below), Pepys appears troubled by the event. And even though it lacks the Advice-to-a-Painter poems' harsh accusations of infertility and barrenness, Sandwich's *laissez-faire* attitude towards illegitimate children, as well as the Duke of York's oath-breaking schemes in and out of his mistress's bed, suggests ambivalence about legitimate propagation and hostility to moral prescription. As primogeniture depends on legitimate marriage, so the stability of patriarchal institutions is undermined by the pleasures of powerful men and women.

Nor of course is this Pepys's only remark on debauchery at the highest levels of the court. He intently follows the stories of Barbara Palmer, Lady Castlemaine, later the Duchess of Cleveland, and her relationships with the king and the duke. A few months before Sandwich's comments on Ann Hyde, Pepys remarks of "great doings of Musique at the next house, which was Whallys; the King and Dukes there with Madam Palmer, a pretty woman that they have a fancy to to [sic] make her husband a cuckold" (13 July 1660, 1:199). Later he records the king and duke in irreligious conduct in "White-hall Chappell, where one Dr Crofts made an indifferent sermon and after it an anthemne, ill sung, which made the King laugh Here I also observed how the Duke of Yorke and Mrs Palmer did talke to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit" (14 October 1660, 1:265-6). That on 23 July 1661 Pepys refers to Barbara Palmer as "the King's mistress," even while the queen, Catherine of Braganza, is en route to England, shows that Charles's conduct was publicly known. By the following January, the king's relationship with Palmer had become a centre of courtly intrigue: "There are factions (private ones at Court) about Madam Palmer; but what it is about I know not. But it is something about the King's favour to her, now that the Queene is coming" (3:15). Gossip

soon reports growing tension between the king and the (now greatly pregnant) Lady Castlemaine:

Here Sarah [Sandwich's housekeeper] told me how the King dined at my Lady Castlemayne and supped every day and night the last week. And that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queenes arrivall, the King was there; but there was no fire at her [Castlemayne's] door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed. (3:87)

But the tensions between the king and his mistress are soon resolved: "my Lady Castlemayne is still as great with the King and that the King comes often to her as ever he did. At which, God forgive me, I am well pleased" (3:132). On 16 July 1662, the drama reached a public climax:

This day I am told that my Lady Castlemayne (being quite fallen out with her husband) did yesterday go away from him with all her plate, Jewells and other best things; and is gone to Richmond to a brother of hers; which I am apt to think was a design to get out of town, that the King might come at her the better. But strange it is, how for her beauty I am willing to conster all this to the best and to pity her wherein it is to her hurt, though I know well enough she is a whore. (3:139)

Pepys is of two minds in respect to this ongoing courtly gossip. On one hand he views it as a drama with compelling characters, but his repeated expression of how he is "troubled," or his imploring that "God forgive" him for that sympathy underscores that such behaviour is neither innocent nor normal.

Pepys further observes that others are troubled by these unfolding events: the private pleasures of the king's closet have public consequences. The rumours of these affairs spread, and they sour general opinion against the king. Pepys perceives these disturbing excesses as spoiling any good will for the queen's arrival on 15 May 1662: "But I do not see much thorough joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt" (3:83). Other remarks show the extent to which courtly debauchery disturbs the public: "He [Mr.

Pickering] tells me plainly of the vices of the Court, and how the pox is as common there, and so I hear of all hands, that it is as common as eating and swearing” (2:170). As expected in the medicine of the day, where debauchery and profanity go, the pox is soon to follow. While such sexuality is not itself “disease,” Restoration satirists exploit that same disorderly carnality. In the case of the venereal diseases and poxes so often represented by Marvell and others, those efficient causes are the illicit sex and debauchery that Pepys finds so disturbing. Vice is not merely such activity as carries increased risk of venereal disease; it is the literal cause thereof. So, while “great epidemic diseases infected members of an afflicted community,”¹⁷ they also identify members of that community as debauched.

In 1659-60, opponents of Restoration warned that the return of monarchy would bring also the return of dreaded luxury. Milton in *The Readie and Easie Way* (February 1660, revised April) emphasizes the crippling cost and moral decadence of courtly aristocracy. With the return of the Stuarts, London, set once to become the new Roman republican utopia, now seems destined to mimic Juvenal’s dystopian vision or a popish Babel.¹⁸ Milton’s satirical approach shows far more aggression in controversy than a decade earlier in *Eikonoklastes*. That regicide pamphlet took a comparatively moderate approach to disputes over metaphors and the connotations of abundance and excess. There Milton had resisted direct exchanges with the royalist position, instead animadverting on the details of *Eikon Basilike*’s argument, and only more casually rethinking the King’s own metaphors. But with *The Readie and Easie Way*, Milton stands among the few who explicitly and aggressively write against the crown on the very eve of the Restoration. Milton now sets

¹⁷ Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, 37.

¹⁸ Paul Stevens, “Lament for a Nation? Milton’s *Readie and Easie Way* and the Turn to Satire,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), especially 595, 604.

dignified reason aside in favour of attacks on Charles Stuart, primogeniture, and courtly monarchy, which he sees as compromising the puritan liberties for which England had suffered through the civil wars.

Certainly *The Readie and Easie Way*, like *Eikonoklastes*, emphasizes that Stuart excess has the potential to impoverish the nation. But *The Readie and Easie Way* makes this accusation an attack on the court as institution rather than subordinating it to the history of the civil wars. Milton's ideal free commonwealth is composed of godly public servants who govern "at thir own cost and charges ...Whereas a king must be ador'd like a Demigod, with a dissolute and haughtie court about him, of vast expense and luxurie, masks and revels."¹⁹ The extravagant cost of maintaining a festive court is not merely financial. The moral damage to the nation is the greater hazard of such a court, because luxury corrupts, "debaushing of our prime gentry both male and female; not in their pasetimes only, but in earnest, by the loos imploiments of court service, which will then be thought honourable" (7:425). To normalize luxury would transmit these values to the nation at large. In probable recollection of Henrietta Maria, he warns against an expected queen, "of no less charge; in most likelihood outlandish and a Papist; besides a queen mother such already; together with both thir courts and numerous train: then a royal issue, and ere long severally thir sumptuous courts" (7:425). The additions of the queen and potential heir multiply the problems as both will demand their own courts, which prediction proved more or less accurate.²⁰ The "Popery" of the future queen, like that of the Queen Mother Henrietta Maria (notorious for

¹⁹ John Milton, *The Readie and Easie Way* (Second Edition), in *Prose Works*, ed. Wolfe: 7:396-463, 7:425.

²⁰ Annabel Patterson, "Milton as Political Prophet," in *Milton and Questions of History: Essays by Canadians Past and Present*, ed. Mary Ellen Nyquist and Feisal G. Mohamed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 254-5.

her extravagant train, which included dwarves and an array of exotic pets²¹), increases the dangers. Milton's strategy is a simple inversion of the key features of Caroline propaganda. What had once been positively connoted pastoral growth and wealth, he now construes as "expense," "luxurie," and "masks and revels," all sardonically part of "honourable" service in the court. These were encouraged by Charles I's work as an artistic patron and among those bounties for which nostalgic cavaliers pined.

Milton explodes the Caroline masques' case for lavish monarchy. In those earlier productions, luxury and magnificence argued for the king and court as fountainheads of general prosperity. But for Milton, rather than edifying national morality, high court culture flouts it. Courtly luxury creates public woe and distracts the oppressed populace from its own suffering:

As to the burden of expence, to our cost we shall soon know it; for any good to us, deserving to be term'd no better than the fast and lavish price of our subjection and their debaucherie; which we are now so greedily cheapening. [...The king] will have little els to do, but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties, to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of State, to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing don that can deserve it. (7:426)

This pomp summarizes perhaps Charles I's performance especially in *Salmacida Spolia* (1639/40), which was the gilded height of Caroline royal "pageantry." Those great masques, and those anticipated with the Restoration, are sites of vice and sin: avarice, pride, gluttony, and lust, at the least. Milton does not deny the abundance of the era of Charles I, but he argues that abundance was not widely shared. The concentration of national wealth in the king's "pompous" court created a wretched state for the "abject" English people. The

²¹ Diane Purkiss, *The English Civil War: A People's History* (London: Harper Press, 2006), 56; Caroline Hibbard "By Our Direction and For Our Use': The Queen's Patronage of Artists and Artisans through Her Household Accounts," in *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 131-7; also Gudrun Raatschen, "Merely Ornamental? Van Dyck's Portraits of Henrietta Maria," in *Henrietta Maria*, ed. Griffey, 158-63.

gardens celebrated in royalist panegyric were for the few. Indeed, these are the pleasures for which nostalgic cavaliers pined and which English aristocrats anticipated upon the Restoration. Moreover, *Eikon Basilike* had characterized luxury as a royal boon gone awry in over-consumption. Plenty was provided by the King for the people, but it initiated a gluttonous frenzy in the lower classes and ruined the nation. By contrast, in *The Readie and Easie Way* Milton represents luxury as fodder for aristocratic predators and as causing deprivation in the suffering multitude. These factors comprise the king's system of political control.

Milton also inverts the significance of fertility and growth as developed in royalist texts. *Eikon Basilike* and poets such as Herrick associate the king and the personal rule with gardens, flourishing, harvest, bread, and plenty. *The Readie and Easie Way* borrows the yoke from *Eikon Alethine* to imagine the "royalist plantation" instead as a symbol of oppression:

Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves, how thir necks yok'd with these tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching but the sweating-tub, inspir'd with nothing holier then the Venereal pox, can draw one way under monarchie to the establishing of church discipline with these new-disgorged atheismes: yet shall they not have the honor to yoke with these, but shall be yok'd under them; these shall plow their backs. (7:452-3)

A return to monarchy after the experiments of the 1650s is no retreat to a garden invigorated by a potent monarch, but rather an ill-guided pursuit of false hopes and empty promises.

Milton distorts the swine-ravaged plantations of *Eikon Basilike* to attach a sense of dread to monarchy's growth. These figures also contest the harvest of Stuart utopianism, as the yoke and plough evoke the classical iron age, in opposition to the new golden age proclaimed.

Then humanity produced food in toil, no longer thriving in paradisaal abundance. This plough reverses the spontaneous pastoral growth of Stuart abundance, and threatens tyranny

and oppression. Bacchus's association with wine competes with Naboth, the virtuous owner of the biblical vineyard much disputed in *Eikon Basilike*, *Eikon Alethine*, and *Eikonoklastes*.²² Wine and revelry accompany those predatory "tigers" which terrorize the populace, perhaps even devouring its flesh. If Parliament, as *Eikon Basilike* alleges, is an institution overrun with swine and foxes, Milton condemns the cavaliers as exotic and dangerous animals.

Their atheism and disease make these "fanatics" worse than their reformed protestant equivalents. The debauched "tigers" spend more time in treatment for their symptomatic syphilis ("the sweating-tub") than working to cure their moral diseases in church service ("the preaching ... tub"). Their "pox" separates them from supposed Stuart growth and increase, as that "pox" transmutes fertility into death. For Milton, the return of the Frenchified and Italianated aristocracy represents exposure to a geo-political syphilis. England had already once cured that "disease" with civil war: a too great cost. The consequence of the court is not growth, fertility, and fecundity, but rather disease and suffering. Milton aims to quash hopes of any approaching golden age. In aligning tyrannical monarchy with slavery, disease, and atheism, he discourages any association of the Stuart regime with pastoral fertility and abundance.

Many other documents surrounding the Restoration follow suit in characterizing kings and aristocrats as consumers rather than providers, although Milton's level of vituperation is seldom found in other Restoration examples. The swing in public favour from the Protectorate to the House of Stuart was significant. Anti-royalist claims decrease after Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658 and the failed politics of 1659. Public opinion was, if not strongly behind Charles II, openly hostile to his opponents. For example, Pepys records

²² See Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, in *Prose Works*, ed. Wolfe, 3:353; also Chapter I, above.

a memorable 7 February 1660 protest against the collapsing regime: “Mr Moore told me of a picture hung up at the exchange, of a great pair of buttocks shitting of a turd into Lawson’s mouth, and over it was writ ‘the thanks of the house’ Boys do now cry ‘kiss my parliament’ instead of ‘kis’s my arse,’ so great and general a contempt is the Rump come to among all men, good and bad” (1:45). More ominously, Ludlow recalls a threatening energy in the jubilant mobs that celebrated the king’s return:

I saw the army horse, and Browne and his troope, and severall others, riding with their swords drawne, and the cittizens of London with their pageantry; I lying concealed at a friend’s howse in Holborne. That night the debauched party through London manifested great joy that now they were in a way of enjoying their lusts without controle. And I observed a vintner, who set out a hogshhead of wyne, making those drink the king’s health who passed by, which good gentlewoman with whom I was, to avoid suspition of being disaffected (least by such jealousy her howse should be searched and I in danger of being seized on), causeth a fire to be made before her doore; this vice of drunkenness and debauchery being growne notorious.²³

What printer would take such a risk as producing an antimonarchical broadsheet in such a riotous royalist environment? And what disaffected roundhead would dare such a public protest as a song against the king? But Ludlow’s memoir also illustrates how royalist identity fits with fears of debauchery. As he sees it, the true joy of the king’s supporters is that there is no longer any moral authority over their “debauched lusts”: the vintner forces the liqueur of kingly jubilation on the passers-by, and a godly woman puts on a festive mask lest the mob’s glee turn to wrath against her house. For Ludlow, royalist sentiment is synonymous with the epidemic “vice of drunkenness” spreading through London.

Appropriately, much like the “gentlewoman” who hid Ludlow, anti-royalist arguments around the time of the Restoration wear a veil. The early denunciations of Charles II take a subtler tone than those texts of previous decades printed against his father. The six-ballad broadsheet entitled *The Noble Prodigal, or, The young Heir newly come to*

²³ Ludlow, *A Voyce from the Watch-Tower*, ed. Worden, 158.

*his Estate. Who very kindly doth invite you all, To feast upon his Father's funerall. A new Medly of six Ayres*²⁴ is one such attack. The date of this piece is uncertain: Wing suggests an imprint of 1670-1680, but the content suggests composition much closer to the Restoration. The first air is spoken by a young gentleman who has recently inherited his father's lands, which estate was gained "by Sequestration / till Oliver began / to come with bloody sword in hand." The speaker of the fourth, "*de French Monseieur*," refers to Cromwell's death and the possible Restoration of Charles II, "Dancing will be lookt upon, / Now de man of Yron is gone."

This songbook refrains from openly attacking monarchy or the Stuarts, but it promotes values common to the opposition. The songs are ambivalent toward Cromwell and his supposedly dour, authoritarian policies, but they join Ludlow's memoir in representing celebrations of England's new settlement as conspicuous consumption. The young gentleman of the first air implores, "Let's call and drink the Cellar dry" as he consumes his inheritance with vigor:

So by the Father come to the Son,
Whom wine and musick now do wait upon
He'll tipple up a tun, and drink your woes away,
Folly hearts come on come on.

As with the Restoration festivities, wine and music are suggestive of Charles II. But even if the king is not specifically intended in the son who indulges "in liberality" after his father's death under Cromwell's rule, the ballad makes claims against destructive overindulgence. Such complexity also informs the second air, which mixes the festive Restoration mood with underhanded jabs at the returning regime. The song opens and closes merrily, offering "a health" and "another bowl" to the titular heir and to his allies. It declares that "all the town

²⁴ *The Noble Prodigal, or, The Young Heir Newly Come to His Estate* (London, n.d.).

shall dance and sing” and anticipates “When we see this noble Spring, / Wee’l have the Ladies by the belly / and snatch at at o’ther thing [sic].” These are Restoration versions of Caroline *otium* – spring, drink, dance, and *amours*. And anxiety for the future increases across the page. The remainder of the sheet is more clearly disturbed by the Restoration events. The fourth and fifth airs, designated “French Tricatees,” pessimistically glance at international politics, while the sixth suggests religious controversy. In the fourth, a speaker with a French accent celebrates the day and gleefully anticipates future French influence in England, “When de flower de luces [*fleur des lis*] grows / With de English [sic] Crown and Rose.” The fifth personifies the continental powers and predicts league with catholic Spain, while Holland and Ireland watch, drink, and laugh.

The pressures of greed and luxury weigh heavily on authority figures in Ludlow’s memoir. On the eve of the Restoration, his biases expose a pattern of corruption in English leadership. Amid his memoirs of Monck’s strategic defection from the Council of State to the “Steward” cause he describes an award to Monck during that period of uncertain allegiance:

The Irish officers who now exercised both civill and military power, as a testimony of their acceptance of his good service in betraying the publique cause, present him [Monck] with a gold embroydered belt, a hat-band, spurrs, and a hilt of a sword of pure gold; a poor recompence for so prodigious treachery.²⁵

In the course of Ludlow’s recollections of those months, Monck transforms. That general, once an outwardly godly commander, is revealed as subject to hypocritical weaknesses that welcome golden adornments presented by popish agents of the ascendant monarch. In the mind of the puritan the traitor to popish absolutism is gilded. The looming figure of Charles Stuart serves for Ludlow as a corrosive force that undermines the unity and goodwill of the

²⁵ Ludlow, *A Voyce from the Watch-Tower*, ed. Worden, 93.

commonwealth. What is remarkable in this passage is that for Ludlow luxuries such as gold and embroidery become symbols of dread. Such signs of wealth usually emphasize positive features of Stuart government and prosperity. For Ludlow, the denotations remain the same but the connotations have reversed. The gold and wealth of the House of Stuart which elsewhere designate abundance, growth, and delight are for Ludlow emblematic of corruption, luxury, and greed.

This hostility to, or at least ambivalence about, debauched Stuart monarchy existed alongside continued metaphors of Stuart abundance in the Restoration. So even though “the cult of Charles the Martyr and the 30 January service” became “increasingly irrelevant to the reality of Restoration life,”²⁶ the festive royalist language of abundance persisted long after 1660. Oppositional texts are in a tiny minority. Most Restoration ballads and songs instead celebrate the return of that once-lost Stuart abundance, such as a song dated 4 April 1660 and addressed to Monck:

Your hands have curb'd the furious rage
Of Steele, and have restor'd our golden age,
This British Isle by nature fram'd to be
Of the great World the grand Epitome.²⁷

In two couplets, the song proposes the two central themes of early Stuart propaganda: the golden age and the paradisaical aspects of the island nation. The song thanks Providence for the island's security against “forragine Warres” by means of “Neptune circling in his briny armes,” and it mourns that the nation was assailed from within and “Rent her owne Bowels.”

The formal panegyrics of the Restoration by Robert Wild, Edmund Waller, John Dryden, and others, seize on such tropes of abundance in celebrating the new Stuart era.

²⁶ Potter, “The Royal Martyr in the Restoration,” in *The Royal Image*, ed. Corns, 247.

²⁷ *A Song to His Excellency the Ld. General Monck at Skinners-Hall on Wednesday Aprill 4, 1660* (London, 1660).

Wild's *Iter Boreale* (1660) characterizes the Interregnum as a time of want and suffering separating ages of mythical plenty. He describes the destruction of the Caroline regime in the language of gluttony, with close echoes of *Eikon Basilike*:

The Church's patrimony and rich store
 Alas was swallow'd many years before.
 Bishops and deans we fed upon before
 (They were the ribs and sirloins of the Whore);
 Now let her legs, the priests go to the pot
 (They have the Pope's eye in them – spare them not!)
 We have fat benefices yet to eat –
 Bel and our Dragon army must have meat.²⁸

A healthy church, fattened by the abundance and fertility of the personal rule, is butchered for the sake of conspicuous consumption and destruction. “That meteor Cromwell” (l. 87) gives light but only to act as the harbinger of Mosaic plagues: “lice,” “caterpillars,” “frogs,” “lightning, hail, fire, and thunder,” “rivers into blood” that “fell / not on an Egypt, but our Israel” (ll. 94-106). This desolate Interregnum ends with Charles II's imminent return, which comes from an abundant sea that pays homage to the restored natural order:

The joyful ship shall dance, the sea shall laugh,
 And loyal fish their master's health shall quaff.
 See how the dolphins crowd and thrust their large
 And scaly shoulders to assist the barge;
 The peaceful kingfishers are met together
 About the decks and prophesy calm weather;
 Poor crabs and lobsters have gone down to creep,
 And search for pearls in the deep;
 And when they have the booty, crawl before,
 And leave them for his welcome to the shore. (ll. 360-9)

In this sprawling claim for abundance, the natural harmony that returns with traditional kingship signals the end of the state's desertification. The sea itself celebrates the harmonious order of the Restoration, and marine creatures give a festive response like that

²⁸ Robert Wild, “*Iter Boreale*,” in *Poems on Affairs of State; Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, 7 vols., ed. George deF. Lord (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 1:3-19, ll. 194-201.

which London would soon see. The fish drink and cheer. The kingfisher/halcyon is the harbinger of the calm so often associated with the 1630s. Even the lowliest sea creatures spontaneously offer wealth as tribute (“pearls,” “booty”). The three factors in concert herald an end to the repressive sobriety, persistent war, and economic woes of the 1650s. Bounty and joy emerge from the king’s mere presence, not requiring any strategy, planning, or action.

Waller too commemorates England’s rebirth in the rebuilding of the public landscape. *On St. James’s Park, as lately improved by His Majesty* (1661) adapts the themes of a pastoral golden age into a panegyric prospect of the recently renovated and publicly opened park. Its opening lines quietly reflect on the fall and rebirth of an English golden age by comparing the new park to lost Eden (“Of the first Paradise there’s nothing found”²⁹). Waller uses Eden as an analogy to identify the renovation of St. James’s park as a symbol for England’s post-civil war reconstruction. While his analogy is brief, it draws attention to an important historical parallel: as Eden was lost through pride and disobedience, so was the Caroline ideal. The park represents England’s new golden age, a recovery from a fall.

This Eden analogy sets up Waller’s actual description of the new St. James’s Park, a space that he sees as constructed in geometrical harmony, centred on the king. That first view of the park contextualizes the newly rebuilt canal from the Thames as a shadow of Eden’s rivers, whereby the sea “Pays tribute to our prince’s pleasures” (l. 8). This canal is the epicentre of abundance: the idealized order of the park draws on the older panegyric tradition. The king guides the trees into “even ranks” along the canal with skill exceeding that of the mythological city-founding musicians Orpheus and Amphion. The proclamations

²⁹ Waller, “On St. James’s Park, as Lately Improved by his Majesty,” in *Poems*, ed. Thorn-Drury, 168-72, l. 1.

of “this paradise” – with a lower-case “p” – identify the park as Eden’s best postlapsarian surrogate and a specifically royal retreat. Such an emphasis repeats the diction of, for example, Bushell’s 1634 songbook to Charles I and Henrietta Maria. The park is a space of “increase,” and pastoral plenty with its “flocks,” fishes,” “feast,” “feed,” and “rich fruit trees” with “loaded branches.” The park thus recalls the palatial royal bowers of the golden age:

Bold sons of earth that thrust their arms so high
 As if once more they would invade the sky
 In such green palaces the first kings reigned,
 Slept in their shades, and angels entertained. (ll. 69-70)

This natural palace, which thrives on the king’s invigorating energy, provides a space for his solitary meditation on state affairs: “Here, free from court compliances he walks / And with himself, his best adviser, talks” (ll. 15-6). The king, left to his own devices – free of parliamentary noise – plans for the nation’s good. That energy is then in turn passed from the perfection of the park to the weal of the nation at large.

With a similar emphasis, Waller depicts the king as an example of masculinity and fertility, and again those energies seem to influence the park’s other inhabitants. The park is active with arguably “strangely sexless couples” who engage in pastoral delights and tasteful (if not always chaste) trysts.³⁰ These leisurely pastoral *amours*, an idealized form of courtship, are yet another feature of the park’s perfect landscape: “Methinks I see the love that shall be made, / The lovers walking in that amorous shade” (ll. 23-4). These ladies and gallants enjoy both winter and summer activities among the natural and mythological features: “a thousand Cupids,” “the gallants dancing by the river’s side / They bathe in summer, and in winter slide,” “wanton sailors,” and “ladies, angling in the crystal lake,” who

³⁰ Mark McDayter, “‘Some Lov’d Fold of Aretine’: Genre, Intertextuality, and St James’s Park in the Late Seventeenth Century,” *Seventeenth Century* 11 (1996): 229-58, 244.

“make the fishes, and the men, their prize” (ll. 21-35). The *eros* of the park surrounds the king, who amid these activities, and in the middle lines of the poem, plays pall mall.

Waller’s portrait emphasizes the king’s physique, health, and virility:

Here, a well-polished Mall gives us the joy
To see our Prince his matchless force employ;
His manly posture, and his graceful mien,
Vigor and youth, in all his motions seen;
His shape so lovely, and his limbs so strong,
Confirm our hopes we shall obey him long. (ll. 57-62)

The praise here verges on caricature – the king’s “matchless force” in striking the ball is like a cannon, a dubious simile given the pastoral and leisurely aspects of the scene. But Waller is able to praise the king as potent, virile, and masculine while sidestepping the rising unease about aristocratic debauchery and carefully avoiding any mention of paternity. Charles II had in his youth and exile already gained a reputation as a libertine and was known already to have fathered illegitimate children. Waller emphasizes rather a long, and presumably stable, reign. Any concern for Charles II’s youthful transgressions is forgotten in his transformation into a legitimate father to his nation: “No private passion does indulgence find; / The pleasures of his youth suspended are, / And made a sacrifice to public care” (ll. 112-4). The obvious inference from this suspension of “private passion” is a greater care for statecraft. Fatherhood and succession remain in the subtext, hinted in the association of the king and park with *eros*, in the emphasis on Charles II as a specimen of masculinity, and in the quiet acknowledgment of his libertine past. Perhaps owing to rumours that Charles II would name James Scott *né* Fitzroy (later created Duke of Monmouth) as his legitimate heir, *On St. James’s Park* refrains from anticipating the birth of any future kings. Waller had previously suffered because of his panegyrics to successive rulers, so such tact skirts future embarrassment amid uncertainty.

Dryden's Restoration panegyrics also draw on the golden-age materials of the 1630s, with more emphasis on the mythological substance of the great Caroline masques and the arguments of Cavalier nostalgia than on the pastoral *otium* that Waller prefers. A return to a golden age is the stated theme of Dryden's *Astræa Redux: a Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second* (1660) in that the departure of Astræa, the Roman aspect of Justice, signified the end of Saturn's golden age, and so her return renews it.³¹ Like the nostalgic poetry of the 1640s and 50s, Dryden depicts the Interregnum as a fall and the Restoration as a rise. Unlike the losses mourned in royalist nostalgia, this moment gives Dryden the opportunity to celebrate the consummation of longing. The golden age of the Personal Rule has returned, and the figure of Astræa puts this proclamation in the language of the Caroline masque, especially *The Triumph of Peace*, where she had also appeared. A general pining for the stability of the personal rule informed attitudes during the "Tempest" (l. 8) of the Interregnum: "Youth that with Joys had unacquainted been / Envy'd gray hairs that once good days had seen."³² Following the king's defeat and the regicide, the nation fell into want, owing to those excesses of "Faction" (l. 22) which led the commons to squander their inherited English plenty as they had violated the divine right of kings: "We thought our sires, not with their own content, / Had ere we came to age our portion spent" (ll. 27-8).

Dryden's narrative of a fall and a rise validates the faith of the cavaliers amid the appearance of Parliamentary triumph. The return of the Stuarts was an inevitable, natural force, which was always in process and approaching, despite the absence of any visible

³¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I:89-150.

³² John Dryden, *Astræa Redux*, in *The Poems of John Dryden*, 5 vols., ed. Paul Hammond (London: Longman, 1995), 1:36-54, ll. 25-6.

cause for hope. After the age of lack, the shifting opinions that allowed the Restoration are likened to the minute changes which precede spring:

So on us stole our blessed change, while we
Th' effect did feel, but scarce the manner see.
Frosts that constrain the ground, and birth deny
To flowers, that in the womb expecting lie,
Do seldom their usurping power withdraw.
But raging Floods pursue their hasty Thaw.
Our Thaw was mild, the cold not chas'd away,
But lost in kindly heat of lengthened day. (ll. 128-36)

The Interregnum was a winter, and the Restoration its spring. Dryden praises Charles II's Restoration in particular for its peaceful ("mild") aspects. Because of Charles II's inherent qualities as "The Prince of Peace" (l. 138), England is able to achieve "A Gift" (l. 139), a settlement managed without the thaw of that spring producing more "raging Floods" of violent upheaval. Again here, as in the panegyrics and nostalgic elegies for Charles I, the king is capable of bestowing peace by fiat, which in the metaphor for spring (and again echoing *The Triumph of Peace*) is the necessary prerequisite of the growth, plenitude, and bounty of the forthcoming golden age.

The returning king thus assumes his role as the centre of the natural and geographical orders: "As you meet it, the land approacheth you" (l. 253). The poem ends by anticipating the renewal of such wealth and stability as had been lost in the 1640s:

Your much-loved fleet shall with a wide command
Besiege the petty monarchs of the land:
And as old Time his offspring swallowed down,
Our ocean in its depths all seas shall drown.
Their wealthy trade from pirates' rapine free,
Our merchants shall no more adventurers be. (ll. 300-305)

With the king again protecting the state, the English are free to turn the navy to trade rather than to naval warfare, and wealth will once again grow. But the return of that Justice is not a

full-fledged return to the paradisaical *otium* of the lost golden age. In Dryden's new England, wealth is no longer spontaneous. In appealing to trade and commerce, Dryden establishes that the king's "halcyon" peace merely provides the necessary conditions for the nation to prosper again through industry.

The nuances of Dryden's Stuart panegyrics are put into clear relief against his (and others') contribution to *Three Poems on the Death of his Late Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector* (1659). Cromwell's poetic identity is the opposite of the Stuarts'. He was popularly known as "Ironsides," playing on a metal associated with the mythological age of toil as opposed to the Stuart association with more paradisaical gold. Cromwellian tributes emphasize war and victory, unlike royalist proclamations of peace. Dryden includes in his elegiac "Heroicque Stanza's" the basic stuff of Stuart panegyric – gold, peace, and growth – but with much different inflection than his future poems for the king. Gold is metaphorical instead of present, part of a simile for Cromwell's virtues:

'Tis true, his Count'nance did imprint an awe,
And naturally all souls to his did bow;
As *wands of Divination* downward draw
And point to Beds where Sov'raign Gold doth grow. (sta. 19)

Rather than wealth, the golden aspect is the glory of Cromwell as an inspirational leader. Later in his elegy, Dryden emphasizes the luxurious dangers of wealth, drawing attention to its possibilities as a corrosive force: "We trac'd the farre-fetchd Gold unto the mine / And that which brib'd our fathers made our prize" (sta. 31). Like Ludlow, Dryden here acknowledges that gold can be a symbol of decadence and moral decay, but he claims that Cromwell's virtuous leadership helped England to overcome that temptation. Additionally Dryden further reconsiders the meaning of the halcyon's peace. In Stuart verse, that peace accompanies those kings. Here, it follows after Cromwell's death:

No Civill broyles have since his death arose,
 But *Faction* now by Habit does obey:
 And *Warrs* have that respect for his repose,
 As *Winds* for *Halcyons* when they breed at Sea. (sta. 36)

Again, a figure of Stuart plenitude appears, but it is subordinated to a figurative place in a simile. Cromwell does not provide peace; war ceases as a result of his departure. Dryden thus carefully distances Cromwell from the finer points of the aesthetic of abundance that elsewhere – earlier and later – support the Stuart cause.

Moreover Spratt's and Waller's contributions to *Three Poems* circumvent the usual Stuart imagery in commemorating Cromwell. Spratt's Pindaric ode "To the Happie Memory of the most Renowned Prince, Oliver" distinguishes Cromwell and the Protectorate from familiar golden age rhetoric with a number of mythological references. Cromwell enforces (rather than provides) peace in the biblical figure of swords turned into ploughshares: "The husbandman no Steel should know / None but the usefull Iron of the plow."³³ Again, iron, especially the iron of the plough, conventionally opposes (Stuart) gold. Cromwell's regime provides for the people not in golden age spontaneous abundance, but instead through virtuous georgic labour. Spratt repeats this distinction explicitly: "Heaven did by thee bestow / On us at once an Iron Age, and Happy too" (25). Such Cromwellian glory further relies on imagery of ships and trumpets (25-7), which innovation Ovid explicitly excludes from the golden age in his mythological account. Waller is yet farther from the Stuart mode. His much briefer thirty-four line poem is distinctly un-halcyon as it emphasizes primarily Cromwell's successes as a conqueror by comparing his victories to the storm that raged in

³³ Thomas Spratt, "To the Happie Memory of the Most Renowned Prince, Oliver Lord Protector, &c: Pindarick Ode," in *Three Poems Upon the Death of his late Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1659), 19.

England the night of his death. Cromwell may have snuffed “civill Broyls,” but “Martiall rage” certainly continued under his leadership.

Lastly, in Marvell’s “A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector” (intended for but removed from *Three Poems*), Cromwell transcends the terms of Stuart abundance. Marvell does not avoid associating Cromwell with the peace, growth, and pastoral imagery common to Stuart panegyric, but he subverts Cromwell’s relationship to those figures. Cromwellian peace is not a natural, spontaneous consequence of his rule or presence, but rather the reward of diligent labour:

But long his valour none had left that could
 Indanger him, or clemency that would.
 And he whom Nature all for peace had made,
 But angry heaven unto war had swayed.³⁴

This English peace is not the result of an allegorical formula in which the royal gaze gives rise to spontaneous peace, law, and justice. Cromwell’s virtues – valour and clemency – create peace by cowing his enemies and swaying opponents to his cause. Even his warlike aspects are subordinate to a supposedly peaceful nature, in that the conflict and war of his rule is credited to “Providence” (l. 1) and “angry heaven” (l. 16) rather than to any Cromwellian bloodthirstiness. The “peace” that Cromwell enjoys is death, which is his soldierly *otium*: “Here ended all his mortal toils: he laid / And slept in peace under the laurel shade” (ll. 155-6). Perhaps like the Stuarts in the grotto of Thomas Bushell, or the elysian garden to which Venus rushes Francis Villiers, Cromwell enjoys an arcadian rest; unlike the Stuarts, he only enjoys the *otium* of a “laurel shade” once his mortal duty is complete. Other figures of (Stuart) arcadianism – “Cynthia,” “stags,” and “sheep” which “delight the grassy downs to pick” – honour Cromwell, but they are not dependent on him for existence.

³⁴ Marvell, “A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector,” in *Poems*, ed. Smith, 299-312, ll. 14-17

Marvell instead uses them as symbols of time and eternity to emphasize the endurance of Cromwell's fame: "As long as future time succeeds the past, / Always thy honour, praise, and name, shall last" (ll. 282-6). Evidently, poets found it prudent to deploy similar materials with different inflections in praising rival governments.

When Dryden employs idyllic figures for celebrating a renewed Stuart golden age, it is no simple convention of praise or matter of personal style. His coronation panegyric, *To His Sacred Majesty* (1661), draws significantly on the halcyon pastoralism of the century's early and middle decades. Here, perhaps more so than anywhere else, the rhetoric of Restoration revives the old royalist discourse of abundance. As his coronation approaches, Charles II becomes even more of a divine agent of mercy and plenty than in *Astræa Redux*:

But this untainted year is all your own,
Your glories may without our crimes be shown.
We had not yet exhausted all our store
When you refreshed our joys by adding more:
As heaven of old dispensed celestial dew,
You give us manna and still give us new.³⁵

And in a later quatrain which much echoes Herrick's praise of Charles I, Charles II invigorates the now-fecund natural world: "opened scenes of flowers and blossoms bring / To grace this happy day" (ll. 30-1). Dryden further connects the Restoration to cavalier nostalgia. The prosperity so idealized becomes the guarantee of prosperity to come: "We know those blessings which we must possess, / And judge of future by past happiness" (ll. 71-2). Dryden employs the rhetoric of the past to create continuity with the present, and to further argue the benefits of Stuart monarchy.

The poem then lauds the nigh-universal forgiveness of the Act of Oblivion as the guide to future peace. The king's "rare temper" is commended: "tis our king's perfection to

³⁵ Dryden, *To His Sacred Majesty*, in *Poems*, ed. Hammond, 1:55-61, ll. 19-24.

forget” (ll. 85-88). The speaker argues that vengeance can play no part in peace, which peace is a necessary requisite for the plenty and abundance that the figure of the king offers, an echo of the Caroline masques. The conclusion connects these various threads by applying to Charles II and his future queen the early Caroline rhetoric of fertility:

From your loved Thames a blessing yet is due,
 Second alone to that it brought in you;
 A queen, from whose chaste womb, ordained by Fate,
 The souls of Kings unborn for bodies wait.
 It was your love before made discord cease:
 Your love is destined to your country’s peace. (ll. 117-22)

In situating peace in the royal marriage and anticipated heirs, Dryden sets Charles and Catherine as the doubles of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. The new king and queen will, as doubles of their predecessors, provide fecundity, prosperity, and the stability of a fertile royal family. That Dryden, Marvell, Waller, and Spratt avoid these terms for Cromwell’s panegyric elegies shows that these poets at least reserved them, at least implicitly, for the Stuarts.

Because of the degree to which abundance had penetrated poetic accolades, those tropes also became the matter from which the potent state satires of the 1660s were wrought. Marvell was arguably the most formidable verse satirist of that decade. His pre-eminence in that field was so complete that many state satires were later attributed to him in a process of “mythologizing” at and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9,³⁶ and scholars must yet sift his work from imitations of “Marvellian” libel. Those harsh critiques, held as brutally honest reflections of his subject matter, contributed to Marvell’s posthumous reputation as the quintessential country Whig. Marvellian political satires expose mismanagement of state and encroachment of tyranny. When taking aim at Stuart institutions those satires attack

³⁶ Nicholas von Maltzahn, “Marvell’s Ghost,” in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. Dzelzainis and Cherniak, 67.

along the lines of courtly abundance and excess that royalist panegyrics revived with the Restoration and invert the basic terms of praise. The ruling class and court culture are debauched rather than virtuous. Bodies are diseased rather than potent. Marriages are sterile and illicit rather than fertile and virtuous. In his satirical verse – the *Advice-to-a-Painter* poems especially – aristocratic bodies are so riddled with literal diseases that the nation suffers the effects. But Marvell is less optimistic than Restoration pamphleteers of any possible cure. In *Etherege* the infected can be cast out: Dufoy is a loud but powerless figure. But the afflicted aristocrats of Marvellian libels are more deeply entrenched.

