TENANTS AT WILL:
THE COUNTRY-HOUSE ETHOS AS A UNIFYING MOTIF IN WORKS THAT DEAL WITH BOTH PERSONAL RETREAT AND NATIONAL EXPANSION IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1688-1750

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This study explores the themes of individual retreat and national expansion where they occur in the same work. The two themes are frequently linked and their apparently contradictory moods are so nearly juxtaposed in carefully constructed poems like Windsor Forest and The Seasons that there seems to be a case for investigating the relationship between them. The terms for the themes are rather vague and need to be defined. Individual retreat is used to classify all kinds of withdrawal from the world of affairs into some form of personal self-sufficiency; sometimes this is merely as the solitary observer of the passing world but more often it is retirement to some kind of Horatian refuge in the country. National expansion is an even vaguer term because it covers both the personal and the national urge to extend the sphere of influence or experience beyond the confines of Europe. In the individual this may be expressed in exploration, travel, commerce or migration, while the nation is conceived as enlarging its influence by commerce and the planting of colonies.

Common assumptions about the proper use of man's spiritual and material inheritance can be identified as shaping literary attitudes to these themes. Since similar views about society are explicitly recorded in the group of country-house poems written just before the Civil War these provide a concise point of reference. This is especially relevant as the period under consideration begins with the year 1638 when, the constitutional upheaval having been settled, the full force of the economic and social changes that had been the fuel of the explosion demanded that intellectual movements should reaffirm the essential continuity of experience. Moreover, this was set against the background of a rising volume of trade that revealed, through the very materials of everyday life, the wider frame of reference within which men must now live.
Whether the country-house ethos ever governed the behaviour of more than a handful of landlords is very doubtful, and it is certain that when Ben Jonson wrote 'To Penshurst' he was already memorializing a golden age. The concrete image of the lord's traditional manorial housekeeping was, however, a powerful conservative symbol through which to interpret the new age. Its use as an image, or allusion to the constellation of images that constitute this conservative ideal of society, persists well into the later eighteenth century, but this study is confined to the years 1688 to 1750 when the model can easily be seen responding to social, political and economic changes. Up to about 1714 the lines are not clearly drawn but retreat is obviously a reaction, a withdrawal from the city and all that it stands for; awe before the possibilities for power opened up by the use of the world's riches through commerce is the dominant literary response to expansion. Works for this section are numerous and mainly either minor or fragmentary but they include Addison's and Steele's essays and Pope's early poems as well as Mandeville, Prior, Ambrose Philips, Disraeli and Lady Winchilsea. The publication of Robinson Crusoe introduces a succession of much more complex treatments of the two themes. Throughout the twenties the solitary wanderer searches for a way to interpret his role as tenant of the earth in Defoe's novels and Gulliver's Travels, as well as in minor works; even in The Seasons Thomson's persona is a kind of wanderer. The subjectivity of the twenties is followed, however, by the acute social conscience of the next two decades. Thomson's changes to The Seasons reflect this shift, and both Liberty and The Castle of Indolence are the result of his interest in public affairs as a member of Bolingbroke's opposition coterie. This is also the period of Pope's satires and the Essay on Man.

Inevitably, this study is related to interpretations of political, economic and social events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its intention is to consider the nuances of the literature that evolved from the tension between the two themes and their ground in reality.
This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, no material previously published or written by any other person except where duly acknowledged in the text or notes.
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AN EXPLANATORY NOTE ON THE TITLE

In using the term 'tenants at will' as the title for this study I am taking some liberties with a legal term that derives from the feudal courts; it is a vague definition of a kind of tenancy described by Tawney as qualified by negative conditions and as distinct from the normal copyholding:

Others are held without a documentary title, and are often said to be occupied at the will of the lord, or at the pleasure of the lord, or by grant or permission of the lord or of the court, their essential feature being that the tenant does not possess any instrument recording the transaction, but has, if necessary, to appeal to the records of the court or even to its mere memory (The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century, p. 47).

The concept of holding in possession at the pleasure of a higher authority summarizes the attitudes to life and the world being discussed in the following pages. A term was needed which would cover the sense of the contingency of existence, the enjoyment of temporary use without any title or rights and the notion of accountability. In applying the phrase to the facets of human experience considered here my case rests on precedent: its use in relation to man's estate as an individual was initiated by Cowley in his essay 'Of Liberty': 'Now for our time, the same God, to whom we are but tenants-at-will for the whole, requires but the 7th part to be paid to him as a small quit-rent in acknowledgement of his title'; and Robinson Crusoe linked it with the idea of sovereignty when he told the Muscovite prince 'that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my subjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will' (II, 303-4).
INTRODUCTION
1 THE COUNTRY-HOUSE ETHOS

There often occurs in the literature of the early eighteenth century a conjunction of two ideas, seemingly contradictory, but yet each treated with such respect in the same work that one is compelled to take stock of the author's attitudes and one's own responses. The security of country retreats and the excitement of overseas adventure seem to be antipathetic themes, and it is easy to dismiss as patriotic opportunism the yoking of praise of the contemplative life with the potential for glorious peace-making which the wealth of British bottoms at anchor in the Thames represents to Pope's poetic fancy in *Windsor Forest*. Similarly, the exigencies of the satire or the whimsy of Gulliver's vanity may obscure the loneliness of the experiences recorded in his traveller's tales: the tradition of romance and contemporary fascination with desert islands may explain the irony of Crusoe's solitary, empire-building retirement abroad: the obtrusiveness of the epic style may quell the argumentative reader who finds the heroic simile insufficient explanation for the expansive descriptions by Thomson's retired protagonist in *The Seasons*. While these are sufficient and valid explanations, and useful to an understanding of the works in question, further reasons can be detected at other levels. There is sound Virgilian precedent for the juxtaposition of opposites, as, for instance, of personal retirement and national expansion; Virgil was attractive and relevant to people of a period in which political order seemed within sight after years of civil strife. The close association of the themes may also be justified as an attempt to understand the nature of the macrocosm through an analysis of the microcosm:

The Body of an Animal is an Object adequate to our Senses. It is a particular System of Providence, that lies in a narrow Compass. The Eye is able to command it, and by successive Enquiries can search into all its Parts. Cou'd the Body of the whole Earth, or indeed the whole Universe, be thus submitted to the Examination of our Senses, were it not too big and disproportioned for our Enquiries,

too unwieldy for the Management of the Eye and Hand, there is no Question but it would appear to us as curious and well-contrived a Frame as that of an human Body. We should see the same Concatenation and Subserviency, the same Necessity and Usefulness, the same Beauty and Harmony in all and every of its Parts, as what we discover in the Body of every single Animal.

The more extended our Reason is, and the more able to grapple with immense Objects, the greater still are those Discoveries which it makes of Wisdom and Providence in the Work of the Creation. A Sir Isaac Newton, who stands up as the Miracle of the present Age, can look through a whole Planetary System; consider it in its Weight, Number, and Measure; and draw from it as many Demonstrations of infinite Power and Wisdom, as a more confined Understanding is able to deduce from the System of an Human Body.  

As a mode of thought the analogy is an echo from the years when disturbing discoveries about the extent of the world were only just being made and the individual was still trapped within the rigid structures of church and feudal society. Michel Foucault argues that analogy confines the multiplicity of connexions that are made possible in the medieval reliance on similitude as a method of organizing knowledge.  

It is interesting, then, to see Addison using analogy in an attempt to accommodate the infinitude of possibilities opened up by Newton. Copernican cosmology had shifted man from his pivotal place in the universe and Newtonian optics had put him back again at the centre of his perceived world even while Newton confirmed the Copernican revolution; now the mind was no longer just a kingdom but a whole universe to be discovered, just as the physical world demanded exploration. Addison uses the analogy of the body because he recognizes the mind's need for mediation when it is challenged by Newtonian revelations and because he is a writer at the beginning of the modern age when words and things no longer share a network of associations owing to the fundamental change in man's thinking which T. S. Eliot called the dissociation of sensibility.  

The poet heals the breach: the poet is he who, beneath the named, constantly expected differences, rediscovers the buried kinships between things, their scattered resemblances. Beneath the

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established signs, and in spite of them, he hears another, deeper, discourse, which recalls the time when words glittered in the universal resemblance of things: in the language of the poet, the Sovereignty of the Same, so difficult to express, eclipses the distinction existing between signs. At this time, with the existence of an increasing number of things being impressed on the consciousness of Western man there seemed to be an urgent need to impose artistic order on the chaos of experience.

To cope with the problem of the immanence of chaos and the loss of 'fixities and definites' early eighteenth-century thinkers postulated a concept of order and use which was relevant not only to the island of Britain but could also be expanded to take the whole world into account. All the better if by this means it could place the individual in relation to society and the cosmos, at least at the physical level; Christianity still generally served on the spiritual plane. This study suggests that in the body of works under consideration there is a coherent constellation of images grouped around the idea of the country estate, and it is used to bring form to indiscriminate masses of experience. The final lines of Part IV of Thomson's Liberty (1736) are relatively brief yet they emphasize the positive model and the forces against which it is opposed. Liberty is finishing her description of her triumphant reign in Britain; these lines reiterate, but more concisely, the vision which has been central to her description of the country under her influence:

'And now behold! exalted as the cope
That swells immense o'er many-peopled earth,
And like it free, my fabric stands complete,
The palace of the laws. To the four heavens
Four gates impartial thrown, unceasing crowds,
With kings themselves the hearty peasant mixed,
Pour urgent in. And though to different ranks
Responsive place belongs, yet equal spreads
The sheltering roof o'er all; while plenty flows,'

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5Foucault, p.49.

6In An Argument of Images (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), Patricia Spacks asserts that the question of control was 'a problem crucial to the thought of the early eighteenth century'(p.2); 'Possibilities of control always combat the incipience of chaos, this being the central drama of existence'(p.3).

Isaac Kramnick is referring to the uncertain economic conditions of the small landowner or trader when he says that 'it is no accident that the Augustan satirists were so fascinated with the relativity of size; their daily experience made this an ever-present concern'. (Polingbroke and his Circle, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, p.73.)
And glad contentment echoes round the whole.  
Ye floods, descend! Ye winds, confirming, blow!  
Nor outward tempest, nor corrosive time,  
Nought but the felon undermining hand  
Of dark corruption, can its frame dissolve,  
And lay the toil of ages in the dust.'  

Here the abstraction, the operation of liberty, is, through the agency of its personification in the Goddess, given some substance in the airy evocation of her 'palace of the laws'. There is obviously intended here in the echo of the new Jerusalem (Revelations 21) a tactful hint to George II, a model for the Prince of Wales, and a lightly-veiled reference to the threat which Walpole was thought to pose to all that had been gained by the Revolution. To make this point Thomson uses the image of the palace or great house, which during the past century had focussed and reinforced a group of associated ideas that are invoked consistently in the five parts of Liberty. Here, in the gates open to all comers, is 'the worn Threshold, Porch, Hall, Parlour, Kitchen'8 of the seventeenth-century country-house poem.9 The grandeur of this palace lies not in its 'fabric' but in the warmth of the impartial welcome extended to all guests where, although rank is maintained, the rooftree can accommodate all degrees with equal readiness, as in the 'ancient pile', Penshurst.10 The great size of Liberty's imaginary palace, together with its ability to embrace any number of inmates, seems to echo Marvell's metaphysical reconciliation of the smallness of Appleton House with the largeness of Lord Fairfax's spirit, so that 'where he comes, the swelling Hall/ Stirs, and the Square grows Spherical' (vii,51-2).11  

Liberty can safely call on the elements to try the strength of  

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7 James Thomson, Poetical Works, ed. J. L. Robertson (London, 1908). This is the text of his poems used throughout this study.  
her structure as they will. Like Penshurst, which was 'rear'd with no mans ruine, no mans gnore'(1.46), her 'palace of the laws' is not built for self-aggrandisement or exploitation of men and land, but is the node of the community which it serves; in 'To Penshurst' this is an inference justified by the benevolence of the generation of Sidneys at present in tenancy of the ancient house.12 Its sturdy walls can withstand temporal shocks because they are built for strength to endure alike attackers and the passing years, unlike the buildings of Wren and his imitators, which seem to demonstrate rather the ingenuity of the architect and the wealth to support the artistic leanings of the patron than the sense of the social purpose which justifies the building of a large house. 'There's none, that dwell about them, wish them downe'(1.47) might apply equally to the walls of Penshurst and the palace of the laws. Just as Penshurst is made invincible by the confirmed love and service of all orders of the creation because the society of the estate, under the stewardship of so virtuous a lord, is a model of the ideal, so Liberty's edifice is invincible against all but the dissolution of its moral integrity by 'the felon undermining hand/Of dark corruption'.

Both Penshurst and the palace of the laws are the centres of a communal life, of which the value lies in the maintenance of good order and the fitting use of the world's abundance. These are functions of 'proprietorship', a clumsy word which could be replaced, with some loss of accuracy, by 'land-holding'; 'ownership' is unsatisfactory because by implying possession it concentrates on the material aspect of the landlord's stewardship of all that is given into his care during his lifetime. An appropriate word would convey the idea that "the estate is not a possession, but something given in trust to be used for one's own good and for that of others, ...like life itself, like 'man's estate'".13 The fragility of the family line together with the role of the head of the great house in subsuming the village into his own

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12Statistics show that, although the house had continuity, families had frequently very brief careers. See P. Laslett, The World we have lost (London, 1971), pp.7-8 and passim.

identity make both the brevity and quality of the tenancy of the estate essential to the concept of the lord. ¹⁴ Laslett comments on the 'unending struggle to manufacture continuity' and Aubrey's inflated report of the greatness of the Herbert household: 'All this illustrates the symbolic function of the aristocratic family in a society of families.... They were there to defy the limitation on size, and to raise up a line which should remain for ever'(p.9). Aubrey's biographical puffing is akin to the poetic licence by which poets spurn reality so that they can make an imaginative leap to the ideal. The poets are saying that it is virtue, not property, which gives a landlord power among his tenants and in national councils. Anyone of modest wealth could own land and exercise some influence over Parliament, but the virtuous lord of the country-house panegyrics is a distillation of good men's aspirations towards a good society since time immemorial; it is a mores that attaches to neither time nor place, but it is always at home in literature.

The cluster of ideas about the moral and social responsibility of maintaining the estate on traditional lines found new favour during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because all the bases upon which it was founded seemed, more than ever, to be in process of change. A product of the changes was the power invested in Walpole who, although bred in the old ways, represented in his career the triumph of the new. ¹⁵ During the twenty-one years of his ascendancy, government became more centralized in the ministry and Walpole assumed the role of consistent leader of the ministry. To his political opponents, at least, his leadership seemed to confirm the shift of power to city interests, with a proportional decline in the political significance of the country gentleman. ¹⁶ Walpole's skill in exploiting socially divisive party politics and personal rivalry and his management of the throne helped him to maintain the premiership. In his early days in London the Whig alignment was fostered by meetings of the Kit Kat Club;

¹⁴ Laslett, The World we have lost, pp.20-21.


the conspicuous consumption practised among its wealthy members could be seen as the antithesis of the ideally unpremeditated hospitality of the country lords and yeomen, although as a means to political or social advancement calculated hospitality was of ancient standing. Walpole's ingenuity in handling men was matched by his dexterity in financial affairs, a skill which first gave him pre-eminence among his peers. The South Sea Bubble was the occasion of the most spectacular demonstration of his mastery over the fickle changes of public credit, and a symbol of the new age which had been long developing but was now more plainly to be seen in the perpetuation of the national debt in spite of Walpole's promise to reduce it.

The increasingly overt use of credit in the conduct of the national business could be seen as undermining the moral value attaching to land. In the eighteenth century the produce of the land was still deeply respected as a tangible basis of trade and industry and consequently the foundation of the national wealth and culture. In a fundamentally agrarian society a man's status might depend on his job but a community of interest was understood to link members of the social and productive hierarchy and to breed mutual respect. The eighteenth century, however, as a result of agrarian and industrial development, saw an acceleration of the growth of cities. The greater incidence of


19The ascendancy of agriculture was beginning to be undermined, hence possibly the need for statements like these: 'Agriculture is the foundation of manufacture...,' E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1906), I, 53; '...agriculture..., Fair Queen of Arts!', Thomson, *The Castle of Indolence*, II, xix.
all social conditions among a more concentrated population seemed to throw a new light on the reality of the social structure; poverty, for instance, is easier for the observer to ignore or romanticize among trees and fields than in the stench of slums. In the city one saw a large population divorced from the land and totally dependent on the cash nexus; if their earning ability failed them, whatever the reason, there was no recourse. C. B. Macpherson calls this a possessive market society, which 'implies that where labour has become a market commodity, market relations so shape or permeate all social relations that it may properly be called a market society, not merely a market economy'.

When people sense that they are being subjected to rapid change they consciously begin to reassess their relationships and responses to the world about them. Accordingly, seventeenth-century philosophical thought had been much preoccupied with the relationship of man, property and commonwealth. This was complicated by disagreement about the authority of the sovereign, who was in practice the representative of the commonwealth. There was greater unanimity about the importance of property with use as the determinant of proprietorship. 'The introduction of propriety is an effect of commonwealth' says Hobbes, who is typical of his age in attaching proprietary significance to the individual; this can be inferred from his choice of words when he states that 'a man's labour also, is a commodity exchangeable for benefit, as well as any other thing'.

In The Second Treatise of Civil Government, after Locke has defined the just bounds of a man's right to property or wealth in terms of the perishable produce of the land, he makes a pragmatic exception in favour of the accumulation of wealth in the money economy of civil societies which, 'by fancy or agreement', have accorded value to certain metals and precious stones. Here the individual 'might heap up as much of these durable things as he pleased; the exceeding of the bounds of his just Property not lying in the largeness of his Possession, but the perishing of any thing uselessly in it'. Sir James Harrington was a landowner who organized republican notions into a political romance, The Commonwealth of


Oceana (1656). This fictional political economy was influential in the eighteenth century; 'neo-Harringtonians' wrote nostalgically of a dreamtime of 'Gothic' government when England was 'a freeholder's commonwealth in which every man owned the means of his independence and fought for his own liberty'. Yet the gap between historical fact and nostalgia for a mythical past may be explained by an irony which crops up again and again, not only in political pamphlets but in the literature of the period: 'most of these idealizers of property and independence were coffeehouse intellectuals living by their wits'. Even Bolingbroke, although he had been given power and had wielded it without principle, had been debarred from office forever by the time he turned to political journalism in this vein.

Bolingbroke believed he had lost his political gamble for power by his championship of the peace scheme in the parleying at Utrecht. At that time England seemed at last to have contained the influence of her commercial rivals, and although it was many years before she went to war again to justify her mercantile interests, William's and Anne's wars had confirmed a pattern which had been long developing, but now became more and more significant to the life and the institutions of the British Isles. Credit is an ancient device and time-honoured maker and breaker of fortunes, but the wars culminating in the Treaty of Utrecht move credit into the fiscal structure of the nation. New methods of handling credit were devised to meet the contingencies of vast armies kept overseas for long periods, but although much ingenuity was exercised the operation of credit was not fully understood and this created the conditions for the abuses of the notorious South Sea Bubble. The formation of the Bank of England and the operation of the South Sea Company as adjuncts to government policy in the handling of the national debt strengthened the influence of the City on the government and the monarchy, and when one considers that Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough


24 Pocock, ibid, 576.

contributed more money to the formation of the Bank of England than did her mistress, the Queen, political power struggles can be seen in another dimension.

