RICE UNIVERSITY

MYTHIC PEACE AND PLENTY: COOPER'S HILL TO WINDSOR-FOREST

by

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FOREWORD

This study is an investigation of a sub-species of seventeenth and eighteenth century English poetry -- a group of poems that I believe constitutes a "tradition" in the literature of the period. In this essay I call these works Poems of Peace and Plenty, and I attempt to characterize the Peace and Plenty tradition by describing its essential elements. I am more concerned with "content" than "form," so my analysis will focus for the most part on themes and motifs. Although I will describe an apparently uniform pattern, almost no individual poem conforms completely to the somewhat idealized configuration which I have extrapolated. Nor can all the poems I use for evidence or illustration be called Poems of Peace and Plenty. Of the two poems I have chosen as the terminal points of this study, Cooper's Hill is only inchoately a poem of Peace and Plenty, but Windsor-Forest on the other hand is possibly the one work which most fully conforms to the Peace and Plenty pattern. For this reason these two poems, though arbitrarily selected, mark off rather meaningful limits for an analysis of this type of poetry. In one sense, then, this study does no more than explore aspects of the background and poetic antecedents of Windsor-Forest.

I am convinced that a mythical conception of human des-
tiny is the ground or basis, or the central frame of reference, of the poetry of Peace and Plenty. This conception of man's destiny is congruent with the traditional Christian paradigm of history. In the first chapter I discuss the components of this view of history, particularly as they appear in the poetry of Milton. The core of the thesis is Chapter Two, where I describe the main patterns of Peace and Plenty poetry, and where I try to show that the essence of this poetry is its visionary quality. In the bulk of the second chapter I have adopted a progression, from past to present to future, like that Prior uses in *Carmen Seculare*. Chapter Three is an attempt to discover some sort of chronological perspective in the Peace and Plenty tradition. English poets did not write many more poems like *Windsor-Forest* after the Peace of Utrecht; the third chapter suggests some reasons why Pope, his contemporaries, and his successors moved in new directions as the century moved forward. Neither plenty nor peace exert the same pressure in the poetry of Georgian England that they had sometimes exerted in the poetry of Stuart England.
THE MYTHICAL CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Paradise Lost embodies, from one point of view, a complete record of human destiny. Milton's myth, for him and for many of his contemporaries, accounts for all that is essential in the "history" of mankind. In the last two books of Paradise Lost, before our first parents are expelled from Paradise, Michael visits Eden and reveals "to Adam future things." Taking Adam to the top of a high hill, the archangel "sets before him in vision what shall happen." From this prospect Adam sees a "cinematic chronicle" of the important events of history. The historic events that Adam beholds are not without a pattern; they conform to a known plan, for Michael is presenting the "one true history." The "one true history," in the Christian view, would mean a revelation of God's teleological design, a disclosure beforehand of His purposes as they later will be dramatized in and through the events of human history. In Milton's poem history assumes a Christian character and "becomes the sacramental narrative of God's saving grace working through the ways of men." The crucial events of this providentially-directed narrative are the Creation, the Fall, the Redemption, and the Last Judgment, with the specifically human part of the narrative spanning that period between the Fall and Last Judgment. Adam and Eve play crucial roles in the unfolding
drama of this narrative, for -- though their life in the "happy garden" had been one of innocence--among the fruits of their disobedience was human history itself. Following their primal sin, Time and Chance and Death ruled the world of men, as Michael's description of the events of human history in Books XI and XII of *Paradise Lost* reveals. In Book XI Michael relates the events up to the Flood; one world had begun with the original sin and had ended with the Flood, but the Flood was destructive and will be restorative: for "Man as from a second stock" will proceed (XII, 6-11).

Michael stresses that "this latter, as the former World, / Shall tend from bad to worse" (XII, 105-106), and so history becomes in part a long narrative of human ruin. But the tale is not altogether one of woe; it is possible for "long wander'd man" to be brought back safe "through the world's wilderness" (XII, 310-14), so God has ordained and Milton describes:

```plaintext
... so shall the World go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign,
Under her own weight groaning, till the day
Appear of respiration to the just,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of him so lately promis'd...
...
... to dissolve
Satan with his perverted World, then raise
From the conflagrant mass, purg'd and refin'd,
New Heav'ns, new Earth, Ages of endless date
Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
To bring forth fruits Joy and eternal Bliss.
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(XII, 537-51)

In Milton's poem, as in the mythical conception of history, these events that are eternally shaped by the will of God
into the pattern of history conform to the Christian paradigm of glory, ruin, and restoration.

Following Michael's account of history, Adam and Eve prepare to depart Eden; as our first parents begin their earthly pilgrimage

The World was all before them, where to choose Their place of rest, and Providence their guide... (XII, 646-47)

The whole poem has been calculated to convince us that providence is their guide. *Paradise Lost* emphasizes God's operative presence in the course of human affairs and also emphasizes His providential governance of the world. On Milton's pages "we see the hand of God writing purposefully and inexorably through the actions of men."6 The Christian, and mythical, conception of human history is explicitly providential. One implication of the providential view of history is that God animates the world; for Spenser, God is "That High Eternal Power, which... doth move / In all... things" (*An Hymn of Heavenly Love*, ll. 22 ff.).

Milton represents the operation of providence in terms of God's intervention in the activity of men; the eternal impinges upon and co-operates with the temporal. The recognition of the divine penetration into human history is a central fact in *Paradise Lost* because, in Milton's Christian conception of destiny, providence is the eternal guide of the fortunes of men.

At a climactic moment in *Paradise Lost* God foretells
the Fall and justifies his ways to man in a perspective that is strikingly spatial. God seems to be looking at that history he will proceed to articulate:

On Earth he first beheld
Our two first parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the happy Garden plac't,

Hell and the Gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the wall of Heav'n on this side Night

To stoop

On the bare outside of this World

Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future he beholds

Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.

(III, 56-79 and ff.)

God "sees" the spatial embodiment of a temporal sequence; from His high prospect the whole course of human history -- past, present, future -- is beheld all at once.

On some occasions in Milton's poetry time will seem to congeal into space; on other occasions space will seem to flow into time. It is very common for Milton to represent time spatially. At the outset of Paradise Lost we are told of the rebellion in Heaven, of Satan's pride, and of his fall, and we learn that

Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night
To mortal men, hee with his horrid crew
Lay vanquisht...

(I, 50-52)

In this instance the spatial representation of time is joined with a moral evaluation of Satan and his wicked followers. In a similar instance Satan seeks entrance
into Eden, as "into this World a world of woe" is brought.

He

... return'd
From compassing the Earth...
... The space of seven continu'd Nights he rode
With darkness, thrice the Equinoctial Line
He circl'd, four times cross'd the Car of Night
From Pole to Pole...
On the eighth return'd, and...
... by stealth
Found unsuspected way: There was a place,
Now not, though Sin, not Time, first wrought the
change...

Satan has traversed the entire earth; his journey has measured the universe; still, in Milton's moral judgment, Satan's roaming of the Orb has been a "narrow search" (IX, 57-86).

The spatial representation of time was not unique to Milton. In Book I of the Faerie Queene, for instance, Red Crosse Knight and Una journey through Faery Land (in one sense Elizabethan England) on their way to the home of Una's parents. Each place on their trip is given a precise topographical location, but there is little mention or awareness of time. At the conclusion of their quest, we find that Una's parents are Adam and Eve, that history has been telescoped, and that Una and Red Crosse have somehow arrived at Eden! The geographical movement of Una and Red Crosse through time back to Eden becomes more comprehensible if we remember that Una all along has sought the repair of her parents' "forwasted kingdom" and that Red Crosse (who is the allegorical exemplar of Holiness and England's St. George) has been on his "way to hevenly blisse": the road to Paradise may
take any direction. It becomes possible to move freely back and forth in time through a spatial medium in the world of a poem that is shaped by the mythical conception of history.

Dryden and Pope, like Milton and Spenser, appropriate some of the key patterns and ideas in this view of history for their poetic structures. They are especially attracted by the themes of loss and renewal. "Regeneration of some sort," according to Maynard Mack, was the theme of most of the great Augustans. Mack finds a progression in the Essay on Man that conforms to the pattern of glory, ruin, and restoration. Just as the Essay on Man begins "with a reminder of a paradise man has lost, the poem ends with a paradise he can regain." The Essay on Man, then, records the violation of universal order and proposes a "constructive renunciation" to repair that damage.

The Essay on Criticism is also concerned with restoration. A "restoration of the decays in critics and criticism" provides the design of the Essay on Criticism, and a historical pattern of fall and restoration shapes the sequence of its three parts. "For Pope endeavors to bring about a literary peace in his own time . . . partly by providing it with a reminder of a great and glorious past from which it has fallen, an insight into the sources of its own difficulties, and a programme for its restoration . . . ." Pope's argument has the same urgency as that suggested when Dennis speaks of poetry as "!an Art, that by
the Barbarity of the Times, is fallen and sunk . . . and has been driven and banish'd from every country excepting England alone; and is even here so miserably fallen . . . 12

Thus we can see how a mythical conception of history, a conception that is essentially congruent with the Christian view of human destiny, informs An Essay on Criticism no less than Milton's epic or the Faerie Queene, and we shall see that indeed it no less permeates such poems as Cooper's Hill or Windsor-Forest.
This mythical view of history is a proper context in which to read the several seventeenth and eighteenth century works described in this study as poems of Peace and Plenty. These poems constitute a minor but still important tradition in Augustan letters and are a species of poetry somewhat neglected heretofore. Many of these poems have been examined in other groupings, but neither the Peace and Plenty pattern nor its dependence on mythical history have been given much consideration before. The mythical, or Christian, view of human destiny is particularly important, because it is the essential framework for the visions of Peace and Plenty. Within this mythical perspective peace and plenty are viewed prophetically as signs of a new golden age that will be an era of prosperity and contentment. Plenty appears to promise or signify an upward swing in the cycle of human affairs toward regeneration. Peace often inspires the hope that a restoration of order is possible, perhaps forthcoming.