Marvell's earliest known state satire, *The Second Advice to a Painter* (1666), already makes heavy use of disease against its aristocratic targets. The aim of *The Second Advice* is to criticize failures in naval leadership in the 3 June 1665 Battle of Lowestoft of the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Although an English victory, Marvell identifies troubling trends. Unlike Waller's original *Advice to a Painter*, which Marvell here parodies, the scenario is more complicated than a two-sided scheme in which the Dutch are clear foes: "[Marvell's] poem is notable for its equivocation: the Dutch are less reviled than the representatives of English corruption."³⁷ In his sketch of the incident, Marvell alleges infection in the cases of Prince Rupert of the Rhine and of Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, the fleet commanders in that engagement. First, the often-praised Prince Rupert leads the deadly battle that results in the death of England's bravest officers, which lapse in valour Marvell credits to the prince's venereal disease:

Rupert that knew not fear, but health did want,
Kept state suspended in a chaise-volante.
All save his head, shut in that wooden case,
He show'd but like a broken weather-glass:
Curst in the meantime be that trait'ress Jael

³⁷ Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 331.

That through his princely temples drove the nail!³⁸

Rupert's "health wants" because of a hurt brought about by a woman. The "chaise-volante" which encloses his entire body, "save his head," is evocative of the mercuric sweating tub, the same treatment for syphilis to which Milton had alluded in *The Readie and Easie Way* and which Dufoy had played on in *The Comical Revenge*. This allegation against the prince was not peculiar to Marvell: Pepys records it on 12 January 1665 (6:12).³⁹ As venereal diseases indicate lust and excessive passion, to credit the prince's failure to that affliction is to accuse him of lust and lechery. The prince's disease proves fatal to his subordinates, who are killed in the battle. Though not lacking in courage ("Rupert resolved to fight it like a lion," l. 101), his attempts to lead while so "suspended" prove disastrous: "Rupert did others and himself excel: / Holmes, Tyddiman, Myngs; bravely Sansum fell" (ll. 227-8). It is possible, given Cooke's 1726 claim of "Intimacy" between Rupert and Marvell,⁴⁰ that the tone of this passage is teasing rather than castigating Rupert for his disease, imagining it as a misfortune arising from sophisticated play. In such a case, Marvell would be displacing some blame for Rupert's failures in command onto the disease, as to not undermine his "lion"-like ally's famed valour.

Marvell uses yet harsher language of infection to castigate the Earl of Sandwich's breach of public trust. Sandwich takes refuge in Spain after violating his diplomatic colours by pillaging a Dutch fortune from the Indies:

He meets the French, but, to avoid all harms,
Slips to the Groin (embassies bear not arms!)
There let him languish a long quarantine,
And ne'er to England come till he be clean. (ll. 313-6)

³⁸ Marvell, *The Second Advice to a Painter*, in *Poems*, ed. Smith, 329-43, ll. 91-100.

³⁹ Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 335, n91.

⁴⁰ Thomas Cooke, "The Life of Andrew Marvell, esq.," in Marvell, *The Works of Andrew Marvell Esq.* (London, 1726), 10-11.

The actual cause for Sandwich's quarantine was the plague; here Marvell suggests however that the quarantine owes to some too-close contact with French forces. Sandwich's duty here was to harry the Dutch fleet, vulnerable after having been separated by storms. It was only after assuming diplomatic colours and the mark of a plague ship that Sandwich engages the Dutch, gaining an advantage and seizing two treasure ships through deceit and treachery. Sandwich also lined his own pockets in the process. The corruption of the incident is contiguous with the contagious aspects of the vignette. The combined Gallic and sexual points ("Groin," which is sailor's slang for Corunna, Spain⁴¹) suggest that Sandwich's affliction here is syphilis (*morbus gallicus*) rather than the plague. This poxed courtier follows his selfish appetites and supports French interests without regard for duty, honour, or the law.

Neither in this case nor in Rupert's does Marvell present the disease as metaphor: the prince and the earl are said to carry literal ailments that have clear associations with vice. The diseases, not the accusations, carry the satirical power. Rupert's and Sandwich's disease follows from aristocratic immorality. These two nobles' respective failures in duty come as its direct result, and that disease is symptomatic of their depravities and moral failures. The aristocrats' moral lives as revealed in the diseases further indicate England's moral failures led by the same coterie of aristocrats. Among the outward symptoms of that disease, in addition to the spots and the rest, are the continuing wartime disasters and general administrative failures.

Moreover, *The Second Advice* borrows from Wild's *Iter Boreale* to mock aristocratic decadence. Wild's crabs bring wealth from the depths to present wealth to the king and the

⁴¹ Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 342, n314.

arriving fleet; Marvell's "land-crabs" (l. 57) flee to the depths as decadent Anne Hyde, "the Duchess with triumphant tail," (l. 55) approaches in her personal flotilla:

One thrifty ferry-boat of mother-pearl
Suffic'd of old the Cytherean girl.
Yet navies are but properties when here,
A small sea-masque, and built to court you, dear. (ll. 63-6)

Hyde maintains a luxurious, carnivalesque play navy ("sea-masque") of her own, overshadowing that of Venus ("the Cytherean girl"), for whom in myth a shell ("mother-pearl") sufficed. The ridiculousness of her pomp is emphasized with her amplified sexuality, "triumphant tail", and the goddesses by which Marvell identifies her: "Pallas for art, / Venus for sport, and Juno in your heart" (ll. 67-8). Pallas is the goddess of wisdom and war, but Marvell's tone is ironic in respect to her "art," characterizing her theatrical navy as childish frippery; Venus's "sport" is a nod to Hyde's reputation for unchastity; Juno in her "heart" is her misplaced ambition already of becoming and conducting herself as queen.⁴² Such identification with the three Trojan goddesses may indicate pessimism over the navy's chances, given the Trojans' own defeat.

While the *Second Advice* is more or less straightforward in the pairing of immorality with disease, in *The Third Advice to a Painter* Marvell complicates that relationship. Marvell relies on Ann, Duchess of Albemarle, wife of General Monck, as a speaker for the majority of the poem and thereby adds a fog of irony to his judgments. *The Third Advice* places sexual excesses beside infection; the childless duchess is his target and weapon both. She is "the monkey Duchess, all undressed"⁴³ ("monkey" being slang for a lecherous woman, qv. OED n.I.1b). Martin Dzelzainis identifies an "anti-rhetorical" scheme in her nakedly grotesque features:

⁴² Ibid, 335, n68.

⁴³ Marvell, *The Third Advice to a Painter*, in *Poems*, ed. Smith: 344-56, ll. 165-71.

For her to be attractive in any way would risk compromising her status as a truth-teller. She is therefore a visibly anti-rhetorical construction: undressed, without shame, without self-consciousness, stripped of all artifice, raucous and ugly, she is the very embodiment of truth-telling.⁴⁴

She speaks truthfully as a grotesque oracle. Her husband has abandoned her for his duties and she thus assumes that role:

Arraigning past, and present, and futuri;
With a prophetic (if not spirit) fury.
Her hair began to creep, her belly sound,
Her eyes to startle, and her udder bound.
Half witch, half prophet, thus she-Albermarle,
Like Presbyterian sibyl, out did snarl. (ll. 195-200)

The duchess curses her husband's political enemies who, like Penelope's suitors, presuming him dead, defeated, or humiliated, clamour for Albemarle's courtly titles and possessions:

A third the Cockpit begs; not any me.
But they shall know, ay, marry shall they do,
That who the Cockpit has shall have me too. (ll. 214-16)

The "Cockpit" is ostensibly Monck's residence at Whitehall palace, but it also refers to the duchess's vagina, here unwanted. His lecherous wife numbers herself among them even if the suitors' desires are elsewhere.

Furthermore, the duchess's twisted body characterizes her as both a courtly spectacle and a courtly outcast. Her status as a "grotesque composite" has led readers to identify her as "non-human and thus automatically excluded from the all-too-human corruption of the court."⁴⁵ But so-called "grotesques" – exotic animals such as monkeys alongside persons with physical deformities and/or genetic conditions such as dwarfism – were fashionable additions to seventeenth-century aristocratic retinues, both in England and on the continent.

⁴⁴ Martin Dzelzainis, "Presbyterian sibyl": Truth-telling and gender in Andrew Marvell's *The Third Advice*," in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (London: Routledge, 2007), 125.

⁴⁵ Dzelzainis, "'Presbyterian sibyl'," 120.



Figure 5: Anthony van Dyck, *Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson*, 1633. Samuel H. Kress collection.

Henrietta Maria had been a noteworthy English promoter of this style (fig. 5).⁴⁶ That Caroline association with grotesques, and Marvell's explicit identification of the duchess with the Whitehall cockpit, situates her as a twisted symbol of Stuart pomp inside the court rather than outside of it, as a courtly oddity and prophetic fool. The duchess's body is thus a spectacle of undisciplined sexuality, of pagan prophecy, and of sterility, untended by her husband and overlooked by would-be suitors.

The "Truth" that the duchess speaks exposes corruption in the navy, the primary occasion for all of Marvell's

Advice-to-a-Painter poems, which Marvell expresses again in the language of disease.

Again she laments a corruption that distorts Stuart abundance, and she calls for her husband to solve these administrative problems, presumably as he had ended the post-Cromwellian uncertainties and arranged the Restoration:

⁴⁶ See for example R. Malcolm Smuts, "Hudson, Jeffery (1619-1682)," *ODNB*. Hudson was a famous dwarf who was part of that Queen's train, and he "reportedly became the boon companion of her monkey, Pug, with whom he is shown in a Van Dyck portrait of Henrietta Maria now in the National Gallery, Washington." Hudson's life in the court was one of novelty and spectacle: his first appearance was his presentation to the queen by the first Duke of Buckingham as a romanticized knight in miniature, emerging from a gigantic pie. See also Chapter I, above.

See that the men have pay and beef and beer;
 Find out the cheats of the four-millioner.
 Out of the very beer they steal the malt,
 Powder out of powder, from powder'd beef the salt.
 Put thy hand to the tub: instead of ox,
 They victual with French pork that has the pox. (ll. 327-32)

The present problem is that rampant embezzlement has led to naval bankruptcy and failure in basic supply: beer, salt beef, and gunpowder. The corruption leads to famine and shortage, and only a toxic recourse remains to feed the navy. That the taint in the substitute is “pox,” venereal disease, again sets sexual indiscipline alongside moral corruption. But unlike *The Second Advice*, where infections impede virtue, disease here is at odds with general nourishment. So as in pro-Stuart materials, where the king and court are fountainheads of prosperity, here the new courtly administration features such diseased embezzlers as Rupert and Sandwich, who cause the navy’s starvation and infection. More troubling is the possibility of the infection’s spread. A pox’s transmission via tainted meat is the focus of an anecdote in *The Rehearsal Transpros’d* (1672).⁴⁷ That analogy Marvell uses to stigmatize the dangerous ideas as promoted by his high church opponent, Samuel Parker, who enthusiastically called for increased persecution of religious dissenters. And earlier Marvell had likened ideas to disease in “Flecknoe, an English Priest at Rome.” The pages of that English catholic’s writing Marvell had described as necrotic flakes of skin falling from Flecknoe’s leprous body. So in *The Third Advice*, the danger represented in the “French pork” is that the “pox” of French growth, influence, ideology, and corruption could spread to the as yet healthy naval men who consume it.

⁴⁷ Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpros’d*, in *Prose Works*, ed. Dzelzainis, 1:3-205, 1:110. Marvell recalls how the Genovese in a siege against the Viennese disguised human flesh as tuna and supplied it under the guise of mercy to the defending party, who contracted the pox from it as a consequence.

Satirical disease advances even further in *The Last Instructions to a Painter*. The issue of sexual excess that Marvell first raises in the *Third Advice* grows into attacks on courtly politics and against prominent courtiers and ladies. Under them the nation is unchaste and barren, a complete inversion of the renewed Caroline propaganda of the fertile royal family. In the intervening years, Charles II's promiscuity and fruitless marriage had disarmed that rhetoric. Marvell thus appropriately adds sterility to his armoury of afflictions. Sterility and miscarriage comprise their own category of bodily disorder, considered in seventeenth-century physiology as diseases, and which often befell early modern couples serially and chronically.⁴⁸ Even with shifting emphases from syphilis to sterility, the relationship between debauchery and failed abundance remains prominent. Sex and politics thus blur: *The Last Instructions* carefully considers birth and procreation, which discourse bears significantly on the legality and legitimacy of agnatic monarchy in which inheritance passes through the male line. Sexual excesses, especially those that risk creating illegitimate heirs, are hostile to generation and legal patriarchal continuity. Here in Marvell debauchery becomes destructive, especially in contrast to sacramental, monogamous marriage, now extinct in the Restoration court.

The Last Instructions begins by characterizing England's malfeasance as "our great debauch,"⁴⁹ a series of follies which led to the disasters of the Second Anglo-Dutch war. Marvell entirely rejects the "merry" aspects of the Restoration and suggests media more appropriate for representing the age:

Or hast thou marked how antique masters limn
The alley-roof with snuff of candle dim,
Sketching in shady smoke prodigious tools?

⁴⁸ Raymond Anselment, *The Realms of Apollo: Literature and Healing in the Seventeenth Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 49-90, *passim*.

⁴⁹ Marvell, *The Last Instructions to a Painter*, in *Poems*, ed. Smith, 362-96, l. 8.

‘Twill serve this race of drunkards, pimps, and fools.
 But if to match our crimes thy skill presumes,
 As the Indians, draw our luxury in plumes.
 Or if to score out our compendious fame,
 With Hooke then, through the microscope, take aim. (ll. 9-16)

The painter must soberly work in “smoke,” or “without colours” (l. 5), which is a palette more appropriate to the present troubles. “Colour” can also indicate membership in a faction (as in the heraldic or military sense), so thus to forbid it invokes an impartial muse.

Significantly, Marvell frequently uses colour to emphasize moods in his work, so such “grey” imagery deserves notice. Elsewhere Marvell’s colourful natural imagery celebrates abundance and growth: “Upon Appleton House” associates the Lord General Fairfax with a lush floral atmosphere; the puritan oarsmen of “Bermudas” put into song the plenty of exotic fruit and godly *otium* that they anticipate in their colony. Here, he does the converse, establishing grey tones to decry sterility and decay. The luxury of “Indian plumes” indicates Mexican feather work, a vibrant art form popular for import to the European market, and which had been much adapted by the Spanish to catholic iconography. Marvell also refers to it in “Upon Appleton House,” as Milton had done in *Eikonoklastes*.⁵⁰ Such an exotic, pagan, and popish style is appropriate for decadent English crimes. Lastly, Hooke’s microscope is the new, English method for scrutinizing the previously invisible. Should the painter reproduce those smallest details, he will reveal the terrifying minutiae of his subject matter, as in Hooke’s famous diagrams of man-made objects.

This stark opening precedes a parade of aristocratic targets that were widely known as morally bankrupt libertines in meaningless marriages. These are the same courtly aristocrats whom Pepys describes as a threat to the nation’s wellbeing. In both accounts they

⁵⁰ l. 580; also Smith 234 note 580, and 369 note 14. Also note that the first recorded usage of “plume” in reference to smoke is in 1854 (OED n. 7.a). Milton makes reference to “painted feathers” in *Eikonoklastes*, *Works*, 3:365 and Chapter I, above.

receive hostile treatment for sexual indiscipline. In Marvell, the focus is even more so on their sterile and grotesque relationships. Marvell, who writes publicly, respects *lèse-majesté*, at least nominally, and he withholds direct criticism of the king (unlike Pepys, who expresses his misgivings privately). But the royal presence lurks in the shadows of nearly every *ad hominem* attack in the satire. Marvell first aims at Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, the English ambassador to France (and alleged lover of the Queen Mother). In Marvell's portrait, Jermyn, softened by Parisian luxury, is a degenerate sexual being:

Paint then St Albans, full of soup and gold,
The new court's pattern, stallion of the old.
Him neither wit nor courage did exalt,
But Fortune chose him for her pleasure salt.
Paint him with drayman's shoulders, butcher's mein,
Membered like mules, with elephantine chine
He needs no seal but to St James' lease,
Whose breeches were the instrument of peace;
Who, if the French dispute his power, from thence
Can straight produce them a plenipotence. (ll. 29-44)

Marvell's first emphases for Jermyn are gluttony ("full of soup") and Stuart (i.e. French) gold. The association of Jermyn with both the "new" and the "old" court makes him of both the cultures of the 1630s and of the 1660s. But Jermyn lacks any virtues of his own ("neither wit nor courage"). Like the duchess of the *Third Advice*, he is a grotesque composite ("shoulders," "mein," "membered," "chine"), his parts a miscellany, his appearance a spectacle in Henrietta Maria's carnivalesque train as a tool of decadent, courtly depravity. Jermyn is both the priapic "stallion" of the Queen mother's lust ("her pleasure salt") and "Membered like mules," hence well-endowed but sterile. His "erotic performance" serves to create peace between the French and English courts, but is an exercise in futility: "By definition a plenipotentiary (*plenus + potens*) has the full power of the monarch he represents. If the ambassador's potency (political or sexual) is all show and

no action, then by implication so is Charles's."⁵¹ Likewise, if Jermyn is a sterile device to be used for the Queen Mother's pleasure, through the transfer of power inherent to "plenipotence," those characteristics are projected back onto their source, the king.

Next, Ann Hyde and Barbara Palmer, Countess of Castlemaine, each receive admonition as unchaste aging whores. Even though married, Hyde is aligned with lust rather than procreative sexuality. She is depicted simultaneously as a new philosopher "Of's Highness' Royal Society" (l. 58) in comparison to Margaret Cavendish, and as a treacherous occultist.⁵² The satire brings her to task for having "found how royal heirs might be matured / In fewer months than mothers once endured" (ll. 55-6), in other words, for having given birth to a son a mere two months after marriage (the pregnancy mocked by Sandwich's colourful "hat-shitting" aphorism in Pepys). But she births "glassen dukes" (l. 60) who die in infancy, and miscarried or terminated "fawns that from the womb abortive fled" (l. 72). Her physical description mimics common street prostitutes: "Paint her with oyster lip, and breath of fame, / Wide mouth, that 'sparagus may well proclaim" (ll. 61-2). Oysters are commonplace venereal symbol and slang for whore; "breath of fame" is a figure for rumour and/or infamy; and the association of the phallic asparagus with her "wide" "oyster" (or vaginal) "mouth" is suggestive of oral sex and (as that was a sodomitical act) sexual deviance. She attempts forbidden magics against her rival at court, Lady Denham, but that also, in the disruption of the moon, stripping of the trees, the miscarriage of animals, and the growth of cancer in her breast, destroys feminine fertility.⁵³ Her necromantic arts taint natural fecundity and prove fruitless in her aspirations for sexual power and further

⁵¹ Barbara Riebling, "England Deflowered and Unmanned: The Sexual Image of Politics in Marvell's 'Last Instructions,'" *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 35 (1995): 137-57, 139.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 141.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 140.

adulterous liaisons, a reversal of the mystical fertility assigned to Henrietta Maria in Caroline materials. Ultimately even her husband shuns her twisted arts and twisted body in favour of other women, leaving her as a defeated and abandoned witch: “nightly [she] hears the hated guards away / Galloping with the Duke to other prey” (ll. 77-8).

Lady Castlemaine on the other hand enjoys a predatory and hermaphroditic lust for her footman. Her immediate introduction emphasizes her age and thus faded beauty (which decline Pepys laments⁵⁴). Whereas in classical seduction literature a younger nymph captivates and is pursued by an older satyr, here the aging lady covets youthful male flesh: “his brazen calves, his brawny thighs” (l. 85). Lady Castlemaine has become so desperate to maintain her status as an erotically powerful being at court that she resorts to preying upon and consuming those men of lower standing:

But envious Fame, too soon, began to note
More gold in's fob, more lace upon his coat;
And he, unwary, and of tongue to fleet,
No longer could conceal his fortune Sweet.
Justly the rogue was whipped in porter's den,
And Jermyn straight has leave to come again. (ll. 97-103)

Much like an old lecher corrupting a girl, Lady Castlemaine woos her footman with luxurious gifts, and uses him as a sexual object, leading “justly” to his downfall via a whipping. The footman's exit signals Jermyn's return, trading one stallion for another and closing the court's sexual improprieties into a circle.

These portraits have a greater significance than attacks on these specific individuals, and rather reflect on courtly eroticism in claiming problems in the moral character of the

⁵⁴ 13 June 1663, she is “not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also” (4:182); 11 October 1664: “My wife tells me the sad news of my Lady Castlemaynes being now become so decayed that one would not know her,” (5:294-5); 21 April 1666, upon seeing her at a funeral without makeup, “I find her to be a much more ordinary woman than I ever durst have thought she was” (7:106).

ruling class. The reputations of these three prominent courtiers reflect on the rulers they serve. Jermyn had long been rumoured as the “stallion” of the Queen mother. Anne Hyde and Lady Castlemaine had variously been the extramarital sexual partners of the Duke of York and Charles II respectively. Lady Castlemaine possessed enough influence in court circles to rival Queen Catherine. But the queen, even though sterile and presumably a perfect fit for such attacks, is a conspicuously rare target for satires in the 1660s. As the plenipotentiary Jermyn stands in for the king, Ann Hyde and Lady Castlemaine are satirical proxies for the barren queen. Hyde is the potential mother of princes through James’s line, but she produces only sickly stillbirths; Lady Castlemaine is fertile, but her issue is illegitimate and her trysts naught but predatory abuses. The queen is like her respective satirical counterparts, for she too has been unsuccessful in producing a living, legitimate heir as Caroline propaganda celebrated and such panegyrists as Waller anticipated.

Even if these courtly aristocrats in *The Last Instructions* are not universally “poxed,” their procreative carnal functions fail to produce anything aside from death and disorder, and their conduct is consistent with such efficient causes of diseases. In such an erotic court, sex is equivalent to power and takes the place of meaningful or effective diplomacy. The debauchery here causes disease which infects bodies and administrations alike. This is not the productive marital bliss of *Paradise Lost* that Milton emphatically praises at nearly the same time: “Hail wedded love, mysterious law, true source / Of human offspring, sole propriety.”⁵⁵ That ideal Milton sets in explicit opposition to “court amours” (IV:768) which bear greater resemblance to the “carnal desire” and “amorous play” by which Adam and Eve consummate “their mutual guilt” (IX:1013-44), or the sterile incest of Satan, Sin, and Death, upon which Marvell also draws (below). Marriage in *The Last Instructions* is decidedly

⁵⁵ John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, in *Poems*, ed. Leonard, IV:750-1.

unchaste and non-generative. To consider stillbirths and miscarriages as divine retribution for the moral excesses of the parents was common in seventeenth-century thought.⁵⁶ These stillbirths take the place of the lesions and pustules of the earlier Advice-to-a-Painter poems – the visible symptoms of the internal corruption. Thus debauches produce not heirs, but death: “glassen” infants and broken servants which cast doubt on England’s future happiness.

This emphasis on infertility precedes widespread contagious disease and bodily corruption. After the displays of courtly lechery, Marvell shifts his gaze to Parliament and the procession of members. Notably this procession includes the “thrifty group of privateers” (l. 195), glossed as “MPs who served their own interests by presenting private bills,” and a number of well-known rakes who “quarrel to adjourn” (l. 201), that is, members who desired to end serious governmental business so that they might pursue their own pleasures, which leaves the king to rule by fiat, thus enabling tyranny. The last of them “led the French standard” (l. 214), glossed as venereal disease,⁵⁷ and which with the characterization of the group as “privateers” identifies this band of aristocrats – drunken and diseased – as carrying a figurative letter of mark. Thus the empowered “privateers” pillage English interests for French profit in what can be called “an incestuous rape.”⁵⁸ This group advances the excise bill, which Marvell considers an unnatural prodigy, “a monster worse than e’er before / Frightened the midwife and the other tore” (ll. 131-2). The bill’s violence upon its mother, its “thousand eyes,” its “teeth,” and “maw,” echoes Sin’s birth of Death in

⁵⁶ Anselment, *Realms of Apollo*, 53.

⁵⁷ Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 376 n. 214.

⁵⁸ Riebling, “England Deflowered,” 146.

Paradise Lost.⁵⁹ By this point in Marvell's satirical development, the diseased courtier is a well-enough established threat that he can use it as shorthand. With the understood significance of these aristocratic rakes, the procession consists then of corrupt and depraved rogues, and the bill is a weapon by which they further French interest.

Similarly, Clarendon's fiscal corruptions are homoerotic and parasitic. They are a channel for the diseases that afflict the court and government. Clarendon was known to have entered into mutually beneficial agreements with tax farmers following the squandering of the £1.8 million supply. That fiscal malfeasance appears here as a vignette of leeches and sores:

His minion imps that, in his secret part,
Lie nuzzling at the sacramental wart,
Horse-leeches circling at the haem'rrhoid vein:
He sucks the King, they him, he them again.
The kingdom's farm he lets to them bid least
(Greater the bribe, and that's at interest). (ll. 495-500)

The innuendo "secret part" has here a double carnal meaning. In a more common usage, "secret part" would refer to Clarendon's penis (OED a.1.j). That denotation lends to the interpretation of the "nuzzling" and "sucking" by Clarendon's "minion imps" as mutual fellatio, for the pleasure and benefit of the king and all, a fitting description of such corruption and favouritism. But the circling of the "haem'rrhoid vein" identifies that "secret part" with the anus. The sucking then becomes a parasitic activity in which Clarendon debases himself by nuzzling the blood of the king's sickly regions while the bankers in turn suck the blood of Clarendon. The application of "Horse-Leeches" to haemorrhoids is a

⁵⁹ *Paradise Lost*, II:787-802: "of that rape begot / These yelling monsters ... [which] howl and gnaw / my bowels, their repast."

documented treatment.⁶⁰ And the sycophantic sucking of haemorrhoids is an anecdote to which Marvell makes reference elsewhere, by quiet allusion to this job in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part*: “as you may read in Philip de Comines, another Oliver, a Barber, discharged under Lewis the Eleventh.”⁶¹ Thomas Dannet had published a translation of Commines in 1665, and there records of one Oliver le Daim that he

Was a Flemming born and had been Barber to King *Lewis*, and of greater credit with him, than any man in all *France*, which his credit grew by vile and slavish Offices, that he did about the King, so far forth that he ordinarily sucked the King's Hemorrhoides, wherewith he was often troubled; which base service he did, not for good will that he bare the King, but only for covetousnesse, and to maintain his credit.⁶²

It is certain, given the singularity of that anecdote, that the same source informs the “sucking” in *The Last Instructions*. This attack may have been carefully selected for Clarendon, himself a scholar of de Commynes's history,⁶³ and so likely to have caught the allusion. Marvell parallels the extreme self-interested sycophancy of the le Daim and Clarendon: both suck the king for wealth and status. Barbara Riebling calls the king here “the royal hermaphrodite as the leech-nursing Madonna,” which is accurate except it neglects Clarendon's intermediary role. Rather, Clarendon is the poem's “bearded lady,” who nurses or pleasures the “Frenchified bankers,” and receives from them in kind.⁶⁴ The king is an entirely passive participant in this sordid practice. From his flesh the parasites grow fat.

⁶⁰ Robert Bayfield, *Tractatus de tumoribus praeter naturam, or, A treatise of preternatural tumors divided into four sections and adorned with many choice and rare observations* (London, 1662), 192.

⁶¹ Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part*, in *Prose Works*, ed. Dzelzainis, 1:289 and 289 n.382.

⁶² Phillipe de Commynes, *The History of Philip de Commines Knight, Lord of Argenton. The Third Edition*, trans. Thomas Danet (London, 1665), 177.

⁶³ Paul Seaward, ed., “Introduction” in Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion: A New Selection* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), xv.

⁶⁴ Riebling, “England Deflowered,” 145.

However passive, the king is not excluded from the transmission of moral diseases. Seventeenth-century physicians acknowledged that syphilis could be transmitted to a nursing infant.⁶⁵ That possibility situates the king as the origin of the corruption spreading among the ministers and clerks who suck his flesh. Indeed, the concluding “To the King” passage depicts His Majesty with telltale symptoms:

So his bold tube man to the sun applied,
And spots unknown to the bright star descried;
Showed they obscure him, while too near they please,
And seem his courtiers, are but his disease....
Blame not the Muse that brought those spots to sight,
Which in your splendor hid, corrode your light. (ll. 949-58)

The sun, suggesting the king himself (or perhaps English sovereignty in a more abstract sense, as Marvell had used the sun for Cromwell in *On the Death of the Lord Protector*), is beset by “spots,” which is his affliction of corrupt courtiers and an implicitly venereal disease. Whether the king himself is afflicted or merely surrounded by corrupted moral and physical bodies is secondary to the satire’s allegations, for as Marvell asserts “the country is the King” (l. 974). *The Last Instructions* has been described as depicting England as the victim of a series of rapes which become public spectacles.⁶⁶ De Ruyter’s raid on the pastoral Medway (in hard contrast to the “smoky” majority of the poem) is the more public and humiliating of these abuses, and may represent the final destruction of the Caroline ideal. But the “incestuous rape” (l. 146) at the hands of debased and Frenchified English ruling class is the more severe and troubling. In both cases the English people are helpless observers, whether watching the abuses from the shores of the Thames estuary, through “a bold tube,” or from outside the isolating institutions of absolute monarchy.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Anselment, *Realms of Apollo*, 138.

⁶⁶ Riebling, “England Deflowered,” 152.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Finally, the anonymous “Fourth Advice to a Painter” possesses neither the wit nor technical grace of Marvell’s Advice-to-a-Painter poems, yet it follows Marvell’s thematic model. That satire continues to mix debauchery and courtly administrative failures. Unlike Marvell, who relies on implication and apostrophe when discussing the failures which led to the Dutch raid on Chatham, the speaker of the “Fourth Advice” directly attacks the king in its conclusion. Firstly, the speaker’s cowardly king takes what little action only for the sake of posterity:

Yet to the city doth himself convey,
Bravely to show he was not run away,
Whilst the Black Prince and our fifth Henry’s wars
Are acted only on our theaters.⁶⁸

To place the cowardly Charles II aside “the Black Prince” and “our fifth Henry” is for the speaker to suggest that this present crisis requires royal military heroism. Unfortunately, such leadership in England now exists only in the court-sponsored theatres, here an effeminate surrogate for genuine kingly virtue. Even less effective is Charles II’s reaction to the burning fleet:

As Nero once, with harp in hand, survey’d
His flaming Rome and, as that burn’d, he play’d,
So our great Prince, when the Dutch fleet arriv’d,
Saw his ships burn’d, and as they burn’d, he swiv’d.
So kind he was in our extremest need,
He would those flames extinguish with his seed.
But against Fate all human aid is vain:
His pr--- then prov’d as useless as his chain. (ll. 129-36)

To compare the king to Nero is a direct accusation of tyranny and irreligion, which extent of seditious libel Marvell never explores. Unlike the musical Nero, debauched Charles II copulates or masturbates uselessly (“swives” is in this case ambiguous) while his fleet burns. And again, as he was through his “mule” plenipotentiary Jermyn in *The Last Instructions*,

⁶⁸ “Fourth Advice to a Painter,” in *Poems on Affairs of State*, ed. deForest Lord, 1:140-146, ll. 125-8.

the debauched king lacks any true potency. For the king to distribute his seed to the greatest possible extent attacks his commonly-known philandering, but “His pr[ick]” proves useless either in saving the fleet or in producing a legitimate heir.

The king’s supposed debauchery, often reflected in his courtiers, was by the end of the 1660s a commonplace concern in satires and libels. According to the opposition, good government had become subordinate to the king’s pleasures. Supply had been squandered on royal mistresses. Diseases were spreading through the ruling class, encouraged and exacerbated by the debauchery of courtly fashion. All of these were, in the eyes of the satirists, contributing to the failures in policy that led to the humiliations of the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Disease was a particularly potent trope for these purposes because on one hand it reflected the moral aspects of the afflicted, and on the other its necrotic aspects were diametrically opposed to the abundance that had characterized Charles I and which had been revived for Charles II.

Chapter III

Rochester, “Rochester,” and more *Rochester*

In later Restoration materials, tropes of abundance and disease play less of a role in anti-Stuart arguments, but the issues of debauchery and libertinism to which they had given rise remain central in denunciations of court and of parliament. Whereas Marvell’s state satires are the foremost such libels of the 1660s, Rochester’s court satires stand out in the 1670s and in the decade after his death in 1680. His bawdier lyrics depict a Restoration court in which libertine conduct was commonplace. But little has been said about how Rochester’s portrait of the Restoration court is in dialogue with competing representations or how his work fits into the specific context of its publication in 1680. This may be, in part, because Rochester receives biographical readings with a greater frequency than most other literary figures of his day. Rochester lived a compelling life, and many of his works are directed at his peers. Rochesterian bibliography also offers enticing puzzles which have deflected interest toward editions, manuscripts, and stemma. Until recently, early print editions of Rochester were frequently denounced as unauthoritative, “dishonest editions issued by publishers of very doubtful reputation, in which pornographic material is given a prominent part, and much obscene doggerel, which is certainly not by Rochester, is included.”¹ But the dates of those “dishonest editions” are crucial: 1680, 1685, and 1691 were political turning points. 1680 witnessed the Second Exclusion Parliament, 1685 saw

¹ Vivian de Sola Pinto, *Rochester, Portrait of a Restoration Poet* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1971), xix.

the death of Charles II and Monmouth's ill-fated rebellion, and 1691 comes in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, when the political settlement was still in dispute.

Rochester's books appear at three crises for the Stuart dynasty (Exclusion, troubled succession, and exile), and that poetry speaks, or more accurately was made to speak, to those moments. Rochesterian satire can attack governmental affairs, but it demonstrates a different political thrust than the "Marvellian" state satires. While playful, it is not all play, and though Rochester is frequently (mis)identified as speaking through his own persona, readings of his verse need not end with the personal. His libertine lyrics and portraits of Restoration aristocratic life parody the themes common in pro-Stuart materials from both before and after the Interregnum, which themes he subverts in creating acid caricatures of the persons and institutions of the English upper classes. Those texts entered the literary marketplace at times when the Stuart family was vulnerable to scandalous disclosure. The first print collection of Rochester's poetry especially, *Poems on Several Occasions* (1680), sits in close proximity to the Second Exclusion Parliament, and that poetry manipulates the evolving language of Stuart abundance especially for that most factional moment in Restoration politics.

Of the three early print editions of Rochester's poetry, the 1680 version most emphasizes Rochester's cynicism and libertinism. The pastoralism of the early Stuart era is irreverently burlesqued in his libertine lyrics. Lines such as "*Faire Cloris in a Pigsty lay*"² mock the aesthetic projects that the court formerly promoted. Those lyrics that have been

² Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of, "A Song ('*Faire cloris in a Pigsty lay*')," in *The Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. Harold Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 39-40, l.1.

used to argue for Rochester's place in the "Metaphysical" school³ in many cases actually challenge that style. For example, "The Platonick Lady," if read sincerely, seems a lyric in celebration of metaphysical love as favoured by Henrietta Maria and continued by such Restoration ladies as Margaret Cavendish. But any such celebration is hardly consistent with the attitudes towards sex and desire that Rochester elsewhere promotes. Harold Love notes that it "seems to belong stylistically to the generation of Rochester's father rather than to his own If genuinely by Rochester, this is likely to be an early work."⁴ To read this poem in so straightforward a manner is to neglect Rochester's preference for irony and diverse personae. If the poem mocks that philosophical love, it does so from the inverse position of such *carpe diem* poetry as Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress," in which a (presumably) male speaker undermines his beloved's celibacy with the logic of mortality. Rochester's presumably female speaker in "The Platonick Lady" uses an insipid spiritual argument against carnality. He ventriloquizes that naïve lady's proclamations of perfection in unconsummated, spiritual love:

I hate the thing is call'd enjoyment
 Besyds it is a dull employment
 It cuts of all that's Life and fier,
 From that which may be term'd desire;
 Just like the Be whose sting being gon,
 Converts the owner to a Drone.⁵

Though the speaker denounces intercourse as "dull," she finishes with the image of the stingless bee, an image of castration which mocks the husbands of the "Platonick" ladies, such as William Cavendish, awkwardly singled out by his wife Margaret in the final section

³ see Helen Gardner (ed.) *The Metaphysical Poets* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957), 320. Gardner includes a handful of non-representative Rochesterian love lyrics with "Upon Nothing" and praises Tonson's heavily-edited 1691 edition.

⁴ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 361.

⁵ Rochester, "The Platonick Lady," in *Works*, ed. Love, 35, ll. 6-12.

of *The Blazing World* (1666). There, her husband's body hosts the disembodied spirits of Margaret Cavendish's heroines in a "a *Platonick Seraglio*," which raises jealousy in the Duchess until she remembers that "no Adultery could be committed amongst *Platonick* lovers."⁶ Margaret Cavendish represents her husband as unable to copulate because of his virtue and the nature of Platonic love, but this can easily be re-imagined as impotence. Inadvertent emasculation of a Duke by his self-important Duchess is a deliberately lewd misreading that Rochester would gleefully produce. The "Platonick Lady" also reveals an only superficial understanding of the philosophies that she promotes. She praises modest spiritual relationships, and claims mastery of the "Arte of Love." But Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, the Art of Love, celebrates urbane eroticism, so the lady's claims to knowledge may be unfounded and her denial of "enjoyment" should signal to readers that misplaced self-importance. An ironic reading of "The Platonic Lady," at the speaker's expense and in scorn of that generation's style, is in more agreement with Rochester's celebrations of erotic passions elsewhere.

If "The Platonick Lady" is Rochesterian juvenilia, as Love hypothesizes, Rochester's maturation is signalled by his abandonment of cautious subtlety in favour of a willingness to attack explicitly. When Rochester unmasks his cynical wit, his portraits of Stuart "abundance" become aggressive assaults on English aristocratic culture and manners. For example, the group of libels under the heading "In the Isle of Brittain" attacks courtly manners directly in styling King Charles as "The easiest King" with "no Ambition."⁷ Charles is wanton and promotes promiscuity, while he himself ruled by the sexual talents of "Carwell" (Louise de K rouaille, the Duchess of Portsmouth) and "laborious Nelly"

⁶ cf. Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Description of a New World, Call'd The Blazing World* (London, 1668), 110.