To Tories like Swift the interests of leaders of business in the City, especially the Directors of the Bank, seemed to be served by a continuation of the war and the accumulation of a greater national debt which would eventually have to be paid out of the pockets of the country interest, who opposed the war because it taxed their incomes although it was waged in the interests of trade in which they did not care to participate. This divergence of interest weighs heavily in the country gentleman's view of his resistance to the concept of the standing army. More fundamental -- and this is borne out in contemporary writings by the prevalence of the link between property and sovereignty -- is the resentment which the country gentleman feels at the threat to his traditional independence as a proprietor if the militia is replaced by the standing army and he loses the prestige and real power of control over the only agency of law enforcement. Hence also his fervent assertion of his ancient right and duty of bearing arms in defence of his beliefs or his soil, and his opposition to the extension of the government's authority to impose excise. There is another aspect of the problem: Sir James Harrington seems to have been gifted with foresight when he vigorously declaimed: 'an army is a beast that has a great belly, and must be fed: wherefore this will come to what pastures you have, and what pastures you have will come to the balance of property'. A militia is an army dispersed, except in time of immediate emergency, when all can for a time provide its pasturage; but Marlborough's standing army was pastured on credit. Since credit is fluid Harrington's proposition is inverted because pasture can be provided readily by means of credit in the hands of a competent manipulator. If the merchant makes a profit from that transaction he may then become the proprietor of a wide spread of English pasture. This novel situation inevitably appears to strengthen the plutocracy; with his sense of independence eroded by the loss of his military influence the country

26 J. Ewing, 'The Constitution and the Empire', ch. XXI in Cambridge History of the British Empire, I (Cambridge, 1929), 607, comments that 'only an Englishman could have elevated property... to the dignity of a natural law'.

gentleman's only recourse was his dissentient voice in the House.

The contemporary debate on the nature of property and commonwealth is reflected in Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst'. This first of the English country-house panegyrics, composed after the style of the classical models of Horace and Martial, itself found many imitators, and that is evidence that it was seen as an appropriate expression of the ideal estate of man. It is not merely a description of the good life of one numerically minute class of men: its connotations extend, in one direction, to compass the humanistic revival of the classical view that man is master of himself, and in the other direction the theme becomes a metaphor for the state. Charles Molesworth has summed up these aspects; while allowing that the genre affirms rural values as superior to those of the city, he recognizes further implications:

The country-house poem is not really involved in the court-or-country dispute; indeed, most of the activity described as occurring in the country-house is of a very courtly nature. (The king himself comes to visit Penshurst in Jonson's poem.) What looms large in the country-house poem is the man-made structure itself -- that is, the house as the perfected embodiment of a virtuous man.  

Since the country-house poem has come under relatively intense scrutiny in the past few years, it only remains to extract, for purposes of the argument here, an outline of the values which are the foundation of the ideal country house. Jonson's 'To Penshurst' has received most critical attention as the first and best of this line of poems, so the light of analysis will turn here on Carew's verse-letter 'To my friend G. N., from Wrest.' This is undoubtedly, with the exception of the idiosyncratic 'Upon Appleton House', the most interesting of the imitations of Jonson. In the poem the quality that earns the most obvious praise is 'use', both through repetition of the word itself and its realization in examples. Wrest is a 'Mansion with an usefull come-linesse' (1.20), 'not fine,/But fit for service' (11.56-7). Here man has employed all that nature has to offer, without waste by either


29Since G. R. Hibbard's article there has been a succession of books and articles dealing with this theme. There seems to be agreement that the poems are mainly about use.

neglect or accumulation in vain display:

    Amalthea's Horne
    Of plentie is not in Effigie worene
    Without the gate, but she within the dore
    Empties her free and unexhausted store.
    Nor, crownd with wheaten wreathes, doth Ceres stand
    In stone, with a crook'd sickle in her hand:
    Nor, on a Marble Tunne, his face besmeard
    With grapes, is curl'd, uncizard Bacchus rear'd.
    We offer not in Emblemes to the eyes,
    But to the taste those usefull Deities.
    Wee press the juycie God and quaffe his blood,
    And grinde the Yeallow Goddesse into food.

    (11.57-60)

Throughout the poem Carew plays, as here, upon the disparity of appearance and reality, and the distinction turns upon use. The frugal way of skilfully assisting nature and garnering the harvest is a bountiful life, the sound, ever-replenished source of generous hospitality. Grander mansions are lavishly embellished with statues declaring plenty without and coldly peopled by statues within, but the de Greys 'delight/Rather to be in act, than seeme in sight' (11.31-2). This echoes Jonson's fine closing words of 'To Penshurst': 'but thy Lord dwells'; it may also be considered as a declaration of the lord's independence.

The description of bounteous hospitality dispensed by the de Greys is marked by the observation of order and degree. This fitness in all things nostalgically recreates an ideal time when each man was secure in his social estate and did not covet another's place and privilege; the fear of democratic levelling, which social mobility induces in all who have a foot on any but the first rung of the ladder of preferment, is kept firmly at bay by Carew's pleasant description of mutual respect and open discrimination practised according to the different ranks.31

This lord's whole-hearted fulfilment of his role ensures that friends, servants, tenants, and clients, are bound to him by genuine ties which maintain his independence as no band of paid retainers could; and a

31The social desirability of knowing one's place and using it in the service of society is formally acknowledged by its inclusion in the answer on doing one's duty to one's neighbour in the Catechism in The Book of Common Prayer: 'My duty towards my Neighbour, is...: To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters: To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters:...lot to covet nor desire other mens goods: but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me.'
kind of sacrament representing the interdependence between members of this small society is celebrated in the generous hospitality of the hall where Ceres and Bacchus are consumed:

Where, at large Tables fill'd with wholesome meates
The servant, Tennant, and kind neighbour eates.
Some of that ranke, spun of a finer thred
Are with the Women, Steward, and Chaplain fed
With daintier eates; Others of better note
Whom wealth, parts, office or the Heralds coate
Have sever'd from the common, freely sit
At the Lords Table, whose spread sides admit
A large accesse of friends, to fill those seates
Of his capacious circle, fill'd with meates
Of choycest relish, till his Oaken back
Vnder the load of pil'd-up dishes crack.

(11.35-46)

A long list could be compiled showing the qualities with which poets endow the ideal incumbents of the perfect estate, but one can summarize them under three main headings which characterize the role of lordship and the function of the estate: these are independence, frugality, and generosity. The lord of the country estate is usually supposed to enjoy personal liberty, relative material self-sufficiency, and resistance to the temptations of the ambition to aspire to empty grandeur at Court; together with these qualities his reliance on the wealth of land, rather than of commerce, proclaims his independence and guarantees his influence in the land. He lives, moreover, in the simple, pious ways hallowed by tradition as conducing to the proper attitude of a man to God and his inherited land: so there is no luxury, nor is waste condoned in an economy that employs art to put nature's bounty to use in the service of man. This elementary economy can be labelled 'simplicity', but it is more descriptively styled 'frugality'; the practice of frugality conduces to independence, and both are the basis of the third quality, generosity. There is, in fact, no sharp dividing line between all the characteristics which are here being rather arbitrarily categorized, yet the three terms which finally emerge -- independence, frugality, and generosity -- have each enough resonance to reproduce collectively a rough sketch of the way of life which they signify. Housekeeping, which produces the greatest number of ripples of

32 In Marvell's Pastoral Art (London, 1970), p.210, Donald M. Friedman refers to simplicity as 'the ultimate value in manners, artistic style, even in eating and drinking'.
association, is the outward and visible evidence of generosity, but the generous man is also usually noted as being courteous, a sign that he yields all men their due respect. It will be noted that these are attributes not only of the lordly tenant of his father's lands, but of God (at least as he is manifested in the processes of the material world), and the English gentleman.

The last forty lines of Carew's poem describe the land at Wreast and set the estate in its context. Jonson's panegyrics, both 'To Penshurst' and 'To Sir Robert Wroth', mention the lord's relationship with the lord of a larger unit, the king, and with their joint overlord, God. Carew takes good care to fix Wreast within a hierarchy of social units, but, in keeping with his style throughout, maintains a classical stance of Epicureanism reinforced by pagan associations. The de Greys are in the vanguard of the agricultural revolution as their extensive irrigation bears witness. The 'spacious channels' twice encircle 'This Island Mansion' so that while it is itself like an image of the sphere-encircled Ptolemaic world, its sluggish waters reflect the starry constellations of those crystal spheres. The metaphysical excursion serves to give point to his Epicureanism: the stars, unlike men, cannot use the water for either comfort or increase. Within the charmed circle of the ordered fertility of Wreast is the orchard,

...whose extended boughs in equall rankes
Yield fruit, and shade, and beautie to the bankes.
On this side young Vertumnus sits, and courts
His ruddle-cheek'd Pomona: Zephre sports
On th' other, with lov'd Flora, yielding there
Sweetes for the smell, sweetes for the palate here.

(11.91-96)

So at Wreast the influence of good husbandry extends beyond the bounds of its cultivated lands to where Zephyr sports with Flora, because its redirected waters improve an already abundant wilderness (11.9-18). It is also interesting that Vertumnus, who pays court in the orchard, is the god of commerce as well as of the changing seasons, a gentle reminder that agricultural products find their way to the marketplace. While demonstrating the relativity of this microcosmic society to the larger societies of nation and universe, Carew's emphasis on the self-containment of the 'Island Mansion' where the water-livers 'Disport, and wander freely where they please/Within the circuit of our narrow Seas'(11.87-8), serves as a metaphor of its lord's independence and an
example of the frugality of his good estate-management. Moreover, his generous hospitality, to be appreciated, needs no imported wines because of the excellence of his own water and beer (11.97-106).

The last four lines return full-circle to the initial contrast between his condition and that of his friend G.N., whom he has left in Scotland. From having at first compared their physical conditions Carew has now, apparently under the influence of the educative influence of the life at Wrast, an appreciation of the symbolism of its ordered society. G.N's hunting, 'th'embleme of warre', is viewed with the mild condescension of one who, though he respects the other's way of life, is satisfied that he has found a more rational way to pass his time in the world.

When Carew was writing this poem in 1639 he was voicing an ideal which one must assume was current among educated readers (including landholders) because of its classical origins. That it was paid more than lip-service in more than a few cases is doubtful, and the fact that poems are written in praise of its practice confirms rather than contradicts this assumption since praise is rarely lavished on the commonplace. Wrast, like Penshurst, Durance, Saxham, Chatsworth, Clifford Chambers, and others, was the subject of a panegyric in praise of the owner. The reality upon which the structure of such poems has been built must have been far more prosaic than the ideal projections of the poets. Concrete details can be documented with considerable reliability, and surviving household accounts record facts at variance with the ideal. Home farms were not often productive and a wide spread of estates, given the condition of the roads, was even in the eighteenth century no guarantee of 'unbought cates' on the table;33 as the main source of a landowner's wealth was his tenants' rent, he was, as indeed he had been since the remission of feudal dues, essentially just as much a rentier as the owner of city tenements. The household was also set on a business footing. The dowry was not the only financial reification of social or familial ties: members of the immediate family—the owner's mother and siblings -- were charged board, even if they

33The home farm derives from the period 1710 - 1730 according to H. J. Habakkuk, 'English Landownership, 1660 - 1740', Economic History Review, X, 1 (1940), 5-6.
were only making a visit.\(^{34}\)

Overriding these practical objections to the validity of the concept that the real value of land outweighs the value of money, is the ancient mystique of the sanctification of land through inheritance, use by the present generation, and transmission to future unborn generations.\(^{35}\) The conception of interest shared in land by a community of the dead, the living and the unborn encourages the feeling that the living incumbent is merely a tenant. This attitude was embodied in the development of entail which ensured that the idiosyncrasies or misfortunes of one generation of the line should not jeopardise the continuity of the estate. Inheritance of the use of the estate for one's lifetime also incurred social responsibilities; although these were comparable at their lowest level of fulfilment with the practices of the worst city rentiers, they opened opportunities for the exercise of power and paternalistic enterprise, mainly through the magistracy and estate development.

The estate and its idealized function is a concept which persists, gaining its first popularity as a literary image in the days of James I when there developed another surge of resentment that the growth of the nouveaux riches seemed to threaten the power of the traditional gentry. In the eighteenth century it becomes, in the hands of Whigs, quite as much as of Tories, a talisman or touchstone by which to order perceptions of man and the world, of Earth opening before the skill of the navigator and the enterprise of the merchant who bargains with strange peoples, but where a man is still as subject to the revolutions of fortune's wheel as he had been before the enunciation of Newtonian physics.\(^{36}\)

To use an image from the past as a touchstone is a conservative

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\(^{35}\) Sir Lewis Namier in *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, 2nd ed. (London, 1966), p.20, maintains that of blood, name and estate, estate is 'the most potent factor in securing continuity through identification'.

\(^{36}\) A. W. Duckworth, *The Improvement of the Estate* (Baltimore, 1971), p.21, sees in the nineteenth-century novel much the same reaction to similar conditions.
Carl Mannheim calls a group of ideas such as those associated with the country house 'a dynamic, historical structural configuration'. It is a concept implying a type of objectivity which begins in time, develops and declines through time, which is closely bound up with the existence and fate of concrete human groups, and is in fact their product. It is nevertheless a truly 'objective' mental structure because...it always maintains its own definite form--its structure. And although at any given moment such an objective mental structure may show the existence of some ordering principle in the way in which the experiences and elements of which it is composed are related, it must on no account be regarded as 'static'. The particular form and structure of these related experiences and elements can be indicated only approximately and only for certain periods, since the structure is dynamic and constantly changing. Moreover, it is not merely dynamic, but also historically conditioned. ...Thus we can speak of a growth, of a development. It is a development the inner meaning of which, however, can only subsequently be grasped.

In this case Professor Mannheim is applying his theory to the Romantic Movement as a whole, but it also serves as a description of the metamorphoses of the country-house ideal. The constellation of ideas organised around the dynamic, historical structural configuration of the country estate can be conveniently labelled the 'country-house ethos'. The inference may also be drawn for eighteenth-century literature that reference to values such as those which have here been loosely called independence, frugality, and generosity, is in fact a metonymical association of ideas familiar from both folklore and literature.

Professor Arthur Lovejoy uses a more elegant, but equally recondite term when he coins the phrase 'metaphysical pathos' for any characterization of the world to which one belongs, in terms which, like the words of a poem, awaken through their associations, and through a sort of empathy which they engender, a congenial mood or tone of feeling on the part of the philosopher or his readers....[and] Voluminous emotional reverberations, of one or another sort, are aroused in the reader without the intervention of any definite imagery.

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Although Lovejoy's phrase applies primarily to philosophical theory, his is a pithy way of defining the stock response aroused by a word or phrase when, after the freshness of its use has worn off, a once-powerful image is evoked as if it were in passing. In such cases, as in many eighteenth-century references to the country-house ethos, the device cannot necessarily be called metaphorical but could be more descriptively classed as metaphysical pathos.

The accretions of emotional response to the idea of the country house led to its being pervasively used in the early eighteenth century: 'To my friend G. N., from Wren', 'To Penshurst' and other poems of the same genre have been shown, both here and elsewhere, to be models of the good society. The image then undergoes a type of fossilization from the pressure of historical forces and the heat of moral and political uncertainty which overtook Britons in the second half of the seventeenth century. Isabel Rivers has noted that the country-house ideal is not necessarily limited to the estate: 'Basically...the conflict is between a positive and escapist use of the image, between what can be called the imperial idea and retirement'. During the seventeenth century this conflict had been applied mainly to the disparity of moral tone between country and city, but after 1668 the resolution of the fundamental political uncertainties which had bedevilled the middle years of the seventeenth century extended the axis of the debate on the relative merits of contemplation and action to the rest of the world, so that the emotional tug-of-war was rather between cultivation of self and international cultural mediation through trade.

The basic conflict, and the wish to resolve it, is simply stated by Izaak Walton when he tells Venator 'that in ancient times a debate hath risen (and it remains yet unresolved) Whether the happiness of man in this world doth consist more in Contemplation or action?' and he later explains 'that both these meet together, and do most properly belong to the most honest, ingenuous, quiet, and harmless art of Angling'. The same question, in all its ramifications and complexities, is considered at length in Marvell's country-house panegyrlic 'Upon Appleton House'; although Lord Fairfax's retirement

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from the affairs of the Civil War to Nun Appleton is the occasion of
the poem, it also questions the value of religious retreat, explores
Marvell's role in that backwater at a time of civil strife, and defines
the utility of Mary Fairfax's youth being spent in such surroundings.
'Upon Appleton House' is a complex entertainment, a play upon the
disparity of appearance and reality enjoyed along a multiplicity of
lines of sight, rather like the compromise of a cartographer's
projection of the sphere onto a plane surface.

In this poem Marvell is consistently ironic, a process which is
reinforced by following several lines of thought at once. The reader
accepts the superiority of Fairfax's use of the site because the poet
has convincingly depicted the fraudulent sterility of the convent
where 'Though many a Nun there made her Vow,' 'Twas no Religious House
till now' (xxxv, 279-280). Yet Marvell also suggests that Lord
Fairfax is being dishonest in trying to recover a golden age in his
garden (xli - xlii) when in fact 'War all this doth over-grow; We
Ord'nance Plant and Powder sow' (xliii, 343-44); especially as, in
Marvell's view, Fairfax is the only one capable of making many 'Gardens
spring' again, instead of just his own lovely garden, which, with
superb metaphysical ambiguity, Marvell identifies on the one hand with
Fairfax's conscience and on the other with the command of the army.
Yet that well-ordered and subservient garden represents, as in 'To
Penshurst', the external evidence of the important fact, which the un-
pretentious house also attests, that a great house is less a matter of
architecture than of the kind of life lived by the family that makes
its home there. Marvell has made a digression of twenty three stanzas
(xii - xxxv) in description of the allurement of false retreat in the
nunnery in order to reinforce this evaluation of a building's worth.

The entire middle part of the poem (roughly, stanzas xlvii - lxxxi)
uses the country house as an occasion for transposing one's thoughts
to other levels on the great chain of being. 'Appleton House' is
preoccupied with the complex moral decisions demanded of its owner, who
is at the centre of public life during a civil war that its protagonists
justify by their opposing religious and political opinions. So the
poet draws an idiosyncratic picture of the Nun Appleton estate; its
organisation does not represent the same rational world in miniature as
Wrest does. This is consistent, since, if the country house is to be
taken as a microcosm of the state, it will also reflect the militarism
and conflict in the larger sphere. For this reason, not only is the
garden represented in terms of a fort, but the mowing scene is a masque, a potted-history of the hierarchically topsy-turvy England of the days of civil war.

Yet the sound values of the past, upheld in the isolation of the country estate, may eventually restore the health of the body politic. Whether retirement is a good means to this end, is however, to be doubted after Marvell has cast his amused eye over the mental attitudes of those in retreat. When Marvell himself retreats from the flooded fields to the wood he enjoys ringing the changes of contemplative retirement, in the first place as an 'easie Philosopher' (lxxi, 561), then reading 'in Natures mystick Book' (lxxxiii, 584), and then again, in an ironic echo of his reference to Cawood Castle, the seat of the proud Archbishop of York (xlvi), he becomes the mock-master of his little world, 'Like some great Prelate of the Grove' (lxxiv-lxxv). His light-hearted account of his imaginary retreat scans the possible ways of spending a period of retirement -- mild speculative observation of nature (lxxi-lxxxii), Hortulan saintliness (lxxxiii),41 and simple enjoyment of the sensuous pleasures of country relaxation, allied with the sense of imaginary dominance over the nature that surrounds him (lxxiv-lxxxv). The satisfaction that he derives from his retreat is an accurate estimation of the motive of retirement as far as it is usually revealed in seventeenth-century poems on that theme:

How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
These Trees have I incamp'd my Mind;
Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
Bends in some Tree its useless Dart;
And where the World no certain Shot
Can make, or me it toucheth not.
But I on it securely play,
And gaul its Horsemen all the Day. (lxxvii)

Marvell and his patron are seen attempting to eschew action, however equivocally, but Mary Fairfax, who is being nurtured quietly in the country, is in involuntary retirement. She is, however, an example of action since her virtue gives form to undisciplined nature:

'Tis She that to these Gardens gave
That wondrous Beauty which they have;
She streightness on the Woods bestows;
To Her the Meadow sweetness owes;
Nothing could make the River be
So Chrystal-pure but only She. (lxxxvii, 689-694)

41Maren-Sofie Røstvig's term: see The Happy Man (Oslo, 1954), 1, 160-181.
Stanzas lxxxvii and lxxxviii show Mary both providing the pattern and receiving tribute from nature. She is, after all, the heir, in whom property and virtue are synonymous: 'Goodness doth it self intail/On Females, if there went a Male' (lxxxvi, 727-8).