In 1662 John Graunt stated that "the art of governing, and the true politiques, is how to preserve the subject in peace, and plenty." The very juxtaposition of peace and plenty acquires significance in this poetry. Standing
alone, plenty is sometimes used pejoratively, but when used in conjunction with peace it almost always has an honorific force. The ninth eclogue of the Shepheardes Calender is a harsh complaint against plenty, whereas Prothalamion yokes peace and plenty in a prophetic celebration of the union of two illustrious English families:

Let endless peace your steadfast hearts accord,  
And blessed plenty wait upon your board . . .

In even sharper contrast to the satire of "September" is one of the poems "addressed to the author" of the Faerie Queene, "Hobbynol's" verses "To the learned Shepheard," in which these lines appear:

So mought thy Redcrosse Knight with happy hand  
Victorious be in that faire Ilands right,  
Which thou dost vayle in Type of Faery land,  
Elizas blessed field, that Albion hight:  
That shieldes her friendes, and warres her mightie foes,  
Yet still with people, peace, and plentie flowes.

Whether it creates a "Faery land" or not, the juxtaposition of peace and plenty in this type of poetry is visionary. The visions of Peace and Plenty poets may recall the past, describe an extended present, or reveal the future, but each poet will produce some sort of vision. Cowley for instance, in a prose treatise attacking Cromwell, laments in a few lines of interpolated verse the former "Halcyon days" destroyed by the Civil War and Interregnum. England had been a "happy isle" where peace had made its home:

When all the riches of the globe beside  
Flow'd in to thee with every tide;
When all, that nature did thy soil deny
The growth was of thy fruitful industry;
When all the proud and dreadful sea,
And all his tributary streams,
A constant tribute paid to thee;
When all the liquid world was one extended Thames.

When plenty in each village did appear,
And bounty was its steward there;
When gold walk'd free . . .

Then men were virtuous, religion had substance, and no
kingdom was as fortunate in its monarch.  
Cowley's vision of a past English glory has parallels in a thoroughly relig¬
gious poem, Matthew Prior's Solomon. A "short Digressive Panegyric" upon Great Britain in the middle of the first book of Solomon presents the image of a long-extended Eng¬lish glory. Solomon "looks" 3,000 years into the future and asks, may not "Arts and Empire learn to travel West?"
"Amidst subjected seas" he "sees" something "White and Great":

... An ISLE, the Seat
Of Pow'r and Plenty; Her Imperial Throne,
For Justice and Mercy sought . . .

Yet farther West the Western ISLE extends
Her happy Fame; her Armed Fleets She sends
To Climates folded yet from human Eye;

From Pole to Pole She hears her Acts resound,
Knows her Ships anchor'd, and her Sails unfurl'd
In other INDIES, and a second World.

Britannia will be the most powerful of nations for a long
time; she is the least vain, least changeable of human things,
but being human her "Great Glorious Pow'r" must finally per¬
ish. Pope, on the other hand, touches something imperish—
able in a vision that transcends earthly peace and plenty. His *Messiah*, an imitation of Virgil's *Pollio* using the materials of Isaiah, is "an image" of the Golden Age, but of a timeless future, not of the past. Justice will return, "Peace o'r the world her olive wand" will extend, Death will be bound in "adamantine chains," "lillies spring" in the desert, "lambs with wolves shall graze," and "imperial Salem" will rise "crown'd with light." The *Messiah* celebrates the "promis'd Father of the future age," and "God's eternal day."

Implicitly supporting and underscoring these visions of Cowley, Prior, and Pope is a traditional evaluative scheme of history like Milton's. Prior's *Carmen Seculare*, *For the Year 1700* uses (as its title suggests) a more explicit historical framework. The progression of *Carmen Seculare* is a movement through the past to the present and thence to the future. In the first stanza Prior urges Janus to review the records of the past, find parallels in the past to "Modern Wonders," and confess that all is "compleat" in the reign of William III. Janus can then relate to the listening world

That nothing went before so Great,
And nothing Greater can succeed.  
(St. I)

The New Year, 1700, is a pinnacle of history from which Prior reviews the past. Following the pattern of *translatio imperii*, Prior traces the course of civilization from
"LATIUM's fruitful Womb," to the empire of the Romans, to the Carolingian empire, to the monarchs of England, and then to the youth of William III (II. 22-113). William's acts "close the ample Book." His great reign, events of the present and recent past, contains "Lessons" for "each revolving Age," and "faithful HISTORY" will perpetuate William's glory when all other monuments are "visible no more." (II. 114-72). William has "dictated a lasting Peace/To the rejoicing World below" (St. XV). Astrea has returned to earth and broods "o'er His future Reign" (St. XX). As for that future, Prior instructs the "auspicious God" in this wise:

JANUS, cast Thy forward Eye
   Future, into great RHEA's pregnant Womb;
   Where are...   ...
   ... tender Images of Things to come...
   (St. XXIV)

The "finish'd Age," although noble, was one of "Iron," but Janus will yet

Lead forth the years for Peace and Plenty fam'd,
   From SATURN's Rule, and better Metal nam'd.
   (St. XXV)

Secure by William's care, this "growing AERA" under Saturn's rule will be a time of "fair Abundance" when "glad Vallies smile with wavy Corn" and "fleecy Flocks" adorn the hills (St. XXVI). Exploring the whole world, Britannia's fleets will conquer, civilize, and convert (XXXVII-XXXIX). The vision is thoroughly typical of peace and plenty poetry:

Through various Climes, and to each distant Pole
In happy Tides let active Commerce rowl:
Let BRITAIN's Ships export an Annual Fleece,
Richer than ARGOS brought to ancient GREECE;
Returning laden with the shining Stores,
Which lye profuse on either INDIA's Shores.

To whom by Fate 'twas given, with happy Sway
To calm the Earth, and vindicate the Sea.

(St. XXVI)

Prior's structure, the way he has developed and ordered his vision, is not typical, however. The progression of his poem moves clearly and steadily ahead from past to present to future in an essentially linear, historical development. A similar historical pattern underlies all poems of Peace and Plenty, but most of them are not structured along chronological lines; they do not adhere to such a formal historical progression. Carmen Seculare utilizes a conception of history common to this type of poetry, but most other Peace and Plenty poems move freely and unpredictably back and forth between past-present-future. Whatever structure a particular poem in this tradition may present, the visions of all Peace and Plenty poems look to a legendary past, find inspiration in an auspicious present, and prophesy a mythical future.

II

Bonamy Dobree feels that eighteenth century patriotic poetry lacked a strong sense of tradition. This may or may not be true generally of patriotic poetry in the period,
but it is not true of the poems of Peace and Plenty. For the sense of man's collective past, his cultural and national experience, exerted a decisive pressure on Peace and Plenty poetry. Because of their conception of history the Augustan poets were continually conscious of the great heritage to which they were heirs. Dobree is off the mark when he says: "We can pretty summarily dismiss the patriotic feeling based on the assumption that England had inherited the mantle of Rome. . . . It seems to have been a purely literary emotion, and . . . counted for little in comparison with more plausible feelings . . . ." The Roman background, Maynard Mack more accurately remarks, "is a kind of universal Augustan metaphor or 'myth.'" Lying "like a charged magnetic field" behind the period's literature, the "Roman myth" had a strong impact on the Peace and Plenty tradition in two important ways. Thinking of themselves as inheritors of classical civilization, the poets of Peace and Plenty were always provided with an imperial ideal as well as an artistic ideal in their remembrance of Rome's achievements. Both the pax Romana of Augustus and the poetry of Virgil are constantly entering these poems of war and peace, of wealth and enterprise.

The Messiah was an amalgam of Isaiah and Virgil's fourth Eclogue, the Pollio, and the fourth Eclogue with its prophecy of a world transformed hovers behind most peace and plenty visions. But the Georgics, even more than Pollio,
are important to this poetry as a literary model, and they are its chief source of classical materials. Themes of loss and reparation loom as large for Virgil as for Pope. Restoration is precisely the dominant note of the *Georgics*, which embody "the longing of universal peace." Joined to "this dream of peace" is "a programme of reconstruction."\(^{11}\)

The *Georgics* are like the *Aeneid* in that they are thoroughly political and intensely national. They present a somewhat idealized Italy, but this ideal is never removed from a consciousness of Roman history and the country's future destiny. Virgil's subject is no less than Rome's "need of peace, well typified by the simplicity of rural life."\(^{12}\)

As Virgil tells us at the end of his poem:

\begin{quote}
Thus have I sung of Fields, and Flocks, and Trees,
And of the waxen Work of lab'ring Bees;
While mighty Caesar, thund'ring from afar,
Seeks on Euphrates Banks the Spoils of War.
With conq'ring Arms asserts his Country's Cause,
With Arts of Peace the willing People draws:
On the glad Earth the Golden Age renews,
And his great Father's Path to Heav'n pursues,
While I at Naples pass my peaceful Days . . .\(^{13}\)
\end{quote}

The main incidents of the *Georgics* are recalled in a brief passage\(^{14}\) in the 1713 version of John Gay's *Rural Sports*. Throughout Gay's georgic, moreover, a method and a movement like those of Virgil's poem appear. *Rural Sports* nominally describes "happy fields" and their varied activity, but the poem also continually provides analogues to a larger world. Fishing, fowling, hunting, all have implications
for the troublous world of men. These scenes of rural sport and their analogues culminate in Gay's vision of a rural golden Plenty in a mythic present that refers us to an artistic past:

Now Ceres pours out Plenty from her Horn,
And cloaths the Fields with golden Ears of Corn;
Let the keen Hunter from the Chase refrain,
Nor render all the Flowman's Labour vain.

Oh happy Plains! remote from War's Alarms,
And all the Ravages of Hostile Arms;

the fill'd Barns groan with th'increasing Store,

Anna, who binds the Tyrant War in chains,
And Peace diffuses o'er the cheerful Plains;
In whom again the bright Astrea Reigns.

(11. 349-375)

Another English georgic, John Philips's Cyder, also uses the Virgilian model in order to praise Britain. Philips's use of the georgic formula focuses on the superiority of the apple: "Hers, and my country's praises I exalt." Frequent historical references support Philips's praise of his country; Roman history and legendary British history are used to show the superiority of England, the land of apples and cider. The last pages of the poem are a chronicle of England that moves from the distant to the recent past, and from the present to the future — a time of peace and plenty when "Silurian Cyder" will "triumph o'er the vine." The poems of Gay and Philips conform closely to the georgic pattern, and many other Peace and Plenty poems — whether as clearly in the georgic genre or not — utilize Virgilian
themes and techniques.

