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HEROIC MONARCHS, DIVINE POETS
AND THE GROVES OF EDEN

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AND

THE GROVES OF EDEN

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the use of landscape as metaphor in Restoration and eighteenth-century poetry. During this period, the natural scene is merely a manifestation of the character and reign of the sovereign. Many critics have discussed the relationship between monarchy and topography, yet they have been reluctant to explain its place in literary history.

Giambattista Vico was an Italian writer whose book, The New Science (1744), introduces a new system of literary criticism. Vico suggests that the world continually progresses through three ages. The first is the age of gods, the second is the heroic age and the third belongs to men. These ages are distinguishable by their individual philosophies, and by studying the poetry of Milton, Marvell, Drummond, Denham, Waller, Dryden and Pope, it will become clear that, although Vico had not based his book on this literature, his theories can still be validly applied to it. The New Science, therefore, provides a framework for this paper, and shows that this era marked a return to the age of heroes, where the ruler was a hero, and his poet, a god.

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"Nor deem this [work] , tho' humble, thy disgrace;
All are not born the glory of their race;
Yet all are born t'adore the great [mens'] names,
And trace [their] footsteps in the paths to fame".

Walter Harte.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....i

DESCRIPTIVE NOTE.....ii

ABSTRACT.....iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....v

INTRODUCTION.....1

CHAPTER 1...HEAVEN'S ETERNAL MONARCH.....3

 "His ruin'd country to rebuild".....6

 The Temple and the Throne.....8

CHAPTER 2... "SOME COMELY PRINCE OF HEAVENLY BIRTH".....18

CHAPTER 3... "HE SEEMS A KING BY LONG SUCCESSION BORN"....27

 "The Garden Within".....28

 "The Flower of Princes, honour of his time" 31

 "And our next Charles, whom all the stars
 design".....36

 Sacred Judge and Guard.....43

CHAPTER 4... "HEAVEN BY WONDERS HAS ESPOUS'D HIS CAUSE"..49

 "And Paradise was opened in his face".....51

 "His name a great example stands to show"...59

CHAPTER 5... "NEVER DID ART SO WELL WITH NATURE STRIVE"..62

 "Peace and Plenty tell, a Stuart reigns"....63

 The Virtuous Hunt.....67

 The Return of Eden.....69

CONCLUSION.....73

TABLE OF CONTENTS (2)

FOOTNOTES.....75
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....81

INTRODUCTION

From the accession of Elizabeth I to the reign of Queen Anne, the sovereign was considered the most public and the most important figure in the nation. The political climate dictated the uncontestable supremacy of the king, and James I, in his Political Works, explains why he is "nearest to perfection":

Kings are called Gods by the propheticall David because they sit upon God, his throne in the earth, and have the count of their admiration to give unto him.¹

Poets celebrated the omnipotence of the ruler by revealing how landscapes reflect the spiritual state of the monarch. The king, therefore, depending upon his actions, either renews the Golden Age of Eden or creates a wasteland in Hell.

Studies have been made on the use of "loco-descriptive" poetry in the writings of Milton, Marvell, Drummond, Waller, Denham, Dryden and Pope, yet few critics have attempted to explain the reason for the development of this genre during this historical period. After studying the scholarship which is available, I shall apply the theories set forth by Vico in his New Science to the literature. This discussion will show that topographical poetry was a symptom of the literary cycle which prevailed, that is the age of heroes. This second age

of heroes was one where governments were considered to be ruled by the princes of the human race. These sons of the gods believed that they had transcended their heavenly ancestors, and therefore the gods did what the heroes themselves were doing. These heroic monarchs, of divine origin, were therefore mortal gods, and were treated as such in the works which will be analyzed.

Perhaps no other form shows the return of this age of heroes better than the panegyric, and after evaluating the approaches of the critics, I shall demonstrate that an understanding and application of the ideas of Vico provides a more comprehensive reading of topographical poetry.

I

"HEAVEN'S ETERNAL MONARCH"

The panegyric, which became popular with the accession of James I, can be defined most simply as an oration in commendation of a respected person, and during this era, the individual being praised was the king. William Drummond's Forth Feasting (1617) is an early panegyric that describes the visit made by James to Scotland. It celebrates the complete cosmic harmony which his presence creates. This poem has not received much critical attention. James D. Garrison merely points out a few images and in spite of his attention to the use of the classics and the return of the Saturnian Age, he completely ignores The Entertainment of King Charles (1662), an equally important work.¹

A better study of Drummond has been written by French Rowe Fogle, but it is better in breadth only, and hardly reaches the depth required. A Critical Study of William Drummond of Hawthornden is superficial, because it concentrates more on "decasyllabic couplets" than on the effect of landscape as metaphor. Little attention is paid to the role of the king as "pontifex maximus" and Fogle fails to approach the question of the use of topography. He dismisses the notion by concluding that "the age in which Drummond was writing was not an age greatly concerned with

the beauties of nature".² Clearly, the wonder of nature is expounded by Drummond in order to reveal the power and the divinity of the king. Neither Garrison nor Fogle discuss the relationship between landscape and the monarchy, and therefore, the critics have somewhat neglected the works of William Drummond.

John Denham's Cooper's Hill (1642) is the first encomium written in heroic couplets, and it has been dealt with satisfactorily by Brendan O'Hehir and Earl Wasserman. Both place the necessary emphasis on the relationship between the king and his domain, and show how the political scene permeates the natural world. Wasserman lucidly states:

One need only place Cooper's Hill in its own temporal setting, the troubled days of 1642, to sense that it is probably thematic throughout and that the primary function of its descriptive elements is to create a realizable and meaningful structure for the political concept being poetically formulated.³

The king becomes a symbol of discordia concors, since he harmonizes the political and natural sectors of the world.

O'Hehir presents a good historical and topographical survey, showing that Cooper's Hill demonstrates,

the King's policies, through the hieroglyphic of Windsor Castle, as the very essence and model of harmony, and as the necessary issue of his own harmonious character and person. It assumes his residual powers to be limitless, and in no way complains at that assumption.⁴

O'Hehir also discusses Denham's reliance on Waller's

Upon His Majesty's Repairing of St. Paul's for added effect

in Cooper's Hill. An intelligent work when read separately, and even more revealing when coupled with Harmony From Discords, Expans'd Hieroglyphicks answers most of the questions about uses of landscape as a means of characterization. He convincingly explains the historical trial and execution of Strafford, and although his historical awareness comes from the pen of C.V. Wedgwood, O'Hehir goes beyond the facts to place Denham within that historical perspective.⁵

Wasserman also discusses Cooper's Hill thoroughly, with the same devotion to detail that he later has in his analysis of Windsor-Forest. Both O'Hehir and Wasserman, however, do not attempt to show the evolution of this type of poetry, and hence neglect to demonstrate how Denham relates to the sequence of literary progression. Only one critic tries to place Denham in a "generation of meaning", and J. Churton Collins says of the poem:

Nothing could illustrate more strikingly the treatment of Nature by the poets of the Critical school, soon to culminate in Dryden and Pope, than this poem, with its thin perception of the picturesque, its insensibility to colour and charm, its absence of enthusiasm, its complete subordination of the beauties of Nature to ethical and political reflection.⁶

Although nature is an ethical and political tool in loco-descriptive poetry, it is treated nonetheless as a thing of beauty which reflects the splendour and perfection of the king, and Collins seems to ignore this important aspect.

"His ruin'd Country to rebuild"

Jeffrey Spencer's survey, Heroic Nature, is a fairly good study of nature as emblem. Her chapter on Marvell correctly and shrewdly points out that, "the Vergilian Golden Age landscape in seventeenth-century poetry, inevitably carried echoes of Genesis or the Song of Solomon or the parable of the Good Shepherd".⁷ Spencer simultaneously sees that the use of nature as the return of Eden is the result of a reign by a king who is imbued with divinity. Her discussion of Upon Appleton House is thoughtful, as she notes the completeness to which the house itself is "an unfallen Eden, ruled by Nature, not by Art". Even in the Mower poems, she identifies the little kingdom of god on earth that Marvell establishes.

Professor Evett's discussion of Upon Appleton House complements Spencer's, as he traces the structure of the poem through the topos of the locus amoenus.⁸ Spencer obviously bases many of her observations on this article which establishes Appleton House as the "last bastion of the old pieties", and hence it becomes "Paradice's only map". Both Spencer and Evett confirm the idea that divinity and kingship are related, and they speak of the historical events surrounding the poems. What they do not do, however, is provide a linear framework for the poems. When Spencer discusses Milton, she does comment that he responds through landscape to the classical baroque, and she outlines the juxtaposition of

Mounts Sion and Parnassus in Paradise Lost.⁹ This is a good and valid observation, yet she fails to apply this parallel to literature and history per se, and therefore does not develop a literary progressive pattern.

Ruth Nevo notes that "of all Cromwell's panegyrists, few but Milton truly succeeded in treading the slippery path between emperor-worship on the one hand and Calvinistic providentialism on the other",¹⁰ and certainly her statement aligns the ruler and his God in a real and vital way.

There has been but one critic who has written with any degree of depth on Edmund Waller. W.L. Chernaik's The Poetry of Limitation traces the events in Waller's life and pays more attention to biography than to literary criticism. He touches briefly on the divinity of Charles, but he does not discuss imagery or metaphor. Needless to say, more attention deserves to be paid to Waller's style and the place of his poetry in the period. J. Churton Collins attempts to provide a contrast between the styles and a comparison of the philosophies of Waller, Cowley and Dryden, but his article is far from enlightening, since it has little to say about any dependence that they might have upon one another.¹¹

In a study of the scholarship written on the poets that I have spoken of already, it is clear that the use of landscape, its genesis and its future effect on the styles of Dryden and Pope has not been dealt with adequately. None of the critics has shown the role of nature as

propaganda, that began in mythology and reached its climax in the period which I am dealing with here. An investigation of the writings done on the "poetic kingdoms" of Dryden and Pope is now in order.

The Temple and the Throne

Much has been said about the political and poetic life of John Dryden. James Garrison attributes to Dryden a reaffirmation of the public role of the poet, as he celebrates the restoration and divinity of the king.

A.W. Hoffman in John Dryden's Imagery focuses on Astraea Redux, and compares Charles' exile with the flight of Jove and the banishment of Adam. Despite the goodness of the king, and the rightness of his return, Hoffman senses danger in the restoration. His observation is unique, but hardly valid. It would seem to me that Dryden was much more interested in the jubilant return of the king than in any problems that might be created because of it.

His statement that,

the poem takes cognizance of the peculiar perils to the king of restoration after the kingless Commonwealth, restoration to a throne which the people had but recently discovered they had the power to shake 12

seems to ignore the importance and effect of topography. By subordinating the joy of renewal that was felt by the English to their supposed desire for continued liberation, Hoffman fails to realize the emblematic use of landscape by Dryden.