Here is, indeed, a fine dividing line between contemplation and action, that a young girl's mere existence in a potential role makes her like the keystone of an arch in which her presence gives a function to the individual voussoirs of the structure. This concept of man's role in nature shows the influence of the reverberations of Copernican cosmology. Amongst other conclusions to be drawn from Galileo's interpretation was that described by Collingwood as the realization that 'Qualitative distinctions, like those between colours, sounds, and so forth, have no place in the structure of the natural world but are modifications produced in us by the operation of determinate natural bodies on our sense organs'. 42 If nature is quantitative and it is man who gives it its qualitative aspects, then man, like God, transcends nature. In literature this concept culminated in the Romantic Movement, but in the meantime one can see it at work modifying the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century attitude to man and his relationship with the rest of created matter. Man was a curious phenomenon to be studied and compared in an attempt to understand his operation fully; he was no longer necessarily the passive victim of the changes of the wheel of fortune but was capable of positive action to modify the world about him, if only by changing his own attitudes and expectations of that world. In the search for information he 'turned to the whole world, including the past, as a repository of exotic human actions which delighted or surprised and promoted the cosmopolitan frame of mind in all pursuits'. 43

The philosophical uncertainties produced by the new cosmology were exacerbated by, as well as contributing to, the political turmoil which characterised the seventeenth century after 1642. The debate on the


nature of sovereignty and kingship, which culminated in the rapid succession of events and changes in the English monarchy, called into question more than the inviolability of the monarchical system because it shook the foundations of the received notions of the family, and hence of the very nature of society.\textsuperscript{44} The need to re-establish some certainties leads to a paradoxical attraction to the two spheres of life, contemplation and action: one cannot understand the true springs of human action while enslaved by the urge to be one of the 'great dealers in this world', yet one may learn much of the human condition by empirical observation of other societies and the mechanism of the world at large. Cowley's popular homiletic essays are representative of the mood of the seventeenth century. Their titles alone show the range of interest: 'of Liberty'; 'of Solitude'; 'of Obscurity'; 'of Agriculture'; 'the Garden'; 'of Greatness'; 'of Avarice'; 'The Dangers of an Honest Man in Much Company'; 'The Shortness of Life and Uncertainty of Riches'; 'the Danger of Procrastination'; 'of Myself'. Cowley summarizes his ideal of life in the essay 'of Agriculture', where he argues that:

\begin{quote}
a little ground will, without question, feed a little family, and the superfluities of life... must be supplied out of the superabundance of art and industry, or contemned by as great a degree of philosophy. 
\end{quote}

However the chief satisfaction of the husbandman is the satisfaction of looking round about him, and seeing nothing but the effects and improvements of his own art and diligence; to be always gathering of some fruits of it, and at the same time to behold others ripening, and others budding; to see all his fields and gardens covered with the beauteous creatures of his own industry; and to see, like God, that all his works are good.\textsuperscript{45}

In his most famous work, \textit{Cooper's Hill} (1642), Denham was attracted to retreat -- 'Oh happiness of sweet retir'd content! To be at once secure, and innocent' (11.37-8) but his theme was, like Pope's more than half a century later, Windsor Forest and the Thames, and as he follows the passage of Thames to the sea his pleasure in the pattern of

\textsuperscript{44}Sir Robert Filmer's \textit{Patriarcha} (1680) and Locke's \textit{Two Treatises of Government} are only the tip of the iceberg of the debate.

trade flowing in and out through the river is akin to that of Cowley's enjoyment of agriculture:

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 no thing, no place is strange,
While his fair bosom is the world's exchange.

(11.179-188)46

Thames, in its rural meandering to the city and the sea, inevitably rouses images of trade. But from the time of the Revolution onwards it was almost impossible to be anywhere in rural England and ignore a wider world. This was a period of the growth of capitalist farming, rapidly increasing trade, and the pursuit of trade wars.47

Although, as it was rendered in Denham's or Pope's verse, or in the confident rhetoric of Spectator No.69, the mercantile equation may have seemed a simple extension of the economy of the estate, the nation itself was, physically, a vague concept:

'What...shall we presume to call out country? Is it England itself? But what of Scotland? Is it therefore Britain? But what of the other islands, the Northern Orcades, and the Southern Jersey and Guernsey? What of the Plantations and poor Ireland?' Behold, here, a very dubious circumscription:48

Shaftesbury continues, incidentally isolating what must be one of the main reasons for the image of the country house being so apt to the use of materials and the social fabric on both the microcosmic and the macrocosmic scales:


I must confess, I have been apt sometimes to be very angry with our language for having denied us the use of the word Patria, and afforded us no other name to express our native community than that of country.... Reigning words are many times of such force as to influence us considerably in our apprehension of things. Whether it be from any such cause as this, I know not, but certain it is, that in the idea of a civil state or nation we Englishmen are apt to mix somewhat more than ordinary gross and earthy.

In seeing the state as an extension of the country estate, as may be inferred here in the reference to the 'gross and earthy', the Englishman possessed a rich sense of nationality that could even be stretched far beyond the boundaries of the metropolitan power. At one glance he could comprehend the whole earth and the modest Horatian estate as interdependent parts of the single system that would respond to efficient and paternalistic estate management. The fluid apprehension of the bounds of the possible exercise of power was sometimes bolstered by a considered definition, such as this from the landholder, Harrington:

Fundamental laws are such as state what it is that a man may call his own, that is to say, property; and what the means be whereby a man may enjoy his own, that is to say, protection. The first is also called dominion, and the second empire or sovereign power, whereof this...is the natural product of the former: for such as is the balance of dominion in a nation, such is the nature of its empire.49

Sometimes the squire asserted his dominion as landlord and used his nearly sovereign power as magistrate in his parish, 'where he ruled like a king; but the divinity that hedged him admitted the near presence of rustic courtiers, and it was by no means unknown for him... to play the part of mine host and benefactor to the loyal subjects of his petty kingdom'.50 That same landlord, in common with others of his class, tended to consider England and her appendant colonies as one great estate.51 This view seemed to be justified by

49Oceana, pp.103-4.


51Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle, p.43.
mercantilist theories which saw Britain as the entrepôt of colonial produce and resented the outlay of bullion beyond the confines of the community of interest of mother country and colonies. Bolingbroke reflects popular Tory sentiment in his publication, The Idea of a Patriot King (1749). In this he advocates a little-England policy by which Britain's influence in Europe is undertaken in the same spirit as the country landlord's fulfilment of his roles as magistrate and member of Parliament, where he acts as 'arbitrator of differences, the guardian of liberty, and the preserver of...balance'.

The Revolution of 1688 formalized some changes and instituted others. It is a momentary stasis in the moving background of political revolution and the shifting centre of power, of moral relativity, as exhibited at its most intense by the rapid transition from Commonwealth to Restoration ethos, and of growing interdependence with the world outside England which was attested by the ubiquity of foreign goods. Against a time of such overt change, this study considers writings which within the one work treat of both withdrawal from the world of affairs and engagement in the challenge of pushing outwards to extend the bounds of knowledge or sovereignty. These apparently opposing tendencies could be labelled retirement and expansion. At best such labels have brevity to recommend them, at worst they are completely misleading because so many shades of meaning and associated ideas have accrued to them. Even during the sixty-two years under consideration here the emphasis falls on different aspects of the general ideas of retirement and expansion. Accordingly I have divided the period into three shorter phases which seem to have cohesive approaches to the polarities of self and of the world at large. The works seemed to fall quite naturally into these groups; the only arbitrary decision was to terminate the first period at 1714, the year after Utrecht, when the first flush of Tory patriotism had reached the presses. After 1714 there is nothing of great interest for my purpose until in 1719 the publication of the first book of Robinson Crusoe heralds the change of emphasis by writers of the twenties.

In the first period, 1688 to 1714, seventeenth-century attitudes

prevail and the writer still often sees withdrawal as a type of redemption from an excess of material preoccupations and therefore in terms of the contrast between rural innocence and urban duplicity or luxury, a polarity that is played upon in the ethos of Restoration comedy. It is more soberly used in the considerable body of writing in the Horatian mood; equally classical in origin is the awareness of the tribute of the world arriving in the ships of the metropolitan power. The expression of exultation in the use of the plenitude of created matter through the courage and ingenuity of one's contemporaries is characteristic of the time.

During the years 1715 to 1730 the long novel or narrative emerges. This is not a didactic public piece; it explores the dilemma of the individual and dwells on his search for a role among the many paths of life which lie open to him. In his attempt to establish the protagonist's relations with his surroundings the narrator draws on both the resources of the inner man and the varieties of experience available in the world outside the known confines of England. Perhaps it is significant that Pope, whose works loom large in both the first and third periods under consideration, spent this period engaged in translating Homer's epics.

The emphasis drifts to a more social preoccupation in the thirties and forties (1731-50). Even *The Seasons*, during the course of successive revisions, shows increasing awareness of the duties of man to his society and of retreat as recreation amid the cares of office. Thomson's other works are about the problems of civil society, and Pope's works of these years are imbued with the sense of the importance of the quality of an individual's life to the society of which he is a member. Through all the changes of emphasis during the sixty or more years under consideration most writers had in mind a conservative image of what man and his social institutions should be. This shaped their apprehensions of all aspects of their experience and conformed pretty closely to the ethos expounded in the country-house poem of the seventeenth century. While this is modified -- and indeed, it sometimes undergoes major alterations -- the image keeps reappearing in an almost pure form. It remains a useful point of reference for us who have the benefit of hindsight just as it was clearly an image of solidity in an uncertain age. The Augustan who kept to the spirit of the country-house ethos seemed to see himself
as a tenant at will to the earth. In the brief span of his tenancy of man's estate he might imagine that he paid his rent in courteous use, whether of his Horatian acres or of a continent. The ungrateful tenant might prosper for a time, but eventually the earth would spurn his heirs and, like Timon's villa, his inconsiderate use of the land would be submerged beneath another man's thriving fields of corn.
PART I: 1688 - 1714
2. LANDLORDS

Country houses that provided the occasions for panegyrics to their owners were sometimes, like their lords, of no very distinguished lineage, although a thread of continuity could usually be spun to establish legitimacy: both the Fairfax peerage and Nun Appleton, for instance, were recent creations. Being the only real form of wealth, land was the ultimate investment in the consolidation of fortunes which could only first have been amassed by engaging in risky ventures; only the land and its house had any permanence; old landed families and their wealth were as likely to decline as were families living by their wits to prosper and replace them. The intrinsic value of land as an exchangeable commodity was of secondary interest to the privileges that accrued to possession. Parish importance was assured through tenancies and patronage, as well as by the possibility of the magistracy, and great power might be exercised in the councils of the nation through holding or influencing a seat in Parliament. The power of landownership was therefore more interesting than the land itself, and the value of proprietorship, although it was endowed with moral overtones, was essentially based on the balance of social power. The whole of the eighteenth century

...was pre-eminently a period of local autonomy. The initiative in dealing with new social and economic problems was taken, if taken at all, in the locality, partly by the promotion of private acts to establish turnpikes, build canals, etc., but probably as much in the course of administering the existing law.\(^1\)

J. H. Plumb says that gentry power was so entrenched by 1688 that they 'played ducks and drakes with the law when it suited them'.\(^2\)

The history of the monarchy in the seventeenth century confirms this

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\(^2\)J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability*, p.21; provincial merchants were also influential in local government, p.20.
estimate of the power of the class that reached the height of its influence in the eighteenth century.

A tangible expression of ephemeral social reality is the surge of house-building during the years covered by this study. The neoclassicism of the new houses formalized links with the spiritual past and looked forward to the perpetuation of present importance in the future, but the house was primarily designed to provide a practical function as the backdrop to the role of landlord. This was still, ideally, gratifying to the landlord and beneficial to the tenants:

On his own land and among his own tenants the landlord really came into his own. This was his little private kingdom, where the city's indifference gave way to rustic respect, a deference based on recognition of rank and station and not servilely rendered. The farmers welcomed their landlord's presence, were pleased to think he had a personal interest in their affairs, and vied to win his approbation. 3

This was a pleasant life, ministering to the human need for a sense of self-importance; it was to be loved for itself by those born to the life, and was a most desirable way for a city man to retire from his mercantile affairs and yet be able to continue an active life. The land was a centre of activity that, although it was ethically opposed to the city in the popular imagination, was an alternative site for the conduct of the essential business of the nation.

There is a sense in which the country life was a retreat: the little society described above was an excellent balm for pride wounded in the political arena and a valid justification of absence. For the landless gentleman caught up in similar embarrassments that were particularly frequent during the years of political instability from 1688 to 1715, taking up a country tenancy provided the means—and the mild philosophical contemplation of Horatian retreat among trusted friends was the excuse—for escape from unpleasant circumstances. Retreat during these years, however, bears little relation to the saintly retreats of the contemplative poets like Herbert and Vaughan. and, whatever rationale is used to justify the life, it is more pragmatic than spiritual. The classical trappings of Horatian retirement provide a ready-made persona for the central

figure in the little drama of escape; Marvell has gauged the
defensive mood of threatened integrity to perfection (in 'Upon Appleton
House' lxxvi) by his mock retreat to encamp his mind behind the trees
'where the World no certain Shot/Can make, or me it toucheth not'.
Once he is safely ensconced, and therefore apparently independent
of the intrusive world, the happy man's ever-welcome friends
constitute the retinue to whom he, as master of a few rented acres,
provides generous hospitality. The necessary economies that his
moderate income impose are translated into the frugality of
judicious use. The Horatian tenant -- sometimes his is a
patrimony -- is another version of the landlord of the country-house
poem; the values come from the same set of classical sources, the
sense of the control exerted by the dominant figure is identical,
and the extensive social influence of the lord is reproduced in the
Horatian's exemplary literary function.

When Mr. Spectator visits the Royal Exchange he goes as a dis-
interested observer, independent of the hurry of the protagonists
but appreciative of the triumph of civil society that the commercial
transactions seem to represent. He is excited by the activity of
the place and lyrical about its purpose, but he affects to remain
detached: 'This grand Scene of Business gives me infinite Variety
of solid and substantial Entertainments'.
He is the Spectator of
modest means and little ambition: Sir Andrew Freeport is his
acquaintance and he once remitted money to Cairo. This man of few
substantial possessions is, like the man who assumes the Horatian
mantle, interpreting disparate and sometimes unpalatable facts
to produce an imaginatively homogeneous whole. Mr. Spectator
shows his contemporaries that commerce is an expansion of the public
role of the landlord to encompass the whole earth and that it is
thus a beneficent activity and worthy of esteem. Addison's Whig
optimism was popular, even with the Tory gentry, while Mandeville's
logical exposure of this as simplistic thinking was condemned.

This section explores the ways in which writers from the time
of the Glorious Revolution until the Peace of Utrecht saw their
countrymen's use of the land and the world. In this chapter the
figure of the landlord dominates, although the worst kind of city merchant is his foil. In the following chapter the patriot rejoices in British naval grandeur and trading prowess. This section is a commentary on a heterogeneous collection of poems and prose fragments: but it shows that, whatever line is being taken, the vague constellation of attitudes encompassed by the country-house ethos remains a viable point of reference.

Embedded in The Spectator is an early serial story in the episodic accounts of the doings of the Club, of which the main protagonists bear various relationships to the land. Sir Roger de Coverley has almost passed into folk-lore as the embodiment of the rural squire; his friend Sir Andrew Freeport is the prosperous city merchant who is about to retire to an estate; Will Wimble is the peripatetic younger brother, destined to waste his talents because he has neither trade nor land, and Captain Sentry is Sir Roger's kinsman who later inherits the baronetcy. Many of the discussions at meetings of the Club turn on matters connected with land. In Spectator 174 Steele uses the complexity of the paradoxical relationship between country and city interests to expose the blindness of the prejudice which makes men of different backgrounds imagine that their motives and interests are in conflict. Sir Roger and Sir Andrew air their attitudes toward trade. As befits the tone of a Whiggish paper, the city interest shows a superiority of understanding and a breadth of interest which reflects badly on the limited thinking evinced by the representative of the class who rule the country. Sir Roger's quibble is petty: he asserts that a trader is bound to be dishonourable in his dealings; he further maintains that one can expect nothing else of the man whose prime concern is his account books. He ends with an odious comparison, based on the assumption that an ethical code arising from the society of the country house is limited to the landed gentry: 'at best, let Frugality and Parsimony be the Virtues of the Merchant, how much is his punctual Dealing below a Gentleman's Charity to the Poor, or Hospitality among his Neighbours?'(11,186). Sir Andrew Freeport, on the other hand, is moderate in his language and humane in his breadth of understanding. Without condemning Sir Roger's actions he denigrates his application of the ethic which, although Sir
Roger might deny the fact, they hold in common. While he accepts the country-house ethos he interprets it in his own way:

If to drink so many Hogsheads is to be hospitable, we do not contend for the Fame of that Virtue; but it would be worthwhile to consider, whether so many Artificers at work ten Days together by my Appointment, or so many Peasants made merry on Sir ROGER's Charge, are the Men more obliged.

(Sir Andrew's two categories of men reveal a certain prejudice against the country worker in favour of the artisan and foreshadow a change in the idea of community. His 'Artificers at work' are almost a different species from Sir Roger's 'Peasants made merry': the distinction to be inferred from the use of active and passive phrases is the difference between the independent worker motivated by the individualist work ethic and the old paternalistic dispensation; the nouns are indicative of those who may be expected to succeed in the changed society and those who will go to the wall if they are deprived of the traditional props of the landed gentry. Historically, or even in terms of The Spectator papers, there was probably little to choose between the merchant and the landlord: many landlords relied on the Poor Law to deal with the indigent while many craftsmen and merchants sustained the spirit of community through the gild and its customs. The merchant's men, at least, are placed 'above the Necessity or Obligation of...Bounty'; their opportunity for independence, while it is good in itself, may also be seen as weakening the ties that bound man to man in the idealized past.

Sir Andrew gently reminds Sir Roger that, for all their bluster, landholders are also involved in the trading enterprise of the nation since the profits of their estates are increased by the entrepreneurial skill of the merchants who export their surplus produce; but once again he makes a point of fitting the merchant into the conservative pattern: 'he throws down no Man's Enclosures, and tramples upon no Man's Corn; he takes nothing from the industrious Labourer; he pays the poor Man for his Work; he communicates his Profit with Mankind'(II,188). By implication the landlord is condemned for wastefulness and inefficiency and he concludes his discourse with a caveat that the gentleman must not scoff at the counting-house but use its techniques to preserve the landed interest
from the growing power of those who use business methods. This was possibly an unnecessary warning; Wingar shows that at this time the great estates were growing rapidly, absorbing the small and inefficient land-holders but also restricting access to land by the newly rich, so that by mid-century the acquisition of a landed estate by the parvenu was no easy matter. He considers that landlords usually practised sound business methods along with 'various conventional practices which protected the interests of the small farmer'.

He cites the example of Lord Ashburnham who was 'a model of industry and efficiency', personally supervising his estates and undertaking parliamentary duties with great attention to detail.

