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UMI
Studies in the Satires
of
Charles Churchill
by
William Lee McAdams

A DISSERTATION
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FOREWORD

The following chapters attempt full scale studies of four of Churchill's important satires. Chapter one surveys Churchill scholarship and criticism of the past twelve years, with emphasis upon those studies and editions which were most helpful to me. Much attention is given to the unpublished doctoral dissertations. Churchill scholarship, scholarship on formal satire as a literary genre, and studies of other satirists are already numerous and multiplying, and I have attempted to understand that close study of Churchill must take other studies into account. Chapter two is a study of Night, Churchill's first political poem. The personality of the speaker, and the central paradoxical moral contrast between day and night, are described as governing the structure of the poem. Chapter three concentrates mostly on Famine's prophecy. Her appearance, personality, and motives are discussed, with considerable background offered for illustration, and the techniques of political persuasion, both those ascribed to Famine and those used by Churchill's speaker, are analyzed in the light of modern studies of the subject. Chapter four describes the motif of the ruin piece which Churchill turns to satiric use in the Duellist, Book II. This ruin piece is
an outstanding example of Churchill's accommodation of a personal and reflective poetic motif into his satire, and it indicates that the critics are right who say that Churchill the false and frigid in poetry, not the emotional and introspective as such. I also argue that the Duellist is one of Churchill's finest poems, and that its tetrameter couplets have not been given their due. In Chapter five the Dedication to the Sermons is read as an attack on Warburton, under a cover of irony, delivered to an imagined audience gathered to hear formal praises, or panegyric; the speech is organized according to formulas of classical oratory, with pauses, summaries, recollections, arguments, and rhetorical questions. The first appendix describes the Essay on Woman incident in Parliament, a political persecution which, along with the charges against the North Briton 45, forced Wilkes into exile and later into prison. A privately issued facsimile reprint of the Essay is described. The political battles of Wilkes of course inspired most of Churchill's poetry after the Ghost. Appendix two is a list of poems relating to Churchill which should indicate the range of his influence and popularity in the eighteenth century. The conclusion to the dissertation is somewhat tentative, because not enough close studies have been made for one to be able to reevaluate or readjust his reputation. Several reasons, though, are given why Churchill will probably
continue to be studied, and why he may be esteemed as a formal satirist.

Several acknowledgements should be made here. The staff of the Fondren Library and its Interlibrary Loan and Order Departments were unfailingly cooperative. My opportunity to work on Churchill was in part made possible by a Southern Fellowship which I held for the full three years of its term. My colleague Raymond Waddington suggested to me that Churchill might be a topic ripe for research. My director, Professor A. D. McKillop, read and criticized each chapter and made helpful suggestions about organization of chapters and about currents in eighteenth century thought. Professors W. S. Dowden and D. G. Mackenzie made corrections and improvements in later versions of the chapters. And, finally, to my wife I am grateful for her encouragement and her willingness to work while I was in graduate school.
CHAPTER I

Churchill Scholarship and Criticism: 1950-1962

During the past twelve years there have been added to Churchill's primary and secondary canons a book-length biography, editions of the poems and the letters, a variety of notes and articles, and at least seven doctoral dissertations. The forty or so articles written on Churchill between 1765 and 1950 have been closely checked for biographical information, but most of the critical opinions of those years have been attacked or ignored. Modern scholars have tried to make easily available a reliable text, useful annotations to the poems, and the small amount of credible biographical information, in order that future scholarship need not be restricted to the explication of personal and political background.

Although new materials have been brought forward and new opinions offered, Churchill's reputation as a poet is still as unsettled as ever.¹ Modern scholarship has developed terms and categories for the description of formal satire as a genre, and for the satires of Dryden and Pope. Because of the scholarly apparatus available, and because of Churchill's critical comments on his predecessors in satire, scholars have felt a need to compare Churchill with Dryden and Pope, even though the terms used have been disadvantageous to
Churchill. Masculine energy, couplet innovations, Juvenalian declamations, and horrific sublimity have been praised in Churchill, but Dryden's lofty detachment and Pope's metaphor-like rhetorical devices, flashed of wit, and epigrams have been looked for, and seldom found. Pope's religious and classical allusions are studied as a framework of personal and intellectual background for his satires, but Churchill's similar allusions are generally still taken to be the rhetorical posturing of a libertine turned poet. Perhaps Churchill is difficult to appreciate because in his poetry verse satire as a major genre in England comes to an end. Churchill's poetry may be as important and interesting as that of Collins, Gray, or Johnson, but it is hard not to see Churchill pointing toward the lesser satirists Anstey, Mason, Woolett, Gifford, and Mathias, and toward the apprentice work of Chatterton, Cowper, and Byron. Critics call Churchill a Silver Age satirist, after the Golden Age of Dryden and Pope, and extend the analogy to say that the Bronze and Iron Ages follow fast upon Churchill's loose couplets, harsh invective, and preoccupation with obscure personalities and issues. Reviewers of the new scholarly apparatus have, on the other hand, called for studies of Churchill in relation to the traditions of Roman satire, and for the close reading which may discover in Churchill, as in the Dunciad, themes and issues apart from controversy and scandal.
The following survey of a dozen years of Churchill scholarship and criticism will indicate what materials have been offered toward close reading of the poems, and what critical terminology has been applied so far. All scholarship since 1950 known to me is discussed, along with relevant work before that year. The material is divided into editions and text, biography, and special studies. Particular attention is given to the valuable work which still rests in hard to obtain unpublished dissertations.

Editions and Text

Douglas Grant's one-volume edition of Churchill's poems, Oxford, 1956, which replaced the scarce Laver two-volume edition of 1933, was immediately hailed as definitive. Grant's edition contains a 12-page biographical introduction, 454 pages of single-column text with wide margins, and 151 pages of notes and appendices which are inconveniently gathered at the back. The printed text is large and clear, and there is a type facsimile of the title page of the edition of each poem printed.

Because Churchill seldom rewrote anything he had published, and did not leave any manuscripts, Grant had few textual problems. He prints the first edition of all poems except the few to which Churchill made additions. There is the eighth edition of the Hoseiad, the third of the Ghost, Book I, the second of the Ghost, Book III, and the third of
the Prophecy of Nemine. Footnotes describe textual changes. George Sherburn collated 1200 lines with early editions, found only half a dozen errors, all of which were modern improvements of spelling or punctuation, and pronounced the Grant text reliable. Laver had regularly modernized the eighteenth century text.5

Reviewers were especially pleased with the notes to Grant's edition. A. D. McKillop called them much clearer and more systematic than Laver's, but wished the index were more complete.6 For each poem Grant provides publication dates and a summary of the immediate critical reception. Simply put, the problem in the notes was to explain the satire in the way that John Wilkes would have done if he had kept his promise to edit Churchill's works. Literary, personal, and political allusions are clarified mostly from eighteenth century materials. Several commentators have remarked with Saintsbury that Churchill's poetry in many places echoes other poets, and have added other literary parallels to the few provided by Grant. Sherburn called attention to the many parallels, unspecified by Grant, between Churchill and the Dunciad. A notable parallel, pointed out by several commentators, is that of the "nature" speech in the Prophecy of Nemine 93-110 to Edmund's speech in Lear I ii 1-22. Churchill twists Edmund's speech into a plea for simplicity.7 Corrections of minor errors in Grant's notes
may be found in the reviews of McKillop and A. R. Humphreys. 8

The reception of Grant's edition may be summarized in
Sherburn's phrase, "the most thorough edition we have of a
minor poet." Other commentators have thought that Grant's
text and notes prove how haphazard a poet Churchill is. At
any rate the reappraisal and appreciation of Churchill's
poetry that Grant's edition will encourage has only just
begun.

In an appendix Grant debates the authorship of six poems
ascribed to Churchill; into the text Grant admitted twelve
epigrams and short poems. 9 The only possibly important item
rejected by Grant is a "Fragment of an Epic Poem," printed in
the works of John Hall-Stevenson and ascribed by him to
Churchill. L. H. Butterfield's argument in favor of Hall-
Stevenson's ascription was refuted by Grant without objection
from any reviewer. 10 Two other short poems ascribed to
Churchill in eighteenth century periodicals have been added
to the canon. From Lloyd's Evening Post of 25-28 November
1764, p. 507, comes a short verse about Lord Egremont:

"Is this the pale hand that smote me, Heav'n's how pale!
But he is dead, So is my anger too!—
I war not with the dust." 11

The other verse was printed, with notes, in the London
Chronicle of 8-11 September 1764, p. 243:

The following lines, said to be written by the
diplomat Mr. D——, were left some years ago at
a coffee-house at Cambrige.
Hail, hopeful Cambridge! once did all thy sons,
O'er ten damnation hot, make damn'd odd puns;
The souls and bodies of thy numerous brood
Alike might fatten on one common food.
And sure, ye folk, who love on Greek to gaze,
An easier were a wiser path to praise:
'Tis but to burn your books, to pare your nails,
Laugh loud, lay bets, swear hard, and hang your tails.

"Alluding to the custom, probably, of wearing
guets."

Churchill wrote to Wilkes in 1762, "I have made some lines on
Stowe—when finish'd you shall see them—according to my usual
phrase they are damn'd good." Taking Churchill at his word,
Weatherly emends a line from the same letter, "I am in a
"damn'd ill humour." In a snipe at Churchill, William
Whitehead wrote,

One epithet supplies their constant chime,
Damn'd bad, damn'd good, damn'd low, and damn'd sublime!"

The other edition of Churchill writings published during
our period was Edward H. Weatherly's The Correspondence of
John Wilkes and Charles Churchill, Columbia, 1954. There are
sixty manuscript letters, now in the British Museum, preserved
by Wilkes, plus two letters in the Guildhall Library and two
drafts by Churchill of unused North Briton copy. The letters
begin with the first issue of the North Briton and end at
Churchill's death. In 1769 Wilkes published a garbled version
of six of the letters in English Liberty, reprinted in volume
one of Letters between the Duke of Grafton... and John Wilkes,
1769, and in Tooke's edition of Churchill, 1804, but Weatherly
of course prints the manuscript copies.

These letters have long been in the British Museum and nearly all twentieth century Churchill scholars profess to have seen the letters or to have borrowed photostats of them. Weatherley's attractively printed volume was received appreciatively even though the letters were not as correctly printed as one might wish, and were in fact better known to scholars than Weatherley implied in his introduction.

Churchill's almost illegible handwriting caused elaborate textual problems. Some letters are either undated or are dated in an unreadable hand. Wilkes several times tried in vain to persuade Churchill to write more carefully: "I wish you would learn to write—a good hand. Nature's chief masterpiece is writing well; and you are microscopic; Mr. Blindly only should print your."\(^{15}\)

In reviews of Weatherley's edition, Douglas Grant and Wallace Cable Brown corrected several dates on the basis of internal evidence and the appearance of dates in their own photostats of the manuscripts.\(^{16}\) Corrections of dates and single words may be listed here:

- p. 48 for "shew'd" read "renew'd"
- for "forsaken, despis'd" read "forsaken deserted despis'd".
- p. 57 for "Sunday July 24, '65" read "Sunday 14, 63"; Wilkes later dated the letter 3 August 1763, which was a Wednesday; Brown says that the 14 date is plainly written in a lower corner of the letter; Grant conjectured the date of 14 August from internal evidence.
the letters dated 16 March 1763 and May 1763 by Weatherly were probably written between May 6 and June 7.

the letter dated February 1763 by Weatherly should be March 14-25, and should probably follow an undated letter which Weatherly dates 14 March 1763.

In view of the apparent difficulty of reading Churchill's hand, we should perhaps feel relieved that Grant's following correction brings to light probably the most confusing disputed lines. Weatherly reads,

Some solitary duping Freeholder has observ'd in the Papers that I had not been there; in a very few weeks I shall endeavor to convince him of that.

For the same lines, Grant reads,

Some Solitary-duping Freeholder has observed in the Papers that I had no business there; in a very few weeks I shall endeavor to convince him of the Contrary."

On the other hand, Grant designates as illegible in a Churchill letter a word that Weatherly was able to read as "illiberality." 18

Besides disputing words and dates, commentators upon Weatherly's edition have complained that Wilkes exploited Churchill. Wilkes evidently preserved some letters and destroyed others; many that he preserved are trivial. Grant says that Wilkes, while trying to interest Churchill in political causes, encouraged the poet to boast in adolescent fashion about sexual adventures. Arthur Waldhorn has described the letters: Wilkes wrote ten letters to each one by Churchill,
and Wilkes' letters generally proceed from teasing about sex to solicitations over the poet's health, reminders for him to write often, praise for the latest poetry and prose, and, coming to the point, requests that Churchill write the next North Briton paper or do some other favor.19 In the letters we meet neither the manly, poetic Churchill that Cowper knew, nor Churchill the generous friend of Robert Lloyd and Captain Thompson, nor the poet of Gotham.20 Churchill does show enthusiasm for his own poems and about the Prophecy of Famine and the Epistle to Hogarth comments significantly on structure and intention.

Weatherly's 22 page biographical introduction gives equal space to Churchill and Wilkes and emphasizes the fact, sometimes neglected in literary studies of Churchill, that the poet wrote his maturest poems under the influence and to advance the political fortunes of his closest friend. Weatherly's detailed and useful footnotes are, if anything, even too explicit. His selective bibliography, which concentrates upon history and biography, is more useful for Wilkes than Churchill.

One new Churchill letter has been offered since 1954. Hoping that Garrick would take notice, Joseph Reed asked Churchill to praise his Dido publicly. Churchill wrote a refusal which Reed included in his 106 page unpublished manuscript, "Theatrical Duplicity, or A Genuine Narrative of
the Conduct of David Garrick, Esq.: to Joseph Reed on his tragedy of Dido. 21

Biography

Wallace Cable Brown's Charles Churchill: Poet, Sage, and Rebel, Kansas, 1953, the only book-length biography of the poet, has been accepted somewhat hesitantly as standard. Commentators have in every instance been happier with Brown's biographical facts and panoramas of eighteenth century life than with his critical judgments of the poetry. Although the book is in some ways not well written, it is at once both vivid and partisan. We have not only the record of Churchill's life, so far as it is known, but also a rehabilitation of Churchill as man and poet.

Brown, though his careful research turned up rather little new information about Churchill's life, distinguishes judiciously between fact and fancy in the more than three dozen articles written on Churchill between 1765 and 1953. Many anecdotes of Churchill's recklessness still needed refutation. Commentators found most useful Brown's accounts of Westminster School, London society, and Churchill's political assistance to Wilkes. Friendship with Wilkes no doubt inspired Churchill's best poetry, but the character of Churchill's political views is still debated. Arthur Waldhau argues that Brown misnames Churchill a "rebel" because the
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poet's critical views were ordinary for the 1760's, his politics were fairly authoritarian, and his attitudes toward actors conventional. In his poetry Churchill generally poses as the conservative satirist who contrasts present decadence to past glory and calls upon religion and philosophy for support. Brown's emphasis on the liberal aspects of Churchill's attitudes is probably more easily justified than Waldhorn's idea of "conservative" rebellion. George Nobbe, in his study of the North Briton, took Churchill's stubborn independence and respect for the individual to mean that he was "a democrat in a sense that Wilkes could only approximate." Dwight Augustus Lee contested Waldhorn's perspective and concluded that Churchill was a "liberal Whig."

A. E. Humphreys points out bad writing, misprints, and poor critical judgment as reasons to "damn" the biography. Brown's cliches and mixed metaphors are annoying—"two recalcitrant approaches," "wine and women," "villains of deepest dye," "the Wilkes-Churchill political axis," and so forth.

More serious than complaints about Brown's style are doubts that his critical judgment is sound. His Triumph of Form, 1948, a "Kinsey Report on the behavior of the heroic couplet," was received by critics as a substantial book on a dull subject. For a study of prosody, the Triumph of Form shed unexpected light upon Johnson's diction, Churchill's
paragraphs and irony, and Crabbe's methods of narrative. 
In Charles Churchill Brown uses prosodic analysis as evidence 
for a revaluation of Churchill's poetry. But poems are called 
unified and then divided into several parts, "lyrical" and 
"personal" qualities are discovered in refrains and declamations, 
Churchill is oddly compared with Donne, Baudelaire, Byron, 
Shelley, Chatterton, and Oscar Wilde, and "extreme complexity" 
is almost everywhere in Churchill's poems discovered and 
praised. The question of Churchill's merit is begged in a 
chapter title, "The Heights of Parnassus." 26

Unfortunately Brown's enthusiasm for Churchill prompted 
reviewers to disclaim similar feelings. Later most reviewers 
of Weatherly and Grant doubted that the new scholarly tools 
would improve Churchill's reputation as a poet. Most of the 
writers of dissertations have likewise hesitated to call 
Churchill more than an occasionally interesting, but perhaps 
morally irresponsible, satirist. Humphreys, reviewing Brown, 
even made the quixotic judgment that Dryden, Pope, Gay, 
Johnson, Goldsmith, and Crabbe wrote poetry, as opposed to 
Churchill, who wrote "mere verse." 27 Sherard Vines viewed 
the whole period more intelligently thirty years ago when he 
called for a reconsideration of the satires of Young, 
Savage, Dodsley, Smart, Lloyd, and Anstey, along with 
Churchill—he concluded that Churchill should outrank the 
other satirists in that company. 28
It seems to the present writer that the difficulty of analyzing and evaluating Churchill (as anything but a Silver Age or inferior satirist) is that he is almost always compared first to Dryden and Pope, and then to minor eighteenth century satirists whom he more closely appears to resemble. Modern critics are both inspired and restricted by new and proliferating terminology designed to explain Dryden and Pope, but which is either misleading or condemned to other satirists. Some of this terminology was taken over from the holistic criticism of the Metaphysical poets; for example, Maynard Mack asserts that Pope uses syntactical devices such as enigma and juxtaposition which have the "power of metaphor." All may yet end well for Churchill, because commentators find that at times his pictorialism and irony produce "metaphoric tension."31 Problems of terminology will be discussed further in the third section of this chapter.

So far as other biographies are concerned, Weatherly and Grant have good short biographies which use authorities judiciously. Most of the recent dissertations begin with a short biography, but there is no need to recommend any hard to obtain dissertation for its repetition of dates and facts. A middle-size critical biography of Churchill is part of Kenneth Hopkins' *Portraits in Satire*, London, 1958. Hopkins' account is the most genial of all to be considered here, and
his appreciative comments on the poetry are the most ingratiating. Reviewers liked Hopkins' entertaining tour through Georgian satire, even though the book lacks awareness of other literary currents in the period. Hopkins writes in a "talky," impressionistic manner. His suggestions about certain Churchill materials must be taken cautiously, though, because his undocumented assertions sometimes contradict the findings of other scholars. He considers the anonymous Genuine Memoirs of 1765 to be more temperate and credible than other biographers have been willing to admit. He dates the Elizabeth Carr episode early in 1763, according to tradition, although Brown had offered clear evidence that Churchill did not incur her family's wrath until the autumn of that year, and did not go to Wales with her until 1764.

Research and Criticism

Probably the most important single item of historical research is the collection of notes in the Grant edition of the poems. Also useful is Brown's collection and synthesis of the known facts of Churchill's life. Articles which print new letters and poems by Churchill have already been discussed in this chapter. Other articles are helpful insofar as they do not repeat cliches about Churchill's hasty, nervous, vicious, clumsy, narrow, ironic, manly
satires. Much useful information may be found in the unpublished doctoral dissertations.

Besides hunting for literary parallels in Churchill, in response to Grant's rather sparse aids on the subject, and to Saintsbury's familiar comment that Churchill's poetry was a patchwork of allusions to other writers, scholars have tried to specify Churchill's influence upon other poets. David Spencer's dissertation, directed by Bertrand Bronson, outlines the influence of Churchill upon Chatterton, Cowper, and Byron. Chatterton's *Whore of Babylon* begins as a parody of the *Dedication* to Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol; Bute and Johnson are attacked later. Chatterton's other satires—*Consuliad, Prophecy, Lew Gardens, Happiness, Exhibition*—all contain Churchill's techniques and subjects, but the subjects were by then overdone and Chatterton seemed not to have much interest in them. Churchill's influence upon Cowper has been debated. Spencer accepts Southey's view that Cowper may have been influenced by his own admiration for the poems of which Southey says, "Manly sense is their characteristic, deriving strength of expression from indignation; and they contain redeeming passages of sound morality and permanent truth." Morris Golden published an article on Churchill's influence upon Cowper, but little specific parallel was offered. Spencer points out that Byron's *English Bards* shows Churchillian vigor, ingenuity, portraits, and couplets
with free syntax. Albert Hall noted specific parallels, especially between the Dedication and Byron's mock panegyric address to Jeffrey, in Notes and Queries. While trying to establish that English Burles is more like Churchill than like Gifford and Mathias, Hall said that "Churchill's Grave" was written in the manner of Churchill; Byron says plainly that his elegy is in the manner of Wordsworth.

We may begin to discuss Churchill's influence upon minor writers by quoting from John Woleet ("Peter Pindar"):

To mine, Charles Churchill's rage was downright rancour.
He was a first-rate man-of-war to me,
Thund'ring amidst a high tempestuous sea; I'm a small cockboat bobbing at an anchor; Playing with paterooses that alarm, Yet scorn to do a bit of harm. My satire's blunt--his boasted a keen edge-- A sugar-hammer mine--but his a blacksmith's sledge!

In spite of the fact that Churchill blazed the comet only of a season, and later controversy over Wilkes seldom mentioned the poet who aided his cause, he seems to have inspired scores of sub-literary replies and imitations. The Rosciad became a model for attacks on actors, and the political poems served as models and justifications for poems on specific issues rather than more cosmic matters.

Appendix II

At the end of this chapter is a list of poems which relate to Churchill in one way or another, either as replies, defenses, or imitations. The making of lists of this sort of Churchilliana began in 1919, and the present writer
believes that his list is, for the benefit of the curious, more complete than any previous list. The titles and dates of the poems make discussion of their contents, even when the poems are available, for the most part unnecessary. Biographers of Churchill have found it useful to quote from some of these poems. Churchilliana is, at any rate, as good a way as any into the bypaths of eighteenth century verse satire.

Scholars have studied Churchill's reputation by surveying the biographical and critical essays written from 1761 to the present. Grant outlines the reviews of the magazines for each one of Churchill's poems for the years 1761-1765. Probably the most detailed survey of contemporary eighteenth century reviews is Spencer's. Walter Carnochan uses the reviews as evidence for the various eighteenth century theories of satire which influenced Churchill's poetry. As we have pointed out, there have been at least forty articles written on Churchill since his death, and modern biographers distinguish sharply between probable fact and fiction in them. Brown dismisses most of the articles; a slightly more detailed survey of them may be found in the dissertation of William Cunningham. Spencer discussed in detail some of the nineteenth century articles which were part of editions of Churchill's poems. In general,
Churchill was appreciated by the commentators who wrote for the Tooke editions, but by the end of the century Gosse was able to call Churchill a "Caligula of English letters." Since Gosse wrote, Churchill's rank as a poet has been controversial.

Special studies have been made recently which furnish materials for new estimations of Churchill in relation to the aesthetic and political currents of the 1760's. Taking politics first, we may note that George Nobbe's *The North Briton: A Study in Political Propaganda*, Columbia, 1939, is still standard. Recent dissertations, though, have tried to clarify some of Churchill's political views and show that he wrote more of the *North Briton* papers than had been thought. Arthur Waldhorn and Dwight Augustus Lee analyzed political themes and backgrounds in the poetry, and arrived at different conclusions about Churchill's political orientation. We have mentioned that Waldhorn called the poet a conservative in his views of politics, poetry, and the theater. Lee thinks that Churchill, writing from the point of view of the "liberal Whig," ranks only below Swift and Defoe as an eighteenth century political writer. There is no doubt that the *North Briton* and Churchill's satires had much to do with, and were perhaps decisive in, Bute's resignation. Whether Churchill seems to look backward to benevolent autocracy or forward to greater
individual liberty may be left to the reader's feelings about the matters involved. Lee offers a convincing explanation of the old problem of what Churchill intended with his apparent use of Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King in Gotham*. Waldhorn thought that Churchill tried to develop an original, or at least a complete, political philosophy, but failed, and only presented a rehash of Bolingbroke. But because there is no apparent attempt on Churchill's part to be original, and because it was known that Bute instructed George III out of Bolingbroke, Lee postulates that Churchill deliberately glorified the patriot king as a satire on the failings of George III. Lee quotes a statement from the *Monthly Review* which implies that *Gotham* was generally read as an almost impudent message to the King.47 Most of the information that Waldhorn and Lee brought together concerning the political background of Churchill's poems is now available in the notes to Grant's edition.

R. D. Spector, discussing the relationship of politics to linguistics in the political quarrels that Wilkes and Churchill had with Smollett and other pro-administration writers, points out that both sides were extremely word-conscious. Definitions were a common part of argument, with Churchill and Wilkes trying, in the *North Briton* papers, to make *Sect*, *Tory*, and *Jacobite* synonymous. Certain words
associated with the Tories or Scotland were called the
language of "illiterate Scottish Presbyterians." The Bible
and Johnson's Dictionary were used as authorities for the
respectability of certain words by both sides in the quarrel.
Various meanings were suggested by Churchill in the North
Briton & for the word "favourite." Debates on the meanings
of words always concentrated on the most extensive
connotations of party, religion, respectability, and
nationalism.

Rhetorical definition of words is as important in
Churchill's poetry as in the North Briton papers. Independence
defines "Lord" pejoratively; in the Dedication and the
Candidate qualities are defined correctly but are applied
ironically to Marlborough and Sandwich. William Cunningham
points out that Churchill uses "Nature" in his poetry to
signify concepts ranging from universal order down to the
limitations of a given person.49 Shifting connotations of
such words as "Art," "Rules," "Nature," and "Reason," have
allowed critics to speak of Churchill's aesthetic ideas as
vague and contradictory, part of the changing aesthetic
views of the 1760's.50 Churchill's comments on aesthetics
should not be taken out of the context of the poems; his
attack on odes and pastorals was, at least in part, a
rhetorical defense of the writing of satire. Behind the
rhetorical posturing Churchill seems to assert that a poet's
duty is moral and social, not primarily aesthetic. Albert
Bell argues that Churchill's rationalism calls for
conservative principles so far as social and moral duties
are concerned, but for literature and criticism the poet
calls for freedom from rules, from critical dogmatism,
and from restrictions on a poet's inclination.51

Summaries of the poems may be found in several
dissertations. So far as the present writer can discern,
there is no critical dispute as to what the summarized
action of any of the poems consists of.

Several studies have been made of the poetry in
relation to theories and traditions of satire. The notion,
expressed by Boswell,52 that Churchill is the English
Juvenal, has been somewhat modified. Walter Carnochan
finds Horatian retirement and personal tone as well as
Juvenalian indignation and bombast.53 Carnochan surveys
the eighteenth century cycles of popularity that Horace
and Juvenal enjoyed, and concludes that at the time
Churchill wrote, Juvenal's declamation and sharp satire
were held in higher esteem than Horace's detachment and
ridicule. The climate of critical opinion, as well as the
cause of Wilkes and liberty, prompted Churchill to write
satires featuring the isolated, declaiming, indignant man
of virtue in a vicious world. Carnochan next surveys the
eighteenth century critics and finds that by the 1760's
rhetorical display, which was still attacked by some
writers who echo seventeenth century complaints against
dishonesty and the artificial in literature, was by other
writers recommended and justified. Churchill would presumably
agree with those critics who argued that rhetorical devices
were the proper tools of a poet whose inspiration gave him
true eloquence. A poet was justified in his appeal to
emotion because emotion, not reason, according to the
defenders of rhetoric, was the cause of human sympathy.
Churchill, while denouncing artifice in Juvenalian terms,
took advantage of critical cycles to write emotionally
agitated satires full of pathos and sublimity.

Eighteenth century conceptions of the sublime in the
satires of Churchill have been studied by Albert Ball, in
a dissertation directed by Josephine Miles. 54 Though Ball
restricts his discussion to rhetorical and horrific
sublimity, he works within the context defined by Miles' 
argument that "sublime" ought to be taken broadly by
modern critics to signify typical eighteenth century
poetic effects of horror, pathos, long vistas, nationalism,
and physico-theology. 55

For Dryden, according to Ball, the sublime was literary--
the use of Vergilian high style. Pope used the high style,
which included religious and cosmic allusions, in order to
diminish the low subject matter. Churchill, writing later,
could use lofty rhetoric and the comic subversion of it, and also the newly defined psychological sublime—agitated emotions responding to style and subject matter. In Churchill, Juvenalian rhetoric and the terrors of nature—appeals to emotion rather than reason—connote the values on which the satirist bases his attack. The mid-eighteenth century critics, some of whom were interested mainly in rhetoric and some in the reader's emotional reactions, define the subjects in religion, nature, and human relationships which can easily be treated as sublime. Variety, contrast, and digression were recommended; sublime flights and shifts of decorum upward in a long poem of nearly any sort were appreciated, and thus Churchill defends digression and flights of fancy. Ball finds that, of the various well-known volumes of criticism, perhaps Trapp's Lectures on Poetry contains the poetic theories of sublimity and variety closest to Churchill's practice. The Duellist alternates high style and Gothic paraphernalia with low style and insulting portraits of Warburton, and Sandwich. Gotham presents descriptions of war in the manner of Isaiah, and patriotic accounts of history—patriotism and the Bible were by definition topics that could arouse feelings of awe and wonder. Famine's prophecy is sublimely horrific. The Dedication mocks Warburton in a style of sublime panegyric. Churchill, like Juvenal, regards the difference between satire
and epic to be one of subject matter rather than style; Churchill uses freely the epic and tragic devices of *copia* (amplification) and *vivac* (passion) to magnify vice and the reader's emotional reaction to it. 58

When one knows what eighteenth century critics were saying about variety and sublimity, Ball asserts, one will perceive that Churchill's characteristic emotional and rhetorical exaggerations and his willingness to mix levels of style produce, at their best, emotional dilation and an orientation toward tragedy. 59 Sometimes sublimity exaggerates the emotional reaction of the reader to vice, but sometimes, as in *Gotham I*’s cosmic survey, sublimity is parodied. Carnochan discusses briefly Churchill's melancholy self-dramatization as a conscious aspect of pathos, the opposite in emotional reaction of sublimity.

Although other students think that Ball overemphasizes a lesser aspect of Churchill's satire, 60 the present writer is impressed by the thorough documentation of that part of Churchill's aesthetic. The impertinent reader who cannot understand why Churchill ever impressed anyone may turn to Ball's eighteenth century critics and discover not only what Churchill is doing but also how the reader ought to feel about it. More seriously, though, we now have a more detailed view of Churchill as a satirist and parodist of the 1760's. His critical comments are sometimes not as confused
as commentators have generally thought. The Ghost, for example, satirizes the notion that true sublimity was a function of ghost stories with clanking chains. Churchill took sublimity seriously while he parodied sublime passages in other poets. Ball has documented and explained part of the context of Churchill's poetry which surveys of the traditions of satire have not taken seriously. The present studies of the Prophecy of Malins and Book II of the Duellist discuss Churchill's serious use in satire of certain eighteenth century sublime themes and techniques as they bear upon national and moral problems.

Related to sublimity are two devices studied by Carnochan—pictorialism and personification. Even after admitting that modern critics have not analyzed or appreciated personification helpfully, Carnochan thinks that Churchill's monotonous personifications would be among the last to be rehabilitated. Churchill does have a few effective touches of prosopopoeia, for example, the "Stern Rebuke enthroned" on Warburton's brow; such a personification is brief, comic, and visual. Churchill sometimes makes at length an effective pictorial personification, for example, the meditation on the ruin in the Duellist, Book II, and the character of "Assassination" in the Duellist, Book III. Carnochan points out that according to modern interpretation pictorialism and personification embody universal principles in particular
sensuous materials, but says that Churchill's pictorial personifications lack hints of action, occur too frequently, and are too often ruined by platitudes about vice. 62

Recent dissertations have, in general, seen Churchill in context. Spencer surveyed contemporary reception and influence, Carnochan emphasized contemporary attitudes toward rhetoric and Roman satire, and Bell analyzed Churchill's use of certain eighteenth century poetical devices not commonly associated with satire by modern critics.

This chapter has suggested in several places that terminology designed for other satirists may not be relevant to Churchill, and that the use of such terminology makes a pejorative judgment of the poetry difficult to avoid. Formal verse satire, because of the extensive recent scholarship on the genre in all periods, can now be analyzed in terms of the dramatic speaker, the various justifications made for the writing of satire, the emotional progress of the speaker toward increasing indignation, and the frequent use of other literary genres as framework for irony or parody. 63 The extensive analyses made of formal satire of course tried to clear up the traditional confusion about the apparent lack of structure in satire, but this emphasis upon the artifice, as opposed to the origins (the writer's intentions) and effects (the reader's response), is part of a larger attitude toward satire, which Pope scholars have found useful, that
may be termed anti-biographical. William Wimsatt formulated the theory of the internal reading of poetry, and Maynard Mack, distinguishing between what we know of Pope the man and the dramatic speaker in such poems as the Epistle to Arbuthnot, described three separate poses that the persona takes in Pope's satires: the naif, the hero, and the vir bonus, or good citizen. With the help of Mack, Alvin Kernan was able to describe a sort of composite persona to be used as a guide to the understanding of the actions and motives, not of satirists, but of their artificial dramatic speakers. Kernan also describes the satiric scene of vice and clutter which is almost a sentiment foil for the indignation or bewilderment of the persona. Kernan's The Cankered Muse lists, almost in catalog form, dozens of rhetorical devices which may appear in formal satire, and certainly the book sharpens the sensibilities of the modern reader of formal satire. Yet the power of the dramatic speaker in formal satire derives in part from associating his personality with that of the poet himself. Sometimes information about the character and personal history of the persona is not clear in the poem unless the biography of the poet is consulted. Churchill's critics have in fact always insisted that Churchill's persona, in the words of A. D. McKillop, "is more nearly authentic than Pope's, and points forward to the tormented self-consciousness of Byron;" further, the reader should recognize "the
impressiveness of his boisterous and virile personality as it comes through his poetry.