Besides the literary norm of the Georgics the Augustan metaphor included a political norm, the Roman empire and the magnificent reign of Augustus. Virgil moves in the Georgics from description of the country to praise of the present ruler and to a celebration of the destiny of his nation. The poem's hero and that of the age is Octavius, who extended Roman arms over the whole earth, and under whom Saturn's golden days would return again to Italy. The poets of Peace and Plenty often celebrate the reigns of Anne or Charles or William as the rule of Augustus and the consulship of Pollio had been celebrated by Virgil. Whereas Virgil lamented the recent civil wars and implored his monarch to bring order out of chaos, the English poets for the most part look out on a world in which peace and order have been restored by their rulers. This is not to say that Augustus had failed to achieve such a restoration himself. His achievement in restoring order to a "madded world" is recalled in William Diaper's Dryades, in a passage which suggests that Nature concurred in the general renewal. When Octavius hushed discord and freed the nations,

The God look'd down on the neglected Groves
And deign'd to hear of Peace and softer Loves;
Fields and their Owners were with Leisure bless'd,
And Mantua's Shepherd had his Wrongs redress'd.

In A Panegyric to My Lord Protector Edmund Waller compares Cromwell to Augustus, almost in the terms of divinity:
As the vexed world, to find repose, at last
Itself into Augustus' arms did cast;
So England now does, with like toil oppressed,
Her weary head upon your bosom rest. 19

Sometimes the comparisons imply that Augustan England has surpassed the glories of Augustan Rome. For Thomas Otway, Rome had nothing that could compare with Windsor, the "Beauteous Seat of Peace":

Thus, when the happy World Augustus sway'd,
Learning and Arts his Empire did adorn,
Though when her far stretch'd Empire flourish'd most,
Rome never yet a Work like this could boast:
No Caesar e'er like Charles his Pomp express'd,
Nor ever were his Nations half so blest... 20

Augustus, his empire, and his lengthy peace were a model of excellence, then, for poets of English Peace and Plenty. Comparisons with Rome are innumerable in the visions of these poets, as if the history of that great land and its greatest sovereign lived again in England.

The Augustan metaphor could also be a warning, for the course of civilizations was not smooth. John Dryden, in a remarkable image at the beginning of Part II of The Conquest of Granada, presents the typical view that the pattern of empires is cyclical; King Ferdinand says:

When empire in its childhood first appears,
A watchful fate o'ersees its tender years;
Till, grown more strong, it thrusts and stretches out,
And elbows all the kingdoms round about;
The place thus made for its first breathing free,
It moves again for ease and luxury;
Till, swelling by degrees, it has possessed
The greater space, and now crowds up the rest;
When, from behind, there starts some petty state,
And pushes on its now unwieldy fate;
Then down the precipice of time it goes,
And sinks in minutes, which in ages rose.

In Dryades William Diaper embeds a similar conception of
the precarious destiny of nations within the context of an
explicitly providential view of history:

Men cannot guess th' Events of future Time
Ambition is the Growth of ev'ry Clime;
None can the Rise or Fall of Empires know,
Where Pow'r now ebbs, it may as sudden flow.

Heav'n has set Bounds to ev'ry rising State,
And Kingdoms have their Barriers fix'd by Fate.

Not all periods in Rome's history warranted emulation.
Milton warned that to become as Rome, if it meant being
enervated by excess and luxury, could be to become a slave.\(^\text{22}\)
The present corruption of Italy was a contemporary example
of how low a once proud people could sink.\(^\text{23}\) And the ruins
of Rome were a constant physical reminder of the transience
of human endeavor. Even Rome had crumbled, and her broken
stones were a "giant European symbol of evanescence."\(^\text{24}\)
But this aspect of the Augustan metaphor is not a prominent
Peace and Plenty motif.\(^\text{25}\) The Ruinenkult was necessarily
subdued; nevertheless, as a moral imperative it was probably
never completely absent.
III

Prior prefaces one of his odes with an affirmation of the poetic value of mythical history:

... where HORACE praises the Romans, as being Descended from AENEAS, I have turn'd to the Honour of the BRITISH Nation, descended from BRUTE, likewise a TROJAN. That this BRUTE, Fourth or Fifth from AENEAS, settled in ENGLAND, and built LONDON, which he call'd Troja Nova, or Troynovante, is a Story which (I think) owes it's Original if not to GEOFFRY of Monmouth, at least to the Monkish Writers; yet is not rejected by Our great CAMDEN, and is told by MILTON, as if (at least) He was pleas'd with it; though possibly He does not believe it: However it carries a Poetical Authority, which is sufficient for our Purpose. It is as certain that BRUTE came into ENGLAND, as that AENEAS went into ITALY; and upon the Supposition of these Facts, VIRGIL wrote the best Poem that the World ever read, and SPENSER paid Queen ELIZABETH the greatest Compliment. 26

England's founder, like Rome's, was descended from Trojan heroes. The English past therefore has roots in the same legendary soil as the history of Rome. English history pervades these visions of Peace and Plenty perhaps even more than does the Roman "myth." Prior's reference to Spenser is apposite, for the mythical destiny of England is one of the main subjects of the Faerie Queene, although not quite so important a theme perhaps as the allegorical record of Everyman's journey through the world. Spenser's themes converge in Book II, Canto X, where we observe both a chronicle of British kings from Brute to Uther, and a chronicle of Elfin emperors from Elfe to Gloriana, who is of course Elizabeth as well as the ruler of Faery land. The continuity
of English history and its mythic shape were as important to Peace and Plenty poets as to Spenser. Anne may take the place of her great feminine predecessor, but the patterns of loss-renewal-return do not change. Human destiny is a continuing process, as Prior says at the end of another poem: "where old SPENCER sung, a new ELISA reigns."27

Although Bonamy Dobree perceives the use of English history in poems like Philips's Cyder, he does not seem to grasp the significance of such use of history: "Nor would it appear that a veneration for the country's distant past was a very active principle. . . . it is extraordinary with what regular monotony we come across the same names, those, for instance, of Edward the Confessor and the Black Prince . . . ."28 The same figures from England's past do appear again and again, but without monotony and with good reason.

These figures are the heroes of the past29 and should be examples to the present, and in a sense they have never really died because their spirit throbs through England's ongoing history. This is the attitude assumed by the Peace and Plenty poets toward the great personages who made their country's history, and this attitude toward the heroes of the past informs most Peace and Plenty visions. Thus British kings are part of the vision of a living past and a hallowed ground that concludes Thomas Tickell's On the Prospect of Peace. Tickell presents a tableau of mythical history in which space and time are telescoped:
Fir'd with the views this glittering scene displays,
And smit with passion for my country's praise,
My artless reed attempts this lofty theme,
Where sacred Isis rolls her ancient stream;
In cloister'd domes the great Philippa's pride,
Where learning blooms, while fame and worth preside,
Where the fifth Henry arts and arms was taught,
And Edward form'd his Cressy yet unfought,
Where laurel'd bards have struck the warbling strings,
The seat of sages, and the nurse of kings.
Here thy commands, O Lancaster inflame
My eager breast to raise the British name,
Urge on my soul...

Her past heroes document England's lasting greatness; they seem to revive in each true successor. England's former kings are a measure of each present ruler. In his Panegyric to My Lord Protector (ll. 69-70), Waller asserts that Cromwell is a worthy heir to Edward III, the Black Prince, and Henry V. In Marvell's view the Protector went beyond his legendary predecessors:

\[
\text{Cromwell's laws greater truths obscure the fables old,}
\]

Whether of British saints or worthyes told;
And in a valour less'ning Arthur's deeds,
For holinesse the Confessour exceeds.\[^{31}\]

Not only the ancient kings but also those poets who sang of them deserve homage, and breathe on in their successors. Tickell honours Chaucer; Prior honours Horace and Spenser; John Philips praises Prior; Diaper honours Philips; Gay praises Pope and Virgil; Pope honours Denham, Cowley, and Surrey, and urges Lansdowne to revive their numbers by celebrating England's history as they had. So Denham begins Cooper's
Hill (ll. 13-24) with praise of Waller, who had just commemorated the king's repairing of St. Paul's, and then moves through transitional scenes from Paul's to Windsor, and from Windsor into a review of English history. Even the great Mother's race cannot match Windsor's heroic host:

The Gods great Mother . . .
. . . cannot boast
Amongst that numerous, and Celestial host,
More Hero's than can Windsor, nor doth Fames
Immortal book record more noble names.
Not to look back so far, to whom this Isle
Oves the first glory of so brave a pile,
Whether to Caesar, Albanact, or Brute,
The British Arthur, or the Danish Knute,

Not to recount those several Kings, to whom
It gave a Cradle, or to whom a Tombe,
But thee (great Edward) and thy greater son,

Then didst thou found that Order . . .

Which forraign Kings, and Emperors esteem

When he [Edward] that Patron [St. George] chose, in whom are joyn'd
Souldier and Martyr, and his arms confin'd
Within the Azure Circle, he did seem
But to foretell, and prophesie of him [Charles I],
Who to his Realms that Azure round hath joyn'd,
Which Nature for their bound at first design'd.
That bound, which to the Worlds extreamest ends,
Endless it self, its liquid arms extends;
Nor doth he need those Emblemes which we paint,
But is himself the Souldier and the Saint.
(ll. 59-110)

Denham has here moved prophetically from the royal seat of Charles I through history finally to embrace all the King's present dominions within his single vision. Nothing less than a mythical view of history can account for the way Denham associates his sovereign with the founders of Eng-
land, her patron saint (as soldier and martyr St. George is a type of Charles), and her great medieval monarchs.

No less mythical is the way the establishment of the Order of Knights of the Garter by Edward III is made to prophesy the far-flung empire of Charles I: within three centuries the "Azure Circle" has come to enclose the entire earth, a world joined to England by that "Azure round," the ocean.