⁷ Rochester, "In the Isle of Brittain," in *Works*, ed. Love, 85-90, ll. A4-A5

(Gwynn). Meanwhile, he is compared unfavourably to Louis XIV, “Like a French Fool still wandring up and downe, / Starving his People, hazarding his Crowne” (ll. A6-A7). The authorial version of the poem is uncertain, and the tone varies within the group from playful palace scandal to acid anti-court Whiggism, which is especially prominent in the group-D text preferred by collections of state libels.⁸ Rochester’s poetry is often ambiguous in its politics as a result of such discrepancies. Nuance can shift with accidentals and manuscript corruptions. The narrow personal contexts of so many Rochesterian libels also obstruct any attempts to read Rochester’s attacks on his peers as commentary on contemporary issues.

The octavo *Poems on Several Occasions By the Right Honourable, the E. of R- -*, Printed at *Antwerp*, 1680 is an exception to this tendency.⁹ I shall argue that it is a Whiggish Exclusion tract. The usual difficulty of identifying Rochester’s verse with any particular political moment owes to his tangled bibliography. Each poem has distinct and sometimes unknowable moments of composition, revision, transcription, manuscript reception, and print publication. Love’s Clarendon edition of *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (1999) emphasizes two important aspects of Rochester and his verse that had previously been under-considered:

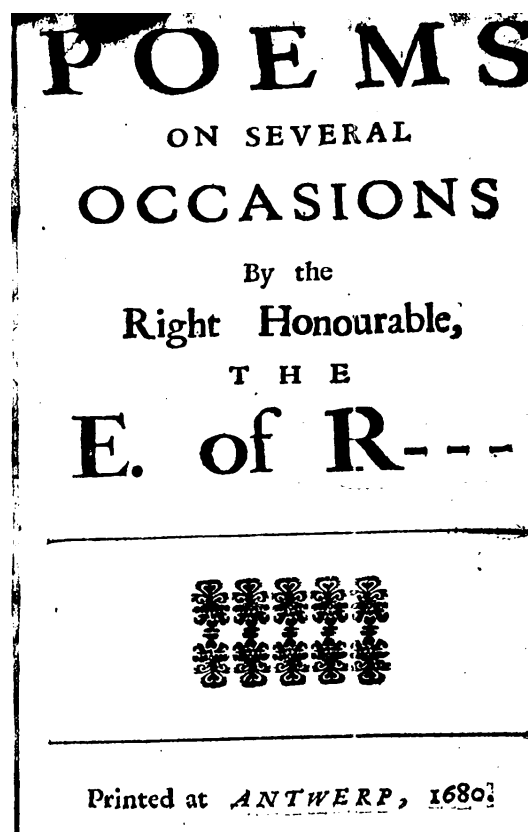
The first is that it was verse intended for publication through manuscript, not the press, and that it reached its early readers through networks of transmission that were unique to that medium Secondly, the edition seeks to present Rochester as a writer who found his primary audience among fellow courtiers in the palace at Whitehall and whose writings were in a fundamental sense directed at that complex and singular community.¹⁰

⁸ Harold Love, “Rochester’s ‘I’th’isle of Britain’: Decoding a Textual Tradition,” *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 6 (1997): 175-223, 211.

⁹ Some contemporaries recognized this imprint as false: see Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2 vols. (London, 1721), vol.2, col. 655; James Thorpe, ed, in John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, *Rochester’s Poems on Several Occasions*, facsimile (London, 1680; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), x.

¹⁰ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, xvi.

Significantly, to examine *Poems* (1680) as published late that year provides a third and valuable perspective: to reconstruct how Rochester may have originally been integrated into the early-modern print marketplace. In offering Rochester's works to the public, the publishers of that edition seem to contradict both of Love's norms for the early dissemination of Rochester's works. In putting Rochester into print, the editors of that collection may have repeated errors in the early days of reproducing manuscripts on the



press press: "The market compelled printers to try ... the resulting books were mostly miserable compromises."¹¹ The market demanded Rochester, but the uncertainty of manuscript miscellanies resulted in "miserable compromises" resulting in "corrupt" editions. Those poems which had been originally directed at the narrowest of audiences and collected by readers into manuscript miscellanies were by the act of printing divorced from those nuanced contexts – as one scholar puts it, the "language gets turned out to different ends"¹² – and their private contents opened to scrutiny.

Figure 6: Frontispiece to the Huntington edition of *Poems* (1680), Wing R1753.

¹¹ David R. Carlson, "Nicholas Jenson and the Form of the Renaissance Printed Page," in *The Future of the Page*, ed. Peter Stoicheff and Andrew Taylor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 100.

¹² Jonathan Brody Kramnick, "Rochester and the History of Sexuality," *English Literary History* 69 (2002): 277-301, 277-8.

But like those early printed books in the fifteenth century, the 1680 edition has its own subtleties which should be considered before entirely dismissing it in favour of a manuscript tradition. Certainly, it contains much material not by Rochester (like most manuscript miscellanies), and granted, it may have mutilated outright many of Rochester's works with variants and accidentals (again, like most extant manuscripts). And certainly it opens Rochester's poetry to the public, the "Rabble" that Rochester "loathed," for judgment. But to sift the "legitimate" works from a volume like *Poems* (1680) and to discard the remainder as "dross" is also to overlook how Rochester was presented and understood in his own era. What has been said of variation in an individual poem also holds true for entire books: "Although a modern editor may wish to retrieve or reconstruct *Tunbridge Wells* as it left Rochester's hands, that would in some respects be no more 'authentic' a text than one which was arrived at by a process of accretion and opportunistic adaptation to new scandals."¹³ In all of its editorial excesses, the 1680 collection is a portrait of "true" or "mythic 'Rochester'"¹⁴ as important as the famous Lely "monkey" painting of that singular lord. Those pages commemorate him as profligate and libertine, against which characterization biographers, bibliographers, and subsequent editors have long since struggled.

Thankfully, bibliographers and editors have performed significant work on *Poems* (1680). At least eleven editions are known with that year in the imprint,¹⁵ most printed by an unknown printer or printers, probably on commercial presses, and sold "as a regular item of trade by a considerable body of booksellers and with the tacit approval of the Stationer's

¹³Paul Hammond, "Anonymity in Restoration Poetry," *Seventeenth Century* 8 (1993): 123-142, 132.

¹⁴Love, in Rochester, *Works*, xviii.

¹⁵Thorpe, in Rochester, *Poems on Several Occasions* (1950), xi.

company.”¹⁶ The “1680” imprint remained as a disguise for later reprintings and resettings, possibly even as clandestine alternatives to censored editions of 1685 and 1691. Of these known editions, bibliographical studies conducted by James Thorpe and confirmed by David Vieth identify the one found only in the Huntington and Pepysian libraries as the first.¹⁷ Nicholas Fisher identifies the printer of that first edition as either John Redmayne junior or senior (the elder of whom had already been prosecuted for illegal presswork) on the basis of idiosyncratic and damaged type shared by *Poems* (1680) and other Redmayne work of that year.¹⁸ Circa 1660 the elder Redmayne had produced pro-monarchical tracts; in 1696 the younger would be imprisoned for producing Jacobite libels.¹⁹ The Redmaynes also printed the execution accounts of Algernon Sidney and Thomas Armstrong on behalf of the supervising sheriffs Peter Daniel and Samuel Dashwood, also Tories. That Redmayne the elder had been investigated in 1676 for printing “Popish” materials²⁰ is at odds with explicitly anti-catholic shots in *Poems* (1680). The Redmaynes’ political convictions run against even the most obvious leanings of *Poems* (1680) generally, and thus lend weight to Anthony Wood’s claim that those poems were published, or at least printed, “meerly for lucre sake.”²¹

No certain manuscript source for all of *Poems* (1680) has been conclusively identified. Yale Osborn MS b. 105 (also known as the “Hansen” manuscript) correlates

¹⁶ Harold Love, “Scribal Texts and Literary Communities: The Rochester Circle and Osborn b. 105,” *Studies in Bibliography* 42 (1989): 219-235, 229.

¹⁷ Designated *Po80* by Love in Rochester, *Works* (1999), HU by James Thorpe in *Poems* (1950), Wing R1753 (R1753-848 on *Early English Books Online*), and ESTC R7108. The Huntington edition is that which on the frontispiece features two rows of five decorative marks between two rule lines, sometimes inaccurately described as acorns, the lower of which is upside down (fig. 6).

¹⁸ Nicholas Fisher, “Rochester’s *Poems on several Occasions*, 1680: Some Further Light,” *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 15 (2014): 45-62, *passim*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 2, col. 655.

strongly. It contains most of the same poems, largely in the same order, albeit with additional materials that do not appear in print in 1680, and a substantial number of missing pages. The Yale MS is hypothesized to represent a scriptorium version made from the same copy text or texts as *Poems* (1680), with the possible intervention of a copy-editor.²² The printed book contains 61 separate poems. Of these, only 30 are attributed to Rochester by his modern editors Harold Love, Keith Walker, Nicholas Fisher, and David Vieth. The non-Rochesterian items belong to other Buckingham Whigs (John Oldham, Buckhurst, Henry Savile, and George Etherege), literary opponents (Sir Carr Scroope), theatrical figures of the 1670s (Aphra Behn, Edmund Ashton, Elkanah Settle, and Thomas D'Urfey), and wits associated with the Inns of Court (Alexander Radcliffe and Behn), with one lyric (possibly) by Lady Elizabeth Rochester. The majority (but not all) of the poems in the first half of the volume are today attributed to Rochester; the majority of those in the second half (but again, not all) are now considered spurious.

The bibliographical mastery of Thorpe, Vieth, Love, and others addresses the problem of Rochester's canon in sifting the false attributions. But the process of removing works from the twentieth- and twenty-first-century canon leaves questions unanswered about how those works contributed to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century canon, how they established the reputation of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and, most importantly, how they spoke to the early audience of the 1680 Exclusion Crisis. In effect, *Poems* (1680) is the first of two major biographical statements on Rochester that in short succession became public in the autumn of 1680, the second being Gilbert Burnet's *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester*, which appeared near the

²² Harold Love, "Rochester: A Tale of Two Manuscripts," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 72 (1997): 41-53, 49.

beginning of November. The ability to identify spurious works comes from long scholarly engagement and the benefit of hindsight. For most Restoration readers, these paired texts were the first tangible encounter with the notorious libertine Earl who had recently died from his debauchery and returned, penitential, on his deathbed to the Church of England.

To read *Poems* (1680) as an intervention in the ongoing Exclusion Crisis follows from three premises. First, in the absence of any other attribution, the repeated and grouped themes that occur in the authentic and spurious works throughout the volume are basic statements on the character of Rochester and should receive consideration at face value. How many of 1680's readers would have scrutinized the style, orthography, or diction, would have compared the poems to manuscript evidence, or would have even questioned the attribution on the frontispiece? If Pepys doubted their authenticity in November 1680, he withheld comment.²³ Few readers had much reason to question attributions. Regardless of whether these works had been written by Behn, Scroope, or Radcliffe, in 1680 they were printed into Rochester's initial posthumous reputation. Second, the other early editors of Rochester – especially Thorncombe of *Poems* (1685) and Tonson of *Poems &c* (1691) – offer a model of how the 1680 edition was received and read. The editorial decisions made by Thorncome and Tonson indicate some aspects of *Poems* (1680) which, for better or for worse, were prominent to early readers.²⁴ *Poems* (1685) is an especially important witness,

²³ Samuel Pepys, "S. Pepys to William Hewer," in *Letters and the Second Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. G. Howarth (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1932), 105.

²⁴ The history of Shakespeare's non-dramatic works in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides a suitable model for the study of *Poems* (1680), in that early editors were vilified for mixing Shakespeare's works with those of other authors. Succinctly, Margareta de Grazia argues of John Benson's *Poems; Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent* (1640), a collection which, like *Poems* (1680), reorganizes the poet's corpus and mixes it with poems by other authors, that "The assumption that the publication was at least unscrupulous if not illegal stems from a later preoccupation with what Shakespeare originally wrote and meant" (169). See de Grazia, "Individuating Shakespeare's Experience: Biography, Chronology, and the Sonnets" in *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011), especially 163-73. An eighteenth-century desire for authorial identification led to

as it contains mostly the same poems in the same order, but with many local changes to lines and phrasings and a handful of complete cuts. Third, the accidentals and variants of *Poems* (1680) in respect to the modern standardized Rochester canon are irrelevant to an Exclusion-era reception reading. Many variations exist between the print texts and contemporary manuscripts. Those manuscripts were not widely known. They are inconsistent and few can be conclusively dated, at least for comparison to a printed text with a narrow window of creation, as most manuscript collections developed as projects over months and years. Because few early readers would have any other text for comparison, and because we have no way of knowing which manuscripts were available, and to whom, manuscript variations have little to offer to a contextual reading of *Poems* (1680). The single exception to the third premise is the “Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind),” which had appeared as a broadsheet in 1679, and which from the late 1670s had provoked response. Its 1680 appearance contains the “Addition” of 52 lines. That poem’s already established reputation gives greater significance to the major discrepancies of the version that appears in *Poems* (1680).

The idiosyncrasies of *Poems* (1680) which appear when compared to the Rochesterian canon are best explained by the timing of its publication, which corresponds to that year’s two assemblies of the Second Exclusion Parliament. It had been first summoned on 24 July 1679, but was twice prorogued, first until 26 January 1679/80, and then again on 13 January 1679/80 until 21 October 1680. Evidence of the publication of *Poems* (1680) is notably scarce, but the few available clues put its conception near both of those dates.

the rejection of several early textual witnesses, a process nearly identical to that which Rochester underwent with Tonson’s 1691 edition and in the early twentieth century. Benson’s edition has more recently been presented as evidence in studies of seventeenth-century reception. See also Josephine Waters Bennett, “Benson’s Alleged Piracy of *Shake-Speares Sonnets* And Some of Jonson’s Works,” *Studies in Bibliography* 21 (1968): 235-48; David Baker, “Cavalier Shakespeare: The ‘1640 Poems’ of John Benson,” *Studies in Philology* 95 (1998): 152-173; Cathy Shrank, “Reading Shakespeare’s Sonnets: John Benson and the 1640 Poems,” *Shakespeare* 5 (2009): 271-91; Megan Heffernan, “Turning Sonnets into Poems: Textual Affect and John Benson’s Metaphysical Shakespeare,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 64 (2013): 71-98.

According to Anthony Wood it first appeared in October. Pepys's correspondence corroborates Wood's claim: in a reference in a November 2 letter to his assistant William Hewer, Pepys describes a copy of Rochester's poems that Pepys had already read and then locked in his desk.²⁵ Significantly, Pepys had been out of London and at his family estate in Brampton since October 23,²⁶ establishing the latest possible date for its release. Pepys was an avid bibliophile, so it is possible that he was among the very first to own Rochester in print. The Pepysian copy is one of the only two extant copies yet identified of that first edition. That he had read it and had found cause to keep it separate from the rest of his collection suggests that he had already owned the book for some days before setting out for Brampton. A mid-October publication intended to coincide with that long-anticipated Parliament seems likely, and such a strategy was repeated that year: Mary Marvell certified her (supposed) husband's *Miscellaneous Poems* that same October 15.²⁷ The bookseller of Marvell's poetry, Robert Boulter, seems to have been connected to other "adventurously political" projects at this time.²⁸ The Stationers' Company's thin record for 1680 includes reference to an otherwise mysterious "book or copy" of John Cleveland's poetry, a likely royalist volume, on 5 July.²⁹ Hobbes's *Behemoth* also entered print with the lapse of the 1679 licensing act, and generated five unauthorized issues before 1682, to controversy and "government displeasure" for its perceived exposure of absolute monarchy.³⁰

²⁵ Samuel Pepys, "S. Pepys to William Hewer," in *Letters and the Second Diary*, 105; Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 2: col. 655; also Thorpe, in Rochester, *Poems* (1950), x, xxvi-xxvii.

²⁶ Samuel Pepys, "S.P. to Sir Nicholas Pedley, 26 October 1680," in *The Letters of Samuel Pepys and his Family Circle*, ed. Helen Truesdell Heath (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), 171.

²⁷ Nicholas von Maltzahn, *An Andrew Marvell Chronology* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 223; Andrew Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1681), A2^v.

²⁸ von Maltzahn, "Marvell's Ghost," in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. Dzelzainis and Cherniak, 53.

²⁹ George Edward Briscoe Eyre, ed. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: from 1640-1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (Gloucester, Mass: P. Smith, 1967), 2:95.

³⁰ Paul Seaward, ed., "General Introduction," in Thomas Hobbes, *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 10: Behemoth, or The Long Parliament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 16-17.

The transition from manuscript to print, as hypothesized by Love and Vieth, further indicates an Exclusion-directed publication. Love cites the name “Hansen” inscribed in the front cover of Yale Osborn MS b. 105 as evidence that the manuscript was commissioned for a diplomat in the service of Charles, electoral prince Palatine (crowned Charles II that fall), and by that evidence he dates the manuscript to early September 1680.³¹ Though that MS is probably not the direct source of *Poems* (1680), the similarity in the grouping is some evidence that the poems had been collected by the end of that summer. An early-September to mid-October production cycle for the nine and one-half sheet octavo is a reasonable schedule, assuming one and a half to two sheets per week.³² *Poems* (1680) bears some suggestions of hasty (or disorganized) production: “evidence of carelessness with uneven inking and frequent occurrence of dirty type.”³³ Signature I2^v lacks a page number. The use of rule lines to separate poems seems somewhat arbitrary. Many of the linked poems (pp. 74-5) are not so separated, but the compositor seems to have had little care as to whether a rule appeared at the beginning of a poem (p. 45) or not (pp. 110-1, 142-3). In some cases (pp. 30-1) the catchwords match the typeface of the following page, but not in all cases (pp. 31-2). In one instance (pp. 30-1), the catchword is misspelled. In the first two pages of “Upon Nothing” (pp. 51-2) the catchwords correspond to the numbering of the next stanza, but in the third (p. 53), the compositor prefers instead of the next word, “*French*,” over the expected “16.” It appears to be a book printed with some difficulty, or at best, as a collaboration between multiple compositors.

³¹ David Vieth, “The Text of Rochester and the Editions of 1680,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 50 (1956), 243-263, and “Order of Contents as Evidence of Authorship: Rochester’s *Poems* of 1680,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 53 (1959), 293-308; Love, “The Rochester Circle.”

³² D. F. McKenzie, “Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices,” in *Making Meaning: “Printers of the Mind” and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S.J. (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 13-85.

³³ Nicholas Fisher, “Jacob Tonson and the Earl of Rochester,” *The Library* 6 (2005): 133-160, 144.

Moreover, Vieth surmises that the contents of that MS were assembled in the spring of 1680,³⁴ though that conclusion depends entirely on known dates of composition and an assumption that the Hansen collection was the source of the printer's collection, rather than copied from a common source. If the collection was "complete" circa spring 1680, and if the collection is a "rolling archetype" by which poems were added in related groups as it circulated,³⁵ then one could speculate that, just as its print publication corresponds to the October 21 assembly of the Exclusion Parliament, a source collection for *Poems* (1680) in manuscript could have been prepared in anticipation of the January 26 assembly. In that case, it would have already been in production when on 13 January 1679/80 that prorogation was again announced. A postponement of the project at that moment could account for any poems not available until spring, as that provided time to expand the collection. A delay from a January publication could also account for some of the inconsistencies in the typesetting if work had been suspended and then later in the year resumed. This chronology also better reconciles with suspicions that the Yale Osborn MS b. 105 Hansen collection is not the direct copy text for *Poems* (1680), which goes to explain the differences between the two collections. Had the printing process for *Poems* (1680) begun months earlier, the possibility arises that the Hansen collection could descend from the copy text of *Poems* (1680), or even from a partially-printed copy.

So if *Poems* (1680) is an Exclusion tract, published amid rising hostilities, what does it say? It is delicately ironic from the first page. Upon turning from the frontispiece, which boldly proclaims the volume to contain the work of "The E. of R - -," the reader immediately encounters a different voice, the speaker of "An Epistolary Essay from M. G. to

³⁴ David M. Vieth, *Attribution in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester's Poems of 1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 65.

³⁵ Love, "The Rochester Circle," 221.

O. B. upon their Mutual Poems,” which begins “Dear Friend.”³⁶ This work is a satirical monologue, like “The Platonick Lady,” in the voice of Rochester’s former friend and primary literary rival John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, and addressed to Rochester’s wayward protégé-cum-opponent John Dryden.³⁷ Its attribution to Rochester is not disputed. Importantly, as the first poem in the collection it establishes Rochester as a ventriloquist poet of multiple voices. Admittedly, reader responses can be unpredictable, as shown in de Sola Pinto’s modern misreading of the poem as if in Rochester’s own voice. And as “Satyr. [Timon]”³⁸ records, misattribution was on the mind of at least one writer of Restoration lampoons. The standard position that “it is clear ... that not all of them are by Rochester”³⁹ fails to consider either the book’s own self fashioning and the fact that Restoration readers are not twentieth century editors. De Sola Pinto’s modern misreading of the “Epistolary Essay” as if it were in Rochester’s own voice emphasizes the danger of interpretive error despite a long historical perspective and ample experience in reading Rochester. A first-time reader would have even less cause for doubt. Having followed the explicitly-ventriloquized “Epistolary Essay” and the many other persona poems, the many other back-and-forth poetic exchanges in the volume, and those cruder poems by Radcliffe⁴⁰ and D’Urfey,⁴¹ are more plausible attributions, even though they bear little resemblance to Rochester’s elegant style. Rochester’s capacity for dissimulation receives emphasis in Burnet, who refers to the colourful Alexander Bendo incident when Rochester had impersonated a mountebank as a means of hiding in plain sight:

³⁶ Rochester, in *Works*, ed. Love, 98-101, and in *Poems* (1680), 3-6.

³⁷ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 429. Love also notes scholarly dissent to that reading.

³⁸ Rochester, in *Works*, ed. Love, 258-63, and in *Poems* (1680), 105-111.

³⁹ Thorpe, in Rochester, *Poems on Several Occasions* (1680/1950), xxix.

⁴⁰ “A Call to the Guard by a Drum,” in *Poems* (1680), 131-8, and “Captain Ramble,” in *Poems* (1680), 146-51.

⁴¹ “Song. (‘Room, room, for a *Blade* of the *Town*’),” in *Poems* (1680), 72-3.

Being under an unlucky Accident, which obliged him to keep out of the way; He disguised himself, so that his nearest Friends could not have known him, and set up in *Tower-Street* for an *Italian Mountebank*, where he had a Stage, and practiced Physick for some Weeks not without success He took pleasure to disguise himself as a *Porter*, or as a *Beggar*; sometimes to follow some mean Amours, which for the variety of them, he affected; At other times, merely for diversion, he would go about in odd shapes, in which he acted his part so naturally, that even those who were on the secret, and saw him in these shapes, could perceive nothing by which he might be discovered.⁴²

His early poetry and early biography agree that John Wilmot was a man of many faces and voices. From a new reader's perspective the stylistic deviations of *Poems* (1680) are not necessarily "obvious" flaws in the corpus, but rather have the potential to be seen, at least by for some readers, as features of Rochester's poetry. That the "dishonest" early editions continued to include many "obviously" spurious works strongly indicates that Rochester's contemporaries were slow to reject an attribution.

Moreover, despite the apparent division between what we now know to be mostly genuine works near the front of the volume and more spurious works at the back, a number of key themes unify the text of *Poems* (1680). Twenty-eight items satirize human intellect in some form – reason, wit, and knowledge. Thirty attack the urban character of the court, town, and/or city. Thirty-nine fall into a general category of rake poems that celebrate seduction, illicit sex, brawling, or drunkenness, as individual or combined pastimes. Sixteen repeat the constitutionalist language of slavery and tyranny. Twelve contain at least mild blasphemy and/or anti-clerical invectives. Those poems which share the least with the others (i.e. those few which meet none or only one these criteria) tend to be parts of poetical exchanges or in dialogue with more representative content. For example Lady Rochester's genteel "Nothing adds to your fond fire" is a playful reply to her husband's more bawdy

⁴² Gilbert Burnet, *Some Passages of the Life and Death of The Earl of Rochester* (London, 1680), 27-8.

lyric,⁴³ and the spurious Ovidian verse epistle “Ephelia to Bajazet,” receives a thorough burlesque treatment via Rochester’s response.⁴⁴ Some such thematic outliers are parts of verse dialogues, others are translations (“Oh Love! how cold and slow to take my part”), and yet others are focused libertine conceits, such as “Upon his Drinking a Bowl,” which in the less-censored *Poems* (1680) version celebrates heroic triumphs in drunkenness and whoring.

The trio of Behn lyrics is the major exception, as their inclusion seems rather incidental in respect to these generic categories. Their unifying criterion is style, rather than substance. Behn’s erotic verses, “The Disappointment” and “On a Giniper Tree Now Cut Down,” are both seduction lyrics with stylistic and verbal similarities to Rochester, particularly to “The Imperfect Enjoyment,” even if they lack Rochester’s libertine attitude. The epitaph, “On the Death of Mr. *Greenhill* the Famous *Painter*” is the greater outlier, which only seems to connect to the rest of the volume by way of its reflections on beauty and its representation of English urbanity. Like Rochester, Behn writes smooth and elegant verse. On the other end of the stylistic spectrum, some of the most un-Rochesterian poems, especially those by Radcliffe, have the greater thematic harmony with the book as a whole. When considered alongside Rochester’s already-emphasized proficiency at ventriloquizing in verse and his famous ability to disguise himself in life, such stylistic and generic similarities unify the text, which is at least an anthology of urbane and libertine poetry, as a plausible corpus of a single author.

To return to the first page, the ventriloquized “Epistolary Essay” is one of Rochester’s more controversial poems. Scholarly explications follow two different trends.

⁴³ “Song (‘Give me leave to raile at you’)” and “The Answer [by Elizabeth Wilmot, Countess of Rochester]” in *Works*, ed. Love, 18-19, and in *Poems* (1680), 63-4.

⁴⁴ “Ephelia to Bajazet [by Sir George Etherege?]” and “A very heroical epistle in answer to Ephelia,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 94-7, and in *Poems* (1680), 138-42

Pinto argues on the basis of evidence from other manuscripts that the “M.G. to O.B.” title found in *Poems* (1680) is faulty. He rather interprets it as Rochester speaking in his own persona to Mulgrave before an abortive duel turned their friendship into a life-long rivalry. Vieth conjectures more persuasively “M.G.” as the syllables of “Mulgrave” and finds Dryden in “O.B.” via such hypothesized initializations as “Old Bays” or “Orpheus Brittaina.” A simpler explanation is that “O.B.” is some manuscript corruption. Perhaps from an early, rougher, manuscript, the title was mis-transcribed. Similarly plausible, perhaps more so to a reader in October 1680, is that, as “M.G.” stands for “Mulgrave,” “O.B.” could represent the syllables of “Osborne,” and thus indicate the embattled and unpopular Earl of Danby, who had a vast array of enemies in all parties and who was then in the Tower.⁴⁵ To deduce any implications from this possibility would be difficult. Personal connections between Mulgrave or Rochester and Danby are few. But it deserves note that in October 1680 Danby was from prison engaged in a pamphlet war with Sir Robert Howard,⁴⁶ whose poet brother, Edward, M.G. mocks in the “Epistolary Essay.” And other satires refer to Danby as “Osborne.”⁴⁷ That reading of “O.B.” would have the “Epistolary Essay” seem to suggest that Mulgrave has acted as Danby’s agent. Any suggestion of association would constitute character assassination. Unfortunately, the title remains a mystery. Vieth’s argument that the letter is from Mulgrave to Dryden is entirely speculation, albeit beginning from the same evidence available to a reader of that first print edition. Whatever the title, Pinto’s reading of the speaker as Rochester fails to take into account the extent to which the

⁴⁵ Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 25-8.

⁴⁶ Mark Knights, “Osborne, Thomas, first duke of Leeds (1632–1712),” *ODNB*.

⁴⁷ “Britannia and Raleigh. by. A.M.” in *A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State by A.M. and other Eminent Wits* (London, 1689), 7. The speaker refers to the parliamentary corruptions of the late 1670s in “Osburn’s Golden Cheat,” a probable use of the narrative of the “cheat” from Marvell’s *Account of the Growth of Poetry and Arbitrary Government*.

satire comes at that speaker's expense, and as it relies on external evidence it is irrelevant to any reading of the "Epistolary Essay" in *Poems* (1680), for the 1680 speaker is "M.G."

The "Epistolary Essay" challenges the courtier's claims to excellence and refinement by exposing his scatological nature, and by debasing the social networks in which Mulgrave and Dryden circulated. That speaker M.G. complains of the "sawcy *Censurers*" (l. 2) who have unfairly denied him the poetic status that he feels he deserves, and which "is inseparable from social conduct."⁴⁸ His essay, a self-contradictory and abortive rant which comes "close to producing a *reductio ad absurdum* on his own argument,"⁴⁹ undermines his claims to excellence with every sophistic twist and turn. He appeals to a hyper-subjective creativity which permits him to reject the authority of other critics, in a kind of poetic libertinism:

If I designed to please, the way were then,
To mend my Manners, rather than my *Pen*:
The first's unnatural, therefore unfit,
And for the second, I despair of it.
Since Grace is not so hard to get as Wit. (ll. 25-9)

M.G. insists that his poetry goes unread not because of any aesthetic fault, but because he is a social outcast. What he perceives as his own inherent excellence is a commodity rarer than any popularity ("Grace"), which the context suggests that he could achieve by being a less irritating person. Instead of mending his ways, he rejects the judgment of others in favour of his self-declaredly superior unrestrained creativity. M.G.'s most vivid argument in defence of his right to defy critics begins with an assertion that none is under obligation to read or consume his verse:

Perhaps ill *Verses*, ought to have been confin'd
In meer good breeding like unsav'ry Wind:

⁴⁸ Vieth, *Attribution*, 121.

⁴⁹ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 429.

Were reading forc'd, I should be apt to think,
Men might no more write scurvily than stink. (ll. 30-3)

From this premise M.G. argues that because reading his poetry is an optional experience, he feels no obligation to restrain any more than a bodily function and extends that scatological metaphor:

But 'tis your choice, whether you'll read, or no,
If likewise of your smelling it were so.
I'd Fart just as I write for my own ease,
Nor shou'd you be concerned unless you please.
I'll own, that you write better than I do,
But I have as much need to write as you.
What tho the Excrements of my dull *Brain*,
Flows in a harsh insipid strain;
Whilst your rich head, eases itself of Wit.
Must none but *Civit Cats* have leave to shit? (ll. 38-43)

As a civit is an exotic cat, the anal glands of which are put to use in the making of musk perfumes, one might (erroneously) assume that its droppings share that quality. M.G.'s question implies that the exercise of creative faculties should not be only for the exceptional "fragrant" talent such as O.B.

M.G.'s continued alignment of his work with bodily functions becomes self-defeating, and this poetaster's embarrassing speech is analogous to foppish courtiers' false sense of refinement. Whether the excrement in question comes from the perfumed civit or otherwise, it stinks. Pinto's reading of this as if a Rochesterian creative manifesto thus overlooks that M.G.'s apology for his poetry has gotten out of his control. The later-held belief that poetry comes from spontaneous inspiration has little currency in the seventeenth-century. Rochester is less likely to have appealed to such romantic authority, especially given the similarity to the claims of inspired religious "fanatics." Where Thormählen faults Griffin's reading that "debasement of poetry by comparing it to excrement" is a possibly

Rochesterian feature, she does so without providing any substantial interpretation of the passage.⁵⁰ Vieth claims that “M.G.’s notion of poetry as mere physical excrement contrasts ironically with the traditional belief that poetry was a product of those higher faculties, such as speech, reason, and a moral sense which differentiated man from beasts.”⁵¹ That too may be an overly complicated reading.

The joke that these critics seem to overlook, or at least which their own senses of decorum may prevent them from directly stating, hides in M.G.’s apparent lack of self-awareness. He is blissfully unaware that he has produced these fourteen lines of verse, an octave and a sextet, to argue inadvertently that both his and O.B.’s poetry (which “eases” from his head) is “shit.”⁵² This is more than a simple scatological metaphor, but rather a hilariously revolting piece of criticism with further implications for the social networks and coterie circulation in which M.G. participates with O.B. Rochester pronounces a similar verdict in his poem upon “My Lord All-Pride,” more unanimously agreed to be at Mulgrave’s expense, and casts some more light on the joke:

His starved fancy, is compell’d to take,
Among the *Excrements* of others wit,
To make a stinking *Meal* of what they shit.
So *Swine*, for nasty *Meat*, to *Dunghil* run,
And toss their gruntling *Snowts* up when they’ve done.⁵³

Lord All-Pride is an enthusiastic consumer of such rank and offensive matter. M.G., also producing “Excrements of wit,”⁵⁴ has a taste so bad that he is unaware that those witticisms he consumes and spreads are the unwanted castoffs and scraps of better minds and pens.

⁵⁰ Marianne Thormählen, *Rochester: The Poems in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 339.

⁵¹ Vieth, *Attribution*, 123.

⁵² Vieth, in *Attribution*, 123, circumspectly offers this reading; David Farley-Hills, in *Rochester’s Poetry* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978) also suggests it but stops short in his polite analysis.

⁵³ Rochester, “My Lord All-Pride,” in *Works* ed. Love, 93-4; in *Poems* (1680), 144-5, ll. 8-12.

⁵⁴ This metaphor also appears in the consensus-spurious “Upon the Author of a Play call’d *Sodom*, in *Poems* (1680), 129, later attributed to Oldham.

Rochester was no foe of poetic imitation, but M.G. does not seem to imitate anything worth reading. That context gives a much more disgusting coprophagic dimension to his boast to O.B. of their mutual transmission of wit to the town: “through me; They are partakers of your *Poetry*” (l. 7). M.G.’s intellectual diet (and by extension his production) is by his own unwitting admission already digested *poesia* – the scavenged excretions of others’ creative faculties. M.G. even relies on recycled jokes in the epistle itself. To praise O.B.’s work, M.G. claims that “T’obtain one line of your well worded sence / Id’e be content t’have writ the British Prince” (l. 10-11). Edward Howard’s narrative poem *The British Princes* (1669) was often the subject of ironic praise, and mocked in the Buckingham circle.⁵⁵ But even by the mid 1670s, the earliest likely time of composition for “The Epistolary Essay,” this joke was stale.⁵⁶ Four other items in *Poems* (1680), Rochester’s “On Poet *Ninny*” (“Crushed by that just contempt his Folly’s bring”),⁵⁷ and the spurious Etherege-Buckhurst series “On Mr. *E----- H-----* upon his *B----- P-----*” (“Come on ye Critticks! find one fault who dare”), “On the Same Author upon his *B----- P-----*” (“As when a Bully, draws his Sword”), and “On the Same Author upon his New Ut----” (“Thou damn’d Antipodes to common sense”),⁵⁸ also have fun at Howard’s expense. Attacks on Howard are commonplaces. Such are the castoffs that M.G. enthusiastically consumes and further excretes.

That M.G. is oblivious to the reflexive implications of his own claims is the satire’s running gag. He attempts to perform as a great wit, but each twist of the “Epistolary Essay” further exposes him as witless. His next argument in favour of his unrestrained right to write begins with a claim to the fair distribution of wit in the world: “Unequally the partial hand of

⁵⁵ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 430.

⁵⁶ Thormählen, *Rochester*, 343.

⁵⁷ In *Works*, ed. Love, 107-8; in *Poems* (1680), 143-4.

⁵⁸ In *Poems* (1680), 88-9, 89-90, 90-1.

Heav'n / Has all but this One only blessing giv'n" (ll. 54-5). He supports this statement with the observation that that none feels himself to be witless or will admit to possessing less wit than his or her peers. The democratization of wit is at odds with his other assertion against critics, that "grace is not so hard to get as Wit" (l. 29). On these premises, he syllogises that, based on his ability to judge other poets, he can judge his own poetry to be the best. But his self-contradictions and prior admission that his poetry is shit undermine that appeal to his own judgment. That lack of self-awareness and those self-contradictory habits align M.G. with the more famous caricature of self-indulgent Dryden, Mr. Bays of Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*, whose entire aesthetic project establishes him as the fool of the town. Whether (or however) "O.B." refers to Dryden directly, his widely-known nickname, "Bays," appears early in the poem (l. 6). M.G., like Mr. Bays, writes with "arrogance" (l. 80) and denounces his critics' "rules" and "musty customs" (l. 86), even though he offers rules of his own (l. 14). Worst of all, M.G. repeatedly emphasizes that he lacks the bays, and is not as good as his addressee: he is inferior even to a bombastic fop of the burlesque stage. Rather than mend his manners or refine his poetic skills, he stubbornly continues to write "at home," to ignore the taste of his literary community, and then to complain of the inevitable censure. This feature also accounts for past difficulties in explaining "An Epistolary Essay" – the speaker's logic runs in circles and his criticism trips over itself time and again.

To open the book with the "Epistolary Essay," in addition to the already-discussed implication which Rochester's ventriloquism has in attribution, establishes Rochester as an acid caricaturist. A 1680 reader would identify this satirical character of a town wit with Mulgrave: Vieth claims that any astute reader "could scarcely have mistaken M.G. for

anyone else.”⁵⁹ Mulgrave was a Tory, and had a hostile relationship with the Exclusionists’ candidate, the Duke of Monmouth, who had blocked Mulgrave’s “wish to command the 1st troop of Horse Guards.” Mulgrave allegedly in revenge sowed “animosity” between Monmouth and the Duke of York.⁶⁰ The recent discovery of a previously unknown incomplete manuscript witness to “The Epistolary Essay” suggests that in the late 1670s that it was circulated “to strengthen links between the Monmouthite avant-garde in the metropolis and a network of influential Whig landowners.”⁶¹ Tensions between Mulgrave and the Exclusionists make him as likely a target for a Whig attack in 1680 as his rivalry with Rochester had previously made him a target for more personal attacks. Moreover, Exclusion allegory can be teased from M.G.’s aspirations to wit: Mulgrave was in 1680 given the command of a “poorly planned” and clumsily executed expedition to Tangier.⁶² The more conspiratorial reading of “O.B.” would suggest that Mulgrave has acted as Danby’s agent (“through me...”), and advanced the latter’s much suspected schemes in support of arbitrary government. Just as M.G. fails as an aspiring intellectual and promotes and propagates bad poetry, so too Mulgrave fails as an aspiring leader and politician, and he spreads bad policy. The supposed refinement of Restoration courtiers is exposed as base and misplaced.

Misplaced intellectual confidence is satirized more generally in the second poem of *Poems* (1680), Rochester’s famous “Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind).”⁶³ It appears here in its longer, expanded version, which includes the “Addition” – a 52-line coda of

⁵⁹ Vieth, *Attribution*, 129.

⁶⁰ Margaret D. Sankey, “Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721),” *ODNB*. Mulgrave was created Duke of Buckingham and Normanby in 1703.