A firm distinction between the satirist and his persona is most useful when it allows a critic to focus his attention upon the rhetorical devices, the inner mechanics, of the satire, and to ignore, at least for awhile, the moral or biographical issues involved in the writing of satire. The dissertation of Hyman Herbert Datz, which applies rigorously the theory of the non-biographical persona (the theory that the dramatic speakers have no necessary connection with the poet's life) to Churchill's poetry, reveals some of the advantages and some of the limitations of this approach. Datz points out that the biographical causes and content of satire are frequently insipid, and that the stereotype of Churchill as a lumbering bully allows the unsympathetic reader to imagine that the poetry is equally crude and stupid. Quotations from most of the twentieth century editors of anthologies and literary histories show with embarrassing thoroughness that the editors, apparently not wishing to differ much from each other, thought it justifies to Churchill's poems to revise Gosse's opinion very slightly upward. Datz sees Churchill as a conscious satirist putting his persona into the specific frameworks of ironic eulogy, conversations, arguments, court trials, and prophecies.

Central to Churchill is the persona of the "good man angry"
who detests all sorts of cant, who tries to justify his
own assumption of personal moral superiority, but who tries
also, or pretends, to give full justice to his victims. The
Candidate, which Datz considers to be Churchill's major poem,
derives its ironic overtones as much from the persona who has
been converted to the writing of panegyric as from Churchill’s
relationship with Lord Sandwich. In general, Churchill’s
victims are so magnified that they become universal types of
viciousness, in particular, the Epistle to Heseth.67
Judging from Datz' work, which is the only full scale
effort to apply the persona theory to Churchill, the theory
may suggest to a critic slight readjustments of perspective
and evaluation, or even acute insights into certain poems.
But a poet will not profit much from the application of the
theory unless his satire is built around unusual dramatic
speakers, and then they must be described separately and not
forced into too inclusive a mould. Datz is not very just to
poems such as the Duelist, the Ghost, and Gotham which do
not appear to have recognizable generic personas. Nor is he
able to develop a unique and comprehensive aesthetic by which
to account for Churchill's satires; Kerman's lists of satiric
devices and his description of the composite persona (the man
indignant at vice) apply to any formal satirist. Though he
makes interesting suggestions about some of the poems, Datz is
too often impressionistic; he tries to establish that Churchill
consciously created dramatic speakers, but he does not analyze many of them closely. Admittedly the persona theory can be confusing—it may refer to Kernan's composite or to a particular literary creation. It should call attention to oral and oratorical qualities of first person satire and the need of the speaker to ingratiate himself with an audience or defeat an adversary. Sometimes even more important is the tendency of the theory, in accord with its emphasis on aesthetic rather than biographical matters, to suggest the need for study of literary backgrounds. At any rate, the persona theory will be employed, judiciously, one hopes, in the present dissertation in the chapters on Night and the Dedication because those poems have fully developed dramatic speakers with interesting personalities and conflicts which have been often, but not always rewardingly, associated with Churchill's.

Critics have long recognized the brilliance of Churchill's irony. Modern critics associate irony in literature with metaphoric tension, different levels of meaning, and unity in complexity. Various speculations on the nature of irony have been repeated in studies on Churchill. Northrop Frye says that satirists use irony when values are doubted by the audience, and investive when values are secure. Irony implies the understood subtle modulations in voice and attitude called "metaphor of tone." Unfortunately the
association of Churchill's irony and indirectness when writing of well known current incidents with metaphoric tensions and complexity has not helped the poet's reputation much. Irene Simon was still able to deplore Churchill because his irony was "cumulative" rather than "climactic." 71 Ivor Winters had said replied that Churchill built up to climaxes of irony, but William Cunningham pointed out that irony which was obvious from the start could not exactly be called climactic. 72 The poems involved in the argument were the Prophecy of Famine, the Candidate, and the Dedication. Why the irony ought to be one thing and not another was not specified. The fact that Churchill could be ironic because his audience knew what he was talking about does not seem to be aesthetically important. Somewhere the critical terminology weakens; irony is a part of the oral genre and the political background—a purely aesthetic discussion of irony does not account for its strength in Churchill. More of Churchill's irony is made available to the modern reader by explanation of background material than by internal analysis. The "tensions" in Churchill's satires may be the reader's subjective reaction to the vicious and shocking satirist—such tensions are not exactly the metaphoric tensions commonly sought by critics. The point of this paragraph is that irony, because it is difficult to handle critically and generalize about, and is only part of the rhetorical and imaginative situation in the
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poems, should be de-emphasized, or at least not used to justify all sorts of critical subjectivity. Churchill uses irony oftener than other formal satirists, and irony is perhaps the essence of his style (or rather his constant habit), but it does not serve well as a key to his aesthetic effects unless one attributes some sort of mystic power to the device. Perception of irony is supposed to make the reader gratefully contemplate a new "level of meaning." Actually, the known presence of irony only causes critics to debate which lines are more or less ironic than other lines. Probably Churchill wrote in irony because his public liked sarcasm. The ironic indirections which critics now esteem in Churchill were written for a public that was already familiar with Churchill's direct attacks on his personal and political enemies.

A recent attempt to secure new readers for Churchill was made by the veteran and usually embattled critic Yvor Winters. Winters sees "structure" in Churchill as "associational," somewhere between what he calls the logic of Renaissance poetry and the anarchic subjectivity of Romanticism. Churchill makes sense because of his sound moral judgment on public, if not private, matters. No one before Winters, except Southey, gave Churchill credit for sound morals. Winters then proceeds to praise Churchill for attacking Hogarth and Warburton, because Winters thinks they
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deserved to be attacked. Winters in effect emphasizes the satirist's claim to be a public conscience and censor. In Part II of his article he called the Dedication the greatest English poem written in the eighteenth century and provides explanation of political allusions with the help of Grant. Irony, emotional agitation, psychological complexity, and a condemnation of moral turpitude give the poem somber power—these aspects of the poem, needless to say, may be appreciated whether or not the moral judgment against the real Warburton can be taken seriously. Winters points out suggestively that the Dedication contains techniques such as ironic eulogy, natural sublimity, and devices of oratory, which appear in cruder, or different, form in earlier poems. Winters' usual biases and revisions of literary history do not hinder his discussion of Churchill, and his comments on the psychology and profanity of the Dedication are useful. The critic's judgement is in terms of ethics, and it is novel to find Churchill defended on that basis.

The past twelve years of Churchill scholarship and criticism have produced an excellent text with apparatus, a complete biography, and a useful edition of the letters. Students have defined aspects of eighteenth century aesthetics which are important in Churchill. Evaluation of Churchill is still as controversial as at any time since the 1760's, with at least some of the present confusion being due to the use
of terms, with their connotations of what constitutes poetic
worth, borrowed from criticism of Pope or the Metaphysicals.
Churchill should be analyzed more carefully before final
judgments are made. The writers of dissertations who think
they should come to conclusions about Churchill's rank are
probably wise to make statements heavily qualified.

It seems likely that interest in Churchill will continue.
Dissertations on Churchill are appearing at the rate of at
least two or three a year. Churchill is being studied as a
Georgian political and theatrical satirist. Analysis of
techniques in the poetry may well create interest in those
effects. The following chapters propose to analyze individual
poems in order to clarify aesthetic situations and to decide
which of the traditional views of Churchill are still relevant.
CHAPTER II

Night: Themes, Philosphic Views, and Imagistic Structure

Most commentators consider Night to be a reply to charges of recklessness and irresponsibility, an amusing but sophistical defense of irregular habits. The Monthly Review called the poem a pleasant trifle, but the Critical took it more seriously because, "a performance like this would do little honour to that gentleman, considered either in the character of a clergyman or a poet, as the morality of it is much more worthy of an epicuri de grande portus, than of a Christian divine, and the diction in many parts more resembling Sternhold and Hopkins than the spirited writer of the Rosciad."¹ To a certain extent the opinion of the Critical Review lives on in such pixilated remarks as Kenneth Hopkins',

Night sets out to justify the unjustifiable, for dissipation is never to be praised, though it may sometimes be indulged. Like certain other enterprises, much of its appeal lies in its unwisdom, and it would have needed a subtler debater than Churchill to make a virtue of that.²

At least Hopkins implies some of the charm that Iolo Williams found in Night when he called it the only Churchill poem that could "be read through with an unflagging interest."³ A higher
and more nearly just evaluation of Night was made by Sherard Vines, who paired it in an anthology with the Dedication. Vines considers Night to be serious and universal, and to have "the broad Drydenic sweep and intellectual elevation which should afford a useful contrast to, let us say, Anstey, sniggering over the parochial follies and rogueries of Bath." ¹ Night is a good anthology piece because it is concentrated, unified around the central theme of the poet's partial escape from society, and shows Churchill both serious and playful. The almost whimsical treatment of medical advice and the political stage is balanced by the seriousness of the speaker's desire for privacy. Vines, speaking of a possible "single formula" for English Georgian satire, uses Night as a test case for a genre that "will include the comic and the serious, the didactic and the non-didactic, the general and the particular." ² Albert Hall calls attention to the critical theories of the day which recommended the quality of "variety" or shifts of decorum—middle style and plain narrative alternated with high style and sublime flights. ³ Possibly the "variety" misled early critics to complain of the passages of low diction. It should be noticed, though, that the bantering and playful tone ceases when the speaker switches from personal and idiosyncratic views to more serious comment on politics and the court.

Analysis in this chapter of structural elements and
solemn moral implications in the poem should not divert attention from aspects more familiar and entertaining. Even Sherard Vines, who expressed the most favorable opinions toward Night, said, "It develops with admirable strength the 'philosophic night-bird's' general view of life." But Night is too easily summarized as a defense of drunkenness and an attack upon people whom Churchill and Lloyd do not like. In terms of classical rhetoric, Night is a forensic poem which rebuts implied charges, mainly by contrasting the life and moral perspective of the satirist with the life and morals of courtiers and businessmen. Attacking daylight, Churchill creates something similar to a formal paradox—an apparently sophistical premise defended by witty and surprising evidences, corollaries, and conclusions. So far as the personal element is concerned, the self-portrait in Night is more believable as autobiography than the staged and pathetic self-portraits in Independence, Gotham, and the Dedication, and has more to do with Churchill's activities than the literary defenses in the Apology. Strong personal elements in Night may perhaps be associated with Churchill's generally acute insight into the psychology of a character who is, sometimes by choice and sometimes unwillingly, separated from his society.

Churchill's philosophic pose in Night, we may say, is a mixture of Stoic and Epicurean ideas expressed by a more
or less Horatian persona. But Walter Carnochan's description of Night as a pretended longing for Horatian tranquility does not fill in either the classical or the Georgian background of that particular kind of tranquility. Besides contrasting himself overtly to the worldlings of the court, Churchill implies a further contrast between his thoughts and actions in private and his recognition and acceptance of public duty. Churchill makes this contrast explicit in the Conference:

Ah! what, my Lord, hath private life to do
With things of public nature?
(215-4)

This distinction, defended for Churchill on moral grounds by Robert Southey and Ivor Winters, facilitates Churchill's self-characterization as a private and a public moral censor, and is frequently repeated in later poems. When, in Churchill's satires, hypocrisy is established as the worst vice, even Churchill's irregular but open life becomes a rhetorical advantage. In Night the speaker's attitude toward the public and politics is Stoic, but his attitude toward his own private life is (notoriously, according to most commentators) Epicurean. In this chapter, it may be well to point out, the word "Epicurean" is used in the sense of "classical Epicurean" who seeks pleasure in good company, sufficient food and drink, easily accessible amusements, and philosophic conversation, rather than the sense of sybaritic, Cyrenaic, or sensually
hedonistic. If biographical evidence demands that Night be taken to be a sybarite's apology, no matter, because the persona plainly defends temperate indulgence, emotional equilibrium, and the company of good friends. The general relationship between Churchill's life, Night, and classical moral ideas was rakishly summarized by John Wilkes:

"The poem of Night was written in vindication of himself and Mr. Robert Lloyd, against the censures of some false friends, who affected to pay the highest compliments to their genius, but were most industrious in seizing every opportunity of condemning their conduct in private life. These prudent persons found a malicious pleasure in propagating the story of every unguarded hour, and in gratifying that rage after the little anecdotes of admired authors upon which small wits subsist. Such a proceeding ought, however, in all fairness, to be considered only as the low gossiping of the literary world, just as scandal amuses the circle of the gay and polite. The curiosity of the town was fed by these people from time to time; and every dull lecturer within the bills of mortality comforted himself that he did not keep such hours as Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd.

The poet does not blush to own, that he often passed the night after the manner of the first man of antiquity. They knew how to redeem the fleeting hours from 'Death's half-brother,' and fellow-tyrant, 'Sleep.' They lamented the shortness and uncertainty of human life; but both only served to give a keener relish to their pleasures, and as the truest arguments not to let any portion of it pass unenjoyed.

The two English poets were worthy of the converse of the most genial wits of Rome and Greece. They may perhaps have been censured by some wondrous moderns, but in a more classic age their happy sallies would not have ill become the noctes Atticae."

Distinctions between Stoic and Epicurean thought may be documented from A. O. Lovejoy and George Boas, Primitivism
and Related Ideas in Antiquity, 1935, and Maren-Sofie Røstvig, The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal, 1600–1760, 1954. In Night Churchill does not use primitivism as a theory of history or culture—a Golden Age of virtue or the virtue of the simple or hard life—nor does he recommend or desire any sort of pastoral or country retirement. His context is social, and he emphasizes in effect the satirist's duty to remain in contact with other people and censor their morals. The pose is typical enough in satire, and Churchill elaborates it in terms of the virtuous man's duty and desire to be fully human. Churchill's interests in Night are ethical; in later poems morality is more closely associated with theories of history and political panaceas. Churchill's "retirement" in Night, although not conventionally rural, is a real separation (more in time than space) between himself and society. This separation allows him to preserve a relatively tranquil mind and also to obtain a true moral perspective on the businessmen and courtiers who come out during the day.

Of course Stoicism and Epicureanism have much in common: both emphasize rational serenity, the simple life, retirement from the world when possible, and service to the state when unavoidable. The Stoic, though, claims to live according to an austere conception of universal virtue and morality, while the Epicurean, who knows that morals are only mores, seeks a
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tranquil self-satisfaction on the basis of the moderate pleasuries of sense and imagination. In Night we find both public and private kinds of egotism.

In this chapter the distinction between Stoic and Epicurean ideas should not imply that Churchill's speaker does not use whichever ideas seem appropriate to any particular contrast he is trying to make, or that the philosophic background is not absorbed into the dramatic and oral pattern of reminiscence, confession, rhetorical definitions, contrasts, moral judgment, and heroic poses. Churchill offers what might be called, in aesthetic terms, an "imitation" of a philosophy. Distinctions between Stoic and Epicurean thought, easily made in relation to Night and convenient for purposes of analysis, should clarify the classical background of the personal rhetorical apology in a poem which has too often been considered only a weak defense of drinking and whoring. Whether an idea is called Stoic or Epicurean sometimes depends upon the tone in which the idea is presented. In a passage expressing Epicurean contempt for the world, for example, patriotism is treated cynically, but later the Stoic hero is noisily patriotic. First we may discuss the philosophy, and then, with considerations of structural metaphors and patterns of argument, the "imitation."

Modern scholarship has established Stoic and Cynic poses as conventions of formal satire. An indignant persona upholds
an austere and narrow conception of virtue as moral justification for attacks on all kinds of villains and fools. A claim to reform viciousness supports any sort of vicious attack in the satire, and claims that a virtuous man must react violently to the sight of vice excuse the failure of the Stoic to be apathetic. This sort of persona is usually termed Juvenalian, and may be specifically Christian. According to Alvin Kernan, the Puritan persona becomes a fully drawn literary creation when the reader realizes that the raider is a victim of murky obsessions with the vices, especially sexual vices, that he describes in titillating detail. In Night, though, the private personality of the speaker is a function of the Epicure rather than the Puritan.

For convenience we may discuss the following four themes in Night in relation to Stoic thought.

1. The integrity of vice and virtue. True recognition of vice and virtue was an essential part of the Stoic’s desire to be in conformity with “nature.” Churchill has two reasons for insisting at various points in his argument that vice and virtue are absolute. Such a simple conception is, in the first place, easy to defend in satire; the speaker must have a moral basis for his attacks, and yet satiric tradition and expectation prescribe detailed attacks on vices rather than pauses for debate on the nature of virtue. Repetitions of
epithets involving the words "virtue" and "nature" function as an elevated sort of name-calling while at the same time the speaker manages to associate himself with cosmic values. On the other hand Churchill's repetition of words which have moral connotations is usually part of his rhetorical attempt to degrade those words and change their definitions. Good hours, prudence, and the World are subjected to Churchill's persuasive linguistics:

Good hours--Fine words--but was it ever seen that all men could agree in what they mean?  
(31-2)

The sense perverted we retain the name,  
Hypocrisy and Prudence are the same.  
(301-2)

WHAT is this WORLD? a term which men have got to signify not one in ten know what;  
A term, which with no more precision passes  
To point out herds of men than herds of asses;  
In common use no more it means we find,  
Than many fools in same opinions join'd.  
(353-6)

Rhetorical definition, which Churchill used to advantage in the North Briton papers, appears frequently in his poetry as a pretended attempt to expose hypocrisy; in Night the definitions frequently establish many points of view. Though certain words need redefinition, according to the speaker in Night, the basis for moral judgment remains:

Reason, collected in herself, disdains  
The slavish yoke of arbitrary chains,  
Steady and true each circumstance she weighs,  
Nor to bare words inglorious tribute pays.  
(45-8)
CAN numbers of people then change Nature's stated laws?
Can numbers make the worse the better cause?
Vice must be vice, virtue be virtue still,
Tho' thousands rail at good and practise ill.
(359-62)

In the first book of Pope's Epilogue to the Satires, we find a similar sentiment:

Virtue, I grant you, is an empty boast;
But shall the dignity of Vice be lost?
(113-14)

2. Patriotism. Service to the state, especially when such service seemed necessary or heroic, could according to Seneca be honorable and Stoic. The speaker in Night expresses apparently contradictory views on the subject of patriotism.

So far as political and military ambitions are concerned,
Squirrels for nuts contend, and, wrong or right,
For the world's empire kings ambitious fight.
What odds--to us 'tis all the self-same thing,
A nut, a world, a Squirrel, and a King.
(203-6)

But when patriotism involves the distinction between vice and virtue, the speaker says,
Wouldst thou defend the Gaul's destructive rage
Because vast nations on his part engage?
Tho' to support the rebel CAESAR's cause
Tumultuous legions arm against the laws,
Tho' Scandal would OUR PATRIOT's name impeach,
And rails at virtues which she cannot reach,
What honest man but would with joy submit
To bleed with CATO, and retire with PITT?
(363-70)

Night was Churchill's first political poem, and John Wilkes probably sought out the poet for the first time because of the reference to Pitt. Patriotism in Night is one aspect
of the satirist's duty to be a public moral censor—the satirist's duty, Churchill constantly implies, is ethical and social. Churchill's frequent satire against pastorals and odes, although a conventional attack by the satirist against the writers of fictions, is based partly on the conception that those forms were naturally to be associated with rural retirement, gloomy meditations, and wishful thinking which had nothing to do with the poet's duty to be socially useful. The speaker in Night does not in fact remove himself from the city nor from what he calls the political stage.

3. Stoic pride. In satire pride, if it were associated with moral superiority, could be praiseworthy—an honest man could not be surrounded by vices and remain apathetic. Justifiable pride becomes one of Churchill's poses in response to the enthymemically proved moral superiority of his speaker.

He asserts,

Me neither pow'r shall tempt, nor thirst of self,
To flatter others, or deny myself,
Might the whole world be plac'd within my span,
I would not be that THING, that PRUDENT MAN.

Rather stand up assur'd with conscious pride
Alone, than err with millions on thy side.

Virtue may rightfully feel "self-approv'd" (114). Stoic pride is associated with the theme of contemptus mundi:

Let each new-year call loud for new supplies,
And tax on tax with doubled burthen rise;
Exempt we sit, by no rude cares opprest,  
And, having little, are with little blest.  
(279-82)

4. *Self-dependence.* Self-dependence underlies all the important Stoic themes in *Night* and is associated with the conception of the virtuous man as a person who is in certain important ways fully human.  

The virtuous man (the satiric *persona* as hero or as *vir bonus*) recognizes his natural duty to act as a moral censor, and also his privilege as a human being to be free and an individualist:

> Man of sense live exempt from vulgar awe,  
> And Reason to herself alone is law.  
> That freedom she enjoys with liberal mind  
> Whamh she as freely grants to all mankind.  

(49-52)

Seneca: "One study is truly liberal: that which makes a man free. This is the study of wisdom, a study sublime, strong, characteristic of a great soul; the others are petty and puerile."  

Churchill appeals to universal truth:

> follow Nature's plan,  
> Assert the rights, or quit the name of man.  

(375-8)

In the *Times* Churchill defines human nature to be a function of human company:

Wouldst Thou be safe? Society forswear,  
Fly to the desert, and seek shelter there,  
Hard with the Brutes—they follow Nature's plan—  
There's not one Brute so dangerous as Man,  
In Afric's wilds—'mongst them that refuge finds,  
Which Lust denies thee here among Mankind;  
Rencounce thy name, thy nature, and no more  
Pique thy vain pride on Manhood, on all four  
Walk, as You see those honest creatures do,  
And quite forget that once You walk'd on Two.  