Motifs like St. George and the Star and Garter, and others that appear in Denham's passage, reoccur throughout the Peace and Plenty tradition. Such historical materials are used in fashioning a particular vision or in establishing a prophetic context for a vision. The element of prophecy is very important in this type of poetry, and there may be even more that is prophetic in some of the poems than we know. One of Pope's couplets, for instance, is a virtual paradigm for all peace and plenty poetry:

Rich Industry sits smiling on the Plains,
And Peace and Plenty tell, a STUART reigns.
(Windsor-Forest, ll. 41-42)

The visionary nature and political force of the lines could hardly be denied, but the couplet can further be illuminated by the knowledge that James I, the first Stuart, in a 1607 address to Parliament envisioned a forthcoming era of "Peace, Plenty, Love" to be achieved through the union of England and Scotland. In 1707, one hundred years later, Queen Anne, the last Stuart, fulfilled the prophecy with the Act of Union between the two countries.
Hopeful and prophetic as their visions of peace and plenty were, the Augustan poets in this tradition never forgot the imperfections of human nature. English history was not merely a chronicle of illustrious monarchs, faithful nobles, and worthy poets. Their own frailty made Englishmen subject to cyclical rises and falls. From one of the perspectives on Cooper's Hill, the City may seem "but a darker cloud," a scene of greed and confusion and disorder:

Where, with like hast, though several ways, they run
Some to undo, and some to be undone;
While luxury, and wealth, like war and peace,
Are each the others ruine, and increase...

(Cooper's Hill, ll. 31-34)

England has its share of stupid and wicked men; its past is the story of ruin as well as greatness. A scrutiny of her past might prevent future misfortunes for England. When William Diaper reminds his countrymen of Hengist and his treacherous Saxons who promised succour but instead brought subjection (Dryades, ll. 718-729), he does so in order to support his assertion that Belgick "Foreign Aid" is more dangerous than civil war. Other invaders, too, had brought an Iron Age into England. In contrast with the opening paragraph of Windsor-Forest, which exalts the present peace and plenty of a Stuart's reign, there is a passage (ll. 43-84) that describes a "grim England of the past." Praise of Anne is thus carefully juxtaposed to a scene showing the oppressive tyranny of the barbarous Norman rulers. The first
two Williams were more savage than the beasts that roamed an England which these same Normans had turned into a waste. Like Nimrod they chased human prey. Yet divine justice prevailed, for the sons of the Conqueror ("himself deny'd a Grave!") lost their lives in the same forest where they had pursued other men; violence breeds violence.38

An important moment in England's past had been cast into a somewhat similar hunting image by Denham as part of a commentary on the nature of authority and political obligation:

This is a more Innocent, and happy chase,
Than when of old, but in the self-same place
Runnymede,
Fair liberty pursu'd, and meant a Prey
To lawless power, here turn'd, and stood at bay.
When in that remedy all hope was plac't
Which was, or should have been, at least, the last.
Here was that Charter seal'd, wherein the Crown
All marks of Arbitrary power lays down:
Tyrant and slave, those names of hate and fear,
The happier stile of King and Subject bear...

(Cooper's Hill, ll. 323-32 and ff.)

The Great Charter, however, had not long kept its force, and on the whole Cooper's Hill tends to emphasize history's insubstantial pageant and the mutability of political life more than present prosperity or future regeneration. The poem contains only an inchoate Peace and Plenty vision. The peace Denham seeks is that of political stability; the plenty he evokes (the passage on the Thames, ll. 161-196) is one of great abundance, but it is a plenty somewhat restricted and limited by the context of the poem as a whole. In fact Denham implies that the helter-skelter, degenerate activity
of London's Citizens grew out of the luxury of a hypocritical Henry VIII. Before the English Reformation the Pope had proclaimed Henry "Protector of the Faith" for a pamphlet of the King's against Luther, but afterwards Henry had brought about the dissolution of the monasteries. So in the poet's view, ruined Chertsey Abbey reveals how Henry "the Church at once protects & spoils." Hoping no such disaster befalls his age, Denham advocates a "temperate Region" between the former Catholic lethargy and the present Puritan zeal. Having seen what was past, Denham rightly feared what was so near (Cooper's Hill, ll. 111-158).

Cooper's Hill was written in an England about to plunge into civil war. Most other Peace and Plenty poems appeared during or after the Protectorate and Restoration, but the recent discord was not forgotten. The injuries of mid-century were scarcely healed over, and their scars were ever-present. Thomas Otway, in words that recall Denham's poem, sadly remembers "what haste we did to Ruine make" when England was "an ungrateful . . . Land/ . . . grown too wanton, 'cause 'twas over blest."39

Whereas Otway considered Cromwell a "Philistian lord," Marvell celebrated the Protector as "Heaven's favorite" and invoked a providential view of history in order to evaluate the Interregnum:

THAT Providence which had so long the care
Of Cromwell's head . . .
Now in itself (the glasse where all appears)
Had seen the period of his golden years . . .
In Marvell's judgment Cromwell was the instrument of an "angry Heaven," and the Civil War was a necessary purga-
tion followed by the Protector's golden peace. 40

Not all Peace and Plenty poets would have been likely
to agree with Marvell that the Civil War had been a necessary
part of a restorative process, but all of these poets were
concerned with "Restoration," whether wrought by Oliver Crom-
well, Charles II, Queen Anne, or whomever. Restoration might
be symbolic (it could occur in the hearts of men), or it
could take a more physical shape. In one of his poems Eli-
jah Fenton urges the Sun to look down on Windsor, "Clad in
fair emblems of renown." This "dome" was the cradle of the
Black Prince, its columns were "eternal monuments," but most
important, it had been "o'er . . . Norman ruins . . . re-
stor'd." 41 Edward III had restored Windsor Castle as a
place for his Knights of the Garter to meet. Edward may
have chosen Windsor Forest as his site because of a legend
that it was the very place where King Arthur and his Knights
of the Round Table held court. 42 Perhaps now we can begin
to perceive what value "setting" has in this type of poetry;
Pope's remark on the "Art" of Cooper's Hill is here parti-
cularly helpful: Denham's "Art" is "the very distinguishing
Excellence of Cooper's Hill: throughout which, the Descrip-
tion of Places, and Images rais'd by the Poet, are still
tending to some Hint, or leading into some Reflection, upon
moral Life or political Institution . . ." 43 In using the
"Scenes and Prospects" of Windsor as his setting, Pope continues the tradition of Cooper's Hill. Windsor Forest and Windsor Castle were a focal point of English political history: the Order of the Garter was founded there, its Knights met there, kings had dwelt there, and kings were buried there. In one sense, then, Windsor Forest could be looked upon as a physical embodiment of English history. With its rich associations Windsor could serve as a spatial-temporal microcosm of the national life. Windsor Forest was a locus of England's past, and it might perhaps also offer a type for the country's future, for in the mythical conception of history past-present-future can all occupy the same place simultaneously.

IV

Books XI and XII of Paradise Lost are an example of a prospective vision of the progress of human history; Milton thus telescopes history and represents time spatially throughout his poetry, and likewise the convergence of Progress and Prospect is pivotal in the poetry of Peace and Plenty. Place is remarkably significant in Peace and Plenty poems. The scene, or progression of scenes, provides both historical and topographical settings, and each setting provides a context of moral values. As Pope recognized, each piece of landscape in Cooper's Hill inspires another part of the poet's vision. Denham calls Windsor (where Mars dwells with
Venus), for instance, its "Masters Embleme"; like its Master, Windsor is constructed of a proper blend of meekness and majesty (ll. 39-58). Earlier in the poem Denham had viewed another "sacred pile," Paul's, which will stand despite "sword, or time, or fire," because it is preserved by the best of kings and sung by the best of poets (ll. 15-24).

The "best poet" is Waller, who had just written Upon His Majesty's Repairing of Paul's. In Waller's poem St. Paul's is a symbolic structure, and its repair implies a greater and more widespread restoration. Charles I had repaired Paul's; his son, Waller says in his later poem On St. James's Park, was destined to improve that "fair park." Charles II's improvement of the park indicates that the younger monarch was born to reconcile the divided world and to reform nations -- so his blood promised and Heaven had foretold (ll. 131-136). Waller equates St. James's Park with Eden; its prophetic repair can therefore stand for every kind of restoration. In the poem's basic metaphor the Park images "the first Paradise," that lost Garden of which only "the description lasts," and also represents England, that "other Eden, demi-Paradise." The plenitude of St. James's Park is crowned "with a border of rich fruit-trees," in "such green palaces the first kings reigned," and Charles orders the affairs of the world in "this oracular shade":
His fancy, objects from his view receives;  
The prospect, thought and contemplation gives;  
That seat of empire here salutes his eye,  
To which three kingdoms . . . apply;  
: . . . he does that antique pile /"Whitehall"  
behold,  
Where royal heads receive the sacred gold;  
It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep;  
There made like gods, like mortals there they  
sleep; 48  
Making the circle of their reign complete,  
Those suns of empire! where they rise, they set.

Waller's passage illustrates how time and space can meet  
in one mythic perspective, a perspective which likens human  
destiny in this image to the movement of circles within cir¬  
cles. 49

The "instructions to a painter" device that Waller  
introduced in his poem of that name, though frequently paro¬  
died by Marvell and others, was used effectively in parts  
of Otway's Windsor Castle. Progress and prospect merge in  
this poem. The poet's movement through Windsor Castle in¬  
spires a continuous account of the destiny of England by  
means of a descriptive commentary on the roofs, rooms,  
towers, and trophies in that "Majestick Pile." All is fit¬  
ted into a providential view of history, itself reinforced  
by frequent echoes from the Bible and Milton. 50 Otway uses  
the device of instructions to a painter to describe the  
place and evoke the scenes of England's past. These icons  
of British history are a "Lesson" for those who will behold  
them. They can show how Charles restored nearly all its  
former glory to Britain (11. 375-380), or how the English
were a chosen people: "For Heav'n resolv'd, that much above
the rest/Of other Nations Britain should be Blest." The
English are divinely favored, and Otway's vision therefore
acquires a religious coloration:

Within a Gate of strength, whose ancient Frame
Has out-worn Time and the Records of Fame,
A Reverend Dome [St. George's Church] there
stands, where twice each day
Assembling Prophets their Devotions pay,

Here Israel's mystick statutes they recount,
From the first Tables of the Holy Mount,
To the blest Gospel of that Glorious Lord,
Whose pretious Death Salvation has restor'd.