Alan Roper, in Dryden's Poetic Kingdoms, speaks of the pax romana, that is, the vision of future greatness which is based upon Charles' hereditary relationship with Augustus. He shows how Dryden personifies rebellion against the king as a disease that smites the body and which can only be cured by a baptism of tears that "work and expiate our former guilt". In studying Dryden's poetic kingdoms, Roper explains why peace, prosperity and security is the desirable end of the perfect reign, yet he is careful not to take the king-god relationship too seriously. He treats it as metaphor, and affirms that "the Astraea who is brought back is not so much an anthropomorphic goddess of justice as the concept and practice of justice exemplified by Charles II: the poem does not seek an analogy between king and goddess".¹³ Although Roper's statement is true, perhaps it is too restricting to our interpretations of the poem, because surely the fall of a king is likened to the act of Original Sin, and consequently the king's restoration is comparable to Christ's salvation of mankind. Charles has been restored by Providence and Roper admits this, but he never really explains whether the monarch is the new Messiah or just a holy prophet of God.¹⁴ There is a very important difference here which should be explained more fully, and I shall attempt to do so.

In his discussion of Epistle to Charleton, Roper refers to Wasserman's chapter on the poem. Wasserman argues

the intent behind Dryden's dual concern with scientific and political achievement. He parallels the Danes' brief reign over Stonehenge with the Stuarts' short dominion over England. The Stonehenge temple is the equivalent of the Coronation Seat at Westminster, and "with the Restoration, what was formerly shown as a temple has now become a throne".¹⁵ Wasserman sees Charles as the divine, earthly god who has been anointed by the Creator. His restoration sets all events in accord; even the overthrow of scholastic science is part of the ordained plan.

Roper approves of Wasserman's reading, but is critical about the contrast that he draws between Charles II's reign and that of Aristotle.¹⁶ He claims that Wasserman's historical base is inaccurate since he is confused as to the meaning of "elective monarchies". Roper calls Wasserman's evidence "Gothic" while placing it alongside the "royalist interpretations", to show that elective monarchies did not place restrictions on the king as he had claimed.¹⁷ The difference in interpretations, therefore, is that Roper analyses topicality as something which does not necessarily reflect the political activity of the period, whereas Wasserman cannot separate literary from political events. It seems to me that Wasserman's approach is more convincing, for he deals more directly with the powerful and heroic role of the king, which I shall discuss in my chapter on Dryden.

Steven Zwicker speaks of the "sustained sense of history" in John Dryden's poetry, and provides a thorough discussion of the Biblical and mythological typology found therein. He calls the monarch a new messiah who has come to deliver England from the shadow of the valley of death into righteous prosperity:

Thus in his political poetry, Dryden's presentation of Restoration history as sacred history is reinforced by the use of the language and imagery of typology, and the typological bond, between, for example, Charles II and David is strengthened by Dryden's setting that relationship in the context of sacred history.¹⁸

His statement is in reference to Absalom and Achitophel, yet Dryden's other poems show the king as the mediator between heaven and earth. He is the impersonator of the heroic Christ, and the divinely inspired actor on the terrestrial stage. Zwicker notes that in Threnodia Augustalis Charles is addressed as

That all forgiving king
That type of Him above.
(TA 257-58)

He then goes on to discuss Astraea Redux as a typology of the flood, where England receives redemption through the heroic king/Christ. Zwicker argues that Typhon's rebellion against Jove is parallel to the rebellion against the King by the English mob. The return of Charles is like the coming of Christ, and the renewal of nature is a re-enactment of the Resurrection. Charles is Christ in the Passion, the Prince and Shepherd who suffers banishment

yet returns to greater eternal glory. In To His Sacred Majesty, Charles' coronation symbolizes manna that feeds the starving English, and the messiah brings refuge for all in a renewed pastoral setting.

Zwicker analyses The Medall and identifies Shaftesbury as Satan, and England as a race of recalcitrant Jews. As Satan, Shaftesbury infests the nation and seduces the multitude, so that it indulges in perverse actions against God. The natural order is inverted. Instead of accepting the manna, the English long for the quails of usurping power and the Whigs reject the legitimate heir, just as Israel rejected the true Messiah. In Britannia Redivivia, Zwicker notes that there is "considerably more emphasis on the divinity of the king and a marked reluctance to involve the English nation in the process of redemptive history".¹⁹ He then discusses the distinction between the divinity of the king and the state of the nation which is associated with the first and second Adam. In Threnodia Augustalis, the king as typus Christi reigns as an expression of Providence, and because of his redemptive power, James is assured of a prosperous reign. Although Zwicker places due emphasis on the role of the king as the regenerative force in politics and landscape, and also develops the classical and Biblical images well, he still fails, as his colleagues have done, to explain how Dryden fits in to the literary and historical sequence of events.

Wallace Maurer's article, "The Structure of Dryden's Astraea Redux", provides a mechanical examination of style, with little reference to the imagery in the poem.²⁰ Swedenberg in "England's Joy: Astraea Redux in Its Setting" captures the political mood of the period well,²¹ and George Wasserman's "The Domestic Metaphor in Astraea Redux" concisely and convincingly parallels Charles' return to England with the second coming of Christ as the Bridegroom for his betrothed.²² His is a good article, for it realizes the classical and religious implications, for as Schilling says:

Charles can be what he likes as a person, for
in the end, he prevails not as man but as king
and God -- that is, as order.²³

Schilling agrees that Dryden thinks in mythical and political terms, and he argues well for the king-God relationship. Larry Carver extends the discussion by analyzing some works by lesser known poets as well as by Dryden. He concludes that the king was a father figure, whose paternal power could restore the Garden of Eden or the Roman Empire.²⁴ Carver bases his observations on those of Alan Roper, whose book certainly established the concept of the king as a parent:

Dryden clearly found the idea of king as pater patriae a poetic coin of wide currency, both as an apt expression of certain political attitudes and emotions and in its specifically patriarchalist associations.²⁵

Dryden therefore moves poetry into the sacred realm of Biblical and mythological history, as he considers that the

king is the divine leader.

The notion that the king is divine is carried on by Alexander Pope, who writes poetry of place and historical events. Windsor-Forest creates the mood "of a generation that had lively memories of a revolutionary period and that after long glorious wars was becoming almost obsessively attached to peace".²⁶ Pope sees the return of peace as a result of the reign of God's anointed, Queen Anne. Maynard Mack has stated that Windsor-Forest brings the reader through a historical and spiritual process that terminates in rebirth:

Beginning in 'Peace and Plenty' because a Stuart reigns, the poem reverts to terror and desolation when usurpers ruled the land. These usurpers are the Norman Williams, but half-concealed in their shadows stands what Pope evidently regarded with the Jacobite half of his being as a more recent 'usurpation', the accession of William III. Then we return by way of a leisurely survey of native kings to 'the great figure of the present', Anne whose armies and fleets have won world-wide dominion and whose ministers have brought about a Peace to which Pope attributes all the blessings of a Saturnian age of gold.²⁷

Pope transfers the New Jerusalem to the landscape of England under the rule of Anne, as the oak forests of Edenic Windsor become a metaphor for the nation.

Earl Wasserman's The Subtler Language studies the political and mythical aspects of the poem, and he shows how liberation and the return of the Golden Age is achieved at Windsor, which is, "at once the Monarch's and the Muse's seats". Anne is the anointed leader whose actions can fulfill God's

plans:

Anne cannot, like God, decree order, but she is godlike at least to the degree that, through the Peace of Utrecht, she can miraculously banish its opposite by fiat not only from her own Empire but from all the world.²⁸

The Nimrodian hunter William has been succeeded by Queen Anne, the beneficent bestower of peace and harmony.

Wasserman parallels the poem to Denham's Cooper's Hill.

Just as Denham uses three hills to unify his work, Pope works through the three hunts of William, Anne and Lodona. Denham makes the Thames his controlling symbol, and for Pope, Windsor Forest is the dominant landmark. The Thames is also important for Pope, however, for it is the total metaphor of concordia discors, and it brings the Forest into the Golden Age of renewal. Reuben Brower has eloquently stated the intent and artistic result in

Windsor-Forest:

In Windsor-Forest, the hailings and hyperboles, the exotic splendours of an earthly paradise, are sufficiently anchored in historical and geographic fact and have some appropriateness to the actual and the poetic occasion. We are not disturbed by the suspicion that the poet is expressing one sort of glory while protesting that he is interested in another. In Windsor-Forest, when religious feeling is asked for, we feel that the demand is fairly made. Peace is a mysterious and sacred thing to the eye that sees in England's landscape an order at once aesthetic and patriotic and philosophic...the image of a peaceful golden age and a georgic landscape returns its power as picture and as norms in much of Pope's later poetry.²⁹

Martin Battestin also notices this redemptive function in Pope's poetry, as he speaks about the notion of Time, History,

Nature and Art, and the eternal implications of the fleeting temporal scene at Windsor. The poem is begun with "an intimation of lost Eden" and it ends with a preview of "a Paradise to be regained".³⁰

Critics are in agreement that Pope's landscapes portray an ideal world in which the disparate and discordant elements are harmonized. Nevertheless, not enough has been made of the role of the monarch in this geographic and historical renewal. Certainly Wasserman has been explicit in his discussions, and Mack has written well on the "Genius of the Place"³¹ yet there is no sense of the significance of the Golden Age returning to England. No critic has ever presented a genealogical discussion of the political poetry of the period. Certainly, to understand these works and their importance to literature, it is necessary to discover and trace what I would call, a generation of meaning. This generation of meaning will reveal the evolution and development of loco-descriptive poetry, and its growth through the ages.

I will undertake to demonstrate that topographical poetry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a symptom of the progression of literary history and a stage in its development. Using Vico's New Science as a base for my criticism, I shall discuss the ages of humanity, and prove that the raising of the king to the level of a god marks the return of literature to the age of heroes. These heroes had the power to elevate themselves above the gods,

and hence become mortal gods. They attain their heroic status through the poet, who is the substitute god able to describe the state of the cosmos dictated by the actions of the king. Landscape therefore is metaphor, the concrete expression of the intangible character of the king. I shall define my frame of reference explicitly, and then I shall give a history of the use of topography and divinity in describing the king. This discussion shall then provide a firm foundation for the study of the works of Drummond, Denham, Waller, Dryden and Pope.

II

"SOME COMELY PRINCE OF HEAVENLY BIRTH"

In The New Science, Giambattista Vico explains that humanity and literature began with the age of the gods. What this means is that during this period, men believed that all things were planned and accomplished by the gods. As a result, if we trace literary history back to its crude beginnings, we find that "the founders of gentile humanity by means of their natural theology imagined the gods", and hence, poets "fashioned for themselves a universe entirely of gods".¹ These poets wrote sublime fables to enlighten popular understanding and to teach the vulgar the way to act virtuously. Poetic wisdom was governed by metaphysics, and this was known as "the Golden age of the Greeks, in which the gods consorted with men on earth as we have seen Jove begin to do. Starting with the first age of the world, the Greek poets in their fables have faithfully narrated the universal flood and the existence of giants in nature, and thus have truly narrated the beginnings of profane universal history".²

That literature passed through a period dominated by the language of the gods is certainly attested to by the mythological writings of the Greeks and Romans. Hesiod, in the Theogony, describes the union of Gaea and Uranus (earth and heaven); an act which sets all progress in motion. The gods are supreme, yet still subject to the laws of nature, and trouble began when they violated the natural cosmic laws.