(495-504)
Although in context the passage gives advice to a friend who wishes to escape from aggressive homosexuals, and is appropriately melodramatized with references to the "vain pride" of manhood, the implications that human nature involves certain natural duties to live rationally in society are similar to implications in *Night*. Self-dependence meant *Know Thyself* in relation to truths of *Nature* perceived by reason. Churchill's familiar contrast of nature with artifice refers at least in part to this Stoic conception of human nature:

```plaintext
THE Wretch bred up in Method's drowsy school...

Whose soul directed to no use is seen
Unless to move the body's dull Machine.

To Nature dead he must adopt vile art,
And wear a smile, with anguish in his heart.

A similar passage occurs in the *Author*:

Gods! with what pride I see the titled slave,
Who smarts beneath the stroke which Satire gave,
Aiming at ease, and with dishonest art
Striving to hide the feelings of his heart!
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The contrast of nature with art expresses in *Night* emotional frustration in images of dehumanization; the incompetence of the would-be politicians in *Night* comes from their basic inability to understand themselves as well as the satirist understands them:
Inglorious ease like ours, they greatly scorn:  
Let care with nobler wreaths their brows adorn.  
Gladly they toil beneath the statesman's pains,  
Give them but credit for a statesman's brains.  
All would be deem'd e'en from the cradle fit  
To rule in politics as well as wit.  
The grave, the gay, the fopling, and the dunce,  
Start up (God bless us!) statesmen all at once.  
(211-18)

Ideas from Stoic thought, made familiar by frequent  
repetition in formal satire, form a philosophic background  
for Churchill's solemn public poses in Night. Villains are  
estigated in terms of assumed cosmic ethical values and  
personal virtue is always asserted. When the speaker's  
personal philosophy, which is mixed Stoic and Epicurean,  
is established, he takes pains to make himself look virtuous  
in comparison with "PRUDENCE and the WORLD." Thus the last  
long section of Night (297-332) is consciously public, self-  
confident, and Stoic; the speaker implies that he would stand  
up for virtue in accord with "Nature's plan" even if he were  
menaced by "herds of men" who come in numbers, thousands, vast  
nations, tumultuous legions, and millions. The satirist's  
Stoic isolation from society is austere, arrogant, ego-  
gratifying, and demands that he continue to attack those  
elements in society which isolate the virtuous man.  

In spite of the importance of Stoic ideas in Night,  
critics have understandably fastened upon the more interesting  
and genial ideas of Epicurus. It has been pointed out that  
Churchill's preoccupation with himself in his poems might be
considered an aspect of pre-romanticism. What Kernan calls the private personality of the satirist is indeed the central theme of Night, but the speaker’s private philosophy, like the public Stoic philosophy, is a patchwork of familiar ideas (his aesthetic constructions in the poem are something else again). Although the Epicurean ideas will obviously resemble some of the ideas treated in this chapter as Stoic, the Epicurean emphasis is always upon personal contentment and subjective reactions to events rather than upon arrogant self-satisfaction and rational control over the emotions. In general, Churchill uses the socially respectable ideas of the Stoic to justify and support the self-indulgence of the Epicurean.

For convenience, Epicurean themes in Night may be divided into four categories.

1. Inner-directedness. This term from modern sociology expresses what might well be called the Epicurean contemptus mundi—a rejection of the ideals and ambitions held by most citizens. Health and sanity come only to those who refuse to pursue factitious honors and distinction. Most false ambition aims at amassing wealth in the form of gold; Churchill is thus able to make a virtue of his self-professed poverty. He implies a perversion of religious values in the line, "Dull fools and coxcombs sanctified by Gold" (12), and in line 88 there is the inevitable hit of satire, "upstart knaves grown rich and fools
grown great."

STRIPT of her gaudy plumes and vain disguise
See where Ambition men and loathsome lies!
(123-4)

GOD help the man, condemn'd by cruel fate
To court the seeming, or the real great.
(157-8)

Unfit for greatness, I her amours defy,
And lock on riches with untainted eye.
(191-2)

Lucretius: "Let those, then, who struggle along the narrow path of ambition sweat blood and weary themselves in vain, since for them things have savor only through the mouths of other men and they pursue objects only because of what they have heard others say, rather than from their own feelings. And this is no different now, nor will it be hereafter, from what it was before." In connection with Stoic pride line 279-282 were quoted on pages 45-46 as an expression of contempt for the values of the world, and the same lines are appropriate here, but with an emphasis on personal feelings rather than virtue.

2. The simple life. The rational man, after he has rejected worldly ambition, will seek the minimum comforts which are most readily available; happiness lies in wanting what one can have and not suffer from having. Familiar enough in the history of philosophy is the fact that Epicurus' version of pleasure was bread, water, and cosmic speculation, but that his philosophy was vilified by the Stoics because of
the sensual excesses of his followers. Churchill obviously did not adopt the original austerity of his master, but the charge that Night defends extreme recklessness is, so far as what the speaker says is concerned, unfair. Horace paired his own preaching of inner moral strength with a genial admission that he was a pig of Epicurus' tribe. According to Maren-Sofie Bøstvig, neo-classic adaptation of Epicurean ideas may be traced in translations of Horace and in the uses to which his retirement theme was put. We shall see that Churchill's connection with Horatian tranquillity is complicated and somewhat removed from what his age considered to be proper Horatian influence. The emphasis is on ease:

THUS have we liv'd, and whilst the fates afford
Plain Plenty to supply the frugal board,
Whilst MIRTH, with DECENCY his lovely bride,
And Wine's gay GOD, with TEMP'RANCE by his side,
Their welcome visit pay; whilst HEALTH attends
The narrow circle of our chosen Friends,
Whilst frank GOOD-HUMOUR consecrates the treat,
And WOMAN makes societie complete,
Thus WILL we live.

(287-95)

Bøstvig quotes a couplet from a Restoration translation of Horace, Epistle I, 18, which is almost a verbal parallel of a sentiment which Churchill expresses:

a safe private quiet, which betrays
It self to ease, and cheats away the days. 16

Calm, independent, let me steal thro' life,
Nor one vain wish my steady thoughts beguile.

(188-9)

be our happier plan
To pass thro' life as easy as we can.

(255-6)
According to Røstvig, if the Restoration translators of Horace emphasized ease and retirement instead of the inner moral strength Horace called for, the eighteenth century translators and adaptors purged the implications of sensuality and concentrated upon virtue, wholesomeness, middle class piety and materialism. Sometimes the retirement theme in the form of a "wish" or "choice" poem, like Pomfret's, asked for a virtuous quiet life that depended upon a church living and a thousand pounds a year. The simple life in Night, we may say, bypasses the Protestant ideal (perhaps the reason for complaints that a divine would write such a poem), takes its pleasures and comforts from Epicureanism, and its virtues and public duties from Stoicism. The Stoic ideas were of course so familiar as a standard device of formal satire, and Churchill so notorious a rake, that only the ideas of hedonism, loosely interpreted, have caught the attention of commentators. Austere expressions of Stoic pride in the poem have, with at least some justice, been simply associated with Churchillian egotism and not followed through the Stoic conceptions of virtue which allow the speaker to contrast himself with the world. Since Churchill admittedly makes only a few fairly unexplicit statements in Night about the physical details of the simple life, the concept cannot be taken in a wide sense to summarize the thought of the poem. Perhaps wisely he gratifies a reader's
expectation of some sort of licentious activity only with the pictorial personifications of MIRTH, the GOD of Wine, GOOD-HUMOUR, and WOMAN sharing this table with DECENCY, TEMPERANCE, and HEALTH. The word "consecrates" (293), possibly a sneer at religious rituals, implies by allusion that the poet’s own paganized philosophy, like a religion, is a fairly complete system with its own physical, moral, ritualistic, and ego-gratifying aspects.

3. Friendship. With the theme of friendship we begin to shade in our picture of the speaker, and we become aware of certain gloomy undertones—fear, insecurity, introversion—strongly implied in the poem. The Stoic’s professionally harsh view of society is not persuasive in its alarm and the speaker says that society may for the most part be observed safely from a distance. We notice that the speaker’s mental distresses are due to the workings of imagination and emotion rather than the supposedly inevitable indignation caused by a sense of virtue outraged. In connection with Epicurus and the virtue of friendship, Røstvig quotes from Anthony Collins’ Discourse of Free-Thinking, 1713:

... Epicurus declares it to be his Opinion, That of all Things which Wisdom can procure towards a happy Life, Friendship is the noblest, most extensive, and delicious Pleasure... what a numerous, what an harmonious Company of Friends, did Epicurus croud into his own little Habitation! And the Epicureans follow his example at this day... we Christians ought still to have a higher Veneration of Epicurus for this Virtue of Friendship than Cicero: Because
even our Holy Religion itself does not any where particularly require of us that Virtue. 18

Churchill assumes the virtue of friendship without debating the merits of Epicurus, Cicero, and Christianity. Rostvig associates what she calls the "cult of friendship" in relation to poetical retirement themes with introversion and fear of society. 19 Churchill addresses Night to Robert Lloyd and begins rather gloomily with suggestions of the distress of solitude and the futility of life in society:

WHEN foes insult, and prudent friends dispense,
In pity's strain, the worst of insolence,
Or with thee, LLOYD, I steal an hour from grief,
And in thy social converse find relief.
The mind, of solitude impatient grown,
Loves any sorrows rather than her own.

LET slaves to business, bodies without soul,
Important blanks in Nature's mighty roll,
Solemnize nonsense in the day's broad glare,
We NIGHT prefer, which heals or hides our care.

ROGUES justified and by success made bold,
Dull fools and coxcombs sanctified by Gold,
Freely may bask in fortune's partial ray,
And spread their feathers op'ning to the day;
But thread-bare Merit dares not show the head 'Till vain Prosperity retires to bed.
Misfortunes, like the Owl, avoid the light;
The Sons of CARE are always sons of NIGHT.

Later in the poem prudence is equated with hypocrisy—the misuse of friendship. Conversations with Lloyd supposedly return the speaker to a state of emotional equilibrium. If, says the speaker, we reminisce about school days, sneer at lawyers and preachers,

Or if in tittle-tattle tooth-pick way
Our rambling thoughts with easy freedom stray,
A gainer still thy friend himself must find,
His grief suspended, and improv'd his mind.
(109-12)

We should perhaps not neglect to think of Night as a didactic and satiric epistle, with Lloyd as the understood adversarius who hears arguments, receives advice, and is presumably convinced at the end. The speaker wants to associate himself with good men and thus have a basis in friendship as well as personal virtue for contrasting himself with the world. Apart from public matters, the friend is valuable because he protects the speaker from the morbid effects of imagination in solitude:

Most of those evils we poor mortals know
From doctors and imagination flow.
(71-2)

Exempt we sit, by no rude cares opprest,
And, having little, are with little blest.
All real ills in dark oblivion lye,
And joys, by fancy form'd, their place supply.
(281-4)

Later in the chapter we may elaborate on how the pleasures and powers of imagination are important in the satirist's night-life.

4. Contentment. The word "contentment" may be understood to be the psychological state which is associated with an intellectual and emotional assimilation of the themes and attitudes we have already discussed. This emotional well-being has its physical counterpart in retirement from the world with congenial company. Base, friendship, and a self-knowledge are part of contentment, yet for the most
part contentment consists in coming to terms with a society which is felt to be repressive and antagonistic. Since the satirist may not retire to the country or solitude without forsaking his duties to society and risking attacks of melancholy, he must remain in his context, sensor society, and somehow preserve his emotional balance. This need to preserve a sense of balance or satisfaction is felt in the speaker's portrayal of the financially successful businessmen as victims of routine and futility and of the well-known statesmen and courtiers as seekers of contemptible distinctions. Churchill finds it useful to portray worthless activities as particularly pathetic because they waste a victim's life for many years:

When he [the courtier] hath tamely borne for many years
Cold looks, forbidding frowns, contemptuous sneers,
When he at last exerts, good easy man,
To reap the profits of his labour'd plan,
Some cringing Lacquey, or rapacious Whore,
To favours of the great the surest door,
Some Catamite, or Pimp, in credit grown,
Who tempts another's wife, or sells his own,
Steps across his hopes, the promis'd boon denies,
And for some Minion's Minion claims the prize.
(169-78)

The next lines give the speaker's picture of himself, a combination of the proud Stoic in accord with nature and the Epicurean who wishes to live at ease and manage his own destiny:

Foe to restraint, unpractis'd in desuet,
Too resolute, from Nature's active heat,
To brook affronts, and tamely pass them by;  
Too proud to flatter, too sincere to lie,  
Too plain to please, too honest to be great;  
Give me, kind Heaven, an Humbler, happier state:  
Far from the place where men with pride deceive,  
Where rascals promise, and where fools believe;  
Far from the walk of folly, vice and strife,  
Calm, independent, let me steal thro' life,  
Nor one vain wish my steady thoughts beguile  
To fear his lordship's frown, or court his smile.  
Unfit for greatness, I her smears defy,  
And look on riches with untainted eye.  
To others let the glitt'ring bawbles fall,  
Content shall place me far above them all.

(179-94)

This passage is, of course, much like Pope's self-characterization in the Epistle to Arbuthnot. Churchill's "wish," in its emphasis upon moral uprightness and independence, is closer to Horace's Stoicism than the Augustan adaptations of Horace which specified money and estates as a necessary part of contentment. Lines 287-296, pictorial personifications in the speaker's private world, are closer to what Rostvig defines as the usual Augustan version of Horatian retirement (not Pope's version—he transplanted the Horatian mental poise and moral uprightness almost without alteration). Contentment means in general that the speaker, the poet, is protected both from society and his own restless imagination, or memory of personal affronts; one source of protection is alcohol:

THEN in Oblivion's grateful cup I drown  
The galling sneer, the supercilious frown,  
The strange reserve, the proud affected state  
Of upstart knaves grown rich and fools grown great.  
No more that abject wretch disturbs my rest  
Who meanly overlooks a friend distress.

(85-90)
The next lines contrast the sensitivities of the poet with those of the worldling:

Purblind to poverty the Worldling goes,
And scarce sees rags an inch beyond his nose,
But from a crowd can single out his grace
And cringe and creep to fools who strut in lace.

(91-4)

Bertrand Russell states that the rationale of the Epicurean philosophy was mainly to enable its adherent to avoid fear. 21 The speaker's conviction of moral superiority, with evidences drawn from classical philosophy, is a function of his somewhat estranged position in society as a poverty-stricken poet.

In summary we may say that the speaker elaborates on various familiar ethical themes as he takes didactic positions conventional to formal satire. His public Stoic personality is proud and aggressive; his private personality, more explicitly drawn than is typical in satire, and perhaps more personal to the author, shows trepidation, a certain envy, and a longing for safe, refreshing, Epicurean escapes. In one sense Night answers the question how much ought a man to be individualistic. Besides being a conventional satire on the times, Night argues for a fairly detailed and adequate ethical philosophy--private pleasures which in effect make it possible for the speaker to maintain his moral and emotional control as a censor of society. From conventional satiric Stoicism come the moral judgments in Night based on nature and virtue. From the classical retirement theme comes the felt need to be physically removed from the confused and misguided society. From Epicureanism and biographical evidence comes the felt need
to be inner-directed and free from anxiety—-to attain the Epicurean ataraxia. And from eighteenth century aesthetic concepts, as we shall see, come the powers of imagination as handmaids to the moral sense.

We have mentioned that Night is by implication (and from biographical evidence) a forensic poem which attempts to rebut charges of loose living and to argue in favor of the speaker's philosophy; classical themes in the poem have been analyzed in order to make as explicit as possible that philosophy and to show that it is not a simple, nor a contemptible, thing. It remains to be shown how the philosophic themes and the personality of the speaker are presented within rhetorical and aesthetic frameworks.

Churchill's general proposition, supported by the attacks on businessmen and politics, is that the virtuous man has a truer ethical understanding of the world when he recalls scenes of it in imagination at night than when he is actively involved in the daytime. Metaphorically, the moral man sees better at night; this paradox is elaborated with witty and satiric evidences. Staying up late, regardless of what people might infer, is thus a function of the poet's improved moral vision. Addison defended the pleasures of imagination as a moral activity, and Churchill "proves" that these pleasures (reollections of visual scenes) are in fact vital to the moral sense.
Night, unlike any other Churchill poem, is organized around a structural metaphor which is not, like irony or mock panegyric, a metaphor of tone or attitude. The metaphor here is true vision at night, and it is connected to the general theme of moral reality (true ethics) versus false appearances. Through the first half of the poem night-life is proved to be appropriate for the moral satirist, and in the latter half the poet gives proof that his moral perspective (which is expressed in visual terms) is true. The night themes and images of the first half appropriately become themes and images of appearance and reality. Moral arguments typical enough in satire are made somewhat whimsical and ingratiating by the imaginative framework of night-time into which they are cast. Night-time, instead of representing only an opportunity for the poets to carouse, becomes a personification of morals, true vision, social concern, imaginative pleasures, and even the poets themselves.

The satirist in Night must defend his pride and hedonism by contrasting himself with the vicious and futile world; he must recommend and defend his own particular ethical perspective on society. His problem is, in the metaphorical situation of Night, literally to see things rightly. At night he can, more or less paradoxically, see (that is, recollect in imagination) what social events occurred in the court during the day and pass true moral judgment. As he says,
at night his "active mind... darts through Nature at a single glance," and sees "by NIGHT what fools we are by DAY." (117-120) The poem is full of scenes that the poet sees and points to in the manner of guiding us through prospects in society.

Night-time and darkness had certain literary connotations which are relevant here. Seeing better at night was to the Georgian mind a useful religious metaphor which answered the metaphors associated with "enlightenment." Darkness and the paraphernalia of nocturnal existence--including of course cemetery relics, corpses, charnel houses, owls, bats, midnight vigils, etc.--were familiarly associated with the ability and the opportunity to meditate justly upon life and death.

Graveyard paraphernalia became the objective-correlatives of emotions which were probably more disordered than just, because the graveyard poets particularly tried to capture for their own uses the sublimity which Pope, for example, associated with darkness in the closing passage of the Dunciad. Churchill's Night, in relation to its satiric themes of moral vision, might be considered a satirist's version of Night Thoughts, with meditations restricted to human society. Churchill's personified "Night" is in fact sublime because she is the agent of true morality. The idea that at night the imagination can dart through nature at a single glance and search round the world has connotations of
sublime vastness. Churchill makes similar use of night-time as nature and imagination versus daytime as artifice in Ghost IV, 989-1012 and Gotham III, 389-440.

Georgian religious poets found scientific and philosophic "support" for their notion of better moral vision at night. While light retained its traditional symbolism of deity, sublimity, and wisdom, seventeenth century astronomical discoveries had made darkness also seem vast and sublime. Besides, the reality of colors and man's ability to see things truly in daylight were discredited by Locke, the Opticks, and Hume. According to Locke, colors were only secondary qualities; in the Opticks, Newton proved that colors were only a part of light, which, deceptively enough, appeared to be white; and Hume said finally that colors, although pleasant and apparently real, were entirely subjective. Marjorie Hope Nicolson has described Edward Young's re-working of these ideas into impressive and sublime views of the heavens at night, the vanity of man's relying upon his senses, and the consequent reinforcement in the viewer's mind of orthodox notions of deity. Now although Churchill's scope is not so broad as Young's either physically or theologically, we find in Night, besides the sympathetic treatment of personified darkness, considerable more or less scientific argument that daylight is deceptive, physically as well as morally. In a phrase out of the physico-theological
poets, Churchill declares one of his themes:

**THROUGH a false medium things are shown by day.**

(139)

"Medium" in that context means the atmosphere which bends and
distorts sunbeams. Churchill's use of the word may be
compared with Henry Brooke's, in *Universal Beauty*, 1756:

the circumambient Air we sing,
*Its springy, tension, and elastic Spring,*
The quick Vibration of the yielding Mass,
How Objects thr'o' *its* lucid *Medium* pass. . .
*This Atmosphere conveys th' enlight'ning Beam,*
*Reflects, inflects, refracts* the orient Ray.

(II 33-43)

Brooke went on to praise the atmosphere for allowing dawn
to break gently and twilight to be extended, but for Churchill
the atmosphere is part of the natural situation of a society
which literally cannot attain the satirist's perspective.

The philosophic notion of the deceptiveness of all is
alluded to:

beneath NIGHT's honest shade
When pomp is buried and false colours fade,
Plainly we see at that impartial hour
Those dupes to pride, and him the tool of pow'r.

(153-6)

Churchill's rather brief allusions to science are expanded,
as we shall see, on the subject of medicine.

Churchill's anticipates with wit and whimsy the objection
that night air is unhealthy. The specific occasion for Night
is generally thought to be a line in the Day of Dr. John
Armstrong which Churchill apparently took as a slur against
himself---"What crazy scribbler reigns the present wit."
Grant and Hopkins think that Armstrong, writing in Germany, would not likely have heard of Churchill in 1760, but it is clear that Armstrong is satirized in Night. Day, addressed to John Wilkes, is a rambling, querulous poetic epistle of advice on diet, temperance, and the preservation of health, much like the author's longer and widely known The Art of Preserving Health, 1744. Day suggests the moral implications associated with certain hours:

You study early: some indulge at night,  
Their prudish Muse steals in by candle-light;  
Shy as the Athenian bard, she shuns the day,  
And finds December genial more than May.  
But happier you who court the early Sun,  
For morning visits no debauch draw on,  
Nor so the spirits, health, or sight impair. 
As those that pass in the raw midnight air.

The Art of Preserving Health gives more specific caution against night air:

In study some protract the silent hours,  
Which others consecrate to mirth and wine,  
And sleep till noon, and hardly live till night.  
But surely this redeem not from the shades  
One hour of life. Nor does it nought avail  
What season you to drowsy Morpheus give  
Of th' ever-varying circle of the day,  
Or whether through the tedious winter ghaem  
You tempt the midnight or the morning damps.  
The body fresh and vig'rous from repose  
Defies the early fogs, but by the toils  
Of wakeful day exhausted and unstrung  
Weakly resists the night's unwholesome breath.

Dr. George Cheyne, in An Essay of Health and Long Life, 1724, gives a scientific explanation for what was apparently the universal attitude toward air and health:
The Seasons for *sleeping* and *waking*, which Nature seems to point out to us, at least in those our Climates near the Tropick, are the Vicissitudes of Day and Night. Those Damps, Vapours, and Exhalations, that are drawn up into the higher Regions, and are so rarified by the Heat and Action of the Sun, as to become innocent or very weak in the Day-time; are condensed, sink low, near the Surface of the Earth, and are perpetually drooping down in the Night Season; and consequently must be injurious to those tender Persons, that unnaturally watch in that Season; and must necessarily obstruct the Perspiration, which the Activity of Waking, and the Motion of Labour promotes. I have already shewn, that our Bodies suck and draw into them, the good or bad qualities of the circumambient Air, through the Mouths of all the perspiratory Ducts of the Skin. And if we were to view an animal Body with a proper Glass, it would appear with an Atmosphere quite round it, like the Steam of a boiling Pot. How we may easily conceive, what injury a Constitution may receive, not only by stopping such a perpetual Discharge of Superfluities, but also by forcing into the Habit, by the Air's Weight and Pressure, those noxious Humors and Vapours, that are perpetually falling near the Surface of the Earth, in the Night-time. Your true Architects are so sensible of this, that by Observation they have gathered it to be more safe for their Health, and better for prolonging their Lives, to get drunk betimes and go to Bed, than to sit up and be sober. 25

English air was generally considered bad for the health, easily conducive to the spleen. Though various theories were proposed as to the origins of disease, basic to such speculation was the recognition that the gloominess and uncertainty of the English climate interfered with perspiration, cheerfulness, the circulation of the humours, and the workings of the nerves. 26

Satire against doctors generally concentrated on quack
remedies and the amusing but ominously enigmatic clutter of medical objects and terminology, or it held up to ridicule the doctor's pretense to rule on wide-ranging moral, political, and literary issues. The doctor was a satiric type like the lawyer, the soldier, and the clergyman. Satire generally made no useful distinction between what we could consider the legitimate doctors and the cranks. Horace Walpole and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu distrusted all doctors. Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith, and Crabbe satirized them continually. The British Museum catalog of satiric prints lists dozens of satires against doctors in this period. Among the many poetical satires against doctors are Smart's *Hilliad*, Paul Whitehead's *Epistle to Dr. Thompson*, Anstey's *New Bath Guide*, Savage's *London and Bristol delineated*, Brooke's epilogue "On Humbugging." In *Ghost IV* Churchill satirized the profession bitterly:

Not such as Those, who PHYSIC twirl,
Full fraught with death, from ev'ry curl,
Who prove, with all becoming State,
Their voice to be the voice of Fate,
Prepar'd with Essence, Drop, and Pill,
To be another MARD, or HILL,
Before they can obtain their Ends
To sign Death-warrants for their Friends,
And Talents vast as their's employ,
*Secundum Artem* to destroy.

(49-58)

Of course Ward and Hill were quacks and peddlers of patent medicines, but Churchill hits at more general abuses, or at what C. A. Moore terms the "syndicate composed of the doctor,
the nurse, and the undertaker. In view of what he might have done, it is a little surprising that Churchill attacks Armstrong so mildly in *Night*. Probably the difference in satiric technique reflects the distinction between dishonest practice and widely accepted, but supposedly incorrect, medical theory. Churchill evidently wants to deal with the medical theory in such a way as to work in his rather ingratiating theory of imagination and health. Since Armstrong associated health with morality (avoiding late hours aids morals), Churchill must show how his own version of morality conduce to physical health.

First Churchill gives us Armstrong as a pedant who has only "antient learning" and a costume:

LET the sage DOCTOR (think him one we know)  
With scraps of antient learning overflow,  
In all the dignity of wig declare  
The fatal consequence of midnight air,  
How damps and vapours, as it were by stealth,  
Undermine life, and sap the walls of health.  
(57-62)

After those mild hits at medical theory comes the poet's wisdom:

For me let GALEN moulder on the shelf,  
I'll live, and be physician to myself,  
Whilst soul is join'd to body, whether fate  
Allot a longer or a shorter date;  
I'll make them live, as brother should with brother,  
And keep them in good humour with each other.  
(63-6)

Churchill's picture of himself as a sort of Malebranchian God refers fancifully to the spleen, which was thought to be caused
by an imbalance of fluids in the body or by gases which
fumed up from the stomach to disrupt the soul. A victim
of the spleen was literally in bad "humour." The Countess
of Winchelsea's "The Spleen: A Pindaric Poem" gives an
account of the spleen which makes clear Churchill's meaning:

Falsely the mortal part we blame
Of our depressed and ponderous frame,
Which, till the first degrading sin
Let thee / the spleen /, its dull attendant, in,
Still with the other / the soul / did comply,
Nor clog'd the active soul, dispos'd to fly,
And range the mansions of its native sky. 29

In the first three paragraphs of Night Churchill described
himself in terms of grief, care, and sorrow, but when these
things can be avoided, he says later, the "active mind..." darts through Nature at a single glance" (117-120). Avoiding
the spleen has a connection with Epicurean serenity. When not
distorted by the spleen, the power of Fancy brings to the
mind's eye sufficiently accurate pictures of the daytime
world to allow the poet to make true moral judgments of it.
True imaginative vision at night is contrasted by implication
with splenetic hallucinations.

Churchill's light-hearted reply in lines 65-69 has the
tone of anti-authoritarianism and common sense, or of what
Lovejoy called "rationalistic individualism"--the rational
man is able to perceived the true systems of theology,
medicine, or whatever without relying upon authorities. 30
Epicurean contentment and rational serenity in Night are
associated here with what sounds like whimsical fatalism.

The powers of imagination appear in the next stage of the argument:

THE surest road to health, say what they will,
Is never to suppose we shall be ill.
Most of those evils we poor mortals know
From doctors and imagination flow.
(69-72)

Ghost IV says,

Imagination, thro' the trick
Of doctors, often makes us sick,
And why, let any Sophist tell,
May it not likewise make us well?
(293-6)

In later poems Churchill discussed more seriously, in terms of shame and guilt, various situations involving psychological disturbance. In the Conference there is the subjective account of the agitations of guilt, and Gotham tells of the mental strain of writing; Famine's prophecy is, among other things, a sullen reaction to a felt sense of mistreatment and shame. In Night the brief insight is part of an enjambment, the "logical" conclusion to which dispossesses doctors and points forward to further considerations of the value of staying up at night:

Hence to old women with your boasted rules,
Stale traps, and only sacred now to fools;
As well may sons of physic hope to find
One medicine, as one hour, for all mankind.
(75-6)

Perhaps it is unfair to Churchill's medical theories and his lighter moment in Night to mention that he caught syphilis,
which he thought would turn into gonorrhea, and that he died of a "miliary" fever after staying up all night in the damp Normandy air.  

Though the philosophic and scientific themes are important as part of the background of Night, the association of nighttime, night life, and the poets' true morality is made in the poem by imagery and tone. We may investigate tone only after summarizing the poem, but imagery may be surveyed at this point. A series of identities is set up of daytime-light; false appearances-fools-courtiers-"prudence" (hypocrisy), which is opposed by the identities night-imagination-true moral vision-virtue-contentment-Churchill-Lloyd. Imagery is more important in Night than in most of Churchill's other poems because the moral issues in Night are predicated upon metaphors of vision.

The first contrast between day and night establishes Churchill and Lloyd as virtuous men who can come out only after dark:

LET slaves to business, bodies without soul,
Important blanks in Nature's mighty roll,
Solemnize nonsense in the day's broad glare,
We NIGHT prefer, which heals or hides our care.

ROGUES justified and by success made bold,
Dull fools and coxcombs sanctified by Gold,
Feely may bask in fortune's partial ray,
And spread their feathers op'ning to the day;
But thread-bare Merit dares not show the head
'Till vain Prosperity retires to bed.
Misfortunes, like the Owl, avoid the light;
The sons of CARE are always sons of NIGHT.

(7-18)
Those lines were quoted on page 54 as part of the Epicurean theme of friendship in the poem. In the passage logical argument is of course shunned in favor of a self-pitying tone and significant images of association. In the "day's broad glare" and "fortune's partial ray" we see "slaves to business," rogues, fools, and coxcombs engage in their formal public activities which, as the phrases "Solemnize nonsense" and "sanctified by Gold" imply, are blasphemous substitutes for religion. The fools spread their supposedly fine feathers, but Merit must play the owl, a solemn bird.

Lines 19-112 "prove" that one hour of the day is as good as another if "virtuously enjoy'd," and reveal that the poets choose to stay awake at night. Then the speaker asserts directly that true ethical perspective, expressed in visual terms, is possible only at night:

WHILEST peaceful slumbers bless the homely bed,  
Where Virtue, self-approov'd, reclines her head;  
WHILEST vice beneath imagin'd horrors mourns,  
And conscience plants the villain's couch with thorns,  
Impatient of restraint, the active mind,  
No more by servile prejudice confin'd,  
Leaps from her seat, as wak'ned from a trance,  
And darts through Nature at a single glance.  
Then we our friends, our foes, ourselves, survey,  
And see by NIGHT what fools we are by DAY.

STRIPT of her gaudy plumes and vain disguise  
See where Ambition mean and loathsome lies!  
Reflexion with relentless hand pulls down  
The tyrant's bloody wreath and ravish'd crown.  

(113-26)

In this passage the structural or governing metaphor of the
whole poem is made clear: the themes of moral judgment, false appearances, and the power of imagination are expressed in the metaphor of night vision. As a dramatic and cosmic metonym, the "active mind... darts through Nature at a single glance." The active mind can see both ambition and "the Friend of all mankind" when it is "searching round the world."

The principle of the moral perspective objectified by night-time is illustrated by a fine passage with a mosaic of images and allusions to science, heroic epithets (the sun equals the hero), and religion:

THROUGH a false medium things are shewn by day,
Pomp, wealth, and titles judgment lead astray.
How many from appearance borrow state
Whom NIGHT disdains to number with the Great!
Must not we laugh to see ye lordling proud
Smuff up vile incense from a fawning crowd?
Whilst in his beam surrounding clients play,
Like insects in the sun's enliv'ning ray,
Whilst, JEHU like, he drives at furious rate,
And seems the only charioteer of state,
Talking himself into a little God,
And ruling empires with a single nod,
Who would not think, to hear him law dispense,
That he had Int'rest, and that they had sense?
Injur'ous thought! beneath NIGHT's honest shade
When pomp is buried and false colours fade,
Plainly we see at that impartial hour
Them dupes to pride, and him the tool of pow'r.
(139-56)

Bute is the lordling. "Night," personified in this passage, actually becomes identified with the speaker who is able to be a moral censor because he stays up at night. The whole passage is a moral lesson which offers empirical evidence
for the speaker's moral perspective. The scene is dramatic and pictorial—"see ye lordling proud," says the speaker, pointing; even in his chariot the alleged biblical statesman cannot escape the courtiers. The lordling's beam, like other kinds of light in the poem, causes corruption. According to old-fashioned or poeticized biology, light and heat cause insects to rise from corrupt matter. Jahu, according to 2 Kings 9:20, "driveth furiously" between spells of giving false information about a peace pact. He was rewarded by God for committing atrocities against Ahab and Jezebel—the implications of the allusion for Bute are vague, but ominous. At the end of the passage, in order to emphasize pictorial qualities and the important visual themes, the speaker says, "Plainly we see." The passage is an unusual instance in Churchill of consistently excellent rhyme-words (except perhaps for the repetition of long "a" sounds); verbs are paired with other parts of speech and no weak or unimportant word takes the end position. One pair of rhyme-words reminds us aptly of, "Assume the god, / Affect to nod / And seem to shake the spheres."

Night-time is mentioned once more in the poem, in connection with contentment and the powers of imagination:

Exempt we sit, by no rude cares opprest,
And, having little, are with little blest.
All real ills in dark oblivion lye,
And joys, by fancy form'd, their place supply.
NIGHT's laughing hours unheeded slip away,
Nor one dull thought foretells approach of DAY.
(281-36)
The pictorial suggestion ("laughing hours") and psychological insight into the workings of fancy lead immediately into the scene of Epicurean contentment discussed on page 51. Churchill ends the scene with the boast, "Thus WILL we live, tho' in our teeth are hurl'd / Those Hackney Strumpets, PRUDENCE and the WORLD" (295-6).

With the identification of night-morality-vision-contentment—Churchill established, the second half of the poem (from line 195) develops the important corollary to the identification—false appearances in the daytime. We have seen some of the implications of the corollary developed earlier. After asserting that the atmosphere is a false medium, that Bute is a tool of power (a situation paradoxically visible at night), and that many persons borrow state from "appearance" (141), the speaker offers the generalized Johnsonian example of the courtier:

GOD help the man, condemn'd by cruel fate
To court the seeming, or the real great.
Much sorrow shall he feel, and suffer more
Than any slave who labours at the ear.
By slavish methods must he learn to please,
By smooth-tongued flattery, that curst court-
    disease,
Supple to ev'ry wayward mood strike sail,
And shift with shifting humour's peevish gale.
To Nature dead he must adopt vile art,
And wear a smile, with anguish in his heart.
A sense of honour would destroy his schemes,
And conscience ne'er must speak unless in dreams.
When he hath tamely borne for many years
Cold looks, forbidding frowns, contemptuous
    sneers,
When he at last expects, good easy man,
To reap the profits of his labour'd plan,
Some cringing LACQUEY, or rapacious WHORE,
To favours of the great the surest door,
Some CATAMITE, or PIMP, in credit grown,
Who tempts another's wife, or sells his own,
Steps cross his hopes, the promis'd boon denies,
And for some MINION's MINION claims the prize.
(157-78)