(ll. 189-200)

Thus the restoration achieved by English monarchs is made
part of the Christian process of redemption.

Windsor Castle ends with a vision of the future, a
prophecy of the reign of James II. Otway instructs the
painter to wipe his pencils and prepare

To Draw a prospect now of clearer Air.
Paint in an Eastern Sky new dawning Day,
And there the Embrio's of Time display;
The forms of many smiling years to come . . .
(ll. 531 ff.)

England will be blessed because James rose "by Providence"
to his throne. Through her monuments and in her topography,
England's rich past is seen to have shaped her very real --
but also mythical -- present.

Thus "the setting . . . is always offering its analogue
to human experience"51 in poems of the Peace and Plenty tra-
dition. Peace and Plenty poets discovered analogues for
England's political situation and for the human condition
not only in history and historic architecture, but also in
the greater and smaller worlds -- along Nature's vertical
axis -- for the physical, moral, political, and divine
levels of existence were all interrelated. Two aspects of
the Renaissance world-picture, the chain of being and the
macrocosm-microcosm relationship, survive in this Augustan
poetic tradition as planes of analogies or sets of corre-
spondences.\(^{52}\) We have seen such analogies in Rural Sports,
where Gay was following Virgil, whose characteristic method
was to compare "great things with small." Pope, too, uses
the method of analogy throughout Windsor-Forest, as can be
clearly seen in his section (ll. 93 ff.) on rural sports\(^{53}\)
(a passage that conforms to the cycle of the seasons).

Such analogical correspondences constitute the core of
William Diaper's Dryades; or The Nymphs Prophecy (in some
ways the most "original" of peace and plenty poems). Dia-
per's poem, no less than that of Tickell or Trapp or Pope,
celebrates the Peace of Utrecht, but in Dryades the victori-
ous peace is given a sylvan setting. Diaper does not make
much use of the rural sport motif, but he frequently pic-
tures that warfare which is continually going on in nature;
he is always pointing out how the state of nature, even that
of the "vegetable Worlds": or insect kingdoms, is analogous
to the state of man. At one point Diaper uses skillful
analogies to enforce mythic patterns of continuity and re-
newal; future bards will teach the swain how to cultivate
The Prophets' Inspiration never ends,
But with a double Portion still descends.
Poets, like rightful Kings, can never dye,
Heavn's Sacred Ointment will the Throne supply,

So tuneful Insects . .

(True Poets they) laugh at approaching Want,
And Careless sing . .
But soon bleak Gols the wanton Throng surprize,
And the whole Race . . . dies:
And yet returning Heat, and sultry Days,
Restore the species, and new Songsters raise.

The Goddess will not long forget her Care,
But th'Orchat-loss with future Crops repair.

As from salt Waves are drawn the sweeter Rains,
And cheerful Streams, that swell the fatten'd Plains,
So from our Griefs succeeding Pleasures flow . . .
(ll. 230-255)

Diaper's whole poem presents the picture of an age of grieves
that is to be succeeded by a happier age and better world.
A passage (ll. 268 ff.) that laments a warlike age and bids
the Muse farewell is followed by the first part of the
nymph Egeria's prophecy (ll. 318 ff.) of the "lasting Joys
of coming Years" when "Birds on, ev'ry Bough will . . .
throng" to listen to the songs of Shepherds. In a renewed
age of peace, poetry, and fertility, peace will wipe the
dust from neglected pipes, arms will turn to dust; the
"finny Race" will be frightened no more by "dreaded Sounds,"
"The busy Naïads cleanse polluted Floods,/And Nymphs fre¬
quently the long deserted Woods." Egeria concludes her proph¬
ecy in a charming passage (ll. 738-771) that presents the
picture of a quiet Nature to which all her variety and
functions and gifts have been restored. The purport of the whole poem is contained in that line which predicts, "The Nymphs shall hide no more from human Sight."

The allegorical stag hunt in Cooper's *Hill* fathered an important analogical tradition. Since the hunting of animals has correspondences in the world of human affairs, there is a long succession of chase scenes that have political implications and assert moral judgments. Prior (*Carmen Seculare*, St. XXXIII) speaks of a place, "Where the fleet Stag employs our noble youth's ardent care;/And Chases give Them Images of War." This was usually the function of the hunt motif. As in *Windsor-Forest* the chase could depict the inhuman violence of Norman tyrants who make human beings their prey. Or the hunt could represent a violence contained and expended within a "Sylvan War" (l. 148). An analogy between two kinds of war, and the idea that the chase could provide man with a "moral substitute for war," are put forth in the prophecy near the end of *Windsor-Forest*:

The shady Empire shall retain no Trace
Of War or Blood, but in the Sylvan chase,
The Trumpets sleep, while cheerful Horns are blown,
And Arms employ'd on Birds and Beasts alone.

(11. 371-74)

In *Windsor-Forest*, or in any poem of its tradition, description of the setting is used always for instruction.
Though reflecting the past and foreshadowing the future, the "settings" of these poems are located in the present— a prophetic present in the visions of Peace and Plenty. Most poems in the tradition mark out a situation that inspires the poet to "sing returning peace." Since an end has been put to discord, or soon will be, England can enjoy a period of peace and prosperity and look forward to imperial expansion. This era of "Plenty, Peace, and Rest" (Windsor Castle, ll. 308 ff.) is the joint achievement of Heaven and England's monarch, or else the work of a monarch who is almost God-like, for the establishment of peace was something of a miracle. Pope renders Anne's bringing peace to a ravaged Europe in this wise:

At length great ANNA said -- Let Discord cease! She said, the World obey'd, and all was Peace! (Windsor-Forest, ll. 327-28)

Almost by fiat Anne had brought peace to the world; for Joseph Trapp the restoration of Europe by an English ruler is associated with the act of Redemption itself:

By Her our Peace commission'd to restore, Commission'd by the Prince of Peace before. The peace attained was particularly impressive, moreover, since the peace of the whole world had been at stake. One war, or one battle, might determine the fate of empires, and Waller grimly puns, "Europe was shaken with her Indian mines." In his Instructions to a Painter, Waller also
makes explicit what was involved in the wars of the period:

Draw the whole world, expecting who should reign,
After this combat, o'er the conquered main.
Make Heaven concerned, and an unusual star
Declare the importance of the approaching war. 58

(II. 5-8)

England had finally brought peace to such a warring
world. Her leader comes then, as Waller says of Cromwell, 59
"to balance Europe" and be Protector of the entire earth.
Joseph Addison, in A Letter from Italy, also maintained
that England's care was to balance Europe and keep the northern world in peace. The figure of an English ruler who holds rival kings in equal scales is common in this poetry. 60
Trapp celebrates Anne as "Arbitress of Europe": the Queen "resumes" her proper province, she "smiles auspicious on the World's Repose," and she can in "even Ballance poise the Ball" (Peace. A Poem, pp. 7-8).

The instrument that enables England to maintain its
dominant position is the Royal Navy. England's fleet permits her monarch to annex new dominions and to control the bulk of the world. Britain's ships are emblematic of the nation's destiny. In a youthful poem To the King on His Navy, Waller boasts that as the Thames is free, so the ocean shall be. England, because of her fleet, is safe and will remain so even if there is a second Flood. The Royal Navy brings peace wherever it goes and brings homage thence to the King. In the vision of Joseph Trapp, "pious ANNA" restores plenty to her happy isles, and smiles at the pros-
pect of an increasing empire and flourishing trade:

To Her each World its Wealth and Strength resigns,
Europe its Forts, and INDIA yields its Mines.
Her Merchants unmolested, uncontroll'd,
Enrich her Kingdoms, and import their Gold;
Thro' all the Universe pursue their Gain,
Secure from War, and fearless plough the Main. 61

(Peace, p. 17)

Tickell has similar lines:

Fearless our merchant now pursues his gain,
And roams securely o'er the boundless main.
Now o'er his head the polar bear he spies,
Glittering spoils where Indian grottoes shine,
Where fumes of incense glad the southern seas.

And wafted citron scents the balmy breeze.

And here the ore, whose melted mass shall yield
On faithful coins each memorable field,
Which, mix'd with medals of immortal Rome,
May clear disputes, and teach the times to come.

(On the Prospect of Peace, pp. 105-106)

Later in the poem Tickell claims that savages will "swear by Anna's name" in a hundred languages, the whole globe obey her "rightful sway," and her domain "see no setting sun." Not only will the British empire be extended in a kind of "manifest destiny," but all the wealth of the old world and the new will flow into England. Pope indicates how English ships, built from oaks in Windsor Forest, will bring the exotic riches of the wide earth into England:

Let India boast her plants, nor envy we
The weeping amber or the balmy tree
While by our oaks the precious loads are borne.
And realms commanded which those trees adorn. 62

But Pope is also suggesting that those same oaks have undergone a "strange sea change" and that through this metamor-
phasis the trees in the royal forest will themselves bear all the fruitful treasures the world possesses.63

Sir John Denham's evocative praise of the Thames in Cooper's Hill is perhaps unmatched as a vision of an England blessed by a present peace and plenty, or that could be so blessed if it would only model itself — at all levels — upon the river. Denham begins by making the Thames a symbol for the pattern of human life:

_Thames, the most lov'd of all the Oceans sons,
By his old Sire to his embraces runs,
Hasting to pay his tribute to the Sea,
Like mortal life to meet Eternity._

(ll. 161-64)

Each spring the river renews its shores with plenty, but it is an innocent wealth:

_Though with those streams he no resemblance hold,
Whose foam is Amber, and their Gravel Gold;
His genuine, and less guilty wealth t'explore
Search not his bottom, but survey his shore;
Ore which he kindly spreads his spacious wing,
And hatches plenty for th'ensuing Spring._

(ll. 165-70)

The Thames supplies a "harmonious profusion"; its gifts are abundant and various, but its giving is ordered and controlled. More important, the river's god-like activity indicates moral direction for several classes of men:

_Nor then destroys it with too fond a stay,
Like Mothers which their Infants overlay.
Nor with a sudden and impetuous wave,
Like profuse Kings, resumes the wealth he gave.