Uranus does not allow his children to see the light, and consequently, on his mother's request, Cronus castrates him. This action causes further births and physiological transformations to appear upon the terrain. Zeus' victory over the tyrannical Cronus awards him control of the thunderbolt, and harmony is restored. Prometheus disturbs the cosmic plan by challenging Zeus and attempting to fool him by feeding him fat rather than meat. He is punished for his defiance of the gods, and is bound to suffer the pain of an eagle who constantly partakes of his liver. When Hephaestus creates woman, and the order is disturbed, Zeus again emerges as the omnipotent figure who takes control.

I have digressed here momentarily, to describe certain events in the Theogony so that we may realize the extent to which the cosmos is affected by the actions of the gods. Only when the ruler is concerned with the welfare of his subjects can harmony prevail, but also they must be willing to live within their appointed station without aspiring to be gods. The same pattern arises in Ovid, as those who offend the natural order are transformed into animal objects. Three such metamorphoses occur when Cygnus becomes a swan, Callisto a bear and Narcissus vegetates into a flower.

In religious literature, the age of gods is also predominant. Those who obey God are protected, such as Moses, who leads the Israelites through the desert, parts the Red Sea, and escapes the Egyptian pursuit.³ Daniel is

saved from the lion's den, Shadrack, Meshak and Abdenego are spared from the fiery furnace, and Jonah is able to survive inside the belly of the whale, yet the Egyptians are visited with plagues, and the unrighteous are consumed with flames.⁴ When the birth of Christ occurs, all nature participates. A star in the East proclaims the joyous arrival, and the Saviour's face "shines as the sun" which blesses the virtuous and rises upon the evil. He can calm the tempestuous sea, and at his Crucifixion, all nature weeps and, "there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour".⁵ This age of gods aligned the king so closely with divinity, that his actions could determine the appearance of the landscape. He could be either God or Nimrod, and the world he creates is either Heaven or Hell.

The age of gods was superseded by the age of heroes, and Vico explains what the characteristics of this age were. The heroes, in a sense, mentally usurped the gods:

Later men were unable to enter into the imaginations of the first men who founded the gentile world, which made them think they saw the gods.⁶

Consequently, men began to think of themselves not as vehicles of the gods, but rather as beings that could move above, and transcend them. These men were heroes, or ostensibly mortal gods, who instead of worshipping the spiritual gods, set up heads on earth which serve as objects of respect and love. Certainly the belief in the Divine Right of the King must owe its origin to this change

in philosophy, because, as Vico says,

the heroes must by nature have been moved to unite themselves in orders so as to resist the multitudes of rebellious famuli. And they must have chosen as their head, a father fiercer than the rest and with greater presence of spirit.⁷

This father, this head was the king.

Dante in De Monarchia presents a very strong argument for the supreme power of the sovereign; a ruler who draws solely on the name of God for sustenance. With the guidance of the Lord, the ruler restores the land to harmony and Dante notes that the monarch is only responsible to God:

Caesar therefore owes to Peter the piety which a first-born son owes to his father. And so, in the light of paternal grace, this government will better enlighten our globe, over which it rules through Him alone who is the ruler of all things spiritual and temporal.⁸

In England, the notion that the king was an angelic figure evolved with the Tudor succession. Henry Tudor was hailed as the Redeemer because he engineered the British spirit of nationalism. Although he was faced with tribulations that endangered the solidarity of the English throne, Henry brought to fulfillment his destiny through Divine Providence. He secures his position and reinstates a peaceful kingdom. He is successful because only the rightful heir can restore the Golden Age since he is ordained to do so by God, while usurpers bring the doom of "a Stormy Day and an Unquiet Age".⁹

Henry VIII goes even further to canonize himself, by proclaiming himself Supreme Head of both State and Church

on January 15, 1535. Certainly Parliament and the English felt that the king was indeed God's representative, and those who did not were promptly sent to the Tower. In Parliament, the mediator/king was repeatedly addressed as God, since the Speaker of the House borrowed from Dante and the Bible, to call the monarch, "your most abundant Grace and Goodness" who has power over the "Lords Spiritual and Temporal".¹⁰ Henry is compared to Biblical heroes, and he has the wisdom of Solomon, the fortitude of Samson and the beauty of Absalom.¹¹ He is the sun that sets the world in motion, and like Christ, he makes the sun to shine upon the righteous while he simultaneously purges the wicked.¹²

In Shakespeare, the correlation between God, man and nature is distinctively presented. Richard II perceives himself as Christ, and hence speaks of his betrayers as "three Judases, each one thrice worse than Judas".¹³ Richard bears the name of a king, "God's name", and therefore nature can only reflect his powers, not challenge or rebel against them:

Not all the water in the rough, rude sea
Can wash the balm off an anointed king.
The breath of worldly man cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord.

(R II, II, ii, 54-7)

Richard's banner displays a white hart which upholds the sun, and the king is likened to "glist'ring Phaethon". As he looks into the mirror and sees his downfall, he

identifies a king, god, the sun and a fool, as he says, "Was this the face/That like the sun, did make beholders wink?" (R II, IV, i, 283b-84). In King Lear, revolt against the king leads to Chaos throughout the entire cosmos, and consequently turns it up-so-down:

Nothing could have subdued nature
To such lowness but his unkind daughters.
(KL, III, iv, 68-9)

To interfere with the plan that God has devised for his substitute, is to commit a crime against the realm. The upheaval is so immense that the "children yet unborn" will feel it "as sharp as thorn".¹⁴ Like Pilate, the traitors bear the sordid stains, and must in the words of Bolingbroke "make a voyage to the Holy Land/To wash this blood off their guilty hand".¹⁵ It is the Nimrodian characters who commit sins against the king, and they must pay penance in the world to come.

The age of heroes continues to exist in the works of Spenser, who upholds and glorifies the Tudor monarchy. Elizabeth I, the true heir of Henry VIII, is characterized as Belphoebe, the virgin huntress. She is the "heritage of all celestiall" born out of the womb of the morning dew.¹⁶ Elizabeth is the Golden born, the royal priestess who descended the stairway from Heaven to restore Eden. "Spenser conceives the Tudor rule as a return of the old British line; he conceives Elizabeth Tudor as the particular sovereign coming out of Faerie, whose return fulfills the old prophecy".¹⁷

In the Parliamentary History of England, King James I shows how the body politic compares to the image of holy spirits and angels. Like Christ, he is the Royal Bridegroom, whose mission is to rule according to God's plan. England becomes an extension of the monarch's physical being, as he says:

What God hath conjoined let no man separate. I
am the husband, and all the whole island is my
lawful wife. I am the head and it is my body; I
am the shepherd, and it is my flock.¹⁸

James is wed to the land, and this terrain cannot be fertile without his presence and governorship.

The correlation between God and king, and its effect on nature, is clearly revealed in the poetry of Thomas Carew. He compares Charles I to the Son of God, "at whose birth the gentle planets shin'd". This "darling of the Gods and men" is rewarded by his subjects as they bring him gifts resembling those found at Christ's nativity:

Incense, nor gold have we, yet bring
As rich and sweet an offering.¹⁹

In The Coronation, James Shirley speaks in favour of supporting the king. This masque tells how Philocles, an attendant to the Royal Court assists Leo, the rightful heir to the throne of Epire. Together they discover the traitors who are trying to usurp the Crown, and after the danger has passed, Philocles muses with relief and pride, "How we are bound to heaven for multiplying these blessings on the kingdom".²⁰ Triumph of Peace joins the king, "Heaven's Light" to the landscape.

he has created,

This second age of heroes, therefore, is characterized by the omnipotence of the monarch, who despite his human birth, can transcend the gods because he is of divine origin. As a result, "they justly regarded their heroism as including the natural nobility in virtue of which they were princes of the human race".²⁴ They believed that they could restore the Paradisaal state, which included total cosmic transformations, and consequently, "by man's unwillingness to accept primal catastrophes like the end of the Golden Age or the loss of Eden, the durability of landscape poetry may in part be explained".²⁵ Landscape therefore serves as a vehicle for the renewal of native forms, gods and heroes, so that the cycle begun in mythological times is completed through the Civil War and the Restoration.

III

"HE SEEMS A KING BY LONG SUCCESSION BORN"

In Milton's Paradise Lost, landscape acts as mimesis for argument as the cosmic scene reflects the inner state of gods and heroes. There are echoes of the Shakespearian Chain of Being since the virtuous rise in the sunlight, while the rebellious cast dark shadows. Satan's revolt causes the sun to bend and dim his glory:

.....As when the sun new ris'n
Looks through the Horizontal misty Air
Shorn of his beams, or from behind the Moon
In dim Eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
On half the Nations and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.¹

When the heroic Adam and Eve appear however, then the garden is resplendent with celestial light, "for in thir looks Divine, the image of thir glorious maker shone".² Adam is given the power to govern the Garden and all the inhabitants of it, and hence becomes the mortal god who rises above his maker.³ The voice of the poet changes from that of a man to a god, as he recounts the Fall and its circumstances. Milton presumes the role of mediator by assuming the task of justifying "the ways of God to men".⁴ In the early books, Milton employs the language of the gods, as he uses mimetic syntax and epic simile to magnify his reflecting landscape. The language and age of heroes takes over however, when Adam and Eve "in naked Majesty" are "Lords of all".

Milton is a Puritan, Christian poet, and his use

of the iconic is for visual, spiritual and moral reasons. His translation from the mode of gods, to that of heroes, marks the beginning of the age of heroes in English poetry. Although Milton concerns himself primarily with religious subjects, he nevertheless sets a precedent which poets who are more concerned with politics follow. Perhaps Andrew Marvell is one of the first poets to make poetry more public by speaking of his political heroes in topographical terms.

"The Garden Within"

In his loco-descriptive poems, Marvell sees man as a gardener, and the monarch as a hero who governs a model universe in which innocence is no longer available. Only the ordering of the imagination can produce the ideal state, and the poet-god attains it through a description of the righteous ruler's kingdom.

Marvell was born into a religious home, where his father was a clergyman. After receiving his B.A. from Cambridge in 1639, Andrew Marvell journeyed to Europe. He was away from England when struggles between the king and Parliament were raging, but returned soon afterwards to become tutor to Mary Fairfax at Appleton House. Fairfax was the Parliamentary General who had just retired, and with sympathies running high for Cromwell, Marvell wrote his verse in favour of the Protector. He said of King Charles, "It is such a king as no chisel can mend", while also stating,

seemingly conversely, that "men ought and might have trusted the king".