'Landowners were...characteristically the borrowing class', mainly as a stopgap to provide marriage portions for daughters, and sometimes loans were raised from local sources: 'By such small threads the landed gentleman was being increasingly stitched into the new economic fabric of society: trade, speculation, a venture ceased, at least, to be alien to them'.

The simplistic assertion that the 'economy of the Merchant' applied to landowning preserves agrarian values to the mutual advantage of landlord and tenants is a popular theme with the periodical writers. Even Captain Sentry's charitable schemes for Coverley (Spectator No.544) give scope for the contemporary preoccupation with control of material resources. Sir Andrew's retirement will be considered later, but Mr. Charwell's sweeping changes, described in Guardian No.9, show the mercantile methods being adapted to the country-house ethos in an account of the building of a rural market town. Mr. Charwell combines the ways of a retired country squire with the application of the methods which have won him his city 'Plumb' to raise up about him, upon his estate, a thriving township of five thousand people. He has achieved this by first establishing his household upon a more modest footing. His first action had been to replace the existing house with a small but

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5The Landed Interest, p.268.

6Ibid., p.63.

convenient dwelling 'not much larger than my Lord's Dogkennel, and a great deal less than his Lordship's Stables'. The conditions of that part of the country were such, however, that the loss of the large household which the great old house had demanded was a significant reduction of the market for the produce of his tenants. His business-like benevolence had already compassed this problem. Given the isolation of the area, the only solution was to bring the market to his tenants and

THE thing has succeeded to his wish. In the Space of twenty Years he is so fortunate as to see 1000 new Houses upon his Estate, and at least 5000 new People, ...Inhabitants of those Houses, who are comfortably subsisted by their own Labour, without Charge to Mr. Charwell, and to the great Profit of his Tenants.

There is a reflection of the city ethos in the economic independence which his generosity provides for his tenants. The growing economy of the little town is a smaller version of economies at large, both on the national and international level, and is healthy enough to be able to maintain a commerce with the wider sphere. Although the essay is dominated by measures of time, distance, mass and money, the distribution of night-soil is used as an example to demonstrate the happy interdependence of town and country in the establishment of a sound economic unit. Consequently, Mr. Charwell is confident that when his river is navigable the convenience of cheap carriage will not diminish the wealth of his estate since he knows that any produce imported 'must end at last in so much Soil for his Estate'.

As an idealized merchant in retirement Mr. Charwell can readily be portrayed as having adapted his city ethic to the pose of country gentleman and has given expression to the country-house ethos in paternalistic consideration of his tenants, even if he has given it an entrepreneurial interpretation. The true spring of his actions is the pursuit of efficiency, so his re-creation of the traditional values lacks the most emotional ingredient, housekeeping. This is symbolically excised from his world by the demolition of the 'good large old House' which needed 'a hundred in Family' to sustain its style. While this action restores the traditional practice of simplicity or frugality, no mention is made of the fires of hospitality.

8The Guardian (London, 1714).
beyond a passing reference to 'all convenient Offices'; Mr. Charwell is still a merchant because there is no place for the inefficient liberality of housekeeping in his cautious administration. The authorial tone of The Guardian No. 9 favours quantitative description of material conditions, so that it is apparently by mere accident that the principles of the country-house ethos are revealed at all in this essay. There is 'an Account how this Gentleman has employed the twenty Years' since buying his estate which is densely studded with terms of number, size and distance, with geometrical adjectives and with marketing terms. Initially the paragraph is in the style of the inventory: the first sentence begins: 'The Estate then consisted of...'; subsequent sentences begin baldly with the following nouns: 'The Land...', 'A River...', 'The Roads...' and 'The Underwoods...', and the clauses which they begin leave the verb 'to be' to be understood, which is another attribute of a list. The controlled economic description of the improved estate serves as a foil to the unpredictability of human responses. The essayist records, with unemphatic irony, the dissatisfaction of Charwell's tenants at the 'disparking' of nearly two thousand acres, 'by which Provisions were likely to be increased in so dispeopled a Country. They were afraid they must be obliged themselves to consume the whole Product of their Farms, and that they shou'd be soon undone by the Oconomy and Frugality of this Gentleman'. This is an amusing reversal of the usual cause of discontent among tenants, who are more often portrayed as deprived of useful lands and tenements by enclosure to enlarge an unproductive park, whereas this landlord's frugality and intention to raise productivity threatens his tenants with an undesired abundance.

The satiric thrusts within this mild statement of social crisis would not have been overlooked by the contemporary reader who shared common preconceptions of the role of landlord. Tatler No. 169 castigates some landholders for bestial habits and pride of possession, and unequivocally distinguishes between the landlord and the incumbent. The landlord is a gentleman, a man of civility and cultivation who knows how to use the land, whereas land is in the possession of a 'peasant' where it is subjected to the rule of a tyrant who lays waste his estate for the gratification of appetite. 9

Tatler 169 generalises about the landlord it also cites the particular case of Frank Bickerstaff's patron and companion, a 'noble lord' and generous spirit, who has retired to the country after a long career at Court. The landlord's life is 'more happy... than any that is described in the pastoral descriptions of Poets, or the vain-glory solitudes recorded by Philosophers'; it demands active participation in the community over which he presides:

He is father to his tenants, and patron to his neighbours, and is more superior to those of lower fortune by his benevolence than his possessions. He justly divides his time between solitude and company, so as to use the one for the other. His life is spent in the good offices of an Advocate, a Referee, a Companion, a Mediator, and a Friend.

The landlord's use of what he controls is the mark of his virtue as lord: 'Landlord enjoys what he has with his heart, an encumbrant with his stomach.'

The vainglorious merchant of Lady Winchilsea's fable, 'Man's Injustice towards Providence' represents the antithesis of landlord virtue. This arch condemnation of the mercantile class echoes the Tatler reflections on the mores of the worst kind of landlord. As befits its genre, it is a gay and witty little tale of a once-proud merchant who absconds from his responsibilities and retreats to the protection of a country acquaintance after his enterprises fail. In good times his arrogant individualism that rejects the providential view of history propounded by Du Bartas also spurns respect for the basic skills on which his wealth is based. A merchant who denigrates seamanship is as irresponsible as the squire who scorns agriculture—

I care not for your Tourville, or Du-Barts,  
No more than for the Rocks, and Shelves in Charts:  
My own sufficiency creates my Gain,  
Rais'd, and secur'd by this unfailing Brain.10

In failing to respect other men's lives and the skills by which they live he ignores the bases of his own independence in his calling. Such recklessness is not the courageous generosity of the Restoration gallant, but the spiritual pride of Puritan self-

10The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea, ed. M. Reynolds (Chicago, 1903); 11.37-40.
sufficiency. His neglect of commonsense precautions in navigation is a comic extravaganza, but this is not the only example of his distorted values. The tale reveals the vulgar ostentation of his purse-proud wife, who gives entertainments entirely at variance with the tradition of housekeeping, because they 'Put down the Court, and vex the City-Guest'(1.15). Empty display of costly household equipment and exotic but idle servants--staring 'Malotlos in true Ermin'--replace the simple utility which governs the taste of those who know the proper use of things. The merchant's independence is the empty boast of self-sufficiency, although in defeat he attributes his losses to 'Providence'. The generous benevolence of the ideal country landlord is, in this prince of commerce, perverted to the dishonest and the predatory:

Sometimes I interlope, and slight the Laws;
    . . . .
My busy Factors prudently I chuse,
And in straight Bonds their Friends and Kindred noose:
At Home, I to the Publick Sums advance,
Whilst, under-hand in Fee with hostile France

(11.28, 33-36)

This fable of city meanness is, like exaggerated reports of landlord oppression, an extreme case. The reality was probably equally removed from the idealistic heights of Mr. Spectator's meditation upon the Exchange in paper No.69. He uses the analogy of the estate to describe the commerce of the world:

Our Ships are laden with the Harvest of every Climate:
Our Tables are stored with Spices, and Oils, and Wines:
Our Rooms are filled with Pyramids of China, and adorned with the Workmanship of Japan:
Our Morning's Draught comes to us from the remotest Corners of the Earth:
We repair our Bodies by the Drugs of America, and repose our selves under Indian Canopies. My Friend Sir ANDREW calls the Vineyards of France our Gardens; the Spice-Islands our Hot-Beds; and the Persians our Silk-Weavers, and the Chinese our Potters.
Nature indeed furnishes us with the bare Necessaries of Life, but Traffick gives us a great Variety of what is Useful, and at the same time supplies us with every thing that is Convenient and Ornamental.

(I, 295-6).

Here Britain is the apex of a hierarchical world rich in tribute. Terms like 'laden', 'stored', 'filled' are evocative of the harvest-home of the well-husband estate, but as the description progresses the vocabulary suggests the refinements of civil society as they are expressed in a comfortable house by words such as 'adorned', 'repair', 'repose'. This is a prosperous estate, indeed, which has the luxury of gardens, hot-beds, silk weavers and potters; but this, of course, is the reaction which Addison intends to stimulate, since his meditation is an appreciation, not a rejection, of the commercial world. The estate is a convenient symbol of the interdependence of various parts of the world, a manageable concept by which to view commerce at a time of unbridled trading expansion, since it suggests the self-containment of a closed economy. This is further demonstrated by its reversal in Spectator No. 549, where Sir Andrew describes the administration of his estate in terms of his former activities as a merchant:

As I have my Share in the Surface of this Island, I am resolved to make it as beautiful a Spot as any in Her Majesty's Dominions; at least there is not an Inch of it which shall not be cultivated to the best Advantage, and do its utmost for its owner. As in my Mercantile Employment, I so disposed of my Affairs, that from whatever Corner of the Compass the Wind blew, it was bringing home one or other of my Ships; I hope as a Husband-man, to contrive it so, that not a Shower of Rain, or a Glimpse of Sunshine, shall fall upon my Estate without bettering some part of it, and contributing to the Products of the Season. (IV, 468)

This passage emphasizes the emotional link between efficiency and self-sufficiency which is an element in Sir Andrew's faith in the rational use of nature as a means of controlling her plenitude. In this context the idea of the improvement of the estate is the acceptance of a challenge to prove man's mastery over the world about him; he disposes and contrives so that nature betterers and contributes to his master plan.

In retiring to a country estate Sir Andrew feels that he is entering upon a period of disinterested benevolence, very similar in quality to his active career but more appropriate to a man who is preparing himself for Heaven in the modest company of his beadsmen. The affectionate commentary of Spectator 549 indicates that the merchant's last years are consistent with his life of contributing
to the wealth of the nation and the good of mankind although the old knight's own moral balance-sheet denies it. If the character of Sir Andrew successfully reconciles the roles of gentleman and merchant and his life is the embodiment of the country house virtues, whether in his city or his country pursuits, then it was inevitable that Mandeville's Fable of the Bees should arouse intense hostility:

the main Design of the Fable, (as it is briefly explain'd in the Moral) is to shew the Impossibility of enjoying all the most elegant Comforts of Life that are to be met with in an industrious, wealthy and powerful Nation, and at the same time be bless'd with all the Virtue and Innocence that can be wish'd for in a Golden Age. ¹²

Mandeville's critics asserted that he was the personification of evil, but he would prefer the bliss of 'a small peacable Society, in which Men, neither envy'd nor esteem'd by Neighbours, should be contented to live upon the Natural Product of the Spot they inhabit'(p.13).

His whole thesis undermines the complacent contemporary myth that prosperity based on industry and commerce conduces to the 'Common Good' of the world by exposing the corruption on which the 'Paradice' of the modern state thrives. ¹³ He mocks and twists the conservative concept of harmonious confusion:

This was the State's Craft, that maintain'd
The Whole of which each Part complain'd:
This, as in Musick Harmony,
Made Jarrings in the main agree.

(p.24)

For almost half the poem the hive-dwellers are depicted as puppets being either duped or manipulated, a most unpopular theme to Englishmen trying to hold various kinds of chaos at bay by images of order and control. The memory of revolution and fear of mob violence still exacerbated the contemporary horror of social instability, yet in this community most, it seems, are in some way


¹³The essay 'A Search into the Nature of Society' (1723) further exposes the economic fallacy of mutual benefits of international trade (p.364). Here he argues that 'A Hundred Bales of Cloth that are Burnt or Sunk in the Mediterranean, are as Beneficial to the Poor in England, as if they had safely arriv'd at Smyrna or Aleppo, and every Yard of them had been Retail'd in the Grand Signior's Dominions.'
Sharoers, Parasites, Pimps, Players,
Pick-Pockets, Coiners, Quacks, Soothsayers, who

Convert to their own Use the Labour
Of their good-natur'd heedless Neighbour.

(p.19)

The good man, if he can survive at all, exists only to be gulled by the cunning. Although the hive has a king, it is the undifferentiated but 'knaveish' ministry which holds the strings of power and, instead of administering order and justice, abdicates responsibility by juggling the contending interests within the state. This vision of masked corruption and chaos merely held in check is given point in the irony by which 'Crimes conspir'd to make them Great', by which 'Virtue' is linked with 'Politicks' and its 'Thousand Cunning Tricks' in a state where there are such anomalies as 'happy Influence' or making 'Friends with Vice' (p.24). The implied condemnation of a society in which the ministry usurps the king's role and rules by the expedient of balancing conflicting interests shows Mandeville's understanding of the conservative view of social structure as an extension of the patriarchy; this may be equally an expression of sympathy for the traditional values of the country-house ethos or a comment on the inconsistency of those who accept the Glorious Revolution as compatible with their Toryism.

The society of the hive, based on greed and luxury, and prodigal of all things—for 'Their Laws and Clothes were equally/Objects of Mutability'(p.25)—denigrates constancy and tradition. The Bees see themselves as progressing towards perfection and capable of achieving it, given 'Time', 'Ingenuity' and 'Industry'(p.26); in their pride they attribute the flaws in their success to the dishonesty of some of their number, until Jove, weary of their two-faced impudence, rids 'The Bowling Hive of Fraud' and the bees recognize that they are all tainted with falseness (p.27). The second half of the fable is the revelation of what happens when these cheats turn honest, return to the simple virtues which are indistinguishable from the country-house ethos and 'strive,/Not how to spend, but how to live'(p.33). The big house resumes its proper social role, the opulent 'Palaces' of the new rich are 'to be let' and the furniture for which 'haughty
Chloe' ransacked the Indies is sold. The spiritual lord returns
from secular affairs to the cure of his church: now

He has'd no Starv'ling from his Door,
Nor pinch'd the Wages of the Poor;
But at his House the Hungry's fed,
The Hireling finds unmeasur'd Bread,
The needy Trav'ler Board and Bed.

(p.30)

The couplet, in direct contrast with the following three lines, uses
negatives to evoke a social system dominated by those who recognize
no responsibility for the amelioration of harsh conditions:
'Starv'ling' and 'Poor' describe absolute conditions at the extreme
of hardship. The triplet records a charitable dispensation:
'hungry' and 'needy' imply that the wants which they represent can be
remedied. There is a similar qualitative difference between 'wages'
and 'hireling': a finite quality clings to 'wages', a feeling that
they are what is desired and no more, like the 'wages of sin'; on
the other hand, a hireling is a party to a form of contract and is
accorded independence by this concept of mutual agreement which
possibly also owes something to biblical association with the parable
of the labourers (Matthew, 20). The verbs 'has'd' and 'pinch'd' are
actions demeaning in a great man and emphasize the constriction of
meaning and sound in the couplet compared with the open vowel sounds
and liberality of the actions described by the triplet.

Wandeville makes full use of the popular belief in the great
gulf dividing agrarian and commercial societies although he is
describing the reform of an urban society. Under the reformed
system extravagance is shunned, 'for frugally/They now liv'd on their
Salary'(p.31), and 'every Thing is cheap, tho' plain'(p.34).
Independence is the concomitant of simplicity; once envy and emulation
are banished men are no longer 'sollicitous about mending their
Condition'(Remark(V),p.242), so that--

Content, the Bane of Industry,
Makes 'em admire their homely Store,
And neither seek nor covet more.

(pp.34-5)

The logic of applying values that have always been associated with
the country to an urbanized population exposes their incompatibility
with a progressively expanding economy. Wandeville argues that
modern industry and commerce, far from benefiting the whole society while they enrich the entrepreneur (as proponents of the role of the merchant as a kind of beneficent landlord to the world suggest), actually depend on the degradation of the labouring poor to a condition of semi-barbarism, a state of affairs accepted and even justified in the canting statements of the prosperous whose tone he often mimics in his 'Remarks'. Moreover, those who, like Mr. Spectator or Isaac Bickerstaff, envisage the possibility of compromise between the old ethic and the spirit of the new economic order are deceiving themselves and their readers if they imagine that life for the rural poor is any less oppressive than for the urban proletariat. The moral of The Fable is as unpalatable as it is inevitable in terms of Mandeville's argument:

they, that would revive
A Golden Age, must be as free,
For Acorns, as for Honesty. (p.37)

The golden age of the pastoral legend of literature bears as little relation to the reality of the shepherd's life as utopian cities have borne to the modern metropolis. Thus Mandeville compounded his sin against his city contemporaries by implying that the amenity of rural life was a chimera and that the landlord virtues of the country-house ethos were not being upheld even by those who professed them.

The false allure of returning to comfortable bucolic innocence exerts a powerful attraction for societies that are suffering pangs of conscience over virtue stained in the use of technological innovations. Consequently Shaftesbury's optimistic moral philosophy appealed more readily to his age than Mandeville's rigor; Mandeville knows why:

The Generality of Moralists and Philosophers have hitherto agreed that there could be no Virtue without

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14This is the line of the argument in 'An Essay on Charity, and Charity Schools' (1723) which carries on from the 'Remarks' (passim); in Remark (L), pp.119-120, the delicate balance of satiric tone in his comment on the role of 'the working, slaving People' leaves me in no doubt of his attitudes. See also T. R. Edwards, 'Mandeville's Moral Prose', ELH 31 (1964), 199, and Tawney, Rise of Capitalism, pp.266-68.
Self-denial; but a late Author, who is now much read by men of Sense, is of a contrary Opinion, and imagines that men without any Trouble or Violence upon themselves may be naturally Virtuous. He seems to require and expect Goodness in his Species, as we do a sweet Taste in Grapes and China Oranges, of which, if any of them are sour, we boldly pronounce that they are not come to that Perfection their nature is capable of.15

Restlessness is the cheat in Shaftesbury's perfectible society:

"Unhappy restless men, who first disdained these peaceful labours, gentle rural tasks, performed with such delight! What pride or what ambition bred this scorn? Hence all those fatal evils of your race, enormous luxury, despising homely fare, ranges through seas and lands, rifles the globe; and men, ingenious to their misery, work out for themselves the means of heavier labour, anxious cares, and sorrow. Not satisfied to turn and manure for their use the wholesome and beneficial mould of this their earth, they dig yet deeper, and seeking out imaginary wealth, they search its very entrails."16

Recoil to simple retreat in reaction to the insecurity that haunts man's striving is implicit in Theocles' apostrophe. Ambition may be tamed by contentment, and complexity may be resolved into simplicity by the deliberate choice of the private station where, as Sir William Temple had remarked, 'a man may go his own way and his own pace, in the common paths or circles of life'.17 Just as the walled garden is a means of circumscribing an area which can then be brought under control, so the estate is a definable area of identifiable character which bestows on its owner or tenant a fixed place in the scheme of things.18

Although it was a commonplace for conservative political

15Wandeville, I, 323.

16Shaftesbury, Characteristics, II, 115-16.

17'The Gardens of Epicurus' in Five Miscellaneous Essays by Sir William Temple, ed. S. H. Monk (Ann Arbor, 1963), p.34; this essay was published in 1685. Cf. Addison in Cato, IV,1: 'When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway, The post of honour is a private station.'

economists to see the family as the original of the state, Addison, in *Spectator* 15, reverses the image in praise of Aurelia's household where the 'family is under so regular an Economy...that it looks like a little Common-Wealth within itself' (I, 68). The happiness of Aurelia and her husband grows out of their retired self-sufficiency, whereas fashionable Fulvia's baseless self-importance, which demands 'perpetual Motion of Body, and Restlessness of Thought', condemns her to a continual sense of incompleteness.