The last lines parallel the ending of Pope's tale of Sir Balaam. Although the exemplum is neither specific nor specifically visualized, it follows the assertion, "Plainly we see at that impartial hour / Them dupes to pride, and him the tool of pow'r." The most important theme in the passage, so far as later elaboration in the poem is concerned, is the association of worldly diplomacy with frustrated, undeveloped, or divided human nature—"To Nature dead he must adopt vile art, / And wear a smile, with anguish in his heart" (165-6). We have discussed this theme in connection with Stoic pride and Epicurean trepidations, and we see it as central in Churchill's Popean self-portrait which is a deliberate contrast to the courtier:

FOE to restraint, unpractis'd in deceit,
Too resolute, from Nature's active heat,
To brook affronts, and tamely pass them by;
Too proud to flatter, too sincere to lie,
Too plain to please, too honest to be great;
Give me, kind Heaven, an humbler, happier state:
Far from the place where men with pride deceive,
Where rascals promise, and where fools believe;
Far from the walk of folly, vice and strife,
Calm, independent, let me steal thro' life,
Nor one vain wish my steady thoughts beguile
To fear his lordship's frown, or court his smile.
Unfit for greatness, I her shores defy,
And look on riches with untainted eye.
To others let the glitt'ring babbles fall,
Content shall place us far above them all.
(179-94)

Moral distance and perspective ("Far from. . .") are thus objectified in visual terms as the speaker looks on riches but is not fooled by glitter.

That objectification of perspective and relationship is immediately in a theatrical metaphor elaborated:

SPECTATORS only on this bustling stage,
We see what vain designs mankind engage.
Vice after vice with ardour they pursue,
And one old folly brings forth twenty new.
Perplex'd with trifles thro' the vale of life,
Man strives 'gainst man, without a cause for strife;
Armies embattled meet, and thousands bleed,
For some vile spot which cannot fifty feed.
Squirrels for nuts contend, and, wrong or right,
For the world's empire kings ambitious fight.
What odds?--to us 'tis all the self-same thing,
A NUT, a WORLD, a SQUIRREL, and a KING.
(195-206)

It is on the political stage that, "The grave, the gay, the fopling, and the dunce, / Start up (God bless us!) statesmen all at once" (217-9). Even women become interested in the political stage, and, "Nor more they pant for PUBLIC BARRE- SHOWS" (235)—that is, for puppet shows using a box for a stage. Playing his part, the Cit is a magician who,

Wielding aloft the Politician rod,
Makes P/it by turns a devil and a god,
Maintains e'en to the very teeth of pow'r
The same thing right and wrong in half an hour,
Now all is well, now he suspects a plot,
And plainly proves, WHATEVER IS, IS NOT.
(245-50)
We may notice that the Citz himself is visualized in
grotesquely heroic parody—"Ten thousand mighty nothings
in his face" (240), and,

His useless scales are in a corner flung,
And Europe's balance hangs upon his tongue.
(253-4)

The cluttered scene of satire, as described by Kernan, naturally suggests that Churchill's hyperbolic metaphor on the powers of diplomacy be taken literally and visually as a caricature which combines the face with the appropriate inanimate object. Returning to his personal perspective, the speaker summarizes and degrades the stage image around which his evidence was organized in lines 195-254:

PEACE to such triflers, be our happier plan
To pass thro' life as easy as we can.
Who's in or out, who moves this grand machine,
Nor stirs my curiosity nor spleen.
Secrets of state no more I wish to know
Than secret movements of a PUPPET-SHOW;
Let but the puppets move, I've my desire,
Unseen the hand which guides the MASTER-WIRE.
(255-62)

The last quarter of the poem, lines 297-362, an attack on the morals of the times, discusses the meaning of the words "prudence" and "world." Rhetorical definition had been used prominently in the poem to establish the worth of the poet's moral perspective, and Churchill is always conscious of linguistic problems. "Good hours" mean daytime to Prudence, night-time to Florio, but any hour "virtuously enjoy'd" to Reason and the poet (lines 29-56). The poet
admonishes the makers of arbitrary rules:

GO on, ye fools, who talk for talking sake,
Without distinguishing distinctions make. . .
Reason, collected in herself, disdains
The slavish yoke of arbitrary chains,
Steady and true each circumstance she weighs,
Nor to bare words inglorious tribute pays.

(41-7)

Through most of the poem the speaker's assertions have been supported by arguments from association---of the speaker with good men, of night-time with moral perspective, of the speaker with night-time---and empirical evidence presented in humorous fashion. With the speaker's virtue thus established, he can deliver the concluding sermon which does not involve the speaker's specifically personal philosophy.

Prudence is defined:

PRUDENCE, of old a sacred term, imply'd
Virtue with godlike wisdom for her guide,
But now in general use is known to mean
The stalking-horse of vice, and folly's screen.
The same perverted we retain the name,
Hypocrisy and Prudence are the same.

(297-302)

The theme of false appearances remains visual ("folly's screen") and moral; a sly tutor gives advice:

Keep up appearances; there lies the test,
The world will give thee credit for the rest.
Outward be fair, however foul within;
Sin if thou wilt, but then in secret sin.
This maxim's into common favour grown,
Vice is no longer vice unless 'tis known.
Virtue indeed may bare face'd take the field,
But vice is virtue, when 'tis well conceal'd.

(311-18)

In the same visual terms, the Stoic speaker asserts his own
view:

Shall wretches whom no real virtue warms,
Gild fair their names and states with empty forms,
Whilst VIRTUE seeks in vain the wish'd-for prize,
Because, disdaining ill, she hates disguise;
Because she frankly pours forth all her store,
Seems what she is, and scorns to pass for more?

(355-6)

The final outburst against hypocrisy in the paragraph recalls in an image the theme of the duties of being human and the abuse of human nature:

Might the whole world be plac'd within my span,
I would not be that THING, that PRUDENT MAN.

(345-4)

Both themes are repeated later:

Vice must be vice, virtue be virtue still,
Tho' thousands rail at good and practise ill.

(361-2)

Unaw'd by numbers, follow Nature's plan,
Assert the rights, or quit the name of man.

(375-6)

When the speaker is told, "the WORLD is in the right," he supplies a definition for the word:

WHAT is this WORLD? a term which men have got
To signify not one in ten knows what;
A term, which with no more precision passes
To point out herds of men than herds of asses;
In common use no more it means we find,
Than many fools in same opinions join'd.

(355-6)

In the last two paragraphs of the poem, asserting obedience to nature, virtue, and individualism, the speaker exhorts guiltless men to resist nations, legions, and even millions of erring men.
Modern literary critics in general esteem the structural metaphor as an important aspect of the explicator's assumption of unity in complexity. Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, cite I. A. Richards and Ezra Pound:

"Too much importance has always been attached to the sensory qualities of images. What gives an image efficacy is less its vividness as an image than its character as a mental event peculiarly connected with sensation." Its efficacy comes from its being "a relist" and a "representation" of sensation. . . . Ezra Pound, theorist of several poetic movements, defined the "image" not as a pictorial representation, but as "that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time," a "unification of disparate ideas."33

We have seen how night-time, with its literary, scientific, and social connotations, is the constant imaginative reference for the important personal and moral themes in the satire, and also how night-time is used in important imaginative and moral contrast to daytime. It is unusual to find the multifarious devices of formal satire organized as they are in *Night* around a constant physical image which has evolving intellectual, personal, and moral associations as part of the satirist's argument. In connection with Pound's "unification of disparate ideas" it has been mentioned that *Night*, with its associations of the satirist with virtue and of virtue with night life, has some of the aspects of formal paradox—apparent contradictions made compatible not by occultism but rather by rhetoric, forensics, imagery, and the appearance of logic. In *Night* the speaker's perspective and distance from the world are expressed
in terms of the structural metaphor. In later poems Churchill secures the effect of distance and perspective by the use of irony and mock panegyric.

Several satiric images in Night which are not part of the central visual pattern should be considered here. Reminiscing about schoolboy lessons in the classics, Churchill uses a stock botanical image:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{WHETHER those classic regions are survey'd} \\
\text{Where we in earliest youth together stray'd,} \\
\text{Where hand in hand we trod the flow'ry shore.} \\
(95-7)
\end{align*}
\]

The poetic circumlocution, without losing its visual character, is turned into satire upon the ungrateful William Sellon:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{we conspir'd a thankless wretch to raise,} \\
\text{And taught a stump to shoot with pilfer'd praise.} \\
(99-100)
\end{align*}
\]

In the same paragraph Churchill uses in image which appears in most of his later poems—the unnatural or ill-favored birth. Sometimes the image, as in this instance, is used in sarcasm, but sometimes it is part of a pathetic self-portrait. The doctor is Smollett, the lawyer is Arthur Murphy:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{half-bred surgeons, whom men doctors call,} \\
\text{And lawyers, who were never bred at all,} \\
\text{Those mighty-letter'd monsters of the earth,} \\
\text{Our pity move, or exercise our mirth.} \\
(105-8)
\end{align*}
\]

Both men failed to mature into their first chosen professions.
Sometimes Churchill combined the image of the ill-favored birth with the image of the bear which fails to lick its new-born cubs into the proper bear-like shape. Lines 225-238 have been carefully analyzed by Wallace Cable Brown as an example of Churchill's syntactic unit larger than the couplet. Brown pointed out the logical development of thought which leads to Cæcilia the epitome of women, the syntactical balance, varied cadence, and mock heroic tone--the passage may be compared with the Rape of the Lock.36

> FEMALES themselves the glorious ardour feel,  
> And boast an equal, or a greater zeal / for politics /
> From nymph to nymph the state infection flies,  
> Swells in her breast, and sparkles in her eyes.  
> O'erwhelm'd by politics lye malice, pride,  
> Envy and twenty other faults beside.  
> No more their little flutt'ring hearts confess  
> A passion for applause, or rage for dress;  
> No more they pant for PUBLIC HARKE-SHOWS,  
> Or lose one thought on monkeys or on beaux.  
> Coquettes no more pursue the jilting plan,  
> And lustful prudes forget to rail at man.  
> The darling theme CÆCILIA's self will chuse,  
> Nor thinks of scandal whilst she talks of news.  
> (225-38)

Although this chapter has concentrated upon important and overlooked philosophic themes and structural metaphors in Night, the critic's perspective should probably be adjusted at this point in order to recognize that those themes and devices are subordinate to the general form and structure of formal satire. Heran's descriptions of the persona and the plot of satire offer rules which may be
said to govern Night. The persona, because he must associate himself with virtue, is somewhat generalized--his Stoic poses are familiar enough in satire, though they are significantly modified by Epicurean poses. The satiric plot is mostly scenes and catalogs described in a tone of voice which becomes increasingly impassioned and indignant. Churchill's ending unfortunately does not equal the cosmic melodrama at the end of Pope's Epilogue and the Dunciad. Critics have complained that Night has one of Churchill's occasional weak endings, and indeed the standard heroic pose seems flat as an ending to a poem that used whimsy, personal confessions, structural metaphors, and cleverly interspersed exempla (anecdotes were recommended by Aristotle as part of the enthymemis process; they are more persuasive than assertions, or premises) to establish the important themes. Virtuous generalized assertions more or less expected to round out the formal satire, but unfortunately those assertions seem to contradict the more attractive poses which we have described as Epicurean. On the other hand, the conventional Stoic and heroic ending allows the speaker to complete his themes of public duty, human nature, and the proud isolation of the satirist. Psychologically the heroic pose offers respectable relief from the darker aspects of the speaker's philosophy of somewhat liberalized Epicureanism--pride, fear of society, resentment of poverty, and fear of isolation.
Any paragraph in Night may be discussed in relation to the tone or pose that the speaker assumes as he takes what he has "proved" for granted and implies, in tones of indignation, whimsy, self-control, or whatever, that the evidence and assertions to come can be believed. Tone of voice in fact distinguishes to a certain extent whether certain philosophic ideas may be considered Stoic or Epicurean, for example, the various attitudes toward patriotism. Since tone of voice is recognized as important in formal satire, and since a reader can perceive the variations of satiric tone if he can perceive anything in satire, there is not much need to follow the shifting public and private satiric poses through Night. In general, the speaker begins somewhat self-pitying and personal, and ends impersonal and indignant after having discussed in detail the contrast between himself and immoral society. Private life and attitudes are discussed more self-consciously than the outraged attacks on public vices which in the poem are usually a part of one or another rhetorical definition. Churchill's energy, "nervousness," and mastery of complicated satiric rhetoric need not be argued here.

In the terms of the explicator, Night has two elements of unity: the personality and attitudes of the speaker (modern students of satire in fact usually begin with a psychological analysis of the personality of the central persona); and the
central metaphor of night as morality with the various themes and images and panegyric descriptions which elaborate that metaphor. The speaker's varied tones of voice and the personality which is inferred from them cannot be described without reference to his ideas and figures of speech. With that reservation we may read Night as a personal poem with a dramatic speaker of unusual interest. This chapter has dealt with what might be called certain aspects of the assumed coherence of Night. The aspects chosen were thought by the writer to deserve investigation at this stage of Churchill criticism, and were historical, aesthetic, and, in effect rather than intention, somewhat anti-biographical.
CHAPTER III

The Prophecy of Famine: Backgrounds and Political Rhetoric

Though the Prophecy of Famine is one of the four or five poems which have been called Churchill's best, most critics consider the last quarter of the poem, the prophecy itself, an anticlimax to the clever parodies and acute literary judgments made in the first 400 lines. An examination of the political and literary backgrounds should provide materials toward a more just appreciation of Famine's prophecy. The significant question to be asked is, with what sort of emotional heightening does Churchill ornament his charges against Scotland, and to answer the question one must consider popular anti-administration attitudes, theories of pastoral and of horrific sublimity, ironic use of religious myths, and political rhetoric.

Evidently the Prophecy of Famine had some effect as political propaganda. Wilkes predicted that the poem would succeed because, "it was at once personal, poetical, and political," and in fact it almost exceeded the Rassalad in extent of circulation and number of editions published in one year. ¹ Published in January, 1763, it rode the crest of a wave of anti-administration and anti-Scotch sentiment,
and the poem, along with the *North Briton* papers, may have been decisive in persuading Bute to resign. The mock-Scottish speakers and their claims in the poem are almost exactly like those in the *North Briton* papers, although Famine is less concerned with particular political issues than with the supposed destiny of Scotland. The *Prophecy of Famine* should also be associated with the British Museum collection of 400 or so satirical prints issued in the years 1760–1765. Only four of those prints, including Hogarth’s *The Times*, support the administration; although Bute patronized writers and poets, he apparently neglected to hire cartoonists, and one may only speculate what effect the prints had on uninstructed opinion. Most of the prints attack Bute, and many of them depict beggarly Scots on the road to England, or perhaps getting fat in England; the fourth and fifth editions of the *Prophecy of Famine* were decorated with a print showing a ragged Scot. Various prints illustrated the jibes of the *North Briton*, and one may see possible allusions to the *Prophecy of Famine* in the several prints from those years which show the Scots as Israel on the way to the Promised Land of England. Englishmen complained bitterly that Scots received the best positions from Bute. Frequently mentioned in the complaints was the list of sixteen gazette promotions which included "eleven Stuarts and four M’Kenzies"; Stuart was Bute’s family name.
Bute himself was accused of stealth and treason, and of influencing George III by means of a liaison established with the Dowager-Princess. The administration, failing to have Wilkes assassinated, took partial revenge in the Essay on Woman incident and the later trial for sedition involving the North Briton 45. The Prophecy of Famine, then, even more than other Churchill poems, exploited a situation in which public feeling and a sense of grievance were running high. Quite just is Tooke's comment that the poem "unites in itself more excellencies of severe political invective than any poem that has ever been produced in the English language since the publication of Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel."

Famine's prophecy is essentially a piece of nationalistic, or jingoist, propaganda. Famine's own ideas, which correspond to the English stereotype of the ambitions of greedy Scots, are undercut by the implied attitudes of Churchill's English speaker, as the red flag of Scotch nationalism is waved in front of the English reader. While the Prophecy of Famine was read as a comment upon current politics in 1763, it is more to our purpose to emphasize the cultural context into which the ideas of nationalistic aspiration and patriotism are placed. From many sources Churchill borrows appropriate literary ornament for his partisan message.

Though specific parallels between the Prophecy of Famine
and *Windsor Forest* will be discussed later, it can be suggested here that Churchill's poem mocks all of the important themes of the Augustan sub-genre to which *Windsor Forest* belongs, the "peace and plenty" poems. Clifford Earl Ramsey, in a master's thesis directed by Aubrey Williams, discusses the "peace and plenty" poems from *Cooper's Hill* to *Windsor Forest* as a separate genre within the English georgic tradition, and to that thesis most of the information in this paragraph is owed. Central to the "peace and plenty" tradition is the idea that history occurs in predictable or revealed patterns and cycles, and that at some particular time the poet's own country will be favored and prosperous. History may thus be interpreted as a myth of human destiny as in *Paradise Lost* II and XIII, the *Essay on Man*, the *Aeneid* VI, the *Pollio*, the *Messiah*, and the *Faerie Queene*. This mythic conception of history, with Christian or millennial orientation, is central to the special "peace and plenty" poems, for example, Virgil's *Georgics*, *Rural Sports*, Diaper's *Dryades*, *Cooper's Hill*, Prior's *Carmen Seculare*, Waller's panegyrics, *Cyder*, and the most complete epitome of the genre, *Windsor Forest*. Because the pattern of history is believed to be known, considerations of the future are as important as recollections of the past. Disasters in the past will be interpreted as a portent of, or a purifying and testing for, a glorious future. In *Annum Mirabilis*, a new city will be built, and in the
Prophecy of Famine the Scots will be inspired by past mistreatments and deprivations to take constant advantage of the English. Virgil's Pollio speaks of war, peace, wealth, and enterprise as part of a whole theory of human history from one Golden Age to the next; central to Virgil's theory is the account of loss and reparation, of the coming redemption of the race. In this context any sort of national struggle will be interpreted as a holy war for salvation. Associated with the future prosperity of the poet's homeland were the Renaissance and Roman-derived literary ideas of the translatio imperii and the translatio studii—the movement, translation, or "progress" of imperial power and what Aubrey L. Williams calls cultural treasure from nation to nation. Plenty, though it might well be associated by the English poets with luxury and decline, was used in an honorific sense when coupled with peace as part of the two-fold sign of national and racial redemption; prosperity was a good thing, in moderation. The most important authority for theories of redemption was, of course, Isaiah, and biblical prophecy suggests much of the content of the "peace and plenty" poems while Virgil and Milton suggest style. The "peace and plenty" poems are concerned with temporal Golden Ages analogous to Isaiah's throne of David, rather than with Isaiah's final dissolution of the earth in heavenly light. Williams and Maynard Mack discuss parallels to Isaiah in the
prophetic parts of Windsor Forest, and point out the style of Virgil in the epithets and religious praises of the Messiah. In short, the Prophecy of Famine, like the "peace and plenty" poems, embodies a whole religious or mythic theory of human, or, as the case may be, racial destiny. It is the appearance of familiar and inexorable religious revelation which gives Famine's prophecy its ominousness. Pope himself in his later satires inverted the religious conceptions of his early poems. Famine's revelation appears to be certain, we might say, not only because of its religious form but also because on the one hand it gratifies English spite and on the other expresses the undoubted Scottish wish-fulfillment. The ominousness of Famine's threats comes in part from the appearance of the prophecy as a complete, coherent, and familiar religious unit. In discussing the pastoral scene, the character of Famine, the nature of literary prophecy and religious inversions, and the political rhetoric, we should not fail to notice how all these elements share in the apparent logic of revelation. After Windsor Forest not many "peace and plenty" poems were written with a mythic conception of history at the center. National enthusiasm afterward finds expression in the more secular poetry that Cecil Moore called "Whig panegyric." Therein history is viewed as linear, as a series of events without an externally imposed, or at least without a knowable, pattern;
such a view does not permit the poet to say much about the future, except to exhort and hope. Peace, which had been associated with salvation, is associated by Thomson and Goldsmith with complacency and expediency. Famine's prophecy, in its secular aspects, is a patriotic message to England much like Brown's Estimate and what A. D. McKillop calls the "dissident Whig panegyric" of Thomson's Britannia. England is exhorted through Churchill's Scottish myth to rouse itself against present danger and recapture past glory. This secular attitude of Churchill's speaker undercuts the mock religious prophecy ascribed to Famine.

The scene was extremely important in the "peace and plenty" poems. Of course poets learned to work with scenery in the writing of pastorals, but in the georgic poetry the scene is more than pathetic fallacy. Besides reflecting the moods of the characters, the scene itself was an analogue to the times of loss and the times of reparation or redemption. Renaissance theologians had argued whether, as Genesis implies, the earth was cursed on account of Original Sin, and the "peace and plenty" poets echoed the dispute in descriptions of a post-lapsarian world made barren by warfare and natural calamities. The scene was the poetic objectification in spatial terms of aspects of a historical theory in time—when the new Golden Age dawned, even the earth itself would be redeemed and would
prosper. Scenes, or "prospects," thus symbolize the state of the people and their land at particular moments in the time pattern of history. Scenery is used the same way, of course, in poems which accept the linear theory of history. Sometimes pastoral poetry, as Pope pointed out in reference to Virgil, could exceed its narrow limits and express complaints of current politics and morals, or perhaps legitimately predict a coming Golden Age. In the Prophecy of Fame, then, the mock pastoral scene of barren Scotland, besides existing as literary parody of realistic pastoralism, reflects, at the apt moment in Scottish history, the situation and the moods of the shepherds and their goddess.

We may begin to discuss the scene in the Prophecy of Fame with J. R. Congleton's remark that Churchill "was well informed concerning contemporary theories of pastoral poetry."

Congleton, in his survey of eighteenth century theories of pastoral, finds that by the 1760's three separate theories of pastoral may be distinguished in criticism and poetry. Neo-classic theory, elaborated by Rapin, prescribed that the pastoral should be the image of the Golden Age, with such scenes and subjects as neo-classic critics happened to approve in such models as Theocritus, Virgil, and Spenser. Pope wrote the best Augustan neo-classic pastorals, and perhaps it may be fairly said that his qualified success at establishing the neo-classic pastoral as a significant genre
only proved that the idealized scenery, the pre-lapsarian people, and the correct diction belonged within the wider limits of the georgic, where they could illustrate important matters and not exist in apparently useless isolation. Pastoral characters and themes appeared in other forms of literature, especially drama. Churchill begins the Prophecy of Famine by satirizing the neo-classic pastoral for reliance upon classical authority, stereotyped diction, mythological figures, and artificial beautifying of scenery (lines 1-75):

Then the rude THEOCRITUS is ransack'd o'er,
And courtly MARO call'd from MINUCIO's shore;
Stilian Muses on our mountains roam,
Easy and free as if they were at home;
NYMPHS, NAIADS, NEREIDS, DRYADS, SATYRS, FAUNS,
Sport in our floods, and trip it o'er our lawns;
Flow'rs which once flourisht'd fair in GREECE and ROME,
More fair revive in ENGLAND's meads to bloom;
Skies without cloud exotic sums adorn;
And roses blush, but blush without a thorn;
Landscapes, unknown to dowdy Nature, rise,
And new creations strike our wond'ring eyes.

(47-58)

Neo-classic faults, says Churchill, may be illustrated by the poetry of Lyttelton and Mason. Later in the Prophecy of Famine, the speaker volunteers to glorify Scotland in atonement for the North Briton, but he is warned by the laureate William Whitehead not to compete with better poets for the patronage of Bute. The speaker then pretends that the realistic pastoral would be a proper vehicle for his apology to Scotland.

Fontenelle had opposed Rapin's neo-classic theory of
pastoral with what Congleton calls a rationalistic theory of the pastoral as the image of uncomplicated rural life as it is really lived, or at least as it would be lived idyllically. All the traditional devices of pastoral—pathetic fallacy, love complaints, singing contests, dialogues, elegies—would be used, but they would serve the two important themes of laziness and love which to the rational mind would seem all-important in an idyllic existence. Rationalistic pastorals were written on purpose by Tickell and Phillips, and accidentally by Gay, who intended satire but who was read for his charming descriptions and quaint speech. The rationalist critics censured the neo-classic pastoral for the same characteristics that Churchill satirized. Churchill renounces panegyrical and states his new theme:

From themes too lofty for a bard so mean
Discretion beckons to an humbler scene,
The restless fever of ambition laid,
Calm I retire, and seek the sylvan shade.
Now be the Muse disrobed of all her pride,
Be all the glare of verse by Truth supplied,
And if plain nature pours a simple strain,
Which HUME may praise, and OSSIAN not disdain,
OSSIAN, sublimest, simplest Bard of all,
Whom English Infidels MACPHERSON call,
Then round my head shall honour's ensigns wave,
And pensions mark me for a willing slave.

(261-72)

Churchill repeats critical commonplaces on Theocritus, Virgil, and Ossian, and throws in his favorite social and political sneer words, such as discretion, which imply some false idea of prudence. Already (lines 195-238) the poet has
established the danger of Scotland to England. It is clear then how appropriate for the satire on Scotland is the mock rationalist pastoral associated in the poem with nature and common sense. Scottish scenes and dialect were frequently recommended to poets who sought a familiar rural subject. Churchill mocks hard cultural primitivism taken as a model of virtue:

Jockey and Sawney to their labours rose;
Soon clad I ween, where nature needs no cloaths,
Where, from their youth emr'd to winter-skies,
Dress and her vain refinements they despise.
(261-4)

The sneer at simple Ossian recalls four previous lines which refer to the Ramsays, John Home, Dean Zachary Pearce, Macpherson, and Mallet:

Thence simple bards, by simple prudence taught,
To this wise town by simple patrons brought,
In simple manner utter simple lays,
And take, with simple pensions, simple praise.
(135-8)

In connection with Ossian, at least, the modifier simple is intended to suggest the ramified subject of Georgian sublimity and how the subject is misshapen when critics associate it with Scottish "primitive" poetry. Longinus said that a certain kind of simplicity in writing would produce sublime emotions, and Albert Hall has shown that Churchill was much concerned with the true sublime in literature. The important horrific sublimity in the Prophecy of Famine may be seen as part of Churchill's
—97—

Satire on pastoral theory.

After about 1750, according to Congleton, theoretical emphasis in pastoral criticism shifted from the formulas of laziness and love to the accurate description of rural activities, expression of spontaneous feelings on the part of the shepherds, and rugged scenery. The earliest test case for this pre-romantic theory of pastoral was Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, 1725, which critics of the 1750's praised for its realistic shepherds and highly imaginative descriptions of scenery, and which Churchill explicitly parodies. As in the instance of *Windsor Forest*, Churchill parodies more than a few literary mannerisms. From the *Gentle Shepherd* Churchill for his own purposes takes the two boys, one an optimist and the other a pessimist, the regrets of Stuart defeats, the Scots dialect (or rather a few words of it), the love complaint, and such items as plaid cloth, bagpipes, caves, the assertion that the shepherds have a noble lineage, and thistles. There are the sneers, common in the anti-Scotch literature of the time, at poverty and the itch (lines 293 and 374). Further than that, though, Churchill emphasizes the personal feelings of the shepherds, describes them with a sense of realism, and makes nature suit their mood with a sublimely horrific description of the landscape and the cave.

Basically, the description of landscape offers a larger natural context for the characters and an extended visual
scene; even in Pope’s neo-classic pastorals, as Williams
suggests, there is a sense in which the shepherds are made
one with the harmonies of nature. In Churchill’s satiric
landscape nature is inharmonious, and the sense of passing
time and history is related to the flower that commemorates
the birthday of the Old Pretender. The wide visual prospect
is narrowed to focus upon the symbolic spring and flower, and
later the cave of Ramine. The reader’s imagination is
narrowed in time and space to the dismal cave, and then
released again by Ramine’s wide-ranging prophecy. R. P. Jones
points out that Pope’s pastorals set an almost unavoidable
pattern of time sequences for eighteenth eclogues to follow,
that is, eclogues were expected to be arranged as a series of
days, months, seasons, ages, or whatever. Churchill’s sense
of time and history, then, may be connected with the pastoral
as well as the reminiscences and predictions of the georgic.
Here is the Scottish landscape:

Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen,
Earth, clad in russet, scorn’d the lively green.
The plague of Locusts they secure defy,
For in three hours a grasshopper must die.
No living thing, what’er its food, feasts there,
But the Cameleon, who can feast on air.
No birds, except as birds of passage, flew,
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo.
No streams as amber smooth, as amber clear,
Were seen to glide, or heard to warble here.
Rebellion’s spring, which thro’ the country ran,
Furnish’d, with bitter draughts, the steady clan.
No flow’re embalm’d the air, but one white rose,
Which, on the tenth of June, by instinct blows,
By instinct blows at morn, and, when the shades
Of drizly eve prevail, by instinct fades.
(295-310)
Churchill's landscape may be compared with a similar landscape in Macpherson's *Carthon*:

Dost thou not behold, Malvina, a rock with its head of heath? Three aged pines bend from its face; green is the narrow plain at its feet; there the flower of the mountain grows, and shakes its white head in the breeze. The thistle is there alone, shedding its aged beard. Two stones, half sunk in the ground, show their heads of moss. The deer of the mountain avoids the place; for he beholds a dim ghost standing there.  

Churchill's description (which is serious descriptive poetry, not a parody) involves many things that critics were praising in Ossian: personification, pictorialism, nostalgia, a sense of the past, lyricism, apprehension that the land is possessed by spirits, rugged Scottish landscape (the picturesque), the association of a people with the land they inhabit (hard primitivism), emblematic devices such as thistles, panoramic views, and the effect of a guide pointing out things of interest. The speaker in Churchill who describes the prospect is actually looking out from a "bleak and barren mountain's head" (276). Anthony Champion's "From a Traveller in Wales to a Friend travelling in Scotland, August 1772" indicates a keen appreciation of Churchill's descriptive powers; Champion tells how to depict Scotland's rugged scenery:

Claude's colours there, and Virgil's style are faint,  
Let Churchill's pen, and Rosa's pencil paint,  
All frowns.  

A reader would seem justified in describing Churchill's
scene as mysterious and threatening, even sublime. The earth itself, wearing the russet cloth of peasants, is party to rebellion. Eighteenth century conceptions of sublimity were flexible enough to include the feelings of awe inspired by descriptions of blasted nature and memories of treason. Several references to Ossian in the Prophecy of Famine suggest that Churchill intended to mock the sublimity and pathos that readers were finding in Ossian; here is an example of Churchill's rather grotesque pathos:

SAWNEY ain't long without remorse could bawl
HOME's madrigals, and ditties from FINGAL.
Oft at his strains, all natural tho' rude,
The Highland Lass forgot her want of food,
And, whilst she scratch'd her lover into rest,
Sunk pleas'd, tho' hungry, on her SAWNEY's breast.

(289-94)

In a brief description, Churchill personifies the morning:

the morning... enrob'd in mist,
The mountain top with usual dulness kiss'd.

(279-80)

Hugh Blair praised Ossian in 1763 for a similar technique:

To most readers of modern poetry, it were more to the purpose to describe lions or tigers by similes taken from men, than to compare men to lions. Ossian is very correct in this particular. His imagery is, without exception, copied from that face of nature which he saw before his eyes; and by consequence may be expected to be lively. We meet with no Grecian or Italian scenery; but with the mists and clouds, and storms, of a northern mountainous region.

Scotts writers had traditionally taken pride in the rugged scenery of their homeland. Ossian specialized in vague and
terrifying allusions to mountains, caves, wind, thunder, storms, and whatever was wild and awful in nature. Churchill several times suggested that nature in Scotland is cursed:

Shepherds of Scottish lineage, born and bred
On the same bleak and barren mountain's head,
By niggard nature doom'd on the same rocks
To spin out life, and starve themselves and flocks.
(375-8)

Later the far vision of the prospect is focussed upon famine's cave, and again the curse on nature is apparent:

One, and but one poor solitary cave,
Took sparing of her favours, nature gave;
That one alone (hard tax on Scottish pride)
Shelter at once for man and beast supplied.
Their snares without entangling briers spread,
And thistles, arm'd against th' invader's head,
Stood in close ranks all entrance to oppose,
Thistles now held more precious than the rose.
All creatures, which, on nature's earliest plan,
Were form'd to loath, and to be loath'd by man,
Which ow'd their birth to nastiness and spite,
Deadly to touch, and hateful to the sight.
Creatures, which, when admitted in theark,
Their Saviour shun'd, and rankled in the dark,
Found place within; marking her noisome road
With poison's trail, here crawl'd the bloated Toad;
There webs were spread of more than common size,
And half-starv'd spiders prey'd on half-starv'd flies;
In quest of food, Hfts strove in vain to crawl;
Hugs, pinch'd with hunger, smear'd the slimy wall;
The cave around with hissing serpents rung;
On the damp roof unhealthy vapour hung,
And FAMINE, by her children always known,
As proud as poor, here fix'd her native throne.
(311-34)

The speaker's method is almost that of a guide in a gallery.

Lines 335-402 constitute the mock pastoral dialogue in which Jockey and Sawney, who take shelter in the cave from a storm, make a love complaint and lament Scottish defeats in war.
Sawney the pessimist excuses himself from playing and singing by the recitation of a sort of pastoral elegy:

Whether with pipe or song to charm the ear,  
Thro' all the land did JAMIE find a peer?  
Curs'd be that year by ev'ry honest Scot,  
And in the shepherd's calendar forgot,  
That fatal year, when JAMIE, hapless swain,  
In evil hour forsook the peaceful plain.  
JAMIE, when our young Laird discreetly fled,  
Was seiz'd, and hang'd till he was dead, dead, dead.  
(379-86)

Obvious are the pastoral characterization of the hero as a singing shepherd and the pun on Spenser. The last line is in imitation ballad style, and Grant points out that the Lord who discreetly fled is a parody of Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd, II i:

'O'er brave, good master, wha right wisely fled,  
And left a fair estate to save his head.'

From the back of the dismal cave, when the shepherds are in deepest despair, comes Famine:

Thus plain'd the Boys, when, from her throne of turf,  
With boils emboss'd, and overgrown with scurf,  
Vile humours, which, in life's corrupted well  
Mix'd at the birth, not abstinence could quell,  
Pala FAMINE rear'd the head; her eager eyes,  
Where hunger e'en to madness seem'd to rise,  
Speaking aloud her throes and pangs of heart,  
Strain'd to get loose, and from their orbs to start;  
Her hollow cheeks were each a deep-sunk cell,  
Where wretchedness and horror lov'd to dwell;  
With double rows of useless teeth supplied,  
Her mouth, from ear to ear, extended wide,  
Which, when for want of food her entrails pin'd,  
She op'd, and cursing swallow'd nought but wind;  
All shrivell'd was her skin; and here and there,  
Making their way by force, her bones lay bare;  
Such filthy sight to hide from human view,  
O'er her foul limbs a tatter'd Plaid she throw.
Cease, cried the Goddess, cease, despairing swains,
And from a parent hear what Jove ordains!
(403-22)

This grotesque character of Famine is in some ways a key both to the mock pastoral and the prophecy which she is now prepared to deliver. Her appearance is appropriate to her physical affliction and presumably to her moral wickedness.\(^{12}\) She personifies the spite and envy which Churchill thinks typical of all Scots. Her character must destroy the morality of her prophecy and at the same time make the prophecy probable and terrifying. In such deliberate, larger-than-life ugliness, as David Worcester points out, there may be considerable dignity.\(^{13}\) Famine is proud and vain, and these supposed faults of character only make her appalling ambitions believable.

The sublime and serious ugliness, we might say, captures in art the ambivalent emotions of awe and fear associated in life with death and destruction.\(^{14}\) In Churchill's serious usage the grotesquetry becomes an apt and manageable objective-correlative, an image, of the emotions of fear and contempt that are supposedly produced in the English mind by Famine's prophecy. Scholars have instructed modern readers to appreciate eighteenth-century pictorial personifications.\(^{15}\) Rhetoricians advised the Georgian poets to personify abstractions when they wanted to