A Horation Ode Upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland

praises the Protector as a strong heroic force. It celebrates the presence of this totally competent ruler who controls the balance between statecraft and war. There is a certain regret for the "Royal Actor" who is suspended on the "tragic scaffold", but the sorrow is overshadowed by admiration for Cromwell who,

Could by industrious valour climb
To ruin the great work of Time,
And cast the kingdom old
Into another mold.⁵

Justice and Fate plead "the ancient rights in vain", as Cromwell the hero overcomes the fallen king.

Marvell's association with Fairfax resulted in two important topographical poems that reflect the character of their hero in landscape. In Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough concordia discors reigns on Fairfax's domain. The circular perfection is created through the "arched earth" and a "perfect hemisphere". The new centre of the world is Fairfax's grove, and like a super-hero, he provides a moral protective force for nature. Even although he is retired, the brightness in Fairfax is intrinsic throughout the terrain:

Therefore to your obscurer seats
From his own brightness he retreats;
Nor he the hills without the groves,
Nor height but with retirement loves.⁶

Fairfax is able to take England out of its state of primal catastrophes into a second, improved Eden.

Upon Appleton House further personifies its owner, since Fairfax becomes one with the home, which is surrounded by an ideal landscape. Fairfax, "whose name in Europe rings" cultivates his garden, and in so doing restructures the state. Another world is created, with England as the centre, and the house symbolizes the virtuousness of its hero:

Yet thus the laden house does sweat,
And scarce endures the master great:
But where he comes the swelling hall
Stirs and the square grows spherical.⁷

As a result of its human configuration, the house attains a more perfect architectural form. As in the previous poem, Fairfax is at one with nature, and the Roman oaks speak oracles of praise for this Republican. Fairfax's garden, made in the "just figure of a fort" is "Heaven's centre, Nature's lap" and marks out "Paradise's only map".⁸ Marvell calls himself "an inverted tree" with roots in Heaven and with branches descending to the earth, and certainly this is a reflection of Fairfax, whose mind is divinely inspiring the landscape around him. The Crucifixion is re-enacted as the old Adam is cast off. Fairfax the hero sets things right at Appleton, and re-commits nature to a pattern of perfection.

Fairfax's daughter Mary is also a heroic figure, who like the maiden Prosperine, guards the land. She is the unfallen Eve, and together with her father, the new Adam, she creates a vision of Paradise.

Having established that Milton and Marvell wrote poetry characteristic of the age of heroes, let me now proceed to a discussion of the works of Drummond, Waller and Denham. These poets restore the Golden Age by reporting the heroic actions of the king. It is important to note that with the accession of James I, nature appears in a more definitive role, which not only reflected the ruler, but also gave him greater power and omnipotence. In this later poetry, the natural and corruptible human body is made by God, yet in his political and immortal form, the king is created by men, and the poet.⁹

"The flower of Princes, honour of his time"

William Drummond was raised in a family with strong political ties, and therefore it is not surprising that he too became interested in politics. His father was gentleman usher to James VI, and his mother's brother was Queen Anne's private secretary. He received his M.A. from the University of Edinburgh in 1605, and travelled to Europe where he was exposed to many forms of writing and criticism. When he returned to England, he began to write seriously, and his most famous panegyric, Forth Feasting, celebrates the coming of James I. He is the "excellent majesty" who has been sent from Heaven to restore Paradise in England. The appearance of the king arouses the natural scene and the speaker is awakened from sleep by the exuberant outcry:

What melodie, what Sounds of Joy and Sport
Bee these heere hurl'd from ev'rie neighbour Spring ?¹⁰

The land is "full of Wonder", the mountains ring, and "in unusuall Pompe on tip-toes stand". The royal homecoming is graced by the warmth of the sun which blazes down after "six blacke months" of cloud. As in a heroic homecoming, such as those of Jason and Odysseus, the world surges with fertility. Enthusiasm reigns just as it did when Athena was born out of Zeus, and in like manner Castor and Pollux display their "chearing lights". Night is challenged to never again "rise from her sable Cave", and the rivers "in Neptunes azure hall" meet to "keepe the Festivall" that commemorates new life and hope.

Even the most perfect natural creation of the gods cannot compare in greatness to the sacred and blessed return of the heroic, rightful king:

To virgins Flowers, to Sunne burnt Earth the
 raine,
 To Mariners faire winds amidst the Maine:
 Coole shades to Pilgrimes which hote glances
 burne
 Please not so much, to us, as thy Returne.¹¹

Juxtaposed with the harmonious and orderly state that James establishes is the Chaos which existed during his absence. The darkness and degeneration that was cast when Demeter wept for Persephone is recreated when,¹²

The Muses left our Groves, and for Sweete Songs
 Sate sadlie silent, or did weepe their Wrongs.
 (FF 83-84)

The country was as "a Garden of its Beautie spoil'd", devoid of the "Royall Gleames" of the monarch. The sunny beams of James I have the power of revitalization, and heal all

troubled areas:

No Place there is so desart, so alone,
 Even from the frozen to the torrid Zone
 From flaming Hecla to great Qunicys Lake,
 Which Thine abode could not most happie make.
 (FF 109-12)

James, the anointed, brings back perfection, "which by bounteous Heaven to diverse Worlds in diverse Times [was] given". Nature becomes regal as "new-borne Roses blush with golden Crownes" and "Halcyonean Dayes" are created.

James, the mediator between God and man, the "Partner of the Light" who is born to unite "mortall Foes" controls the universe:

O! Thou farre from the common Pitch didst rise
 With Thy designs to dazell Envies Eyes;
 Thou soughtst to know, this Alls eternall Source,
 Of ever-turning Heavens the restless Course

 Till Thou didst find their Causes, Essence, Might.
 (FF 145-48,160)

His knowledge and wisdom "deserve the richest Crowne on Earth" for nowhere else is "such Wit and Bountie to bee found". His righteousness and virtue transform the world into a peacable kingdom where,

Po burnes no more with Phaetonall Fire
 Orion faints to see his Armes grow blacke,
 And that his flamming Sword hee now doth lacke:
 So Europes Lights, all bright in their Degree
 Loose all their Lustre paragond with Thee.
 (FF 200-05)

The king creates both natural harmony and spiritual peace by fulfilling the sacred prophecy revealed by Micah.¹³

The establishment of the Mountain of the House of the Lord is James' triumph, for he has turned his people away from

warfare and led them from the bloody battlefields to the verdant meadows:

Their Swords are turn'd in Sythes, in Culthers
Speares,
Some giant Post their anticke Armour beares:
Now, where the wounded Knight his Life did bleed,
The wanton Swaine sits piping on a Reed.
And where the Canon did Joves Thunder skorne,
The gawdie Hunts-man windes his shrill-tun'd Horne.
(FF 217-22)

The new heroes of the nation are the peacekeepers and lovers of nature, not the warriors and gallant knights, as James rules by "Love" not "blood". He is the angelic Prince whose virtue elevates him to a position of worth even in the celestial realm:

Sure if the World above did want a Prince,
The World above to it would take thee hence.
(FF 253-54)

The king has brought a reign of honour, piety, innocence and worthiness and "the Saturnian World is come againe". England returns to the age of heroes as feuding brothers are reconciled and amity is produced between the hunter and the hunted. "Vultures prey not on the harmlesse Dove" and "Wolves with Lambs doe Friendship entertaine" when the New Jerusalem is formed.¹⁴ Like Christ, James triumphs over sin and provides hope as "Vertues Patterne, Glorie of our Times". He is "A King of Wonder, Wonder unto Kings", who through Divine Providence has overcome political threats from Presbyterians. He emerges victorious in the form of Augustus, the heaven-sent messiah king:

This is the King who should make right each Wrong,
 Of whome the Bards and mysticke Sybilles song,
 The Man long promis'd, by whose glorious Raigne,
 This isle should yet her ancient Name regaine.

(FF 329-32)

All creation celebrates his arrival, bringing presents like those of the wise men who came to Christ with "Myrthe and sweet Perfumes". The Speaker joins the Nymphs by burning incense, awarding exotic gifts, and singing "due Paeans to Thy Praise".

After exulting the new Messiah James, the speaker unveils himself as the poet. The river Forth is transformed into a loyal subject of the heroic god. Dressed "in a watchet Gowne" made of "reeds and Lillies", he wears "a Crowne" upon his head. The river is therefore in the form of a high priest, who is attired in shining robes so as to celebrate the mystery of the mass. The word has become flesh as Eden is restored through the heroic king and the divine poet. We know that the king is heroic rather than divine because we are left looking upward from this earthly monarch to his Heavenly Father from whom he receives direction:

So may thy high Exploits at last make even,
 With Earth thy Empyre, Glorie with the Heaven.

(FF 407-08)

In Forth Feasting, Drummond shows how James inherits the Crown, and the ways in which he attempts to prove his hereditary heroic worth. He renews the landscape and returns the nation to another Golden Age where, as Vico says,

he realizes his natural ability and becomes a prince of the human race.

"And our next Charles, whom all the stars design"

John Denham's Cooper's Hill is a great topographical poem written during the troubled days of 1642. Born into yet another political family, John Denham's father, Sir John, was Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland. Young Denham went to Oxford, but never had his B.A. conferred, and in 1634, he married Anne Cotton. In 1638, he was called to the bar within one month of his father's death, and was thrust into the heat of political activity. Denham witnessed the two Bishop's Wars that were fought and stalemated, the calling and dissolution of the Short Parliament, and the division of the country over Laud and Strafford's policies. He was influenced greatly by Waller's poetry and the emblematic value of St. Paul's, which was thrust upon him by the imagery of Upon His Majesty's Repairing of St. Paul's.¹⁵

Denham employs the view from Cooper's Hill as metaphor, and turns the physical scene into a moral system. A reciprocal relationship is established between poet, king and landscape. Parnassus, the home of poetic inspiration, is transposed on the English domain, as Denham propounds to the hill:

.....If I can be to thee
A poet, thou Parnassus art to me.
(CH 7b-8)

Just as the poet has the power to make anywhere memorable, so the king is able to create the perfect state. The poet is a god, who fashions the point of inspiration, while the monarch is the hero in the little universe that he forms, since, "courts make not kings, but kings the courts".¹⁶ "Guided by a wiser power than chance", the king chooses that which God has delegated as being correct and virtuous, and he rules by Divine Right. St. Paul's is "Crown'd with that sacred pile, so vast, so high" and London is secure, "preserv'd from ruin by the best of kings". The model monarch and the perfect plan for England is juxtaposed with the "crimes of citizenry" committed by the populace, whose desire to satisfy its appetite disrupts cosmic harmony. They are "each the other's ruin".

From St. Paul's Hill, the wandering eye of the poet views Windsor Hill, the seat of power and perfect balance. It is "a Crown of such majestic towers" where Charles and Henrietta, "Mars with Venus" dwell in concord. Windsor is the concrete manifestation of the king:

Thy mighty master's emblem, in whose face
Sate meekness, heighten'd with majestic grace.