The strain of self-containment runs through all the poems that, in this study have been classed as Horatian: they are non-pastoral poems which reject the city life for a retired and self-sufficient simplicity. Maren-Sofie Røstvig has traced the transformations of the beatus ille theme in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; although she has noted that the eighteenth-century contemplative rejected 'self-centred bliss', the Horatian attitude of 1688 to 1714 is a conscious rejection of the daring aspirations of those who would know and tame the world in the interests of science or trade. Action in the world and contemplative retirement can be seen as the complement, or perhaps mirror, of each other because on different scales they represent man's attempt to subdue the natural phenomena of the chosen sphere of action. The limitless universe may be comprehended by empirical observation and the vast body of information reduced by analogy and systematization; the unplumbed psychology of the individual may also be observed minutely and given analogical form so that it can be interpreted. The limited estate envisaged in the Horatian work is a product of the conviction that 'The proper study of mankind is man', and control attained over the small estate becomes a metaphor for control over self. The Horatian view, by definition of its origins in *Epode* II, claims to be antipathetic to court and city and, since the city is always associated with trade, it is by implication also antagonistic to commerce. Therefore, also by implication, the values which the writer espouses are those associated with the country-dweller and, as he imagines himself setting up as a country gentleman, he adopts the ethos of the country house. The Horatian retirement, nevertheless, is often a much less generous world than Sir Andrew's account of his re-creation of the

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19 *The Happy Man*, II, 23.
country-house ethos in Spectator 549, since, although the man in retreat governs his life by the same ethical principles as the country landlord, he is essentially a private man trying to establish his independence, and his preoccupations are often personal and inward-looking and devoted more to the confinement of desires than to the satisfaction of the needs of others.

As an example, the familiar, Horatian style of Ambrose Philips's verse-letter 'From Holland to a Friend in England in the Year 1703' makes a virtue of bluntness, which in turn provides a clear exposition of the motive for retirement at this period. As a result of his experiences in the entourage of Marlborough, no doubt, Philips eschews ambition because it is the conquest of reason by desire. The man who has let ambition control him is like the ship which, 'wanting ballast, and too full of sail, ... lies expos'd to ev'ry rising gale'(11.67-8). Disappointment can be avoided by pitching one's aspirations low so that 'All, that I will, I can; but then, I will/As reason bids'(11.33-4). The victory of reason over will makes Philips 'Lord of myself, accountable to none'(1.28) in his rational and supposedly unassailable place in the world:

He contrasts the simple pleasures of his independence with the condition of his friend, whom he conceives as being deluded into self-importance at the English court where splendour is 'a cheat' and 'You must be servile, b'ere you can be great'(11.57-8).

Matthew Prior also writes as a travel-weary diplomat longing for respite from the temptations of the active life in his witty satire of a classical hymn to the Great Earth-Mother, 'Written at Paris, 1700. In the Beginning of Robe's Geography'. He petitions Rhea that, when he ends his career of uncomfortable travelling 'Of all that WILLIAM Rules, or ROBE/Describes, Great RHEA, of Thy Globe' (11.1-2), he may be granted


a Garden, House, and Stables;
That I may Read, and Ride, and Plant,
Superior to Desire, or Want. 

(11.9-11)

All that he needs then to complete his peace of mind are ten acres for pasture and ten for the plough, and the absence of ambition, revenge, pride, and the pangs of love.

In an epigram, 'the House of Socrates', Lady Winchilsea acidly suggests that one can make a retirement that will automatically exclude all those acquaintances who are slaves to meretricious standards, simply by living humbly. Socrates tells the crowds who despise the 'inferior Size' of his new house:

'Twas not to save the Charge;
That in this over-building Age,
My House was not more large.

But this for faithful Friends, and kind,
Was only meant by me;
Who fear that what too straight you find,
Must yet contracted be.

One of Lady Winchilsea's fables provides a simple example of the mentality of retirement as a response to over-extension and exposure to the buffets of fortune caused by yielding to the lure of the wider world. In 'The Shepherd and the Calm' a young grazier, excited by the 'Barques unloading on the Shore'(1.10), converts his assets to merchandise but eventually loses all by misadventure. Returned to his old territory, he begins again as a servant where before he had been his own master. He eventually mends his fortune and is able to look out to sea once more, but now in the full awareness of the deceptive over-simplification which invests commerce with the aura of romance and easy fortune, he exclaims: 'Give me a certain Fate in the obscurest Vale'(1.58), a sentiment which the poet repeats in 'The Petition for an Absolute Retreat':

Where, may I remain secure,
Waste, in humble Joys and pure,
A Life, that can no Envy yield;
Want of Affluence my Shield. 

(11.202-05)

22J. H. Plumb notes that 'Foreign trade hallucinated the imagination and bemused...many minds' (Growth of Political Stability, p.4).
Here, as in the fable of the shepherd, the positive good to be attained is certainty but the conditions which will provide the security are fraught with negatives: the obscurity of the shepherd's valley may be related to darkness, and Lady Winchilsea's life is described as being wasted in simple pleasures that have the virtue of arousing 'no Envy' because they are the concomitant of relative want.

Credit, on the other hand, is seen by the conservative as the essence of city life and as a threat to rural values. Credit overextends and may overreach the value of the land that is its security. A Spectator essay about housekeeping shows that ideas of limitation are associated with traditional behaviour and that extravagance is attributed to the ambitious rivalry that is thought to originate in cities; by association it confirms the evidence of the poems that the Horatian dreamer was identifying with the country-house ethos when he larded it over the contracted sphere of his desires. In Spectator 114 Steele describes the housekeeping of Laertes who lives beyond his means rather than appear, as he really is, less wealthy than in the past:

If you go to his House you see great Plenty; but served in a Manner that shews it is all unnatural, and that the Master's Mind is not at home. There is a certain Waste and Carelessness in the Air of every thing, and the whole appears but a covered Indigence, a magnificent Poverty. That Neatness and Cheerfulness which attends the Table of him who lives within Compass, is wanting, and exchanged for a libertine Way of Service in all about him.

(1,468)

In the first place the master does not seem to be in control, which is a dereliction of lordly duty and a threat to his independence—especially if his distraction is caused by pressing creditors;23

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23 Defoe, The Review, ed. A.W. Secord (New York, 1933), III, No.9,34. Cf. the terms of measure and situation used by Prior in his encomium of Lionel, Earl of Dorset in 1708 (Works, I,254): 'His Table was one of the Last, that gave Us an Example of the Old House-keeping of an ENGLISH Nobleman. A Freedom reigned at it, which made every one of his Guests think Himself at Home: and an Abundance, which shewed that the Master's Hospitality extended to many More, than Those who had the Honour to sit at Table with Him. In his Dealings with Others; his Care and Exactness, that every Man should have his Due, was such, that You would think He had never seen a Court: the Politeness and Civility with which this Justice was administered, would convince You He never had lived out of One.'
'Waste and Carelessness in the air of everything' is the opposite of frugality, while 'covered Indigence' and 'Magnificent Poverty' exhibit, instead of grandeur, the lord's bad taste deriving from pusillanimity. Steele immediately contrasts this with the idea of living 'within Compass', which employs what is at the command of the host and reflects the fitness and pleasantness of use. In pursuing this line Mr. Spectator is writing of a man's financial affairs and, although at the end of the essay he wishes to remain 'remote from the ostentatious Scenes of Life', it is the idea of nominating a moderate annual rate of expenditure that gives rise to the following; it sounds like the eighteenth-century Horatian mentality:

This Temper of Mind would exempt a Man from an ignorant Envy of restless Men above him, and a more inexcusable Contempt of happy Men below him. This would be sailing by some Compass, living with some Design; but to be eternally bewildered in Prospects of future Gain, and putting on unnecessary Armour against improbable Blows of Fortune, is a Mechanick Being which has not good Sense for its Direction.

There is a similarly cautious response to the dilemmas of existence in Pope's early Horatian imitation, the 'Ode on Solitude'. The tone of Pope's version is much more passive than the mood of the original; the choice of words in the opening statement of the poem intensifies the idea of self-imposed limitations that begins Horace's Epode II and, as Pope omits the contrasting strife of professions other than farming, there is an air of unruffled placidity:

Happy the man, whose wish and care
A few paternal acres bound,
Content to breathe his native air,
In his own ground.24

The emphasis falls on the restriction of desires to the smallest possible economic unit of the 'few paternal acres', although the use of 'bound' and the restrictive quality of the adjectives in the phrases 'native air' and 'own ground' arouse consciousness of their opposites. The balance of ideas is such that the importance of the traditional ways of country life, symbolized by the inherited land, is subservient to the happy man's reluctance to be drawn into involvement with the world outside the farm, except for the mild

indulgence of intellectual speculation which can be inferred from Pope's plan of life:

Quiet by day,

Sound sleep by night; study and ease
Together mix'd; sweet recreation,
And innocence, which most does please,
With meditation. (ll.12-16)

Pope's solitude pleases by its serenity, but it ignores the vitality of the country life which makes Horace's beatus ille seem to be living in a way that is not so much a retreat as an alternative to the life of the merchant or soldier; stanza two of the ode, which describes the basic processes of the self-sufficient property in four brief lines, has only two verbs--'supply' and 'yield'.

The title of Pope's Sapphic ode and the self-containment enacted throughout the economical poem is the extreme of the contemporary Horatian idea, but the defensiveness of withdrawal to a confined circle which seems to dominate his version is strong also in John Pomfret's 'The Choice' which has been considered typical of the theme in the eighteenth century.\(^{25}\) The best part of the poem is its title: if, as has been already suggested, the Horatian mood is a reaction to the fear of following fruitless or dangerous courses of action at a time of inviting opportunities, then retreat is the deliberate choice of a safe option, not the result of philosophical conviction of the superiority of retreat over action, as in the seventeenth century. The poem bears all the hallmarks of the dream of Horatian retirement, yet there is a small-mindedness about it which is not entirely attributable to the pedestrian verse, although the key to the sense of shrinking caution lies in the diction:

I'd have a clear and competent estate,
That I might live genteely, but not great:
As much as I could moderately spend;
A little more, sometimes t'oblige a friend.
Nor should the sons of Poverty repine
Too much at Fortune, they should taste of mine;
And all that objects of true pity were,

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\(^{25}\)In The Works of the English Poets, Vol.VIII, ed. A. Chalmers (London, 1810). Although this poem makes no overt reference to expansion, no consideration of the Horatian mood at this period can afford to ignore it since its popularity is an index of its usefulness in illuminating contemporary attitudes.
Should be reliev'd with what my wants could spare;
For that our Maker has too largely given,
Should be return'd in gratitude to Heaven.
A frugal plenty should my table spread;
With healthy, not luxurious, dishes spread:
Enough to satisfy, and something more,
To feed the stranger, and the neighbouring poor.

This poem, like Pope's ode, deviates from the Horatian view of life because it lacks exuberance and fails to reflect the fruitfulness and sweetness of life. Although Pomfret's sentiments are perfectly correct there is an excess of humble moderation in the choice of words. Phrases like 'genteely, but not great', 'a little more', 'moderately spend', 'too largely given', 'frugal plenty', 'enough to satisfy, and something more', are cautious when compared with the Horatian model, and although details of the vision owe much to the country-house model in the intention to be independent, frugal, and generous, sobriety dominates. Yet the poet actually threw caution to the winds in expressing the wish to live near an 'obliging' blue-stocking; the age interpreted this as an improper persona for a clergyman.

The country-house ethos is a product of the agricultural society over which the landlord presides, but in 'The Choice', as in Pope's 'Ode on Solitude', the sense of the processes of germination, growth, maturity, and decay are banished. It is obviously intended as the traditionally pious use of plenty that he gives alms because 'that our Maker has too largely given, /Should be returned in gratitude to Heaven'; however, the moral rectitude of 'too largely given, /...be returned' substitutes moderation for the instinctive delight in abundance, possibly because it is divorced from any specific reference to things. Except in a brief specification for the grounds of his seat, there is no reference to land or its products, but the idea of fitting use is plainly set forth in the stipulation that his table would not be familiar with excess in any form. Over the limited world of the household he exerts control, and can exclude the discomforts that make the body threaten the dominance of the mind, and all other dangers, including the bibulous guest. His responses are not merely defensive; disorderly company precludes the intellectual cultivation that is his object. In the
companionship of his two temperate friends Pomfret hopes to find 'A permanent, sincere, substantial bliss', and the occasional conversation of a reasonable woman would impart such happiness that 'no surly care/Would venture to assault my soul, or dare/Near my retreat, to hide one secret snare'(col.3). Pomfret admits, by his title, that the poem represents a daydream; the house and garden represent the basic conditions for material and intellectual independence, but the emphasis on the cultivation of the mind proves that the microcosmic inheritance, his man's estate, is the territory over which he longs to exert the control of proper use.

In a spirited digression from the neo-Horatian, Lady Winchilsea mocks the excessive detachment of the Horatian mood. Lady Winchilsea's clear-sighted wit often makes up for weaknesses in her verse-making--in this case her anarchic spelling also adds to the reader's pleasure. 'An Invitation to Dafnis', is his wife's plea to Lord Winchilsea to leave the studious occupations of his Horatian retirement and assume the pastoral mantle:

Come, and the pleasures of the fields, survey,
And throw the groves, with your Ardella stray.

This refrain caps every stanza except the last. The first and last stanzas re-create pastoral, but each of the four middle stanzas takes one of Lord Winchilsea's supposed interests and dismisses its pretensions in favour of the genuine pleasures to be found about him in nature. Ironically, these subjects are the theoretical aspects of worldly activity. Lord Winchilsea is at first seen studying maps and books of travel, and then his interest in war and the court and city are mocked to advance the argument in favour of the pastoral.

The insistent juxtaposition of the immediate fields and the distant objects which are the materials of her husband's contemplation seems to tilt at the artificiality of the early eighteenth-century Horatian stance. Lady Winchilsea's cheerful practicality implies that her husband's life is wasted in a fantasy world in limbo between two realities, nature and the world of affairs; and yet, because she is a realist and can always laugh at herself as well as at others, she couches her invitation to abandon this unreality in terms of a deeper realm of fantasy, the pastoral.

Lady Winchilsea's characteristic tone of ironic urbanity is firmly based in an acknowledgement of the conservative ethos; she
had herself served actively at the court of James II and retreated to the country, dismayed and reduced in fortune, after his rout in 1688. In her life, as in much of her verse, she embodies the tension between the grand gesture of enlarging the frontiers of personal experience and withdrawal to hardy self-reliance. 'The Shepherd and the Calm' shows these two sides of experience, and demonstrates in the conversion of the shepherd to merchant, and then back to shepherd again, the similarity of the emotional attitude between the two modes of life. The sight of the orderly unloading of goods in a calm entices the shepherd to unthinkingly exchange one aspect of nature for another as a medium for exploitation. The sea proves uncontrollable, so he retreats to the security of life as an unambitious shepherd. The failure to control his ambition had been as disastrous to the young man when he was a grazier as it would have been to let his sheep wander at will, and as undisciplined merchant-venturing proved.

The exercise of control is the essence of the pleasure in commerce in Spectator 69: Mr. Spectator takes an Horatian delight in being able to detach himself from the activity on 'Change and become the disinterested observer of the process, since, as he has already claimed in Spectator 27, self-command will not be attained by going into retirement if it cannot be partially achieved in the press of business. From his intellectual coign of vantage at the hub of commerce he sees the free exchange of goods as efficient farming on the grand scale, and the merchants who control the processes represent the beneficent landlords:

there are not more useful Members in a Commonwealth than Merchants. They knit Mankind together in a mutual Intercourse of good Offices, distribute the Gifts of Nature, find Work for the Poor, add Wealth to the Rich, and Magnificence to the Great.

Trade without enlarging the British Territories, has given us a kind of additional Empire: It has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more Valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an Accession of other Estates as Valuable as the Lands themselves.

(I,296)
The idea of landowning, in the various interpretations discussed in the previous chapter, is essentially a private, as opposed to a public, concept. This chapter will concentrate mainly on the more public stance adopted in some works: here, the attainment of control which seemed to be the preoccupation of the 'landlords' is accepted as having been achieved, and its extension into a simple pride in the exercise of power marks the patriot as far as he can be defined for the purposes of this work. The tangible evidence of power is tribute, which brings, as its corollary, luxury; at the national level the morality of the exercise of power is the equivalent of the moral ambiguity which is aroused by the question of luxury.

Sensitivity on these points could only have been exacerbated by the wars which were the occasion of much of the poetry considered in this chapter: while in the realm of national policy they were trade wars, the complexity of their conduct during many years intensified the rivalry between interest groups at home. Both city and country interests saw in the protraction of the war and the negotiations for an acceptable peace the epitome of their differences, and the scapegoat was Marlborough; and much of the gratitude for his early victories, out of which the nation had enriched and ennobled this member of the gentry, had evaporated into resentment at his ascendancy over the Queen. Marlborough, moreover, represented the wealth and influence that may accrue to enterprise at the personal and national level, and the luxury that follows in its train. The building at Woodstock Park could be interpreted as a useless showplace built, out of public moneys in time of war, for a man with immense capital invested in the City and who would be an absentee landlord as long as he maintained the standing army on the Continent. In the Examiner Mrs. Hanley represents Blenheim Palace as the antithesis of the country house:
This dazzling, unwieldy Structure, was built amidst the Tears and Groans of a People harass'd with a lingering War, to gratifie the Ambition of a Subject, whilst the Sovereign's Palace lay in Ashes. It was dedicated, from the first Foundation, to the Goddess of Pride; the Building excessive costly, but not artful; the Architect seem'd to consider how to be most profuse. ... There were to be seen stately Towers, noble Porticos, ample Piazzas, and well turned Pillars, without one handsome Room, unless you will call the Kitchin and Cellars such; which part of the House happens to be of very little or no use to the Parsimonious Founder.

Although Marlborough's name is not mentioned, Lady Winchilsea is clearly directing her verse against him in the final stanza of her 'Pindarick Poem' on the 1703 hurricane:

Yet, tell the Man, of an aspiring Thought,  
Of an ambitious, restless Mind,  
That can no Ease, no Satisfaction find,  
Till neigh'ring States are to Subjection brought,  
Till Universal Awe, enslav'd Mankind is taught,  
That, should he lead an Army to the Field,  
For whose still necessary Use,  
Th' extended Earth cou'd not enough produce,  
Nor Rivers to their Thirst a full Contentment yield;  
•••••••  
Tell Him, that does some stately Building raise,  
A Windsor or Versailles erect,  
And thorough all Posterity expect,  
With its unshaken Base, a firm unshaken Praise;  
Tell Him, Judea's Temple is no more,...  
•••••••  
Remember then, to fix thy Aim on High,  
Project, and build on t'other side the Sky,  
For, after all thy vain Expence below,  
Thou canst no Fame, no lasting Pleasure know;  
No Good, that shall not thy Embraces fly,  
Or thou from that be in a Moment caught,  
Thy Spirit to new Claims, new Int'rests brought,  
Whilst unconcern'd thy secret Ashes lie,  
Or stray about the Globe, O Man ordain'd to Dye!

While Lady Winchilsea hints at the object of Tory odium, her theme is a more general attack on the overweening pride of power.

In the last chapter it was suggested that a yearning for control was a reaction to the fear of chaos; a case can be made for seeing

1 No. 51 (July 1711).
exultation in power as a reaction to an acute awareness of man's imperfections and weakness. The expansionist commercial policies which excited the admiration of writers considered in this chapter seemed to be vindicated by the 'tribute' which brought exotic commodities into daily use in Britain; yet these same commodities might also represent the enervating dependence of luxury.