heighten emotion, epitomize some human trait, or make some fresh, close connection between a moral abstraction and human life. So far as the pictorial, or visually detailed, personifications are concerned, grotesquery, unlike the eulogistic personification, still appeals to uninstructed modern taste. Perhaps the suggestion made at the beginning of this paragraph, that grotesquery seems to control disordered emotions in some way, would account for the effectiveness of Churchill's Gothic sublimity. In satire, of course, the grotesque is always acceptable; perhaps it makes the reader feel superior, or has some effect of purgation. While investigating further the background of Churchill's Famine, we shall be able to see how her personality and motives affect her prediction.

Albert Hall, among others, has pointed out that Famine is visualized in Spenserian fashion, that is, the description is detailed and conventionally disgusting. Churchill looks back to Spenser for more than visual detail, though, because by the eighteenth century allegory was thought by critics to be inappropriate in pastoral. Marion K. Bagg, in an early study of pastoral, says that the Prophecy of Famine, "coming at a time when pastoral satire was chiefly directed against social vices or frivolities... is interesting because, in Renaissance fashion, it voices satire that is essentially political."
The poem becomes an allegory because Famine, the epitome of Scotland, is drawn so impressively that one cannot forget that she, while standing in the horrid cave, is delivering to her partisans the oration that spells the doom of England. The prophecy, in other words, never quite loses the sense of despair and destruction created by the satiric descriptions of Famine, the land, and the cave. In the allegory Famine's prophecy perfectly suits her character, and the political connection is made through extra-literary information.

Churchill made Famine's personality understandable to his readers by combining familiar Spenserian grotesquetry with the personification of diseases common in eighteenth century georgics. Imitation of Spenser was evidently considered by readers to be the sensible way for a poet to exercise his fancy, or power to make images which had both visual and moral aspects. The most nearly exact Spenserian parallel to the grotesquery in the Prophecy of Famine is the Cave of Despair stanzas in the Faerie Queene I ix. Famine, we may recall, is literally a goddess of despair. Spenser makes the outward appearance reflect the inner, or moral, condition.

Ex long they come, where that same wicked wight
His dwelling has, low in an hollow cave,
Far underneath a craggy cliff ypright,
Darke, dolefull, dreary, like a greedy grave,
That still for carrion carcasses doth crave:
On top whereof ay dwelt the ghastly owle,
Shrieking his balefull note, which ever drave
Far from that haunt all other chearefull fowle;
And all about it wandring ghostes did waile and howle.

And all about old stockes and stubs of trees,
Whereon norfruite nor leafe was ever seen,
Did hang upon the ragged rocky knees;
On which had many wretches hanged beene,
Whose carcasses were scattered on the greene,
And throwne about the cliffs. Arrived there,
That bare-head knight, for dread and dolefull teene,
Would faine have fled, ne durst approchen near,
But th' other forst him staye, and comforted in feare.

That darksome cave they enter, where they find
That cursed man, how sitting on the ground,
Musing full sadly in his sulleyn mind:
His grieste lockes, long grown and unbound,
Disordred long about his shoulder round,
And hid his face; through which his hollow eyne
Lookt deadly dull, and stared as astound;
His raw-bone cheekes, through penurie and pine,
Were shronke into his jawes, as he did never dyne.

His garment nought but many ragged clouts,
With thornes together pind and patched was,
The which his naked sides he wrapt abouts;
And him beside there lay upon the gras
A dreary corse, whose life away did pas,
All wallowed in his own yet luke-warme blood,
That from his wound yet welled fresh, alas!
In which a rusty knife fast fixed stood,
And made an open passage for the gushing flood.

Like Famine, Despair tries to persuade the Red Crosse Knight,
who represents England, to commit suicide. Canto II of
Thomson's Castle of Indolence has a description of "Gaunt
Beggary" which is relevant here:
The First was with base dunghill Bags yclad,
Tainting the Gale, in which they flutter'd light;
Of morbid Hue his Features, sunk, and sad;
His hollow Eyne shook forth a sickly Light;
And O'er his lank Jaw-Bone, in piteous Flight,
His black rough Beard was matted rank and vile;
Direful to see an Heart-appalling Sight!
Meantime foul Scurf and Blotches him defile;
And Dogs, where e'er he went, still barked all the While.

Churchill's Famine can be traced back to its probably
ultimate literary source in Ovid's description of the
goddess Envy:

Then strait to Envy's Call she bends her Way,
Which all with putrid Gore infected lay,
Deep in a gloomy Cave's obscure Recess,
No Beams could e'er that horrid Mansion bless;
No Breeze e'er fan'd it; but about it roll'd
Eternal Woes, and ever lazy Cold,
No Sparks shone there, but everlasting Gloom
Impenetrably dark obscure'd the Room.

A deadly Paleness in her Cheeks was seen;
Her meagre Skeleton scarce cas'd with Skin;
HerLooks away; an everlasting Seoul
Sits on her Brows; her Teeth deform'd and foul.
Her Breast had Gall more than her Breast could hold;
Beneath her Tongue black Clots of Poison roll'd:
No Smiles e'er smooth'd her furrow'd Brows, but those
Which rise from common Mischiefs, Plagues, and Woes.
Her Eyes, mere Strangers to the Sweets of Sleep,
Devouring Spite for ever waking keep.
She sees bless'd Men with vast Successes crown'd,
Their Joys distract her, and their Glories wound.
She kills abroad, herself's consum'd at home,
And her own Crimes are her perpetual Martyrdom.17

In order to analyze further the personality of Famine,
we must show another iconographic parallel, this time of the
Spenserian and Ovidian tradition of grotesquery to georgic
medical poetry. Churchill heightens the gloom and foreboding
by making Famine rather obviously a victim of melancholy, or spleen. Famine is proud (line 334), and her constitution is unsettled by an internal condition, "Vile humours, which, in life's corrupted well / Mnx'd at her birth, not abstinence could quell" (405-6); hunger has brought on madness. In other poems Churchill describes similar conditions. Warburton stored up too much information, "which, like ill-digested food, / To humours turn'd, and not to blood" (Dunball 717-8). In the Ghost IV, in order to make Bute see visions of Scottish glory, the goddess Fancy learns her methods "in those drear Cells / Where, Self-bless'd, Self-ours'd, MADNESS dwells" (645-6).

Thomas Sydenham said that melancholy, or in women hysteria, was caused by an imbalance of humours and a resulting tumultuous movement in the body of the animal spirits. Headaches, abdominal pains, and irregular diet frequently accompanied melancholy. Woman was especially susceptible. Particularly suggestive in Churchill's conception of Famine is the eighteenth century idea that the hysterical person might have acute visual and intellectual powers, but that in extreme cases she might suffer from morbid hallucinations, failure of the moral sense, extreme emotional variations of mania and depression, and persecution complex. These mental disturbances are pictorialized in Dr. William Thompson's poem Sickness, 1751, in a personification of Melancholy.
which could well be a specific source for Churchill's Famine. Thompson's Melancholy lives in a cave, has a ghastly appearance, and broods over scenes and images of death and violence. We may notice further that Melancholy is, according to the cliche, specifically the English malady. In order to describe the Kingdom of Disease, Thompson bails Spenser as a muse, the "Father of Fancy, of descriptive Verse, / And shadowy Beings."

in a low-brow'd Cave, a little Hall,
A pensive Hag, moping in Darkness, sits
Dolefully-sad; her Eyes (so deadly dull!) 
Stare from their stony'd Sockets, wildly wild;
For ever bent on rusty Knives, and Ropes;
On Poigna'rd's, Bowls of Poison, Daggers red
With clotted Gore. A Raven by her Side
Eternal Croaks; her only Mate Despair;
Who, scowling in a Night of Clouds, presents
A thousand burning Hells, and damned Souls,
And Lakes of stormy Fire, to mad the Brain
Moon-strucken. Melancholy is her Name;
Britannia's bitter Pane. Thou gracious Pow'r,
(Whose Judgments and whose Mercies who can tell!) 
With Bars of Steel, with Hills of Adamant
Crush down the scotty Fiend; nor let her blast
The sacred Light of Heav'n's all-cheering Face;
Nor fright, from Albion's Isle, the Angel HOPE.19

The literary device of prophecy seems especially suited to express Famine's morbid brooding. Just as her homeland is cursed by nature, Famine's character likewise has innate flaws.

It may be difficult to understand why anyone thought good satire consisted of sneers at Scottish poverty and disease. When the Scots were feared for one reason or
another, evidently any sort of satire that implied England's physical and moral superiority was appreciated. Churchill and Wilkes devoted the North Briton 13 to the coarse jesting of James Howell's Perfect Description of Scotland, 1649, and Tooke points out a similar essay in the Harleian Miscellany of 1807: "Scotland Characterized: In a Letter written to a Young Gentleman, to dissuade him from an intended Journey thither" (1701). The North Briton 13 and the essay in the Miscellany characterize the Scots as dirty, lecherous, thieving, and hypocritically Puritanical, but these same persons, according to the story, become ambitious and clever when they arrive in England. The barrenness of the land is pictured in the familiar remark, "Had Christ lived there... Judas might sooner have found the grace of repentance, than a tree to hang himself on." That remark may be compared with Cleveland's, "Had Cain been Scot, God had revir'd his doom, / Not made him wander, but confin'd him home."

"Scotland Characterized" reports some suggestions as to the mythological beginnings of the Scottish nation which have a generic resemblance to Churchill's account in the Prophecy of Famine:

They pretend to be descended from one madam Scott, daughter to King Pharaoh; but the best proof, they give of it, is their bringing two of the plagues of Egypt along with them, viz., lice and the itch; which they have intailed upon their posterity ever since.
Some are of opinion, that when the devil
shewed our Saviour the kingdoms of the earth, he laid his thumb upon Scotland, and that for a twofold reason: first, because it was not like to be any temptation; next, being part of his mother’s jointure, he could not dispose of it during her life.21

Whatever be the nature of these squibs, the Prophecy of Famine takes the anti-Scottish propaganda into a pretended cosmic context of dark ambitions, ruthless patterns of history, and the prophesied capture of England. Churchill’s mixture of sublime and pathetic styles reflects the somewhat contradictory emotions of fear and contempt that the speaker feels toward Scotland. We have by now established the significance of the scene where the prophecy is delivered. In the “peace and plenty” poems written after the English Civil War, the land is sometimes pictured in its unregenerate state, made barren by war, before the coming of the Golden Age. The prophecy of peace and plenty would then turn the energies of destruction and the base motives of the people into the means of prosperity and happiness. Famine’s prophecy, as we shall see, suits both her character and the satiric version of Scottish history.

Prophecy as such has certain aspects that should be considered here. In William Whitehead’s Charge to the Poets, 1762, the following lines were, according to Grant, intended for Churchill:
'But chief avoid the boist'rous roaring sparks, 
The sons of fire!—you'll know them by their marks. 
Fond to be heard they always court a crowd, 
And, tho' 'tis borrow'd nonsense, talk it loud. 
One epithet supplies their constant chime, 
Damn'd bad, damn'd good, damn'd low, and damn'd sublime.'22

Later in the Charge, Whitehead advises poets to prophesy:

All present times are bad: then cast your eyes 
Where fairy scenes of bliss in prospect rise. 
As fond enthusiasts o'er the western main 
With eager ken, prophetic in vain, 
See the mixt multitudes from every land 
Grow pure by lending, virtuous by command; 
'Till, phoenix-like, a new bright world of gold 
Springs from the dregs and refuse of the old.23

Churchill ridicules Whitehead in the Prophecy of Famine (lines 239-260), makes ironic use of his advice to "keep the peace" among poets, and then gives the satirist's version of the Golden Age of the future. More nearly like Churchill in sentiment are lines from Matthew Green's The Grotto, 1732:

Let not profane this sacred place 
Hypocrisy with Janus' face. . . 
Or that self-haunting spectre Spleen, 
In thickest fog the clearest seen; 
Or prophecy, which dreams a lie, 
That fools believe and knaves apply. 
(81-98)

Wish, dream, vision, and prophecy poems were popular enough in the eighteenth century as literary excursions into future time. Unnoticed by people interested in Churchilliana is an anonymous Prophecy of Liberty, 1768, an optimistic imitation of the Prophecy of Famine in which the goddess Liberty tells two Englishmen in a dungeon that they shall
escape and enjoy the coming glory of their country. And Chatterton wrote his Prophecy against Bute in imitation of Churchill. Below the surface of polite literature there was probably a great traffic among the uneducated in prophecy and fortune telling. Churchill had attacked that sort of thing in the Ghost. When Churchill says that Scotsmen, "in their Country's right / Possess the gift of second-sight" (Ghost I 131-2), he only repeats common folklore about the Highlander's psychic powers. The famous seventeenth century character Duncan Campbell, "Who blind could ev'ry thing foresee, / Who dumb could ev'ry thing foretell," (142-3), was only one of many pretended wizards, mystics, and fortune tellers who knew that, "KNAVES starve not in the Land of Fools" (374). The North Briton 41 ended with a poetical spell involving the Stone of Scone:

When ANDREW shall unite with JAMES,  
And TWICE adulterate with THAMES;  
When COD shall make the Salmon rue,  
Blue turn to yellow, green to blue;  
When Hope leaves Harg'rest in the lurch,  
And Presbyterians head the church;  
When gold JAMAICA sends for PEAT  
From FLOREDA to roast her meat;  
When Reformation turns a shrew,  
And acts as RIOT we'd to do;  
When ENGLAND's lost, and BRITAIN wins,  
Then UNION's firm, and STRIKE begins,  
When STUART's claims are all o'erthrown,  
And STUART reigns without a crown;  
Then triumph SCOTLAND, thou hast won.  
ENGLAND look to't--the charm's begun.
William Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, Paisley, 1903, divides popular superstitious writings into two groups, with witches, devils, and presbyters in one group, and prophecies in another. The prophecies, represented by the writings of the notable Scottish seers Rhymer, Peden, and Cargill, usually follow the pattern of immediate desolation of Scotland followed by God's revenge upon Scotland's enemies. Dream interpretation was a service frequently performed by the seers. Typical rites are pictured in *Tam O'Shanter*. Witchcraft delusions and persecutions in Scotland lasted into the first decades of the eighteenth century, but Churchill throughout his poetry and prose is concerned not with the most dismal aspects of Scottish superstition, but rather with the conniving of frauds and political opportunists. Churchill, when he wants to make prophecy ominous, parodies Isaiah. At any rate there seems to have been some traffic in folk prophecies, and it seems likely that a certain pamphlet of 1794 would be typical of a large body of popular literature: *The Whole Prophecies of Scotland, England, Ireland, France, and Denmark. Prophecied by Thomas Rhymer, Marvellous Merling, Reid, Berlington, Waldhava, Eltrain, Rampster, And Sybilla*. A section entitled "Old Scottish Prophecies," allegedly written at the accession of James I of England, predicts
a time of trouble for the Scots, followed by the birth of a martial hero, an "heir" who will wreak destruction upon the English.

The model for Christian prophecy was the book of Isaiah, and secondarily the Pollio of Virgil. These are specifically prophecies of redemption offered by some sort of divine Son, or what the exegete calls the kinsman-type. We find Israel in bondage, or Rome in the Iron Age, then vengeance against the gentiles is promised, or peace for Rome, and finally a heavenly city or Golden Age will come. Christian prophecy and Virgilian manner were of course notably combined in Pope's Messiah. Into his Isaiah framework Churchill includes obvious parodies of both the Messiah and Windsor Forest. As in the "peace and plenty" poems, the widest significance of the prophecy in Churchill's poem derives from the adaptations and inversions of scripture.

In the British Museum satirical prints of 1762, Scotland is several times ludicrously pictured as Israel emerging from the wilderness—England is the Promised Land. Fat Scotsmen are shown in the "Land of Promise." In another print England is Israel and Bute is the Beast from Revelation.26

In line 189 of the Prophecy of Ramina, Churchill suggests that it is possible to obtain a Piagah-sight of Scotland; ironically he castigates the anti-Scotch writers:
On Northern Pisgah when they take their stand,
To mark the weakness of that Holy Land,
With needless truths their libels to adorn,
And hang a nation up to public scorn,
Thy gen'rous soul [Wilkes'] condemns the
frantic page,
And hates the faithful, but ill-natured, page.
(189-94)

Pisgah was the hill from which biblical prophecies were
made in Numbers and Deuteronomy. Persons standing on the
top would have a metaphoric prospect of the future. In
Churchill the Pisgah-sight becomes the view, or rather the
"scent" (line 490), from the cave, distorted by Famine's
madness, yet still dangerous to England.

Isaiah's two main divisions can be related to Famine's
prophecy. The prophet first looks at the period of Israel's
captivity, in Churchill lines 423-454, and then beyond to the
redemption by the messiah, in Churchill lines 455-562. We
may follow the important themes of Isaiah in order as they
inform Famine's prophecy.

1. The exile. "Your country is desolate," (187) says
Isaiah to the Israelites, and we have seen how Churchill
described barren Scotland; the prophet continues, "your land,
strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as
overthrown by strangers." Israel, which broke divine covenants
and tolerated Sodom and Gomorrah, will suffer subjection to
the Assyrians. In chapter 5 Isaiah predicts that God's
curse will fall as much upon nature as upon the people.
Famine begins her prophecy by recalling the notion, already established in the descriptions of the cave, that Scotland is cursed:

Pent in this barren corner of the isle,  
Where partial fortune never deign'd to smile;  
Like nature's bastards, reaping for our share  
What was rejected by the lawful heir;  
Unknown amongst the nations of the earth,  
Of only known to raise contempt and mirth;  
Long free, because the race of Roman braves  
Thought it not worth their while to make us slaves;  
Then into bondage by that nation brought,  
Whose ruin we for ages vainly sought,  
Whom still with unslack'd hate we view, and still,  
The pow'r of mischief lost, retain the will;  
Consider'd as the refuse of mankind,  
A mass till the last moment left behind,  
Which frugal nature doubted, as it lay,  
Whether to stamp with life or throw away;  
Which, form'd in haste, was planted in this nook,  
But never enter'd in Creation's book;  
Branded as traitors, who, for love of gold,  
Would sell their God, as once their King they sold;  
Long have we borne this mighty weight of ill,  
These vile injurious taunts, and bear them still.  
(423-444)

Several minor themes in the passage should be noticed. The suggestion that the crafty Scot is one of "nature's bastards" recalls the passage (lines 93-110) in which the poet dedicates himself to the goddess Nature; the relationship between the passages in Churchill is made clear by the fact that the first nature speech is a parody of Edmund's "gods, stand up for bastards" speech in King Lear. Churchill frequently will offer a theme or an image and then later parody it in the words of the adversary. Earlier in the poem, for example, the Scots were praised in biblical terms
and the Tweed was asserted to possess medicinal powers, like the Jordan, by which a Naaman could be cleansed. A river, like Denham’s Thames, was a frequent analog for a nation and its history in the “peace and plenty” poems. The passage is further cross-fertilized by the allusion to Satanic pride in Paradise Lost, "with sunslack’d hate we view, and still, / The pow’r of mischief lost, retain the will."

what though the field be lost?  
All is not lost; the unconquerable will,  
And study of revenge, immortal hate,  
And courage never to submit or yield.  
(II 105-6)

Later Satan, like Famine, pledges,

We may with more successful hope resolve  
To wage by force or guile eternal war  
Irreconcilable, to our grand foe,  
Who now triumphs, and in the excess of joy  
Sole reigning holds the tyranny of heaven.  
(II 120-4)

Famine describes the Scots in Churchill’s favorite image of the monstrous and ill-favored birth. Commonly used by Churchill in contexts of self-pity, the image in this instance is expanded into a grotesque myth of the origin of a race. Connected with the idea of racial beginnings is Famine’s implication that the Scots committed Original Sin when they surrendered Charles I to the English.

2. The return and the divine judgment on the enemies. Famine makes the biblical parallel explicit in a simile:
But times of happier note are now at hand,
And the full promise of a better land:
There, like the Sons of Israel, having trod,
For the fix'd term of years ordain'd by God,
A barren desert, we shall seize rich plains
Where milk with honey flows, and plenty reigns.
With some few natives join'd, some pliant few,
Who worship inter'est, and our track pursue,
There shall we, tho' the wretched people grieve,
Ravage at large, nor ask the owner's leave.
(445-454)

Exodus 3:8 says, "And I am come down to deliver them out
of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of
that land into a good land and a large, unto a land flowing
with milk and honey." Isaiah 17-23 predicts the destruction
of the nations which have oppressed the Israelites. One of
the specific trials by which Israel was to be redeemed in
Exodus was hunger. Churchill's reference to the "pliant
few" Englishmen recalls the warning in Isaiah, chapters 30
and 31, against a Judaic alliance with Egypt. In general
Famine's threat recalls the more narrowly tribal parts of
Isaiah. Later the Isaiah promise of blessings to the
Gentiles will be aptly parodied by Churchill. The triumph
which Famine promises is a parallel to the earthly reign
of the house of David in Isaiah rather than the ultimate
replacement of the earth with heaven.

Famine's description of the land of plenty has many
parallels in Isaiah.

For us, the earth shall bring forth her increase;
For us, the flocks shall wear a golden fleece;
Fat Beeses shall yield us dainties not our own,  
And the grape bleed a nectar yet unknown;  
For our advantage shall their harvests grow,  
And Scotsman reap, what they disdain'd to sow;  
For us, the sun shall climb the eastern hill;  
For us, the rain shall fall, the dew distil.  
(455-62)

In describing Scotch theft of the harvests, Churchill  
evidently intends a wicked inversion of Jehovah's promise  
concerning the Israelites, "They shall not build, and  
another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat"  
(Isaiah 65 22). Famine's threat parodies even more  
exactly Jesus' promise of redemption in St. John 4:

35 Say not ye, There are yet four months, and  
then cometh harvest? behold, I say unto you,  
Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for  
they are white already to harvest.

36 And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and  
gathereth fruit unto life eternal: that both he  
that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together.

37 And herein is that saying true, One soweth,  
and another reapeth.

38 I sent you to reap that whereon ye bestowed  
no labour: other men laboured, and ye are entered  
into their labours.

Famine then proceeds to give her own version of the fate of  
them "that soweth." In Isaiah the world of nature reveals  
by its metamorphoses the powers of the Jehovah who sends  
prodigies and signs to intimidate both the Israelites and  
their enemies. According to the prophet the natural world  
is to be destroyed anyway. Famine's concern with earthly  
wealth is not just part of Churchill's emblem of greedy
Scotland, though, because the **Pollio** shows delightful and prosperous nature in its Golden Age adornment, and Pope's **Messiah** uses natural images of beauty and grandeur rather than terror and destruction.

Famine predicts the triumph of Scottish commerce:

> When to our wishes NATURE cannot rise,  
> ART shall be task'd to grant us fresh supplies.  
> His brawny arm shall drudging LABOUR strain,  
> And for our pleasure suffer daily pain;  
> TRADE shall for us exert her utmost pow'rs,  
> Her's, all the toil; and all the profit, our's;  
> For us, the Oak shall from his native steep  
> Descend, and fearless travel thro' the deep,  
> The sail of COMMERCE for our use unfurl'd,  
> Shall waft the treasures of each distant world.  
> (463-472)

Famine's vision resembles what C. A. Moore called "Whig panegyric." The next lines predict moral and intellectual confusion:

> For us, sublimer heights shall science reach,  
> For us, their Statesmen plot, their Churchmen preach;  
> Their noblest limbs of counsel we'll disjoint,  
> And, mocking, new ones of our own appoint.  
> (473-76)

Jehovah threatens Egypt similarly: "And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof; and I will destroy the counsel thereof; and they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards" (Isaiah 19:5).

Famine next threatens war and then promises peace.
Devouring WAR, imprison'd in the north,  
    Shall, at our call, in horrid pomp, break forth,  
And when, his chariot wheels with thunder hung,  
Fell Discord braying with her brazen tongue,  
Death in the van, with Anger, Hate, and Fear,  
And Desolation stalking in the rear,  
Revenge, by Justice guided, in his train,  
He drives impetuous o'er the trembling plain,  
Shall, at our bidding, quit his lawful prey,  
And to meek, gentle, gen'rous Peace give way.  
   (477-486)

In other words, the Scots, after gaining control over nature and society, will control mob psychology. The picture of "Devouring WAR" is, we might say, a typical splenetic vision. Lines 445-486 should be considered a unit because Churchill's conception of the Scotch peace is an extended parody of similar passages in the Pollio and Windsor Forest. Aubrey Williams describes Windsor Forest as distinctively a poem about the coming of peace, and one is easily persuaded that Famine's prophecy, which is also distinctively about a certain kind of peace, is a deliberate parody of Pope's theme, "Peace and Plenty tell a STUART reigns."29 Isaiah of course speaks of peace coming with the Messiah, but emphasizes the divine aspects of the forecast rather than those of a social or economic nature. The significant themes in the secular prophecies of the coming Golden Age are the delightful fecundity of nature in conjunction with the triumph of the chosen people, the prosperity of commerce, warfare, and peace. Whig panegyric has been mentioned; these
themes of national future success may also be found in
Thomson's *Liberty*, Part V, "The Prospect." The relevant
passage from *Windsor Forest* begins with a synecdoche of
trees for ships similar to Churchill's in lines 469-472:

> Thy Trees, fair Windsor! now shall leave their Woods,
And half thy Forests rush into my Floods,
Bear Britain's Thunder, and her Cross display,
To the bright Regions of the rising Day;
Tempt Icy Seas, where scarce the Waters roll,
Where clearer Flames glow round the frozen Pole;
Or under Southern Skies exalt their Sails,
Led by new Stars, and born by spic'y Gales!
For me the Balm shall bleed, and Amber flow,
The Coral redden, and the Ruby glow;
The Pearly Shell its lucid Globe infold,
And Phoebus warm the ripening Ore to Gold.
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 Seas but join the Regions they divide;
Earth's distant En's our Glory shall behold,
And the new Wold launch forth to seek the Old.
Then Ships of uncouth Form shall stem the Tyde,
And Feather'd People crowd my wealthy Side,
And naked Youths and painted Chiefs admire
Our Speech, our Colour, and our strange Attire:
O stretch thy Reign, Fair Peace! from Shore to Shore,
Till Conquest cease, and Slav'ry be no more:
Till the freed Indians in their native Groves
Reap their own Fruits, and woo their Sable Loves,
Peru once more a Race of Kings behold,
And other Mexico's be roof'd with Gold.
Exile'd by Thee from Earth to deepest Hell,
In Brazen Bonds shall barbarous Discord dwell:
Gigantick Pride, pale Terror, gloomy Care,
And mad Ambition, shall attend her there.
There purple Vengeance hath'd in Gore retires,
Her Weapons blunted, and extinct her Fires:
There hateful Envy her own Snakes shall feel,
And Persecution mourn her broken Wheel:
There Faction roar, Rebellion bite her Chain,
And gasping Furies thirst for Blood in vain.

(385-422)30
Later Famine will release Discord from her "massy fetters" (539). Scholars have pointed out that Churchill liked especially to attack and parody Pope, and in this instance he mounts a double attack; Pope's serious and hopeful expression of humane ideals is twisted into the purposefully horrifying vision of Famine, and, Pope's Toryism is taken to its supposedly logical Jacobite conclusion. Churchill's "VERSÉS written in WINDSOR PARK" (minor poem 4 in Grant) chides Pope for not being able to prophesy how the Stuarts would behave. Though Famine has not yet introduced the messiah theme, we may examine the relevant passage from the Pollio here. Churchill parodies almost exactly Virgil's conception that war will properly precede the final maturity of the Golden Age. The translation is by Joseph Trapp.

Beneath thy sway, the Relicks of our Guilt
(If such be still remaining) quite effac'd
Shall from all future Terrors free the World.
He shall partake the Life of Gods; see Gods
And Heroes, and Himself by Them be seen;
And with his Father's Virtues rule the Globe,
In Peace. To Thee, sweet Infant, shall the
Earth,
Yield her first Presents, by no Culture fore'd,
The wandering Ivy, and soft Violet,
The smiling Crocus, and the blushing Rose.
The Goats spontaneous homewards shall return,
Their Teats with Milk distended; and the Herds,
Unterrify'd by monstrous Lions, feed.
Thy very Cradle with fresh Flow'rs shall spring;
The Serpent too shall die; the fraudulent Herbs,
Of noxious Poison wither, and decay;
And Syrian Spices bloom o'er all the World.
But when the Fame of Heroes thou shalt learn,
Read thy Sire's Deeds, and know what Vertue means;
Ripe yellow Harvests on the Fields shall wave,
The salve Brambles blush with pendant Grapes,
And Honey from hard Oaks in Dew distil.
Yet of old Guilt some Footsteps shall remain,
Prompting to tempt the Sea with Ships, with Walls
Towns to inclose, with Ploughs to vax the Soil:
Another Tiphys o'er the main shall waft
The chosen Chiefs, another Argo guide;
New warlike Expeditions shall be form'd,
And great Achilles sail again for Troy.
But when thy Age shall ripen into Man;
The Sailor shall renounce the Sea, no Ships
Traffick exchange: All Lands shall all things
bear.
No Glebe shall feel the Harrow's Teeth, no Vine
The Pruning-Hook.

(17-50)

Like Virgil, Churchill credited the prophecy to an ordination
by Jove (line 422). Notice that in Virgil there is the
conception that the nation will be redeemed or somehow
purged of guilt. Also, there is in Churchill's passage
the Virgilian idea that success in war will rightfully
occur, but, in the maturing society of the Golden Age, peace
will be established. The significant idea in Famine's threat
is not that war is inevitable, but rather that war and the
terrors of threatened war will be skillfully managed by the
Scots for their own benefit, as Famine proposes in lines
499-530. "Peace," as we shall see, is subjected to the
repetitions and rhetorical changes of meaning typical of
Churchill's satiric linguistics. Discord shall be
disguised as Peace (lines 539-546).

Famine's further considerations of the relationship
between Scotland and England ominously parody the prediction in the Messiah, "See barb'rous nations at thy gates attend, / Walk in thy light, and in thy temple bend" (92). Isaiah says, "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising" (60 3). The connection with Famine's prediction is in the inverted theme of friendship rather than in imagery:

fool'd by cunning, by that happy art
Which laughs to scorn the blund'ring hero's heart,
Into the snare shall our kind neighbors fall
With open eyes, and fondly give us all.

(495-98)

There shall be nothing, nor one trace remain
In the dull region of an English brain.
Bless'd with that Faith, which mountains can remove,
First they shall Dupes, next Saints, last Martyrs prove.

(527-30)

3. The messiah theme. Isaiah 9 describes a divine child as Israel's only hope against the Assyrian invasion and the evils which will named later in the prophecy. Lord Bute lent himself only too willingly to the satirist's blasphemous typology. Specifically, the messiah is a kinsman-type. We may offer almost without comment the passages from Churchill and Isaiah 9:

6. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.
Already is this game of fate begun
Under the sanction of my Darling Son,
That Son, whose nature, royal as his name,
Is destin'd to redeem our race from shame.
His boundless pow'r, beyond example great,
Shall make the rough way smooth, the crooked straight,
Shall for our ease the raging floods restrain,
And sink the mountain level to the plain.

The Scotfield Reference Bible, perhaps in order to defend some evangelical position, defends a fundamentalist interpretation of the next verse, which reads, "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom." Scofield comments in a footnote, "The 'throne of David' is a phrase as definite, historically, as 'throne of the Caesars,' and as little admits of 'spiritualizing.'" Pope's Messiah distinguishes between an earthly kingdom and the ultimate heavenly city, and Famine of course is interested in the soon to arrive earthly kingdom. Other miscellaneous biblical allusions and inversions in the characterization of Bute may be listed here: Luke 3 5-6, Isaiah 40 3-5, 44 23, and 52 10. Bute is superhuman because he is the son of a goddess.

It may seem that the messiah is not a central figure in the Prophecy of Famine. But although Bute is introduced late, the success of the future prediction depends upon his
sanction. Churchill could depend upon his readers' understanding that a biblical and Virgilian parody was in operation; references to Jove and the "Sons of Israel" are explicit enough. The reader would likely know that in Isaiah and Virgil the messiah is all important, the only hope of the chosen people. Churchill thus has only to wait for a dramatic moment in which to tell what Scotsman is to be the redeemer. After a careful series of parallels and inversions of the themes of war, peace, and redemption, only the secret identity of the messiah remained to be revealed. The situation is rather biblical at that.

Other themes from Isaiah besides the exile, return, triumph, and messiah of the chosen people seem to be alluded to in the *Prophecy of Famine*. The messiah in judgment on the enemies, the blessing of the Gentiles, and the earthly kingdom more or less follow from the last paragraph (lines 547-562) of the poem. The general parallel to Isaiah seems too well established to require further, and less pointed, evidence. Other biblical allusions occur here and there in the poem. Lines 526-7, "These facts [of war and rebellion], which might, where wisdom held the sway, / Awake the very stones to bar our way," echo Habbakuk 2:

10 Thou hast consulted shame to thy house by cutting off many people, and hast sinned against thy soul.
ll For the stone shall cry out of the wall, 
and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.

One is not surprised to find the Bible bringing the Anglican 
divine and satirist metaphors for poetry.

In general the biblical and Virgilian parallels give a 
context or a frame of reference for the political satire. 
This context supposedly has the ominous significance of a 
universal theology. It is of course not possible to say 
exactly what effect the blasphemous parallels would have 
on Churchill’s readers. Allusions in literature seem to 
possess an intrinsic worth, and modern critics of Pope, for 
example, consider that allusions to Roman culture and to 
Christianity effectively heighten the seriousness, sublimity, 
and relevance of the satire for eighteenth century readers. 
The question of the poet’s sincerity of theological belief, 
either Pope’s or Churchill’s, need not trouble anyone here. 
Churchill wants to show, in the Prophecy of Fame, that 
Scotch ambitions are necessarily associated with carefully 
planned national, religious, and moral calamities. A reader 
would be expected to follow, as in the Dunciad, the 
implications of the new satiric dispensation.

While the biblical and Virgilian allusions in the poem 
are worth study because they explain the context and organiza-
tion of the prophecy, these elements must be considered 
subordinate to the more general political purpose. We have
in the *Prophecy of Famine* what may be called a "religiofication" of politics, certainly nothing new in 1763; the word "religiofication" means that the political propaganda is phrased in terms made familiar by the propaganda of organized religion—an evangelistic tone, a claim of divine favor, a claim to possess unique truth, fantasies of coming power, justification of authoritarianism in politics, and an aggressive attitude toward the uninitiated, the incredulous, and those in opposition. Religion gives a tone of solemnity and cosmic significance to the complicated political rhetoric, and to the attribution of diabolical powers and motives to the Scots. If too much attention is given to the religious elements, then it will not be noticed that Churchill's political rhetoric actually follows effective precepts, recognized at all times, for controlling and directing mob psychology. We may see in Churchill's methods some of the darker implications of chauvinistic and religious fanaticism. Some of the political aspects of Churchill's rhetoric, we shall see, are entirely modern. A political analysis of Famine's prophecy will allow a distinction to be made between Famine's Scottish bias and the bias of the English speaker who quotes the prophecy. Whether the *Prophecy of Famine* had much actual effect on popular attitudes is not an important question to ask in relation to the political propaganda it contains. Actual charges are vague and the
poem works with fears and prejudices rather than specific allegations; Famine's threats are more than a simple plot to fill the militia with Scotamen. But if the poem is compared with the hundreds of anti-Scotch cartoons of the years 1760-1763, one is persuaded that the Prophecy of Famine, a huge popular success, helped to increase disapproval of the administration and to speed Bute's resignation. The more directly influential North Briton papers, which argued specific points and general charges without the indirects of the poetic mythological framework, used the same charges and the same ironic Scottish speaker as Churchill's poem. Since Churchill is sometimes denigrated as a satirist because his best poetry usually concentrates upon forgotten political issues and personalities, it may improve his reputation to investigate the skill and logic of his political rhetoric.

This discussion of political rhetoric will not concentrate upon devices such as rhetorical definitions or historical facts such as the cider and window taxes. Instead we shall investigate more general aspects of political psychology, nationalism, greed, and prejudice. The psychological assumptions of the discussion will probably seem somewhat naive. Modern psychoanalysis could offer a more or less suitably complex analysis in terms of civilization and its discontents, of the emotions aroused by the poem in Churchill,
the characters, and the reader. But such an analysis would lift the rhetoric out of context, and distract attention from the aesthetic artifice; Churchill, we may say, tries to arouse the mob, and he does not stop to explain why mobs can be aroused. In seeking to answer the last question in Georgian terms, we should recall that the prophecy is delivered context which involves the grotesque, the diseased, and the disgusting; the effect on the reader may be associated with the horrific sublime. Eighteenth century assumptions on the connection between an object and the emotion it aroused were direct and uncomplicated. Henry Home's *Elements of Criticism*, 1763, says,

Such is our nature, that upon perceiving certain external objects, we are instantaneously conscious of pleasure or pain: a gently flowing river, a smooth extended plain, a spreading oak, a towering hill, are objects of sight that raise pleasant emotions: a barren heath, a dirty marsh, a rotten carcass, raise painful emotions. Of the emotions thus produced, we enquire for no other cause but merely the presence of the object. 31

Home states further that, "dullness, peevishness, inhumanity, cowardice, occasion... painful emotions," and that a man can obtain a just emotional reaction in himself toward the actions of other people, only by reflecting upon what was the intention of the other person.

I see one delivering a purse of money to another, but I can make nothing of that action, till I learn with what intention the money is given: if it be given to discharge a debt, the action pleases me in a slight degree; if it be a grateful