(CH 47-48)

Charles belongs to both heaven and earth and nowhere can boast "more heroes than can Windsor" while Fame's "Immortal book" cannot record "more noble names".¹⁷ He is crusader and saint, the successor of the virtuous Edward, and Brendan O'Hehir describes the actions which made Edward so memorable

and Charles so fortunate.¹⁸ Edward III is the god, who created union from Chaos by uniting in England the crowns of David II of Scotland and the captive John of France. Charles, as his direct descendant, is the hero who marries to consolidate with Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV of France. Edward, the founder of the Order of the Garter, makes Windsor its seat, and Charles reinstates love and victory as the prototype of Mars with his blessed Venus. Edward named St. George as the patron saint of England, and Charles is the Christian, baptized, heroic form of monarchy.¹⁹ He is destined for sainthood (CH 115-18), this Christian soldier, and at Windsor, his domain, the ages of gods and heroes are assimilated and therefore,

the royal citadel of Windsor is then to him
 who reads aright, a hieroglyphic inscription
 conjointly inscribed by God and man upon the
 landscape of England, which is a page of God's
 Book of Works.¹⁹

Windsor is the emblem of concordia discors, as it brings everything into balance.

On the other side of Windsor, stands St. Anne's, a hill which bears the scars of Henry VIII's tyranny and manipulation of Church and State. It is a spiritual desert, stripped of its monastic landmarks and void of goodness and divinity,

.....whose top of late
 A chapel crown'd till in the common fate
 Th'adjoining abbey fell.

(CH 113b-15)

The poet is horrified by the presence of this uncrowned
hill and asks,

Tell me my Muse! what monstrous dire offence,
What crime could any Christian king incense
To such rage?
(CH 117-19a)

Henry, the self-proclaimed "Defender of the Faith" is the
destroyer, "a slave to charity" who has cast the nation
into a state of sacrilege. Restlessness, not charity, prevails
amidst "anger, shame and fear". The delicate balance has
been disturbed, for "no temp'rate region can be known/
Betwixt their frigid, and our torrid zone" (CH 139b-40).
Nature is up so down because of Henry's sins against
God, his subjects and the cosmic laws.

"Thames, the most loved of all the Ocean's sons",
has the power to resolve the conflict between Charles and
Henry. The river reaches above history "to meet eternity"
and seeks out the honourable Charles,

...godlike his unwearied bounty flows;
First loves to do, then loves the good he does.
(CH 177-78)

The river and Charles represent restrained energy which
blesses the nation, regenerating it and makes "both Indies
ours" The Thames,

Finds wealth where 'tis, bestows it where it wants,
Cities in deserts, woods in cities plants.
(CH 185-86)

Differences are harmonized and balance returns as the Thames
whose "fair bosom is the world's exchange" revives the lost
Eden, and purifies the English landscape.

The poet's desire is to be at one with nature, and be god of it, and this wish is revealed in the most frequently repeated lines of the poem, where the powers of fertility are contained in the Thames:

Oh, could I flow like thee, and make thy streame
My great example, as it is my theme!
Though deep, yet clear; thou gentle yet not dull;
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.
(CH 189-92)

Nature follows the king's example by distributing wealth and goodness throughout the English countryside. Through the "horrid roughness of the wood", the "gentle calmness of the flood" unites the terrain in a spacious plain which, "between the mountain and the stream embraced". "Nature's great masterpiece" is the result of this unification, and in this product appears great "variety which all the rest endears".

The trial of Strafford is poetically formulated through the stag hunt, and it is the most perplexing and confusing part of an already seemingly disjointed poem. In the historical journals, Denham is recorded as one of the witnesses for the defence, and in the poem he is certainly sympathetic to Strafford's cause. The plot against Strafford was engineered by Pym, and its viciousness was directed not only at Strafford himself, but also at all his supporters. Pym printed lists of their names, and placed them in prominent places, so as to create fear and frustration among them. Charles I was loyal to Strafford, and promised him protection guaranteeing his

life. He also delivered a plan to the House on his behalf, but it was a weak one. Realizing that the plea was inept, several young officers, in the confidence of the queen, planned to re-establish the royal supremacy and rescue Strafford by a coup d'etat. Pym discovered the plot however, and just before it was to come to fruition, he revealed his knowledge and foiled it. As a result, Strafford was doomed and now only the king had the power to stop the execution. Strafford was aware however, that the king had been put under severe pressure to uphold his promise of protection, so Strafford wrote to Charles and suggested that he sign the instrument of death. Relieved of his oath, Charles then signed the decree and Strafford was sent to his grave.

It is in this poignant sequence that John Denham reveals his respect for the superiority and divinity of Charles as the heroic representative of God. Despite the fact that Charles is characterized as the hunter in pursuit of a weary stag, he is nevertheless a noble prince. Strafford is forced to give up his role as leader of "that noble herd" and "to some dark covert his retreat had made". After relinquishing his position, the stag is unable to escape the eye of the mortal god, and is tracked down by the royal dogs. Strafford's friends are of no help, for they are "among the baser herd", and even the Thames with its cleansing restorative powers cannot quench the bloodthirsty

rabble of enraged hounds. Strafford disdains to die "by common hands" but willingly submits to the king in a manner reminiscent of Abraham, who offers his flesh and blood, Isaac, to the Lord.²⁰ Strafford dies therefore in a state of spiritual peace, and contented he falls, obedient to the righteous hero Charles, for,

This is a more innocent, and happy chase,
Than when of old, but in the selfsame place,
Fair liberty pursued, and meant a prey
To lawless power, here turn'd and stood at bay.
(CH 323-26)

Compared to the virtuous Charles, King John is the anti-Christ, who through the signing of the Magna Carta, has brought another kind of tyranny to his land. Although Charles pursues and catches Strafford at Runnymede, the chase does not produce chaos in the way that the signing of the document does. Strafford's execution harmonizes the view from Cooper's Hill, and brings concordia discors to the country. Charles has not made "his subjects, by oppression bold" as Henry did in his destruction of Chertsey Abbey. Charles is dedicated to the restoration of St. Paul's, and this devotion is indicative of his desire to uphold his heroic role. The purpose of this Runnymede section in Cooper's Hill therefore is,

to show that harmonious tension is a political fact in England, no matter how, within limits, populace and king may act...Therefore, Denham returns to the image of the river in its earlier sense as symbolizing the concordia discors which is the pattern of the true state.²¹

The Thames is the prototype of Charles, a system which checks its own exuberance yet imbalance occurs when "husbandmen" with "greedy hopes" try to "force his channel to a new, or narrow course". The result of the challenge is disastrous, for,

No longer then within his banks he dwells,
 First to a torrent, then a deluge swells;
 Stronger and fiercer by restraint he roars,
 And knows no bound, but makes his power his
 shores.

(CH 355-58)

Aggression against the Lord's appointed results in God's vengeance, and Chaos returns. The river must not be interfered with since,

...Godlike his unwearied Beauty flows;
 First loves to do, then loves the Good he does.
 (CH 177-78)

Like the river, Charles is the Good Samaritan whose charity is reflected on the landscape, where it is admired and respected by all. The Thames is the metaphoric representation of the king that Denham employs in order to develop his partisan approach to English landscape into a balanced reflection on both politics and poetic inspiration. The poet is the god, who creates another Parnassus, and he describes the garden which has been created for the hero. The hero, or king, then becomes a type of mortal god, who is capable of rising above the god/poet, and hence transcends him to be one of the "princes of the human race".²²

Sacred Judge and Guard

Edmund Waller was born in 1605, and his early

exposure to politics greatly influenced his later writings. His mother was the sister of Hampden, the Republican, and cousin to Oliver Cromwell, and she sent Edmund to Eton. After taking up post-secondary studies at Cambridge, he journeyed abroad to the Bermudas, and upon his return, he began to frequent the court of James I. In 1640, he was elected to Parliament for the third time as member for Aymersham. He was an opposer of Royalist bureaucracy, speaking against ship-money, while simultaneously supporting the monarch. At the Battle of Edge Hill in 1642, Waller was ordained as a commissioner of peace. His efforts to end the battles between the Puritans and the Crown by means of coups d'etat were discovered and thwarted, and Waller was banished. In 1651 however, he received a pardon from his friend Cromwell, who,

received Waller as his kinsman to familiar conversation. He [Waller] repaid the protector for his favours by the famous Panegyrick, which has been always considered as the first of his poetical productions. His choice of encomiastick topics is very judicious; for he considers Cromwell in his exaltation, without enquiring how he attained it; there is consequently, no mention of the rebel or the regicide.²³

A Panegyric to My Lord Protector urges support of Cromwell's regime, and Waller respects both usurper and king in the poem. It is a work which is indicative of Waller's role as a "trimmer", a man who could change allegiances without changing beliefs. He kept in favour with Charles I, and during the Civil War, he proposed the formation of

"a moderate party" to unite the king and Parliament. His plan was developed into a military attack, and Waller was arrested. After bribing his jurors, Waller was freed but exiled. This vacillator was not to be outwitted however. He resumed his position of power in the parliaments of Charles II, and was the reconciler when Buckingham challenged the monarch. During the Popish plot, Waller sympathized with the Whigs and opposed their attempts to exclude James II from succession. When James ascended, Waller wrote two poems pleading for reconciliation and national unity. When Cromwell died, Waller wrote On the Death of the Lord Protector and,

from the tenor of Waller's conduct we may conjecture that the poem was dictated by a different motive; that he wrote it to ingratiate himself with Cromwell's son, who, for aught he then knew, might inherit his father's power.²⁴

Edmund Waller's poem uses topography to show the greatness of Cromwell, as the howling of the winds recreate the dying groans, and all nature sighs with regret. Cromwell is the heroic mortal god who affects nature by his activities, and whose heroic usurpation of the throne seems equally as righteous as a legal hereditary succession.

In 1660, Charles II returned, and Waller celebrates his restoration with another panegyric, To the King Upon His Majesty's Happy Return. The monarch is compared to the sun, and "a flood of light" welcomes him home. The sea "trembles to think she did your foes obey". Once blind,

England has had her sight restored and is able to see the heavenly stream of illumination:

So the lost sun, while least by us enjoy'd
Is the whole night for our concern employ'd;
He ripens spices, fruits and precious gums,
Which from remotest regions hither comes.
(UHMHR 47-50)

Concordia discors is established and "th'injured sea" will "no longer flood her banks" for the king has fulfilled another stage in God's plan. Sent from Heaven, he is England's "sacred judge, their guard and argument".

Charles is a Job-like figure who has suffered the trials, but since he is God's representative, he is spared from harm. Waller, unlike Denham, lacks a great deal of the richness of topographical imagery and has a lesser correlation between landscape and the heroic age. Nevertheless, he does use the natural scene in order to display the qualities of the hero. He seems to make more of a convincing case for Cromwell than for Charles, and even the king himself remarked that he thought Waller's "poem on his return fell far short of his panegyric upon Cromwell. A just criticism and a delicate reproof of his flattery of the usurper".²⁵ Waller replied tactfully, explaining that "poets always succeed better in composing fiction than adorning truth" and maintained his good friendship with Charles.