Commerce and luxury are inextricably entwined with the question of right use: the problem of how far the nation, in its entrepreneurial role of landlord to the world, could reconcile its opportunities for exploitation with its place in time as trustee of a common inheritance--as tenant at will--taxes most writers on expansionary themes. Commerce is, therefore, a form of frugality through the proper distribution of the fruits of the earth garnered by Englishmen as temporary lords of the earth.

This is the farmer's problem too: how should he extract most produce from what land he has without despoiling it? The Georgics set out the familiar exposition of the theme of the moderate and grateful use of land written in full awareness of the wider fields of exploitation being turned by successful military and commercial expansion: the georgic form was revived many times in the eighteenth-century, most notably by Thomson in The Seasons, but also by John Philips in Cyder and Pope in Windsor Forest. The plenitude of varieties of apples and pears is used by Philips, in Cyder, to show how land can be fully used and great pleasure derived from its produce without immoderate use leading to drunkenness.

In another example drawn from Spectator 69 Addison again instances the ideal of frugality in world trade:

Almost every Degree produces something peculiar to it. The Food often grows in one Country, and the Sauce in another. The Fruits of Portugal are corrected by the Products of Barbadoes: The Infusion of a China Plant sweetened with the Pith of an Indian Cane: The Philippick Islands give a Flavour to our European Bowls. The single Dress of a Woman of Quality is often the Product of an hundred Climates. The muff and the Fan come together from the different Ends of the Earth. The Scarf is sent from the Torrid Zone, and the Tippet from beneath the Pole. The Brocade Petticoat rises out of the Mines of Peru, and the Diamond Necklace out of the Bowels of Indonesia.

(I, 295)
From his fancied retreat of anonymity amid the crowd on 'Change, Mr. Spectator reflects with evident approval, on the unity in the diversity of plenitude. His pleasure in the Royal Exchange arises from his being at the very centre where a civil society imposes its own unity on the fruits of the earth by the exercise of its collective will and intelligence. Addison's vision is confident and attractive, the more so because his unqualified delight in the mercantile system is rare among writers of the time. Writing as Isaac Bickerstaff in Tatler 116, Steele pontifies:

I consider woman as a beautiful romantic animal, that may be adorned with furs and feathers, pearls and diamonds, ores and silks. The lynx shall cast its skin at her feet to make her a tippet; the peacock, parrot, and swan, shall pay contributions to her muff; the sea shall be searched for shells, and the rocks for gems; and every part of Nature furnish out its share towards the embellishment of a creature that is the most consummate work of it.

While each of these passages records the diverse provenance of the luxuries which grace the lives of the wealthy in a trading society, the extract from The Spectator reads like a factual statement. Any sense of wonder is aroused by the contrast of the extremes of geographic distribution of the 'Torrid Zone' and 'the Pole', or of 'Peru' and 'Indostan'. This polarity imposed on 'an hundred Climates' and 'the different Ends of the Earth' lends a sense of practicality to the 'single Dress of a Woman of Quality'; the reality of rapine in Peru and Indostan is masked by a suggestion of conjuring as the brocade petticoat 'rises out of the Mines of Peru'. In the Tatler version Steele seems to be paying lip-service to the contemporary idea of the romance of trade, notwithstanding Isaac Bickerstaff's earlier expression of disapproval at the extravagance of contemporary fashion. This is a vague passage; although many substances contributing to fashionable dress are mentioned, the terms, being general rather than specific, enhance the atmosphere of romance, a word which is used in the first sentence quoted; the lilting clauses, 'the sea shall be searched for shells, and the rocks for gems', are redolent of quest and mystery. The imagery of the passage seems to fix woman's place in the Great Chain of Being and she is hyperbolically exalted above man as 'the most consummate work' of nature; to her status at the apex of the created world the rest of
nature 'pays contributions', or shall 'furnish out' her finery, the lynx even 'cast[ing] its skin at her feet'; yet she is also just a 'beautiful romantic animal' rather like a pet. This suggested interpretation is heightened by the idea of embellishment: it is illogical seriously to postulate the embellishment of the 'most consummate work' of nature. Isaac Bickerstaff is not serious: his concession to women comes at the end of a paper in which he sits in judgment on a brocade petticoat which is a 'kind of silken Rotunda, in its form not unlike the cupola of Saint Paul's'. This petticoat is a misuse of materials mainly because it distorts the natural shape; the 'counsel for the Petticoat' is unavailing with the defence that the petticoat raises the values of the commodities that go to its manufacture when it is obvious that the woman who wears it is immobilized into a mere decorative symbol of conspicuous consumption. In any case, nearly all the materials are imports, which upsets the mercantilist equation. Moreover, to cite luxuries as examples of the fruitful interdependence of different parts of the world is less illustrative of frugality than of the dissociation of contemporary life from the values of use practised by a society close to the land. Mr. Spectator seems able to make the importation of luxuries seem reasonable, but for the majority of writers it was a subject for satire on the folly of indolence.

This is refined upon by Pope in The Rape of the Lock. The mock-heroical gallantry of the poem shows Belinda as a charming young woman of no consequence beyond her transitory power to delight. Yet to the contemporary reader Belinda's adornments were symbols of mercantile power; at 'the sacred Rites of Pride', for instance,


Unnumber'd Treasures open at once, and here
The various Off'ring's of the World appear;
From each she nicely culls with curious Toil,
And decks the Goddess with the glitt'ring Spoil.
This Casket India's glowing Gems unlocks,
And all Arabia breathes from yonder Box.
The Tortoise here and Elephant unite,
Transformed to Combs, the speckled and the white.

(I,129-136)

Elements of the romantic and the mystical are being used satirically, as in Tatler 116, but here they conform to the metaphor of pagan religious ceremonial. The evocation of the exotic in Belinda's cosmetics reads more like the ritual of a religious cult than the ascendency of mercantile man over disparate nature. In this way, while the poet celebrates British trading prowess and takes delight in the richness of its harvest, he sounds a tolerant warning against its misuse. Excessive use of cosmetics may distort nature rather than improve upon it; there is also an inference that the elevation of an insignificant routine of life (in this case, dressing) to the status of ritual, is the result of woman having been removed from the sphere of purposeful work to that of a show-piece, a display of 'the whole Lexicon of Female Popperies'.

The coffee-drinking episode in Canto III is a further example of the ritualistic aspects of another social custom which, in civil society, elaborates a basic human need:

For lo! the Board with Cups and Spoons is crown'd
The Berries crackle, and the Mill turns round.
On shining Altars of Japan they raise
The silver Lamp: the fiery Spirits blaze.
From silver Spouts the grateful Liquors glide,
While China's Earth receives the smoking Tyde.
At once they gratify their Scent and Taste,
And frequent Cups prolong the rich Repast.

(III, 105-112)

The coffee service, drawn from every corner of the earth to grace one room, excites admiration for the commercial enterprise which makes it possible and induces delight in the sheer richness and beauty of the experience; but the inclusion of this ceremony in


the bantering hyperbole of the poem suggests that the alluring sparkle and glitter that embellishes this use of the world's plenty does not delude the poet, who because he cherishes the known and simple ways of the past, sees beyond the glamour of the occasion.6

In Lady Winchilsea's verse-letter, 'Ardelia's Answer to Ephelia, who had invited her to come to see her in town--reflecting on the Coquetterie and detractinghumours of the Age', her persona is that of an entrenched conservative who adheres to the old ethos, although the well-modulated but tart good-humour of the poem belies the intensity of her sense of loss at the passing of an age. The divorce of the city idle from the simple responses of those who use the resources of nature to supply needs, is demonstrated by Almeria, who complains about Ardelia's rusticity:

Ere twelve was struck, she calls me from my bed,
Nor once observes how well my toilett's spread;
Then, drinks the fragrant tea contented up,
Without a complement upon the cup,
Tho' to the ships, for the first choice I stear'd,
Through such a storm, as the stout bargemen fear'd;
Least that a praise, which I have long engross'd
Of the best china Equipage, be lost.
Of fashions now, and colours I discours'd,
Detected shops that wou'd expose the worst,
What silks, what lace, what rubans she must have,

6Given Pope's pleasure in allusion, the false sparkle of Comus's enchanted 'cordial Julep.../That flames, and dances in his crystal bounds' (Milton, A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle, 11.672-74) could well have been in his mind when writing this. Cf., also, Allan Ramsay on the tea service in 'The Morning Interview': The Works of Allan Ramsay, Vol. I, ed. B. Martin and J.W. Oliver (Edinburgh, 1950):

'A sumptuous Entertainment crowns the War,
And all rich Requisites are brought from far.
The Table boasts its being from Japan,
Th' ingenious Work of some great Artisan.
China, where Potters coarsest would refine,
That RAYS through the transparent Vessels shine;
The costly Plates and Dishes are from thence,
And Amazonia must her Sweets dispense;
To her warm Banks our Vessels cut the Main,
For the sweet Product of her luscious Cane.
Here Scotia does no costly Tribute bring,
Only some Kettles full of Todian Spring.

Where Indus and the double Ganges flow,
On odrif'rous Plains the Leaves do grow,
Chief of the Treat, a Plant the Boast of Fame,
Sometimes call'd Green, Bohea's its greater Name.'

(11.236-251)
And by my own, an ample pattern gave,
To which, she cold, and unconcern'd reply'd,
I deal with one that does all these provide,
Having of other cares, enough beside;
And in a cheap, or an ill chosen gown,
Can value blood that's nobler then my own,
And therefore hope, my self not to be weigh'd
By gold, or silver, on my garments laid;
Or that my Witt, or judgment shou'd be read
In an uncommon colour on my head. (1.78-98)

Ardelia's values of piety, simplicity and independence of mind which emerge from lines 90-92 contrasts emphatically with Almeria's competitive, materialistic milieu which is epitomised in her misspent labour for the tea-service.

It is the paradox of this luxury that, while the necessary conditions for its indulgence were the success of man's rationality in trade, it appealed to the instinctive sensuality of man; this is the side of human nature steeped in Augustinian sinfulness. Yet striving Western cultures felt, in the main, morally comfortable about stripping the unredeemed, pagan portion of fallen man of his treasures and Englishmen, possibly more sensitive to the sufferings of savages because of trading rivalry with the Spaniards, justified their actions on the grounds of God's design that man should exert his intelligence; and, by managing the materials available to him, reify the partially perceived interdependence of the parts of the world into a grand scheme of frugality. A corollary of this attitude was the weaving of a myth from the metaphorical vision of Britain as lord and magistrate to the willingly subject world.

Prior's Carmen Seculare (1699) is a good example of the public statement of the Englishman's view of the national role. It is a formal compliment, a long Pindaric in praise of William III and so dull a production that it makes a mockery of his theme. The following extracts from a letter written to Keppel at the time of the siege of Namur give some indication of Prior's attitude to such work and make his invocation of the guardian of the years, Janus, more than

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7 See Donald Greene, 'Augustinianism and Empiricism'
just an appropriate symbol for the turn of the century:

After having hoped, feared, been promised, and (which is worst) congratulated for Lisbon, the King thinks there is not enough for a minister to do there. 'Tis true His Majesty knows best, for he is as evidently the most experienced man of our age, as he is the best Prince,... and though His Majesty have small use for a scribbling servant, I have great occasion for the bounty of a Royal Master. Wherever he pleases to send me I am ready to go;... and when there is nothing to be written for his service in prose, I will write his conquests and glories in verse.... I take the boldness to protest to you I cannot think of returning to my College, and being useless to my country, to make declamations and theses to doting divines there, having drawn up memorials to the States-General in the name of the greatest king in Europe. You will be pleased to pardon the freedom of this letter, and to help me in this conjuncture of my fortune.8

At this time he was in a mood to be mildly satirical at the expense of his master; during his years of service to William he had many tussles about money with the king and his advisors, but one which occurred just before the writing of Carmen Seculare was the most unpleasant.9 The poem is the last of a series of panegyrics to William, none of which is as hyperbolical in its praise as this; it seems to be written out of a sense of pique and self-condemnation for indulgence in the exercise and it may have been intended as a parody of an encomium.

Internal contradictions within stanza one give a clue to Prior's basic conservatism. The fourth line refers to the Golden Age, the 'noted White age, Superior to the rest', yet the poet ends the stanza by declaring that there has never been, nor ever will be, a greater man than William. Although this is not necessarily an inconsistency, dealing, as it does, on the one hand with an era and on the other with a man, there is an unsettling juxtaposition of ideas, forced partly by the mode of expression, as when he ends the stanza by asserting, 'That nothing went before so Great,/And nothing

8Quoted in L. G. W. Legg, Matthew Prior: A Study of his Public Career and Correspondence (Cambridge, 1921), pp.30-31.

Greater can succeed'. Yet in March 1699 he wrote to his superior, Lord Portland, that "Henry the 7th and Henry the 8th and Elizabeth... governed us best!", an assertion which he repeats in a subsequent letter and which shows his attraction to the golden age of 'gothic government'.

In stanzas xxv and xxvi Prior hopes for a restoration of the Golden Age now that there is peace in Europe, asking Janus to

Lead forth the Years for Peace and Plenty fam'd,
From SATURN's Rule, and better Metal nam'd.

The use of 'Plenitude' to describe the variety of forms of William's fame (333) foreshadows William's role as guardian of peaceful agricultural pursuits in stanza xxvi where Prior looks forward to the country's fruitfulness:

Let her glad Vallies smile with wavy Corn:
Let fleecy Flocks her rising Hills adorn:
Around her Coast let strong Defence be spread:
Let fair Abundance on her Breast be shed:
And Heav'nly Sweets bloom round the Goddess' Head.

The facile reinforcement of the sense of plenty that occurs in each of these five lines -- even defence is 'spread' -- echoes an earlier stanza (xxii) in which William is likened 'to his THANES, /With gentle course devolving fruitful Streams', beside which 'Fresh Flow'rs for ever rise: and fruitful Harvest grows'.

Stylized hyperbole accords with the exaggeration throughout the poem, but there is no gainsaying the tangibility of Britain's material well-being in 1699. The order which peace brings in its train is 'Secure by WILLIAM's Care'; by his military prowess the king has assured Britain independence, so that she can 'stand; /Nor dread the Bold Invader's Hand' (348-49). The king's reputation for meanness would contradict any suggestion that he dispenses bountiful hospitality, but he does confer many honours (xxvii-xxxii) and has a discerning eye for art. He can therefore be portrayed as a patron under whose protection science and art will flourish, and William's name will be preserved by the Muses if by nothing else, since, as Prior reminds the king whom he has previously praised for his god-like qualities, only the Muses can 'save/Distinguish'd Patriots from the Common Grave'.

This poem is planned to praise the overlordship of the British

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10 Legg, Matthew Prior, p.93.
king and the growing power of the English people. The frugal use of the world's produce is glanced at in stylized terms:

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

But Britain's wealth and power endow her with the privileges of preceptor, for there follows a hint of the Calvinist equation of wealth with virtue:

Our Pray'rs are heard, our Master's Fleets shall go,
As far as Winds can bear, or Waters flow,
New Lands to make, new INDIES to explore,
In Worlds unknown to plant BRITANNIA's Power;
Nations yet wild by Precept to reclaim,
And teach 'em Arms, and Arts, in WILLIAM's Name.

Here and in the stanzas that follow, Prior is almost certainly commenting on the rationalizations by which his countrymen justify their overseas adventures. The parenthetical inclusion of arts suggests that the poet is well aware of the inverted values of Europeans in their overseas ventures. Prior prophesies that William's fame will bear sway among the wild people; the dusky listeners will 'form their Children's Accents to His Name,/Enquiring how, and when from Heav'n He came'(493-94) and will see in him the 'Great Father' manifest.

It is not entirely incongruous that these hyperbolical propositions should be placed in juxtaposition with the idea of

His forty Years for Publick Freedom fought,
EUROPE by His Hand sustain'd,
His Conquest by His Piety restrain'd,
And o'er Himself the last great Triumph gain'd.

In stanzas xxxvii and xxxviii Prior condenses the early eighteenth-century problem of man's use of his life and the natural world: William represents tenancy of the two realms given into the power of his contemporaries, 'either INDIA's Shores' and the self.

The Dryades of William Diaper was written to celebrate the end of the wars first waged by William III, and they therefore praise the men who bring order to the world, and they look forward with hope to
the renewed golden age that the expected peace may herald. The rustics who engage in song-making are the wood nymphs who 'prefer the peaceful Night' (1.105) and have an affinity for insects, reptiles, and arachnids, instead of for the domestic mammals of traditional pastoral. For,

'Who (said the Nymph) would sing of bleating Flocks,
Or hanging Goats that browse on craggy Rocks,
When ancient Bards have rifled all the Store,
And the drain'd Subject can afford no more?'

Besides, the times have changed, for this is not a pastoral but

...'a warlike Age.

In ancient Times the Shepherd's Song would please,
When pious Kings enjoy'd the Shepherd's Ease,
And Monarchs sate beneath the shadowing Trees.'

Civil war is still green in memory, an irrational and impious episode (11.302-313) which, 'Britain's kind Ennia' (1.352) foresees will not recur because Britain has enough patriots to ensure peace: there is not only Prior, beloved of the dryads, but St. John--

When St. John speaks, Who would refuse to hear? Mars smooths his Brow, and Pallas drops her Spear.

Diaper is a Tory, and both Bolingbroke and Wyndham are his patrons: they are the men who restore order to the state because their 'Eloquence the Tumult over-rules' (1.467) after it has been aroused by the self-seeking men who hate 'the publick Welfare' (1.421).

The unforced order of a harmonious society seems to be within the reach of the world ruled and succoured by Anne in her role as a combination of magistrate and Great Mother (11.631-659). The dryad foretells the peace that will result from Britain's mastery of the seas:

'And now the British Fleets in Southern Seas,
With spreading Sails the wond'ring Nereids please.
In Havens erst unknown they proudly ride,
While the glad Tritons force the lazy Tide.
Toss'd with fresh Gales the wanton Streamers flow,
Nor dread the Storms above, nor Rocks below.
The Pow'rs protect, who rule the restless Sea,
And Winds themselves their Steerage will obey.'

The fluidity of 'spreading Sails', 'proudly ride', 'force the Lazy Tide', and 'Toss'd with fresh Gales the wanton Streamers flow', implies that this power which protects, rules, and exacts obedience, does so with a gentle hand which removes the fear of violence while it grants freedom of movement. This is the type of the order that occurs naturally in the created world:

A thousand Kinds unknown in Forrests breed,
And bite the Leaves, and notch the growing Weed;
Have each their several Laws, and settled States,
And constant Sympathies, and constant Hates.

(11.530-33)

The faery eclogue is an appropriate medium for gentle didacticism about the order inherent in all spheres of life by reference to the lore of creatures so small, relative to man, that they are usually disregarded. The dryads understand these tiny worlds, but

Men Nature in her secret Work behold,
Untwist her Fibres, and her Coats unfold;
With Pleasure trace the Threds of stringy Roots,
The various Textures of the ripening Fruits;
And Animals, that careless live at ease,
To whom the Leaves are Worlds, the Drops are Seas.
If to the finish'd Whole so little goes,
How small the Parts, that must the Whole compose: Matter is infinite, and still descends:
Man cannot know where lessening Nature ends.
The azure Dye, which Plums in Autumn boast,
That handled fades, and at a Touch is lost,
(Of fairest Show) is all a living Heap;
And round their little World the Lovely Monsters creep.
Who would on Colour dote, or pleasing Forms,
If Beauty, when discover'd, is but Worms?