return, I feel a stronger emotion; and the pleasant emotion rises to a great height, when it is the intention of the giver to relieve a virtuous family from want. Thus emotions resulting from the perception of actions are qualified by intention; but they are not qualified by the event; for an action well intended gives pleasure, whatever the event be. Further, human actions are perceived to be right or wrong; and that perception qualifies the pleasure or pain that results from them.32

Home does not oversimplify; in a footnote to the passage quoted he explains that one reacts not just to actions and qualities, but to the whole subject—to an oak tree, and not to the green color of its leaves. Referring to Churchill's descriptions of Scotland and Famine, we see that in art actions and qualities—images and objects—have exaggerated importance. Appreciation for Churchill's art prompted some Scotsmen to admire the Prophecy of Famine even though critics deplored its intention. We need not discuss aesthetic distance here. So far as psychological assumptions in relation to the Prophecy of Famine are concerned, it is important to establish that Georgian sensibility took for granted that certain ideas and objects automatically aroused specific emotions. The characters in the poem supposedly react positively to Famine’s encouragement, but the hypothetical English reader would be antipathetic and horrified. In Home’s terms, Famine tries to arouse passion—an emotion which is accompanied by some sort of desire.

We may discuss first those political themes in Famine’s
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prophecy which reflect the attitudes that Famine wishes to convey to her partisans, Jockey and Sawney. Evident in each theme is the rhetorical association, made clear by the previous discussion in this chapter of religious inversions, of partisan politics with divine will, cosmic truth, traditional writings regarded as scripture, and immutable patterns of history. There are several modern analyses of political rhetoric and the religiofication of politics which suggest approaches to the problems of nationalism and fanaticism; some titles are listed in a note, and their emphasis will be imitated here.33

1. Cultural myth-making. The myth of the superior or divinely favored culture was a central theme in the Augustan "peace and plenty" poems which inherited the poetic traditions of the translatio imperii and the translatio studii. We have seen how Famine adapts the Isaiah concept of the chosen people to her own purposes. Essential to the cultural myth is a concept of national purity, which in the prophecy is phrased in parodied Christian terms as divine redemption for the Scottish race (lines 533-4). Famine self-righteously asserts that good times are coming to Scotland because of a divine fiat by Jove (422); later the prophecy is said to be guaranteed by fate (498, 531). Famine tries to inspire the two shepherds, depressed by hunger and military defeat, with
zeal for a cause (in Home's term, with a passion). Her significant claim is that history and religion are on the side of the Scots and will justify any action the Scots take in order to fulfill the prophecy. Churchill looks backward a generation when he parodies the religious style of rhetoric in the "peace and plenty" poems, but his central theme of the claimed manifest destiny of nations would be familiar in any period.

2. **Envy, hatred, cunning vengeance.** These are the attitudes which, according to Famine, the Scots justifiably hold toward England. The element of Satanic pride, "with unslack'd hate we view, and still, / The pow'r of mischief lost, retain the will" (433-4), is relevant here. It should be noticed that Famine's contempt of the easily duped Englishmen is a corollary to her envy and acknowledgment of England's achievements and wealth. It may be a truism in politics, as Eric Hoffer asserts, that a nation which is envied and respected will be more readily hated and opposed than a nation for which other peoples have only contempt, even though the aggressor's propaganda takes an attitude of contempt. Churchill's insight into the motives of Famine hits cleverly at English morality and sea power. In the georgic poetry of the Augustan period sea power was a metaphor for British valor encircling the globe and completing prophecies of English domination; in the Georgian
period sea power, regarded less mystically, made possible the commerce and prosperity which seemed a reasonable corollary to English virtue. Lines 469-472 assert that Scotland shall soon reap the benefits of English trade, and several passages indicate that English virtue will be used against Englishmen:

Think not, that this dominion o'er a race, whose former deeds shall time's last annals grace, In the rough face of peril must be sought, and with the lives of thousands dearly bought; No-fool'd by cunning, by that happy art Which laughs to scorn the blundering hero's heart, Into the snare shall our kind neighbours fall with open eyes, and fondly give us all.

(491-8)

Bless'd with that Faith, which mountains can remove, First they shall Dupes, next Saints, last Martyrs prove.

(529-30)

In the last paragraph of the poem Famine sees the English finally outwitted and reduced to actual contemptibleness. Famine reiterates her ominous philosophy of Know Thyself to be implacable and cunning and Know Thy Enemy to be strong but simple-minded. Envy and hatred are fanned by the promise of something immediate:

Think not, my sons, that this so bless'd estate Stands at a distance on the roll of fate; Already big with hopes of future sway, E'en from this cave I scent my destin'd prey.

(487-90)

Already is this game of fate begun Under the sanction of may Darling Son,
Cunning is of course one aspect of the use of Scottish power to foment war or create a bogus peace (lines 477-530).

3. Projectivity. Famine blames the condition of Scotland upon England, and in effect finds an object upon which to project her resentment of military defeat and the barren homeland which Churchill calls Scotland. The passions aroused by the prophecy must be directed and focussed upon the seemingly relevant object, symbol, or goal which represents the fulfillment of the prophecy. The relationship between Scotland and England is part of the biblical and prophetic situation. Famine begins the prophecy with the claim that the Scots took the part of the island that the English rejected; the Scots were free until England defeated them:

   into bondage by that nation brought,
   Whose ruin we for ages vainly sought.
   (431-2)

England is also blamed for what Churchill's speaker postulates, in the words of Famine, as Scottish guilty conscience:

   Branded as traitors, who, for love of gold,
   Would sell their God, as once their King they sold;
   Long have we borne this mighty weight of ill,
   These vile injurious taunts, and hear them still.
   (441-4)

Later Famine tells how the Scottish fault will become a virtue:
Imr'd by that name PEACE, fine engine of deceit,
Shall the weak ENGLISH help themselves to cheat.
(547-8)

Lines 423-454 assert that Englishmen pushed the Scots into Scotland, that Englishmen hold prosperous lands and feel morally superior toward the Scots, and that the prophecy explicitly says that England's days are numbered.

4. The need for a leader. As the biblical prophecy depends upon a messiah, so the realistic politics must unite the feelings and actions of the Scots around the central figure or strong man, Bute. The religious associations only point up the fact that Bute was in a position to patronize Scots and to do England considerable harm if his policies did not succeed. It was assumed that Parliament and the young George III had to deal with policies designed by Bute, perhaps with the aid of the king's mother. Though Bute is mentioned only briefly in the prophecy, a mere suggestion was probably enough to remind the English reader of all the charges and suspicions levelled at the prime minister. As we saw before, thousands of anti-administration prints were published during Bute's term in office, and nearly all of them attacked Bute. He became the focal point, in fact, for anti-Scotch sentiment, and after his resignation he was suspected of continuing to wield secret influence.

In the poem Bute is a sort of physical embodiment of the
Immediate and positive aspects of the prophecy; his presence and strength are used rhetorically to persuade the shepherds that political redemption is near at hand and that a leader is going to take care of them.

We can see now how Famine manipulates the emotional reactions of her audience with the political themes of envy, manifest destiny, a sense of cultural inferiority, and leadership. In the next political theme we may characterize the attitudes of the English speaker who has supposedly quoted Famine verbatim, or rather summed up in her speech the designs of the typical Scot.

5. The sense of futility. In the speaker’s attitude we find not Famine’s confident optimism, but rather an insecure combination of fear and aggressiveness. In the speaker’s attitude there is an anxiety which apparently justifies even the most unfair attacks upon the Scots. In general the English speaker conceives that an all-wise, all-powerful, even supernatural (the goddess Famine) conspiracy against England. Everything in recent history has been planned by the Scots, and has been a gain for them. They manipulate England, says the speaker in terms of ironic praise:

The Scots are poor, cries surly English pride; True is the charge, nor by themselves denied. Are they not then in strictest reason clear, Who wisely come to mend their fortunes here? If by low supple arts successful grown, They sapp’d our vigour to increase their own,
If, mean in want, and insolent in pow'r,
They only fawn'd, more surely to devour,
Rous'd by such wrongs should REASON take alarm,
And e'en the MUSE for public safety arm;
But if they own ingenuous virtue's sway,
And follow where true honour points the way,
If they revere the hand by which they're fed,
And bless the donors for their daily bread,
Or by vast debts of higher import bound,
Are always humble, always grateful found,
If they, directed by PAUL's holy pen,
Become discretely all things to all men,
That all men may become all things to them,
Envy may hate, but justice can't condemn.
'Into our places, states, and beds they creep:'
They've sense to get, what we want sense to keep.
(195-216)

The speaker complains of the supposedly pernicious intellectual and artistic dominance of the Ramsays, Home, Ossian, and Mallet (125-133), and ironically instructs the Tweed to wash away the patriotism that prevents him from appreciating Scotland:

As once a SYRIAN bath'd in JORDAN's flood,
Wash off my native stains, correct that blood
Which mutinies at call of English pride,
And, deaf to prudence rolls a patriot tide.
(145-8)

Famine says that a few English traitors will help Scotland:

we shall seize rich plains
Where milk with honey flows, and plenty reigns.
With some few natives join'd, some pliant few,
Who worship interest, and our track pursue,
There shall we, tho' the wretched people grieve,
Ravage at large, nor ask the owner's leave.
(449-54)

Modern nationalism would call the "pliant few" collaborators or "dupes." Famine wishes her partisans to believe that England will be trapped by a Scotland whose plots inevitably
succeed; she says,

fool'd by cunning, by that happy art.
Which laughs to scorn the blund'ring hero's heart,
Into the snare shall our kind neighbours fall
With open eyes, and fondly give us all.

When Rome, to prop her sinking empire, bore
Their choicest levies to a foreign shore,
What if we seiz'd, like a destroying flood,
Their widow'd plains, and fill'd the realm with blood,

Gave an unbounded loose to manly rage,
And, scorning mercy, spar'd nor sex nor age;
When, for our interest too mighty grown,
Monarchs of warlike bent possess'd the throne,
What if we strove divisions to foment,
And spread the flames of civil discontent,
Assisted those who 'gainst their king made head,
And gave the traitors refuge when they fled;
When restless GLORY had her sons advance,
And pitch'd her standard in the fields of France,
What if, disdaining oaths, an empty sound,
By which our nation never shall be bound,
Bravely we taught unmuzzled war to roam
Thro' the weak land; and brought cheap laurels home;

When the bold traitors league'd for the defence
Of Law, Religion, Liberty, and Sense,
When they against their lawful Monarch rose,
And dar'd the Lord's Anointed to oppose,
What if we still rever'd the banish'd race,
And strove the Royal Migrants to replace,
With fierce rebellions shook th' unsettled state,
And greatly dar'd, tho' cross'd by partial fate;
These facts, which might, where wisdom held the sway,

Awake the very stones to bar our way,
There shall be nothing, nor one trace remain
In the dull region of an English brain.
Bless'd with that Faith, which mountains can remove,
First they shall Dupes, next Saints, last Martyrs prove.

Already is this game of fate begun
Under the sanction of my Darling Son.
(495-532)
The Scots will discredit English "LOYALTY" by claiming that loyalty is a lesser ideal than "PEACE":

DISCORD, whom in a cavern under ground
With massy fetters their late Patriot bound,
Where her own flesh the furious Hag might tear,
And vent her curses to the vacant air,
Where, that she never may be heard of more,
He planted LOYALTY to guard the door,
For better purpose shall Our Chief release,
Disguise her for a time, and call her PEACE.
(539-46)

In short, the Scots are plotting to return Stuarts to power one way or another and the way things are going indicates that they will succeed.

In the Prophecy of Famine Churchill's politically conservative message to anti-Scotch partisans has an elaborate framework constructed of caricature, grotesquery, pictorialism, prophecy, pastoralism, and the sense of historical pattern and ultimate racial destiny lent by biblical and literary allusions. The political themes, both those which interpret Scotland's attitudes and those which reply, are central to the poem and the same themes that run through the North Briton papers. In the North Briton one finds the same grotesque pictures of Scotland, the success of Scottish plots, the diabolic purposes of the Scot, and Lord Bute as a target of obloquy. The Prophecy of Famine is an artistic representation or epitome of the political situation, expressed in dramatic and
symbolic situations, but the poem was read as artistic exaggeration; in the North Briton, on the other hand, Wilkes and Churchill could use the alleged plainness of prose to spell out exact situations and call for explicit action. In emphasizing the particular kinds of political rhetoric in the Prophecy of Famine somewhat at the expense of more purely aesthetic matter, we seem to come closer to Churchill's own purposes in the solemn and ominous prophecy which ends the poem and which in effect rallies the anti-administration partisans. Yet a more nearly just critical view of the poem is indicated by Boswell's comment: "his 'Prophecy of Famine' is a poem of no ordinary merit. It is, indeed, falsely injurious to Scotland; but therefore may be allowed a greater share of invention." Of all of Churchill's poems, the Prophecy of Famine probably has the most interesting and ramified literary, political, and religious backgrounds; some of these matters we have only been able to touch on here. The prophecy itself may be seen as a rhetorical flourish appropriate to the scene, the allusions, the personality of the speaker, and Famine. In order to have some idea of how many eighteenth century poetical currents actually come together in the Prophecy of Famine, we may, keeping Churchill's poem in mind, contemplate a description that Josephine Miles, in her discussion of
William Blake, made of the eighteenth century sublime poem:

We should remind ourselves that this sublime strain was pervasive in the eighteenth century also. The peaceful externalities of classical pastoral had come to blend with Biblical pastoral, and the wide wings of Lydian survey had encompassed the more frightening Biblical cosmos. Song was more and more often hymn. The low language of satire accorded with the threatening language of prophecy. Everywhere the lambs and smiling fields of Quarles and the pastoralists were being subjected to dark clouds and emotions filled with awe, as the combining powers of Biblical and epical influence, northern and Gothic atmosphere, the critical recommendations of Longinus, and the growing awareness of social tyranny all made for a dark and terrible world. Only the most middle-of-the-road classicists like Samuel Johnson maintained a real poise of generality. Most of the rest, from Pope to Gray to Rogers and Campbell, were apt, as Blake was, to combine their primarily scenic, anatomical, and emotional terms with a sense of vast force and portent.
CHAPTER IV

The Duellist, Book II: The Temple of Liberty in Ruins

Concentrating his attention on the horrific sublime of Books I and III of the Duellist, Albert Hall says of the rather elegiac ruin piece in Book II (lines 249-542) only that it is an interlude between passages of emotional dilation and terror, and that such ruin scenes were later in the century called "picturesque."¹ Upon close investigation, though, Book II appears as an unusual achievement for Churchill, an adaptation (not a parody) in satire of one of the commonest kinds of eighteenth century topographical poetry:² a viewer sights a ruin of some sort, describes it and the surrounding landscape pictorially, describes his emotional reaction to the scene, and meditates justly, with the help of visualized personifications, on morals, politics, history, and other human concerns. The ruin poem, like its cousin the graveyard poem, usually is melancholy and nostalgic, with the religious sense of the shortness of human life modified slightly into a sense of the long past and the vanity of human ambition. On the other hand, ruins could be associated with ideas of progress. The poetic
meditation, though it may range widely in time and space, or perhaps be arranged in a scheme such as the "progress," would be expected to refer back continually to the elaborate pictorial scene which serves as an emblem and a spur to the poet. The viewer or persona ordinarily tries to define his own relationship with nature, with human achievement and failure, with God, with society, and with whatever else the scene may suggest to him.

Elegiac feelings about ruins appear in the Renaissance, especially in Spenser’s "The Ruines of Time" and "The Ruines of Rome," and landscape paintings with ruins were popular and well known in England long before 1700. We may be certain that taste for the ruin piece, both as painting and as poetry, was sophisticated in the 1760's, even before Gilpin, Price, Repton, Knight, and other critics elaborated the theory of the picturesque as distinct from the sublime and the beautiful; Jean Hagstrum has demonstrated by quotation from Georgian critical magazines how a seemingly inconsequential visual suggestion, or a personification, in a poem could call to the imagination of the eighteenth century reader an elaborate pictorial scene reminiscent of allegories and landscapes in any of the visual arts. Recent studies, such as Hagstrum's, on eighteenth century iconography make available several traditions in art which
can be used as background for Churchill.

Probably Cooper's Hill started the Augustan vogue for topography combined with moralizing in poetry. Though the ruin poem proper does not seem to have started as a continuing vogue until John Langhorne's "Written amongst the Ruins of Pontefract Castle, MDCCLVI," the first of more than thirty poems written between 1756 and 1800, with dozens thereafter to 1850 or so, several important examples earlier than Langhorne should be mentioned. Pope's "Verses occasioned by Mr. Addison's Treatise of Medals," 1720, dwells on the futile ambition for immortality dependant on "The faithless Column and the crumbling Bux." On the other hand Thomson's A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton, 1727, derives ideas of intellectual progress from the sight of ruins. In Thomson's Liberty, 1755-6, the Roman ruins first prompt the viewer's Fancy to call up a vision of the goddess Liberty, and later she points out that the ruins attest that once there lived a people "whose heroic aims / Soar'd far above the little selfish sphere / Of doubting modern life." Most nearly like Book II of the Duellist is John Dyer's The Ruins of Rome, 1740. Both Dyer and Churchill ascribe England's greatness to liberty and the individual's right to own property--though Dyer warns of danger and Churchill claims that the danger has become reality--and Dyer's descriptions may sometimes be used to
clarify Churchill's. More remotely related to the *Duellist* is Collins' *Ode to Liberty*, 1746, with its obscured ruin, Liberty, and her train.

Churchill's basic assertion in the *Duellist* is that because thieves and hypocrites have powerful positions in government, Warburton, Fletcher Norton, and Samuel Martin can with impunity plot to assassinate the true patriot Wilkes. Books I and III present the immediate evil in horrific terms, and Book II, the calmer interlude, sketches in the general historic and ethical background of the political situation. Churchill's whole satiric canon could be characterized without too much distortion as the investigation of many eighteenth century poetic ways to present and elaborate upon visual and moral contrasts in time—the commonly made satiric assertion, central to Churchill, that past virtues and talents have been somehow smothered by present crimes and incompetence.

Book II of the *Duellist* opens with a description of the ruin, which is the House of Commons:

DEEP in the bosom of a wood,
Out of the road, a Temple stood;
Antient, and much the worse for wear,
It call'd aloud for quick repair,
And, tottering from side to side
Mammon'd destruction far and wide,
Nor able seem'd, unless made stronger,
To hold out four, or five years longer.
Four hundred pillars, from the ground
Rising in order, most unsound,
Some rotten to the heart, aloof
Seem'd to support the tottering roof,
But, to inspection nearer laid,
Instead of giving, waited aid.
(249-62)

We may compare and contrast Churchill's description with
Collins' Ode to Liberty, in which Liberty's temple, built
in a druidical wood, is believed now to be in ruins:

'tis said, an hoary pile,
'Midst the green navel of our isle,
Thy shrine in some religious wood,
O soul-enforcing Goddess stood!
There oft the painted native's feet,
Went thy form celestial meet;
Tho' now with hopeless toil we trace
Time's backward rolls, to find its place;
Whether the fiery tressed Dane,
Or Roman's self o'erturn'd the fane,
Or in what Heav'n-left age it fell,
'Twere hard for modern song to tell.
(89-100)

Churchill's viewer first sees the ruin, which is of course
in a remote and wooded spot, feels an immediate response to
the sentience of the building, and, moving closer, confirms
his impression of danger and decay. The ruin is, as we
shall learn, an emblem of English government. Though the
scene is pictorial, that is, more or less static, like
paintings, Churchill's takes the poet's prerogative to offer
only a few of the possible significant details as the viewer
moves about. Eighteenth century arguments for the superiority
of poetry over painting stressed that while the poet could
easily summon an elaborate visual scene with moving figures
in it, he could also describe emotions, sentiments, changing
scenery, and recollections on the part of the viewer with moving exactitude. Much eighteenth century topographical poetry, suffers, according to critical tradition, from visual detail offered inexpertly for its own sake and separated from the thought of the poem. Probably Churchill's familiar moral and instructive bias in satire prompts him to select the visual detail in Book II felicitously. Painters of ruins, though they could arouse pleasing emotions, could moralize only with the unsubtle devices of lapidary inscriptions and allegorical figures—shepherds, soldiers, nymphae, and so on. But of course each art form could allude to the other. Churchill's visual context, or rather his whole imaginative and moral conception, suggests an extensive background in eighteenth century architecture and visual art.

Churchill's ruin is classical rather than Gothic, Chinese, neolithic, or a natural formation such as a grotto. Presumably the ancient "Temple" with its "Four hundred pillars, from the ground / Rising in order" straight to the roof is a Grecian structure suitable to the conception of ancient English virtue but apparently no accurate representation of the real House of Commons. Looking out to the Capitol from atop the Palatine Hill, John Dyer says, "The fasces was Jove's," and of the roof that it,

towered aloft,
Sustained by columns huge, innumerus
As cedars proud on Canaan's verdant heights.
Darkening their idols, when Astarte lured
Too prosperous Israel from his living strength.
(Ruins of Rome, 172-6)

Although the ruin in the Duellist is not artificial, we
may apprehend part of the aesthetic significance in the choice
of a classical ruin by referring to the refined judgment of
Henry Home on landscaping:

Whether should a ruin be in the Gothic or Grecian
form? In the former, I think; because it exhibits
the triumph of time over strength; a melancholy,
but not unpleasant thought: a Grecian ruin suggests
rather the triumph of barbarity over taste; a gloomy
and discouraging thought.7

Collins, wanting to symbolize both the classical and the
Saxon traditions of English liberty, admits a mixture of
styles in his ideal or druid's temple: "In Gothic pride it
seems to rise! / Yet Graecia's graceful orders join, /
Majestic thro' the mix'd design" (Ode to Liberty, 118-120).8

We may presume that Churchill means to be gloomy and
discouraging, for the relevance and violence of his message
to England, as in the Prophecy of Raina, are not suited to
the complacency of pleasing melancholy.

Accurate depiction of classical ruins may be studied
in such eighteenth century productions as Robert Wood's
history-travel-architectural The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise
Tadmor in the Desert, 1753, and The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise
Heliopolis in Coelosyria, 1757. In addition to floor plans
and detail engravings of particular walls, windows, statues,
and ornaments, Wood engraved elaborate panoramic views of whole ruined cities. A little vegetation and a few shepherds and soldiers are drawn in for the sake of realism and the contrast of small people with large columns, but attention is directed to parts of standing temples, huge cracked columns still standing, fallen columns broken into large sections, heaps of statues, and parts of buildings. A foldout print nearly five feet long offers a panorama of the city of Palmyra. In the shaded foreground is rubble, but in the lighted middle ground are the standing buildings and columns, and beyond are low hills topped by fairly well preserved temples. Wood's engravings apparently perpetrate only such idealization of the scene and the buildings as is consonant with geographical and architectural accuracy; the ruins are not white and new as in Claude, nor lowering and melodramatic as in Salvator. We are presented the amphitheatrical view considered appropriate for long prospects and whole ruined cities.

Closer to Churchill's use of the ruin is an iconographical tradition described by Benjamin Boyce in an article on the frontispiece, reproduced in the Twickenham edition, which Pope drew for the Essay on Man. Sitting among Pope's broken statues, battered obelisks, useless fountains, and skulls is a man, ostensibly a philosopher, blowing soap bubbles. The
moral of intellectual pride and the vanity of human achievement is made explicit by familiar inscriptions in stone: *Sic transit gloria mundi, Bonae aeternae, Viro immortalique, et Capitolium immobile*. Boyce places Pope's effort into a gallery of similar but finer engravings of classical ruins plus foliage and human figures. Outstanding painters in the genre were the Italians G. B. Castiglione, G. P. Pannini, Marco Ricci, and Donato Creti. Boyce describes the genre:

"The most magnificent Piles of Building, adorn'd with all the Gothick, Teutonic, Corinthian, Roman, &c Ornaments, in their greatest Glory, have not appeared with a more august and venerable Magnificence, than the Representation of their Ruins have done from a skilful Hand." In Pope's day there was a vogue for the picture that featured classical ruins, with some assistance from history and landscape, and irony—the capriccio, as it is now called. Pope's frontispiece belongs to this genre of architectural-allegorical-historical-sculpturesque-funerary-landscape pictures. . . . An assemblage of such materials as appear in Pope's frontispiece—classical ruins and fragmentary statues, a sarcophagus and a grotesque-face fountain, a battered obelisk, a scraggly tree, and a distant view of the ruined Colosseum—would seem interesting to the Augustan whether in poetry or painting.

Churchill completes his initial description of the House of Commons:

The Structure, rare and curious, made
By Men most famous in their trade,
A work of years, admir'd by all,
Was suffer'd into dust to fall,
Or, just to make it hang together,
And keep off the effects of weather,
Was patch'd and patch'd from time to time
By wretches, whom it were a crime,
A crime, which Art would treason hold,
To mention with those names of old.

(263–72)

Churchill's description is similar to one of an artificial ruin in Edward Stephens's poem "On Lord Bathurst's Park and Wood," 1747:

A lowly pile, with ancient order grac'd,
Stands, half repair'd, and half by Time defac'd;
Imbrown'd with Age, the crusted, mould'ring wall
Threats the beholders with a sudden fall;
There fix'd aloft (as whilst us'd) we trace
Imperfect semblance of the savage race.

Robert Arnold Aubin, who quotes this poem in his *Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England*, 1936, remarks further, "The old custodian of this strange ruin overheard a visitor remark on its age, holding that it must be five or six centuries old; 'O Sir, replied the woman, my Lord intends soon to build a house SIX HUNDRED YEARS OLDER.'

Evidently the viewer of a ruin was expected to reflect upon the original architect and the inferior efforts of later men to make repairs. Seeing the Pantheon, Dyer admonishes,

here, curious architect,
If thou assay'st, ambitious, to surpass
Palladius, Angelus, or British Jones,
On these fair walls extend the certain scale,
And turn the instructive compass.

(Ruins of Rome, 184–8)

The builder of an artificial ruin could suggest the decline of the arts by creating the appearance of insufficient repairs. Churchill imitates the repair motif with an
allusion to the famous architect Henry Flitcroft and a
debate on the possibility of repairs:

Builders, who had the pile survey'd,
And those not Flitcrofts in their trade,
Doubted...  
Whether...
It must not, in all parts unsound,
Be ripp'd, and pull'd down to the ground;
Whether...
Art, if they should their Art employ,
Meant to preserve, might not destroy.  
(273-86)

The apparently pragmatic doubts whether the building could
be saved carry ominous threats to British liberty. Churchill
sums up the argument in a simile derived from the initial
impressions of sentence in the building; just as the
tottering walls may be too unsteady to repair, so

human Bodies, worn away,
Batter'd, and hastings to decay,
Hiding the pow'r of Art despair,
Cannot those very medicines bear,
Which, and which only can restore,
And make them healthy as before.  
(287-92)

After the assertion that inferior builders would likely
not be able to repair the ruin, Churchill shifts back in time
in order to account for the building's origin:

To LIBERTY, whose gracious smile
Shed peace and plenty o'er the Isle,
Our grateful Ancestors, her plain
But faithful Children, rais'd this fane.  
(293-96)

Tooke's Pantheon notes that the Romans built a temple to
Liberty,12 and Dyer takes liberty to be a particularly
English virtue, associated with peace and commerce; Dyer's attitude was the attitude of nearly all eighteenth century Englishmen. The original dedication of the House of Commons to Liberty is of course the moral center of Churchill's allegory.

In those times, according to the myth, when the forest did not obscure the temple, Englishmen lived the virtuous life of hard cultural primitivism:

Full in the Front, stretch'd out in length,
Where Nature put forth all her strength
In Spring Eternal, lay a plain,
Where our brave Fathers us'd to train
Their Sons to Arms, to teach the Art
Of War, and steal the infant heart.
LABOUR, their hardy Nurse when young,
Their joints had knit, their nerves had strung;
ABSTINENCE, foe declar'd to death,
Had, from the time they first drew breath,
The best of Doctors, with plain food,
Kept pure the channel of their blood;
HEALTH in their cheeks bad colour rise,
And GLORY sparkled in their eyes.

The goddess Liberty typically has the power to alter the landscape or to make it agreeable. In a dignified manner the viewer reflects upon imagined scenes in early English life around the temple. War was glorified because Liberty had to be defended with constant belligerence and frequent feats of arms.

The instruments of Husbandry,
As in contempt, were all thrown by,
And, flattering a manly pride,
War's keener tools their place supplied.
Though men trained for war and women trained their children
to admire soldiering, still domestic virtue and happiness
were possible:

Their arrows to the head they drew;
Swift to the point their javelins flew;
They grasp'd the sword, they shook the spear;
Their Natures felt a pleasing fear,
And even COURAGE, standing by,
Scarceely beheld with steady eye.
Each Stripling, lesson'd by his Sire,
Knew when to close, when to retire,
When near at hand, when from afar
To fight, and was Himself a War.

Their Wives, their Mothers all around,
Caresless of order, on the ground
Breath'd forth to Heav'n the pious vow,
And, for a Son's or Husband's brow,
With eager fingers laurel wove;
Laurel, which in the sacred grove
Planted by Liberty they find,
The brows of Conquerors to bind,
To give them Pride and Spirits, fit
To make a world in arms submit.

What raptures did the bosom fire
Of the young, rugged, peasant Sire,
When, from the toil of mimic fight,
Returning with return of Night,
He saw his babe resign the breast,
And, smiling, stroke those arms in jest,
With which hereafter he shall make
The proudest heart in CAILIA quake!

Gods! with what joy, what honest pride,
Did each fond, wishing, rustic Bride,
Behold her manly swain return!
How did her love-sick bosom burn,
Tho' on Parades he was not bred,
Nor wore the livery of red,
When, Pleasure height'ning all her charms,
She strain'd her Warrior in her arms,
And begg'd, whilst Love and Glory fire,
A Son, a Son just like his Sire!

(315-357)
Presumably husbandry can be neglected only during a Golden Age of eternal spring. Churchill's methods in the description of ancient British virtue may be briefly characterized: the idea of martial valor is presented in differing aspects in five paragraphs (lines 297-352); valor was ratified by patriotism, liberty, domestic harmony, and sexual attraction, nor did it depend on a red uniform; described in highly visual terms, the practical and symbolic activities of the day lead expectedly to the emotional domestic confrontation at night, the harmony of which justifies the martial way of life. It was not to be expected that a ruin meditation necessarily would keep its history accurate, so long as its morality and psychology were sound. Morality aside, it is believable that a society could keep its emotions and activities close-knit and integrated by glorifying war games and endlessly repeating that the country is surrounded by enemies. Of course Churchill's attitude toward British virtue and its martial aspects is at one with his age. From the description of ancient home life, Churchill shifts to a general statement of moral principle:

Such were the Men, in former times,
Like Luxury had made our crimes
Our bitter Punishment.

(355-5)

Of the Romans, Dyer says that "anfeehling vice / Withers each nerve, and opens every pore / To painful feeling," and
that "luxury / Over their naked limbs, with wanton hand, /
Sheds roses, odours, sheds unheeded bane" (lines 476-478, 486-488). Liberty IV specifies "The softer shackles of luxurious ease," with which tyrants "secure their sway."
The sentiments are commonplace; plenty might be a reward for peace and virtue, but one should beware that it did not verge into luxury. Lines 533-404 of the Duellist outline the pattern of English history according to the myth of Liberty. The long passage is one of Churchill's best, with personification, repetition, dignified assertion of principle, and tonal modulation working together to present the contrast between past and present. For example:

When stern OPPRESSION, hand in hand
With PRIDE, stalk'd proudly thro' the land;
When weeping JUSTICE was misled
From her fair course, and MERCY dead;
Such were the Men, in Virtue strong,
Who dar'd not see their Country's wrong,
Who left the mattock, and the spade,
And, in the robes of War array'd,
In their rough arms, departing, took
Their helpless babes, and with a look
Stern and determin'd, swore to see
Those babes no more, or see them free.
(365-76)

In line 388 Churchill says the English soldiers were led by "Property;" as Dyer agrees, private ownership of property was essential to liberty (Ruins of Rome, 210-254).

The tone of the Duellist in lines 389-440 turns sullen and loses the striking modulations that opposed the
exhilarations of war games and sexual approval with martial determination in time of danger. Churchill describes the contrast in time in terms of the allegorical figures who inhabit the temple. On the field of honor Dependence has been promoted over Valour and Discretion; the doorkeeper of the temple is now Corruption instead of Simplicity; Hospitality and Welcome (Pitt and Temple), two old stewards, have "resign'd," in favor of Economy (Bute's much ridiculed economic policies).

The viewer then moves, at least in imagination, into the temple and reflects again on old British virtue, this time on activities within the shrine. Liberty is assisted, we are told, by Learning, Science, Loyalty, Government, Religion, and a printing press "full in sight." The idea that liberty is associated with learning and genius was mentioned as "trite" by Longinus, but the free press is a characteristic Churchillian touch. The description of the reign of Liberty ends in a pictorially composed scene in which the allegorical characters are arranged in a tableau around the goddess' "turf-made throne." In their days of prosperity, the personified virtues are about to begin a feast.

On a low, simple, turf-made throne,
Rais'd by Allegiance, scarcely known
From her Attendants, glad to be
Pattern of that Equality
She wish'd to all, so far as cou'd
Safely consist with social good,
The GODDESS sat; around her head
A cheerful radiance GLORY spread;
COURAGE, a Youth of royal race,
Loveliness stern, possess'd a place
On her left-hand, and on her right,
Sat HONOUR, cloth'd with robes of light;
Before Her MAGNA CHARTA lay,
Which some great Lawyer, of his day
The PRATT, was office'd to explain,
And make the basis of her reign;
PEACE, crown'd with Olive, to her breast
Two smiling, twin-born infants press;
At her feet Couching, War was laid,
And with a brindled Lion play'd;
JUSTICE and MERCY, hand in hand,
Joint Guardians of the happy land,
Together held their mighty charge,
And TRUTH walk'd all about at large;
HEALTH, for the royal troop, the feast
Prepar'd, and VIRTUE was High Priest.

(457-52)

The scene could be a bas-relief in a classical temple. No doubt investigation could discover a baroque allegorical painting, perhaps of Liberty or Virtue, composed in the manner of Churchill's scene. At any rate we can specify single motifs in the scene which have many parallels in visual art: the classical goddess who looks much like her attendants except for the radiance around her head and her central position in the picture, Peace's olive branch and smiling infants, Mars subjuged by the goddesses, and the friendly lion. The pictorial scene is a last stable view, with motion reduced, which we are given by Churchill of the reign of Liberty; supposedly it is visual in the way that the ruin itself is visual and aids reflection in the same
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way, as first one perceives the scene as a whole, notes
details and arrangements, and then reflects on its varied
significance. Collins' similar description of Liberty and
her train (Ode to Liberty, 139-144), is less pictorial, with
an emphasis on excitement and rapture, as befits an ode,
rather than allegorical nostalgia. Tranquil reflection on
the part of the reader differs from the agitated response
to the frantic motions of the virtues in flight that
Churchill now proceeds to describe.

Immediately the viewer's imagination returns to the
present time and the actual ruin.

Such was the fame our Goddess bore;
Her Temple such in days of yore.
What changes ruthless Time presents!
Behold her ruin'd battlements,
Her walls decay'd, her nodding spires,
Her altars broke, her dying fires,
Her name despis'd, her Priests destroy'd,
Her friends disgrace'd, her foes employ'd,
Herself (by Ministerial arts
Depriv'd e'en of the people's hearts,
Whilst they, to work her surer woe,
Feign her to Monarchy a foe)
Exil'd by grief, self-doom'd to dwell
With some poor Hermit in a cell,
Or, that retirement tedious grown,
If she walks forth, She walks unknown,
Hooted, and pointed at with scorn,
As One in some strange Country born.

Behold a rude and ruffian race,
A band of spoilers, seize her place.

(483-502)

Though the terms "battlement" and nodding spire" suggest
Gothic rather than classical architecture, we find that