⁶¹ Paul Davis, “An unrecorded collection of Restoration scribal verse including three new Rochester manuscripts,” *English Manuscript Studies* 18 (2013): 139-172, 155.

⁶² Sankey, “Sheffield,” *ODNB*.

⁶³ Nicholas Fisher, “The Contemporary Reception of Rochester’s “A Satyr against Mankind,”” *The Review of English Studies* 57 (2006): 185-220, 185.

cynical political and anti-clerical elaborations. Significantly, *Poems* (1680) is one of the earliest appearances of this expansion, the other being the corresponding Yale Osborn MS b. 105. The “Satyr” had the previous year appeared as an anonymous broadside, but without the “Addition,” and so its expanded form in *Poems* (1680) demands consideration. The attribution of the “Satyr” to Rochester is among the most solid in his corpus. That the “Addition” is less certain goes too little acknowledged. Fisher situates it as a further response to such clerics as Edward Stillingfleet who had attacked the “Satyr” and its arguments in sermons in the mid 1670s.⁶⁴ Griffin’s attempt to align the “Addition” with the rest of the “Satyr” inadvertently emphasizes its heterogeneity:

Thematically and stylistically, it bears some marks of an afterthought, still savagely indignant, but essentially a more conventional form of satire in balanced couplets on dishonesty and corruption in church and state. There is nothing in the epilogue, for example, about right reason or false reasoning, or (until the final couplet) about theriophily.⁶⁵

The attribution and dating of the “Addition” rests mostly on what is “possible.”⁶⁶

Thormählen’s otherwise detailed reading of the “Satyr” supports the attribution of the “Addition” with an unfortunate appeal to ignorance: “There is no reason to doubt Rochester’s authorship, which makes it a legitimate member of the canon.”⁶⁷ On the contrary, there are at three reasons to at least question the attribution of the “Addition” to Rochester. First, as Griffin notes, internally it is “more conventional” and contains “nothing” of the satire’s main theme, and thus is inconsistent with the rest. Second, its approach to argumentation is inconsistent with Rochester’s other works. Third, no evidence firmly establishes that the “Addition” existed prior to 1680, by which June Rochester was

⁶⁴ Ibid, 193.

⁶⁵ Dustin Griffin, *Satires Against Man: The Poems of Rochester* (Berkeley: University California Press, 1973), 239-40.

⁶⁶ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 562.

⁶⁷ Thormählen, *Rochester*, 163.

infirm, recanting his libertinism, and most importantly, ordering the destruction of his manuscripts.

To specify a date for the “Addition” is trickier than for the rest of the “Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind).” The main “Satyr” first appeared in print as a broadside in June 1679, without the “Addition.” The earliest dated manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 306 (“Anno. 74”) and Cambridge, King’s College Library, Hayward Collection, H 11 13 (“scr June 1674”) also end with line 173.⁶⁸ The authoritative “Gyldenstolpe” manuscript witnesses of the “Satyr” completed with the “Addition” are undated and likely from after 1680.⁶⁹ Most manuscript witnesses to the “Addition” accompany material ranging from the 1660s into the 1690s, and even later, and they lack dates of transcription, so they are not useful for establishing a firm chronology. Love is noncommittal on the dating, first hypothesizing that it was “put into circulation up to a year later than the original satire,” but then conceding that the “absolute chronology is unknown.”⁷⁰ Love’s and John Burrows’s computational attribution method uses the “Addition” as part of the control group⁷¹ and gives no indication that its authorship was anything but taken for granted, so those results are not useful for this case. The “Addition” appears in the manuscript most commonly associated with *Poems* (1680), Yale Osborn MS b. 105. As that manuscript was likely commissioned from a scriptorium at the beginning of September 1680,⁷² some months after Rochester’s death and nearly a year after his decline, it has no greater authority in attribution. Of all other manuscript witnesses which Love records for the “Addition,” only

⁶⁸ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 383, 573.

⁶⁹ “Royal Library, Stockholm, MS Vu. 69,” and “The Duke of Beaufort, Badminton FmE 3/12” in *CELM*.

⁷⁰ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 558, 561.

⁷¹ John Burrows, “Appendix I: A Computational Approach to the Rochester Cannon,” in Rochester, *Works*, ed. Love, 705.

⁷² Love, “The Rochester Circle,” 232-3.

two suggest a possible pre-1680 appearance. British Library, Lansdowne MS 936 (*BLL36*) is inscribed “White Kennett ex aulâ Scti Edmundi apud Oxonienses: Octobris 18mo 1678.” This date represents the beginning of the collection, to which the Rochester poems were probably added “between November 1678 and January 1681.”⁷³ The “Satyr” and “Addition” could have been transcribed into the volume before *Poems* (1680) was published, but not necessarily. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 176,⁷⁴ is according to Love a “personal miscellany complete by late 1670s,”⁷⁵ but he does not explain upon what evidence he bases this claim.

Moreover, the attribution of the “Addition” to Rochester is less firm than the quiet scholarly consensus would indicate, and its 1680 appearance adds an exclusionist inflection to the “Satyr.” The strongest evidence for Rochester’s authorship is the prose preface “To the Reader” which accompanies the “Satyr” and the “Addition” in Yale Osborn MS b 334 “Hartwell” manuscript. That collection is “of the highest authority” as “it seems to derive from a lost collection of Rochester’s writings circulating among his extended family,”⁷⁶ and was compiled “c. mid-1680s.”⁷⁷ The preface appears in the persona of “Will<iam> Lovesey / Vic<a>r of Bampt<on>” (ll. 95-6), writing in July 1679 to complain of the scurrilous clerical responses to the recent broadsheet version of the “Satyr.” Significantly he claims the broadsheet to be “very corrupt and Erronious” (l. 76) and presents a cheekily-described “Reasonable, morall and orthodox” (l. 93) authorial version which “has Layne by me these seaven Yeares” (l. 89). If the relationship between “To the Reader” and that version of the

⁷³ Hilton Kelliher, “Rochester: Anecdotes and Ungathered Texts,” *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 18 (2013): 117-138, 125.

⁷⁴ MS Don. E. 176 is sometimes designated “Sparrow Gift,” and in Love’s bibliography abbreviated *Od76*.

⁷⁵ Harold Love, “Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. e 176 (Sparrow gift) (Od76),” *Source Index*.

⁷⁶ Harold Love and Stephen Parks, “A reasonable satyr,” *Times Literary Supplement* [London England] 1 Aug. 1997: 13. *Times Literary Supplement Historical Archive*, accessed 11 July 2014.

⁷⁷ “Yale, Osborn MS b 200 through end,” *CELM*.

“Satyr” as appears in the Hartwell manuscript is genuine and not the work of a compiler, then that preface could represent Rochester’s intervention into the “Satyr” controversy with an expanded version.

Setting aside the questions posed by that single manuscript preface, no secondary text or response to the “Satyr” establishes that the “Addition” was in circulation before 1680. Edward Pococke’s *An Answer to the Satyr Against Mankind* engages exclusively with the argument of the satire’s main body. Pococke’s use of “Sort” for “Case” (a print variant on Rochester’s fourth line) in his opening “strongly” indicates that he was probably working from the shorter broadside.⁷⁸ The anonymous “Answer to a Satyr against Reason & Mankind” also seems to respond to the shorter version without the contingent offer to recant if presented with evidence of one successful virtuous man at court.⁷⁹ The “Answer” actually agrees with the arguments in the “Addition” in that it makes a similar query about the scarcity of virtue: “But are there no men godlike just and true / With whom it’s small to give all their due” (ll. 122-3). It also claims “They smart and they rage though they will not repent” (l. 182), even though an offer of such repentance is the very thesis of the “Addition.” No mention whatsoever is made of the anticlerical assertions in the “Addition.” The other documented response, “An answer to ye L—d Rochester’s Satyre against man, by Tho: Lessey of Waddam Coll: Ox.n,” appeals to the existence of virtuous citizens as counter-examples to the claim that all men are knaves:

Unto themselves true men are Gods, & friends.
Whose kindnesse, affability & love
Makes these abodes below, like those above,
Good without self, & without fawning kind

⁷⁸ Fisher, “Contemporary Reception,” 196.

⁷⁹ Cambridge University Library Add. MS 42 fo. 24^{r-v}, in Fisher, “Contemporary Reception,” 215-20.

And own no greatnesse, but a virtuous mind.⁸⁰

This response also seems to be made in ignorance of any promise to recant if shown a single good man. It seems equally plausible that the “Addition” is a response to the Lessey position – a demand for examples of supposed “true” men. The closest that Lessey’s answer comes to acknowledging the “Addition” is the extended character of “y^e men of sence” (l. 147) which comprises the second half of his satire, and which could serve as something of a *quid pro quo* for the hostile portrait of English clergy, or alternately as a response to the ventriloquized “reasoning man” of the main satire (ll. 48-71), set off in italic in *Poems* (1680).

Some internal features of the “Addition” also cast doubt on the attribution. The offer to “here Recant my Paradox” if presented with a truly virtuous man is uncharacteristic of Rochester. It has been argued that the “epilogue” fits with the rest; that an unattainable conditional recantation reinforces the “relentless” aspects of the satire.⁸¹ But we must consider also that to offer a recantation contradicts the satire’s explicit claims. Indeed, the only other use of the word “recant” in Rochester’s poetry is that previous declaration in the “Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind)” that he never will do so: “Thus I think Reason righted, but for Man, / I’le ne’re recant, defend him if you can” (ll. 113-14). The closest synonym, “repent” appears only slightly more frequently in Rochester’s works. He uses it in a carpe diem “Song” imploring a lover to “repent” her chastity and thus increase, rather than end, her libertine activities: “Phillis, be gentler I advise, / Make up for tyme mispent, / When Beauty on its Death-Bed lyes, / ‘Tis high tyme to Repent” (ll. 1-4). It appears also in “The Disabled/Maim’d Debauchee” as a denunciation of conventional morality, and in two similar

⁸⁰ “An Answer to ye L—d Rochester’s Satyre against man, by Tho: Lessey of Waddam Coll: Ox.n” in British Library Harlein MS 6207 fos. 60^f-65^v, in Fisher, “Contemporary Reception,” 206-15, ll. 139-43.

⁸¹ Griffin, *Satires*, 240.

libertine statements in *Lucina's Rape*, (IV.3, l. 28; V.2, l. 5). Only five of his letters offer some form of "repentance": two to his mistress Elizabeth Barry, with whom he had been quarrelling and attempting to reconcile, one to his wife, and two on his deathbed.⁸² Nowhere amid his many scandals or troubles at court does he offer to repent his actions or recant his ideas. Even expressions of simple regret are scarce. Nowhere else, at least not until his famous dialogue with Burnet, does Rochester even imply the possibility that he might recant or repent anything for any reason.

The argument of the "Addition" is also uncharacteristic of Rochester, in that it appears unusually topical. The call for a single virtuous man is a common Exclusionist claim, with an echo of the anxieties expressed in Marvell's *The Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (1678). Marvell's *Account* exposes a case that a popish and absolutist faction, which tacitly includes the king, has subverted both the Lords and Commons through guile, bribery, and double-dealing. The Lords who oppose the corruption of the Crown and the Bishops – notably Shaftsbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton – are committed to the Tower by a motion that Marvell argues was animated by bribery.⁸³ These conspirators advance their plot by exploiting the secrecy of parliamentary proceedings and the trust of the people:

It is true, that by his Majesty and the Churches care, under Gods special providence, the Conspiracy hath received frequent disappointments. But it is here as in Gaming, where though the Cheat may lose for a while, to the Skill or good fortune of a fairer Player, and sometimes on purpose to draw him in deeper, yet the false Dice must at the long run Carry it, unless discovered, and when it comes once to a great Stake, will Infallibly Sweep the Table.⁸⁴

⁸² Rochester, *Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Jeremy Treglown (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 132, 180, 177, 244, and 246.

⁸³ Marvell, *An Account of the Growth of Arbitrary Government*, in *Prose Works*, 2:297-8.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:375.

Marvell had also lauded virtuous men, though “few the number” (l. 989), in the conclusion of *The Last Instructions*. The longer version of Rochester’s satire makes that allegation in two parts. First, in the original poem he argues that the virtuous man is merely setting himself up to be the victim:

The Good he acts the Ill he does endure
Tis all from Feare to make himself secure.
Meerly for safety after fame we thirst;
For all men would be Cowards if they durst.
And Honesty’s against all common sense;
Men must be Knaves, tis in their own defence. (l. 155-60)

This can on its own stand as a philosophical abstraction. But in the “Addition,” the statement draws to a much more Exclusionist point:

If so upright a Statesman you can find,
Whose passions bend to his unbiass’d mind;
Who does his Arts and Policies apply,
To raise his Country, not his Family.
Nor while his Pride own’d Avarice withstands,
Receives close Bribes through Friends corrupted hands. (185-90)

The satire thus argues not just for the lack of a virtuous man, but for the lack of a man who does not let his virtue become a vulnerability to be exploited by Marvell’s “Cheat.” The four lords may have been “upright Statesmen,” but for their honesty and attempts to (as the “Addition” puts it) “raise” the “Country” they end up in the Tower and they are gulled by the more-sophisticated “Knaves.” For Rochester explicitly to advance some political agenda is as uncharacteristic as repentance. Certainly Rochester comments on political persons or ideologies, or “disillusioned idealism,”⁸⁵ as in his court satires or “A Ramble in St. James’s Park” (below). But he more often mocks personalities or contemplates universal ideas. Nowhere else, at least not in any poem of certain authorship, does Rochester engage the

⁸⁵ Richard Harries, “Rochester’s ‘death-bed repentance,’” in *That Second Bottle: Essays on the Earl of Rochester*, ed. Nicholas Fisher (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 191.

parliamentary issues of the day. In fact, the conspiracies of *The Account* are the kind of “rabble” concern that Rochester typically remains above.

Conclusively to reassess the date and attribution of the “Addition” is a future task, and not crucial for present purposes. If Rochester did pen those concluding lines, he did so significantly later than the rest of the poem, and they remained private until *Poems* (1680). Of present importance is to recognize how with that mid-October publication, the “Addition” was for readers a revision to the “Satyr,” Rochester’s best-known poem then and now. It is thus an emphatic statement in the context of *Poems* (1680) as an Exclusion tract: a controlling conclusion that directs the satirical emphasis toward the much-dreaded corruption of statesmen and the hypocrisy of churchmen, and away from the theologians, philosophers, and poets mocked in the satire’s main body. Similarly, “Upon Nothing”⁸⁶ derides divines, but specifically (like the main “Satyr”) for hubris and vanity, not for hypocrisy (as in the “Addition”). That the political critique of the “Addition” was defanged and every trace of anticlericalism eliminated from the later Thorncome edition of Rochester’s *Poems* (1685),⁸⁷ and all 52 lines removed from Tonson’s version in *Poems* (1691)⁸⁸ indicates that it was viewed, at least by two editor-booksellers, as too problematic a text for an above-board imprint and no indispensable feature of “Rochester.” The echo of *The Account* in the “Addition” is the strongest statement of its purpose in *Poems* (1680): it takes Rochester’s general critique of human vanity and turns it into an argument more narrowly aligned with the complaints of corrupt Parliament voiced in Whig Exclusionism.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ In *Works*, ed. Love, 46-8; in *Poems* (1680), 51-4.

⁸⁷ A Late Person of Honour, [John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester], *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1685).

⁸⁸ John [Wilmot], Late Earl of Rochester, *Poems, &c. on Several Occasions: With Valentinian a Tragedy* (London, 1691).

⁸⁹ Randy Robertson and Garth Libhart, “Castrating Rochester: The Politics of the *Poems* in the 1680s,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75 (2012): 503-525, 507.

As a whole, in *Poems* (1680) the “Satyr” continues against the Tory position as the “Epistolary Essay” began. Its speaker expands on the satire of M.G.’s pretensions by continuing to mock wit and dismiss “Witts” as “common *Whores*” (l. 37) and “dang’rous Tools” (l. 41), whom the satire further connects to key constitutionalist concerns. The speaker compares the duplicity of men to the brutal honesty of beasts:

With Teeth, & Claws by Nature arm’d they hunt,
Nature’s allowance, to supply their want.
But *Man*, with smiles, embraces, Friendships, praise,
Unhumanely his Fellows life betrays. (ll. 133-6)

Parliamentary conflicts had long turned on “supply” and “allowance.” The allegations of betrayal suggest the Secret Treaty of Dover and the breaking of the Triple League with the protestant “Fellows,” the Netherlands and Sweden. These are again the betrayals of Marvell’s “Cheat.” Dissimulation hidden under reason recalls the privileges of an unlimited royal prerogative or “Reason of State,” as they were sometimes called.⁹⁰ The “Satyr” further expounds on bestial violence and produces another Whiggish rallying point:

For hunger, or for Love, they fight, or tear,
Whilst wretched *Man*, is still in Arms for fear;
For fear he armes, and is of Armes afraid,
By fear, to fear, successively betray’d. (ll. 139-42)

A reader in 1680 could easily see the controversial standing armies of Charles II in “still in Arms for fear,” and find the dreaded turn to tyranny, perhaps the tyranny of the popish heir apparent in “successively betray’d,” an heir possessed of “That lust of *Pow’r*” (l. 145). The “Epistolary Essay,” indicts its Tory representative M.G. as a moron with delusions of grandeur; the “Satyr” draws attention to the dangers in handing power to the bearers of such faulty reason.

⁹⁰ See OED, “reason, *n.*” P1.b, “reason of State *n.* a purely political ground of action on the part of a ruler or government, esp. as involving expediency or some departure from strict justice, honesty, or open dealing; also as a mass noun;” and “raison d’état, *n.*”

But Rochester's strongest mode is parody. The third poem in *Poems* (1680), "A Ramble in *St. James's Park*," is an anti-panegyric that mimics Waller's poem on the same pastoral space, especially in the opening thirty-two lines, in order now to subvert the idyllic themes that Waller had developed. The debt of Rochester's "Ramble" to Waller is more than happenstance or the convenience of a formal model. Following the standard approach for seventeenth-century pro-Stuart verse, Waller's *On St. James's Park* (1661) had depicted the monarch as a fountainhead of abundance and peace, returned as the centre of a newly-ordered nation. The "Ramble" inverts this theme and places the monarch at the centre of a debauched and carnivalesque world.

As a political satire or a lampoon, Rochester's "Ramble" has few if any poetical analogues outside of Rochester's own corpus to contextualize it as other than a jilted lover's invective. It perhaps shares *Hudibras*'s carnivalesque spirit, but Rochester's acid wit little resembles Butler's lampoon or satirical portraits. The better comparison is to the "Marvellian" body of state satires, many of which also rely on parody, especially of Waller, in presenting their arguments. But the "Ramble" shares little else with state or other courtly satires.⁹¹ Rochester here does not take obvious aim at any identifiable courtly figures, as is typical of his "court" satires. He instead works with types. Nor does the "Ramble" seem to be written at Waller's expense, despite his present royalist and Tory allegiances. Evidence indicates that the younger poet had respect and admiration for the elder one. Famously Etherege's *The Man of Mode* has Dorimant (traditionally read as a portrait of Rochester) know Waller astutely enough to quote him casually from memory.⁹² A pair of letters from Savile suggest an ongoing discussion of whether "the Old Gentleman Stinke in the sockett,

⁹¹ For an overview of these and other categories of English satire, see Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), especially chapters 2 and 4.

⁹² Pinto, *Portrait*, 78.

or blaze a little yet.”⁹³ Whatever he thought of Waller’s late works, Rochester unironically celebrates him in “An Allusion to Horace.” He there praises Waller’s inherent poetic strengths, teases Waller for his history of shifting allegiances, and diminishes Charles II by putting that king in opposition to the “great Conquerors” of Waller’s earlier panegyrics:

Waller, by Nature, for the *Bayes* design’d,
With force, and fire, and fancy unconfin’d,
In *Panegyricks*, does excell *Mankind*.
He best can turn, enforce, and soften things,
To praise great *Conquerors*, or to flatter Kings.⁹⁴

Nor does the “Ramble” simply contradict or reverse the praise offered in Waller’s earlier panegyric, as did the Advice-to-a-Painter poems. The “Ramble” demonstrates political dissatisfaction that defies easy categorization as pro- or anti-court, or as Whig or Tory. Rochester in the “Ramble” satirizes that Restoration courtly political establishment which Waller praised. In its earlier context, this poem is an anti-royalist satire – less concerned with royalty than with royalist vices – that is not necessarily anti-monarchical, and that is Whiggish only in the broadest sense of a critical view of king and court. If Rochester in the early 1670s could consider himself an outsider in respect to courtly social circles, that sentiment did not translate, in the way of “my enemy’s enemy is my friend,” into activist opposition to the king and the Duke of York.

Although the “Ramble” had been a court satire in manuscript, it became a state satire in print. The political climate of its printing in October 1680 substantially differs from that of its 1672 composition. And the eleven years between the writing of Rochester’s “Ramble” in 1672 and Waller’s original in 1661 already confound any reading of the “Ramble” as an easy topical parody for the 1670s. Rochester had written the “Ramble” from a distance,

⁹³ Rochester, *Letters*, 163, 168.

⁹⁴ Rochester, “An Allusion to Horace,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 71-4; in *Poems* (1680), 40-44, ll. 54-8.

instead of in the thick of any scandal. This is because his likely 1672 target had been not Waller, but the tradition of royalist language that Waller had represented. The generic subversion of Waller's original panegyric had given voice to a cavalier's cynicism about the restored Stuart regime and its perceived failings. Rochester had gone beyond imitating Waller's form as a means of attacking Waller's subject matter. This "Ramble" instead followed Waller into the tradition of Stuart abundance, upon which arcadian and pastoral fantasies Rochester wrought havoc. In other words, Rochester's satire had undermined the basic terms of Stuart propaganda both old and new. It did not much address any aspect of political climate of the early 1670s. By contrast, when the "Ramble" appears in print eight years later in *Poems* (1680), Stuart kingship is under siege. As a result, Rochester's contempt for Stuart propaganda fits neatly into the Exclusion chorus. Similar to what occurred with "I'th'Isle of Britain," a new context for the older satire allowed it to bring a different message to a new audience.⁹⁵

Rochester's parody occurs on all levels of the composition. Stylistically, he mimics Waller's characteristic versification, albeit conspicuously manipulating certain key features. The ease, smoothness, or regularity of Waller's verse is the stylistic feature that his admirers most often commended. His early works, dating to the 1630s, stylistically and linguistically seem farther than a single generation from the great Elizabethan poets: Waller's language is indisputably closer to Pope's than to Spenser's. The claim that Waller was the first "correct" English poet was a truism of eighteenth-century criticism, owing to his mastery of the closed pentameter couplet. Rochester somehow succeeds in adapting that balance and smoothness of Waller's closed and even pentameter couplets to the choppy rolling tempo of Butler's Hudibrastic. This regular non-stanzaic iambic tetrameter is the Restoration's mode for

⁹⁵ Love, "I'Th'Isle of Britain," 204-5.

burlesque lampoon, relying on varying closed rhyming couplets and quatrains, with indiscriminate enjambment within couplets and quatrains, and frequent feminine rhyme. It is also a royalist style, most used to mock the roundheads to whom the later Shaftesburian mobs of the 1670s and 80s were unfavourably compared. Rochester by and large avoids Butler's feminine rhymes and irregular end-stops, instead preferring the closed couplet, in order to create a hybrid of his two contrasting models. In so doing, he at once gestures at and trivializes the gravity of the panegyric. The "Ramble" is the only one of Rochester's longer discursive works to abandon iambic pentameter. The "Ramble" also differs from Rochester's other long works in that it eschews triplets and mostly avoids enjambment. A notable exception to Rochester's preference for irregular end-stops is "Say Heaven Born Muse,"⁹⁶ which is, like the "Ramble," a formal parody, but of Dryden's heroic style rather than of Waller. "Tunbridge Wells" and "An Allusion to Horace" make hectic use of dozens of enjambments and open couplets. These features are nearly absent from "Ramble." This stylistic and generic hybridity, where high-profile examples of panegyric and lampoon merge, indicates the care that Rochester put into his parody, which here seems no matter of accident.

Moreover a shift in tense matches the metrical change from Waller's pentameter to Rochester's tetrameter. Waller had worked in the present tense common to prospect, landscape, and country house poetry.⁹⁷ His speaker views and evaluates the entire scene as a timeless, static image. By contrast, Rochester, as his title states, follows a genre of ramble poetry in which a picaresque speaker recalls his or her adventures in navigating a path which

⁹⁶ In *Works*, ed. Love, 81-5; in *Poems* (1680), 35-40.

⁹⁷ For a reading of *On St. James's Park* in respect to Stuart abundance see Chapter II, above.

would be known to the reader, at least approximately.⁹⁸ Such “lusty roving”⁹⁹ is well-suited to the labyrinths of apartments, gathering places, and semi-detached structures in Whitehall, but the paths and groves of the park also serve. Rochester’s poem is thus dynamic: an event rather than a scene. Waller’s timeless mythological praise had emphasized the Stuarts’ successes as ongoing. Even in 1672 or 1680, that by now dated and perhaps hackneyed panegyric continued to sing the wonders of the “new” park in the present tense. Rochester’s past-tense report instead describes the Stuart failures and decline as complete.

Rochester mimics Waller from the first line, and opens his poem like the original with a statement on history and temporal perspective. Both poems begin with a reflexive glance at their own roles as discourse. Waller wonders if his poem will commemorate St. James’s as scripture has replaced lost Eden. His lofty thoughts and monumental air of myth and epic are overrun by Rochester’s preferred base and temporary passions, gossip, and Dionysian chaos: “Much wine had past with grave discourse, / Of who fucks who, and who does worse.”¹⁰⁰ These opening lines recursively evoke the libels (“grave discourse...”) that Rochester is now again producing, and the reader is now again consuming. In however different a key, Rochester revisits Waller’s conspicuous gesture to his own poem in which he ponders his work’s endurance compared to scripture’s.

Rochester too constructs St. James’s Park around the king, and he borrows Waller’s panegyric themes in doing so. But where Waller’s description offers the sacred, Rochester prefers the profane: “But though *St. James* has the honor on’t, / ‘Tis consecrate to *Prick* and *Cunt*” (ll. 9-10). Waller’s park is geometrical and orderly, in obedience to the king’s

⁹⁸ Love, *English Clandestine Satire*, 233, 236.

⁹⁹ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 410 n.O.I.

¹⁰⁰ Rochester, “A Ramble in St. James’s Park,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 76-80; in *Poems* (1680), 14-19, ll. 1-2.

command, but Rochester's is grotesque, anarchic, and driven by its own volition: "There by the most incestuous *Birth; / Strange Woods*, Spring from the teeming Earth" (ll. 11-12).

Like Waller, Rochester appeals to kings of time immemorial, but rather than to those of the golden age he traces the park's origins to when the "pensive" "Antient Pict,"¹⁰¹ a jilted, sexually frustrated, and priapic figure, "began to whore" (ll. 13-14). The Antient Pict does possess the generative power that Waller attributes to Charles II, but not via such a command that sets the trees growing in "even ranks" to "invade the sky." In the "Ramble" Rochester instead declares that the Pict

... in this place,
Would Frigg upon his *Mothers Face*:
Whence Rowes of *Mandrakes* tall did rise,
Whose lewd Tops Fuck'd the very Skies. (ll. 17-20)

This king (to the extent that he is a king in Rochester's version) is not a guardian of divine order, justice, or abundance, but rather the source of a lewd and toxic growth. Instead of "invading" the skies as Charles II's newly-planted trees had done in Waller's version, the Pict's phallic mandrakes rape and torture them. Notably, the mandrake is an anti-abundant symbol. It has a grotesque connection with fertility and death: in legend it hybridizes plant and human forms, was used as a conceptive, but also had a reputation as a poisonous narcotic. Further occult and supernatural qualities include the myth that it screams when harvested. That it is produced from the Pict's semen in an incestuous act causes it to function as a double symbol of debauchery and death, and perhaps a nod to the king's inability to produce a legitimate heir. And where the park moves for Waller's king's

¹⁰¹ The only other identifiable appearance of "Ancient Pict" in the seventeenth century is in Marvell's *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector* (1654-5), l. 318, as a figurative reference to Charles I. Also noteworthy is that Marvell compares Cromwell's orderly statecraft to the music of Orpheus and Amphion, prefiguring Waller's usage.

pleasure and the king's pleasure is the nation's good, the Pict just masturbates, a pleasure that is his alone.

Moreover the "Antient Pict" is rich with ambiguities that identify him with the House of Stuart, and probably Charles II specifically. The "Pictishness" gestures to the Stuarts' Scottish ancestry; Love glosses this passage as "a prefiguration of Charles II's planting of the park with new trees," as in Waller's representation.¹⁰² But the adjective "Antient" contains satiric multiplicities. Most literally, the Pict could be an epic figure representing long-forgotten origins. Or he could be an earlier Scot, perhaps Charles I. It could even work as a symbol for the House of Stuart in a glance at that house's history in representation and rumour. If "Antient" is alternately read as synonymous with "Ensign,"¹⁰³ this figure would refer to a Scot with subordinate influence and a parallel reputation for infidelity, likely the besieged Duke of York, whose military reputation renders him perhaps more "Pictish" than his brother, and of at least equal concern for any Whig-sympathetic 1680 reader.

As Rochester transforms Waller's authoritative king into a grotesque lecher, the pastoral St. James's Park in the "Ramble" encourages animal lust. In Waller's park the ladies and gallants enjoy both winter and summer amours amid natural and mythological features. Rochester's response mixes those ladies and gentlemen in depravity. The grotesque park is appropriately the setting for a violent debauch, set off with the same rhyme ("made," "shade") as Waller's corresponding passage:

Each imitative Branch does twine,
In some lov'd fold of *Aretine*.
And Nightly now beneath their shade,
Are *Bugg'ries*, *Rapes*, and *Incests* made. (ll. 21-4)

¹⁰² Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 410-1.

¹⁰³ OED "Ancient, n2," or "Antient" 1 in n2.

As in the Stuart panegyric, humanity and the garden are integrated. Yet here the result is not the paradisaical harmony of Stuart panegyric, but a further grotesque commingling of human and plant.

Rochester thus, like Waller, follows the park's refined inhabitants through their other pastimes, but deflects the event to his own purposes. Rochester's ladies and gallants engage in an all-inclusive, perhaps anarchic, orgy as they debase their elite bodies with the flesh of every social class:

Unto this All-sin-sheltring *Grove*,
Whores of the *Bulk*, and the *Alcove*,
 Great *Ladies*, *Chamber-Maids*, and *Drudges*,
 The *Rag-picker*, and *Heiress* trudges:
Carr-men, *Divines*, great *Lords*, and *Taylors*,
Prentices, *Poets*, *Pimps* and *Gaolers*;
Foot-Men, fine *Fops*, do here arrive,
 And here promiscuously they swive. (ll. 25-32)

For Rochester to represent members of the elite ruling class as integrated “promiscuously” (using the older sense of a disorderly heterogeneous mass¹⁰⁴) into the haphazard rabble seems a significant censure that undermines aristocratic claims to exceptionality and power. This cavalcade of assorted high and low types (his “Tunbridge Wells” begins similarly) repurposes the common royalist representations of “the mob.” Oppositional groups, especially religious nonconformists, apprentices, or Whigs, become chaotic and carnivalesque in texts more sympathetic to the Crown. An example contemporary to Waller's panegyric is the skimmington ride from the beginning of Butler's *Hudibras*. Closer to the printing of the “Ramble,” Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* also features such a poetic mob. And Rochester expresses little love for the common man: we are not to suppose that this passage somehow elevates the lower-class participants. In “An Allusion to

¹⁰⁴ Griffin, *Satires*, 30.

Horace,” he uses “the Rabble and the Court” (ll. 17) as opposites which together denote the entire public, and ends by declaring “I loath the Rabble, ‘tis enough for me / if [... a few elite wits] / Approve my sence, I count their [the rabble’s] Censure Fame” (ll. 120-4). In Rochester “common” is a derogatory term, by and large synonymous to “base.” His “Ramble” collapses the social strata which order traditional English society, creating from them chaos in this orgiastic “grove” which the speaker sardonically terms “hallow’d Walks” (l. 30).

But such a chaotic list is also a form of abundance. Rochester imposes some order on his array of types with characteristically Wallerian symmetry. He plays with the closed couplet form. The first couplet, lines 21-2, sets the “All-sin-sheltring *Grove*” against the “*Alcove*,” meaning the curtained recess of the bedchamber in which the king (or other court patron) slept (or entertained his mistresses). This was the most private depth of the court institution. Here the most favoured courtiers would wait on the king, as Rochester himself once had. But these privileged aristocrats mix with the “*Whores of the Bulk*.” The “bulk” is the main, open area of a public establishment such as a church or shop, so this passage thus makes reference to the lower-class prostitutes of the common areas, in opposition to those of the more private courtly chambers.¹⁰⁵ The ladies-in-waiting are thus sexual objects in a parallel construction with common streetwalkers, and the courtly bedchambers likened to the “sin-sheltring *Grove*.” The following couplet emphasizes the status of the remaining female participants in the orgy. Beginning with “*Great Ladies*,” status decreases through the line: “*Chamber-Maids, and Drudges*,”¹⁰⁶ only symmetrically then to crescendo in the second half of the couplet, from the lowly “*Rag-picker*” all the way back up to the “*Heiress*.” Such an

¹⁰⁵ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 411.

¹⁰⁶ OED “Drudge” n. cites an unclear etymology which in some early examples denote a female.

oscillation from high to lowest and back suggests a clear and sensible hierarchy. But the survey of male participants in the next couplet complicates the scheme. The first recounted are “*Carr-Men*” and “*Divines*,” who give way to “great *Lords*.” But the line ends with “*Tailors*,” thereby placing the ostensibly highest-status figure in the third of four positions. The other half of the couplet follows that pattern in reverse, with “*Prentices*,” the (presumably) greater “*Poets*,” and then the obviously lower “*Pimps* and *Gaolers*.” Does this constitute a scheme for expressing hierarchy by placing the peak nearer to the middle of the lines? The difficulty in establishing a male hierarchy through this couplet complicates any attempts to assign a strict order of preference on the speaker’s part. Such confusion weakens any female hierarchy sketched in the preceding couplet, undermining the supremacy of the “*Great Ladies*” over the “*Drudges*.” To complete the passage, the speaker introduces two more categories of men: the lowly “*Foot-Men*” and the now ambiguously greater “fine *Fops*.” The footman had association with male prostitution and female desire in Restoration libels, such as the similarly promiscuous Lady Castlemaine’s affinity for her footman’s “brazen calves” and “brawny thighs” in Marvell’s *Last Instructions* (l. 85), or her descent into the porter’s quarters in Rochester’s “Song (‘Quoth the Duchess of Cl---, to Mrs. Kn---’).”¹⁰⁷ These men are symmetrical with the earlier pair of low and high “*Whores*.” The fine fools and servants are simply the male counterparts to those female prostitutes of courtly culture – persons of varying status who sell themselves as a matter of course. And the passage ends as it began, with a gesture to the place (“here”) and a Wallerian flourish (“promiscuously”), enhancing the meter of the closing line with that polysyllabic adverb.

Rochester thereafter abandons the “local parody” and moves to a more general and generic imitation. The remainder of Waller’s poem, after he concludes the description of the

¹⁰⁷ Rochester, in *Works*, ed. Love, 90, and in *Poems* (1680), 59.

lovers in pastoral paradise, delves into finer details regarding the king, his virtues, and his expected successes as a leader. Rochester makes a similarly detailed digression from the park's sexual activities, wandering off into more specific exploits of the courtly elite. The orgiastic anarchy turns to the subsequent portrait of the "Three *Knights*, o'th'Elbow" (l. 45), which figures mock the superficiality of courtly affectation. The "Knights" (and "Corinna," below) lack a specific analogue in Waller's original, but their adventures explode the activities of the courtiers in the park. Like those of the members of the orgy, their escapades further explore the darker aspects of the social intercourses that in Waller and in much Caroline pastoralism are figured as innocent play or an idealized spiritual love. Whereas social class and titles are cast off in the anarchic orgy, the characters (or caricatures) of the three aspiring courtiers, "vain, affected pretenders to social standing,"¹⁰⁸ are entirely constructed from material possessions, names, and affectation. The first, the "*Whitehall Blade*" (l. 45), enters into courtly circles by heredity's happenstance or marriage's good luck¹⁰⁹ ("Near Kin to th' *Mother* of the *Maids*," l. 46), but, lacking any wit, his demeanour is but a cheap mask. He, robotically,

Converts Abortive imitation,
To Universal affectation;
So he not only eats, and talks,
But feels, and smells, sits down and walks;
Nay looks, and lives and loves by Rote,
In an old tawdrey *Birth-Day-Coat*. (ll. 57-62)

If we read this as a literal coat,¹¹⁰ the *Whitehall Blade*'s status is nothing more than his assembled clothing, heredity, and affectations. The second and third knights are less

¹⁰⁸ Thormählen, *Rochester*, 97.

¹⁰⁹ Love, in Rochester, *Works*, 412.

¹¹⁰ Modern usage suggests nudity, but the "old tawdry" aspects of the coat are at odds with the figure's youthful, foppish naïveté. Love, in *Rochester*, glosses "*Birth-Day-Coat*" as an extravagant coat for special

developed (their combined passages are shorter than that of the Whitehall Blade) but they nonetheless follow the same trend of sporting identities that are the sum of superficial parts. The “*Grays Inn Wit*” plagiarizes his social intercourse from plays and friends while he “Steals Pocket-Handkerchiefs ... To Court, and Pay his *Landlady*” (ll. 66-8). The “*Ladies Eldest Son*” is nothing other than a surface onto which is projected the status of a potential inheritance.

These sardonically-styled “Knights” aspire to a place in that social hierarchy which the “Ramble” collapses in its description of the orgiastic grove. Their status is predicated on the very things that are discarded in the grove’s anarchy – clothing, titles, and exceptionality – which things the speaker mocks as shallow and worthless. Love suggests that Rochester as “the established courtier” here mocks aspirations of social mobility,¹¹¹ but that reading does not enough account for the fragility of social hierarchy in the “Ramble.” The poem subscribes to a broader Juvenalian cynicism directed at values rather than only at individuals or even types. Editors suggest specific antecedents for the knights, but the satire presents them as anonymous: their personalities are so insignificant and follies so common that as individuals they are beneath the honour of even a hostile commemoration. The “knights” represent the “Fine Gentlemen” who Rochester elsewhere describes as “the Ornamental Part of a Nation.”¹¹² These caricatures come in near proximity to the grove’s orgiastic anarchy in which signifiers of status and class are discarded in favour of animal pleasures. Here the terms by which status is acquired and wielded – which terms the speaker seems to dismiss as superficial affectations – are again in question. *Poems* (1680) already complains about such

occasions, such as the King’s birthday, and the OED’s entries for “suit, n” (19.e) and “birthday, n” (“birthday gear” and “birthday suit”) indicate that such a euphemism for nudity originates with Swift in 1732 and 1734.