(11.558-573)

This is one of Piooper's better passages, showing a firm control of the heroic couplet which he occasionally varies with an alexandrine, as in line 571. A close texture of sibilants and plosives in lines 559-560 produces a concrete sensation of the serious naturalist's relentless and disruptive infiltration of the little world he is observing. He has to confine his senses to insinuate them into the minute cosmos which is nevertheless capacious to those 'Animals, that careless live at ease,/To whom the Leaves are Worlds, the Drops are Seas'. The true nature of the bloom on autumn plums shows that the disparity of appearance and reality is a question of relativity which depends on one's point of view, and the plodding alexandrine draws
attention to the minuteness of the creatures described in the apparently incongruous phrase 'lovely monsters creep'. Viewed under a microscope such tiny beings are indeed exquisitely complex and beautiful, yet seen by the naked eye they creep upon the surface of their little world. By the pursuit of this theme in the Dryden Diaper shows that empirical observation engenders respect for nature and awareness of the necessity for proper use. The hierarchical scheme of the universe, revealed in the varying degrees of creation, should remind the viewer of the relativity of his claim to the right to assert his power in the natural world.

Yet discontent often makes man misuse his tenancy of whatever has been given as his earthly estate. In 'Eclogue XII' of Diaper's Nereides Glaucus describes the restless yearnings of the callow young fisherman who first wishes to become a 'Shepherd Swain' and then, roused by his father's eulogy of Lecon (Sir John Leake, the British admiral), longs to 'venture on the Main to distant Shores'(1.99). His father has the truly pastoral temper: although it is often obscured by the embellishment of plaintive love-songs, the eclogue is essentially charming because the swains are content with their condition; in reality, sings the father:

'All think their Fortune is of all the worst;
Each Man (himself a Judge) is truly curst,
Thro' Ign'rance we commend a Life unknown,
And praise another's State, and grieve our own,
While he as much complains: is pin'd with Care,
And gladly would exchange his envy'd Share.
The Gods on us a daily Feast bestow,
For which no Price we pay, no Thanks we owe.'

(11.40-47)

The potential harvest of contentment from well-used land and time, even where conditions are harsh, is John Philips's theme in Cyder. His modern georgic 'in Wiltonian Verse' is a mixture of pomposity leavened with humour and verbal facility modified by clear observation; Philips has twined the Wiltonian prosody about the Virgilian form to make a long poem that is pleasant reading but flat poetry. Philips excelled in mock-imitations, and much of the reader's enjoyment of Cyder derives from appreciation of his imitative skill and the associated memory of his originals:
Ev'n on the cliffty Height
Of Penmenmaur, and that Cloud-piercing Hill,
Plinlimmon, from afar the Traveller sees
Astonish'd, how the Goats their shrubbery Brouze
Gnaw pendent; nor untrembling canst thou see,
How from a scraggy Rock, whose Prominence
Half overshades the Ocean, Hardy Men,
Fearless of rending Winds, and dashing Waves,
Cut Sampire, to excite the squeamish Gust
Of pamper'd Luxury.

(I,105-114)12

These are apposite similes to advance the theme of the poem but Philips has lost no opportunity of heightening his theme by obvious use of his masters' technical devices. He was born in Herefordshire and comments on the untamed remoteness of neighbouring Wales in the choice of Welsh names to supply the exotic nomenclature in imitation of his models, and he produces a notable Miltonic inversion of both goats and word order in 'the Goats their shrubby Brouze/Gnaw pendent'. The Miltonic echoes awakened by the double negative of 'nor untrembling' heightens the tone in introducing the indecorously low subject of the sapphire-gatherers. This perpetuates the Virgilian precedent of rescuing the useful and productive processes of life from undeserved poetic oblivion. A few lines later Philips abandons all inhibitions about poetic decorum when he condemns the short-sightedness of manuring by eager farmers who 'with fatning Duck/Besmear the Roots'

(I,121-22). The most subtly used device is the last: the Virgilian contrast of the wind-torn, cliff-hanging men who 'Cut Sampire, to excite the squeamish Gust/Of pamper'd Luxury' is strengthened by the punning conjunction of wind and appetite in 'gust'.

Cyder is a self-deprecating georgic which, it seems, had to find the excuse of being a humorous exercise as a vehicle of its didacticism, unless, on the other hand, Philips thought that the serious message was needed to soften the stylistic iconoclasm. The theme of proper use is intrinsic in the choice of the georgic form, and the selection of this form in 1702 is prophetic of the drift of one stream of the literary imagination during the eighteenth century. Others later used similar techniques for a similar purpose but

Philips was first in his self-conscious attempt to cope imaginatively with problems that seemed relevant to contemporary attitudes to life at the beginning of the century. The persona of the literary parodist masked the clarity of Philips's perception of the necessity for Englishmen to come to terms with the realities on which their lives in a civil society were founded.

Philips's digression on goats and samphire-gatherers is not merely stylistic; it provides examples to prove his central theme that:

\[ \ldots \text{naught is useless made; nor is there Land,} \]
\[ \text{But what, or of it self, or else compell'd,} \]
\[ \text{Affords Advantage.} \]

\[ \ldots \text{Then, let thy Ground} \]
\[ \text{Not lye unlabour'd; if the richest Stem} \]
\[ \text{Refuse to thrive, yet who would doubt to plant} \]
\[ \text{Somehow, that may to Human Use redound,} \]
\[ \text{And Penury, the worst of ills, remove?} \]

(I,98-100, 114-18)

The phrase, *neu seques iacent terrae* (II,37), is the basis of the *Georgics*, especially Book II which is the model for *Cyder*. The re-emergence of this theme at the time probably owes much to the increasing prevalence of the Protestant ethic, as it is defined in Weber's book.\(^{13}\) Under the influence of the spirit of capitalism the medieval theory of God's plenitude is absorbed and, if not redefined, at least rejuvenated by the Puritan need to see, in the interdependent realms of man and diverse nature, the evidence that the transcendent godhead is at work among his people.*\(^{14}\) Man must therefore look to the farthest corners of the earth, as to the barren patches of his own ground, to glean advantage from both likely and unlikely places, since everything has a purpose and should be gratefully used in fulfilment of God's plan. In *Cyder*, the last line quoted above (118) advances a very practical reason for attempting to use the earth's bounty and in doing so suggests nascent liberal notions of banishing the

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\(^{14}\)ibid., pp.112-15.
poverty endemic in the pre-industrial world. Philips uses the language of capitalism to describe agriculture:

> And shall we doubt
> T’t improve our vegetable Wealth, or let
> The Soil lye idle, which, with fit Manure,
> Will largest Usury repay...?

(I, 541-44)

Here is a pleasant echo of Milton's 'vegetable Gold' and, in contrast, the association of the 'low' word, manure, with the usury which had only recently attained respectability. He also introduces the work ethic into the georgic in the following admonition, which biographical evidence suggests is satiric, and which comes after a long passage on his observations in microscopic natural history:

> lo! thoughtful of Thy Gain,
Not of my Own, I all the live-long Day
Consume in Meditation deep, recluse
From human Converse, nor, at shut of Eve,
Enjoy Repose; but oft at Midnight Lamp
Ply my brain-racking Studies, if by chance
Thee I may counsel right; and oft this Care
Disturbs me slumbring. Wilt thou then repine
To Labour for thy Self? and rather chuse
To Lye supinely, hoping, Heav'n will bless
Thy slighted Fruits, and give thee Bread unearn'd?

(I, 364-374)

There is, however, little chance that the reader will have delusions that evenings spent in hospitality will be achieved without exertion and resourcefulness, as Philips includes much information on the culture of the apple and suggests alternatives for the times when the apple fails the thirsty horticulturalist.

Any inference of the contemporary argument from the work ethic seems to be used by the poet as a justification for inculcating traditional values of responsibility to the land. The planting should be adapted to the soil (I, 41-46) and to the habits and natural affinities of plants (I, 270-72); Philips advises: 'Respect thy Orchats' (I, 274), and use all that has been provided, and use it fully, whether this be the harvest itself, which can be twice pressed for must before the apple-cheese is used as nourishing mulch (II, 100-114), or the meteorological and astronomical signs in the sky (II, 162-197). Labor omnia vicit, but intelligence, directing...

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15 Georgics I, 145.
that work, enables a man to rise above hard times to retain his independence, like the 'frugal Man [Philips]...knew, / Rich in one barren Acre,...subdu'd/ By endless Culture'(II,117-19), who, since he was moderate in his desires and wanted only 'sufficient Must', produced good cider in a bad season by skill and prudence. But the misfortunes of one stiff-necked farmer, who worked hard to retain his independence without bestowing gratitude for the help of God by the pious offering of the tithe (II,146-161), are a reminder that independence at each level is only relative and always subject to the higher power that controls a wider sphere.

The individual Englishman should use his own land to best advantage, while the 'native Glebe' is like a 'bounteous Womb' making England as a whole like a flourishing estate. Here different kinds of land yield variety in the produce and benefits for man, and here, as in the use of barley and hops for brewing, there is a simple demonstration of the complementary aspects of nature that is so satisfying to the mind of the man who himself enjoys mutual dependence with nature (I,530-579). There is even fuel from the forest where the oak, the king of the vegetable world, reigns. The symbol has been enriched because the oak has given sanctuary to a future king and continues to protect the safety of the British monarchy when, after having been felled to serve the king, it

Stems the vast Main, and bears tremendous War
To distant Nations, or with Sov'ran sway
Aws the divided World to Peace and Love.

(I,577-79)

The oak, transformed to ship, becomes a metonym for lordship over the world: the role is that of peace-bringer, since fear of war, especially of renewed civil strife, is still strong in the world of Philips's georgic just as it is in the Virgilian original. The poet, while he scorns the folly of those who venture abroad, enjoys the patriotic thrill of his countrymen's power over men and nature:

What shall retard the Britons' bold Designs,
Or who sustain their Force;
...uncontrol'd
The British Navy thro' the Ocean vast
Shall wave her double Cross, t'extreamest Climes

16E.g. II, 481-524; II, 595-619.
Terrific, and return with odorous Spoils
Of Araby well fraught, or Indus' Wealth,
Pearl, and Barbaric Gold; mean while the Swains
Shall un molested reap, what Plenty strows
From well stor'd Horn, rich Grain, and timely Fruits.
The elder Year, Pomon2, pleas'd, shall deck
With ruby-tinctur'd Births, whose liquid Store
Abundant, flowing in well blended Streams,
The Natives shall applaud....

(II,646-663 passim)

Imagery of the harvest of treasure blends imperceptibly into the
harvest of the fertile land where 'ruby-tinctur'd' apples 'deck' the
'rich' and 'well stor'd' countryside. For Philips this is where
the more substantial treasure lies: to him, cider is like the
'vivid Amber, or undrossy Gold' of sunlight glancing through cloud
(II,327), 'Transparent, sparkling in each Drop'(II,347), which unlike
more solid treasures that bring contention in their train produces
harmony and 'the Joys that flow/From amicable Talk, and moderate Cups/
Sweetly interchang'd'(II,386-8).

The proper use of whatever lies within one's sphere of influence
induces order. In the most materially deprived condition of life
'Th' Honest Man,...prefers inglorious Want/To ill-got Wealth'
(I,730-32): adherence to 'Friendship...[and] Nature's Laws' is to
be preferred to the delusive glitter of the 'gilded Roofs' and
'tawdry Gugaws' of the Court (I,721-23): the good man is

    Studious of Virtue, he no Life observes
    Except his own, his own employs his Cares,
    Large Subject! that he labours to refine
    Daily, nor of his little Stock denies
    Fit Alms to Lazarus, merciful, and meek.

(I,768-772)

Once more there appears a hint of Puritan zeal for self-mastery by
industry and good works; there is, however, classical precedent in
the image of Virgil 'at Court/Still thoughtful of the rural honest
Life./And how t' improve his Grounds, and how himself'(I,774-76).
Virgil here represents the poet as the voice of the public conscience
and epitome of individual virtue: Philips knew that by his want of
poetic skill he could lay no claim to fulfill such a role in England,
but the ethical framework of Cyder shows that he understood the
potential that was to be more fully used by better writers later in
the century.
Another minor poet employed his 'artless reed' to essay a different kind of public poem: Thomas Tickell wrote *A Poem, to His Excellency the Lord Privy-Seal, on the Prospect of Peace* from the 'cloister'd domes' of Cambridge. Its central theme -- appropriately for a poem written in celebration of the Treaty of Utrecht -- is the rule of peace victorious at last over the disorder produced by ambition; pastoral serenity, therefore, succeeds to the battlefield:

the honours of the field
By ploughshares levell'd, or in flowers conceal'd.
O'er shattered walls may creeping ivy twine,
And grass luxuriant clothe the harmless mine.
Tame flocks ascend the breach without a wound,
Or crop the bastion, now a fruitful ground;
While shepherds sleep, along the rampard laid,
Or pipe beneath the formidable shade.17

As these lines indicate, the poem is discursive and frequently pedestrian, but there is a core of interest in the images around which it is organized, although they are not well enough assimilated by Tickell's poetic imagination to take on a new life, as Pope's images do in *Windsor Forest*. In *The Prospect of Peace*, Britain is Queen Anne's castle from which she rules the world:

Great queen!

From Albion's cliffs thy wide-extended hand
Shall o'er the main to far Peru command;
So vast a tract whose wide domain shall run,
Its circling skies shall see no setting sun. (104, col. 2)

In contrast with the extended sphere of Anne's influence, Marlborough, to whom she is indebted for this increase of power, is shown in spatially contracted retirement in the environs of Woodstock Park. But Blenheim rises on ground sanctified by many historical associations and the house is a token of confidence in futurity:

Heirs of thy blood shall o'er their bounteous board
Fix Europe's guard, thy monumental sword,

Of Churchill's race perhaps some lovely boy
Shall mark the burnish'd steel that hangs on high,

Shall gaze transported on its glittering charms,
And reach it struggling with unequal arms,
By signs the drum's tumultuous sound request,
Then seek, in starts, the hushing mother's breast.

(104, col. 2)

However small the first duke's reputation for hospitality, the 'bounteous board' and 'monumental sword' are symbolic of more than Marlborough's individual patriotic virtue. Martial patriotism, expressed as fealty to the king and defence of one's soil by militia service, is one of the traditional virtues of the country-house ethos, as the conservative argument against Marlborough's standing army was at pains to prove. By merging his own notable patriotic service into the British standing army which, like the navy, ranged onto foreign soil, and in being publicly rewarded by the nation with the gift of a palatial country house to be raised where no house had stood before, Marlborough represents Britain using old virtues to deal in new ways with new circumstances as exemplar and magistrate to the world:

Amidst the world of waves so stands serene
Britannia's isle, the ocean's stately queen;
In vain the nations have conspired her fall,
Her trench the sea, and fleets her floating wall:
Defenceless barks, her powerful navy near,
Have only waves and hurricanes to fear.
What bold invader, or what land opprest,
Hath not her anger quell'd, her aid redrest!
Say, where have e'er her union-crosses sail'd,
But much her arms, her justice more prevail'd!
Her labours are, to plead th' Almighty's cause,
Her pride to teach th' untam'd barbarian laws:
Who conquers wins by brutal strength the prize;
But 'tis a godlike work to civilize.

(103, col. 2)

Peace brings order through the guardianship of traditions like the church, the banishment of unnecessary sorrow, and the culture of the arts; in its civilizing effect peace is itself creative if the nation which imposes the peace uses it in accordance with the conservative ethos of lordship:

Blest use of power! O virtuous pride in kings!
And like his bounty, whence dominion springs!
Which o'er new worlds makes Heaven's indulgence shine
And ranges myriads under laws divine!
Well bought with all that those sweet regions hold,
With groves of spices and with mines of gold.
Fearless our merchant now pursues his gain,
And roams securely o'er the boundless main.

(103, col. 2)

In *Windsor Forest*, which was published shortly after tickell's celebration of peace, Pope has created a georgic of the husbandry of the forest; the Forest is a microcosm that becomes a metonym for the widening spheres of the country, Europe, and finally the world. Didacticism is well-concealed within the loose descriptive form, but the poem in fact teaches the Tory lesson that kings are not to be lightly dethroned or replaced since the hereditary monarchy is a trust of responsibility to the land and its inhabitants. The king's use of his own estate, Windsor Forest, reflects his administration of the kingdom.

Windsor Forest had long been a kingdom within the kingdom, a tract of land originally set aside for the pleasures of King William I, who 'loved the tall stags as though he were their father'. Although the land had been sequestrated from normal use during the years of the autocratic kings, under better rulers it had burgeoned and become the world in miniature, where different aspects of existence were judiciously balanced (11.15-28). Its varied fortunes during the course of history derived from the quality of the king's proprietorship:

See Pan with Flocks, with Fruits Pomona crown'd,
Here blushing Flora paints th' enamel'd Ground,
Here Ceres' Gifts in waving Prospect stand,
And nodding tempt the joyful Reaper's Hand,
Rich Industry sits smiling on the Plains,
And Peace and Plenty tell, a STUART reigns.
Not thus the Land appear'd in Ages past,
A dreary Desart and a gloomy Waste,
To Savage Beasts and Savage Laws a Prey,
And Kings more furious and severe than they:
Who claim'd the Skies, dispeopled Air and Floods,
The lonely Lords of empty Wilds and Woods.

(11.37-48)

The first two couplets are a stylization of the Augustan ideal of


peace and plenty which is encapsulated in: 'Rich Industry sits smiling on the Plains'. The next statement, that 'Peace and Plenty tell a STUART reigns', is, however, deeply significant. Pope's dislike of William, revived eleven years after his death by the imminence of renewed questioning of the succession when the queen's health was failing, can be seen underlying the choice of locality and treatment of the theme.

A topographical poem on Windsor Forest is appropriate for the poet who lived for some years at Binfield in the Forest; but it also provides a suitable vehicle for invidious comparison of William III with his usurping namesake, the Norman king. The inference is that legal usurpation by invitation in 1688 has had effects almost as deleterious as the violent overthrow of the rightful British monarch at Hastings in 1066. Both alien kings from across the Channel, shared not only a name but a passion for hunting, which in each case led to his death; for the other William, William Rufus the Conqueror's son, the parallel also holds good. The general acceptance of hunting as a representation of war, as for instance in Carew's 'To my Friend G. N., from Wrest', makes Pope's references to the havoc wreaked on the land by a hunting monarch a pertinent theme for a poem celebrating the peace ending a war prosecuted by the warrior King William III. The reversion of the dispeopled land to the savagery of 'dreary Desert', 'gloomy waste', 'Savage Beasts', 'Kings...furious and severe', 'dispeopled', and 'empty Wilds and Woods', (11.44-48 passim) is like the desolation of the battlefield, and is in each case the antithesis of the proper use of land, where man humanizes nature and coaxes the soil into fruitfulness:

In vain kind Seasons swell'd the teeming Grain,
Soft Show'rs distill'd, and Suns grew warm in vain;
The Swain with Tears his frustrate Labour yields,
And famish'd dies amidst his ripen'd Fields.
What wonder then, a Beast or Subject slain
Were equal Crimes in a Despotic Reign;
Both doom'd alike for sportive Tyrants bled,
But while the Subject starv'd, the Beast was fed.

Yet while hunting may be the emblem of war (11.105-110) it is also a

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gentle art which, like other country pursuits, is properly to be adapted to the passing cycle of the seasons. The good huntsman is in harmony with nature, deriving benefit from the employment of his superior strength and skill without unduly exploiting his prey.

Pope's sympathy alternates between man and beast, although it favours the victims, a bias which is particularly obvious in the well-known lines on fowling (111-134).