No unexpected inundations spoyl
The mowers hopes, nor mock the plowman's toyl:
But God-like his unwearied Bounty flows;
First loves to do, then loves the Good he does._

(ll. 171-78)
The river is an agent of commercial and cultural exchange, and a planter of colonies and civilization. The Thames encloses all the things and places of the earth and almost magically draws them into England:

Nor are his blessings to his banks confin'd,
But free, and common, as the Sea or Wind;
When he to boast, or to disperse his stores
Full of the tributes of his grateful shores,
Visits the world, and in his flying towers
Brings home to us, and makes both Indies ours;
Finds wealth where 'tis, bestows it where it wants
Cities in deserts, woods in Cities plants.
So that to us nothing, no place is strange,
While his fair bosom is the world's exchange.
(ll. 179-88)

Then come the most famous lines in the poem (ll. 189-192), that type of Augustan couplets that also contains the main symbol of the poem, for England -- its rulers and subjects -- should emulate the river. As he ends the passage (ll. 193-196) Denham includes part of Heaven within the Thames's mythic dimensions, for the nobler parts of the river will "bath the Gods." The river is at once an expression of change and of continuity, of mutability and of eternality. Heraclitus correctly remarked that it is impossible to step in the same river twice, yet the location of a river remains constant. Water imagery is an effective means of transitions and of articulating correspondences in Peace and Plen- ty poetry, for the "river connects analogous 'worlds,'" and the ocean joins all "worlds." The Thames, which runs for all time and in the same place, though it is never the same, brings the whole earth into England and deposits the
earth's wealth on its own banks. Signifying permanence as well as change, the Thames — both a carrier of plenty and a joiner of worlds — is an appropriate symbol for the movement and patterns we find in the poetry of Peace and Plenty.

VI

Past, present, and future are collapsed into a single perspective in the mythical conception of history. As the past is somehow contained in the places and events of the present, those places and events in turn adumbrate the future. In the poetry of Peace and Plenty, visions of the future open up and spread out into magnificent vistas of a "brave new world." Even present disasters can presage a wondrous new future. Annus Mirabilis, for instance, concludes with the vision (St. 293-304) of a new, better London that will emerge as the activity of trade begins to replace that of war:

Me-thinks already from this Chymick flame,
I see a City of more precious mould;
Rich as the Town which gives the Indies name,
With Silver pav'd, and all divine with Gold.

Our pow'rful Navy shall no longer meet,
The wealth of France or Holland to invade:
The beauty of this Town, without a Fleet
From all the world shall vindicate her Trade.

Thus to the Eastern wealth through storms we go;
But now, the Cape once doubled, fear no more:
A constant Trade-wind will securely blow,
And gently lay us on the Spicy shore.
Dryden evaluates the events of this "year of wonders" (the war and fire of 1666) according to a providential understanding of history. In his view, the fire was both catastrophe and portent. England will be better for her experience. The fire will purge, and the City will rise, like a Phoenix, "deified . . . from her fires" (St. 295). The restoration of London will not be temporary:

... Labouring with a mighty fate,
   She shakes the rubbish from her mounting brow,
   And seems to have renew'd her Charters date,
   Which Heav'n will to the death of time allow.

(St. 294)

The main concern of these poets is precisely the task of restoration. In Dryden's prophetic view, for instance, the present moment in English history, a period full of destruction and disaster and patently in need of restoration, will be succeeded by a period of renewal, a renewal so complete as to survive the attrition of time. Dryden's vision of future repair is augmented, furthermore, by his conviction that England is under the governance and watchful care of a benign providence.

In *Annus Mirabilis* Dryden envisioned a forthcoming regeneration; he concluded the *Secular Masque* for 1700 with a statement of the need for such a renewal:

All, all of a piece throughout:
Thy chase had a beast in view;
Thy wars brought nothing about;
Thy loves were all untrue.
'Tis well an old age is out,
And time to begin a new.
Though Prior is less hard on the "old age" than Dryden, Carmen Seculare (St. XXV) represents the birth of a new century as the turning from an age of iron to one of gold. Congreve puts forth the same idea in The Birth of the Muse:

Britannia, rise! awake, O fairest Isle, From iron sleep! again thy fortunes smile. Once more look up, the mighty man behold, Whose reign renews the former age of gold.

In 1713 Pope celebrates a new Golden Age that has come to Windsor Forest. The first paragraph of the poem presents a scene where Pan, Pomona, Flora, and Ceres appear with all their blessings. As Waller had done in On St. James's Park, Pope transforms the "green retreats" of Windsor into the "groves of Eden." Pope effects this metamorphosis so as to exalt the present peace and plenty achieved under a Stuart, but his transformation also points ahead and anticipates even greater things. This new Eden looks forward to that brilliant vision at the end of Windsor-Forest where Father Thames prophesies what can only be conceived as a Paradise Regained:

The time shall come, when, free as seas or wind, 65 Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind,
O stretch thy reign, fair Peace! from shore to shore,
Till conquest cease, and slavery 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 Mexicos be roof'd with gold.
Exiled by thee from earth to deepest Hell, In brazen bonds shall barb'rous Discord dwell: Gigantic Pride, pale Terror, gloomy Care, And mad Ambition shall attend her there:
There purple Vengeance, bathed in gore, retires,
Her weapons blunted, and extinct her fires:
There hated 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.

(11. 355–422)

This passage demonstrates that Windsor-Forest "celebrates
not only the destiny of a nation but also that of a world."66

Maynard Mack and Aubrey Williams have shown that
Isaiah reverberates through Father Thames's prophecy,67
and throughout the peace and plenty tradition the idea of
New Jerusalem makes itself felt. Even a poem like Elijah
Fenton's "To the Queen on Her Majesty's Birthday" can uti-
lize Isaiah in its vision of peace, plenty, new temples, and
auspicious days.68 Marvell's Britannia and Raleigh is es-
sentially a satire of England's current corruption, but
despite the dog days the goddess at the end of the poem
promises to eventually return to her dearest country; then

... shall my England, in a holy war,
In triumph lead chain'd tyrants from afar;

... The earth shall rest, the heav'n shall on thee
smile ...

(11. 177–194)

England has won, or will win, a state of peace and plenty;
if necessary she will fight new holy wars; in the end a
greater kingdom awaits.

If Isaiah, Milton, and Virgil continually enter and
illuminate the Peace and Plenty tradition, it is because
they deal with the permanent problems of human loss and
regeneration. Each shows in some profound way how it is
always possible for man to regain what he has lost. The allusion to, or representation of an Arcadia, a new Golden Age, New Jerusalem, or Paradise Regained in a poem of Peace and Plenty thickens and extends the poet's vision of restoration. For peace and plenty are signs of the final and complete redemption that man will some day receive, as even a minor poet may suggest:

From this Great AEra wond'rous Years shall run;
And ANNA's Fame roll circling with the Sun.

True Liberty her Influence now shall spread,
And long distress'd Religion raise her Head.
No more shall Vice, Triumphant, Laws defy;
Nor Blasphemy unpunish'd brave the Sky.
Sedition lurks, abandon'd, and abhor'd;

Britain, by Union, truly Brave and Great,
To all the World shall Formidable prove;
Strong by That Union, terrible in Love.
And That shall be; if with a sure Presage
The Muse Prophetick sees the op'ning Age;
If to Her View the Destinies unfold
Its shining Volumes, and disclose its Gold.
Heav'n, tho' so long provok'd, in future Times,
For pious ANNA's Sake, shall spare our Crimes:
ANNA, the Guardian of Mankind's Repose,
For many smiling Years, unmark'd with Woes,
Shall lasting Peace and Happiness bestow;
Still blest by Heav'n above, and blessing Earth below.69

In such a use of mythical history, peace becomes redemptive; the full significance of a "lasting peace" is that God will ultimately save man from history itself.
THREE

AFTER WINDSOR-FOREST

For the purposes of this study, Cooper's Hill can be considered the beginning, and Windsor-Forest the culmination, of the Peace and Plenty tradition. After Windsor-Forest there are fewer and fewer poems that conform to the Peace and Plenty pattern. Several circumstances might account for the decline of the tradition. For one thing, England enjoyed twenty-five years of peace following the Peace of Utrecht. Poets of a nation secure against war will not be inclined to celebrate the joys and blessings of peace, nor will they conceive of the same sort of restoration as that hoped for by poets of warring nations. A sane poet like Thomson can be almost jingoistic in some situations, and C. A. Moore includes Pope and Dr. Johnson among those poets who were urging war in 1738. Probably an even more important circumstance in the decline of the Peace and Plenty tradition was the eighteenth century's shifting attitude in regard to plenty. Only a few incidents like the South Sea Bubble are required to destroy even the most deep-rooted beliefs in the benefits of prosperity. Another decisive force in the changing attitudes toward plenty was the secularization of thought. The process of secularization contributed to the demise of Peace and Plenty poetry in at least two fundamental ways: (1) the inversion of formerly
"optimistic" visions into visions of evil and corruption (2) the rejection or displacement of the frame of such visions.