¹¹¹ Love, *Rochester*, 412.

¹¹² Rochester, in *Letters*, ed. Treglown, 166.

superficiality in the “Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind)” which prefers animal instinct to the artificiality of reason and mocks human ambitions for “Honour,” “Fame,” and “Power” as “Misery” and “Hypocrisy” (ll. 144-52). These courtiers are for the speaker of the “Ramble” enacting the follies critiqued in the “Satyr.” They are animals denying their true nature and disguising it with outward draping. The speaker repeatedly refers to them as such, with “wriggling Tails” (l. 44) and as “confounded *Asses*” (l. 81), perhaps Rochesterian monkeys in fancy suits with overstated titles, in denial of their truer nature.

Separating the caricature of the knights from the orgiastic grove is a ten-line interpolation, where the venomous burlesque slows to make way for pastoral praise of the beloved “Corinna.” While still ending with characteristic Rochesterian cynicism and misogyny, the passage hits notes of the Stuart courtly, pastoral, and metaphysical modes in placing a transcendent feminine beauty in the park:

Along these hallow'd Walks it was,
That I beheld *Corinna* pass;
Who ever had been by to see,
The proud disdain she cast on me
Through charming Eyes, he would have swore,
She dropt from *Heav'n* that very hour;
Forsaking the Divine abode,
In scorn of some despairing *God*.
But mark what Creatures *Women* are,
How infinitely vile, and fair. (ll. 33-42)

“Corinna” is a conventional name in English lyric poetry. It has a classical antecedent as the name of the speaker’s beloved in Ovid’s *Amores*, and Rochester uses it for fallen beauties in other works, including the “Letter fancy’d from Artemisa in the Town, to Cloe in the Country”¹¹³ and “Song (‘What cruel pains *Corinna*, takes’).”¹¹⁴ She is also the eponymous

¹¹³ Titled “[Artemiza to Chloe] A Letter from Artemiza in the Towne to Chloe in the Country,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 63-70; in *Poems* (1680), 19-27.

¹¹⁴ Titled “To Corinna,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 20; in *Poems*, 65-6.

centre of Herrick's canonical *carpe-diem* poem (and monument to the Declaration of Sports), "Corinna's going a Maying." This passage draws on that tradition in using a number of clichés of Renaissance pastoral and amorous poetry. "Proud disdain," for example, is a Petrarchan staple that appears in *The Faerie Queene*, in pastoral works by Samuel Daniel, in English translations of Petrarch, Corneille, and Martial, and even in such psalters as those by Henry King and Matthew Parker. The conspicuous conventionality of this pastoral representation is perhaps best exemplified by *As You Like It*, a play that also considers courtly manners and which even in the title gestures to literary cliché and convention. Shakespeare's shepherd "Corin" declares,

you have oft inquired
 After the shepherd that complain'd of love,
 Who you saw sitting by me on the turf,
 Praising the proud disdainful shepherdess
 You will see a pageant truly play'd
 Between the pale complexion of true love
 And the red glow of scorn and proud disdain. (*As You Like It*, III.4 ll. 47-54)

Corin, in summarizing the pains of another shepherd, jilted by his beloved shepherdess, twice repeats the stock phrase and notes "scorn" along with it. Rochester's "Corinna" is likewise a conspicuously conventional ideal beauty. She is a paradoxically divine figure whose provocation of both desire and revulsion torments the speaker. She, "Vile, and fair," is a temptress who fell from Heaven to the "hallow'd Walks" in "scorn." Her eyes evoke the contradictory aspects of "charm" and "disdain." As a whole she is a figure of "infinitely" (another Wallerian polysyllable) sublime beauty and mystery, represented in a style typical of English pastorals and the courtly poetry of the 1630s.

But the mysteries of Corinna are demolished once all the pieces are put in place: she falls from an eternal ideal to the immediate and material. The "Knights" of Rochester's "St.

James's Park" approach her; she submits herself to their pleasure. Like those "Knights," and like the rambling speaker, "*she too* has become a roving agent as she passes from park to hackney coach seeking the 'amorous rout' Because she roves public spaces, she becomes a piece of public property or a whore in the speaker's mind."¹¹⁵ Corinna's own ramble reduces her to the abhorred status of "common." The speaker is not incensed that Corinna is carnally unfaithful: "such nat'rall freedoms are but just / There's something gen'rous in meer lust" (ll. 97-9). Rather, he resents her emotional, spiritual, and social betrayals. And amid his curses, he quietly suggests the extent of his now-befouled love. Her acquiescence validates the ape-like advances of the witless knights, to "betray / the Secrets of my tender hours / To such *Knight-Errant Paramours*" (ll. 126-8). Afterwards – for the last two-thirds of the poem – Corinna's memory is addressed with volleys of burlesque vitriol rather than with the cautious awe he remembers from their first meeting. In the speaker's mind, she becomes "a *Whore*, in understanding, / A Passive *Pot* for *Fools* to spend in" (ll. 101-2). In his memory her body becomes an abject entity, like the sewers and gutters pouring into the Thames: "When your lew'd *Cunt*, came spewing home, / Drencht with the Seed of half the *Town*" (ll. 113-4).¹¹⁶ Her encounter with the knights and the resulting fall to a state of public or common property reduces her from divinity to base animality: "So a proud *Bitch* does lead about, / Of humble *Currs*, a rout" (ll. 83-4).

In this light, Rochester's "Ramble in St. James's Park" functions as a parody of both the old and new forms of Stuart panegyric, and a castigation of the manners of the day. Recent criticism argues that "the female body roving the public park becomes a synecdoche for truancy and transgressiveness that violates the heterotopia of St. James's," as Rochester's

¹¹⁵ Mona Narain, "Libertine Spaces and the Female Body in the Poetry of Rochester and Ned Ward," *English Literary History* 72 (2005): 553-76, 561-2, quoting "Ramble," l. 84.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 563.

opening establishes.¹¹⁷ However, as the poem shows little more than a glimpse of Corinna as she enters a coach, the emphasis is less on the female body and more on the lover's response to infidelity. Corinna's presence is almost entirely in the speaker's memory and his reflections on what he suffers as a betrayal. And as the betrayal is social and spiritual, rather than specifically carnal, the emphasis on "the female body" is questionable. The abject state of the fallen Corinna agrees with the toxic and grotesque mandrakes of the poem's first movement more than it "violates" St. James's as Rochester describes it. The utopia that Corinna's representation violates is that of the idealized spaces of her "Heaven" or her pastoral "hallow'd walks," which were also proclaimed in panegyrics of abundance, of which Waller is the most relevant example. In this respect, for Rochester the Restoration court represents a degenerative influence. As a hyper-conventional and idealized pastoral beauty, Corinna recalls the refined style of the golden-age court of Charles I and the memory of the English paradise of the 1630s. She symbolizes that greatest of English courtly cultures. Her subsequent consent to debasement, in a setting closely associated with Charles II, by caricatures of his crudest courtiers, represents the degenerate style and manners of the 1670s as a force that warps that older, perhaps now lost, refinement. If Corinna represents the (lost) dignity (or as M.G. would put it, "Grace") of the great Caroline court, Rochester makes a case that those halcyon days are tainted by the parasitic pleasures of witless "knights" who clumsily, but successfully, seduced her into descending from an elite place.

While there is no ground to claim that Rochester follows the examples of Herrick or Carew and engages in nostalgic longing for the Personal Rule of Charles I, one does not make claims for a lost ideal without having at least some habit of thinking idealistically. The "Ramble" makes a case that the court of Charles II fails to meet its dynastic self-

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

representation. Rochester does not attack the court for holding values incompatible with his own beliefs, as the Advice-to-a-Painter poets had. The “Ramble” is a somewhat conservative satire, in that Rochester attacks the court for failing to provide the ideal world proclaimed by its own mythology. In this respect, Rochester’s “Ramble,” rather than mocking *On St. James’s Park*, uses parody as a vehicle for mourning that his predecessor’s panegyric has proven false, and mourning England’s loss of the benefits of idealized divine right monarchy.

Regardless of the extent to which Rochester himself embraced the myths of a Stuart golden age, that “old tawdry Birth-Day-Coat” continued to animate courtly propaganda in the Restoration. Much Rochester scholarship has discussed dualist philosophy in his work, especially in the libertine context of abject bodies in opposition to idealized minds or souls.¹¹⁸ But here we can also see dualism similarly informing a Rochesterian political meditation. He depicts a materiality that fails to become those idealized halcyon days as proclaimed in the works of Wild, Dryden, or Waller, which is especially damning for a courtly tradition that long emphasized the power of idealism. Take as a point of comparison Queen Henrietta Maria’s neo-platonic courtly cult, which celebrated the perfection of love, infinity, and eternity as superior to the material, rational, and empirical, and which Rochester mocks elsewhere. The court of Rochester’s “Ramble,” a parody of the Stuart mode, is not populated by the gods and nymphs of the masques nor the heroic kings of the panegyrics, nor does it provide abundance, peace, or refinement. Rather it is bodily, passionate, and temporary, devoid of eternal spirit and populated with animals driven by lust and appetite, from whom an arbitrary few are distinguished by luxurious clothing and elaborate disguises.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 562.

These first three entries in *Poems* (1680) – the “Epistolary Essay,” the “Satyr,” and the “Ramble” – set the tone for most of the remainder of the volume. The title page gives way to Rochester the ventriloquist libeller, then Rochester the libertine philosopher, and then Rochester the cynical burlesque parodist. Other themes surface in the remainder, such as in the fourth poem, that “tour de force of ventriloquism,”¹¹⁹ the “Letter from Artemiza in the City to Cloe in the Country,” which mocks the town more generally than the narrow “M.G. to O.B.” The most pervasive themes in the book are satires on wit and reason, attacks on manners, and general statements of debauchery. The repetition of these themes establishes in *Poems* (1680) a general overtone of Whiggishness, which occasionally verges on radical Exclusionism. Fisher and Jenkinson describe Rochester’s political identity as that of a quiet Whig:

Rochester’s own politics are unclear, but his associations with Whiggish individuals such as Buckingham and Gilbert Burnet, who endorsed his deathbed conversion, were well known. Whether Rochester’s own politics were Whig rather than Tory, there were individuals in the early 1680s who associated him with the former.¹²⁰

On Popish Plot matters “during 1679, Rochester voted consistently with the Whig leaders.”¹²¹ The social connections reflected in Yale MS Osborn b. 105 and *Poems* (1680), also emphasize that Rochester’s friends were heavily invested in Exclusion politics.¹²²

Even though he was not vocal in the Exclusion cause, anti-Yorkist or pro-Exclusion readings are possible for many of the truly Rochesterian and spurious poems in *Poems* (1680). The persona of “*The Maim’d Debauchee*”¹²³ is a rake anticipating a future when his exploits have rendered him impotent. He then lives vicariously through the younger men

¹¹⁹ Gillian Manning, “Artemiza to Chloe: Rochester’s ‘female’ epistle,” in *That Second Bottle*, ed. Fisher, 103.

¹²⁰ Fisher and Jenkinson, “Rochester and the Specter of Libertinism,” 551.

¹²¹ Vieth, *Attribution*, 195.

¹²² Love, “Osborn,” 225.

¹²³ Titled “The Disabled Debauchee,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 44-5; in *Poems* (1680), 32-4.

whom he influences to vice. The speaker likens that condition to that of a retired, confused, yet still “brave” admiral, “Depriv’d of force” (ll. 1-2). The Duke of York had served with distinction as England’s Lord Admiral, but was himself famously “Depriv’d” of his post for refusing the Test Act. The speaker encourages these young men “some *Ancient Church* to fire” (l. 43), an echo of the conspiracy theorists’ blaming Jesuits for the Great Fire’s destruction of St. Paul’s and other urban churches, and of the Popish Plot to set London ablaze again. A sodomitical turn, “Whether the *Boy* us’d you, or I the *Boy*” (l. 40) has further anti-catholic connotations as Rochester’s letters signal an awareness of rumours that “the Roman Catholic community in London included a homosexual subculture,”¹²⁴ and which the “Ramble” uses as a rhetorical figure for emphasis:

The *Jesuits Fraternity*,
 Shall leave the use of *Buggery* ...
 E’re I desist with all my Pow’r,
 To plague this *Woman* and undo her. (ll. 141-51)

Through association of the libertine with the admiralty, conspiracy, and sodomy, sexual excess here becomes a convenient metonymy for the depravities of popery and absolutism. The text, across several poems, emphasizes the most depraved and unnatural rumours about popish conduct as a warning against the dreaded customs that James Stuart represents.

Similarly repeated comparisons between desire and slavery, one of Rochester’s favourite metaphors, are also pervasive, and they keep the hazards of tyranny in view. This is, like Corinna’s “proud disdain” in the “Ramble,” another poetic staple. Rochester wields

¹²⁴ Paul Hammond, “Rochester’s Homoeroticism,” *That Second Bottle*, ed. Fisher, 51; note also that in most textual genealogies outside of the Yale b. 105 / *Poems* (1680) group, the speaker “fuck’d,” rather than “us’d” the boy.

that conceit often and well, such as in his “Song (‘Give me leave to rail at you’),” and “The Answer,”¹²⁵ which is attributed to Lady Rochester:

You shall not keep my Heart a day,
But alas! against my will,
I must be your *Captive* still
Beauty, does the *Heart* invade,
Kindness only can perswade;
It guilds the *Lovers*, servile *Chain*,
And makes the *Slave*, grow pleas’d again. (4-16)

This banter on desire is in the anti-absolutist language of the Exclusion era. Locke devotes a chapter of *Two Treatises* to the concept of slavery”. Readers of Rochester in 1680 would likewise encounter the “captive” “slave” seduced by the pleasures of the “servile chain.” It echoes such warnings as Milton’s cry against courtly pageantry and empty Stuart promises that leave the abject populace distracted from their own sufferings. The political possibilities of the conceit abound in “The Answer,” in which the beloved corrects the lover’s assertion that kindness so enslaves. Instead she suggests that “Nothing adds to your fond Fire, / More than scorn, and cold disdain” (ll. 17-18). The beloved tries hopelessly to resist and to control the lover through kindness, but ultimately becomes another “*conquest*”:

Then if e’re I shou’d complain,
Of your *Empire*, or my *Chain*,
Summon all your pow’rful Charmes,
And fell the *Rebel*, in your Armes. (ll. 37-40)

Although no evidence suggests that the Rochesters composed their dialogue for any political purpose, this conceit repeats the language of passive and active obedience.

To express dissent – whether against the lover or the absolute monarch – is tantamount to rebellion: “such words were tinder in 1680,”¹²⁶ especially in October, leading

¹²⁵ Rochester, “Song” and [Lady Elizabeth Rochester] “The Answer” in *Works*, ed. Love, 18-19; in *Poems* (1680) 63-4. Love presents the poem and response as a single piece with a continuous line enumeration whereas *Poems* (1680) divides the two with a hard rule, suggesting greater separation between the two poems.

up to the sitting of the Exclusion Parliament. “Slavery” is the first word in Locke’s *Two Treatises*. Dryden’s *Absalom and Achitophel* provides a valuable contrast to Rochester’s satire of rebellion in its acceptance of David’s trysts with “slaves.” Dryden’s opening lines absolve the king of accusations of libertinism, proposing that he is simultaneously “both polygamous progenitor and scrupling husband,” a combination that identifies Charles II’s refusal to legitimize Monmouth with “monogamous legalism.”¹²⁷ Dryden further satirizes rebellion in respect to the savagery of nature through the sophistry of Shaftesbury’s caricature, Achitophel, who uses “natural law as a cover for resistance,” but which discourse Dryden presents as strategically violating “oaths of nonresistance and passive obedience,” and “a specious device to resist legitimate authority, a cover for ambition and greed.”¹²⁸ Where Dryden promotes a doctrine of nonresistance with the greatest gravity, suggesting that any violation of monarchy will ignite a new Hobbesian savagery, Rochester’s use of the same language, at least in the context of *Poems* (1680) trivializes it. On their own, the banter between the lover and beloved seem to promote an amorous captivity with echoes of a subject’s expected fealty. But in print, “Song” and “Answer” come between the burlesque “pigstye” of “*Song to Cloris*”¹²⁹ and the *carpe diem* seduction lyric, “*Song* (‘*Phyllis*, be gentler I advice’).”¹³⁰ That contrast allows little confidence in the libertine’s oaths of devotion, whether for loyalty to the king or constancy to the beloved.

That language of absolutism, or perhaps anti-absolutism, is pervasive in the love lyrics of *Poems* (1680). The speaker of “Upon Leaving his Mistress” complains that his

¹²⁶ Robertson and Libhart, “Castrating Rochester,” 506.

¹²⁷ Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, 142-3.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 143.

¹²⁹ Titled “A Song” in *Works*, ed. Love, 39-40; in *Poems* (1680), 61-2, 1.1.

¹³⁰ In *Works*, ed. Love, 19-20; in *Poems* (1680), 65.

mistress dispenses “Favours like *Nature*,” “With Universal influence.”¹³¹ “Song (‘Against the Charmes our *Ballocks* have’)” complains that “the sexual impulse”¹³² can “make a *Man* a *Slave*, / To such a *Bitch* as *Phillis*.”¹³³ The Exclusion context of *Poems* (1680) reverses these metaphors. These conceits, by all evidence, variously compare the manipulative abilities of sly mistresses and the despair of hopeless lovers to kings and subjects, tyrants and slaves: relatively commonplace statements. But in October 1680 those statements also compare tyrants and slaves to the emotions and betrayals of such lewd persons whose “Reason lay dissolv’d in Love” (“Ramble” l. 132).

Finally, the emphasis of the last word falls to the spurious “On *Rome*’s Pardons,” which is more significant in this text for its location than for any poetic value. None of Rochester’s modern editors include it in their canons of his works, though Love includes it among his “Disputed Works.”¹³⁴ It consists of five rhyming pentameter triplets and explores the catholic tradition of indulgence; the supposed consequence of such pardons is that to “worship *Gold*” becomes the optimal strategy for salvation. As it does not appear in Yale Osborn MS b. 105, and because it fills signature K4^r, it has been suggested that this poem was an afterthought to fill up the final half sheet.¹³⁵ Length and accident are unsatisfactory explanations for its inclusion. Short, mediocre lyrics are not scarce and the suggestion that it was added for the sake of filling a page is unconvincing, as signatures I2^v (p. 142) and K1^r (p. 145) also leave enough blank space for “On *Rome*’s Pardons” or any other sonnet-length piece. Moreover, some eighteenth-century editions descended from *Poems* (1680) include

¹³¹ Rochester, “Upon Leaving his Mistress,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 17-8, in *Poems* (1680), 54-55, ll. 13-4

¹³² Warren Chernaik, “‘I loath the Rabble’: friendship, love, and hate in Rochester,” in *That Second Bottle*, ed. Fisher, 7-20, 7.

¹³³ Rochester, “On Mrs Willis,” in *Works*, ed. Love, 37; “Song (‘Against the Charmes our Ballox have’),” in *Poems* (1680), 73-4, ll. 3-4. In the standard cannon this libel attacks “Willis” rather than “Phillis.”

¹³⁴ In *Works*, ed. Love, 247; in *Poems* (1680), 151.

¹³⁵ Vieth, *Attribution*, 355-6.

“On *Rome*’s Pardons” but split it across the final pages,¹³⁶ complicating any claim that it was viewed by readers as a happenstance appendix or even required unification on a single page. This anti-popery satire could only have found its way onto the final page as an Exclusion-period statement, a poem for the times. It appears in that a high-visibility position and makes the book’s most forward such claim, after the extensive rumination over “slaves” and “tyranny.” The book’s speakers have celebrated drunkenness, fornication, and adultery. The poet has cavilled against clerics and sworn blasphemous oaths on the page. And yet even the debauched “E. of R - - -” is prepared to denounce the heir apparent’s religion as “a *Custom-house* for Sin” (l. 12).

The editorial changes to subsequent editions of Rochester meddle with these Exclusion themes, thereby indicating that these statements met with some recognition from early readers. *Poems* (1680) has already been identified as a Whiggish text primarily on the basis of readings of “Epistolary Essay,” “Upon Nothing,” “Upon *Rome*’s Pardons,” and the Cleveland (Castlemaine) libel.¹³⁷ The anticlericalism of “Upon Nothing” is also germane to Exclusion debates, given the attempts to bar the bishops from the House of Lords’ proceedings (a motion which Rochester supported in that House). The Cleveland libel attacks the king’s most famous mistress, a Roman Catholic, for predatory lechery. These themes are pervasive in the text at large, whether in works genuinely Rochester’s or spurious. Thorncombe’s *Poems* (1685) mostly removes such Exclusion statements, turning a Whig text into a more moderate “Trimmer” statement. Notably the “Addition” to the “Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind)” there attacks “mortals” rather than the “Church-Man.” The Cleveland libel is excised, as are the blasphemous “Upon Nothing” and the

¹³⁶ The *R.H. the E. of R.*, [John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester], “On *Rome*’s Pardon,” in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1701): 111-12.

¹³⁷ Robertson and Libhart, “Castrating Rochester,” *passim*.

Seneca translation, “After Death, nothing is...” Alexander Radcliffe’s, “A Call to the Guard, by a Drum,” a cry against standing armies and the stylistically least Rochesterian poem, is also cut.¹³⁸

Moreover, *Poems* (1680) makes a powerful argument about the depravity of the Town and the court with the vocabulary and values common to Whiggish arguments. It presents an inside view of a debauched town, city, and court full of self-important idiots and corrupt personalities. The book can be read similarly to the Marvellian Advice-to-a-Painter parodies: a series of vignettes that show as well as tell of the flaws in English policy and the depravity in the ruling class. Rochester himself is a courtly insider and a participant, which improves the text’s credibility as a portrait of the upper classes. But the book’s statement is also problematic in that Rochester is also a known associate of the most powerful proponents of Exclusion, which implicates the Whigs in this conduct. *Poems* (1680) undermines their position in a way to which an “Incorruptible” Andrew Marvell is resistant.

Gilbert Burnet’s *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right honourable John Earl of Rochester, who Died the 26th of July, 1680* (1680) shores up that strategic weakness and reinforces the Whiggish claims of *Poems* (1680). Burnet achieves this not by denying Rochester’s deeds or associations, but through acknowledgement of Rochester’s failures and a narrative of his subsequent redemption. *Some Passages*, itself an account of “an event of political significance,”¹³⁹ benefits from a similar strategic timing as *Poems* (1680), having been published “about November, 1680.”¹⁴⁰ Indeed, the many small pieces of evidence all place *Some Passages*’s publication in late October or early November. *Some Passages*

¹³⁸ Ibid, 518-9.

¹³⁹ Nicholas Fisher, “‘I abhor what I Soe long lov’d’: An Exploration of Rochester’s ‘death bed repentance,’” in *Seventeenth Century* 25 (2010): 323-349, 342.

¹⁴⁰ Helen Charlotte Foxcroft and Thomas Elliot Simpson Clarke, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1907), xxiii.

appears under “History” in the November term catalogue, linked to an account of a Jewish convert “Eve Cohan,” who had been baptized on October 10 (and which publication Luttrell dates to October 25¹⁴¹), and to a history of the gunpowder treason, which its printed frontispiece postdates to 1681.¹⁴² At the end of *Some Passages* the bookseller Richard Chiswell includes an advertisement which also includes these two books: the Cohan volume is “*Lately Printed*” whereas the volume on the gunpowder plot is yet “*In the Press.*” Chiswell seems for some of 1680 to have mostly reused one setting for his advertisements, adding new books to the list’s end as they became available.¹⁴³ The position of the Cohan volume near but not at the end of the growing list suggests some weeks between it and the release of *Some Passages*. Many of Chiswell’s other advertised items appeal to a Popish Plot and/or Exclusion audience: “The Laws of this Realm concerning Jesuits, Seminary Priests, Recusants...” (Will. Cawley, June term catalogue, I.405), and both volumes of “Dr. Burnet’s History of the Reformation of the Church of *England*,” including the forthcoming “second and last Part, *Fol.*” This dating is further supported by the frontispiece declaration that this *Some Passages* is Rochester’s memoir, “Written by his own Direction on his Death-Bed, By *Gilbert Burnet*, D. D.” Burnet’s Doctorate of Divinity was not conferred until “Early in October.”¹⁴⁴ Similarly, the 1692 second edition proudly reminds the reader that Burnet was “Now Lord Bishop of *Sarum*,” showing how eagerly those publishers promoted the author’s status. Such emphasis on Burnet’s rank was a political statement in the context

¹⁴¹ Narcissus Luttrell, *Narcissus Luttrell’s Popish Plot Catalogues*, ed. F.C. Francis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Stephen Parks, *The Luttrell File: Narcissus Luttrell’s Dates on Contemporary Pamphlets 1678-1730* (New Haven: The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 1999), 23.

¹⁴² Term Catalogue I.417; *A Vindication of the History of the Gunpowder Treason* (London, 1681), 11 (continuation, Michelmass).

¹⁴³ See Abednego Seller, *Remarques Relating to the State of the Church of the First Centuries Wherein are Intersperst Animadversions on J.H.’s View of Antiquity* (London 1680), sig Hh7^r-8^v, and *Some Passages*, sig N4^f-N7^v.

¹⁴⁴ Foxcroft and Clarke, *Burnet*, 166.

of the removal of the nonjurors who refused to swear oaths of loyalty to William and Mary. Given their high synchronicity, *Some Passages* and *Poems* (1680) function as a diptych: each provides colour for the other. Pepys even bound his copies together.¹⁴⁵

Crucial to its polemical strategy, *Some Passages* is not a secret history. Its emphasis is not exposure of scandal, although it could have been. That task is left to the poetry. Burnet's work is confession in an explicitly literary sense as opposed to a religious one: a series of frank personal anecdotes. He offers the prurient content of aristocratic scandal under the guise of moral education and expresses reservations over exposing the worst parts of Rochester's life: "*I write with one great disadvantage, that I cannot reach his chief Design, without mentioning some of his Faults: But I have touched them as tenderly as the Occasion would bear*" (A4^v). Burnet controls the religious context of the confessions to avoid any taint with Popish or Papist sacrament observed by the secretive, cloistered, and francophile absolutists. In publishing confessions, Burnet appropriates Rochester's fall and redemption for the appropriate protestant cause of the Church of England. Burnet recalls how when he first established his relationship with Rochester, "*He was also then entertaining himself in that low state of his health, with the first part of the History of the Reformation [(Burnet, 1679)] then newly come out, with which he seemed not ill pleased*" (A5^r). The first contact between the interlocutors is literary, and that content becomes the basis of a more personalized ministry. That relationship established, the aristocratic debauchee may be redeemed and absolved not by a priest, but by public judgment.

The preface to *Some Passages* appeals to the exemplary mode of life-writing in which Rochester's sins and sufferings can serve as moral education for the readers:

¹⁴⁵ Paul Hammond, "Censorship in the Manuscript Transmission of Restoration Poetry," *Essays and Studies* 46 (1993): 39-62, 61.

being resolved to govern my self by the exact Rules of Truth, I shall be less concerned in the Censures I may fall under. It may seem liable to great Exception, that I should disclose so many things, that were discovered to me, if not under the Seal of Confession, yet under the confidence of Friendship; But this Noble Lord himself not only released me from all Obligation of this kind, when I waited on him in his last sickness, a few days before he died, but gave it me in Charge not to spare him in any thing which I thought might be of use to the Living; and was not ill pleased to be laid open, as well in the worst as in the best and last part of his life, being so sincere in his Repentance, that he was not unwilling to take shame to himself, by suffering his Faults to be exposed for the benefit of others. (A3^v-A4^r)

For the dying poet to implore his executor to use his work for the greater moral good has echoes of another Restoration literary life. George Herbert's early biographer Izaak Walton reports that *B*, the earliest surviving key manuscript of *The Temple*, was copied from a "little book" that Herbert gave to the community at Little Gidding: "if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor Soul, let it be made publick: if not, let him burn it."¹⁴⁶ The epigram to Walton's 1675 edition finds an unexpected common ground between Herbert and Rochester: "Wisdom of Salom. 4.10. *He pleased God, and was beloved of him: so that whereas he lived among sinners, he translated him.*"¹⁴⁷ Both poets were virtuous but sin surrounded them. Both produced works of great moral value that were nearly consigned to oblivion but for an executor's foresight and intervention.

In terms of their roles as exemplars, Rochester's scandals and exuberance primarily distinguish him from the reserved and ascetic Herbert. Burnet makes no attempt to hide the scandals of Rochester's life or writing. As is typical of disclosure literature, he insists on the "plain" truth of the exposure: "I have said nothing but what I have from his own mouth, and have avoided the mentioning of the more particular Passage of his life, of which he told me not a few" (28-9). Burnet claims that his writing serves moral ends and hopes that

¹⁴⁶ Izaak Walton, *The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Robert Sanderson*, ed. George Saintsbury (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 314.

¹⁴⁷ Walton, *Lives*, 253.

Rochester's death will encourage further Anglican conversions in those English aristocratic libertine circles:

Since others were concerned in them, whose good only I design, I will say nothing that may either provoke or blemish them. I hope that those that know how much they were engaged with him in his ill Courses, will be ... induced to reflect on their Ways, and to consider without prejudice or passion what a sense this Noble Lord had of their own case, when he came at last seriously to reflect on his own. (29-30)

Burnet would have it that any complete disclosure as is typical of secret history would be at odds with his offer of salvation: "It is their Reformation, and not their Disgrace, I desire" (29). He thus expunges all scandals and other prurient details from *Some Passages*, rather than simply hide the deeds behind pseudonyms, as would the authors of later *romans a clef*:

This tender consideration of others has made me suppress many remarkable and useful things, he told me: But finding that, though I should name none, yet I must at least Relate such Circumstances, as would give too great Occasion for the *Reader* to conjecture concerning the Persons intended, right or wrong, either of which were inconvenient enough, I have chosen to pass them quite over. (29)

Of course, those later writers were under no illusion that pseudonyms would protect their subjects from disgrace. Rather, the pseudonyms were a defensive tactic, to protect the satirist against prosecution for libel. Targets who pursued legal action would (in theory) need to concede resemblance and confirm the satire's allegations. Readers could indeed "conjecture concerning the Persons intended." By contrast, Burnet's suppression leaves the skeletons in the closet. Crucially, many "Persons" who Burnet protects with that decision to "pass over" the scandals are the Whig lords who would become his close allies over the next decade. It is no small convenience that his silence for the sake of their "Reformation" also best serves his political interests.

The dialogue of *Some Passages* consists of no truths rescued from obscurity to illuminate past events, as occurs in the secret histories of the 1690s which claim to have been

“found” in such places as “the strong box.”¹⁴⁸ Burnet’s appeal to decorum amid exposure suggests scandal too great to relate. If a name is omitted, it is to guard against “disgrace” so that Rochester’s libertine companions have an opportunity to reform before scandal (or death) overcomes them. More strategic, however, is the withholding of the most “useful” and scandalous anecdotes. This is presumably because many of the participants in those scandals are among the Whiggish Lords who at the time of publication are engaged in the parliamentary Exclusion battles, and who were likewise implicated by *Poems* (1680). For Burnet to expose their “ill courses,” even anonymously in the deployment of such an ostensibly moralist text as the *Some Passages*, would be to confirm any existing gossip and to hand easy material to Tory opponents.

As Burnet turns away from the remarkable moments of Rochester’s life, the focus of *Some Passages* becomes Rochester’s death. The majority of the text, in excess of four fifths, consists of “those parts” in which Burnet himself “bore some share,” meaning the months during which Rochester rapidly declined. Burnet is not usually regarded by scholars as any very objective witness. Rather, he is as a narrator deeply entrenched his story “of a sinner’s repentance” and its purpose as a moralizing narrative. He is his own Socrates, “the hero of his own narrative, presenting Rochester’s heretical views in order to refute them though it is possible that Burnet’s own contributions to the dialogue were embellished afterwards.”¹⁴⁹ Burnet was a polemicist, and heavily invested in Exclusionist and later in Revolutionary ideology. Upon James’s succession, he left England in a self-imposed exile, whence he published against James’s anti-Anglican policies and was prosecuted for and convicted of

¹⁴⁸ *Eikon Basilike Deutera: The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majesty King Charles II, With his Reasons for turning Roman Catholick*; published by K. James (London, 1694), frontispiece.

¹⁴⁹ Warren Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom in Restoration Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 52.

high treason *in absentia*. That Burnet is a political ideologue and Rochester the iconic courtly rake demands serious consideration for the polemical implications of Rochester as a symbol of courtly excess and of his conversion. Burnet's Rochester is a tragic hero and martyr for the Whig cause: a well-bred country aristocrat with seemingly limitless potential, corrupted by Stuart values into deepest vice, but fortuitously saved in protestant communion within the Church of England, by no High Church bishop, but instead an attentive clergyman.

Burnet's recollection of Rochester's early life focuses on his strong English breeding and family's reputation. Rochester's father was a devoted cavalier who went into royalist exile, but Burnet subordinates those politics to the elder Wilmot's courage, prudence, and virtue. He notes that Rochester's "Father was *Henry* Earl of *Rochester*, but best known by the Title of the Lord *Wilmot*, who bore so great a part in all the late Wars, that mention is often made of him in the History." Henry Wilmot's cavalier allegiances give way to his heroics in service to Charles II: "the chief share in the Honour of the preservation of his Majesty that now Reigns" (2). Rochester, even though aligned in Parliament and now more recently in print with Exclusion, is no Roundhead and no anti-monarchist fanatic: he is the heir to fierce and heroic loyalty to Charles II. Exclusion, this diptych argues, is not the interest only of the canting rabble. A refined, urbane, and sensitive aristocrat with a heroic heritage, it would seem, could still find grounds in conscience to withhold any loyalty to James.

Burnet depicts Rochester as having showed limitless potential for good in his youth. Individually, Rochester is presented as having possessed, even exemplified, many canonical or classical masculine virtues. He was of a sharp mind, in that even though he failed to

achieve a degree, “When he was at School he was an extraordinary Proficient at his Book” (3). He displayed filial “Love and Honour” for his Parents and his childhood Governour for “his great Fidelity and Care for him, while he was under his trust” (5). Rochester in his naval service gave “Demonstrations of his Courage in an Element and way of fighting, which is acknowledged to be the greatest trial of clear and undaunted Valour” (11), and “as resolute a Courage as was possible” (9). His debut as a courtier was “with as great Advantages as most ever had,” and Burnet emphasizes his physical beauty and social grace (7). His youthful mind often turned to lofty and metaphysical thoughts, “though then he had not these awakened in him from any deep Principle of Religion, yet the horreur that Nature raised in him, especially in some sicknesses, made him too easie to receive some ill Principles” (15), which errors Burnet alleges Rochester as having come to recognize at the end of his life.

Burnet’s narrative of Rochester’s fall into sin bears a number of important parallels to the progression of the “disease” of Stuart debauchery as represented in 1660s satire. Restoration festivities provided the environmental context, or efficient cause, which had overwhelmed his youthful virtues:

When he went to the *University* the general Joy which over-ran the whole Nation upon his Majesties Restauration but was not regulated with that same Sobriety and Temperance, what became a serious gratitude to God for so great a Blessing, produced some of its ill effects on him: He began to live these disorders too much.
(4)

Even though Burnet carefully couches the terms, he presents Rochester’s debauchery as the consequence of the Stuart Restoration and as an effect of the influence of courtly culture on the nation. Milton had warned in *The Readie and Easie Way* against the potential for a restored court to cause “the debaushing of our prime gentry.” Rochester’s conduct,

notorious even in that debauched court, Burnet claims, followed from two other aspects of his personality. The “heat” of alcohol exaggerated his “violent love of pleasure, and a disposition to extravagant Mirth” (13). As the festive court encouraged “Adventures and Frolicks,” these aspects of his personality would prove fatal flaws. So even though “in cold Blood he was a generous and good natured man” (14), the young, virtuous, and temperate Rochester embraced that environment and became the model of courtly extravagance. A modern diagnosis might identify Rochester, able to continue in his daily life despite being “continually Drunk” “for five years together” (50) as a high-functioning alcoholic. Rochester’s efforts to maintain sobriety were foiled by “Company that loved these Excesses” (50). The blame is displaced from substance and user to his environment, for “he was not in all that time cool enough to be perfectly Master of himself” (50). While Rochester was the archetypical extravagant courtier, he only became as much because the courtly culture of the Stuarts worked upon him as an efficient cause. Like those afflicted by the diseases that Marvell identifies, courtly debauchery robbed Rochester of his autonomy as a virtuous Englishman.

That interior virtue despite outward debauchery, perhaps rendering Rochester a sheep in wolf’s clothing, suggests a context from which his poems should be understood. Even while he immersed himself in this court and its sins, Rochester nonetheless continued to perceive it as corrupt and hypocritical. Those few who “found it necessary or humane life to talk of Morality,” he alleges did only insofar as “the reputation of it was necessary for their credit, and affairs” (23). Rochester’s poetry was written “in detestation of these Courses” as a record and exposure of their ill conduct and character:

Their professing and swearing Friendship, where they hated mortally, their Oaths and Imprecations, in their Addresses to Women, which they intended never to make

good; the pleasure they took in defaming innocent Persons, and spreading false Reports of some, perhaps in Revenge, because they could not engage them to comply with their ill Designs: The delight they had in making people quarrell; their unjust usage of their Creditors, and putting them off by any deceitful promise they could invent, that might deliver them from some present Importunity. (23-4)

As this litany of flaws could also describe the treaty-breaking and double-dealing of Stuart foreign policy in the 1670s, the harangue against the members of ruling class also catches the state of leadership in England. And according to Burnet, Rochester's sharp wit, love of mirth, inside perspective, and cynical outlook combined to create the formidable satirist who wrote as an act of resistance, and (in a more conventional view of satire) as a social corrective on them. Rochester's persona as a debauched libeller followed from his human weakness for drink and his status as a principled, if malicious, man among the duplicitous vultures of the Restoration court. His poetry makes his death that of a Whig martyr. Even when his works celebrate sin, they serve to combat it by exposing its prevalence among the aristocracy, and advance the cause of liberty by contesting the deeds of tyrants.