On St. James Park, as Lately Improved by His Majesty is Waller's best topographical poem, for in it,

the divine poet and the heroic monarch restore lost harmony by uniting court, country and city. The poet's divinity is revealed in his ability to create an Eden, which is an archetype of the king's achievement:

Of the first Paradise, there's nothing found;
Plants set by Heaven are vanish'd, and the
ground;
Yet the description lasts; who knows the fate
Of lines that shall this paradise relate?
(OSJP 1-4)

The poet as god is the eternal image, while the king as hero reflects himself in the renewed landscape. All nature pays tribute to the "Prince's pleasure" and his presence makes trees appear and grow; "a flock of new-sprung fowl" controls the world,

And sea nymphs enter with the swelling tide
From Thetis, sent as spies, to make report,
And tell the wonders of her sovereign's court.
(OSJP 38-40)

The poet, like God, can look into the future to see lovers in the shade, gallants dancing and music playing. Charles is described in terms which befit a Greek or Roman hero:

His manly posture, and his graceful mien,
Vigour and youth in all his motions seen;
His shape so lovely and his limbs so strong,
Confirm our hopes we shall obey him long.
(OSJP 59-62)

He assumes the role of God's servant, as he plans out the course of the world, "th'ordering of states" and "his neighb'ring princes' fates". The new world salutes the monarch as Whitehall, Wolsey and Westminster Abbey testify to his greatness. Like Augustus, he is "born the

divided world to reconcile" and does so through his creation of a new Golden Age in England.

Charles is the heroic Saviour, who has Christ-like characteristics. At the king's birth, "day, for his sake could with the night agree", just as Jesus' birth was ushered in by a star from the East. Paradisal comparisons suffuse St. James Park, Waller's emblem of concordia discors. The garden at Appleton House is ordered into a floral paradise by Marvell, and Waller likewise makes St. James Park a microcosm of the greater Eden. The poet is a god, who glorifies the sovereign's creation of a peaceful pastoral landscape in a decadent capital. Charles is brought from exile, by Divine Providence, to make a heroic age happen on "England's green and pleasant land".

Matthew Prior once remarked that "Denham is deservedly considered as one of the fathers of English poetry. Denham and Waller improved our versification, and Dryden perfected it".²⁶ Certainly Denham's development of a more meditative attitude to topography found an eager response in Dryden, and more particularly in Pope. Drummond first required that we, as readers, look upwards from the earthly hero to the heavenly God directing him, and this theme is later developed as we have seen in Denham and Waller. Let us now turn to the writings of Dryden and Pope in order to see how the age of heroes is perpetuated.

IV

"HEAVEN BY WONDERS HAS ESPOUS'D HIS CAUSE"

John Dryden was born in 1631, and was another poet whose family had been immersed in wealth and political activity. He received his B.A. from Cambridge in 1654, and then went to London where he stayed with his cousin Sir Gilbert Pickering, one of Oliver Cromwell's favourites. From April 1657 to September 1658, Dryden was employed as a secretary in the British Parliament. He praised Cromwell for his statesmanship, and was a loyal follower, yet when the Protector died in 1658, his allegiance changed. After the restoration of Charles II, Dryden the Royalist composed three poems in praise of the monarch, Astraea Redux (1660), To His Sacred Majesty (1661) and Threnodia Augustalis (1685). He later married the daughter of an earl, and in 1685, he converted to Catholicism. In 1688, the Revolution financially ruined John Dryden, and he was unable to take the oath of officeholders under William and Mary. He returned therefore to writing, working on plays and he began to translate the Homeric poems. After a short illness, he passed away in 1700.

It has been said of John Dryden's contribution to poetry, that "he found it brick, and left it marble".¹ As the inheritor of the Denham style of topographical panegyric, he followed the patterns of Waller, yet his notion of generation is similar to that expressed by Vico. James Garrison also recommends this reading when he suggests that,

whereas Waller sees action as the motivating force in political history, Dryden distrusts action and looks instead for evidence of a divine historical order...Dryden celebrates the Restoration as a renewal of faith in divinely sanctioned institutions, and as a renewal of trust in the providential design of history.²

Belief in "generation of meaning", that is, the evolution of the ages of gods, heroes and men, allowed Dryden to write about contemporary political events in loco-descriptive terms. In Epistle to Dr. Charleton, he speaks of the "longest tyranny that ever sway'd" under Cromwell, which will be atoned for by the calm brought by the new messiah king (EDC 12-14). He dedicates the poem to Charles' physician, a connection which has special bearing on the poem because of the doctor's theories on Stonehenge. Unlike Inigo Jones the architect, who believed that Stonehenge was a creation of the Romans, Charleton thought that it was a work of the Danes. Dryden draws a parallel between the Danes and Charles, the hero whom God has chosen to return England to normalcy. As Earl Wasserman has stated:

The claims of God and nature, like those of anointment and appointment, could be twisted to defend almost any concept of monarchy. But in the context of the reference to the Danes and to Charleton's treatise, the sense is that the king draws his claims both from God, the king being the "earthly god", and from nature -- the laws of nature which dictate that the king be chosen by the people, since they are "free-born" as even the English overthrow of scholastic science has shown.³

The king is the hero who has transcended God, by obeying his

laws and creating new ones, so that the poet can reveal him as a great moral and political leader.

The Temple at Stonehenge is a figuration of the Abbey at Westminster, and Charles' defeat at the Battle of Worcester in 1651 was consoled by his refuge at Stonehenge, a retreat which protected "his sacred head". Since the Restoration, the temple has been metamorphosed into a throne, in the same way that the king becomes a hero. Dryden shows the king-hero relationship in some of his other poetry, like Absalom and Achitophel (1681), where the king is compared to the heroic Biblical figures:

Once more the Godlike David was Restor'd
And willing nations knew their Lawfull Lord.
(AA 1030-31)

In Threnodia Augustalis (1685), he is referred to as,

that all forgiving king
The type of him above.
(TA 257-58)

The king is the divine hero, "the mediator between heaven and earth, the 'actor' or 'impersonator' of Christ -- who on the terrestrial stage presented the living image of the two-natured God".⁴ Let us now turn to some specific works, and show the relationship between the hero and his landscape.

"And Paradise was opened in his face"

Astraea Redux (1660) celebrates the happy return of Charles II, and presents a vision of greatness based upon Charles' moral and political relationship with Augustus.

During the years of the rebellion, England was "a World divided from the rest" where "Madness the Pulpit, Faction seiz'd the Throne". Typhon strikes against Jove, as the English mob rebel against the heroic king who is restored by Providence (AR 25-34). Charles can withstand the challenges of the "devils" and:

The king's exile and return are set in a context which allows for a gradual interpretation of these events as a reflection of biblical history and of Christ's life and Resurrection. Dryden begins to establish this pattern at line 37 with an analogy appropriate to both the classical and Christian motifs of the poem.⁵

During the time that the king was exiled, the "Rabble" ruled in a world of Chaos. Nature raged as a manifestation of the cosmic state of spiritual disharmony. Like Christ, Charles was forced to "suffer for Himself and us" in fulfilling the plans of God:

He toss'd by Fate, and hurried up and down,
Heir to his Fathers Sorrows, with his Crown,
Could tast no sweets of youths desired Age,
But found his life too true a Pilgrimage.
(AR 51-54)

Charles' banishment, like that of Elijah and Enoch however, is marked by a return to greater glory in the Paradisal state. He is as the sun which "mov'd along the skies" bringing with it light and life, power which "riveted his throne". The comparison to the sun is also found in Paradise Lost (XII 291ff.) as Milton uses shadows as a metaphor for the types of Christ's expiation of sin. Therefore, the shadows which hovered over England during the

rebellion are proof of Charles' saintliness and heroic suffering because of England's sin. Charles' ravishment is similar to that of the Prince of Peace who is crucified. The death took Heaven itself by violence since "to be God's anointed was his crime".

"But Heav'n's prefixed hour" comes and Charles is restored in England. The voyage home is a calm one, as he controls the natural scene:

The same indulgence Charles his Voyage bless'd
Which in his right hand had Miracles confess'd.
The winds that never moderation knew
Afraid to blow too much, too faintly blew.
(AR 240-43)

As the "Great Monarch" approaches Dover, the cliffs loom large and lean toward him:

The land returns, and in the white it wears
The marks of penitence and sorrow bears.
(AR 253-54)

Because Charles' "Goodness only is above the Laws", he makes nature rejoice, and the crowds which welcome him on the beach force a wilder torrent than that which raged at sea during his exile. It has been suggested by George Wasserman that the English people's welcome of their returning monarch is like the joy of a bride whose marriage is about to be consummated after a long anulment.⁶ His idea is a sound one and certainly the union between Bride and Bridegroom expressed in the Bible is implied here.⁷ Charles' return is welcomed as the birth of Christ was:

That Star that at your Birth shone out so bright
 It stain'd the duller Suns Meridian light,
 Did once again its potent fires renew
 Guiding our eyes to find and worship you.
 (AR 287-90)

This heroic descendant of the gods has returned to rule over his terrestrial kingdom and in so doing he creates another cycle in literary progression, that is, the age of heroes:

And now times whiter Series is begun
 Which in soft Centuries shall smoothly run;
 Those Clouds that overcast your Morne shall fly
 Dispell'd to farthest corners of the sky.
 Our Nation with united Int'rest blest
 Not now content to poise shall sway the rest.
 (AR 293-97)

Charles' Empire "shall no limits know" and England's "Ocean in its depths all seas shall drown ". He reinstates England to a Golden Paradise, that like the world of Augustus is perfect. Dryden rejoices in it:

Oh Happy Age! Oh times like those alone
 By Fate reserv'd for Great Augustus Throne!
 When the joint growth of Armes and Arts foreshew
 The world a Monarch, and that Monarch you.
 (AR 319-21)

The happy Prince " whom Heav'n hath taught the way" restores Eden through his righteousness and delivers the land from evil. England and its people are left with an optimism about the future, assured that it will be a great power, because of Charles, the hero, who purges the nation.

"Secure in freedom, in a monarch blest"

In To His Sacred Majesty (1661), Dryden once again portrays Charles as the restorer and heroic saviour. This

panegyric on the king's coronation celebrates peace and security under the new monarch which is juxtaposed with the original state of sin and the flood. "False and slippery ground" has been replaced with "new born nature in fresh looks" by Charles, the "royal sir". His "kind beams" have dried the vapours as the solar power of the king is effective once more. The land receives fertility because of the monarch's goodness,

As Heav'n of old, dispens'd celestial dew,
 You give us manna, and still give us new.
 (THSM 23-24)

"Sad ruins are removed" and the season is "fraught with new delight", as "soft western winds waft o'er the gaudy spring". "Flow'rs and blossoms" grace this happy day" and "loud shouts the nation's happiness proclaim". He is welcomed as a hero, in a manner similar to that of the Prodigal Son. The poet addresses the king:

Next, to the sacred temple you are led,
 Where waits a crown for your more sacred head.
 How justly from the Church that crown is due,
 Preserv'd from ruin, and restor'd by you.
 (THSM 45-48)

The "grateful choir" ushers Charles into office with a harmony that makes "more solemn joy". His anointment is correlated with the arrival of spring, as fragrant scents emanate from his body and "heighten'd spirits fall in richer dew". England, like a band of angels, expresses love and ecstasy over the crowning of this heroic prince, and a new spiritual calm is instituted by Charles:

Virtues unknown to these rough northern climes
 From milder heav'ns you bring, without their
 crimes;
 Your calmness does no after storms provide,
 Nor seeming patience mortal anger hide.