I do not mean to imply that all the hopeful visions in English poetry turned suddenly sour, or that there had been no other sorts of visions prior to the first decade of the eighteenth century. An altering attitude toward wealth can be observed earlier, in the career of Dryden for instance. An early poem like *Annus Mirabilis* should be compared with the virulent satire in much of Dryden's later poetry; in a poem like *The Medall* he can remark, "Yet we repine; and plenty makes us poor" (l. 126). There was no corresponding "change" of attitude in Swift, but only because his emphasis was consistently upon degenerate rather than regenerate man. We customarily think of the major Augustans as social satirists. This is justified by their searching analyses of human weakness and depravity, and because they may be said "to have waged war unceasingly on secularism." Pope and his peers, like any other poets, deal with the actualities and potentialities of men. Certainly the actualities of men loom larger on the surface of Augustan poetry than human potentialities, but we should not forget the transcendent promise of visionary poems like *Messiah*, the *Essay on Criticism*, or *Windsor-Forest*. Maynard Mack perceived that the evaluative kind of metaphor in Pope is usually religious. This is equally true of *Windsor-Forest.*
or of the *Dunciad*, but by the time of the latter poem Pope's attention had come increasingly to focus on "the perversion of religious values in a money culture."^5

In evaluating Pope's social satire between 1728 and 1743, Hugo M. Reichard shows how Pope deals with the relationship between *belles-lettres* and business in a "sinking land"; Reichard indicates that the main issue for Pope is "the antinomy of mercenary and humane values" that exists in such a nation.^6 Reichard feels that the similarity between two of Pope's best symbols locates the special place of the *Dunciad* within Pope's vision of evil: the goddess Vice rules a corrupt world by means of "golden chains" in the *Epilogue to the Satires* (I, 141-170); in the *Dunciad* a sister goddess, Dulness, fixes society to a bimetallic standard of "lead and gold" (IV, 13-16).^7 Each of the passages in which these two symbols -- Vice's chains and Dulness's bimetallic standard -- occur, offers other comparisons that will indicate the extent of the inversion of the Popean vision. The *Dunciad*'s "bimetallic standard" reveals that poem's distance from the restored Golden Age imaged in *Windsor-Forest*, and the passage in which the standard of lead and gold appears is remarkable for its frightening parody of Milton; Pope delineates a "darkness visible" that has escaped Pandemonium:

> Then rose the seed of Chaos, and of Night,  
> To blot out Order, and extinguish Light,  
> Of dull and venal a new world to mould,  
> And bring Saturnian days of Lead and Gold.  
> (IV, 1-16)
Such a thorough violation of order is likewise depicted in the *Epilogue to the Satires*, where we learn that

Vice is undone, if she forgets her birth,
And stoops from angels to the dregs of earth;
But 'tis the Fall degrades her to a whore;
Let Greatness own her, and she's mean no more . . .

In golden chains the willing world she draws,
And hers the Gospel is, and hers the Laws;
Mounts the tribunal, lifts her scarlet head,
And sees pale Virtue carted in her stead.

See thronging millions to the pagod run,
And offer country, parent, wife, or son!
Hear her black trumpet thro' the land proclaim,
That not to be corrupted is the shame.

In Soldier, Churchman, Patriot, Man in Power,
'Tis Vice all, Ambition is no more!

'Nothing is sacred now but Villany.'

(I, 141-172)

The subversion of order represented by this passage -- especially Vice's golden chains -- is such as to convince one that Discord has finally brought that "last confusion" and finally succeeded in dividing "that great golden chaine" with which "blessed Concord" had tied the world together (*Faerie Queene*, Bk. IV, I, xxx). Vice's golden chains can also be compared fruitfully with the golden compasses of *Paradise Lost*, that magnificent description of Christ creating a world out of Chaos:

He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd
In God's Eternal store, to Circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things:
One foot he centred, and the other turn'd
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy just Circumference, 0 World.

(VII, 225-31)
Some of Pope's earlier poems, in their visions of restoration, utilize themes and images analogous to Milton's conception of an ordered world justly circumscribed; most of Pope's later poems, in their visions of destruction, use Milton to enforce their evaluation of the uncreative corruption of a society that has burst its bounds and of a world that has sunk into chaos.

Much of Pope's mature satire is concerned, as Reichard says, with affluence and the abuse of wealth. Moral Essays III and IV deal explicitly with the "Use of Riches," and these two poems reveal how Pope centers on the improper use of riches as symptomatic of the complete rottenness of his diseased culture. The fourth Moral Essay demonstrates how man makes a hell of earth for himself. Despite all the abundance that the world affords him, sinful man -- because of perverse and unnatural wants -- cannot be satisfied: "In plenty" he is "starving" and "tantalized in state" (l. 163). It need not always be so, however, for

Another age shall see the golden ear
Imbrown the slope, and nod on the parterre,
Deep harvests bury all his pride has plann'd,
And laughing Ceres reassume the land.

(11. 173-76)

Pope goes on to list the honours "Peace" could bring to a "happy Britain" (ll. 177-end). Thus the conclusion of Moral Essay IV, in its modified hope for the future, faintly reminds us of the opening paragraph of Windsor-Forest.

A more complete inversion of Pope's early optimism
occurs in *Moral Essay III*, the *Epistle to Bathurst*. In this poem Pope refutes the notion that riches are a sign of personal merit, that God materially rewards the "elect" on earth. Pope makes this clear when he owns that "riches in effect" are "No grace of Heav'n, or token of th'elect" (ll. 17-18). Like Job's friends, the men Pope attacks in *Bathurst* misunderstand Providence and man's role in the divine scheme. Both the covetous and the prodigal fail to perceive the "essential distinction between God's economy and man's morality." Their failure to comprehend God's justice and human destiny is illustrated by their adherence to a false "revelation"; a wizard whispered these words concerning Britain's fate into Blunt's ear:

"At length Corruption, like a gen'ral flood,
(So long by watchful Ministers withstood)
Shall deluge all; and Av'rice creeping on,
Spread like a low-born mist, and blot the sun . . .

See Britain sunk in lucre's sordid charms,
And France reveng'd of ANNE's and EDWARD's arms!"

Then Pope says to "great Scriv'ner,"

... 'twas thy righteous end . . .

To buy both sides, and give thy Country peace.

(ll. 135-152)

Though accurately reflecting the persona's view of the England being written about, the wizard has made a false prophecy because God had promised there would never again be a "gen'ral flood," such as the Wizard foretells. God's covenant assures no more cosmic disaster. But for a poet whose perception has been contaminated by the sickness of
his society, the Biblical rainbow has become a "low-born mist."

II

Ernst Cassirer thinks the philosophy of the Enlightenment saw "its main task" in the "great process of secularization of thought," and that in this process of secularization the "power of medieval dogma" was broken for the first time. This secularization not only wrought an inversion of poetic visions (as in Pope), but it quickened the "passing of the older world-pictures" as well. "During the eighteenth century," in the opinion of Earl Wasserman, "the disintegration of cosmic orders widely felt as true was finally completed. . . . by the end of the . . . century these communally accepted patterns had almost completely disappeared -- each man now rode his own hobby-horse." Wasserman suggests that this cosmic reorientation required new "metaphors for poetry," that the break-up of the formerly homogenous world-view results in convictions like that of Yeats's "that the world was now but a bundle of fragments." Such convictions lead to private poetic visions, whereas the visions of Peace and Plenty poets had been public. The change from a poetry of public utterance to one of individual lyricism is therefore another factor in the demise of the Peace and Plenty tradition. Similarly, the dissipation of older cosmic metaphors displaced the modes
of thought that had sustained that tradition. The modern world, and most of its poets, has rejected the conception of history which had supplied the basic frame of reference for the poets of Augustan Peace and Plenty.

For historiography, too, was influenced markedly by the secularization of thought and the concomitant displacement of the old ideas of world order. Wasserman says that, "Even the chronological continuity of history was broken down into discrete and unrelated fragments because each new event demolishes its predecessor." The first modern historiographers — figures like Vico, Bayle, Voltaire, Gibbon, and Herder — gave history, as we understand it, a new image and a different structure. And the new model of historical knowledge and enquiry had little in common with Milton's idea of history.

In the eighteenth century "the chronicle was evolving into history." In the emerging historical consciousness, principles of continuity, development, and evolution were carrying all before them. Herder's attitude is fairly representative of the progressivist philosophies of history. In Herder's genetic view, "Time rolls on"; history is "this march of time," an "immense snowball." "We are carried forward; the stream never returns to its source." Herder thought we should regard history "without foisting any set pattern upon it." This last comment is particularly significant, for in the older view of history the emphasis was
put squarely on pattern: the pattern of incidents was held to be far more important than any unique event. History had been conceived as a universal; as a universal, its paradigmatic pattern was antecedent to and independent of specific historical phenomena. In the newer view of history events are considered facts; in the older view they were regarded as symbols.

Christian historiography "deals not merely with the past and present but with the future as well. . . . whereas for this modern age history in the future tense is impossible, in the present improbable . . . ." The mythical view of human destiny is unlike the modern historical attitude in that all history, in the mythical conception, is available at any moment; the present contains the past and the future. One way a poet can represent this sense of history is through the convergence of temporal and topographical "settings"; so Milton interchanges time and space. The scenes and prospects of a poetic vision may thus absorb past-present-future because place is a symbolic manifestation of time. In the Peace and Plenty tradition prospect and progress often coalesce. The most important models for the Peace and Plenty union of prospect and progress are the prospective visions of the future in Book VI of the Aeneid and Books XI and XII of Paradise Lost. Such visions are a bit mysterious to us, however, because the mythical history that nurtured them is so unfamiliar. As the older
view of history was displaced by genetic and developmental concepts, it became increasingly difficult for a poet to suggest that place contains time, or that time can be captured in any unified spatial or moral pattern. If one views history as a steady, on-rushing, cumulative, linear succession of discrete events, it is no longer possible to use history as the poets of plenty and peace had done. The divergence of history and topography in later poetry is therefore a valuable index to the conditions that brought about the end of the Peace and Plenty tradition.

The tradition I have been describing, the Poetry of Peace and Plenty, did not long survive in Georgian England. The tradition declined primarily in two ways: the visions of poets like Pope were inverted as they observed the perversion of values within their culture, and the frame of reference for other poets, like Thomson or Goldsmith, was modified by the process of secularization. Whereas earlier peace had implied a final salvation, it became identifiable with complacency and expediency. Whereas earlier plenty had offered hope of a new Golden Age, it became the sign of an iron age that worships gold.
NOTES

One


4. See, for instance, Spenser's Hymn of Heavenly Laye which contains a succinct Christian account of history's major events.


6. Lear, p. 163.

7. Cf. Cope, 506-509. My understanding of the mythical conception of history is indebted to the studies of Lear, Mac Gaffrey, and Cope.


11. Ibid., p. 226. Pope did not have to invent this design. He found a similar vision of history in the plans for reformation formulated by Henry Reynolds, Mythomystes, 1632-33, and John Dennis, The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry, 1704.

Two

1. Several scholars -- including W. J. Courthope, C. A. Moore, R. A. Aubin, and D. L. Durling -- have dealt with many of the same poems as I. But because of different interests and different groupings, or for other reasons, their findings are usually somewhat peripheral to the problems I treat. To my knowledge no one else has suggested that these poems constitute a "tradition," and no one else has made explicit use of the mythical conception of history in an examination of this pattern of poetry.