Dyer says of Rome that Liberty "Heared up her towery battlements" (line 242), and of himself that he wanders among "nodding towers" (85). Yet we may recall that Collins symbolized the two traditions of English liberty by mixing architectural styles. Churchill's hermit in a cell is part of the evidently irresistible account, in meditations on classical ruins, of a barbarian invasion. Dyer emphasizes the abruptness of the invader: "Sudden the Goth and Vandal, dreaded names! / Rush as the breach of waters, whelming all / Their domes, their villas" (528-530). Both Dyer and Churchill have made it clear that the invader could not have won had not the inhabitants become morally corrupt and indifferent to the goddess Liberty.

In the Duellist, Book II, lines 501-542, English history is brought up to date and the allegory of Liberty, along with the reflections inspired by the sight of her temple, are ended. Statecraft has dispossessed the virtues and the artisans from the temple. In Book III the scene shifts to a dismal cave below the House of Commons where Fraud presides over a meeting of Warburton, Norton, and Martin. From the reflective hindsight of the ruin piece we proceed to the frenzy of Assassination and the horrific sublime.

Book II of the Duellist is not a mean eighteenth century
poem. Even a cursory reading shows that the tetrameter couplets, partly because of enjambing and long parenthetical periods, have weight and dignity. The frequent political allusions, annotated by Grant, seem in this poem to impress the reader with a relevance that ruin poems generally lack, and a gravity consonant with the meditative apparatus. To investigate the background in ruin pieces of the Duellist, Book II, is to make clear that in the poem the ruin is perceived and then the viewer indulges in just meditations which may range widely as his imagination is released for awhile in space and time from the ruin itself. Churchill's initial view of the ruin, his abrupt shift backward in time to the early days of the building, and his gradual progress to the present makes a fairly simple outline of poetic structure. Yet our emphasis is properly on the elaborate and subtle visual apparatus through which the allegorical pattern of English history is presented rather than the coherent narrative. Churchill's success in Book II is no less notable for the fact that his central devices are the personification, pictorialism, and meditation upon ruins which are customarily lamented in eighteenth century poems. Perhaps, as it has been suggested, the poetic value of a personified moral or psychological quality lies in whether there are hints of action; in Book II of the Duellist the
personifications are either active in a variety of ways (suggesting the wider scope of the general concerns of the English people), or they are immobilized impressively in a static pictorial scene. Sometimes much apparently miscellaneous activity is explained and epitomized in a personification, as when Englishmen who in the past went to war, refused bribes, and upheld law, are abruptly imagined by line 388 as an army with Property at the head. Sometimes a character will be described in suggestive ways as to appearance and moral standing, and then be given, in a rhetorical flourish, a generic name:

Half-starv'd, half-starving others, bred
In beggary, with carrion fed,
Detested, and detesting all,
Made up of Avarice, and Gali,
Boasting great thrift, yet wasting more
Than ever Steward did before,
Suspected One, who to engage
The praise of an exhausted age,
Assum'd a name of high degree,
And call'd himself Oeconomy.
(431-440)

It would seem that Book II of the Duellist provides materials equal to those brought forward by Wasserman, Bronson, and Chapin in defense of personification.

Book II is on the one hand reflective, with a sense of history and a feeling for the past, and on the other hand agitated and portentous. The portents lead to the alternated Gothicism and sarcastic banter of Book III, which has less
interesting combinations of themes, and less appealing mannerisms, than Book II. Though Book II shifts abruptly from glory to disaster, the shift occurs within the time scheme and is not a shift of decorum rather awkwardly based on a difference in dignity between Warburton and Assassination. Albert Ball explained the shift of decorum in Book III convincingly in terms of eighteenth century theories that sublimity ought not to be protracted, but his attention to the sublime prevented a discussion of the equally significant techniques of meditation and reflection.

Book II of the Duellist is closer to Gotham than any other Churchill poem, and it is gratifying to the student of Churchill to see how well the poet actually combines satire of broad historical and ethical scope with themes ordinarily found in lyric and personal forms. Book II, probably because it is shorter, lacks the occasional heavy-handedness which appears here and there in the three books of Gotham. The critics who point out that Churchill censures false emotion and inferior prosody rather than lyric and meditative poetry as such could draw evidence from Book II of the Duellist. Without doubt the Duellist as a whole, because of its variety, sense of immediacy, and poetical felicities, deserves the emphasis that Ball put upon it. In terms of poetical skill and the use of newly revived eighteenth century poetical devices, Book II, with the background material supplied by
this chapter, may be read either as a separate poem or as an integral part—the historic and mythic past—of the whole poem.
CHAPTER V

The Dedications to the Sermons: Panegyric Structure

Modern critics, judging the Dedications to be Churchill's finest poem, have found in it the poet's maturest idiosyncratic prosody, his subtlest and bitterest irony, and perhaps his most convincing attack on aesthetic obtuseness and religious hypocrisy.\textsuperscript{1} Extensive analysis of this mature prosody has shown it to be characterized by repetition of key phrases, parallel constructions, highly involved syntax and thought, and "profound and bitter innuendo."\textsuperscript{2} Churchill uses two syntactic units, the non-epigrammatic couplet and the verse paragraph.

So far as the general structure of the poem is concerned, though, Wallace Cable Brown says that the Dedications has no structure other than the narrative of Churchill's relationship with Warburton and no informing idea other than ironic attack. Ivor Winters, who calls the Dedications the greatest English eighteenth century poem, finds fault with what he terms the lack of "rational" structure in the "associational" poetry typical of the eighteenth century; the relationship of one part of the Dedications to another might thus be comprehensible or intuitively justifiable, but the parts are not related
logically. Winters is right, in the sense that Churchill's speaker makes associations ("Recall that day, well-known"), but the question of tight logical structure is misleading. Basically, as we shall see, the poem mocks, within a framework of classical oratory, the familiar themes of the genre of orations and poetry called panegyric—praise of great deeds, ancestry, physiognomy, and so forth. The poem's dramatic power cannot be understood unless the moral condemnations and irony are seen to arise from tonal modulation and the skilled manipulating of panegyric devices.

Tone or attitude of course reveals to us what we know about the personality of the speaker. In no other Churchill, perhaps, is there so strong a sense that the real poet speaks to us in person. Central to the Dedication is the contrast between the speaker and Warburton, and this contrast, with its dramatic ironies and ominous threats, is developed in the recollections of the speaker who presumably faces an audience gathered to hear formal praises of the bishop. Certainly biographical evidence lends the poem some of its visual detail and the feeling on the part of the reader that he shares the nervous tension and embarrassment that the presumed audience, or even the bishop, if he is actually there, might feel. Yet Churchill's speaker, as the theory of the persona in formal satire reminds us, has a personality
different from the author's, created according to the needs of the poem. Rather than being Churchill's repetition of prosodic devices, the key to the Dedication as a coherent poem is the personality and activity of the dramatic speaker who is intensely aware of his relationship with great Gloucester.

Rebecca Price Parkin has described the intellectual and moral effects of using a central dramatic speaker in formal satire. The speaker takes a mock heroic stance which establishes a discrepancy between human profession and human performance, establishes, in other words, ethical norms and deviations from them. Use of the speaker suggests unity and objectivity, permits ironic tensions and particularities, and orients the reader to a specific ideology, or, in the Dedication, to a specific personal quarrel between Churchill and Warburton. The speaker's dialogue, as befits an oral genre, is characterized by ellipsis and allusion.

At this point we may characterize the speaker in the Dedication. The speaker is self-conscious because he must praise an enemy who is eminent in society, while the speaker himself is only an unsuccessful clergyman turned poet. This self-consciousness makes him earnest to establish his own honesty and right to speak of Gloucester. He must somehow justify his failure to become the bishop's protegé. (Brown's
biography does not mention that Churchill ever actually tried to ally himself with Harborton. The satirist attacked the bishop because of an offense to Pitt in 1763, and later because of his part in the Essay on Woman incident. The persona differs further from Churchill's biography in that Churchill was by no means an unknown and unsuccessful poet in 1764.) The speaker poses as a Stoic for whom virtue is everything. He claims to respect ecclesiastical office, personal virtue, scholarship, and family piety. Coming from a rural area, he knows he must not set himself higher in London society than his talents and the station of his family permit. Familiar with political events, he is willing to lose his "dearest friend" for the sake of justice. His wisdom and self-knowledge, along with his "character" as an orthodox divine, give him the right to praise, define terms, and advise. Yet a private side of the speaker's personality appears in his preoccupation with work and death and his envy of Gloucester's wealth and power. Behind the mask of panegyric, the speaker's irony makes clear that the essential contrast between himself and the bishop is moral rather than social; Gloucester's so-called virtues are the qualities which allowed him to rise in the world.

The fact that the singular power of the Dedication's irony can be attributed to the use of the speaker who fully reveals himself can be proved by comparing the Dedication with
the earlier attack on Warburton in the *Duellist* 667-610. Wilkes used the less equivocal satire of the *Duellist* to annotate certain indirections in the later poem. Albert Hall has described in detail Churchill's methods in the *Duellist*. This poem, Hall finds, is the clearest example of the satirist's use of several kinds of sublimity; pictorial and emblematic images of the horrific sublime form the visual, emotional, and moral contexts of the sublime idea of treason. In Book III, which contains the character of Warburton, the pictorial and horrific sublime, "ASSASSINATION, her whole mind / Blood-thirsting, on her arm reclin'd" (609-610), is used to describe the dismal cave of Fraud in which Warburton, Fletcher Norton, and Samuel Martin plot to assassinate Wilkes. Writing in apparent accord with the eighteenth century theory that the mind cannot well bear long-protracted sublimity, Churchill made the character of Warburton, which immediately follows the image of Assassination, bantering and sarcastic in a more conversational style; epigrams and witty insults replace the horrific imagery of the cave and the personifications who inhabit it. Although the bishop holds a powerful position, sarcastic remarks about religious, social, and sexual hypocrisy make him seem contemptible and ridiculous. The character of Warburton in the *Duellist*, besides being sarcastic instead of ironic, differs from the Dedication in having a fairly level and
unmodulated tone of discourse. It is not as clear in the 
Duellist as in the Dedication that either Churchill or his 
persona wants to lead the reader by the hand, to interpose 
a dramatic personality who interprets Warburton to the 
reader. Of course the narrator in the Dedication is not 
so fascinating and mystifying a quantity as, say, the 
governess in The Turn of the Screw, because his meaning 
and intentions are always clear, but still the narrator 
is one of the two characters, or focal points, toward which 
the emotional tensions are directed. We have mentioned 
Parkin's views on the generic speaker in formal satire, and 
suggested that the situation in the Dedication may be seen, 
for the sake of the utmost tension, as a group of people, 
confined in a hall of some sort, gathered to hear a speech 
about Gloucester, who hear instead the subtlest and bitterest 
ironies against him. At every point in the Dedication the 
reader has a sense of the speaker's troubled personality 
and of the audience to whom he so carefully makes definitions, 
reassurances, and pauses. Perhaps the most inclusive 
distinction that can be made between the Duellist 667-610 
and the Dedication is to say that in the latter poem, partly 
because of the use of decasyllables, the momentum is extremely 
slow, yet steady, and the tension is greatly increased. A 
reader may not know whether the persona's hesitations and 
repetitions are caused by doubts as to the effectiveness
or the morality of the attack on Warburton, or whether the speaker can hardly manage what he considers honest praise of a personal enemy, or whether the speaker is carefully testing the imaginary audience. At any rate it is gratifying to the student of Churchill to see the poet work up from the respectable but heavy and simple satire in the Duellist 667-610 to the deafness of the Dedication.

From the dramatic situation we may turn to the literary background. The speaker, as we have suggested, speaks to a formal gathering according to principles of oratory; his oration dwells upon the various themes proper to panegyric, which of course he treats ironically. The problem of the modern reader is to find out what expectations the imagined audience had in the way of formal praises. We shall investigate the oratorical norm behind Churchill's irony.

For Aristotle, panegyric was primarily a species of rhetorical ornament and display. A panegyrist must persuade his audience that any sort of fault could pass for virtue. Aristotle implies that the orator's style should suit the audience rather than the subject, an implication which contradicts the usual classical formula that the good rhetor should be a good man. A panegyric intended to be taken seriously would thus seem ambiguous and untrustworthy, even though the audience would expect distortion of the character of the object of praise. In
his serious dedications Dryden indicates the natural tendency of panegyric to verge into irony and satire:

That which is a satire to other men must be a panegyric to your lordship.\(^9\)

Where ev’n to draw the picture of thy mind
Is satire on the most of humankind.\(^10\)

I can scarcely make a panegyric to your royal highness without a satire on many others.\(^11\)

In *A Tale of a Tub* Swift’s dedications complain of the insincerity with which authors bid for patronage, and then appeal to Posterity in order to satirize the more general kind of panegyric. The ease and subtlety with which panegyric can verge upon irony makes the framework of formal praises especially well suited to Churchill’s "profound and bitter innuendo."

Quintilian discusses fully the themes and intentions of serious panegyric. Taking the genre more seriously than did Aristotle, Quintilian says that for the Romans panegyric was a public service to be performed at funerals, in court, or in the Senate.\(^12\) Panegyric properly exaggerates and embellishes; the subject of praise is claimed to have done best, done first, or done uniquely. Although panegyric deals specifically with "quality" (good character, good deeds), it may borrow from deliberative and forensic oratory the techniques of giving advice, refuting accusations, or defining words. A panegyric speaker must first associate
himself as completely as he can with his audience, praise
the subject according to the expectations and values of
that audience, and at the same time flatter the character
and judgment of the audience. Men may be praised for
character, physique, pedigree, and the virtuous employment
of natural or social advantages—each of these matters
Churchill's speaker pretends to demonstrate. For a working
definition of panegyric, we may quote from Bibliographia
Technologia, 1757:

PANGYRIC is a laudatory poem or speech, made
before an Assembly of People, and receives various
Epithets according to the Subject Matter and
Design: As Eucharistic, which returns thanks;
Encomiastic, when it is an Oration of Praise;
Paragonetic, which gives Instruction, etc.13

Churchill several times in his poetry found it useful
to satirize the writing of panegyrics and dedications. In
An Epistle to Hogarth (lines 99-124) Candour tells Churchill
he should take "Soul-soothing PANGYRIC's flow'ry way"
instead of "SATIRE's barren path;" satire has made the poet,
Candour continues, lose his comfortable but dull clerical
position. Churchill replies, "I cannot truckle to a Fool
of State, / Nor take a favour from a man I hate." From there
the poet launches an attack on Prudence. In The Candidate
(lines 155-214) Churchill says that satire no longer cures
the social disease, and that he will essay the more difficult
form of writing:
Broad is the road, nor difficult to find,
Which to the house of Satire leads mankind;
Narrow, and unfrequented are the ways,
Scarce found out in an age, which lead to Praise.

(201-4)

In *The Duellist* Churchill attacks Warburton for dedicating
*The Doctrine of Grace*, 1765, to Pitt, and then changing
political sides with an address to the clergy of his
diocese in praise of the Treaty of Paris. Warburton,

Wrote dedications which must make
The heart of ev'ry Christian quake,
Made one man equal to, or more
Than God, then left him as before
His God he left.

(685-7)

Related to serious panegyric is an ancient tradition
continuing in the eighteenth century which Henry Knight
Miller in a recent study calls the "paradoxical encomium." It
is a species of rhetorical display which involves the
praise of unworthy objects, and it is close to burlesque,
parody, and mock heroic. A notable example is the Praise
of Folly. Renaissance schoolboys made formal paradoxes
in praise of animals and objects; Rochester and Fielding
praised "nothing." According to Miller's general description,
the paradoxical encomium was typically light-hearted—for
instance, Sterne on noses. Breaking away from the genre of
paradoxical encomia somewhat, eighteenth century satirists
wrote mock panegyrics which turned to serious irony the
classical *topoi* that grammarians had listed for use in
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panegyric—for instance, Pope’s *To Augustus*, Gay’s *To Snow*, and, of course, Churchill. Bolingbroke dedicated his *Dissertation upon Parties* ironically to Walpole. Fielding mocked Conyers Middleton’s dedication to *Cicero* in the dedication to *Shamela*. John Wilkes dedicated the 1765 edition of *The Fall of Mortimer* to Bute, and Wilkes’ performance, along with Warburton’s serious dedication to Pitt, may have suggested to Churchill how to tone up a dull volume of sermons.

The question has been asked whether Churchill’s *Dedication* is a mock poem or a parody. Yvor Winters is right when he says that the *Dedication* is a mock poem (a “pseudo-panegyric”) because the subject rather than the style is treated ironically. The complex perspectives in the *Dedication* are due to the combination in the unified poem of the serious style based on classical principles, the complicated personality of the dramatic speaker, the imagined scene, and the ostensible subject of praise who is condemned for hypocrisy. In a careful study of the *Dedication* we shall in effect widely expand Wilkes’ comment on the poem: “a most happy vein of irony runs through the whole, and the grave Cervantes mask of humor never once falls off.”

The reader of the *Dedication* may picture himself listening to a speaker toast Warburton before listeners who wait to hear how well the speaker will do conventional praises. In order...
to pretend at once that he will tell the truth, the speaker uses a curious ingratiating device described by Steele.

HEALTH to great GLOSTER—-from a man unknown, Who holds thy health as dearly as his own, Accept this greeting—-nor let modest fear Call up one maiden blush—-I mean not here To wound with flattery—-'tis a Villain’s art, And suits not with the frankness of my heart. Truth best becomes an Orthodox Divine, And, spite of hell, that Character is mine; To speak e’en bitter truths I cannot fear; But truth, my Lord, is panegyric here. (1-10)

Forgetting irony for a moment, notice the somewhat threatening tone of the words fear, blush, wound, flattery, villain, which is mollified by the reassurance in line 6; vague threats and religious allusions are then repeated—-truth, orthodox, hell, bitter truth—-only to be reversed by the rhetorical definition, similar to those definitions quoted above from Dryden, that truth is panegyric here. Steele begins Tatler 17: "The discourse has happened to turn this evening upon the true panegyric, the perfection of which was asserted to consist in a certain artful way of conveying the applause in an indirect manner." Of the several examples of the artful way given, the one most like the first ten lines of the Dedication is the following, spoken by Buckingham to Orrery:

"My lord, (says the duke, after his libertines way,) you will certainly be damned.' 'How my lord!' says the earl with some warmth. 'May,' said the duke, 'there is no help for it, for it is positively said, Cursed is he: of whom all men speak well.'
Churchill's allusions, turns, and parenthetical hesitations operate at the beginning of the poem within a recognized anecdote framework which contains first the creation of suspense and then the resolution of it by wit or paradox. In the Dedication that resolution is of course an ironic pretense. Somewhat similar threats and resolutions are made through the first 72 lines of the poem.

Churchill's pseudo-panegyric creates dramatic tensions made objective by honorific moral and cosmic words applied in satire to an unworthy object. Of course, Quintilian allows a panegyrist, like a forensic debater, to redefine words or use them in odd places. Serious panegyric involved distortion, yet there is a certain imaginary distance, between the praise and the object of praise, which if it is too great turns the panegyric into satire. One might say that this distance in the Dedication, although always too great on purpose, is not always the same—sometimes, in other words, the speaker is solemn and indignant, other times laughing and superior, a variety befitting an oral genre.

In the second paragraph of the Dedication, Churchill's speaker sets up a contrast between himself and Gloucester. We said, when describing the character of the speaker, that Churchill individualized him for dramatic and political purposes. Churchill associates himself with a personality and a manner of speaking which will slur Warburton convincingly
and compel respect for the poet. Churchill must give, or make up, many details of his life and thought in order to contrast point by point with details concerning Warburton. The whole poem is an elaboration, with increasing sarcasm, of that contrast. More specifically, so far as the oratorical structure of the poem is concerned, comparison and contrast of one person with another is a recommended device of panegyric. In fact, Aristotle's somewhat cynical advice on the subject of panegyric contrast applies to the Dedication:

"Further, if you cannot find much to say about your hero himself, it is proper to contrast him with other people, after the manner which Isocrates adopted owing to his inexperience in forensic oratory."18

In the second paragraph the speaker says, in somewhat bitter tones, that unlike other dedications he does not expect patronage. Gloucester's "love of wealth" is in panegyrical fashion passed off as a virtue. Puns and ambiguities on words like note, offspring, and ALLEN's hair bring irony to the surface as the speaker hesitates, repeats, and pretends to get things right at last. In spite of the flippancies about Warburton the editor and Warburton the alleged cuckold, there is in the paragraph an agitated and serious tone of self-pity, prideful spirit, and preoccupation with work and death. Later in the poem Churchill will use again this self-conscious awareness
of some sort of comic context for the individual human being to give an air of moral significance to his satire.

Lines 1-28 constitute, in terms of classical oratory, an *exordium* which prepares the reader to accept the satire against Warburton put in the form, and using the devices, of panegyric. The remainder of the poem also may be divided into the conventional parts of a classical oration.\(^9\) Lines 29-72 may be said to constitute a pretended *narratio* which states the subject ("'Tis not the Bishop, but the Saint I praise"); the lines describe Warburton, even though they do not exactly set forth in order the points to be treated in succeeding paragraphs. Lines 73-126 contain anecdotes, set up terms, pretend to offer proofs of Warburton's greatness, and constitute a *probatio*. In lines 127-162, the speaker, pretending to answer certain unfavorable implications in preceding paragraphs, makes a *refutatio* out of the device of passing off faults as virtues. Lines 163-180 are definitely a *peroratio* or summation. The finality of the summary makes it needless to speculate, on the basis of internal evidence, whether the *Dedication* was unfinished.

In lines 29-44, the speaker moralizes heavy-handedly and solemnly as he utters ironic threats which are supposed to establish his own integrity. The threats actually outline the charges of hypocrisy against Warburton.
The tone brightens suddenly when in a series of negative constructions the speaker says that there are matters more worthwhile than Gloucester's physiognomy, though it be handsome. Quintilian explicitly allows a panegyrist to praise the subject's beauty, but the praise should be brief because beauty is less important than great deeds. Despite their brevity, Churchill's lines on physiognomy, with their erotic suggestiveness, call to mind all of the straightforward sexual scandal in the Duellist plus descriptions of epic heroes. The ironic references to sexual scandal in the Dedication began in line 4 with a reference to Gloucester's "maiden blush."

'Tis not thy outward form, thy easy mien,
Thy sweet complacency, thy brow serene,
Thy open front, thy Love-commanding eye,
Where fifty Cupids, as in ambush, lie,
Which can from sixty to sixteen impart
The force of Love, and point his blunted dart;
'Tis not thy face, tho' that by Nature's made
An index to thy soul.

(45-52)

The description, besides being sexual hyperbole and symbol ("blunted dart") in irony, alludes to the Aeneid and the committed hero who incidentally has erotic appeal. Annotating the lines, John Wilkes sarcastically explained relevant allusions and implications:

I never could form an adequate idea of what Virgil calls the laetus coeli honores, the lumen purpureum, till I was blest with a sight of William Warburton, lord bishop of Gloucester. His fine eye carries
us even beyond what a pagan poet could possibly conceive; for it beams forth all the meekness and forbearance, all the mildness and benevolence, of the Gospel which is engraven on his heart. The beauty and symmetry of features in his face, are indeed admirable; but beauty and symmetry are by no means confined to his face. His whole figure excels the most perfect Grecian forms; and, in my opinion, is a superior composition to the Apollo Belvidere. The harmony of soul, too, seems exactly answerable to that of the body. 20

Churchill also suggests that the face is the mirror of the soul:

thro' thy skin
Peeps out that Courtesy which dwells within.
(53-4)

The passage in Virgil that Wilkes refers to is Aenaeid I 509-593:

Restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit,
Os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
Caesarium nato genetrix lumenque iuvantae
Purpureum et laetos oculos adflaret honores:
Quae manus addunt ebore decus, aut ubi flavo
Argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur aurum. 21

Dryden translates:

The Trojan chief appeared in open sight,
Angust in visage, and serenely bright.
His mother goddess, with her hands divine,
Had form'd his curling locks, and made his
temples shine,
And giv'n his rolling eyes a sparkling grace,
And breath'd a youthful vigor on his face;
Like polish'd iv'ry, beauteous to behold.
Or Parian marble, when enam'd in gold. 22

Warbuton was apparently not ugly. He is described as a
large man with "well-formed features, with large eyes, a
slightly prominent nose, and full lips." 23 Churchill sneers
thus at Warburton's character as the man of years and
pompousity who takes a much younger wife. Later in the
poem Churchill mentions Thomas Potter, who was said by
Horace Walpole to be the father of Warburton's son.
Wilkes and perhaps Potter wrote the amusing notes to An
Essay on Woman and signed Warbuton's name to those notes
dealing with religious allusion and feminine hygiene. 24

From physiognomy, Churchill passes to pedigree.
Puttenham, discussing panegyric, says that praise of
pedigree, because a hero is greater than ordinary men and
must have had unusual ancestry or birth attended by marvels,
is as important as praise of deeds or character. 25 Of course
Churchill takes the opportunity to sneer at Warburton's lack
of pedigree—he married Allen's niece and inherited Allen's
money. Churchill's sneer, "Thou art to Thyself, thy Sire
unknown, / A Whole, Welch Genealogy alone," goes before a
pretense to show, in the words of Quintilian, how the hero
has "ennobled a humble origin by the glory of . . . [his] achievements." 26 Aristotle says that a panegyrist must
make meanness a virtue somehow.

The ostensible burden of lines 1-60 is that the speaker
asks for no patronage, refuses to praise vain show, despises
hypocrisy, and considers even a handsome visage to be less
important than the inward virtue it signifies. On the
relative calm of panegyric surface, the dramatic speaker has tried to establish his integrity, worldly wisdom, and facility with formal praises. Sneers at Warburton have been conveyed by vague threats, indirections, and negative statements as the speaker prepares at last to specify what he shall praise. The essential charge against Warburton has been made:

who deceives
Under the sacred sanction of Law—and Sleeves, Enthrones guilt, commits a double sin; So fair without, and yet so foul within. (41-44)

As if irony were specially invented to condemn religious hypocrisy, Churchill's speaker feigns to admire certain parts of a "Life and Doctrine uniformly join'd:"

Thy known contempt of Persecution's rod, Thy Charity for Man, thy Love of God, Thy Faith in Christ, so well approv'd 'mongst men, Which now give life, and utterance to my pen. (45-50)

Notice how Churchill's phrasing introduces the threat of public exposure; "Persecution's rod" apparently refers to the arrest of Wilkes, 27 nominally for printing An Essay on Woman, but actually for writing North Briton 45. Religion is almost hailed as a muse in order to give a pretended cosmic context to the satire. With the general orientation complete, the speaker deduces a last verbal distinction:
-187-

Thy Virtue, not thy Rank, demands my lays; 'Tis not the Bishop, but the Saint I praise. Rais'd by that Theme, I soar on wings more strong, And burst forth into praise withheld too long. (60-72)

Threats and turns of attitude have been carried to this point in the poem by prosodic devices somewhat like refrains. Brown calls these devices lyrical and associates them with the strong sense in the poem of Churchill's personality; repetitions and hesitations, Brown points out, also keep Churchill's generally non-epigrammatic couplets from being enjambed. It should be pointed out also that the "refrains" are persuasive devices used by the speaker to create suspense which he from time to time pretends to resolve by defining terms. We have compared Churchill's methods to the recommendation by Steele that praise should be conferred indirectly in a witty or paradoxical manner. By taking Steele's advice, an ironist can state his charges unequivocally while pretending first to be ironic and then to resolve the indirect praise in some way satisfactory to all concerned. The first of Churchill's refrain-like devices is the twice repeated "Health to great GLOSTER," which reminds Gloucester that he is being greeted while "nor let..." clauses (lines 5, 11-12, 22) caution him not to take alarm. "'Tis not..." is used anaphorically in lines 53-56 in order to create suspense for the coming list
of charges, and then is used in lines 45, 51, and 55 to herald special topics of satire. For his specific narrative, or list of subjects to be treated (lines 61-68), Churchill reverses the refrain and begins, "No, 'tis thy inward Man." His last preliminary sarcasm before he begins to recount past history reads, "'Tis not the Bishop, but the Saint I praise." Churchill's repeated words, which might be called honorable-man devices, behave somewhat like italics as they anticipate each hit of satire.

In lines 73-162 Churchill offers specific panegyric evidence of Gloucester's right to be the subject of the Dedication. Quintilian says that although gods do not need evidence to support their claims to panegyric, men do. Churchhill's speaker elaborates the relationship between himself and Gloucester by telling anecdotes.

Instead of bursting forth into praise, the speaker tells a pathetic tale of himself as an unwilling clergyman who wanted to become WARBURTON'S protégé.

Much did I wish, e'en whilst I kept those sheep, Which, for my curse, I was ordain'd to keep; Ordain'd, alas! to keep thro' need, not choice, Those sheep which never heard their shepherd's voice, Which did not know, yet would not learn their way, Which stray'd themselves, yet griev'd that I should stray, Those sheep, which my good Father (on his bier Let filial duty drop the pious tear) Kept well, yet starv'd himself e'en at that time, Whilst I was pure, and innocent of rime,
Whilst, sacred Dullness ever in my view, 
Sleep at my bidding crept from pew to pew, 
Much did I wish, tho' little could I hope, 
A Friend in him, who was the Friend of Pope. 
(189)

Aside from finding the passage a handy example of Churchill's of the paragraph as a syntactical unit, critics have failed to see merit in what appears to be pathetic special pleading. The "shepherd" was probably the Rev. Joseph Simms, the rector of St. John's, who left Churchill and his father to take care of the parish.30 Yvor Winters says that "Let filial duty drop the pious tear" "is a sentimental cliche which seems to be offered in all seriousness."31 Evidently Churchill wanted to be thought kind to his father and conscientious about church duties when he had them. Yet the apparently fabricated wish to be one of Warburton's poets--in the Duellist Churchill calls Warburton a parasite on poets and a stupid literary dictator--implies that Churchill had in mind some dramatic or rhetorical stunt for his speaker. The paragraph tells us that a lad of sensibility has enough good instincts to regret a noble task ill performed. There is the hint, to be developed into irony later in the poem, of Churchill showing by his actions that he would lack the wisdom to appreciate the dedicated Gloucester. The speaker tries to obtain sympathy for himself, to fill in the background of the present contrast between himself and Gloucester, and to
broaden the emotional range of the speech in the direction of tender sentiment (appropriate to preachers) by elaborating previous complaints about his poverty.

Lines 87-112 describe Warburton's literary dictatorship and the speaker's hopes for patronage. Churchill's characteristic snipe at rules, artifice, and critical dogmatism is intended in this instance to clarify an aspect of the speaker's personal history. To the lament that the speaker was not allowed to become a Warburtonian, the pretense is made that the bishop was too busy saving souls to heed versifiers and verses (lines 113-126). Churchill parodies the religious resolutions often found in pastoral laments of the Lycidas variety. The shepherd must somehow justify, if he can, the ways of fate:

Should He forsake the task he undertook,
Desert his flock, and break his pastoral crook?
Should He (forbid it Heav'n) so high in place,
So rich in knowledge, quit the work of Grace,
And, idly wand'ring o'er the Muses' hill,
Let the salvation of mankind stand still?

(121-26)

"The irony of the passage is obvious, for Warburton had devoted a good deal of time to literary study, though without distinguishing himself, and was vain of his accomplishments."32

After the bold irony that Gloucester is a dedicated churchman, the speaker offers a flamboyant exemplum as proof of his assertion. Gloucester is shown in a moment of glory when his behavior and principles unite to fend off attack.
The moment came when Warburton denied solemnly in Parliament that he wrote any of the notes to *An Essay on Woman* and was laughed down by members who knew his attack on Wilkes and Potter was politically motivated. While describing this well known incident, Churchill's speaker can pull out all the stops and treat the matter in terms of heroic battle. Pretending to recoil from the notion that salvation might stand still, the speaker blunders through lines that sound like Pope's stichomythy in the imitations of Horace; religious terminology lends a murky seriousness almost too profound for words:

Far, far be that from Thee--yes, far from Thee
Be such revolt from Grace, and far from me
The Will to think it--Guilt is in the Thought--
Not so, not so, hath Warburton been taught,
Not so learn'd Christ.

(127-31)

Here and elsewhere we may point out what variety of tone may be obtained within the semi-dramatic framework of an oral genre. In speeches, what one loses in intellectual subtlety may be replaced by tonal modulation. In formal satire an endless variety of rhetorical and dramatic devices are to be found involved in fairly simple and usually old-fashioned ideas and principles. Unfriendly critics have claimed that irony in the Dedication does not build up to a peak. While the irony is more or less obvious from the first line,
we should notice the various tones of voice the speaker uses. At this point in the poem he almost shouts the narrative of Gloucester's moment of glory.

The speaker abruptly hits on the exemplum which will equate Gloucester's honor with God's:

Recall that day, well-known,  
When (to maintain God's honour—and his own)  
He call'd Blasphemers forth.  
(131-3)

Wilkes was accused of blasphemy because An Essay on Woman plus some shorter parodies of Pope called the Trinity a phallic symbol.

Any literary device may be mocked in satire. The Dedication now rises to natural and religious sublimity:

Methinks I now  
See stern Rebuke enthroned on his brow,  
And arm'd with tenfold terours—from his tongue,  
Where fiery zeal, and Christian fury hung,  
Methinks I hear the deep-ton'd thunders roll,  
And chill with horror ev'ry sinner's soul—  
In vain They strive to fly—flight cannot save,  
And POTTER trembles even in his grave.  
(133-140)

Earlier in this chapter, while discussing the Duellist, we saw how Churchill used the horrific sublime to set a familiar melodramatic scene for his readers. Warburton in the Duellist, far from attaining sublimity, was a fairly ridiculous figure. While reworking the satire of the Duellist, Churchill evidently perceived the advantages of minimizing Gloucester in a context of the heroic sublime.
For the length of the paragraph, Gloucester becomes the Quixote of a mock epic description, but an unsympathetically presented Quixote who is not allowed to state his own case. Even the mock epic apparatus, which has a certain dignity of its own, minimizes the Warburton who ludicrously denounces Wilkes from pretended motives of rectitude and humanity. We should notice also that Churchill's method here is pictorial. "Recall" a particular scene, says the speaker, and then, grandly, "Methinks I now / See..." The hero is pictured in a denunciatory attitude, as Cicero denounced Catiline, while his victims are seen fleeing to their graves, where even there they are not free. Gloucester is decorated in the allegorical fashion appropriate to heroes, with Rebuks, zeal, and Christian fury personified, in order, perhaps, to call to mind the figures representing abstractions in allegorical painting. Personification, considered apt in the 1760's to express passion, presents here the careful facial expression and the tableau decorated with small allegorical figures typical of allegorical painting.

Then the speaker moralizes over the recollected scene and attests that Gloucester defends himself "With all the conscious pride of innocence," that is, proudly aware of his own innocence. By implication the justifiable pride of Gloucester is contrasted ironically with the youthful
pride of the speaker who has confessed his own immaturity and tried to establish his right to praise Gloucester. Churchill, unlike Swift, does not pretend to be appalled by pride; he attacks hypocrisy instead. In lines 145-150 the speaker says explicitly that Wilkes was sacrificed in the interests of justice. Again Churchill invokes pity for himself and his friends. Perhaps he is trying to play upon the sentiments expressed toward his father. On the level of panegyric, the speaker merely asserts his own objectivity:

O Glorious Man, thy zeal I must commend,  
Thou' it depriv'd me of my dearest friend.  
(145-6)

The irony is more serious here than in the heroic tableau featuring the bombastic bishop, because Warburton's testimony did in fact help to cause Wilkes to be wounded in a duel and to flee to France after receiving a jail sentence.