Burnet also relays Rochester's theory of satire as something of an apology for the malice in his libels, further subordinating the debauchery to the purpose of that disclosure. Burnet had admonished the spiteful and fabricated aspects of his satires. To this Rochester responds that for satire to be truthful requires sincere passion more than strict factuality:

A man could not write with life, unless he were heated by Revenge: For to make a *Satyr* without Resentments, upon the cold notions of *Philosophy*, was as if a man would in cold blood, cut mens throats, who had never offended him: And he said, The Lyes in these Libels came often in as Ornaments that could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the *Poem*. (26)

Could this creative manifesto, praising literary aggression in the name of truth, have come from any author other than that of the "Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind)"? In the context of political verse, such defence of the "Lyes," presumably Rochester's habit of

rumour-mongering and ventriloquizing his enemies in verse, absolves secret history of any need to verify its allegations. That a satire is written “with life” and is a compelling text indicates that it was rooted in offense, and thus symbolically true, if not strictly factual in the details. A good state satire need not represent events strictly as they occurred so long as it indicates the general kinds of misdeeds that had originally offended the satirist. To establish a method behind the malice allows Burnet further to emphasize Rochester’s philosophical and virtuous aspects, if in a complex way, and to suggest that his libertine conduct resulted from internal contradictions and social pressures. The excellence of Rochester’s verse establishes the depravity of those predatory courtiers who corrupted him, as its vigour indicates that it was written from true experience: the depth of their sin animates his poems. Burnet (and Robert Parsons, Rochester’s deathbed minister) indeed “may have sought to inflate the brilliance of their noble convert,”¹⁵⁰ but the careful dissection of Rochester’s philosophy and wit also provides something of a reader’s guide for the cynical and licentious *Poems* (1680). The resulting Rochester is something of another, misunderstood, if more corrupt, Socratic figure in contrast with Burnet: a man with a love of drink and many virtues, but whose tendency to question hypocrisy put him at odds with his society. The Rochester of *Some Passages* is the shrewd observer with a front-row seat from which to behold the depravities of the court. *Poems* (1680) reflects his observations.

The extent to which Burnet had read Rochester’s poetry is unclear, but *Some Passages* certainly could provide context for *Poems* (1680). Rochester repents the “Satyr (Against Reason and Mankind).” In his turn from mirth toward philosophy and morality, he regrets that “he had made himself a Beast” and committed “Injuries to himself and to

¹⁵⁰ Griffin, *Satires*, 13.

Mankind” (35-6). His reformation is gradual, but he comes to acknowledge that the bestial nature of humanity is the product of such knavery as the “Satyr” declares:

The issue of all our Discourses was this, He told me, He saw Vice and Impiety were as contrary to Humane Society, as wild Beasts let loose would be; and therefore he firmly resolved to change the whole method of his Life: to become strictly just and true, to be Chast and Temperate, to forbear Swearing and Irreligious discourse, to Worship and Pray to his Maker: And that though he was not arrived at a full perswasion of *Christianity*, he would never employ his Wit more to run it down, or to corrupt others. (125)

Rochester may have refused to “recant” in verse his assertion in his “Satyr” that “all men should be Knaves,” but he certainly does in prose, both through Burnet and in his penultimate letter which corroborates Burnet’s anecdotes. There, Rochester thrice writes “repent”: as much as in all earlier extant letters combined.¹⁵¹

In the 1690s, the lens through which Rochester was read again shifted. Jacob Tonson’s *Poems, &c. on Several Occasions: with Valentinian, a Tragedy* (1691) was the first publication of what was to become one standard eighteenth-century edition of Rochester. As the preface forcefully asserts, this was “Rochester” for a more polite age: “*the Publisher assures us, he has been diligent out of Measure, and has taken exceeding Care that every Block of Offence shou’d be removed ... So that this Book is a Collection of such Pieces onely, as may be received in a vertuous Court, and not unbecome the Cabinet of the Severest Matron.*”¹⁵² The raw “1680” editions and the only slightly more proper 1685 are implicitly aligned with those less “vertuous” courts of Charles II and James II. “Rochester” even by 1691 had become a site of interest in the Reformation of Manners, which sought to distance post-Stuart England from Restoration excesses. His poems in 1680 had been a platform for a Whiggish statement against James, Duke of York, and arbitrary government.

¹⁵¹ Rochester, *Letters*, ed. Treglown, 244.

¹⁵² Rhymer, “Preface to the Reader,” in Rochester, *Poems, &c.* (London, 1691), A6^v.

In 1691 they were sifted, reformed, and used as a *memento mori* of English manners in the degenerate Restoration, during which time some claimed that the English people had come dangerously close to losing their natural constitutional liberties, an argument against the now-exiled James Stuart II/VII.

The Marvellian and Rochesterian bodies of satire transform the arcadian abundance of Caroline propaganda into the debauchery that defines eighteenth-century and later characterizations of Restoration history. Those representations continued to oppose Stuart ideology. In Marvell, disease contests panegyric abundance, indicates immorality, and symbolizes failure in leadership. Rochester's poetry also questions idealistic Stuart abundance, but disease by and large falls aside in favour of the carnality of libertinism. *Poems* (1680) and *Some Passages* codify that corpus as an argument against absolutism by identifying libertinism with the practices of absolute divine-right monarchy. *Poems* (1691) stigmatizes that representation as a relic of a past, depraved age, which would become a standard editorial pattern in the eighteenth century. Such a break with the Stuart era was necessary for the Revolutionary settlement, which claimed sovereignty on uncertain legal grounds and feared a Jacobite popular uprising. In the context of the 1690s Reformation of Manners, to stigmatize the Stuarts and their court as depraved was to appeal for moral legitimacy in the absence of the strictest hereditary right.

Chapter IV

Satirists and Secret Historians

The view of the Restoration as a degenerate era was well established by the late eighteenth century. William Cowper's *Table Talk* (1782) offers a characteristic overview of the seventeenth century as a period of extremes. He echoes those Restoration commentators who had celebrated the king's return when he disparages Interregnum sobriety, dullness, and philistinism:

When Cromwell fought for pow'r, and while he reign'd
The proud protector of the pow'r he gain'd,
Religion harsh, intolerant, austere,
Parent of manners like herself severe,
Drew a rough copy of the Christian face
Without the smile, the sweetness, or the grace;
The dark and sullen humour of the time
Judg'd ev'ry effort of the muse a crime;
Verse in the finest mould of fancy cast,
Was lumber in an age so void of taste.¹

By contrast the Restoration ushered in a jovial revival of the arts, led by Stuart monarchy:

But when the second Charles assumed the sway,
And arts reviv'd beneath a softer day... (619-20)

So far, the story follows the narrative promoted by panegyrics for Charles II²: English society had collapsed under the weight of Puritan rule, but the king can rebuild that lost greatness. But then Cowper adds a new twist. He claims that the new Restoration

¹ William Cowper, "Table Talk," in *The Poems of William Cowper*, 3 vols., ed. John Baird and Charles Ryskamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 1:241-79, ll. 610-18.

² As they serve symbolic roles in this chapter's texts, "Charles II" and "James II" will henceforth for clarity's sake be used to refer to those monarchs, rather than to alternate confusingly between the shifting titles they held throughout their lives.

settlement had over corrected that “austere” national character. Manners slid all the way from abusive and sullen puritanism, past temperance, into debauchery:

Then like a bow long forc'd into a curve,
The mind releas'd from too constrain'd a nerve,
Flew to its first position with a spring
That made the vaulted roofs of pleasure ring. (621-5)

In a sudden absence of Protectoral authoritarianism, values returned to that Caroline “first position” with redoubled force. In particular, the festive character of the nation under Charles II, the merry monarch, encourages a crew of bestial and degenerate authors:

His court, the dissolute and hateful school
Of wantonness, where vice was taught by rule,
Swarm'd with a scribbling herd as deep inlaid
With brutal lust as ever Circe made.
From these a long succession, in the rage
Of rank obscenity debauch'd their age,
Nor ceas'd, 'till ever anxious to redress
Th' abuses of her sacred charge, the press,
The muse instructed a well nurtur'd train
Of abler votaries to cleanse the stain,
And claim the palm for purity of song,
That lewdness had usurp'd and worn so long.
Then decent pleasantry and sterling sense
That neither gave nor would endure offence,
Whipp'd out of sight with satyr just and keen
The puppy pack that had defil'd the scene. (626-41)

In characterizing the Restoration as an unserious time of play, or worse, this narrative scants the age's sufferings – plague, fire, military disaster, partisanship, and the rest. For Cowper, the single salient characteristic of the Restoration was this Dionysian debauchery, reflected in its literature. Beside the oscillations of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century was for Cowper an era of moderation, for it follows a middle path between the extremes of Interregnum austerity and Restoration decadence. The later efforts of the public sphere – satire especially, which according to Cowper was led by Addison – had rescued English

letters. Cowper's view was more or less conventional: it was similarly articulated in earlier poetry and criticism, most notably Pope's *Essay on Criticism*. Cowper was also of a notable Whig family, through his grandfather Spencer Cowper (1670-1728), with Restoration connections to the Buckingham circle through his great-grandmother Lady Sarah Cowper.³ It is unsurprising that Cowper's view of Stuart England would toe the family line.

This chapter considers some paths by which that language of Stuart debauchery, which began as a response to the abundance celebrated in representations of Charles I, became the primary characterization of the era. The historiography of the "debauched" Restoration is the history of Whig power in the eighteenth century. The partisanship of the 1690s produced a political environment in which the *de facto* Williamite establishment had opposed the (arguably) *de jure* Jacobites. Factionalism was inescapable amid these high stakes.⁴ In that divided society the fragile *status quo* had to appeal to the public for its support. Revolutionary propagandists created a narrative of "moderate and sensible revolution."⁵ Williamite writers constructed an exaggerated history of Stuart excess so as to draw a contrast with their own supposed moderation: "to borrow a Lustre to themselves by blackening their Relations."⁶ The carnivalesque and debauched features of the Stuart era were emphasized, rather than the era's other failings and disasters of which the 1690s had their own share. Charles II's and James II's debauchery was linked to the tyranny and popery against which the new settlement claimed to do battle.

³ Robert D. Hume and Harold Love, eds., in George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, *Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 2:146-7.

⁴ Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 20.

⁵ Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 29.

⁶ *The Blatant Beast Muzzl'd: or, Reflections on a Late Libel* (London, 1691), A6^r.

As this study has already shown, such accusations against the regime of Charles II were neither new nor random. The frequency and duration of these moralizing accusations signal the importance of these tropes in the eighteenth century. And while the propagandistic aims of such hostile depictions are plain, the origins of their constituent parts are less obvious if viewed apart from the earlier narrative of a spoiled abundance. Baseless lies and crude fabrications of past events are weak tools of public persuasion if they conflict with the memories of a public that had lived through those years. The Revolution's propaganda required a more nuanced and tactical interpretation of Stuart history. In the 1690s, the publication of "the Restoration's quasipornographic works" was such a strategy: by "presenting" the Restoration rather than describing it, editors "legitimized the new regime and gave it a prehistory, suggesting a long struggle of protestant constitutionalist virtue against popish absolutist vice."⁷ Likewise, historians projected upon the Restoration the anxieties of the 1690s by reimagining pro-Stuart materials and the details of well-known historical events.

The accuracy of these libels varies from minor inflection on known events, to claims that those known moral excesses had only been the tip of a previously-concealed iceberg. Certainly, these Stuart kings had their mistresses and struggles with parliament. But because the House of Stuart had for so long emphasized utopianism and divine kingship, dystopian carnality remained a convenient avenue for attacking it. A contrast of later values with the debauchery of the Restoration could be achieved even with a handful of courtly examples. Biased historians easily conflated royal toleration of religious nonconformity with royal promotion of popery. An equivalent blurring amplified the libertinism in descriptions of the

⁷ Rachel Weil, "Sometimes a Scepter is Only a Scepter: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England," in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 153.

court of Charles II, and the court's conduct was construed as an attempt to cultivate a hedonistic spirit in the nation at large. The familiar accusations of popery or debauchery, grounded in cultural memory, were preferred to accusations *ex nihilo*. Satirists could develop a contrast between Restoration and Protectorate in caricature, which caricatures in turn influenced those who recorded Restoration culture and manners. The pro- and anti-Stuart discourses of abundance, excess, disease, and depravity supplied these satirists with already familiar figures in a familiar narrative of Stuart decadence. That critique of decadence helped Revolutionaries in the 1690s to construct a moral high ground against the Jacobites, a moral advantage realized in the 1690s' Godly Reformation, or Reformation of Manners. That movement's promoters felt that King William "had been chosen by God not only to humble popery, but also to turn back the tide of debauchery which had inundated England under the restored monarchy."⁸ Some observers worried that he had been perhaps derelict in this divine duty. The first Society for the Reformation of Manners was formed as a response to these conditions. It, like the many offshoot organizations which followed, sought moral rigor. Their strategy was "to combat sin by working for the vigorous enforcement of the many laws against immorality and profanity."⁹ A discourse of the Revolution's "Godly Reformation" of Restoration corruption is identifiable in the earliest Williamite propaganda,¹⁰ as the 1690s became a time of moral self-consciousness in England. The 1688 Revolution came to be imagined as England awakening to slough off the decadence that had threatened a return to Romish slavery. But ghosts of the Civil Wars still haunted public discourse. The reformers carefully distinguished their righteousness from the

⁸ Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion, and War* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 199.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹⁰ Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 38, 48.

cant and austerity of the Interregnum. William was a providential king. But Cromwell had been similarly praised. So the evidence of William's providential role was located in England's rediscovery of virtue in consensus, not in political and military successes. The lasting myth of a "Debauched Restoration" further developed in these moral reforms of the 1690s, which drew upon earlier texts that had opposed the proclamations in the 1660s of a renewal of Stuart abundance. Thus prominent Restoration satirists were now enlisted: to emphasize by contrast the godliness of the new age and the depravity of the older one, especially in the mutual perpetuation of popery and debauchery.

Of course, the Whig histories and secret histories of the late seventeenth century are energetic participants in those anti-Stuart discourses that had (re)construed Caroline abundance as excess. The polemic of the Revolution adapts that satirical approach to the new disputes. And many of the themes, tropes, and accusations that populate the prose secret histories also appear in the mountains of *POAS* satires. Whether verse or prose, historical representations presume the earlier prevalence of such Restoration debauchery as satires and secret histories had faulted. A useful example is *The Secret History of K. James I. and K. Charles I.* (1690) and *The Secret History of the Reigns of K. Charles II. and King James II.* (1690), later published together as *The Secret History, of the Four Last Monarchs of Great Britain* (1691). Milton's nephew John Phillips has been identified as their author. While that attribution remains uncertain, we may accept it as a shorthand for a lasting opposition to the crown. The author's identity is less important here than his anti-Stuart animus. Phillips's works help to inaugurate the historiography preceding Cowper's later judgement.

Phillips's carefully wrought author-identity also suggests much about his view of a debauched English society. He presents himself in terms that resemble an early English Augustanism. He works within a fledgling English "secret history" genre, which he characterizes as an ancient historiographical tradition. Secret history celebrated the rebuilding of England in the 1690s as if it were to become a new classical Rome. That genre has roots in Procopius's *Anecdota* (its 1682 translation entitled *The Debaucht Court*) and Suetonius's *The History of the Twelve Caesars*, texts that disclose the hidden affairs and scandals of tyrannical rulers. Such revelations are meant to complete the historical record. Early-modern translations of Suetonius and Procopius betray much of their translators' political intentions. They align English constitutionalism with the perceived virtues of antiquity, a standard Revolutionary gesture across many genres. This seems to be the aim of a 1688 Suetonius edition when it features "An Account of the Author" that represents Suetonius as a prototypical Londoner of the "Town." His father was "only an ordinary Gentleman of *Rome*," and Suetonius "betook himself to the Bar, where he practiced with great Reputation."¹¹ Also included are a pair of Pliny's letters that in translation represent Pliny and his correspondents to be possessed of the easy epistolary style and social niceties of modern English gentlemen. The translator may mean more than mere language when declaring, "I'll endeavour with some license to make [them] English" (A3^r). A 1672 translation of *The History of the Twelve Caesars* has a sufficiently Whig application to invite its attribution, however shaky, to Marvell.¹² Similarly, the 1674 translation of Procopius

¹¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars, the First Emperors of Rome* (London, 1688), A2^{r-v}.

¹² See Annabel Patterson, "A Restoration Suetonius: A New Marvell Text," *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly* 61 (2000): 463-480, and von Maltzahn, *An Andrew Marvell Chronology*, 131. Patterson's assigns the translation to Marvell on the basis of an early title-page attribution and its use in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part*; von Maltzahn questions the attribution in asking why Marvell should have not had his own work on hand already for *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, which quotes Suetonius in a different translation.

depicts that secret historian as having opposed the same political conditions as now threatened the modern translator. So its present inflection is conspicuous enough. In the 1674 translation, for example, Procopius exuberantly anticipates the role of the *Anecdota* in foiling the ambitions of “such persons who are desirous to govern in an Arbitrary way.”¹³ In a twentieth-century version, the idiom is much less inflected and Procopius bleakly hopes only to discourage “future tyrants” with the threat of a bad reputation.¹⁴

John Phillips adopts a similar persona. He places himself among heroes of liberty: virtuous men who risk life and limb to unearth the concealed truths of tyrannical authorities. Phillips claims “*to bring the Two Last Reigns upon the Stage, and then let all the World judge of the Furberies and Tyranny of those Times, and the Integrity, Sincerity and Swetness of Their Present Majesties Reign.*”¹⁵ Importantly he would have these lofty motives give weight to his claims, for he maintains that his books contain not accusations, but disclosures. He gives few sources, for an anecdote’s appearance in his text is its own verification: “*As for the Truth of what is here contain’d, I will not Apologize for it; for as to the more secret Transactions, the Consequences and Events are my Testimonies; and for what was more publickly carried, there are loud and general Complaints of the Kingdom to confirm it*” (A2^v). These “Events” are the openly-known details of public history: the wars, battles, treaties, and legislative struggles which fill much historical writing. These are the memories which anchor his more outlandish claims. Had it been possible to verify “the more secret

¹³ Procopius of Caesarea, *The Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian* (London, 1674), 2.

¹⁴ Procopius of Caesarea, *The Secret History*, trans. Richard Atwater (Chicago: P. Covici 1927; Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1961) accessed September 5, 2014. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/procop-aneec.asp>.

¹⁵ [John Phillips], *The Secret Histories of the Reigns of K. Charles II and K. James II* ([London], 1690), A2^v.

Transactions,” they would have been already known and have no need for further dissemination.

These anecdotes of the king and court thus attack residual Stuart power by disclosing the hidden drivers of events, truths which order a conspiratorial world. Like Procopius, Phillips opens the “true” causes of great political machinations, retroactively imposing principles of democratic transparency. Few of Phillips’s accusations were actually novel, but he weaves those conspiracies into a cohesive portrait of Charles II and James II. His results expose the character flaws inherent in that branch of the House of Stuart as different kinds of libertinism. The late Charles II was the negligent playboy, and the still-threatening James II is a looming, military tyrant who continued (and may have originally authored) his older brother’s absolutist plans. Charles II had ruled through most of the events that had produced the Revolutionary settlement, and so Charles II’s life receives greater share of the book than that of his brother. Even so, the length of James II’s chapter is disproportionate to his brief reign. Phillips’s anecdotes present Charles II as a rake: a debauched playboy *cum* arbitrary monarch who handed his dictatorial heir an opportunity for tyranny. Young or old, Phillips’s Charles II is a man of dangerous appetite. As a youth, that appetite was for pleasure, by which means he was easily manipulated by savvier peers. As he ages, the pursuit of pleasure becomes a thirst for power.

True to biographical form, Phillips begins with the king’s birth. Young Charles II then follows a path of debauchery, hypocrisy, brutality, and popery. Phillips first identifies those character flaws early in Charles II’s childhood, and he argues for connections to later conduct: “let us trace him from his Cradle to find out those Princely Endowments, which invisibly encreasing with him as he grew in Years, dazled in such a manner the eyes of the

doating Politicians of that Age, to recal him” (3). His youth in Scotland is a blur of corruption, sex, rape, and murder. His charisma, irresponsibility, and claim to absolute authority leave advisors unwilling and unable to rebuke him. A single attempt at reform leads to the murder of Archibald Campbell, Eighth Earl of Argyll and Marquis of Argyll, “upon a pretended legal Process” (7). The prince is so convinced of his personal liberty that all loyalties and obligations are subordinate:

But tho that Noble and Prudent Peer manag’d the Address, which upon that occasion he made to the King, with the highest Piety of a Christian, and the greatest Submission of a Subject; the king look’d upon it as so Sacrilegious of a Crime, that any one should presume to rebuke him for his Darling Pollutions and Impurities, that he resolved that nothing should expiate the Offence but the Blood of that Great and Vertuous Nobleman. (6-7)

Phillips elides that this “Pretended legal process” was Argyll’s 1661 trial, long after the events in question, for having collaborated with Cromwell in the 1650s. The act of conspiratorial disclosure trivializes the public version of those events without necessarily offering a wholly new narrative. Rather he emphasizes Argyll’s role in putting Charles on the throne of Scotland and maintains that Argyll’s execution was secretly an act of personal revenge on a “vertuous” and loyal servant for the audacity of attempting a “rebuke.”

Even before Charles rose to deadly political intrigue, the appetite that would grow into debauchery also foreshadowed tyranny. For authors to focus on Charles’s birth and youth was common. Royalist celebrations of Charles II’s life typically began with the new star recorded at his birth, interpreted as a good omen. *Eikon Basilike*’s formulation of the good prince developed that prophecy to anticipate Charles II’s return as England’s next providential monarch of abundance. Phillips undermines that panegyric tradition by finding in Charles II’s youth a prophecy of brutality:

he had a very strange an [*sic*] unaccountable Fondness to a wooden Billet [a billyclub], without which in his Arms he would never go abroad, nor lie down in his Bed: from which the more observing sort of People gathered, that when he came to Years of Maturity, either Oppressors and blockheads would be his greatest Favourites; or else that when he came to reign he would either be like *Jupiter's* Log for every body to deride and contemn; or that he would rather chuse to command his People with a Club, than rule them with a Scepter. And indeed they that made the first and last Conjectures found in due time they were not altogether wrong. (3-4)

Phillips interprets this childhood fixation on an instrument of violence as evidence that Charles II would grow into a tyrant surrounded by flatterers, to argue for the pre-pubescent prince's libertine aspects prior to the age when sexual excess would be plausible. As crucial to the anecdote is the crediting of key qualitative judgments to anonymous third-party "observing sort of People." By relying on external judges instead of making his own



Figure 7: William Dobson, *Charles II, 1630 – 1685. King of Scots 1649 – 1685. King of England and Ireland 1660- 1685 (When Prince of Wales, with a page).*

remarks, Phillips cultivates his persona of a detached discloser or an objective compiler rather than that of a partisan commentator.

Those royal representations that had already depicted Charles II as the Prince of Wales wielding a club or baton lend further weight to this anecdote. In a William Dobson portrait, ca. 1642-3 (fig. 7), a confident, youthful, and graceful



Figure 8: [William Dobson], *Charles II, (1630-1685), as Prince of Wales*.

Charles stands armoured, a cavalry skirmish in the distant background. He holds a baton over the head of the Medusa with a sheathed sword at his side, while a page presents a gilded helm.¹⁶ An earlier and simpler effort (fig. 8), less certainly attributed to Dobson, depicts Charles full-length holding a ostrich plumed hat, his free hand resting on a longer wooden staff.¹⁷ In these, the baton symbolizes command and order, especially against the chaos of the battle and the medusa in the more lavish portrait. Because of these official images of youthful Charles II with a club in hand,

Philips's credibility does not rely on any source

for the anecdote – he “presents” Charles II with his billy-club rather than describes him. The polemical task then is to argue that the baton symbolizes brutality instead of order, which the commentary from his anonymous observers performs.

A hypocritical disparity between Charles II's external, public, appearance and his secret interiority is the “presentation” of Phillips's secret history. The “billet” anecdote and the conspiracy against Argyll emphasize how Charles II's appetite impels him toward his

¹⁶ William Dobson, *Charles II, 1630 – 1685. King of Scots 1649 – 1685. King of England and Ireland 1660- 1685 (When Prince of Wales, with a page)*, National Portrait Gallery, accessed August 8, 2014, http://www.nationalgalleries.org/object/PG_1244.

¹⁷ [William Dobson], *Charles II, (1630-1685), as Prince of Wales*, Kinloch Castle, Rum (Scottish National Heritage), accessed August 8, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/charles-ii-16301685-as-prince-of-wales-166809>.

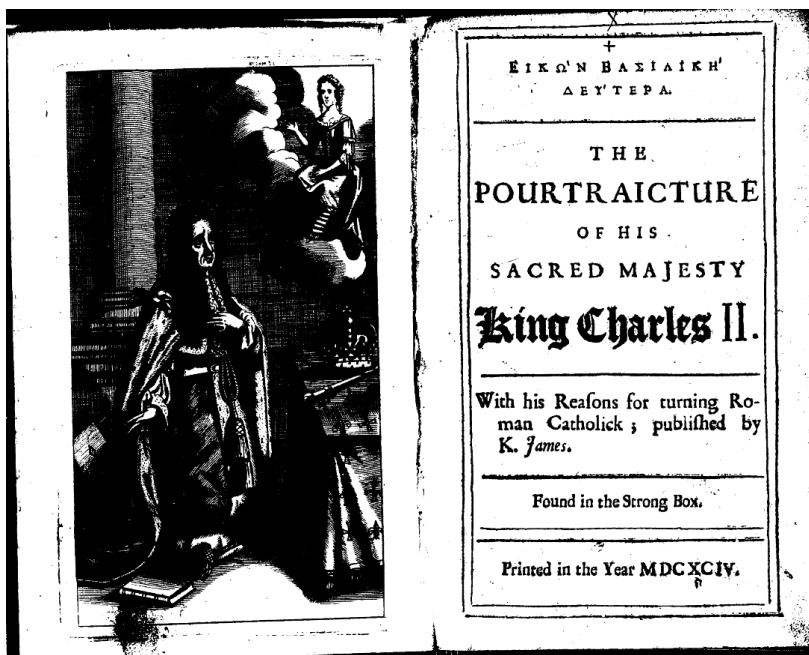
later debauchery and tyranny: like a spoiled child, he demands the satisfaction of all desires, despite the intervention of a governor or a Parliament. To this pair of flaws, Phillips adds religious hypocrisy. He alleges that Queen Henrietta Maria was a popish bigot who poisoned young Charles II and James II against protestantism. This is confirmed as the prince's interiority further develops in the disclosure of alleged personal correspondences that contradict each other and many of Charles's public declarations. Any of Charles II's statements of "Zeal and Affection" for the protestant cause (10) run against the testimony of "Ocular Witnesses who often saw him at Mass during his Exile." They are further contradicted in a recovered "Letter under his own Hand, written in the year 1652 to the Pope himself" (10). That letter is the most literal sort of *anecdota* in the etymological sense of things unpublished: Phillips claims that it had been printed for *Whitlocks Memoirs* (1659/60) but then torn from the whole impression because of "danger that might ensue upon divulging it at that time to the world" (11). The letter supplicates to Rome and slanders the Protectorate. The writer, allegedly the exiled Charles II, claims that Cromwell had planned an iconoclastic anti-catholic crusade on the continent. The letter begs the Pope to thus fund a pre-emptive war, and to use threats of excommunication for rallying support. Phillips's "disclosure" of this "secret correspondence" establishes that even before his return Charles II was in cahoots with Rome and was prepared to sell English protestantism to continental catholicism for wealth and status. It also suggests a style of governance by expenditure and coercion. Similar allegations had earlier been directed against Charles in respect to the Treaty of Dover (1670). But to topple protestantism required that the king first dissimulate. To achieve his Restoration and gather the power necessary to become a catholic tyrant,

Charles “was forc’d to put on a Protestant Mask, and to wear one Religion on his Face, another in his Heart” (19). Charles II’s reign began as a performance before the public.

Phillips’s themes of debauchery, brutality, and hypocrisy in Charles II’s formative years recur in other secret histories of the 1690s. The anonymous *Eikon Basilike Deutera* (1694), a coarse parody of Charles I’s iconic book so revered by Jacobites, purports to be the secret diary and confessions of Charles II from his youth until his death. Like *Eikon Basilike*, it provides the Prince’s (and soon to be King’s) internal monologue amid famous events, and (sometimes)

interspersed with prayers.

Eikon Basilike Deutera differs from its antecedent in its diarist’s present tense. The original had spoken in the voice of a condemned man, reflecting on his life and the past. The sequel records the



King’s thoughts on events

Figure 9: *Eikon Basilike Deutera* (1694), frontispiece.

as they happened. The frontispiece (fig. 9) parodies the original’s widely-reproduced William Marshall engraving, but here depraved Charles II prays to a vision of a buxom nymph, as he had in Marvell’s *Last Instructions to a Painter* (ll. 885-906), not to the light of a heavenly crown. As if to emphasize the King’s irreligion and profanity, the chapter-concluding prayers make only occasional appearances, otherwise forgotten or neglected.

The King of *Eikon Basilike Deutera* is much the same crypto-catholic libertine as found in Phillips's secret histories, but he is now revealed through the subversion of those royalist devices met with in the earlier *Eikon Basilike*.

As with Phillips, this secret history offers disclosure even while telling a twice-told tale. Allegedly written for private purposes, it was "Found in the Strong Box" and opened to the public when "published by K. James." This supposed provenance imitates the *Copies of Two Papers Written by the Late King Charles II of Blessed Memory* (1685), which were indeed published at James's command,¹⁸ and advertised as so "found." In those documents, Charles II professes the reasons for his catholic faith. In neither the *Copies* nor in *Eikon Basilike Deutera* is any motive for James's participation, real or supposed, given. The only clue for the latter is that the first chapter – emphasized because of its conspicuous position atop of the table of contents – is titled "*On his Majesty's being converted into the Catholick Church.*"¹⁹ Perhaps "K. James" revealed his brother's memoirs as a misguided attempt to legitimize English catholicism. That conversion, according to the fictional diary, was Charles's response to the regicide, and the result of his "hitherto secret" grudge for England's crimes against his family. For polemicists to connect the Stuart threat to the extra-judicial excesses of the Regicides was a common tactic. Jacobites frequently compared the 1688 Revolution to the 1641 Parliamentary crises which led to the Civil Wars. Revolutionary historians often responded by claiming that Interregnum policies, the regicide in particular, created deep political divisions that were only being mended in the 1690s. That strategy helped William to enjoy a corrective, rather than invasive, role, and it gave him

¹⁸ Patricia Gael, "Kingship and Catholicism in Posthumous Representations of Charles II, 1685-1714," *The Seventeenth Century* 29 (2014): 173-196, 178-9.

¹⁹ *Eikon Basilike Deutera*, 1. As with *Eikon Basilike*, the capitalized "King" is here used to distinguish the fictionalized diarist from the historical Charles II.

distance from Commonwealth and Protectorate ideology. In the King's (present-tense) vitriolic oath of revenge upon Interregnum protestant "Hereticks," *Eikon Basilike Deutera* blames the regicides for setting in motion the events that would culminate in the upheavals of 1688-9. That oath's exposure in print also reveals James's strategy as a naïve failure, for rather than legitimize English catholicism, it promotes its hateful aspects. Charles II's conversion unfavourably identifies his whole dynasty with the most dangerous popery, especially because of his vindictive reasons for conversion:

Did not my Grandfather K. *James*, though he maul'd *Bellarmino*, give the Pope the Title of *Most holy Father*, and declare his Readiness to meet the Church of Rome half way? Did not my Father, whom the very Hereticks acknowledged a Martyr, in like manner, give the Pope those Titles which they call *Names of Blasphemy*? If he had thought the Catholick Religion damnable, or believed that the Church of *Rome* teaches the *Doctrine of Devils*, would he ever have taken a Catholick Princess into his Bosom? or granted such Concessions in favour of her Religion and suffered it to spread so much in his Dominions? (1-2)

The first page of this secret history puts a long family tradition of Stuart catholicism into Charles II's mouth. Importantly, this conversion is not a matter of the King's conscience, as "conscience" could justify all kinds of religious nonconformity, which minority protestant rights Whigs usually defended. It was rather a tyrannical strategy of "*Hobs*" and "*Machiavel*," as he argues that "*Religion is but a Trick of State to keep the People in obedience*" (3). Even though he swears such atheistic oaths, the hypocritical King also hails divine right, for it places him above all mortal men, or as he puts it in one of his prayers, divine right makes him "*accountable to none but thee*" (5).

Hypocrisy and debauchery become central to Charles II's political strategies in the secret histories. On one hand, in secret history (as in Milton), luxury is the tool of the tyrant or absolutist. Phillips (over the course of many chapters) alleges Charles II colluded with Louis XIV and the pope to undermine England's moral excellence and to spread luxury and

debauchery. The sacrament of confession provides popish hedonists with license for debauchery and hypocrisy, without risking salvation. This is the same understanding of confession and indulgence as reasoned in the spurious Rochesterian epigram “On Rome’s Pardons,” much reprinted in the state-poem collections. Should a people follow a king’s debauched example, the convenience of confession would create the opportunity to install popery, and then arbitrary government could follow. Once more, the repressions of the Interregnum are held to have left England vulnerable to such tactics, as the population’s hunger for joy and happiness made them ripe for temptation. Moreover, if luxury is the tool, popery is the accessory to that end and those anxieties. In *Eikon Basilike Deutera*, the King declares, “Popery, I am convinced by my own experience is a Religion best suted to any such as would live in those Enjoyments which Precisians call carnal Delights” (226), a strategy that he learned in exile, and first spread among the courtiers who accompanied him there.

Phillips also reinforces the belief that Restoration debauchery was part of a depraved, cloistered, and weird ruling class’s excess. He intersperses his obscure anecdotes of debauchery with better-known breaches of public trust so as to emphasize their concurrence and suggest some significant relationship between them. The debauches are portrayed as part of a project of public control on Charles II’s part. He by the 1670s treated the nation as his personal entertainment fund. His “gilded Coaches” awe and corrupt his rivals at great public expense. Such pomp contributes as much to Charles II’s pleasure as to the public magnificence that Milton had feared and that Habermas calls “representation not for but ‘before’ the people,”²⁰ or in Phillips’s more hostile terms, “the Sovereign *Ignis fatuus* to misguide them into all the snares of Ruin and Perdition” (25). As great as that waste may

²⁰ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 8.

have been, that sum pales compares to the cost of his mistresses: “Tho nothing was more mournful then to see those vast sums of Money which the Parliament so profusely gave him for the Honour and Security of the Nation, so extravagantly and prodigally wasted upon his Strumpets, of which two were Common harlots, of Actresses taken from the Bawdy Stage to his Royal Bed” (24). Phillips may not make any explicit claims for republican governance and policy, but here he repeats principles as earlier republican theory had promoted.

Harrington’s cautions against luxury’s influence on a populace echo in Phillips’s interpretation of this project of social control: “to pollute and infect the People with all manner of Debauchery and wickedness ... Fornications and Adulteries the Principal tests of the People’s Loyalty and Obedience” (25), to cultivate a state of “Thralldom, ... to weaken and make soft the Military Temper of the People by Debauchery and Effeminacy, which generally go hand in hand together” (26). Phillips seems here to be in conversation with the Tory legalist position, articulated by Dryden in *Absalom and Achitophel*, which holds that the private conduct of the royal person should be considered separately from the public principles of law and heredity to which the royal person is subject. Phillips counters that the private conduct of the king influences the moral character of the nation and damages the nation’s constitutionality: “*Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis*,” or, the world is fashioned according to the example of a king, and “he gave these lewd Examples himself” (26).

It is common for these secret histories to approach the event of the Restoration with caution. They endorse monarchy in theory while rejecting the specifics of Stuart practice, and thus avoid any Miltonic monarchomachy which might then apply also to King William III. Phillips critically describes a dynamic byplay between Charles II’s potential and

failures. At the Restoration, he claims, Charles II had an unprecedented opportunity for universal good, “for himself, to his subjects at home, and to his allies abroad” (1). Phillips also acknowledges widespread good will at the Restoration, but the narrative quickly shifts to how Charles II’s character threatened the nation:

But after all this, he was no sooner settled in his Throne, but through the influence of Evil Counsellors [sic] upon a disposition naturally vicious and easily corrupted with Effeminate Pleasures, he abandon’d himself to all manner of Softness and Voluptuous Enjoyments, and harboring in his Bosom the worst of Vices, base Ingratitude, betray’d himself that he might betray his People. (1-2)

Here Phillips again wields those themes from the civil war and Restoration. In blaming “Evil Counsellors” Phillips repeats the Parliamentary slogans of the early 1640s. The old distinction between opposition to the king and rebellion against the crown is revived in this assertion that Charles II betrayed his subjects. So too is the language used in the trial of Charles I. Stuart luxury returns as “Enjoyments” and “Vices” that foil Charles II’s potential. More specifically anti-abundant rhetoric also appears. These “Effeminate Pleasures” are that *otium*, formerly paradisaical, but here negligent decadence that endangers the nation.

Phillips’s chosen anecdotes of the Restoration blend tyranny, debauchery, and hypocrisy more than those from Charles II’s youth, which clearly alternate between vices. First, Phillips notes how at Breda shortly before his return, Charles II was observed praying for protestantism and toleration, to which clerics jubilantly responded with support. But to emphasize this as a performance, a faux-private confession to manipulate that ecclesiastical audience, Phillips juxtaposes the pious Charles II in Breda to the debauched King Charles II in England:

Soon after he arriv’d in *England*, where he was receiv’d with all the Pomp and Splendor, and all the Demonstrations of Joy that a Nation could express; But then, as if he had left all his Piety behind him in *Holland*, care was taken against the very first Night that his Sacred Majesty was to lie at *Whitehall*, to have the Lady *Castlemain*

seduc'd from her Loyalty to her Husband and entic'd into the Arms of the Happily restored Prince. Which was not only Adultery, but incest in the Lord's Anointed, it being the Opinion of several Persons, who had reason to know more than others did, that she was his Sister by the Mother's side, as being begotten by the E[arl] of St. A[lbans, Henry St. Jermyn] upon the Queen's body, after the death of C. the First: which is the rather to be believ'd, for that I my self have often heard Mr. R. Osborn, then at Paris with the Exil'd King, affirm, that he saw the said E and the Queen Solemnly marry'd together. (22)

Phillips thus contests the narrative of the Restoration as the a rebirth of English virtue and abundance as predicted in *Eikon Basilike*. The king's performance indicts that whole discourse as theatrical trickery, as had been argued in *Eikon Alethine*. While the nation celebrated the return of its godly king, that king was celebrating his own return with cuckoldry and secret incest, signalling the depravity of the new Stuart era. The sin itself is acted upon a body, Lady Castlemaine's, conceived as an affront to the memory of Charles I. In this allegation, Lady Castlemaine was born to the widowed Henrietta Maria and Henry St. Jermyn, her favourite, who were married in secret. Had this been true, Charles II's debauch would be a further abomination to his new crown, by celebrating his return in depraved sin with a symbol of his mother's faithlessness to his father. The king's hypocrisy undermines his authority, which is predicated on divine favour (flouted in lust) and the sanctity of familial inheritance (challenged by incest and adultery). The passage offers no evidence aside from unverifiability and resistance to refutation: "Opinion of several Persons, who had reason to know more"; "to be believ'd," "heard," and to "affirm."