2. Quoted by Jacob Viner, "Power versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in The Long View and the Short (Glencoe, Illinois, 1958), p. 287, Reprinted from World Politics. Viner demonstrates convincingly that plenty was as important as power in the economic and political thinking of Mercantilists.

3. With its implications of plenitude and blessing, plenty has an almost mythic charge (if words have such force). I have selected the word because of its conceptual value. I use it in a comprehensive sense that includes: (1) wealth of the community (2) individual riches (3) the bounty of nature or the fulness of the earth.


5. Cf. these lines accompanying the frontispiece of Michael Drayton's Polyolbion:

Through a Triumphant Arch, see Albion plas't,
In Happy site, in Neptunes arms bras't,
In Power and Plenty, on hir Gleevey Throne.


8. Bonamy Dobree, "The Theme of Patriotism in the Poetry

9. Ibid., pp. 53-54.


12. Ibid., p. 220. In his "Introduction" to *Windsor-Forest*, op. cit., pp. 131-144, Aubrey Williams shows that *Windsor-Forest* has a similar theme and how the movement of Pope's poem parallels that of Virgil. I would like to express a general debt to Mr. Williams's essay.


16. See Georgics, I, 146-end; Dryden, ll. 624-693.

17. See Williams on *Windsor-Forest*, pp. 137-38.

18. William Diaper, *Dryades; or the Nymphs Prophecy*, ll. 382-93, p. 69 in *The Complete Works of William Diaper* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), ed. by Dorothy Broughton. All references to Diaper are from this edition.

19. Edmund Waller, *A Panegyric to My Lord Protector; Of the Present Greatness, and Joint Interest, of His Highness, and This Nation*, ll. 169-72, p. 17 in *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, vol. II (London, 1893?), ed. by G. Thorn Drury. All references to Waller are from this edition.

21. For some of them, see Diaper, ll. 326 ff. and ll. 403 ff; Waller, Instructions to a Painter, ll. 115-116 and ll. 301 ff. and On St. James's Park, ll. 120 ff.; Prior, Carmen Seculare, St. II-V; Thomas Tickell, On the Prospect of Peace, pp. 105-106, vol. XXVI in Johnson ed.; and Joseph Trapp, Peace: A Poem (London, 1713), title page and p. 18.


23. In A Letter from Italy Addison contrasts the former greatness and present natural abundance of sunny Italy with the virtue of a cold, somewhat barren England. Oppression reigns in Italian valleys, and the "poor inhabitant" starves amidst plenty. Since England is crowned by Liberty, she is far more blessed.


25. Whereas the example of Roman decay is appropriately de-emphasized in poems of the Peace and Plenty tradition, it acquires all the example of a prophetic warning in later poetry like Dyer's Ruins of Rome (1740).


27. A Letter to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux; Occasion'd by the Victory at Blenheim, 1704, l. 201, p. 226.


30. Tickell, On the Prospect of Peace, p. 114 in Johnson ed. Here, and in many poems of Peace and Plenty, it seems that use is being made of "typology," of "prophecy through figure." The kings and heroes from the past are celebrated by Peace and Plenty poets as though these heroes had prefigured their country's subsequent history; such types represent "prophecy through figure" and are thus symbols for historic events and patterns that later their anti-types will fulfill.

31. Andrew Marvell, A Poem. Upon the Death of His Late Highness the Lord Protector, 11. 165-178. Against this historic background Marvell proclaims Cromwell's death is a prophetic event and that Richard's rule will be as fortunate as Oliver's. Note again the possible use of typology, in the passage and in the bulk of the poem.

32. See, for instance, Prior, Carmen Secularis, St. XXIX, where he calls the Garter a "Mystic String"; Otway, Windsor Castle, 11. 189 ff.; Fenton, p. 200; and Pope, Windsor-Forest, 11. 289-90.

33. Cooper's Hill is the primary native source for this tradition, as the poetry of Virgil was its main classical model. It seems fairly certain that Denham makes extensive use of typology.


It is my general impression that the Stuarts receive more praise in this poetry than other monarchs, although Prior and Addison, among others, celebrate William III. In Windsor-Forest Pope unfavorably associates William III with William the Conqueror. Because of their names and because both were foreigners it was not difficult to make the association. See John Robert Moore, "Windsor Forest and William III," Modern Language Notes, LXVI (1951), 451-54. Defoe, in a True Born Englishman, strongly defended William. Defoe shows that the English are a mongrel "race," that there is no such thing as a "true-born Englishman," and therefore that William's critics who attack his foreign origins are short-sighted and ridiculous. Defoe's poem is hostile to many of the attitudes and assumptions in the Peace and Plenty tradition.

36. Williams, pp. 137-38. Williams points out how Pope moves at this point from Windsor Forest to the New Forest of Hampshire.

37. Nimrod, as Williams says, p. 138, was the first hunter and type of the tyrant and recalls that bloody period after the Flood. He appears often in the poetry of the period as a kind of horrible example.

38. See Williams, p. 138 and pp. 157-58, notes.


40. Upon the Death of His Late Highness, ll. 1-16.

41. An Ode to the Sun, for the New Year, 1707, a celebration of peace that uses mythical history. The Ode celebrates the New Year that brings regeneration. The infant year is urged forth by the Sun (itself identified with Gloriana, i.e. Queen Anne) which will, "with joy renew the... destin'd race." See pp. 197-98, 200, 216.

42. Williams, p. 135.

43. Quoted by Williams, p. 134.

44. Cf. Williams, p. 136.

which

46. Waller's opening lines, should be compared with Paradise Lost, are echoed by Pope at the beginning of Windsor-Forest.

47. Waller points out that the structure was raised by a prelate, Wolsey, and built with the "fortune" of Rome. Cf. Prior, Carmen Seculare, St. XXVII, who says White-hall should be rebuilt; it would be like a Phoenix re-ascending. Cf. also Windsor-Forest, ll. 379 ff. Charles Hopkins wrote a poem called White-Hall, but I have not yet seen a copy of it.

48. Cf. Fenton, Part of the Fourteenth Chapter of Isaiah Paraphrased, p. 219, where he speaks of "bones of pious kings."

49. One of the best examples of place as a repository of history and of the technique of "spatialization" is Marvell's Upon Appleton House. See the fine essay of Don Cameron Allen, Image and Meaning, pp. 115-153. In the "house" tradition great men and their "houses" (physical and lineal) are commingled within the framework of mythical history.

50. See for example the praise of James (ll. 51-66), who is associated with Christ. James, "Virtue's great Pattern," may live "to bruise that Serpent's Head."

51. Williams, p. 133.

52. See for instance Dryden's To My Honor'd Kinsman, where the whole poem is patterned upon a system of analogical correspondences.

53. See the lines where the netting of a partridge is likened to the taking of a besieged town by British troops, ll. 96-110. The "with ease and plenty blest" is taken from the conclusion of John Philips's Blenheim.


56. Peace. A Poem, p. 16.

57. Of a War with Spain, and a Fight at Sea, pp. 23 ff. Marvell, too, realized the fight was for mastery of two worlds; see On the Victory Obtained by Blake, where Marvell asserts that Spanish wealth has brought on the war.
58. Cf. the scope of the conflicts plus the crusading ardour in Waller's Turkish poems, *Of the Invasion and Defeat of the Turks*, 1683 and *A Presage of the Ruin of the Turkish Empire*.

59. A Panegyric to My Lord Protector, ll. 21-32, where England becomes the "sacred refuge of mankind."

60. For example, Tickell, *On the Prospect of Peace*, p. 103.

61. "Plough" was probably still an active metaphor in the eighteenth century.

62. Pope here is imitating a similar transformation in the Follio. He uses "oaks" with the same force at ll. 221-22 and ll. 385-392.

63. Maynard Mack, "On Reading Pope," *College English*, VII (1946), 265 ff. and Williams, pp. 137, 140, have treated fully Pope's semi-magical oaks. Such metaphoric oaks are used often in peace and plenty poetry to suggest how English shipping has enclosed the earth. See Marvell's *The First Anniversary of the Government Under My Lord Protector*, ll. 349-375, where "A fleet of worlds, of other worlds in quest" is described. See also in Marvell, "The Mower Against Gardens," ll. 17-18 and *Last Instructions to a Painter*, ll. 667-674.

64. Williams, p. 140.

65. Cf. Cooper's *Hill*, l. 180 in the Thames passage. Note how Denham refers to a mythic present, Pope to an even grander mythic future.

66. Williams, p. 144.


Three

of the Modern Language Association of America, XLI (1926).

2. This image, the figure of want in the midst of abundance, is found often in Pope's later poetry.


7. Ibid., 420.

8. Ibid., 427 and passim.

9. Pope thus emphatically denied what so many Protestants were asserting in his day, that "practical success is at once the sign and the reward of ethical superiority." R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York, 1926), p. 221.


11. Cf. the end of Paradise Lost, XI, and the account of the flood and its aftermath in Genesis.


14. Ibid., p. 170. "Hobby-horse" is a reference to Sterne; Wasserman feels that the "disintegration" he is speaking of is symbolized by the world of Tristram Shandy.


16. Ibid., p. 171.


19. Lear, op. cit., pp. 168-69. Lear's essay was particularly helpful on the idea of universal history.

20. See Aubrey Williams, Pope's Dunciad (Baton Rouge, 1955), pp. 42-48. It occurs to me that the different evaluations of the progress convention that one finds in Williams and in R. H. Griffith, op. cit., can be partly accounted for by the view of history each happens to emphasize. Williams is appropriately concerned with a "most traditional view of history," that conception of history which is important to the understanding of Milton, Dryden, and Pope. Griffith, on the other hand, is thinking of those modern theories of history that displaced the older view. Still Griffith's claim that Lansdowne's "Progress of Beauty" (1701) is the "earliest true exemplar of the type" is difficult to accept when an earlier poem like Denham's "Progress of Learning" exists; see Williams's use of the idea of translatio studii in connection with Denham's poem.
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