(THSM 88-91)

"So safe are all things which our king protects" and nature's
 contraries are brought together in peace and harmony.

The lines which remain tell of the noble ancestry of
 Charles, and they serve to place him in the framework
 of the age of heroes as I have explained earlier, for,

When empire first from families did spring,
 Then every father govern'd as a king;
 But you, that are a sovereign prince, allay
 Imperial pow'r with your paternal sway.

(THSM 94-97)

The initial age of gods has been succeeded by the heroic
 age where the monarch raises himself above the level of
 a god in order to become a heroic terrestrial god. Charles
 is able to appease "the imperial pow'r" because he has
 transcended it. Although he is lineally descended from
 Adam, he surpasses him in knowledge and goodness. Adam,
 the image of God, has been overshadowed by the heroic
 king whose perfect reign brings peace and happiness for
 all. There is harmony for the living, salvation for the
 dead, and those not yet born crave to be conceived.
 Charles' powers of clairvoyance allow him to create
 the future Garden of Eden.

The Medal (1682) is another poem which relies on
 natural and "fallen" imagery to personify the rebels and

the sovereign. As Alan Roper has said,

The Medal not only illustrates affairs in England by reference to affairs in heaven, it also draws upon the rich stock of natural analogies in the shape of beast and monster images or allusions to the climate theory of government.⁸

The Earl of Shaftesbury is characterized as a monster, whom the "English idiots run in crowds to see". He is a false hero who attempted to usurp the position of the king by having a medal coined in his honour and image. Shaftesbury inverts the natural order. Whig prophets proclaim his worthiness, and blasphemously repeat the words of the prophet David, "Laetamur", which means rejoice in the Lord. The time taken to mint the coin is "four more [days] than God to finish Adam" and Shaftesbury is seen as the new Lucifer, the perverter of God's actions. The Satanic man is merely "a vermin wriggling in th'usurpers ear", but despite his plot against the divinely inspired monarch, he must bow to the heroic Charles:

Pow'r was his aim; but, thrown from that pretense,
The wretch turn'd loyal in his own defense,
And malice reconcil'd him to his prince.

(M 50-53)

"Rewarded faster still than he deserved", Shaftesbury regains his position of trust with the king, since he "rather would be great by wicked means".

The disharmony and the fight for freedom in England is equated with the first disobedience and the subsequent punishment:

God tried us once: our rebel fathers fought;
 He glutted 'em with all the pow'r they sought;
 Till, master'd by their own usurping brave,
 The freeborn subject sunk into a slave.

(M 127-30)

England is seen as a nation of murmuring Israelites who have rejected the manna, and long instead for the quails of usurping power. The country has rejected peace, and through the events of the Civil War, has fallen away from God and the Promised Land that should have been theirs. The Satanic Shaftesbury has lured away the multitude, infecting the land, so that,

monsters from thy large increase we find,
 Engender'd on the slime thou leav'st behind.

(M 171-72)

"Thy nobler parts are from infection free" however, since Charles, the divinely appointed hero keeps London pure by virtue of his saintliness and love. Just as the vineyard workers were unable to distinguish the owner's son from the rest of the workers, so the English fail to recognize and respect Charles as the heroic heir.⁹

The progression of The Medal reveals the revolt against the redemptive heroic king and his Edenic state by the demonic Shaftesbury. Despite Shaftesbury's disguises and metamorphoses as monster and human, the monarch remains protected. As a result, the country is left with a dimly hopeful future and all nature requests the reign of the rightful king:

And frogs and toads, and all the tadpole train,
 Will croak to Heav'n for help from this devouring
 crane.

(M 305-06)

The English rebellion is countered by nature's revolt so that,

our wild labours wearied into rest,
Reclin'd us on a rightful monarch's breast.
(M 320-21)

The age of gods therefore, which ended with the Fall, is attempted again by Shaftesbury. As Satan, he tempts the nation with a new plan of freedom, yet in his desire to become greater than the ruler, he is foiled. He is forced to forsake his golden idol and succumb to the righteous Charles, the heavenly appointed hero. All nature sings for his return, and since their wish is part of the divine plan, Charles emerges triumphant.

"His name a great example stands to show"

The last poem written by Dryden which commemorates the reign of Charles II is Threnodia Augustalis (1685). This is a funeral pindaric telling of the passing of this great Stuart and it ends with a view of future prosperity under James II.

Threnodia Augustalis has considerably more emphasis on the heroic nature of the king, and there is a reluctance to involve the English nation in the process of redemptive history and progressive generation. It begins with the memory of the Golden Age, "supine amidst our flowing store" where the "British heav'n was all serene". At the news of the monarch's death, nature in its fearfulness becomes disorderly,

like a hurricane on Indian seas
 The tempest rose;
 An unexpected burst of woes.
 (TA 24-26)

The "fatal scene" and its dull tones are reminiscent of the darkness which prevailed over the ninth hour when the spirit of Christ ascended to the heavens.¹⁰ "God's image, God's anointed" breeds a successor, the "heroic James". Consequently, nature returns to its harmonious state, and "at half ebb, a rolling sea/Returns and wins upon the shore" (TA 139-40). "The kindly beams he shed" are a source of warmth and fertilization, and the sun king creates a "Paradise manur'd". The redemptive quality of the king-hero is revealed as Heaven unfolds the book which contains the names of the chosen, and lays its blessings upon them (TA 491-507). Balance is regained on land, and the sea succumbs to the heroic force:

Th'asserted ocean rears his revered head,
 To view and recognize his ancient lord again;
 And, with a willing hand restores
 The fasces of the main.
 (TA 514-17)

In the poetry of John Dryden, landscape is used to a much lesser degree than in the other works which I have analyzed. He has a more overt political commentary, yet despite this straightforwardness, Dryden does compare the king to the sun, and at his death or during the time of civil revolt, disharmony of nature reigns. Dryden is very conscious of the Biblical progression of mankind, from divinity, to heroism in the unfallen Eden, and finally to

the sinful human level of utter degradation. With the accession of James II, England is delivered from the temporary transitory darkness caused by Charles' death, and the nation is returned to the age of heroes.

V

"NEVER DID ART SO WELL WITH NATURE STRIVE"

Alexander Pope was born in 1688, into a family of linen merchants. He grew up in the centre of London, and there is very little recorded about his early life. We do know however, that he suffered greatly from health problems including curvature of the spine. This is said to have been caused by tuberculosis, brought on by the drinking of unpasteurized milk. Pope came to speak of himself as "this long Disease, my Life", as he was almost totally immobile for fifty six years. When he was twelve, his parents moved to Windsor Forest because it was decreed illegal for Roman Catholics to reside in the inner core of London. He was sent to private schools, and there developed an interest in reading poetry. His favourite authors were Spenser and Dryden, and their influence on his style is certainly noticeable. A keen student, Pope taught himself to speak and read Greek, French, Italian and Latin, and as we know, he later translated many foreign works into English.

Pope sensed his own brightness, and he soon made friends with Wycherley and critic William Walsh who accepted him into their circle because of his high intelligence and wit. Pope's Pastorals won him friendships with Swift, Gay, Atterbury and Arbuthnot, and in 1714, they founded the Scriblerus Club, a society dedicated to the persecution of

literary dunces and abusers of wit. Windsor-Forest, his greatest pastoral, was written in 1713, and in 1714, Pope finished the first volume of his translation of Homer, and later completed eleven more. Then came his satires and epistles, all written in a style reminiscent of Horace and Virgil.

After his father's death in 1718, Pope moved with his mother to Twickenham, where he became more involved with politics. He wrote in favour of the opposition party led by Bolingbroke until his death in 1744.

"Peace and Plenty tell, a STUART reigns"

It has been said of Pope's style that it was determined by his personal condition, for,

as a Catholic living just after the revolution he was in an uncertain position, and had few rights as a citizen. Therefore, he is frequently on the defensive, and sometimes seems to twist and turn like a hunted animal trying to escape.¹

Certainly in Windsor-Forest, Pope employs animal imagery to reveal the tensions of the age which are reconciled by the heroic king.

In Windsor-Forest, we find a utopian vision of England as the bestower of peace and prosperity on the world. There are three related events in the forest; the hunt connected with William the Conqueror, that conducted by Queen Anne, and the transformation of the huntress Lodona. These events lead to the triple victory since the paradisaical order is formed out of natural chaos and the Golden Age is restored through the happy reign of Anne and the

power of the god-like poet. Pope juxtaposes muses and monarchs, two forces which are joined simply through the poet's ability to make somewhere memorable and the king's divinely inspired heroism. Pope celebrates the Tory Peace of Utrecht, and Windsor-Forest is "the poem of a generation that had lively memories of a revolutionary period and that after long, glorious wars was becoming almost obsessively attached to peace".² The landscape is used metaphorically to show how order in politics brings harmonious nature, and in that restoration, the paradisaical state is renewed.

After an invocation to Granville, Pope notes how the ordered beauty of creation and Paradise endures in poetry:

The Groves of Eden vanish'd now so long
Live in Description, and look green in Song.
(WF 6-7)

The poet is godlike, since he can restore the chaotic state, through imagination, into a New Jerusalem. There are echoes of Waller's poem, On St. James Park, as the poet holds the eternal image in which the monarch reflects himself unto the landscape. "Earth and Water seem to strive again" and "Order in Variety" prevails. Everything is fertile and beautiful, for,

There, interspers'd in Lawns and opening Glades,
Thin Trees arise that shun each others Shades.
Here in full Light the russet Plains extend;
There wrapt in Clouds the blueish Hills ascend:
Ev'n the wild Heath displays her Purple Dies,
And 'midst the Desert fruitful Fields arise,
That crown'd with tufted Trees and springing Corn,
Like verdant Isles the sable Waste adorn.
(WF 21-28)

Just as the hunter and the prey are brought into harmony in Forth Feasting, in Windsor Forest, the desert gives growth to trees. Out of the wasteland springs fertility. "Order is Heaven's first law" and Queen Anne creates a perfect landscape that only the poet-god can improve upon.

Pope celebrates England's wealth and commerce through the natural scene. Earl Wasserman also recommends this reading when he discusses the use of Oaks as a synecdoche for England. He suggests that the "precious Loads" born by the Oaks, "Jupiter's sacred tree, the monarch of the woods, the sovereign over the seas, and the pride of the English forests -- are both her commerce and her Stuart monarchs".³ Pope therefore identifies peace and prosperity with the Stuart monarchs, and praises the accession of Anne. "In their Blessings, all those Gods appear" and Windsor Forest becomes the haven for Pan, Pomona, Flora and Ceres, all of them deities of peace and plenty.