Lines 151-162 comment sarcastically upon Warburton's forsaken law career, in contrast to Churchill's leaving the church to be a poet:

Bred to the law, You wisely took the gown,  
Which, like Damas, foolishly laid down.  
(151-2)

The panegyric pretense is that Gloucester in the past made a decision which has allowed him to become a great public servant. A further pretense is that Gloucester's wealth,
signified by puns on the words "substantial," and the speaker's
poverty (Churchill was probably not poor in 1764) are in
direct proportion to their individual wisdom and virtue.

In the last paragraph the speaker gives Gloucester
advice. Although Quintilian says that ordinarily advice
will be given in a deliberative oration, and that panegyric
praises what deliberation advises, the definition of
panegyric quoted from Bibliographia Technologia specifies
that the eighteenth century tolerated advice in panegyrics.
Although in Churchill's last paragraph the panegyric tone
seems to be lost entirely, this tone actually becomes more
specialized and subtle. Preachers at all times have given
advice in prayers and sermons because these forms of
communication are not usually rebutted, and Churchill
speaks here as "an Orthodox Divine." Also, any panegyrist
might know how to slip advice and warning between praises;
the subject might be cautioned to avoid those Aristotelian
vices which were related to the Aristotelian virtues which
occupied most of the speech. Dryden, for example, ends
Britannia Rædita with surprisingly strong and pertinent
cautions to James II not to rule as a tyrant. At this point
in the Dedication we see Churchill's dramatic speaker self-
consciously give grudging praise to his enemy, who is
supposedly the better man. Even on the level of panegyric,
the speaker solemnly insists on his right to act as a moral censor.

Summarizing the contrast between himself and Gloucester in a metaphor, the speaker says he is at the foot of Fortune's ladder looking up at the Bishop perched at the top. Although Gloucester apparently deserved good fortune, the speaker says he himself had stayed at the foot of the ladder only because he had no "smooth hypocrisy." Taking the metaphor literally, in the manner of Swift, the speaker uses the advantage of his perspective to warn Gloucester not to get dizzy:

Let not thy Brain (as Brains less potent might)
Dizzy, confounded, giddy with the height,
Turn round, and lose distinction, lose her skill
And wonted pow'rs of knowing good from ill,
Of sifting Truth from falsehood, friends from foes;
Let GLOSTER well remember, how he rose,
Nor turn his back on men who made him great;
Let Him not, gorg'd with pow'r, and drunk with state,
Forget what once he was, tho' now so high;
How low, how mean, and full as poor as I.

(171-180)

"Let him not," says the speaker, as though Gloucester had not forgotten already. Churchill allows his testy speaker to close on a somber note which reverts to self-pity. But the speaker has for the most part spoken so strongly and righteously that the self-pity is not as important as the ironic moral judgment against Warburton.

Having read the poem closely and with emphasis upon the speaker's shifts of tone and characterization of himself and Gloucester, we might point out some of Churchill's colors of
rhetoric. Churchill's non-epigrammatic couplets, which frequently compose periodic sentences of more than twenty lines, make it difficult to specify certain devices easy to find in an epigrammatic rhetorician like Pope. One would expect to find a rhetorical argument conveyed by enthymemes, or rhetorical deductions, as Aristotle advises; for instance, in Pope an enthymeme may occupy one line:

Fools rush into my head, and so I write.36

Pope's complete syllogism would read: all persons possessed by fools write; I am possessed; therefore, I write. Of course the whole syllogism can be derived only by implication from Pope's line, and other syllogisms than the one suggested could be derived from that line, but the significant thing to consider is that Pope's statement has the form, impressiveness, and connotations of reasoned proof that a syllogism has, even though the implied allusion to Plato's Ion might appear more significant than the syllogistic form. Aristotle advises rhetoricians to set up an enthymeme in the form of a maxim followed by examples.37 In Churchill we have,

Hence double strength our Holy Mother drew;
Me she got rid of, and made prize of you.

(154-5)

More typical of Churchill is the logical argument carried on for many lines. The first 72 lines of the poem we have read as a series of dramatic pauses—threats and resolutions, mechanisms of suspense—during which the speaker slowly
arrives at his topic. We should notice that the lines elaborate a fairly simple logical argument: virtuous persons deserve praise; Gloucester is virtuous; therefore, he deserves praise. Virtue is defined in the speech. Besides the rhetorical deductions, Churchill uses the exemplum, or rhetorical induction, to convey the argument against Gloucester.

We have mentioned the mechanics of suspense that involve prosodic devices of repetition and anaphora, also the use of allusion to religious and political matters which make the charges seem serious. Churchill finds two other devices especially suited to irony—sententious statements and rhetorical questions; each of these devices can imply contradictory meanings no matter who uses them:

by mistaken kings,
Titles are oft mispla'sd.  
(39-40)

Heralds can make those arms they cannot find.  
(58)

Should He forsake the task he undertook,
Desert his flock, and break his past'ral crook?  
Should He. . .
Let the salvation of mankind stand still?  
(121-26)

Now, having observed Churchill's dramatic speaker present his mock panegyric, and having analyzed particular colors of rhetoric as well as the generally classical choice and organization of the subject matter of the poem, we may agree
with Wilkes that "the grave Cervantes mask of humour never once falls off," especially in view of the fact that the eighteenth century reader generally thought Quixote to be the butt in a great comic novel. No one has ever been misled by Churchill's irony in the Dedication. Yet critics have not developed the idea that irony by definition looks like something else and then analyzed the consistent panegyric surface of the poem. This panegyric surface is a function of the speaker's personality; he is obliged to praise a personal enemy and he praises as well as he can from the point of view of the honest man. The speaker's jealousy and self-pity are a private aspect of his personality. In an oral genre repetitions and hesitations and unexpected emphases on certain words hint at understood changes of vocal tone and thereby of attitude toward the subject. In the Dedication the dramatic speaker manages a wide variety of serious attitudes of panegyric, and even more of irony. The poem is unified not only by its single subject, but also by its individualized speaker who works with oratorical conventions.

Ivor Winters calls the Dedication "a horrifying judgment of moral ugliness." Winters tries to establish the fact that Warburton as a powerful and stupid man deserved to be attacked and that Churchill was morally superior because
his sins were private rather than public. It may be doubted that a moralistic bias does the reader of the Dedication any good. Warburton's modern defenders, for example, do not take Churchill's politically motivated condemnation seriously, nor do they believe any of the sexual scandal that Walpole reported. The greatness of the Dedication, as this chapter has argued, is the ironic equilibrium of the complicated levels on which the poem may be read. In actual reading these levels are, of course, mixed, but for analytical purposes they may be described separately: a speaker similar to Kermans persona in formal satire poses self-consciously as a Stoic and delivers a well-organized and complicated advice-giving panegyric to a great enemy; when Churchill and Warburton are associated with the speaker and Gloucester, the subjects and mannerisms of panegyric become "profound and bitter innuendo." The Dedication should be read not as autobiography primarily, but rather as a subtly dramatic public performance.
CONCLUSION

A conclusion to separate studies, even of one poet, must necessarily be tentative. Though biographical material and cross references to other Churchill poems have been introduced, the chapters for the most part concentrated upon the unique, rather than the generally satiric or particularly Churchillian, aspects of the poems. The word Churchillian signifies the irony, enjamed couplets, critical and moral formulas, nervousness, and manly roughness that have long been associated with the satirist. While the emphases in these studies were to some extent determined by what modern scholars have studied or neglected, each poem was given close reading and appropriate background materials were supplied. Still, one might ask what the close readings of certain poems have brought forward in the way of materials toward new appreciations and evaluations of Churchill, and whether any new general formulation can be made of his poetical practice.

A reevaluation of Churchill's poetry cannot be made until many of the poems have been given closer attention than heretofore, and there seems to be little doubt that scholars will continue to be interested in Churchill.
The biographies and texts are reliable, the poet's importance in the political situation of the early 1760's has been made clear, various readers have quarrelled over his personal and poetical merits (thereby arousing curiosity), poetical and rhetorical devices have been analyzed, and close readings of a few poems have been made. It would seem that special studies in individual poems would be the critical recipe for Churchill from now on, and the previous chapters have explored in that direction. Night, the Prophecy of Famine, the Duellist, and the Dedication cover the whole range of Churchill's satire, except the war on actors, and show him at his best with both the pentameter and the tetrameter couplet. Perhaps his essential device is the moral contrast between the speaker and the public, day and night, England and Scotland, past and present, or the speaker and a personal enemy. Direct attack and satiric imagery govern his early poems, but later Churchill speaks through the ironic eulogy. The framework of a Churchill poem may be only the agitated conversation of formal satire, or it may be an outlandish narrative with digressions, as in the Ghost and Gotham, a formal and public performance, as in the Dedication, or the unexpected appearance in satire of common poetical motifs such as prophecies, ruin pieces, and Gothicism.

It is sometimes useful to emphasize that satire is a
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public genre. The dramatic speaker actually approaches the reader, or the reader imagines himself to be part of the audience at some kind of public speech, or an issue of current public interest is debated; the speaker may surely be egotistic, but not in the way of the "gloomy egoist" of the odes and graveyard verse whose interests are either personal or cosmic, but seldom social and political. Throughout his poetry Churchill repeats the idea that the poet's duty is to remain in society and act as its moral censor. That idea, with its various effects on the attitudes and the temper of the speaker, is probably most completely presented in Night, although it is central also in the satiric apologies--the Conference, the Author, and the Farewell. In those latter poems there is less sense of the fear of society, but more concern with the problems of unjust satire, guilty conscience, and the difficulties of earning a living as an author who might have to depend upon patronage. Churchill's complicated and interesting personas, will, at any rate, bear further psychological study. While they assert the moral value of satire, it is plain that Churchill characterizes them as persons who try to resolve--through satire, personal frustrations, envy, conflict, and the sense of failure and removal from the concerns of those people who are socially successful.
There is also a rhetorical side to public satire. A speaker who is conscious of performing a public duty, or of speaking to a gathering, will employ different rhetorical techniques than, say, a speaker who is interested in displaying or communicating a state of delicate sensibility to a reader. Churchill's speaker, after the fashion of oratory, will use suspense, surprise, anticipation, tonal modulation, occasional summaries, "logical" propositions with examples, and claims, sometimes through irony, that the case has been satisfactorily proved. Churchill's usually enjambed couplets lend themselves to parenthesis, anaphora, and repeated parallels rather than to some of the devices typical of the end-stopped couplet--zeugma, strong emphasis on rhymes, juxtaposition, and antithesis. Churchill's anaphoric constructions, besides giving weight and dignity, are usually recognizable as devices of suspense leading to a conclusion or a turn of some sort. In general, the duty of the speaker in formal satire is to be persuasive, and so heruses common poetical motifs and moral formulas, presumably for the edification of other good citizens. We may infer that the skillful management of materials in the public domain is what Churchill means when he describes the writing of fine poetry as, "SENSE perfects GRACE, and GRACE enlivens SENSE" (Gotham II, 156). He speaks further of a poetical plan, to methodize each thought, each line / Highly to finish, and make ev'ry grace, / In itself charming, take
new charms from place" (168-170). The Popean word *methodize* means to make accessible to human reason; in the *Duellist* 713-718 Warburton has read much more information than he could "methodize to thought." Churchill then proceeds in *Gotham* to deprecate his own poetry in the fashion familiar to satire.

It is clear to modern students of Churchill that his aesthetic views must be approached through background studies and close readings, and that the poet's own vague and apparently contradictory comments, using the terms nature, art, rules, genius, and so forth, do not tell us much about his own practice. Pictorialism, personification, sublimity, irony, the *personae*, couplet rhetoric (non-epigrammatic couplets and verse paragraphs as syntactical units), and Juvenalian oratory have been studied in Churchill; the present study has attempted to take account of previous studies as they may be applied to close readings of particular poems, along with much of the structural and theoretical work done recently on formal satire as a genre.

Churchill's reputation, and the work done on his poetry, will probably rest on and be justified by his mastery of the couplet. His couplets have been well studied by Brown and other scholars. Close readings, with emphasis upon eighteenth century poetical motifs and structural patterns, as the present
study attempts to supply for certain poems, show how varied and colorful formal satire can be, and how broad and inclusive it was in Churchill before changing taste in the eighteenth century brought it into decline.
APPENDIX I

An Essay on Woman

In the late 1750s, John Wilkes, probably with the help of Thomas Potter, the son of an archbishop, composed a line by line sexual parody of the Essay on Man. At least three parts of Book I, and possibly the whole poem, were parodied, as also were three of Pope's short religious poems. The parodies were intended to enliven meetings of the Hell-Fire Club at Francis Dashwood's Medmenham Abbey.¹

In 1763 Wilkes bade his printer, who operated the private press in the politician's home, to make twelve copies of An Essay on Woman for distribution to the twelve apostles of the Abbey. Wilkes' manuscript copy made thirteen copies, and the printer made himself a bootleg copy. A rejected sheet used to wrap a lump of butter was accidentally read by another printer, who spread gossip that Wilkes had slandered Bute. Wilkes' printer was bribed for a copy of the Essay.² Eventually Sandwich learned of the existence of the poem and perceived that if Wilkes could not be jailed for writing the North Briton papers, perhaps he could be put away for writing lewd poems. Since Warburton's name was signed to some of the notes to the poems, Sandwich had little trouble persuading the bishop that Wilkes should be tried for
On 15 November 1763 Sandwich read an indictment of Wilkes to the House of Lords. When Sandwich, who of course was one of the Monks of Medmenham, read passages from the Essay, Lyttelton stood up with a groan of outraged virtue and begged him to desist. John Kidgell, a hireling preacher who had written a risque novel entitled The Card, condemned Wilkes at length in a speech so lowd and suggestive that Kidgell's reputation was permanently ruined. Warburton made two bombastic speeches in which he denied that he wrote any of the notes to the Essay. He defended not himself, as he said, but his king. Wilkes, who was accused of corrupting public morals, later replied that it was in fact Sandwich, Kidgell, and Warburton who made the poem public. All copies of the poem were ordered to be burned. Wilkes was ordered to prison, but he escaped to France.

Horace Walpole said that the spectacle in Parliament was ludicrous in the extreme. Various letters appeared in magazines defending Wilkes, a poem entitled The Priest in Rhyme ridiculed Kidgell, Churchill attacked Warburton, Sandwich, and Kidgell, and despite the later prison sentence that he served, Wilkes' popularity with the mob was undiminished.

From descriptions made of the Essay and from a few lines quoted in Parliament, several imitations, each claiming to be
the original, were written and some of these imitations are now in the British Museum. The magazines of the time list various other imitations. Macaulay and other nineteenth century historians mentioned the Essay in connection with Wilkes.

In 1857 a correspondent to Notes and Queries called the Essay on Woman the most famous of all unknown poems. He told its history, theorized that the trial judge, a collector of books, might have saved a copy of the original, and that Thomas Potter probably wrote the whole thing. The correspondent supplied background information on Fanny Murray, the well-known courtesan to whom the original poem is dedicated. Apparently the correspondent was able to disprove the authenticity of the British Museum copies even though he was not able to locate a copy of the original which resembled the partial bibliographical description given by Horace Walpole. For twenty years after, queries appeared at five or ten year intervals asking that an original copy of the Essay be shown to a curious and trustworthy bibliophile.

In 1871, apparently unknown to the Notes and Queries correspondents, there was privately printed in London a volume containing a type facsimile of the supposed original Essay on Woman and other Wilkes poems, plus accounts of the trial and numerous selections from magazines, histories, and novels concerning the incident. The book is now considered
scarcely, although copies may still be had. An anonymous introduction discounts the theory that Potter wrote much if any of the poem or the notes, but the question whether the trial judge preserved a copy of the poem is not answered, nor, for that matter, is there any clue where the "one remaining original" was found. Evidence from Walpole and descriptions in eighteenth century magazines is offered for the genuineness of the 1871 facsimile. The facsimile is printed according to Wilkes' instructions concerning the original in red ink; the following is a full bibliographical description of the small quarto volume in the present writer's possession:


AN / ESSAY ON W2OMAN / AND OTHER PIECES / PRINTED AT THE PRIVATE PRESS IN GREAT GEORGE-STREET, WESTMINSTER, IN 1763, AND / NOW REPRODUCED IN FAC-SIMILE FROM A COPY BELIEVED TO BE UNIQUE / TO WHICH ARE ADDED / EPSIGRAMS AND MISCELLANEOUS POEMS / NOW FIRST COLLECTED / BY THE RIGHT H2ON. JOHN WILKES / M. F. FOR AYLESBURY, AND AFTERWARDS LORD MAYOR OF LONDON / PRECEDED BY AN INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES / CONNECTED WITH THE PROSECUTION OF THE AUTHOR IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, / DIGESTED AND COMPILED FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS / LONDON / PRIVATELY PRINTED, SEPTEMBER MDCCCLXXI

[167]: half-title. AN / ESSAY ON W2OMAN / BY / JOHN WILKES

No special imprints.

Coll: (9 x 6 3/4): a8 B-E4 (B-E are in red and include the facsimile of the Essay), A-I4 K-U4 X-Z4 2A-2C4, 144 leaves, pp. i-xi 1-114 iv-v vi 1-ii-xvi 1-5 6-265 264 (chapter and section headings not paged).
Contents: p. i half-title. p. ii blank. pp. iii-v


Binding: Brown, horizontal grain cloth. Front and back covers plain. Spine plain, with label; horizontal line // ESSAY ON WOMAN // JOHN WILKES. // horizontal line. Top and fore-edges uncut; bottom edge lightly trimmed. Cream laid unwatermarked end papers front and back. Dust jacket: cellophane, plus a traditional plain brown wrapper.

Copies examined: one.

Notes: small quarto, cover slightly waterstained, good condition.

Title page of An Essay on Woman (the type facsimile is printed in red):

AN / ESSAY ON WOMAN. // B²y P²EGO B²GREWEL, B²Sq. // With notes by B²GERUS C²AUNAEUS, V²GERUS M²ATORIATUS, &c., // AND / A COMMENTARY by the Rev. Dr. W²ABURTON. // Inscribed to Miss FLANNY M²URRAY. // 133 calz. atheist 3ae 3aetis 3elos ferandae. // --HEOB. Od. xi. 486. // the following sentence is contained in a red circle drawn with a double line / A Large / Phellus occupies / this position on / the original / Title-page. // ΞΝΗΡ ΕΧΩΝ. // Ar Archetypo saepse in famosissimis Reverendissimis Georgii Stone, / Hiberniae Primatiss. aepius in podice Intrepidi Herocis / Georgii Sackville.
APPENDIX II

Churchilliana: A List of Poems Relating to Churchill

The following check list contains all of Churchill's major poems, plus all poems the present writer could find, listed or unlisted by scholars, which are replies, attacks, defenses, or imitations of Churchill. Omitted are prose works, such as the satire on Churchill in Lancelot Crewe,¹ and the familiar satires of Cowper, Chatterton, and Byron. Most of the titles may be found in these seven sources:


---

"Churchill's Influence on Minor Eighteenth Century Satirists," MLA, 42 (1927), 162-76.

Williams, Iolo A., Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies, London, 1924.


Beatty said that he omitted many poems which contained only passing references to Churchill; presumably the titles that the other scholars added to Beatty's lists contain more than
mere passing references. Whitford's article was written as a supplement to Beatty's...1927. Spencer lists most of the titles in Beatty and Whitford, and, working in the California libraries, may have seen many of these obscure pieces. Dobell's catalogue, compiled for buyers of...e century verse, lists as Churchilliana several poems which Beatty, Whitford, and Spencer omit. Where differences in title wording and dating occur between the authorities on poems which I have not seen, Dobell's version has been preferred he listed nothing that he did not have in hand. Probably many of the titles are now known only by their unfavorable mention in the Monthly Review, the Critical Review, and the Gentleman's Magazine. Titles are listed here in order of the year published. Most of the guesses at authorship of anonymous poems come from Halkett and Laing, the Dictionary of National Biography, or attributions written in margins.

1760


1761


_______ The Apology, May.

_______ Night, November.

John Armstrong, A Day: an Epistle to John Wilkes.
Henry Pye, The Apology Addressed to the Readers by ---- Esq. the Author of the Rosciad of Covent Garden.

Henry Pye (?), William Shirley (?), The Rosciad of Covent Garden.

The Battle of the Players.

The Churchilliad: or a Few Modest Questions Proposed to the Reverend Author of the Rosciad.

Michael Woodhull, Epistle to * * *, A. M. Student of Christ Church, November.

An Epistle to the Author of the Rosciad and the Apology.

An Epistle to C. Churchill, Author of the Rosciad.

David Garrick, The Fribbleriad.

D. Hayes, An Epistle to C. Churchill, Author of the Rosciad.

London Magazine, March, 1761, p. 163, an epigram calling Churchill a bishop of the stage.


________ An Epistle to C. Churchill.

Thomas Morell, The Anti-Rosciad.

The Murphiad.

Arthur Murphy, The Examiner. Original title, The Expostulation, is also the title of a poem written against Murphy.

________ An Ode to the Naiads of Fleet-Ditch.

The Retort.

The Scribes of Parnassus: or All in the Wrong, by William Masek, Esq. Possibly a parody of a poem listed by Dobell, The Shrubs of Parnassus, consisting of a variety of poetical essays, moral and comic, 1760, by J. Copywell, pseud. for William Moty.
The Smithfield Roused.
Edward, Thompson, The Meretriciad.
The Triumvirate... after the Manner of Swift, by Veritas.
William Woty, The Muse's Advice.
W. Samson (?), The Concordia... from the Latin of Tertius Quartinus Quintus.

1762
The Ghost, Book III, October.
Day: an Epistle to C. Churchill by G. Freeman, Esq.
Cuthbert Shaw, The Four Farthing Candles, A Satire.
Shirley (?), Pye (?), An Epistle to the Author of the Four Farthing Candles. By the Author of the Rosciaod of C-y-at-Garden.
The City Patricians.
The Progress of Lying.

1763
An Epistle to Hogarth, June.
The Conference, November.
The Ghost, Book IV, November.
The Author, December.
The Jumble: A Satire Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Churchill.
Richard Bentley, Patriotism.
The Group, by Salvator Rosa.
John Langhorne, Genius and Valour, A Scots Pastoral.
A Modest Apology for the conduct of a Certain Reverend Gentleman.
The Prophecy of Famine, Part the Second.
The Prophecy of Genius.
Pug's Reply to Parson Bruin.
H. Dalrymple (?), Rodondo: or the State Jugglers.
E. B. Green (?), Satires of Juvenal... imitated.
The Three Conjurers.
Churchill's Epistle to William Hogarth, Esq., Re-Versified.

1764

Gotham, Book I, February.

Gotham, Book II, March.

The Candidate, May.

The Farewell, June.

Gotham, Book III, August.

The Times, September.

Independence, October.
John Shebbeare, An Epistle to the Reverend Mr. G---e G---l, in his own Style and Manner.

Oliver Goldsmith, Preface to the Traveler.

The Anti-Times, in Two Parts.

The Cap and Staff, or the Reconciliation of the Rev. Captain Charles G---l, addressed to John W---g, Esq.

Churchill Dissected.

Clodius, a Poem by G. T.

The Contest.

Percival Stockdale, The Constituents.

The Remonstrance.


Charles Morell, The Contrast... on Independence, by a Neighbour. Morell used the pseudonym James Ridley.


An Elegy on the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Charles Churchill.

The General.

Liberty in the Suds, by Theophilus Hogarth.

A Letter of Advice from Alma Mater, to her beloved Son Henry Fletcher.

The Patriot Poet, By a Country Curate.

A Short Essay on Charles Churchill.

Some Political and Literary Observations on Reading Some of the Works of... Churchill, and Particularly the Conference.

Satire, a Poem.

1765

Charles Churchill, The Dedication, February.

The Journey, April.

James Beattie, "Verses occasioned by the death of the Rev. Mr. Charles Churchill," in Scots Mag., 153-4. The bitter attack on Churchill was toned down when this poem was included in Beattie's collected works.

Churchill, an Elegy, publ. at Bristol.

Percival Stockdale, Churchill Defended, a Poem: addressed to the Minority.

Rev. Evan Cooper, The Elbow-Chair, a Rhapsody.

Elegy on the Death of the late very Celebrated Mr. Charles Churchill.

The Favourite.

Sarah King, The Hibernian Rosciad, publ. in Dublin.

Edward Thompson, The Courtesan.

The Inefficacy of Satire. Beatty reads "Inefficiency" (PMLA, 1927).

Edward Burnaby Greene, The Laureat... inscribed to the memory of C. Churchill.

Oppression.

A Poem on Satire.

Cuthbert Shaw, The Race, by Mercurius Spur, Esq., with notes, by Martinus Scriblerus.

The Source: a Satire. Part I.

W. M. D. Stevenson, Original Poems on Several Subjects.

The Voluntary Exile, by the Rev. Dr. Free.
Verses occasioned by the Death of the Revd. Mr. Charles Churchill, written by a Native of Britain, publ. at Edinburgh.

1766

D. Hayes, The Author.

Hugh Kelly, Thespis... to the Drury-Lane Theatre.

The Theatrical Register; or, Weekly Rosciad. A dramatic column in the Lond. Chron.

Elegy on the Late Rt. Hon. W... F...-

Francis Gentleman, Characters. An Epistle.

John Potter, The Hobby Horse.


The Interview, or Jack Falstaff's Ghost.

Humanity, a Poem.

The York Museum, or Churchill Regenerate, and return'd from the Shades.

1767

Atys: or a Letter to Momus.

L. Stamm, The Kallmaid.

Anti-Thespis... Vindication of... Drury Lane.

T. Underwood, The Impartialist.

Hugh Kelly, Thespis... Covent-Garden. Book the Second.

Momus... Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket.

The Rescue: or Thespian Sowre. Inquiry into... Thespis.

The Rational Rosciad. By F. B. L.
-230-

The Rural Conference.

Roscius, or A critical Examination of... the Norwich Theatre.

1768

The Council.

The Prophecy of Liberty.

1769

1770


The New Rosciad for the Year MDCCLXX.

1771

1772

William Kenrick, Love in the Suds... the Lamentation of Roscius for the loss of his Nyky.

Edward Burnaby Greene, Poetical Essays.


Thomas Hallie Delamayne, The Senators... the merits of the principal performers of St. Stephen's Chapel.

A Review of the Poem, entitled The Senators.

A Review of the Poem entitled "The Senators"... Part II.

1773

Percival Stockdale, The Poet.

Thomas Hallie Delamayne, The Patricians... a candid examination of the merits of the principle
speakers of the House of Lords. This poem was later re-examined.

1774

Theatrical Portraits.
Resurrection of Liberty, or Advice to the Colonists. . .
By the ghost of Churchill.
The Stage of Aristophanes.

1775

The City Patricians.
The Drama, a Poem.
The Theatres: a poetical Dissection. By Sir Nicholas
Dincliffe, bart.
The Advertiser.
The Edinburgh Rosciad.

1776

Samuel Jackson Pratt, Garrick's Looking-Glass.
The Prediction of Liberty, by J. Thistlethwaite.
The Devil.

1777

William Combe, The Diaboliad.

Additions to the Diaboliad. Dated "1677."

The Diabo-Lady.
The Anti-diabo-lady.
The Devil's Wedding.
The Ciceroniad.
The World as it goes: a Poem.
William Mason, Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare.

Titles after 1777

Perfection, 1778.

As You Like It, 1785.

The Gladiator, An Heroic Epistle, 1781.

William Combe, The Diaboliad, part the second, 1778.

John Williams, Children of Thespis, 1786.

Children of Thespis, Parts II and III, 1788.

The Garrickiad, 1787.

The New Rosciad, 1787.

The Modern Stage Exemplified, Part I, 1788.

A Trip to Parnassus, 1788.

The Tribunal, 1788.

William Hayward Roberts, A Poetical Epistle, attempted in the style of Churchill's Epistle to Hogarth, 1782.

A Parody on the Rosciad of Churchill, 1780.


"The Stage," in Verses on Various Occasions, 1795.

Advantage of Evening, by Dr. S., 1794.

The Druidiad, 1796.

The Pin Packet. To the Children of Thespis, a Satire, by Anthony Pasquin, 1796.

More Kotzebue... Minor Rosciad, 1799.
Theatrical Repository; or Weekly Rosciad, 1801-2.  
A periodical.

W. P. Russel, Frosa-Rosciad, 1804.

W. Burton, A Pasquinade, 1801.

The Young Rosciad, by Peter Pangloss, 1805.

John Williams ("Anthony Pasquin"), The Hamiltoniad,  
in two Books, Philadelphia, 1804.

George Butler, Rosciad, 1802.

Young Rosciad, 1805.

The Edinburgh Rosciad, 1834.

Mundus Dramaticus (The New Rosciad), 1852.

Titles without dates

William Cole, an elegy to Churchill.

A Poetical Epistle to a Friend in the Country, Norwich.  
Attributed to Churchill.

Good-Nature. A Poem, By a Young Gentleman. Williams  
dates 1755; the poem has been attributed to  
Churchill.
NOTES

CHAPTER I

Churchill Scholarship and Criticism: 1950-1962


5 Sherburn, *JGBP*, 56 (1957), 492-5.


8 Cf. McKillop, op. cit.. A. R. Humphreys, *RES*, n. s., 9 (1957), 222-3. Grant's conjectures on names in *The Times* are questioned: in line 578, Ligonier, and 559, Tyrwhitt, do not fit the meter. For line 619, Barrell or Bartle are offered as guesses without evidence, and for line 656, Harvey is offered on the word of Wilkes. Other corrections are noted in the reviews.
12. Ibid. Also, Jack Lindsay, TLS (April 25, 1958), 225.
15. Weatherly, Correspondence, p. 35.
17. Grant, ibid.
22. Arthur Waldhorn, MLN, 70 (1955), 60-61. See also his dissertation in which the conservative picture of Churchill is drawn.
Ibid.


For example, Wallace Cable Brown, "Charles Churchill: A Revaluation," SP, 40 (1945), 405-24. Brown says that he will apply to Churchill the critical methods that Root and Tillotson used on Pope, and Brown's readings are successful.


EQ, 205, pp. 500-1, and Listener, 59, pp. 911-12. These are sensible reviews which emphasize that Portraits in Satire is a lively and competent guide to the satirists of the period (Churchill, Anstey, Mason, The Rolliad, The Anti-Jacobin, Gifford, Mathias, Wolcot, and others), even though Hopkins does not say much about the general literary context.

Hopkins, p. 8.


Southey, Life of Cowper, I, 65.

Golden, JHP, 58 (1959), 655-65. The bibliography, 1959, comments on the article, "little specific parallel is offered," but Golden does make his point.

Ball, McQ, 205 (1960), 105-7.

Andrew Rutherford, McQ, 205 (1960), 315-6. A "correction" of Ball's error.

Wolcot, Epistolary Odes to a Great Duke and a Little Lord, quoted in Hopkins, Portraits in Satire, p. 250.


Waldhorn, Charles Churchill: Conservative Rebel, N. Y. U., 1950, unpubl. diss. This dissertation is well argued and still worth reading, even though most of the particulars are now in Brown, Grant, and Weatherly. The critics (Ball, Brown) are more persuasive who continue to maintain that Churchill's views on literature and criticism in his poetry were fairly liberal, even though Churchill was dim to the merits of Gray.


Waldhorn, Charles Churchill: Conservative Rebel, pp. 68-98,


In a letter, in Latin, to Wilkes.

Carnochan, Charles Churchill, chap. III, parts iv and v. Horace was always respected, but Juvenal's popularity fluctuated.

Ball, op. cit., in The close-readings of the poems that I attempt, Ball's dissertation has been more suggestive than any other special study.


Ball, chap. 5.

Carnochan points out that Trapp was one of the early Georgian critics who preferred Juvenal to Horace.

Ball makes the point. Cf. also, Inez Scott, "Grand Style in Juvenal," Smith College Classical Studies, no. 8 (1927), 1-118.
Ball, "Conclusion."
Cunningham and Carnoohan.
Carnoohan, Charles Churchill, chap. VI, part I.


A. D. McKillop, English Literature from Dryden to Burns, New York, 1948, p. 559. Professor McKillop tells me that if he were to revise the handbook, he would modify the comments on Churchill's character, in view of Brown's rehabilitation of the poet as a man.

directed by J. L. Clifford and George Nobbe.


Anatomy of Criticism, p. 223.


Poetry, 96, no. 2, pp. 110-11.

CHAPTER II

Night: Themes, Philosophic Views, and Imagistic Structure


4 Vines, Georgian Satirists, London, 1934, p. 34.

5 Ibid.


7 Vines, op. cit., p. 208.


10 Kernan, The Cankerred Muse, Yale, 1959, p. 27.

11 Lovejoy, Primitivism, p. 261.


13 Lovejoy, pp. 275-6.

14 Ibid., 232-3.

15 Especially, The Happy Man, vol. II, chapters III and VI.


17 Ibid., vol. II, chap. III.


19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., vol. II, chap. III.


Quoted by Hopkins, pp. 24–5.

Cheyne, pp. 81–2.


Moore, p. 196. For a lively account of Dr. John Hill and the satiric attacks on him, see Thomas Wright, *Caricature History of the GEgees*, London, 1876, pp. 218–28. A toper who "pretended to enjoy the favours of ladies of quality," Hill wrote a pamphlet entitled *Lucina sine Concubiniti* in which he pretended to show that generation might take place without the intercourse of the sexes (Wright, p. 218).


The Cankered Muse, pp. 7–14.


Kenneth Burke, "Four Master Tropes," *A Grammar of Motives*, New York, 1955, pp. 503–5, discusses how the two things compared in a metaphor illuminate each other, and how each becomes more real, or more completely visualized or realized, as the comparison causes each to be seen in a new perspective.

CHAPTER III

The Prophecy of Namine: Backgrounds and Political Rhetoric


2. Cf. Dorothy George, English Political Caricature to 1792, Oxford, 1955, chap. 7. Miss George was one of the compilers of the British Museum catalog of satirical prints. Cf. also Thomas Wright, Caricature History of The Georges... compiled from Squibs, Broadsides, Window Pictures, Lampoons, and Pictorial Caricatures of the Time, London, 1876, chaps. 7 and 8.


6. Ramsay, passim.


Cf. Enistle to Hogarth 419-456 for a physical representation of moral corruption, and Ghost III 563-576 for the importance of the emblem, the appropriate of characteristic object in association with a personification—Fame's trumpet, or Famine's tartan.


For references see my Chapter I, note 68.


Thompson, Poems on Several Occasions, Oxford, 1757, p. 297.


Ibid., p. 580.
23 Ibid., p. 300.
25 On the subject of the late persistence in Scotland of witchcraft persecutions, Montagu Summers, *The Geography of Witchcraft*, London, 1927, might be consulted, with the reservations that Summers believed in witches, believed from his Anglo-Catholic (more or less) point of view that witches were heretics and anarchists, that the doctrines of Knox and Calvin caused Scots to learn to worship visions of hell, and that the persecutions (Summers calls them persecutions) in Scotland were to be lamented because they failed to stamp out witchcraft earlier. See reviews of Summers' books on the subject in *American Historical Review*, by George Lincoln Burr, who says that Summers calls for a return to the "good old days of faith and terror." For a balanced and rationalistic view, see Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*, New York, 1957, ed., Arthur C. Howland, introd. by George Lincoln Burr.
26 For example, cf. the British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, numbers 3868 #150, 3859, 3861, 3966, 3965. Number 3963 pictures Rute as the Beast from Revelation.
27 Ramsay, 39-41.
28 For similar themes in Churchill, cf. *Candidate* 470-536, where Sandwich the messiah brings another Age of Gold, with maritime metaphors; *Gotham* I 279-306, motif of gloom, religion, trees, and commerce in praise of the King of Gotham; *Gotham* II 278-314, description of war in the manner of Isaiah, and sentiment that war and famine are preferable to rule by Stuarts.
29 Williams, *Pastoral Poetry*, intro. to *Windsor Forest*. The North Briton 7 contained a burlesque advertisement: "To-morrow will be published, / Of the ROAST BEEF! or, The Case / is alter'd. / A PROSE POEM in the modern Taste. / By
Lazarus Mac Barebones of / Scotstarvit, Esq; / Peace and
plenty tell as Stuart reigns. / POPES.\" The Roast Beef,\" a
patriotic song, was used frequently in cartoons as a
motif of Scottish envy or opportunism.

30

Maynard Mack, "On Reading Pope," CR, 7 (1946),
265-73, and Aubrey Williams, Pastoral Poetry, pp. 142-3,
point out the influence of Isaiah on this passage. John
Langhorne theorized that Isaiah influenced Theocritus, in
"Observations on the Oriental Elegies," 1765, in Poetical
Works of Mr. William Collins; also in Chalmers' English
Poets, London, 1810.

31


32

Ibid., 37-9.

33

Joost A. M. Meerloo, The Name of the Mind, Universal Library,
1961, especially chapters 14 and 16. Eric Hoffer, The True
The political themes in the Prophecy of Maimon are much like
those described by Hagan from studies made on nineteenth and
twentieth century American political propaganda.

34

In the Farewell, the speaker argues that intense
patriotism is a natural feeling in the human mind, and that
the universal benevolence for which the adversary argues
must begin with self-love, then proceed to love of friends,
country, etc...

35

The Life of Samuel Johnson, ed. John Wilson Croker,

36

Miles, Eras and Modes, pp. 89-90.

CHAPTER IV

The Duellist, Book II: The Temple of Liberty in Ruins.

1

Ball, The Sublime in the Satire of Charles Churchill,

2

See R. A. Aubin, Topographical Poetry in XVIIIth

See H. V. S. Ogden and M. S. Ogden, English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century, Ann Arbor, 1955, chapters on "The Ruin Piece."


See Aubin's bibliographies in Topographical Poetry, under "Town-Poems" and "Building-Poems."


Andrew Tooke, Pantheon, 1750, p. 349.


Ibid., p. 13, and passim for a discussion of the association of liberty and the arts in the English Augustan period.
CHAPTER V

The Dedication to the Sermons: Panegyrical Structure


9 Aurangzebe, "Dedication to Mulgrave."

10 Eleonora, lines 365-6.

11 The State of Innocence, "Dedication to Her Royal Highness the Duchess."


17 Tatler and Guardian, Cincinnati, 1860, p. 45.

18 Rhetoric, Welldon ed., I ix, p. 69.

19 Inst. Ora., III, viii. Other parts of speeches, such as the "digression," are described by Quintilian, but these five include the important parts.


21 Quoted from Henry S. Frieze, Vergil, New York, 1883.


23 A. W. Evans, Warburton and the Warburtonians, Oxford, 1932, p. 271. Evans is describing the figure conveyed by seven extant portraits of Warburton.


30 Brown, Charles Churchill, p. 25.

-240-

Ibid., p. 115.


Satire to Fortescue, line 14.

Rhetoric, Book II, chaps. 20-22.


APPENDIX I

An Essay on Woman

1


Wilkes' notes on Churchill's poems, and his description of Medmenham Abbey in the New Foundling Hospital for Wit, London, 1784, vol. 3, may be consulted.

2


3

In a letter to Grenville, Sandwich describes how he kept spies on Wilkes and invented moral reasons to persuade Warburton to denounce An Essay on Woman. Warburton did not
want to appear offended by the use of his name in the notes, but he thought it proper to denounce blasphemy and immorality. *Granville Papers,* vol. 2, pp. 153-5, letter dated November 5, 1763.


APPENDIX II

Churchilliana: A List of Poems Relating to Churchill

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"Churchill’s Literary Indebtedness to Pope,"

*SE*, 43 (1946), 59-69.

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