These and other similar ephemeral allegations amplify the drunken debauchery of Charles II as recorded in Ludlow's memoirs. In Ludlow, the returned court's focus on pleasure debauches the nation; in Phillips the returned court's deliberate effort debauches a nation despite virtuous hope for a better future. Renewing the charge of crypto-catholicism,

Phillips alleges that such acts were encouraged by Charles's hypocrisy. The great debauches were

Pecadillo's readily forgiven by the Religion which he inwardly embrac'd, which could readily dispense with such Trifles as these, provided he went thorough-stitch with the Work which his Ghostly Fathers had cut out for him. Which was the reason, perhaps, that he made choice of a Devotion so conformable to his lustful Inclinations. (23-4)

The invisibility of "inward" belief is as insidious as any of Charles's tyrannical plots.

Charles was a hypocrite who readily betrayed the Church of England for personal pleasure.

He was also the most appetitive monarch, and thus most prone to betraying the people's interest, that England had ever seen:

For certainly what was said of *Harry* the Eighth, might much more properly be said of him, That he spar'd no Woman, whether Virgin, Marry'd or Widow, in his Venereal Heats; which fill'd his Court so full of Pimps and Panders, that there was hardly any Preferment about his Person for any other. (24)

Because of the king's influence on national character, Charles II's extreme bankruptcy constitutes a betrayal in itself, even before (or without) his French and Roman collusions.

And because military strength was argued to depend on sterner national virtues, vulnerable to corrosion by effeminate luxury, these debauches compromise England's safety under continued Stuart rule.

The confessional aspect of the threat posed by Charles II to national safety especially emerges in the depiction of his sudden death in 1685, which parodies the lives of saints in order to emphasize his irreligion. Phillips summarizes Charles II's vices and describes the deathbed in detail. The closing remarks again that debauchery and tyranny characterize Charles II as a ruler: "*That he was an irreconcilable Enemy of the Protestant-Religion, a Parliament, and a Virtuous Woman*" (151). Moreover, Charles II's last thoughts, after taking catholic last rites, were not of succession, constitutionality, or the national good, but

rather of those objects of his lust who had emptied the state's coffers: "That all the while he lay upon his Death-bed, he never spoke to his Brother, to put him in mind of preserving the Laws and Religion of his People; but only recommend to him the Charitable care of his two Concubines, *Portsmouth* and poor *Nelly*" (153). Phillips's Charles II was a man of limitless appetite who possessed the power to feed it. As a child he is driven by violence and tyranny, as a youth by material and carnal desires, and as an adult by political ambitions. These habits encourage him to pursue his desires to the fullest extent, and to gather rogues and scoundrels as his companions in vice, be they popish Lords, corrupt Members of Parliament, or common thieves; and he dies with his mistresses' names on his lips.

Phillips's history continues into the next reign, but *Eikon Basilike Deutera* ends on Charles II's deathbed. *Eikon Basilike Deutera*'s later chapters set up the revolutionary context of the 1690s and war against the Stuarts and the French. The 1670s and onward in *Eikon Basilike Deutera* mostly revisit the story familiar from Marvell's *Account*, but from the perspective of the King, albeit without any specific reference. Marvell was by the 1690s a Whig hero, and so any following of his *Account*'s exposure of absolutist conspiracy signalled firm anti-popish credentials. In *Eikon Basilike Deutera*, all of the King's political mechanisms serve his conspiracies with the French. He treats Parliament as an obstacle to the satisfaction of those ends: "I perceive that the Commons, though they don't live their Religion for Religion's sake, yet they have no mind to part with it because of their Interest; for if Popery were introduced, Arbitrary Government would find its way more easy" (224). Similar francophile conspiracies are conjectured behind ostensibly pro-Dutch alliances that had occurred after Marvell's death. For example, the King, in a panic, distances himself

from the Battle of Saint-Denis (1678) in which Monmouth had supported the Prince of Orange's victory over the advancing French:

How to excuse this to the French King, who upbraids me with it as a Breach of the private Treaty, that my Son and Subjects should fight against him: I can truly say, that neither the Duke nor they did engage in that Action with my Consent; and that the thing is wholly owing to the Prince of *Orange*, whose Conduct and Courage, I have reason to dread, will mar all the Designs which *Lewis XIV.* and I have so long concerted. (253-4)

The King is so beholden to Louis XIV for his pleasures that he would absolve himself of an English victory to maintain that clandestine alliance. *Eikon Basilike Deutera* suggests that the English court may have been deliberately corrupted by French agents. Debt to France had mounted because of the King's own vulnerability to temptation: "The pursuit of my Pleasures, which are the chiefest Good that my Soul desires, have drain'd my Treasury" (145); "could I have but subdued those irregular Passions which have enslav'd my Soul with the Baits of sensual Pleasure, I needed not have been oblig'd to [Louis XIV] for Money" (247). The older rhetoric of abundance and excess here mixes with the constitutional language of slavery and tyranny and speaks to the anxieties of the 1690s Reformation of Manners. The King's libertinism did not free him from constraint. Rather it "enslav'd" him to desire and to the French treasury. The King so enslaved became a tyrant. He in turn consumed the nation's once-abundant wealth and in turn enslaved his subjects to supply those needs. Moreover, he rationalizes those depravities with distorted absolutist and royalist rhetoric. At the beginning of the text, the King prays in imitation of *Eikon Basilike*. But as his piety decreases, those prayers disappear, at least until a blasphemous outburst, and then only to Priapus and Venus (139). His incest he justifies with an appeal to "mahumetan" precedent and scriptural patriarchy: "*Lot* enjoy'd his own Daughters; and *Abraham* had his Father's Daughter to Wife I am but even with *Abraham*" (133). The King's confession

twists absolute theory against itself. Royalists, most notably Filmer, had long appealed to the biblical patriarchs in arguing for divine right. Seen through the King's self-justifying sophistry, the patriarch instead symbolizes libertine depravity.

Likewise, Phillips borrows Restoration oppositional language to allege further conspiracy between Charles II and Louis XIV. Charles II's profligacy provides the French with political, financial, and religious leverage for advancing counter-Reformation projects against England: "Tricks and Stratagems of the King, to introduce Tyranny and Slavery a League concluded with the *French King*, for their total Subversion" (133). In interspersing these betrayals with Charles II's enjoyment of further courtly scandals, Phillips suggests that the king was an eager participant. But these accusations fall into a conspiracy theorist's circular logic: every Restoration political event even slightly suggestive of tyranny Phillips alleges to be a plot, whereas those events that invite other explanation he characterizes as tricks that fooled the public, his own savvy readers excepted, of course. Charles II's entire life, in sum, was devoted to his own pleasure and to enslaving England under a French tyranny. Even when his actions supported English protestantism and religious liberty, "there was not a Law which he consented to for the public Good, not a gracious Speech or Declaration to protect and preserve the *Protestant Religion*, which the people did not purchase at a dear rate" (133). So what was in his youth a desire for unconstrained personal liberty, in maturity became the conduct of the tyrant. For the double-dealing absolutist Charles II, English "Laws, Liberties, and Religion" as enforced by Parliament were as much an obstacle to his desires as the Marquis of Argyll's reproofs had once been, and so libertinism becomes absolutism. Both governors – the Scottish peer and the English Parliament – become the targets of royal revenge for their attempts at restraint.

If, in Phillips's history, Charles II is the rake, James II is the Machiavellian. James is a different "libertine" figure following Charles, to create some distinction between the pleasure-seeking king and his power-hungry successor. James II's life further connects the history's 150 pages of courtly scandal to the present Williamite-Jacobite conflicts. Phillips demonstrates how the Stuart brothers each had his own brand of violation. Charles II's excesses were moral and religious, and clearly debauched. He betrays the sanctity of marriage, the boundaries of incest, the good will of benefactors, and the trust of the nation in satisfying these personal appetites. On the other hand, James II's violations are legal and legislative. He is driven by vengeance, and to that end he undermines the ancient constitution, fundamental to the Revolutionary cause. James II's conspiracies and mechanisms certainly comprise what Locke would call "Pretences of one kind, and Actions of another; Arts used to elude the law, and the Trust of Prerogative ... employed contrary to the end, for which it was given," that being, the good of the people.²¹ Both brothers claim "*a state of License*"²² in their personal conduct, an overstepping of Lockean "uncontrollable Liberty" in the satisfaction of their personal desires. If Charles II is the libertine who flouts values of genteel protestant morality, James II is the libertine who flouts values of Whig liberty, and he represents another step in a historical regression into slavery.

Like his brother's, James II's tyranny begins at an early age. Even early in his recollection of Charles II's life, Phillips alleges that James II had always been the true political strategist of the family, and that the events of his youth had fuelled his hatred for England. Because she had the greater influence on her younger son, Henrietta Maria had

²¹ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and Apparatus Criticus*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 423, 2:210, ll. 1-5.

²² *Ibid.*, 288, 2:6, l. 2.

more success in cultivating his bigotry against protestantism. The regicide galvanized his resolve against the English:

The vow'd Enemy of this Nation, [Charles II's] Brother, the D. of *York*, who had been openly heard to declare in his Bedchamber at St. *James's*, 'That he was resolv'd to be reveng'd upon the *English* Nation for the Death of his Father: And what an Ascendent this Brother had over him, the whole Kingdom has felt by sad and woful experience. For indeed the King had all along an Affection for him, so entire and baneful to the Nation, that he could only be said to Reign, while his Brother Rul'd. (2-3)

But only after Charles II's death, when James II's succession was secure ("the long-long wish'd for Haven of his Ambitious Desires," 184), could that successor's true plots come to fruition. Compared to his brother, he was "not more perniciously designing, but more eagerly bent in the chase of National Ruin and Destruction" (153).

In Phillips, many of Charles II's famous disasters are actually mechanisms in James II's convoluted revenge plots. Charles II's profligacy caused him to act with casual disregard for national welfare and eventually to pawn national security. But the bigoted and popish James II specifically plotted the ruin of the English people. James II was a determined conspirator of intricate plots. The most incendiary charge that Phillips makes is that James II was complicit in the 1666 Great Fire:

And what greater piece of Perfidie could there be, than while the D. was riding about the streets under pretence of assisting to quench the Fire, that his Guards were at the same time employed to prevent the People from removing their Goods; and his Palace was made the Refuge of such as were taken in the very fact of cherishing and fomenting the Flames! (162)

The period following the fire had actually been a peak for James II's popularity as he had been a hero of the fire-fighting efforts. Phillips however alleges that the catastrophe was orchestrated to allow James II to destroy London while receiving accolades for his conduct. That conspiracy, as James II was then Lord Admiral, repeats the Exclusionist reading of

Rochester's "The Maim'd Debauchee," the speaker of which compares himself to "Some brave *Admiral*" and encourages young men "some *Antient Church* to fire" (ll. 1, 43).

(Different histories theorize different conspiracies behind the conflagration. By contrast, *Eikon Basilike Deutera* repeats allegations of royal connections to the city's destruction, though neither Charles II nor James II is accused. Rather, it was set by "silly fifth monarchy men" who Jesuits had manipulated. The King was merely pleased with the accident (114).)

His fire-fighting efforts had brought about James II's zenith, but the Test Act(s) brought him into a nadir of unpopularity. James II's exposure at that moment is usually understood in the terms of a conflict of conscience and/or a political out-maneuvring. But according to Phillips, the exposure of his catholicism was calculated to appease popish benefactors (157-8). The revelation of James II's true faith is to Phillips, paradoxically, further evidence of hypocrisy, for James II had shown a tendency to choose his loyalties opportunistically. He had allegedly attempted, against catholic doctrine, to divorce Ann Hyde, his first wife. He had married her only upon "finding her extraordinary Chastity to be such, that he could not be admitted to her Bed, but upon the lawful score of Matrimony" (155), and thus turned to the convenience of Anglican divorce to serve his libertine desires. These remarks on Hyde's supposed "Chastity" betray Phillips's purpose. In the 1660s Marvell ridiculed her promiscuity and presented her infertility as symptomatic of further moral failures. Pepys records the Earl of Sandwich mocking her as a "wench" for a pregnancy out of wedlock (1:260-1). But shifting political realities change satirical inflections. Ann's daughter Mary, perhaps such a "Glassen Duchess" as Marvell had once turned against the court in *The Last Instructions*, was now Queen, by which marriage

William III claimed the crown. To question Hyde's constancy and the Queen's parentage would be to attack the basis of Williamite legitimacy.

Phillips also attributes the Popish Plot, the veracity of which he takes as unquestionable, to James II and his ambitions. In doing so he returns to the emerging idea of the Revolution as fostering an English Augustan era. The newly-crowned James II becomes a wrathful tyrant of antiquity revenging himself upon Titus Oates for his "heroic" foiling of James's Popish Plot:

the first Act of his Revenge in England, brake forth upon Dr. *Oates*; He could not forget the Doctor's detection of his Conspiracies against the Kingdom: And because he could not find out a way to hang him; his *Chief Justice Jefferies* found out a Punishment to gratify his Royal Fury, worse than Death it self, and till then unknown among *Christians*, in Imitation of the Roman *Fustuarium*, by which the *Roman* Souldiers were often drub'd to Death, or if they scap'd, sent into perpetual Banishment: as the Doctor was first of all Scourg'd by the Common Executioner beyond all Precedent, and then Condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment. A sentence so void of all Christian Compassion, that only *Jefferies* could have invented, and such a Beast as *Withens* could have pronounced. (187)

Phillips's language commemorates the event as a skirmish between absolutes of good and evil, or between limited and unlimited monarchy. James II, as the tyrant, desires a brutal revenge but his villainous will is foiled by English legalism and constitutionalism. The king's response is to exploit the human, broken parts of the system in corrupting officials and circumventing justice and law to torment Oates. The allegation of the punishment's antichristian novelty and an arcane classical antecedent continues the characterizations of those constitutional debates as an apocalyptic struggle. In actuality, Oates's punishment was neither novel nor creative, though perhaps administered with public force proportional to the public nature of his crimes. Phillips here pushes for yet greater sympathy for Oates, attempting to elevate him to a heroic stature. That Oates's punishments were exotic and somehow rooted in obscure Roman precedent is hyperbolic, but that accusation has its uses

in constructing a proto-Augustan narrative. It aligns James II with Roman persecutions, which reading Phillips encourages in claiming that the punishment was hitherto “unknown among Christians.” For Phillips, James II is a Nero or a Julian: a pagan persecutor-tyrant to Phillips’s own Suetonius. He likewise promotes Oates as a living protestant and constitutionalist martyr in that same struggle.

Historical progress from primitive irreligious tyranny toward modern pious liberty is basic to “Whig history.” But as Whiggish as their praise is of the then-growing protestant establishment, these secret histories are first and foremost anti-Jacobite texts. They consistently undermine the basis of Jacobite legitimacy. In so opposing James II, *Eikon Basilike Deutera* also alleges that the King had been manipulated by his brother, repeating claims that the Duke had for decades plotted his eventual succession. The King confesses to having married the mother of James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, but at his brother’s, the Duke’s, council, in a clandestine ceremony (60). Had that marriage thus occurred, Monmouth’s claim on the throne would have been legitimate and it would force a new understanding of subsequent events. His 1685 execution would have been a second regicide, and usurpation on James II’s part. The King of *Eikon Basilike Deutera* violates the moral righteousness so promoted in the “reformed” 1690s by acting the role of the debauched Restoration rake. The Duke, like the French king in other secret histories, acquires power by exploiting the King’s lust and appetite. Such scenes and conspiracies repeat in many texts. They collectively demonstrate how private royal misconduct leads to the corruption of state and constitution. Moreover, although James II’s continued claims to power depend on theories of inheritance and primogeniture, the “diary” provides evidence that he had long undermined those principles for his own convenience.

In a similar vein, Phillips includes anecdotes of James II's "libertine" excesses to persuade supporters of monarchy against the exiled king. Whereas he recalls Oates's suffering from a largely Whiggish position, exposing arbitrary vengeance as an appeal to the liberal constitutionalist reader, the birth of James III and the succession conspiracy makes a monarchist case against the exiled tyrant. The allegation (not unique to Phillips) is that James II had replaced his own stillborn son with a "Cuckoo's Egg ... the supposititious Issue of another man," which conspiracy he hid by means of threats and bribes (209). This "warming pan plot" (which one later historian verifies on the anecdotal testimony of a hatter, though that madness was not yet proverbial²³) violates traditional succession laws just as James II maintains the Exclusionists had attempted against him: "for the sake of Popery, he should consent to a Conspiracy against his own Flesh and Blood. He would not endure to be Excluded from the Succession, but he would Exclude his own Daughters," the protestants Mary and Anne (206). Phillips acknowledges that this conspiracy is particularly far-fetched, even among his other claims "so Romantick that it looks more like a Novel than a Story fit to gain Credit, hardly carrying so much Probability with it, as the Fable of *Bacchus*, cut out of *Jupiter's* Thigh and which looks more Romantick than all the rest" (204-5). Nonetheless he insists on its veracity, perhaps because of, rather than despite, its unlikelihood.

The resolution of events takes up many positions which would become the official revolutionary history. Phillips of course lays the whole mess at the Pope's feet, which is a likely nod to the Whig reader more so than to the Tory for whom dynastic integrity would have greater importance. Whigs would be less concerned with the legitimacy of the birth.

²³ [John Oldmixon], *The History of England During the Reigns of the Royal House of STUART* (London, 1730), 736. The process of using mercuric salts in millinery, responsible for the hatter's "madness," was imported into England beginning in 1685 with Huguenot refugees. So intriguingly, with the benefit of hindsight, the hatter may inadvertently represent that proverbial madness and unreliability.

Phillips settles on the conspicuously moderate interpretation of the end of James II's reign in that "He chose by a voluntary departure, to abdicate the Realm" (212). For the "abdication" position, which still situates power in monarchy, the warming-pan plot has the double benefit of separating the future James III from Mary (and William III) and Ann. James II's efforts to exclude his own daughters allow Phillips to separate the two branches of the House of Stuart. The protestant daughters are free of the kings' moral defects.

These secret histories, and the many more like them, construct a hidden interiority for the Restoration court and the Stuart kings. They concede that Charles II and James II had often outwardly acted for the benefit of English sovereignty and protestant virtues, but their secret motives worked otherwise. Each brother was possessed of his own selfish interests – pleasure or vengeance – and their true motives were in self-service. The kings promoted a hidden, debauched courtly culture with the aim of establishing an absolute, popish tyranny, which would have provided the means to better serve that appetite.

The more literary complement to secret history, and a more tangible legacy of Marvell's and Rochester's satirical efforts, is the "Poems on Affairs of State" genre, printed in collections from 1689 onward. These many volumes speak to their own success. The tradition began in three short pamphlets under the *POAS* brand, mostly containing works attributed shakily to Marvell. They range from 32 to 36 pages in quarto.²⁴ By contrast, *The Muses Farewel* (1690) contains a preface, 224 numbered pages of verse, and a separately-numbered 20-page supplement. The period 1697-99 sees five *POAS* collections of that scale. The books rapidly expanded. *POAS from K. James* (1703) fills 471 pages, and *POAS*

²⁴ A— M—l Esq. and other Eminent Wits, *A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State* (London, 1689) [*POAS* (1689)]; A— M— and other eminent Wits, *The Second Part of the Collection of Poems on Affairs of State* (London, 1689) [*POAS2* 1689]; *The Third Part of the Collection of Poems on Affairs of State* (London, 1689) [*POAS3* (1689)]. All subsequent titles given in abbreviated form.

from *Cromwell* (1703) 534. Still-rising demand supported a 1705 edition of more than 600 pages, as well as further reissues and editions in following decades.

As these collections expanded and merged, the inflection of their contents shifted, correlating to the ongoing Reformation of Manners, among other pressures. The earlier efforts from the 1690s “present” Stuart England, especially in the reprinting of oppositional satires. Claims against Stuart abundance repeat in these volumes, similar to those which the secret historians record. Many of the complaints against the Stuarts were by then standard. Charles II was a “lascivious *Dildo* K— ... Ruling by Letchery not by Law.”²⁵ The Duchess of Portsmouth’s charms are “*Circe*’s snares,” and the king is advised that the nation’s best interest would be served in abandoning that French mistress.²⁶ These statements mingle with the standard icons of Whiggish liberty such as Oates, who appears in a variety of pro and contra colouring. Sometimes he raises the ire of Popes as a “Mystick Emblem of Salvation.”²⁷ At other times it is “vile *Oates*” who “defames the Gown.”²⁸ As these *POAS* editions make claims to nonpartisan publishing, both inflections will often appear together in the same volume, especially in the later, longer composite collections.

In the earlier *POAS* editions carnal tropes appear often against the Stuarts. The 1689 set takes a raw, candid view of debauchery. *POAS* (1689) opens with “Advice to a Painter [to Draw the Duke By],” here dubiously attributed to Marvell. It would be later assigned to Rochester at least once.²⁹ Lord’s attribution to John Aylofffe seems more likely,³⁰ given the poem’s preference for un-Marvellian triplets and its coarse metre: even the opening feet trip

²⁵ “On the Dissolution of the Club of Voters Anno 1678,” in *POAS2* (1689), 12.

²⁶ “An Acrostick,” in *POAS2* (1689), 15.

²⁷ “A Panegyric upon *Oates*” in *POAS from K. James* (1716), 115

²⁸ “*Advice to the Painter*, Upon the defeat of the Rebels in the *West*, and the Execution of the late Duke of *Monmouth*,” in *POAS from K. James* (1716), 149.

²⁹ *Poems on Several Occasions: With Valentinian; a Tragedy. To which is added, Advice to a Painter. Written by the Right Honourable John, Late Earl of Rochester.* London, 1710.

³⁰ Lord, ed., in *Poems on Affairs of State*, 1:214.

over each other (“Spread a large canvas...”). It also lacks Marvell’s characteristic tact: “Advice to a Painter [to Draw the Duke By]” is a blunt anti-Catholic and anti-Stuart satire. It exposes the favouritism extended to Catholic lackeys, depicts courtiers as corrupt and violent traitors, and alleges conspiracy with France, following suit with the state poems of the 1670s. It begins with Charles II, “prostrate to the South, / Adoring *Rome*” (3), claiming absolute authority, and swearing to return England to the Roman communion. The middle of the satire focuses on the then-soon-arriving Mary of Modena, who was to become the second Duchess of York and eventually Queen. Her marriage to James is her tragic turn, as her ambitions expose her to Stuart virulence. For the Princess to marry the duke is “Hastning to be envenom’d with the P----,” and to “receive a Wound, / Which sent *N.H.* before her, under Ground” (4). Although it was well-known that Ann (Nan) Hyde had succumbed to breast cancer, the speaker seems to claim that the duke’s debauchery had claimed the mother of his protestant daughters. The print editions from 1689 to 1703 thinly suppress the slight against the late Queen Mother, hiding her identity under initials and subjecting her to an affliction which begins with “P” and rhymes with “Locks.”³¹ The xenophobic passages also suggest that Mary’s fate, to “Die before twenty, rot before fifteen,” could have been avoided had she married “some jealous Neighbour” rather than seek status abroad. The duke’s toxicity, revealed in his wives’ decay, spreads through his social circles, “this crowd of *Traitors*” (5). Like most Advice-to-a-Painter poems, it also boasts a “To the

³¹ “Pox” and “Nan Hyde” are supplied for “P--” and “N.H.” respectively in Lord, ed., in *Poems on Affairs of State* 1:216 and Margoliouth *et al*, in Andrew Marvell, *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell* third edition, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971): 1:420-5. However, in neither edition do the textual notes indicate variation in these lines in respect to collated witnesses, cf. *Poems and Letters*, 1:463. This is problematic in this case, as all early modern print editions, including collections of 1689, 1697, 1703, and 1705, and the *Advice to a Painter, &c* collection (London, 1679), describe the “P--“ of “N.H.” The same discrepancy confuses the princess’s age (below), which in print is “before fifteen,” but which the modern editions silently emend to “Before sixteen.” The Yale series is not a reliable source for variants on such sensitive lines in early witnesses, see Hammond, “Censorship,” 44-5.

King” epilogue, cautioning King Charles against his fratricidally “impatient heir.” The 1689 edition is unusual in separating that epilogue from the rest of the poem, removing it to elsewhere in the volume, likely so it could stand individually as a conspiratorial epitaph for the dead king, and to emphasize the English “joys” which had been endangered under James’s rule.

Not all of the poems in the early editions consist of such literal warnings against francophile James II and his supporters. “Britannia and Raleigh” by contrast develops the standard accusations into extended metaphors. It is more certainly Ayloffe’s and thus probably composed in the 1670s, but it also here is attributed to Marvell, whose name would often lead “a roll call of ‘patriotic’ authors.”³² It offers another cry against popish absolutism in that language of contagion. The poem is a dialogue, though Britannia dominates. The diseased and debauched absolutist threat is most forcefully personified in Britannia’s description of her Gallic counterpart, “a *Dame*, bedeckt with spotted Pride,” carrying the “*Flower de Luce*,” wielding Leviathan’s sword, and beset by “*Jove’s lewd rav’nous Curs*” (8). *Jove’s Curs* (here “lewd” but elsewhere “loud”³³) may be another satirical borrowing of Sin and her hell hounds from *Paradise Lost*,³⁴ as in Marvell’s *Last Instructions* (Chapter II, above). The “spotted” (i.e. poxed) dame dismisses law and virtue as “mortal poison” for Kings. She encourages Charles II to ravage as “A Sacrifice” “Three spotless virgins” (9), identified in some marginal notes as England, Scotland, and Ireland,³⁵ though somewhat questionably given Britannia’s proximal identification of the “*Scotch*” and “*Irish*” with the “*French*” as her “mortal Foes” (9). The Dame’s speech rallies Britannia’s

³² Hammond, “Anonymity,” 138; also von Maltzahn, “Marvell’s Ghost,” 52-60, and *passim*.

³³ Lord, ed., in *Poems on Affairs of State*, 1:464.

³⁴ II:787-802: “of that rape begot / These yelling monsters ... [which] howl and gnaw / my bowels, their repast.”

³⁵ Margoliouth *et al*, eds., in Marvell, *Poems and Letters*, 1:404, n.100.

enemies, “Led by the Wise son-on-Law of *Hyde*” (i.e. James II), who debase her and nurture a “poison’d State” (9). The Stuarts are “wolves” who were foolishly trusted with the flocks; this subverts the pastoral imagery of earlier Stuart panegyric. The Stuart character flaws are diseases which can be transmitted to their companions, and so Britannia implores that “*Tyrants*, like Leprous Kings, for public weal, / Should be immur’d, lest the Contagion steal / Over the whole” (10). The final movement of the poem enumerates the abuses that afflict the nation, prompting a call for a new Brutus to rescue England from the “Poysonous Serpent,” again identifying the Stuarts with ancient Roman decadence and modern Roman tyranny. The antagonistic “Serpent” is another variant, found only in this 1689 edition and BM Harleian 7317 (1692).³⁶ In all other witnesses Britannia prophesies the defeat of the poisonous “Tyrant.” In *POAS* (1689), this line may have been emended the better to align the satire with propaganda of a Godly Revolution. The 1689 context allows Revolutionary England (led by William) to become a virtuous Roman republic and a godly protestant resistance, as also occurs in the scandal histories of the 1690s.

That alignment of English history with Roman history repeats in these (and later) volumes. Gilbert Burnet’s December 1688 sermon to the recently-landed King William had continued a confessional rhetoric which envisioned two churches, one godly (protestant and primitive) and one corrupt (Romish).³⁷ Perhaps anticipating eighteenth-century proclamations of an English Augustan age, the satires draw upon the same body of allusions as the secret histories to create two versions of Rome on a pattern analogous to Burnet’s two churches. The Stuarts align with the corrupt Caesars and Tarquins, and occasionally other classical tyrants. The metaphors are often mixed. For example, Aylofffe’s “Marvell’s

³⁶ Lord, ed., in *Poems on Affairs of State*, 1:465, 444; dating of MS from Love, *Source Index*, accessed December 22, 2014.

³⁷ See Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, 28-51.

Ghost” identifies Stuart misrule with Nero, “the Son of *Claudius*,” but the Fates predict that England will rise to follow the example of those who “Drove the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*.”³⁸ Elsewhere, Restoration and Roman history merge, often with focus on the “*Neronian Flames*”³⁹ of 1666 which had allegedly pleased the Stuarts. Opening *POAS2* (1689), “A Dialogue between the Two Horses” identifies the equestrian statues of Charles I and Charles II with Phalaris’s brazen bull, while Charles I’s horse boasts “I had rather bear Nero than Sardanapalus” (l. 134). The supposed detached brutality and mismanagement of Charles I was a lesser evil than his son’s effeminate debauchery. This slight against father and son follows the same trajectory as Phillips’s paired portraits of Charles II the rake and James II the city-burning tyrant, even though here in Aylofffe the father takes the *Neronian* seat which would later belong to James II. “Rochester’s Farewell” indicts Charles as a Roman tyrant by identifying one later French mistress, the Duchess of Mazarin, as “queen of lust” and announces that “Lewd Messaline was but a type of thee.”⁴⁰ Other poets who were reluctant to identify with classical republicanism still found anti-Stuart metaphors in the corruptions of ancient imperial Rome. Another satire, “The Dream,” which was almost certainly written during the reign of James II, but printed in a 1689 volume of mostly anti-popery materials, aligns a tragic Charles II with a fallen Julius Caesar, and compares conspiratorial Catholic statesmen, led by the fratricidal Duke of York, with the assassins: “The Sacrificing-Tribe too did appear, / *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Y—k* and *Petre* were.”⁴¹ Many poems written during the

³⁸ Jo. Aylofffe, “Marvill’s Ghost,” in *A Third Collection of the Newest and Most Ingenious Poems, Satyrs, Songs, &c, Against Popery and Tyranny, Relating to the Times* (London, 1689), 5.

³⁹ *POAS from Cromwell* (1697), 118.

⁴⁰ *POAS3* (1689), 28-9.

⁴¹ “The Dream,” in *A Collection of the Newest and Most Ingenious Poems, Songs, Catches, &c against Popery, Relating to the Times* (London, 1689), v.

reign of Charles II were censored or re-imagined for the post-Revolutionary “Whig canon,” especially those which had promoted the “more radical component of early Whiggism.”⁴²

Poets and publishers alike used prefaces to situate their products into a narrative where modern England repeats the history of ancient Rome. Pre-Revolutionary poems such as Ayloffé’s were presented by their later publishers as prophetic and as examples of England’s new Augustan virtue. The Whig-leaning “versatile professional writer”⁴³ Charles Gildon has been suggested as the author of the preface which had first appeared in *POAS from Cromwell* (1697, preface reprinted 1699, 1702, 1703, 1710, and 1716).⁴⁴ That editor argues that his edition’s contents deserve the same respect showed to the great classics: “the following Poems, writ by Mr. *Milton*, Mr. *Marvell*, &c. which will shew us, that there is no where a greater Spirit of Liberty to be found, than in those who are Poets; *Homer*, *Aristophanes*, and the most of the inspired Tribe have shewd it” (A2^v). The poet is an agent of resistance against tyranny and “Ill men.” That the modern English poets have continued this tradition elevates English letters:

No *Englishman* that is a true lover of his Countries Good and Glory, can be displeas’d at the publishing a Collection, the design of each which was to remove those pernicious Principles which lead us directly to Slavery; to promote a Publick and Generous Spirit, which was then almost a shame to the Possessor, if not a certain Ruine. I believe were a man of equal Ability and unbyas’d Temper to make a just Comparison, some of the following Authors might claim perhaps an equal share with many of the most celebrated of the *Romans* or *Greeks*. (A2^{r-v})

Some later editions would denounce the less dignified aspects of the earlier editions. Later collections excised those “pornographic” materials that had “presented” the Restoration to emphasize the virtuous applications of satire. *The Muses Farwel* (1690) describes its contents in terms of the traditional corrective “Looking-Glass” and the virtue of “the *Old*

⁴² Hammond, “Censorship,” 49-50.

⁴³ James Sambrook, “Gildon, Charles (c. 1665-1724),” *ODNB*.

⁴⁴ von Maltzahn, “Marvell’s Ghost,” 65.

Roman Spirit” which popery and tyranny had suffocated beyond England’s shores.⁴⁵ To present that ugly face required a candid portrait of Stuart villainy. *POAS3 from Cromwell* (1698) promotes satire as a device “to expose the Deformity of Vice” in both governments and individuals (A8^r), which practice also elevates English literature:

Even in this preposterous Age, of *Politics* and *Poverty*, she is not altogether without her *Favourers*. It is to be Recorded among the Glories of *England*, that true *Poesy*, since the Flourishing of the *Grecian* and *Roman* Governments, has in no Time nor Place, risen to so great an heighth [*sic*], and been so kindly embrac’d as in this *Nation*: Nay, it may be affirm’d without *Hyperbole*, that this little *Island* has of late Years produc’d as Illustrious Patrons of Wit and Learning, as the greatest Kingdoms in *Europe*. (A6^v-7^r)

Such praise wholly disagrees with later critics’ condemnations of the period’s “dullness.” The editor of *POAS from Cromwell* (1697) may be considering Roman republican virtue when boasting, “what is now publish’d is none of the trifling Performances of the Age ... but a Collection of those valuable Pieces, which several great Men have produc’d” with the “Spirit of Liberty” against “those pernicious Principles which lead us directly to Slavery;” from these poems “we may collect a just and secret History of the former Times” (A2^r-A3^v). The satirist is here a contributor to public good who elevates modern satire to the dignity of the classics:

We have therefore reason to hope that no *Englishman* that is a true Lover of his Country’s Good and Glory, can be displeas’d at the publishing a Collection, the Design of which was to remove those pernicious Principles which lead us directly to Slavery; to promote a publick and generous Spirit, which was then almost a shame to the Possessor, if not a certain Ruin ... some of the following Authors might claim perhaps an equal share with many of the most celebrated of the *Romans* or *Greeks*. (A2^v)

In some cases in which the editors profess unease over coarser satirical content, they nonetheless print it in the name of a candid truth. A noble cause elevates the satirist above the muck which he slings. The poet becomes the inside witness, which collapses the

⁴⁵ *The Muses Farwel to Popery & Slavery* (London, 1690), A2^{r-v}.

distinctions between satire and (secret) history. They become complementary prose and verse genres:

In short, the said *State-Poems*, and this *Continuation* thereof, make a *Compleat Collection* of all that are valuable in that nature, for these forty Years; and is the best *Secret History*, of our Reigns, as being writ by such Great Persons as near the Helm, knew the Transactions, and were above being brib'd to flatter, or afraid to speak truth. And so I leave them to the Reader.⁴⁶

Satire, this editor claims, is the foremost purveyor of the naked truth of history and is of greater credibility than any text influenced by tyrannical authority. That others were “afraid to speak truth” assigns a heroism to the poet’s risking of life and limb to preserve “the Transactions” so truthfully and accurately.

Meanwhile, competing editions were already attempting a higher level of literary decorum as the Reformation of Manners continued. *POAS2 During the Reign of K. James II* (1697) contains few, if any, sexualized political satires, instead focusing on themes of honour, virtue, and ecclesiastical polity, and including multiple satires on Dryden and an extensive assortment of “litany” poems. A more explicitly Roman virtue is the ethical appeal of the longer and often-reprinted preface of *POAS* (1705), but no longer is the preface an apology for the contents. Instead of elevating Restoration state satire, it dismisses earlier volumes and promotes its own, more-refined, editorial practice. The candid “looking glass” or “presentation” satires are denounced as “*Halfpenny Ballads, Merry Catches*, and such lean and hungry Stuff, as *Buckingham, Sidley, &c.* would have Blush'd at.” Even though these “rakes” were Whig statesmen, to generalize against Stuart-era aristocrats also serves the continuing campaign for virtuous reform. This book’s contents are of greater gravity than such debauched Restoration works: “Therefore to perfect this Volume, we have purged it from all Dross, and to oblige the Town, have coined it at Standard: We have made choice

⁴⁶ *State-Poems* (London, 1702), A2^v.

of such things as will stand the Test, and Authority of Wit,” all at a new affordable price, reduced “from 18. Shillings to 6” (Aa2^{r-v}). *POAS* (1705) is democratic in cost and virtuous in content, a contrast to the wasteful frivolity of the Restoration, or even to the “dross” of the later seventeenth century. That age’s less prurient failures are in these pages solemnly commemorated. Its ability to “stand the Test” sets it against the cloistered popish tyranny which England had only narrowly escaped, and it indicts scurrilous poetry as serving that luxurious depravity which was so often denounced in the same breath. This movement towards virtuous Augustan satire was not restricted to print. The editor of at least one late seventeenth-century manuscript collection apparently attempted “to purge the anthology of pornography.”⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the rapid commercially-driven expansion of the genre takes its toll on the contents. The stuff which pads the later collections of poems under *POAS* and similar titles tends towards rhymes and songs in mockery of popery, more attractive for singers than for readers. The removal of debauchery and partisanship for a wider market also diminishes the bright energy which had animated the early editions. Anti-catholic works gained the most traction. *POAS2 During the Reign of K. James II* (1697) is exemplary in this respect, and it embodies the painful “dullness” so often decried, at least for readers, though perhaps less-so for singers. Individual poems also find new contexts. “Of Rome’s Pardons” separates from Rochester and the *POAS* series to become a generic anti-popery claim. It was reprinted in Rochester collections, but also adapted to other miscellanies such as *The Merry Companion* (London, 1730) and *A Collection of Merry Poems* (London, 1736). The first two triplets were integrated with other lines in Benjamin Keach’s *The Progress of Sin* (London, 1707), itself printed several times.