Juxtaposed with the ideal forest of Anne is the barren wasteland which existed under the reign of "kings more furious and severe". These other kings are the Normans, and William I, and the other forest is the New Forest. Pope echoes the words of Isaiah when he describes the emptiness of the land and the ravishment that it has undergone.⁴ Destruction has laid cities in waste, while "Suns grew warm in vain" (WF 54). "In vain kind Seasons swell'd the teeming Grain" (WF 53) in this "Despotick

Reign". Subjects were left to starve while savages were fed by the tyrants who raped the land. Landscape rebels against William, who like Nimrod, is a cruel hunter and man of war:

Proud Nimrod first the bloody Chace began,
 A mighty Hunter, and his Prey was Man.
 Our haughty Norman boasts that barb'rous Name,
 And makes his trembling Slaves the Royal Game.
 (WF 61-64)

Perpetual imbalance characterizes the nation, and all worth is destroyed. The temple, unlike Stonehenge, is not a throne but a ruin, inhabited by savages raised by the evil nature of the king:

The levell'd towns with Weeds lie cover'd o'er,
 The hollow Winds thro' naked Temples roar;
 Round broken Columns clasping Ivy twin'd;
 O'er Heaps of Ruins stalk'd the stately Hind;
 The Fox obscene to gaping Tombs retires,
 And Wolves with Howling fill the sacred Quires.
 (WF 68-72)

William rules with an "Iron Rod", a demonic sceptre which crushes Papists rather than heathens.⁵ Bonamy Dobree has said of the poem that it establishes Pope clearly as a Royalist, "for if Windsor-Forest did not prove him a Tory, no Catholic could be presumed to be a Whig"⁶, and certainly the poem protests against the despotic tyrant.

God brings about justice however, by having William's young son Rufus come to a violent end in a hunting accident. It is nature's form of retribution and it renews the British soil:

Then gath'ring Flocks on unknown Mountains fed,
 O'er sandy Wilds were yellow Harvests spread,
 The Forests wonder'd at th'unusual Grain,
 And secret Transports touch'd the conscious Swain.
 (WF 87-90)

Rufus' death secures the future greatness of England since it rouses the heroic Goddess from sleep to lead England into the Golden years.

The Virtuous Hunt

With "Fair Liberty, Britannia" in control, the hunt becomes not a vicious rampage, but instead a restrictive pursuit. The animal world once more returns to its subservient position as "before his Lord the ready Spaniel bounds" (WF 99). There is a certain remorse about the death of the "whirring Pheasant" and the "mounting Larks" who fall "and leave their little Lives in Air" (WF 133). "High in Air Britannia's Standard flies" as the landscape provides an ethical reflection of mankind. Concordia discors is established:

Let old Arcadia boast her spacious Plain,
Th'Immortal Huntress, and her Virgin Train;
Nor envy Windsor! Since thy Shades have seen
As bright a Goddess, and as chaste a Queen;
Whose Care, like hers, protects the Sylvan Reign,
The Earth's fair Light, and Empress of the Main.
(WF 159-64)

The hunt sequence ends with the myth of Pan and Lodona as England becomes the New Arcadia, with its heroic Queen Anne playing the role of Diana. When Lodona strays outside the limits of London, she disrupts harmony. She associates with Pan, a figure of chaos, and abides away from the "Mansion of our earthly Gods". Unlike the virtuous Queen Anne who can check excesses and avoid disruptions, Lodona leaves the stable influence of the Thames

and begins a rampage through the countryside. As Earl Wasserman has remarked,

the Ovidian fable as reconstituted by Pope, then, is a tightly coherent and thoroughly congruent mythic representation of the subject of the poem, the War and the Peace of Utrecht as seen from a Tory perspective, just as the historical account of William the Conqueror served to sketch the Whig background and origin of the War...Again the law of concordia discors takes its ironic revenge against its violators. Just as the Norman Richard and William Rufus, because of the devastation they wrought by their zeal for the chase, became the victims of their own hunt, so, correspondingly, because Lodona was too intent upon the chase and neglectful of that beauty whose essence is 'discordant concord', she tempted capture by Pan who "with equal speed" pursued.⁷

From the mythical hunt, Pope turns to the meditative actions of Trumbal, who looks toward heaven and uplifts his soul. Nature dies on the occasion of Cowley's passing, but is revitalized by new writers who receive inspiration from the "sacred Nine". Cooper's Hill becomes Parnassus, as "the Groves rejoice, the Forest rings" (WF 281) with songs "by God-like Poets Venerable made" (WF 270). The poet is the god, whose imagination creates the "Sylvan scene". Windsor is raised to the level of spiritual reality as the poet improves the natural scene so as to reflect the generosity of the monarch's reign. The ruins and scars of the past years have taken their effect on the landscape and have shaken the heavens. Disease has infested the entire system of things, as the raging fires consume the landmarks of virtue and the symbols of peace and goodwill:

Oh Fact accurst! What Tears has Albion shed,
 Heav'ns! What new Wounds, and how her old have
 bled?
 She saw her Sons with purple Deaths expire,
 Her sacred Domes involv'd in rolling Fire.
 A dreadful series of Intestine Wars,
 Inglorious Triumphs, and dishonest Scars.
 (WF 319-24)

With the accession of Anne however, heroism returns and the Paradisal scene is restored as she decrees, "let Discord cease", and "the World obey'd, and all was Peace" (WF 325b-26).

The "Heroes Windsor bore" , the "Kings [who] first breath'd upon her winding Shore" are the divine princes who can create the ideal state through a re-ordering of nature. The monarch eliminates the discord in the world and the poet reflects this healing power through a perfecting of the landscape. The Queen's heroic and firm command makes a harmonious peace yet it is the poet who elevates the land to the state of concordia discors.

The Return of Eden

With the restoration of peace, "Old Father Thames advanc'd his rev'rend head" (WF 330), and instead of the disruptive tributaries like Lodona, he diffuses "a golden Gleam". He is the father of the heroic Anna Augusta, and like her reinstates justice and goodness by repudiating the last two decades of Whig policy and turning away from foreign wars. He raves at the rest of the world's activities:

Let Volga's Banks with Iron Squadrons shine,
 And Groves of Lances glitter on the Rhine,
 Let barb'rous Ganges arm a servile Train.
 (WF 361-63)

The river welcomes the blessings of a peaceful reign,
 graced by the "Windsor-Domes and pompous Turrets" (WF 352)
 which rise above the land and govern its people. The
 "beauteous Works of Peace" (WF 378) provide security and
 serenity, which is juxtaposed with the former state of
 warfare and barrenness. No longer does the British blood
 flow and colour the land, but rather the shepherds with
 their flocks complete the Sylvan scene:

The shady Empire shall retain no Trace
 Of War or Blood, but in the Sylvan Chace,
 The Trumpets sleep, while chearful Horns are
 blown,
 And Arms employ'd on Birds and Beasts alone.
 (WF 369-72)

The tyranny of Nimrodian rulers will no more dominate
 England, and the hunt will be a "Pax Britannica, the
 reappearance of the Augustan Pax Romana, a peace whose
 lifeblood is drawn from the tense balance and opposition
 of powers".⁸

The countryside rejoices at cosmic peace, and
 its members show their joy and thankfulness. "Thames's
 Glory to the Stars shall raise" (WF 356) while "Harvests
 on a hundred Realms bestows" (WF 360). New buildings
 glorify the land, and "project long Shadows o'er the
 Chrystal Tyde" (WF 377). "Augusta's glitt'ring Spires
 increase" and subjects are proud to "bend before a British

QUEEN" (WF 384), whose reign is divinely ordained. Pope therefore, captures the vision of Paradise which is to come under the reign of Anne,

The Time shall come, when free as Seas or Wind
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all Mankind,
Whole Nations enter with each swelling Tyde,
And Oceans join whom they did first divide;
Earth's distant Ends our Glory shall behold,
And the new World launch forth to seek the Old.
(WF 395-400)

With the heroic Anne, England will accomplish great glories and triumphs and will institute international peace and well-being.

Windsor-Forest has shown how a perfect monarch can bring concordia discors to a land ravaged by tyrants and unworthy rulers. As the heroine, Anne provides a balanced natural scene through her political justice. Her love for peace and stability checks the course of nature so that rivers no longer run to excess, nor do dreary deserts inhabit fertile fields. The savage beasts are eliminated and replaced by flocks tended to by "unmolested Swain", while the sun warms the "ripening Ore to Gold" (WF 396). Blessings are scattered on the English nation as "Albion's Golden Days" mark the return of the heroic age.

The heroic Anne through her divinely inspired wisdom restores Eden in England, yet she is only human. Therefore, she needs the help of the god-like poet to describe her perfect creation. Pope reveals the ordered beauty of the monarch's dominion in poetry, and like Denham's

use of the Thames, Pope employs Windsor Forest as a metaphor for the New Jerusalem. It is only in poetry that the age of gods continues, while in the real world, the heroes reign supreme.

CONCLUSION

Drummond, Denham, Waller, Dryden and Pope are poets who wrote what has been called "topographical" poetry. As we know, this genre is by no means unique to any one period in literature, yet certainly the way in which it is used in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century is rather novel. Most critics, as we have seen, tend to speak about the historical events surrounding the poems with respect to the landscape, which is certainly one way of approaching the works. It is not the only one however, since it is important to try to discover why a certain genre takes pre-eminence during a particular period. I have suggested that this literature be studied after an understanding of the theories of Vico has been achieved. Vico presumes, as we have discussed, that there were three ages -- that of gods, heroes and men. Each evolved at first through time, as man became more self-aware and intelligent.

During the first age of the gods, which occurred at the beginning of time, nature glorified the gods who were symbols of immortal infallible forces. During the second age of gods, recreated by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, kings were, like Henry VIII, greater than God himself and could change the course of human and natural history. Both of these ages gave way to their second stages of heroes. The first marked by the deeds of Jason,

Odysseus and Perseus, encouraged the worship of heroes rather than gods, since they could, through daring actions, rival and transcend their makers. When the age of heroes returned with the poetry that I have been discussing here, the king became the mortal god whom all glorified. As a result, poets employed landscape in order to describe the character of the king in a tangible manner. Topography therefore, became pictorial vernacular, a manifestation of the godlike poet's glimpse into his inspirational mirror. The poet, not the king, is divine, while the monarch is heroic.

The progression from gods to heroes in English Literature is completed in the works of Blake, where the circle ends with the age of men. Through the Songs of Innocence and Experience we hear the voice of the bard, as a social commentary on the condition of humble human beings.

What we have seen therefore, is that the relationship between monarchy and landscape is based upon a belief in the power of the poet to create a Paradise which can physically portray the heroic deeds of the king, and that this return to the age of heroes was a symptom of the genealogical progression of literary history.

VI

FOOTNOTES

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