⁴⁷ W. J. Cameron, “A Late Seventeenth-century Scriptorium,” *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 7 (1963): 25-52, 38.

Meanwhile, the reputations of individual poets were fitted to the new Roman virtue. Marvell's literary reputation much developed in the 1689 state-poem imprints which bore his name. The 1681 folio and later verse tributes had omitted his satires and cancelled his Cromwellian poems, leaving the lyrics and "a sense that Marvell's poetic career was of an earlier generation, that of the Interregnum, and at a remove from the embattled topicality of the prose-works for which he was famous."⁴⁸ Marvell's post-1689 identity instead emphasized his role as a political mover. First printed in 1697, "On his Excellent Friend Mr. Anth. [sic] Marvell, 1677" celebrates Marvell as David against arbitrary power's Goliath.⁴⁹ This elegy (probably a work of the 1690s rather than 1677 as advertised⁵⁰) shows Anglo-Protestant credentials in its Miltonic and Marvellian influences. It uses *Paradise Lost*'s blank verse. Marvell's epitaph for Archibald Douglas⁵¹ echoes in its final tribute to the late poet: "Fames lasting Register / Shall leave his Name enroll'd as great as theirs, / Who in *Phillippi* for their Country fell" (123). Thomas Cook's preface to Edmund Curl's later publication of the *Works of Andrew Marvell, Esq.* (1726) capitalizes on Marvell's friendship with Milton in commenting on Restoration "dullness" and characterizing Marvell as slowing that intellectual decline. As a politician, Marvell was incorruptible. His fabled resistance to the era's bribery and decadence showed his "true Roman spirit," for "the greatest Temptations, of either Riches, or Honour, could never bribe him to depart from the Interest of his Country."⁵² Marvell becomes, like Phillips and the rest, a Suetonius-like secret historian, standing defiant with his quill against rising tyranny. Cook's edition promotes

⁴⁸ von Maltzahn, "Marvell's Ghost," in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. Dzelzainis and Chernaik, 56.

⁴⁹ *POAS from Cromwell* (1697), 122-3.

⁵⁰ von Maltzahn, "Marvell's Ghost," in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. Dzelzainis and Chernaik, 67.

⁵¹ cf. *The Last Instructions to a Painter* and *The Loyal Scot*: "When Oeta and Alcides are forgot / Our English Youth shall sing the valiant Scot;" Marvell, in "The Loyal Scot," in *Poems*, ll. 61-2 and in *POAS* (1697), 81; *Last Instructions*, 695-6. Both of these poems appear in *POAS* (1697) with "On His Excellent Friend," but the Douglas tribute has been removed from *Last Instructions*, to appear only in *The Loyal Scot*.

⁵² Cook, in *The Works of Andrew Marvell Esq.* (1726), 13-14.

Marvell's role in advancing English letters: "When *Paradise Lost* was first published, to the Shame of those Times be it told, it was valued, but by few, no more than a lifeless Piece, til Mr. *Marvell and Dr. Barrow* publicly espoused it, each in a judicious Poem."⁵³ That *Paradise Lost* required championing before the Restoration literati could see its value indicts the Restoration as much as it elevates Marvell: by 1726 its canonical status was thoroughly cemented and its greatness in this context would be self-evident. Cook accuses that culture of a dullness and depravity so great as to overlook English's devotional masterpiece, but it was only elevated above Restoration debauchery and ignorance by the same judgment that Marvell wielded against the forces of arbitrary government. His roles as a poet and as a polemicist become continuous: the Marvell of 1726 is the saviour of the English Protestant epic, defender of the constitution, and the lonely good man in a corrupt age.

Even eighteenth-century pseudo-Marvelliana contribute to his reputation as an exceptional modern thinker in a primitive, regressive era. If whole-cloth reprints are excluded, the only attempt at expanding the eighteenth-century Marvell canon which occurred between Cook's *Works* (1726) and Thompson's *Works* (1776) is *The Royal Manual* (1751). This "long deist psalm" actually by Samuel Croxall, was in its first printing credited to Marvell. Its publishers alleged to have discovered this "new" work among long-neglected papers, prefixed with a (fraudulent) letter to Milton requesting his "correction and comment."⁵⁴ This piece attempts to bring Marvell into a modern, sceptical, Enlightenment canon, and to separate him from the superstition and primitive failures of the seventeenth century. This effort seems to have been unsuccessful, as Croxall later published his poem

⁵³ Ibid, 15.

⁵⁴ von Maltzahn, *An Andrew Marvell Chronology*, 273.

under his own name. Thompson's *Works of Andrew Marvell* (1776) instead integrates Marvell into local Yorkshire antiquarianism.

On the other hand, Rochester's poetic reputation in the eighteenth century follows a trajectory that is the reverse of Marvell's. Marvell's 1681 poetry was lyrical and removed from his identity as a political writer and satirist, but his later, settled reputation emphasized his political virtues and the serious aspects of his satires. The posthumous publication of Rochester's *Poems* (1680) was an intervention in Exclusion politics, and his revolutionary reputation promoted his value as a hero of English liberty. By the mid-eighteenth century his political valences would be mostly forgotten, and his reputation would settle in the realm of the lyrical, the metaphysical, and the playful. Even the now-famous scandalous aspects of his works were in some collections suppressed for posterity's sake. Rochester's tenure as a Whig hero occurred while satire was still in the process of being reborn as a virtuous Augustan genre, and his more serious features may have been victims of satire's reformation. For publishers in the 1690s he was yet a source of anxiety or a symbol of the new age's triumph. Jacob Tonson's 1691 preface had declared that Rochester required emendation if he were to be suitable for the new age's genteel readers.⁵⁵ Moreover, "The Metamorphosis," in *State Poems* (1697) and *POAS2 During the Reign of K. James II* (1697) among other witnesses, clearly separates Rochester's deeds from his political value. It opens in commemorating Rochester as a martyr to truth and liberty rather than as a debauched aristocrat in his own right:

Had the late fam'd Lord *Rochester* surviv'd,
 We'd been inform'd who all our Plots contriv'd;
 Authors and Actors we had long since seen,
 In sharpest Satyrs they'd recorded been,
 Tho' Captain, Doctor, Lord, Duke, K--g, or Queen:

⁵⁵ Rochester, *Poems, &c on Several Occasions* (London, 1691), A6^v.

His bold and daring Muse had soar'd on high,
And brought down true Intelligence from the Sky.⁵⁶

The poet argues that Rochester had provided “true Intelligence” on courtly depravity, as he had in *Poems* (1680). Like Burnet’s biography, “The Metamorphosis” mourns Rochester’s squandered potential. But unlike Burnet, who disliked Rochester’s literary aggression, “The Metamorphosis” applauds the corrective qualities of the satires. All the same, “The Metamorphosis” conspicuously refrains from imitating Rochester’s scurrility even while praising it:

He oft the Court has of its Vices told,
While Priests pretend they dare not be so bold;
Tho’ they’re Heav’n’s Messengers, it’s Livery wear
Receive it’s bounteous Salary, yet they dare,
Neglect their Duty, or for Gain or Fear:
Connive at what’s directly opposite,
And e’re they’l give Offence, each turn a Proselyte.

This is a Whiggish panegyric of the sort more to be expected in commemoration of Marvell, and it may seem surprising to find it directed at Rochester.

This praise for Rochester (and for satire’s historical and moral role) mixes with an anti-clerical denunciation. The term, “Priests” suggests a popish aspect to these churchmen, reinforcing the old stories told about the crypto-catholic Stuarts. Similarly, the worrying “Proselyte” reveals Whig nonconformist concerns since the 1670s at least. Controversialists had then accused clerics of being too eager to change allegiance to gain political advantage, whether from civil-war presbyterianism to Charles II’s episcopal Church of England or, even worse, from protestantism to encroaching catholicism. Marvell had specifically attacked Samuel Parker for opportunist allegiances in both parts of *The Rehearsal Transpros’d* (1672, 1673), and considered the history of clerical turncoats more generally in his “Short

⁵⁶ *State-poems* (London, 1697), 159-162, 159.

Historical Essay” as appended to *Mr. Smirke, or, The Divine in Mode* (1675).⁵⁷ The serial convert represents the worst of hypocrisy, for faith becomes the currency of social climbers. Rochester’s principled wit and privileged vantage allowed him a strangely exalted role as moralist, explicitly by contrast with avaricious, inconstant, and cowardly churchmen.

Similarly, the era’s false Rochesterian attributions speak as much to his reputation, editors’ desires, and readers’ expectations as do his genuine works. The best such example is “Rochester’s Farewell [to the Court],” which was first printed in *POAS3* (1689) and held as canonical in many collections into the twentieth century, now attributed to Dorset.⁵⁸ In the early editions it transformed with the times. This satire was in probability composed in 1680, early enough for editors to credit Rochester with at least some of its composition, although this is unlikely.⁵⁹ Ostensibly, this poem records Rochester’s “parting breath” (l. 12) in a verdict on Restoration court politics, even while offering a detailed satire of events in the Tangier colony. Its anti-courtly aims and the attacks on his rival Mulgrave made Rochester a candidate for its attribution. The poem puts words into Rochester’s mouth: even while dying, he still has severe concerns for England. It also celebrates Rochester’s violations of literary decorum as candid secret history. With “charitable malice” (l. 5), Rochester’s satires “whipp’d” (l. 8) the inhabitants of the “Augean stable” (l. 10) that was the Restoration court, even if he never quite provoked reform.

The nature of this whipping sometimes changes for the climate of publication.

Rochester could be made to say what he was needed to say, or at least what he would have

⁵⁷ See Annabel Patterson’s introduction to the “Short Historical Essay” in Marvell, *Prose Works* 2:17-22; for a brief discussion of such symbolic proselytism in Marvell’s prose, see Neal Hackler, “A Subtle Circumcision in Andrew Marvell’s *The Rehearsal Transpros’d: The Second Part*,” *Notes and Queries* 57 (2010): 57-8.

⁵⁸ “DoC 346,” *CELM*.

⁵⁹ *Poems on Affairs of State*, ed. Lord, 2:217.

been expected to say, in different circumstances. The early manuscript witness⁶⁰ pulls few punches in smearing the court and those involved in the Tangier catastrophe. The *POAS3* (1689) version is by contrast a cautious effort, heavily emended to suppress names and to align itself with the post-revolutionary settlement. Here, targets' identities are hidden behind simple initial-and-dash censorship. Germane to the Revolution of 1688-9, two references to a debauched Lady "Hyde" are now suppressed: "religious Hyde" becomes "religious pride" (l. 182) and "Bromley, Hyde, and Mazarin" become "B— and M—e" (l. 187). This is a likely reference to Harrietta Hyde, *née* Boyle: she was the wife of Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, who was Queen Mary's uncle and has been suggested as possible patron of *POAS*.⁶¹ Given Ann Hyde's high profile in earlier satires, this censorship could also indicate awareness of a risk that readers could see any Lady "Hyde" as the queen's late mother. The editor likely felt it prudent, commercially, legally, strategically, and politically, to remove any "Hyde" from among Charles II's mistresses. Moreover, lines 64-69 are completely excised from *POAS3* (1689): here, the members of the military expedition to Tangier "Curse Charles" and "Kate" (Queen Catherine), calling the queen a plague and wishing that the Moors would seize her along with the colony that had been her dowry. This deletion follows changes in political climate from 1680 to 1689. Queen Catherine had been accused in the Popish plots, and Shaftesbury had led a bill to compel a royal divorce. In 1689 the Queen Dowager had largely removed herself from public life, and may have no longer seemed a productive target, as she had no continued affiliation with the exiled Jacobite court. She also remained quietly in England for some years after the Revolution. As Charles's "soft" reign

⁶⁰ British Library Harley MS 6913, c. "late 1680s" according to "British Library: Harley Collection, numbers 6000 through 6999," *CELM*, ed. Beal. Mengel also uses that manuscript as his copy text for the Yale *Poems on Affairs of State* edition.

⁶¹ The name "Rochester, Laurence Hyde, Earl of" is attached to *POAS3 from Cromwell* (1698) in both EEBO and the ESTC records.

was sometimes remembered as an evil preferable to James's "hard" (especially in materials composed 1685-8), the passage may have been deleted for having served the wrong purposes, though Charles II meets with criticism for sexual excess elsewhere in "Rochester's Farewell." The other noteworthy discrepancy in the *POAS3* (1689) version is the single-witness replacement of "Fraser" with the Algerian name "Torrezer" (l. 42), which has yet to find suitable explanation. The later *POAS* and those Rochester editions which include "Rochester's Farewell" slowly reinsert names and restore emended lines. *Rochester and Roscommon* (1757)'s "Farewell" is closer to the 1680 text than any version from the 1690s. By then it was a relic of a past age instead of much of an intervention in the present one.

The seventeenth-century editions of Rochester – the A series which began with *Poems* (1680) and the genteel B series of Tonson's conservative *Poems &c* (1691)⁶² – continued with multiple reprints into the 1730s. A much-expanded C series began with *The Miscellaneous Works of the Right Honourable the Late Earls of Rochester and Roscommon* (1707), ran until 1777, and includes at as many as 20 editions.⁶³ *Roscommon* is more subordinate to Rochester than the title suggests. In the "B. Bragge" first edition of 1707, roughly 170 of the 376 pages are devoted to Rochester's life and works, whereas in two separate paginations *Roscommon* receives 60, and other poets roughly 130, with the remainder devoted to the other odds and ends of print.

Rochester's pairing with *Roscommon* also hints at that courtier's ongoing de-politicization, or at least the loss of his political contexts. *Roscommon* (d. January 1685)

⁶² This bibliographical schema of Rochester's early print editions is adopted from Vieth, *Attribution*, 1-15 and 500-506.

⁶³ Vieth in *Attribution*, 502-6 describes 16 C-series editions from 1707-35, and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* reports four further from 1739-77, not including *The Works of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester* (1756), which contains only the same collection of Rochester's works as the C series, but without *Roscommon et al.* Not all of the editions that Vieth describes are recorded in the *ECCO* database.

writes in the tradition of Stuart abundance, not surprisingly given that he was the nephew of the Earl of Strafford. “The Grove” would seem at home with the works of Shirley or Carew. It sings for a “happy grove,” a “Dark and secure retreat, / Of Sacred Silence, Rest’s Eternal Seat” (29), with all of the abundant “Fields and Flocks,” “Maids,” and “Blessings” of that mode. Elsewhere Roscommon praises “Orinda,” and even supplies a preface for Phillips’s *Pompey*. Pope would praise Roscommon as the only Restoration poet of “unspotted bays,”⁶⁴ that is free from the shame of having written to please or to praise a blockheaded court or king. “The Ghost of the Old House of Commons” (3-7) as a political work does complicate Pope’s claim somewhat, for even if it refrains from praising the king and court, its attacks on the court’s “Rebel” enemies certainly aim to “please.” The miscellany poems are of multiple political registers, including Tom Browne’s attacks on Dryden’s conversion and an answer to *Absalom and Achitophel*. To pair Rochester, a noteworthy abuser of Stuart abundance, with “unspotted” royalist Roscommon and other Restoration poetical works from across the political spectrum indicates that Rochester’s tenure as a symbol of liberty had ended. Moreover, that first *Rochester and Roscommon* edition leads with the “Addition” as a stand-alone poem. The second “Edmund Curll” (1707) edition begins with the complete “Satyr against Man (Never before Printed entire),” with that same text of the “Addition.” The “Addition” in both of those versions mostly follows the text of *Poems* (1680), without the censorships of 1685 and 1691, and even supplying “*Bishop*” (4) for *Poems* (1680)’s “doating B----” (l. 210). Though Curll is not remembered as the most reputable of eighteenth-century booksellers, that these editions include what even *Poems* (1680) had concealed shows how Rochester’s immediate transgressive power had already faded.

⁶⁴ Pope, “The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace” (Epistle to Augustus), in *Poems*, ed. Butt, 4:189-231, l.214.

From 1707, that C series becomes the most frequently-reprinted Rochester series. It steadily accumulates the works of other authors, such as Buckingham, Dryden, and Dorset, and it is sometimes divided into two volumes, one devoted to Rochester, the other to Roscommon and the expanding miscellany content. The more carnal poems by Rochester or other poets begin to return in the 509-page 1714 edition. In the sexual content too, deletion and emendation practices give way to the censorship of individual words. “A Ramble in St. James’s Park” appears in a censored version of the 1680 text (“grave Discourse, / Of who --- who...”). The Tonson B-series had presented a “proper” version of the “Ramble,” in 1691 (“who kist who”). Meanwhile, the 1714 instalment in the B-series completely omits the “Ramble” and most other such sexually frank works. Tonson’s series continues as a courtly and metaphysical representation of Rochester until its end in the 1730s. Dash censorship had previously been reserved to conceal identities, but as time passed, full names returned to *Rochester and Roscommon*, even as the letters of more offensive words were withdrawn. Censorship of sexual language continued as the standard editorial practice for the remainder of that C-series. This suggests something of a compromise in respect to Rochester’s prurience, and a settling of his identity. Rochester’s sexual candour was now a greater danger than his libels. Even if that sexual candour was yet the primary recommendation of his poems, that his political possibilities were no longer viewed as requiring censorship suggests that he was seen as embodying a detachment that seems much closer to his twenty-first century reputation than to the ways in which he was presented in the 1680s and 1690s.

Parallel to the subordination of Rochester’s libertinism to his work in the service of liberty, Rochester’s reputation also continued along the trajectory of Burnet’s *Some Passages* (1680), which removed his libertinism in favour of his uses as a moral icon. Early

Rochester editions often contain biographical prefaces that argue Rochester's suitability for readers but without erecting any monument to his service to English liberty such as that which Curll and Cooke later offer Marvell in 1726. His reputation also turns towards constructing him as an urbane poet rather than as an oppositional activist. The main biographical headnote in the *Rochester and Roscommon* series, "The Memoirs of the Life of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, Written by Monsieur St. Evremont, in a Letter to her Grace the Duchess of Mazarine; Translated from the Original Manuscript," in some part concedes Rochester's moral flaws ("for a Jest and Diversion, he would often hazard his life," a9^r), and praises his literary strengths: "He had a Strength of Expression, and a Happiness of Thought peculiar to himself, and seems to me, of all the Moderns, to have come nearest the Ancients, in Satire, scarce excepting our *Boileau*" (b7^r). This biographical note emphasizes Rochester's satirical skill but gives little consideration to Rochester's role as a state satirist or hero of the constitution such as had coloured "Rochester's Farewell" or "The Metamorphosis" in the *POAS* volumes. Now his satire offers a corrective on individuals or social types, even if "His looser Songs, and Pieces ... are indeed too dangerous to peruse" (b7^r). So while that same year the "History of the Insipids" and "Rochester's Farewell" (both spurious) were paired in a pamphlet with "Marvell's Ghost,"⁶⁵ the work of other publishers shows his value as a political symbol was already diminishing by 1707.

The chronological distribution of the A, B, and C Rochester series reveals a substantial drop in demand for fresh copies of Rochester's poetry around 1740, whether alone or packaged with the works of other Restoration wits. The threats of absolutism and aristocratic decadence were not as immediate as in the 1690s. New taste in literature is

⁶⁵ [*The H*]istory of the Insipids, a Lampoon, by the Lord Roch-r, With his farwell, 1680. Together with Marveil's Ghost. By Mr. Aloff (London, 1709).

another likely cause. The peaks in Rochesterian publishing occur in 1713-14 and 1720-1. The first coincides with the Hanoverian succession, and the second follows the 1719 Jacobite uprising. These points could indicate some recollection of the Restoration and a younger generation's interest in the personalities of a distant but now resurging past. That greater interest accompanies his depoliticizing indicates that a less partisan Rochester found greater marketplace demand. The sharp decrease before 1740 is more probably owing to a shift in taste away from aristocratic virtuoso poetics and toward the middle-class values that nourished the novel, especially among those readers with a taste for literary prurience and scandal. More readers could now identify with the adventures of Pamela Andrews and Mr. B than with those of Barbara Palmer and King Charles.

The last additions to the Rochester canon that Vieth records are editions of 1718 and 1761, paired as a D series. These are mostly noteworthy for having muddied the canon with "worthless" misattributions of generic metaphysical poetry. *The Remains of the Right Honourable John, Earl of Rochester* (1718) may represent a Restoration manuscript miscellany packaged in print under Rochester's brand, released opportunistically at the publishing peak. Its follow-up, Rochester's *Poetical Works* (1761) has been likewise ranked "among the most preposterous frauds in the history of publishing."⁶⁶ *The Poetical Works of that Witty Lord John, Earl of Rochester* (1761) claims to have been printed from those papers which upon his deathbed Rochester had ordered burned, but which (the preface claims) had been spared oblivion by the sloth of a faithless servant thus to lay in obscurity until (then recently) rediscovered by a gentleman of taste. This by midcentury had become something of a trope in literary fraud. Similar "lost manuscript" provenances had already announced works associated with Milton and Marvell (above), that same year promoted the

⁶⁶ Vieth, *Attribution*, 15; Love, in Rochester, *Works*, xxxviii agrees, if less vehemently.

Ossianic poems (as if only edited by James MacPherson), soon drove interest in *The Castle of Otranto* (Horace Walpole), and later promoted Thomas Rowley (*alias* Thomas Chatterton) and Shakespeare (via William Henry Ireland). In these other cases, the “found manuscript” frauds boosted public interest, but only where some demand had previously existed. That *Poetical Works* (1761) by contrast fell flat and fails to correspond to any further resurgence of printing in Rochesteriana is another strong indication that the marketplace had little remaining demand for his libertine works.

That could also owe to the mediocrity of the “new” *Poetical Works* (1761). The works of “Ossian,” Walpole, and Chatterton all met with at least some degree of acclaim. Most of those “new” Rochesterian poems combine a refined rhyming style and metaphysical aspirations with burlesque subject matter and jarring diction, but with little in the way of the quasi-pornography that had once “presented” the Restoration court to the post-revolutionary public, or that had shamed even Pepys into separating it from his other books. Like the *Rochester and Roscommon* series, *The Poetical Works* (1761) includes a biography of the poet, “extracted” (i.e. closely paraphrased) from Burnet’s summary of Rochester’s life, discarding the confessional dialogue. Most interesting are the “frolics” that Burnet had once excised for decorum’s sake and which the editor of this volume interpolates into the adapted biography. Two significant anecdotes are now “revealed.” In the first, actually adapted from the epistle which serves *Rochester and Roscommon* (1707) as preface, Buckingham and Rochester, out of favour at court, “resolved, like Don *Quixote* of old, to set out in quest of adventures” (xi). These adventures mostly involve wine and cuckoldry. A ramble in the country climaxes with a burlesque incident in which a cross-dressing Rochester drugs a matron and seduces an old miser’s beautiful young wife, who in running off with Rochester

also steals her husband's money. This betrayal destroys the miser: "the old Man going Home, and finding his Sister asleep, his Wife fled, and his Money gone, was thrown into a State of Madness, and soon hanged himself." The Earl and Duke, then "Weary of their Purchase as Desirous of it as before," direct the debauched wife to London, who "in all Probability followed there the Trade of Prostitution for a subsistence" (xvi). By contrast, the author of the 1707 version speculates that "there this Disgrace not being known, she might get another Husband" (b5^v). The earlier biography downplays any consequences of the Whig Lords' shenanigans. The later prefers the excitement of the fallen woman cliché to any reverence for such aristocrats, in much closer agreement with the portrait of Buckingham in Dryden, or in Johnson's "The Vanity of Human Wishes."

In these anecdotes, Rochester is the libertine trickster who corrects vice and folly. In a second tale, the biographer claims that Rochester had once taken King Charles II in disguise to an exceptionally good brothel and abandoned him there. The king, stranded incognito with no money and a substantial bill, bargains with the house's bawd and a menacing bully before managing to be recognized and thereby rescued from danger, with merry humour and a call for more wine (of course). Allegedly, this was Rochester's meticulously-planned corrective to that reckless king's conduct: "Thus ended this Adventure, in which the King learned how dangerous it was to risk his Person in Night-frolics; and could not but severely reprove *Rochester* for acting such a Part towards him; however he sincerely resolved never again to be guilty of the like Indiscretion" (xxii). The miser and his avaricious bride are consumed by the vices that Rochester then exploits, thereby improving general morals by removing offenders, if not improving those of the

individuals. The appetitive but merry King Charles suffers a less dire fate than the crotchety miser or his lewd covetous bride, but still learns the lesson from Rochester's scheme.

The same spirit informs *Rochester's Joaks, containing The Merry Pranks of Lord Rochester Lord Moon, the Earls of Warwick, and Pembroke, Ben Johnson, and Ogle the Life-guardman. With the diverting Frolicks and Fancies of King Charles and his Concubines* (Stonecutter-street, Fleet Market, 1775?). This 16-page pamphlet of dubious anecdotes and punny punchlines can serve as an indicator of the late eighteenth century's received understanding of Restoration aristocracy. Similar, full-length volumes were also produced. The famous figures of the Restoration court scandalize one another in playful scenes. For example, an impertinent Nell Gwyn forces a candle beneath the skirts of a royal mistress on the grounds that Parliament had commanded the burning of all French commodities. Even though the title page leads with his name, Rochester is nearly lost among the others as an archetypical trickster, using his wit and guile to humiliate bullies and to expose the effrontery of too-high churchmen.

By 1761 and 1775 it seems that Rochester had little left to offer in the way of shock or offense, at least for the purpose of maintaining value in the literary marketplace or canon. Johnson in his "Life of Rochester" (1779) asserts that Rochester's popularity had always owed more to his life than to his writing, though he also notes that while notoriety's influence had decreased, "This blaze of reputation is not yet quite extinguished; and his poetry still retains some splendour beyond that which genius has bestowed" (150). Johnson prefers Rochester's value as a moralist, and praises Burnet's *Some Passages*: "It were an injury to the reader to offer him an abridgement" (150). The "extinguishing" of this "blaze" is confirmed by the reduced frequency of editions and the different inflections of Rochester

in new materials. His audience had dwindled and he was no longer the wicked libertine, nor was there much remaining moral emphasis on his life. The poet who had once been a vituperative and elegant satirist, and who after the Revolution had been mourned in Whig materials as a tragic hero of Anglo-Protestant liberties, was by the late eighteenth century reduced to a comedic archetype, a canonical afterthought, or an opportunity for dishonest publishers. If the Restoration was a dull, debauched, farcical era, as Cowper would assert, then Rochester became a comic rake who exposed those vices and follies, even if himself also a willing participant in them. When satire was renovated for the Augustan era, a libertine could no longer be Britannia's champion. If Marvell's role survived, Rochester's work was at seen as a playful exposure of folly or an exercise in frivolity.

Abundance and excess as political tropes followed the same path as Rochester's reputation as a state satirist. In 1689 themes by which Restoration satirists had subverted Stuart panegyric still could describe James's supposedly debauched tyranny. And a comparison of debauched tyranny in the past with a more virtuous future provided ample parallels for authors and editors to use in promoting their own works. Satirists and scandal writers could become the new secret historians, striking with their wits to hobble the new Tarquins and Caesars. Rochester's decline as a serious poet indicates the end of any need for an inside witness to the Restoration court. Once that harsh evocation of disease against Caroline utopianism had lost its force, all that remained of that nuanced language for contesting Stuart abundance was the scandalous frolics which had once provoked an oppositional discourse. Those features were then remembered as the key characteristic of their age, even at the expense of the reputations of writers who had in their own time opposed that courtly decadence.

Editors and publishers became the curators of wit in this new Revolutionary Augustan era, even if those poets more commonly labelled “Augustan” would dismiss their efforts to elevate that material to classical status. Intriguingly, those poetics which we now consider Augustan have a troubled relationship to this Revolutionary Augustanism and Stuart abundance. Pope’s *Windsor-Forest*, for Queen Anne, is arguably the most spectacular deployment of tropes of abundance in support of any Stuart monarch. Meanwhile, he attacks the poetics and values of the 1690s there and in his *Essay on Criticism*. Pope’s Augustanism revives the poetics of Dryden, Waller, and Cowley, now in support of the last Stuart Queen, as much as it revisits the Virgilian, Horatian, and Ovidian poetics of Roman Augustanism, or denounces the lazy luxury of the late seventeenth century.

Conclusion

From “Shepherd Charles” to Circe’s Swine

Whether dynastic representations of Charles I were a success or a failure, through oppositional reactions they came to inform the lasting memory of the House of Stuart as a debauched institution. The extent to which the later Stuart monarchs were debauched tyrants may have been much exaggerated. They had their mistresses, and they had their struggles with Parliament, but not to any extent which would make either kind of conduct the defining feature of the reigns. Oppositional writers could have emphasized different flaws, such as Charles II’s fiscal irresponsibility or his inconsistent foreign policy, which were held by many of these commentators to be only consequences of that debauchery. But because the House of Stuart had historically emphasized a saintly and idealistic propaganda under lawful monarchy, oppositional writers found it convenient to enumerate their failings in terms of their libertine excesses.

When Charles I proclaimed his personal rule as England’s golden-age paradise, he set the tone for more than a century of debates on the nature of kingship. During the civil wars and Interregnum, all factions were variously represented as having possessed a too-great appetite which was responsible for devouring England’s plenty while disrupting its peace. Royalists accused Roundheads of taking too freely from the king’s bountiful garden; the commons claimed that cavaliers had spent the personal rule in gluttonous festivity. But classical utopian *otium* was reserved for describing Charles I, as noted in its conspicuous absence from panegyrics and funeral elegies for Cromwell. The regicide and the brilliant

success of *Eikon Basilike* added to the memory of Charles I a saintly martyrdom which Jacobites would carry into the eighteenth century. Supporters of Charles II were quick to emphasize both of these themes at the Restoration. These irenic tropes of abundance were so pervasive that Pope could later draw on them anew in *Windsor-Forest*: “At length great ANNA said – Let discord cease! / She said, the World oblig’d, and all was Peace” (l. 327-8).¹ But Charles II’s personal conduct made these themes the easiest lines for his opponents’ attacks. The fecund and floral idyll of Charles I of blessed memory prompted Marvell to rewrite as if instead gluttonous excess afflicted with disease, and to depict England under the son Charles II as colourless and infertile. Saintly, Stuart high culture was exposed by Rochester as instead given to irreligion and base animalistic passions. The mirror of satire reflects that prior utopianism as carnal and diseased. Opponents of James II further developed the negligent aspects of both royal brothers’ libertinism into deliberate cruelty and tyranny.

Even when the diseased and sexualized tropes that Marvell and Rochester had developed faded from eighteenth-century satire, such excess lastingly infiltrated historiography. Later works by Burnet and Oldmixon, among others, articulated constitutional and ecclesiastical dangers of Stuart rule in the terms of that debauchery. Even though George I was in power when the first part of Burnet’s *History of his own Time* (1724) appeared, its attacks on the Stuarts negotiate the problems in denouncing only one branch of the dynasty while supporting the other. Burnet narrates English history from the Restoration to the Revolution. His work, a popular primary source for many subsequent Whig historians, bridges between the secret histories of the 1690s and more deliberative later

¹ See also John Robert Moore, “Windsor Forest and William III,” *Modern Language Notes* 66 (1951): 451-454.

works. This memoir is also polemical in its own way. Burnet had died in 1715; he wrote his *History* before the 1714 Hanoverian succession,² the certainty of which he had doubted, with a Stuart queen still on the throne and the looming threat of Jacobite uprisings after her death.

Burnet sifts the secret histories' moustache-twirling villainy from his own history of Charles II and the Restoration, producing instead a more rounded and human portrait of the king and court. Burnet, through a series of personal (as opposed to anonymous) anecdotes praises the king's inquisitive mind and charismatic personality. But like his predecessors who produced scandal histories, he also considers that era moralistically and identifies debauchery as that court's defining characteristic. Though he avoids opening too many closets, he readily recalls the 1660 Restoration festivities as Dionysian and claims that what began as "extravagant joy ... all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a degree that it very much corrupted all their morals" and produced "great disorders and much riot everywhere."³ Burnet's view repeats Phillips's when he claims that Charles II's great potential was squandered in this exact moment: "the ruine of his reign, and all his affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad range of pleasure" (94). His passions for his mistresses rendered him "not master of himself, nor capable of minding business" (94). The rise of vice also destroyed what virtue remained in the royal family. The young Duke of Gloucester, the youngest Stuart brother, was a protestant military hero, "A good diligent young man," according to Burnet, "But the mirth and entertainments of that time raised his blood so high, that he took the small pox; of which he died, much lamented by all, but most particularly by the King" (171).

²Andrew Starkie, "Contested Histories of the English Church: Gilbert Burnet and Jeremy Collier," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005): 335-351, 337, 346.

³Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time: Vol. I.*, 92-3.

Burnet is much more particular than his predecessors in considering implications of the Restoration “honey moon” (108). That blow to English morality damaged parliament’s integrity. Earlier secret histories and satires had asserted simply that a corruption of manners opened an easy path for popery and tyranny. Burnet fleshes out the argument in explaining that this was the case because those jubilant Restoration celebrations weakened the opposition’s resolve and the newfound pleasures distracted them from their legislative duty. The royalist party thereby gained more scope for enabling Charles II’s absolutism: “After the King came over, no person in the House of Commons had the courage to move the offering proposition for any limiting of prerogative ... all was joy and rapture” (159). National elation all but extinguished any criticism of and resistance against royal will. The new parliament was too ready to please the king by passing any law or freely providing any revenue: “it was much more than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it was readily granted” (160).

The goodwill soon however waned, and the king encountered opposition first in the House of Lords. Burnet records the controversy that led to the cutting of Sir John Coventry’s nose in a narrative that resembles Phillips’s claims about Argyll’s death. Charles II desired unlimited supply to support his pleasures, under the guise of supporting the protestant Triple Alliance. Coventry led the opposition to that profligacy by proposing sources of income which would be undesirable to the king:

So these men proposed the laying a tax on the Play-houses, which in so dissolute a time were becoming nests of prostitution. And the stage was defiled beyond all example, *Dryden*, the great master of Dramatick Poesy, being a monster of immodesty, and of impurity of all sorts. This was opposed by the Court: It was said, the Players were the King’s servants, and a part of his pleasure. *Coventry* asked, whether did the King’s pleasure lie among the men, or the women that acted? (269)

As revenge for the audacity of criticizing royal conduct, and to prevent “more of the same,” the tyrant demands the blood of a candid advisor. It was Monmouth’s men who waylaid Coventry,⁴ but Burnet claims the Duke of York had arranged that to prevent some worse revenge plotted by the king himself. Moreover Burnet’s tangential attack on Dryden connects anti-theatrical moral anxiety to the brutal attack on Coventry and smears one of seventeenth-century England’s finest authors, later a catholic, as yet another degenerate influence. Public criticism of royal immorality and sexual excess removes the libertine mask from the tyrant – the benevolent “merry” monarch shows his truer colours when his subjects attempt to assert their rights and restrain his conduct. This vindictive mutilation also galvanized the opposition, and Burnet claims that at this precise moment faction emerged in Restoration politics: “The names of the Court and Country party, which til now had seemed to be forgotten, were again revived” (270). That infamous Restoration factionalism, which ultimately produced the Revolution, was born in resistance to Stuart vice, so Burnet claims.

In 1730 John Oldmixon also traces the conflicts of the seventeenth century to the depravities of the House of Stuart. Oldmixon embraces the paranoid conspiracies of the scandal histories and satires, but he also presents himself in the same Augustan terms which Revolutionary secret historians had used to elevate their work to a classical dignity. Oldmixon firmly defends his methodology in an extensive preface: to record the secret and lurid is his duty as a historian, the tradition which Phillips had claimed and which had been celebrated in Rochester and Marvell. He pries into scandals and into personal, private, and subjective secret histories in order more fully to illuminate the deeds of that conspiratorial dynasty. In anticipating criticisms of this methodology as indecorous and undignified, he asserts his duty to open the king’s “private Vices and Extravagancies,” and rejects his

⁴ Stephen Porter, “Coventry, Sir John (c. 1636-1685),” *ODNB*.

opponents' insistence that "decency commands to throw them into Shades" (xii). His prefatory précis of the reign of Charles II turns on the exact same sins as his counterparts in the Revolution and Restoration had documented:

Ought not an Historian to examine into the Waste of the immense treasures squander'd by King Charles II. for fear of discovering they were consum'd by the Ladies? Does Decency command us to throw his Double-dealing with God and Man, in pretending Zeal for the Protestant Religion, when he was a Papist into Shades? Should we not search into the recesses of his Negotiations with France for a Pension, to enable him to live without Parliaments, lest we be guilty of Presumption? (xii)

The key features of the rule of Charles II are again profligacy, tyranny, and hypocrisy. Significantly, that Stuart debauchery is for Oldmixon simply a given, and a premise of his study rather than its conclusion. These assertions come in the dedication and introduction of Oldmixon's history. Like the satirists, Oldmixon "presents" more than he describes. By this time the discourse of Stuart depravity had been so reinforced that it required little supporting evidence. Instead, Oldmixon explores the implications of that conduct and situates that debauchery into history, with Suetonius as his model: "*If nothing but what is Good was to be said of Emperors and Kings, ... of the Twelve Cæsars, we had never had the History but of three or four*" (xii). The Stuarts had consistently worked as enemies of the state from within. They were a family of selfishly impulsive double-dealers and hypocrites, even before they rose to the throne of England. Their era was the historical junction in England's struggle for progressive liberty against the forces of slavery. Again, Oldmixon repeats the secret histories and satires. Charles II's extravagance leaves England beholden to French money. Any act that Charles II had ever passed in ostensible support of protestant liberty Oldmixon (like Phillips) claims to have been so tainted by popish ulterior motives. The wealth of the state was pawned for "Squanderings of the Court on Mistresses, Minions, on Luxury and Debauchery" (510).

Persisting in such arguments for scandalous anecdotes' legitimate place in history, the secret history and satire of the Restoration and the Revolution entered eighteenth-century historiography. Oldmixon and Burnet construct a history of the Restoration in which the court had undermined the advance of protestant English liberties while claiming to work in the service of those values. Hypocritical secrecy is central. The kings Charles II and James II had projected a façade, with occasional cracks recorded by the historian's diligent sources. Behind that mask lurked the same sexual excesses, appetite, and tyrannical destruction as had now long been denounced. The satirists had witnessed, recorded, and reflected events. The secret historians had revealed the hidden scandals and motives of the eras. Those historians claimed to offer the facts of Stuart debauchery in a deliberative record and interpretation of those times. Reputations of the era's literary figures shifted with the need for inside witnesses to the court's excesses and abuses. In all cases lurks the moralist policing of royal conduct, whether or not the king's closet had been opened.

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