The tale of Lodona's impetuous excursion out of the protection of Diana's forest realm in pursuit of her quarry shows how the hunter can become the hunted and, in doing so, links the forest georgic with the war and with the national condition. Earl Wasserman argues cogently that Lodona, the classical Syrinx, represents Britain in her continental war, and that the transformation of Lodona to a flowing river is significant,

For neither the English nation nor Anne could erase the consequences of England's involvement in the war; yet Anne was able to perform the miraculous act... of transforming a violent war into a peace that was not merely placid but was itself a reflection of the universal system of harmony. Anne cannot, like God, decree order, but she is god-like at least to the degree that, through the Peace of Utrecht, she can miraculously banish its opposite by fiat not only from her own empire but from all the world:

At length great ANNA said -- Let Discord cease!
She said, the World obey'd, and all was Peace!
(325-26)²¹

By contrast with the destructive foreign kings named William, Anne is a native member of the hereditary Stuart line, and she is, after long delays, a bringer of peace. While she is lord of Windsor Castle and its Forest, man and nature exist in harmonious interdependence, having achieved the balance of Ovidian discordia concors. The early lines of the poem that echo Georgics II describe the contemporary Forest as a microcosm -- not the world but 'as the World'(1.14). Pope's eye roves first over the immediate object, 'where, tho' all things differ, all agree'(1.16), then wanders from the microcosm to the macrocosm in the similes of the individual nymph, appropriately lovely in the pleasant confusion of opposing

inclinations, and the explorer's vision of the contrasting 'verdant
Isles' and 'able Waste' (1.28). The lord both of Windsor Forest
and of the realm is Queen Anne: like Diana she rules the forest,
and, by her ships made of forest oak, the waves; the analogy with
the moon goddess can be extended further because not only does her
benevolence shine on her subjects, but her orders to build more
churches for London's growing population brings light to those who
dwell in darkness. Yet, the 'Queen;/Whose Care...protects the
Sylvan Reign,/The Earth's fair Light, and Empress of the Main'
(1.162-164) has ruled for twelve years over political dissension
at home and bloody war abroad. Now the strife is stilled on both
fronts and Windsor Forest resounds to the cheerful sounds of the
'Sylvan War' (1.111-158), the only warlike sounds which might have
been expected during the entire reign of this latter-day Diana.

Now, says old Thames 'The shady Empire shall retain no Trace/
Of War or Blood, but in the Sylvan Chace' (1.371-72). The term
'shade' is particularly suitable to Thames, who prophesies his role
as source of the power which he foresees arising from the peace which
Britain has established for warring Europe and which, in effect,
emanates from the queen's forest estate. The rising power of London
is given sacred and glorious connotations by the phrasing 'glittering
Spires' and 'Temples...the beautiful Works of Peace' (1.377-8).
Yet deeper associations are aroused by the lines where the image of
the twin cities of London and Westminster which 'bend/Their ample
Bow' (1.379-380) along the banks of Thames's 'Chrysal Tyde' (1.376)
suggests the rainbow that is the sign of God's covenant never again
to let loose upon the earth the forces of total destruction by
water; 22 this is an affirmation of order, the re-establishment of
which was heralded by the return of the dove, now the symbol of peace
(11.429-430). In the subsequent lines (381-84) words with Delphic
connotations, such as 'Doom', 'Oracle', 'Times to come', 'sue',
'suppliant' and 'bend', develop a mystical aura around the name of
Augusta, which provides credibility and an air of authority to the
prophecy that follows: 23

22 Genesis 9, 11-17.

23 The editors of the Twickenham edition draw the reader's
attention to the relation of this passage to Isaiah 60, which
describes the fulfilment of the new covenant to redeem man. 1,158.
Thy Trees, fair Windsor! now shall leave their Woods,
And half thy Forests rush into my FLOODS,
Bear Britain's Thunder, and her Cross display,
To the bright Regions of the rising Day;
Tempt Icy Seas, where scarce the Waters roll,
Where clearer Flames glow round the frozen Pole;
Or under Southern Skies exalt their Sails,
Led by new Stars, and born by spicy Gales!
For me the Balm shall bleed, and Amber flow,
The Coral redden, and the Ruby glow,
The Pearly Shell its lucid Globe infold,
And Phoebus warm the ripening Ore to Gold.
The Time shall come, when free as Seas or Wind
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all Mankind,
Whole Nations enter with each swelling Tyde,
And Seas but join the Regions they divide;
Earth's distant Ends our Glory shall behold,
And the new World launch forth to seek the Old.
Then Ships of uncouth Form shall stem the Tyde,
And Feather'd People crowd my wealthy Side,
And naked Youths and painted Chiefs admire
Our Speech, our Colour, and our strange Attire:
Oh stretch thy Reign, fair Peace! from Shore to Shore,
Till Conquest cease, and Slav'ry be no more;
Till the freed Indians in their native Groves
Reap their own Fruits, and woo their Sable Loves,
Peru once more a Race of Kings behold,
And other Mexico's be roof'd with Gold.

(11.385-412)

The first four of these couplets are shaped and burnished so that
they glow with refracted rays from sunrise, iceflows, the Aurora,
Pacific skies and stars. In the following two couplets the sharp,
white light is warmed and enriched to pinks and gold and the words
suggest a carbuncular roundness, so that even the use of the verb
'bleed' is associated with the globulate shape of drops of blood.
Roundness and 'ripening' to richer colours, together with the
consciously tributary impulse of the inanimate foreign riches,
is unmistakably in the tradition of Penshurst's harmonious nature
that matures under man's care and willingly offers itself for his use.

In return, 'Unbounded Thames shall flow for all Mankind' and,
in truly magisterial style, reconcile the opposites: the sea which
Thames feeds will join divided regions, make it possible for the
distant ends of the earth to behold 'our Glory', and preside over
the meeting of new and old worlds. This estate of the whole world
presided over by Britain boasts 'Feather'd People' rather than birds,
and 'painted Chiefs' not painted partridges; the unfamiliar people receive British hospitality where they land on Thames's 'wealthy Side' and enjoy independence under the aegis of the reign of peace, although the fulsome lines are belied by the ironic fact, unknown to Pope, that, under the terms of the Assiento clause of the Treaty of Utrecht, the only hospitality the sable tribes were likely to enjoy at British expense would be received close-battened in the hold of a leaky slaver. This description of the harmonious confusion of diverse people enacted, in reality, on Thames's bank during the visit of the Indian kings, but possibly to be repeated innumerable times in future years, returns the poem to its initial imagery: meanwhile, the theme of the Forest has taken lustre from the wider connotations of being at the centre of power administered in the best traditions and where natural plenitude is, by trade, frugally redistributed for better use.

Windsor Forest is a topographical poem, but it has affinities with the georgic, and with the country-house poem. This is Pope's public panegyric to his queen: it is an exquisitely balanced compliment to her as lord of the estate of Windsor Forest, mistress of the realm and most powerful monarch in the world. In all these spheres the Queen uses her power justly to ensure her own independence and enlarge that of her inferiors; she establishes the conditions of fruitful production and commerce; and, as both war and peace attest, hers is the magnanimous spirit of generosity.

Happy the Man whom this bright Court approves,
His Sov'reign favours, and his Country loves;
Happy next him who to these Shades retires,
Whom Nature charms, and whom the Muse inspires,
Whom humbler Joys of home-felt Quiet please,
Successive Study, Exercise and Ease.

(11.235-240)

From the imagined Horatian retreat Pope made his public declaration that he understood the proper use of power for his country's sake: the poet used the only power and influence he wielded to interpret the role of monarchy to the modern world. As all the poets in this section were aware, the extension of British power -- with the constitutional monarch as only the titular symbol of this collective

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24Cf. 11.115-16 and 'To Penshurst', 1.29.
power -- brought with it the responsibilities both of leadership and the use of new sources of wealth. The obvious literary solution was enlightened administrative paternalism and redistribution of materials to ensure their more fruitful use; the alternative was seen as tyranny and luxuriousness, both denials of the larger order that was being revealed by scientific enquiry and exploration. Revelations of the grandeur of the design and of the individual's relative insignificance, enhanced the conviction that man was, indeed, a tenant at will to the earth and must use his new powers judiciously; and for want of a better model the poets extended the old mores of the country-house ethos to cover the whole earth.
PART II: 1715 - 1730
It has been shown in previous chapters that the conservative ethos, already mainly outmoded in the reign of James I when the first of the country house panegyrics was composed, was being affected by contemporary events during the years 1688-1714. Influences which had contributed to the upheavals of the seventeenth century continued even after the Peace of Utrecht and the settlement of the succession at the death of Queen Anne in 1714; change was still in the air, and awareness of this interacted with new concepts in moral and natural philosophy to kindle interest in the idea of the Englishman abroad. Writers awakened to the practical implications of relativity such as Diaper had revealed in his natural descriptions in Dryades; and readers revelled in literary explorations of the experiences of an Englishman exposed to new scales of life, as in Gulliver's Travels, or faced with the task of re-creating the known structures of civil society from the undifferentiated vastness of the world, a theme which Defoe explored in many ways. The vehicles appropriate to the immense scale were the novel and Miltonic blank verse, as in The Seasons, which will be considered in the next chapter.

Although the period covered, in different ways, by this and the following chapter is nominally 1715 to 1730, it will, in fact, amount to an examination of works of the years 1719 to 1730, that is, dating from the publication of The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe in 1719. Robinson Crusoe has been subjected to much critical attention, a considerable amount of it being directed to the social and political implications of the novel. It is in keeping with its mythic dimensions that it should also prove to be an excellent example of the country-house ethos in transition and projected into an alien setting. So far the country-house ethos has been primarily an

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1Ian Watt, 'Robinson Crusoe as a Myth', Essays in Criticism 1, 2 (1951), 95-119.
aristocratic image, although the authors who use it have been members of the middle class. Now it becomes more obviously middle class as it is modified to accord with aspirations of that, as yet undifferentiated, social class which forms the bulk of the reading public -- the new patrons of literature. Now literature begins to absorb the social morality of the possessive market society, where social value is a function of wealth, not of one's role in the land-based community; the corollary of this is an increasing individualism and the subsuming of ideas of use, and of the responsibilities of tenancy of the earth, into the equation of wealth with self-aggrandizement.

Robinson Crusoe shows these influences at work in its hero. Since it is Defoe's greatest work, it is subtler than its successors which use the same explicit narrative style to make their points more clearly, but rarely transcend the simple, linear narrative form to create the multifaceted whole which Crusoe, in spite of its structural deformities, presents to the reader. Simple structure makes Defoe's later novels easier to dissect in a first look at the changing shape of the country-house ethos.

Captain Singleton was published in 1720, the year after the publication of the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe. It is a remarkable tale of making-do, not in a Horatian sense of managing to live in a simple cottage on the produce of an acre, nor in the quasi-Horatian condition of Crusoe's sojourn on the island, but in the entirely contingent nature of Bob Singleton's whole life from the moment when, at the age of two, he is abducted by white slave traders, until the end of his career when he retires into the safety of marriage and obscurity in the guise of an Armenian merchant.

The abduction from the security of a comfortable home is the first of many steps by which his fortunes descend until, at the age of twelve, he is alone in Lisbon, 'being then almost reduced to my primitive state, viz., of starving,...[with] this addition to it, that it was in a foreign country too, where I knew nobody and could not speak a word of their language'(VI,5). 2 At some time not long

2The Works of Daniel Defoe, 16 vols., ed. G. H. Maynard (Boston, 1903). All subsequent references to Defoe's works are to volumes of this edition.
after this he finds himself one of a band of Portuguese sailors marooned on Madagascar, where his logical mind, turned upon their necessity, produces the proposal, a 'miniature of my future enterprises' (VI,31),

that there were few nations that lived on the seashore that were so barbarous, but they went to sea in some boats or other, our business was to cruise along the coast of the island,... and to seize upon the first we could get that was better than our own, and so from that to another, till perhaps we might at last get a good ship to carry us wherever we pleased to go.

(VI,33)

Singleton himself has no great inclination to leave Madagascar because he has neither home nor family in Europe and can see that it would make a pleasant base from which 'to make myself as rich as a king' by piracy (VI,46), a course which he pursues later in the book. He takes no conscious steps to direct his own life but falls in with the wishes of others or the needs of the moment. His life at this time and through all his adventures seems to be summed up in his description of their first essay in sailing the fleet of dugout canoes:

We were as miserable as nature could well make us to be, for we were upon a voyage and no voyage, we were bound somewhere and nowhere; for though we knew what we intended to do, we did really not know what we were doing.

(VI,43)

In spite of their lack of direction, a kind of necessity to be doing something to help themselves stimulates the men to sporadic bursts of activity, during which they find within themselves the resources to become a microcosm of the society to which they long to return. To Singleton, one of their more memorable camps seemed a 'little city..., for it was no less, and we fortified it accordingly'(VI,45), and on another occasion he describes one of their succession of shipbuilding enterprises in terms which have strong affinities with the account of Crusoe's breadmaking efforts:

whatever we built, we were obliged to be our own smiths, rope-makers, sail-makers, and indeed to practise twenty trades that we knew little or nothing of. However, necessity was the spur to invention, and we did many things which before we thought impracticable, that is to say, in our circumstances.

(VI,55)
In this context of self-sufficient resourcefulness the decision to cross Africa is not so much to be wondered at, although the reader is bound to agree with Captain Bob that it was 'one of the rashest, and wildest, and most desperate resolutions that ever was taken by man' (VI, 63). The venture bears the marks that we now associate with imperialism: at first the men are prompted by the need to ensure their safety, but the sailors then unhesitatingly exploit the natives to gain both the primary aim and compensation for their enterprise--gold (VI, 66). The accumulation of wealth is as integral a part of the African adventure as it is of Singleton's later career of exploitation of innocent Europeans on the high seas, yet during these early experiences he learns something about money which unlike more 'material' observations (VI, 52), does not suit his temper. The naked Englishman whom they rescue from the wilderness understands the real value of the gold which abounds in the region: "'Nay', says he, 'as you all see, it would not buy me clothes to cover me, or a drop of drink to save me from perishing. It is of no value here'" (VI, 169), although once he returns to civilization he dies of grief at the loss of the ship bearing his fortune to England. Singleton gains nothing by his acquisitiveness, for as the respect of his acquaintance in England is directly proportional to his ability to sustain a lavish expenditure his fortune is dissipated in the space of two years (VI, 183-84). The benefit of these observations is delayed until, under the tutelage of William the Quaker, he stops accumulating wealth and takes time to ponder its utility: 'it was all like dirt under my feet; I had no value for it, no peace in the possession of it' (VI, 354).

The character of William presents special difficulties which can only be touched on here. He is a willing captive (VI, 190-91)

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3 The African adventure is repeated on the small scale in the story of Robert Knox's escape from Ceylon, which is recounted later in the book (VI, 318-332).

4 Singleton's own estimate of his character is shown by his pleasure in setting up as a pirate: 'I that was, as I have hinted before, an original thief, and a pirate, even by inclination before, was now in my element, and never undertook anything in my life with more peculiar satisfaction' (VI, 186).
whose quick wits and moderation make him an invaluable comrade in enterprises for which he refuses to take any moral responsibility or more than a modest remuneration. He is humane, yet he sells the shipload of negroes who had overwhelmed their captors (VI, 214-223), and although he is a moderating influence upon Captain Bob, it is years before their talk turns to repentance. Even then William's attitude to their booty is akin to the attitude to the spoils of empire expressed by the patriots dealt with in the previous chapter: we ought to keep it carefully together, with a resolution to do what right with it we are able; and who knows what opportunity Providence may put into our hands to do justice, at least, to some of those we have injured? So we ought, at least, to leave it to Him.... As it is, without doubt, our present business is to go to some place of safety, where we may wait His will.

(VI, 356)

Piracy is the epitome of individualism, and Captain Singleton's aimless life has brought good to no one, not even to his fearful and repentant self. The virtues he most admires are those of the marketplace, although he does value courage: when he condemns the majority of Portuguese as thoroughly un-Christian and craven braggarts, it is their want of courage that he most deplores, albeit partly on prudential grounds (VI, 8-9). His inherent Englishness despises cowardice but it also shuns loose talk. Bob keeps his own counsel, a propensity which William and his sister share, but the two men carry prudence to a fault and show little of the spirit that won them a fortune when they linger at Venice, disguised as Armenians, even though their English retreat is already well-prepared (VI, 368). The complete friendship between the Quaker and the pirate begins with an instant accord at their first meeting and grows from friendship to business partnership, thence to confessor and penitent, and finally to fraternity through Bob's marriage to William's sister. Within the relationship of these three the conservative virtues flourish: they are generous, trusting, undemanding and respectful of confidences (VI, 364-371); but this pleasant little society is completely isolated, the more so by the artificial language barrier which Captain Bob has raised to protect himself from the retribution of the society against which he has offended and from which he was first cut off at the age of two. Captain Singleton, as his name
suggests, is outside society. His is an unproductive life of the purposeless acquisition of wealth too immense to be used and too ill-gotten to be acknowledged or openly bestowed.

Captain Singleton is the story of a lifetime of blind striving for economic gain, pursued first from necessity and then from the lack of any valid alternative, whereas A Journal of the Plague Year (1722) is an account of society under attack from 'a formidable enemy, ...armed with terrors that every man is not sufficiently fortified to resist or prepared to stand the shock against'(IX,272). The plague, unaccountable and uncontrollable, is a formless horror which is invisible until the purple marks foretell the victim's doom of banishment from society, and probable death; its presence in a great city, which is the trading centre of the country and dependent on imported supplies for its basic needs, is a threat to the fabric of society. 'No wonder the aspect of the city itself was frightful' (IX,199), not so much from the direct effects of the disease which was dealt with by an admirable city administration but because fear of contagion undermines the main structural element of civil society, social intercourse. The desolation of the city upon which H.F. comments several times is the outward sign of shattered social ties. The disordered structure of the book, which reflects the dislocation of normal life, again and again throws up instances of the incompatibility of self-love and social love when the armour of civility is to be tested by 'charging Death itself on his pale horse' (IX,273). The cumulative horror of the account lies not so much in the universal danger of death as in the deprivation of the comfort of human presence and custom, not only to those who die, alone and shunned, but to the women abandoned in childbirth, the mourner who sees his family flung into the common grave, the friend who is confronted by a family aghast at his presence among them:

It is not, indeed, to be wondered at, for the danger of immediate death to ourselves took away all bowels of love, all concern for one another. I speak in general, for there were many instances of immovable affection, pity, and duty in many.... (IX,132)

Yet this is, after all, a document of hope, a handbook of warning and advice, in which, although the society of 1722 is no better equipped to fight the plague than in 1665, the author's
intention is to forewarn and show that under threat of cataclysmic disruption of normality the ingenuity of man can use what little is available to make sanctuaries of order within the chaos. H.F. notes the deplorable lack of husbandry among the poor (IX, 243) but he records with satisfaction the measures taken by middle class householders and the better type of working man. He devotes more attention to the latter group, whose actions were more ingenious, than to the city householders, who reacted more defensively than otherwise, although he comments favourably on the prudence of retreating aboard ship. The prudent waterman (IX, 121-28) and the three self-sufficient tradesmen whose exploits take up an eighth of the book (138-175) show, on the individual level, the same moral courage and rationality in the use of resources as the city corporation which was a model of traditional paternalistic administration, at least in intent. Much of the Journal is accordingly taken up with reprinting of the 'Orders Conceived and Published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London concerning the Infection of the Plague, 1665,' and with descriptions of how and with what degree of success these measures were applied; with consideration of practical matters like the provision of pest houses and burial grounds; and with observations on trade both for the supplying of the city and maintenance of employment for the poor.

*Voll Flandern* is the story of one person who must fight for survival in society by using whatever materials and opportunities come to hand. Like many others of Defoe's protagonists, his heroine is an outsider from her earliest days because, setting aside her birth to a mother under sentence of death in Newgate and her consequent poverty, she has one insuperable disadvantage to her acceptance by the world--she is a woman. Given the assumption that, to Defoe and his readers, the only world that matters is middle class society, and that all his protagonists aspire to be a part of that milieu, then it follows that because Mistress Betty is female as well as poor she is ineligible to find a place in a system which has only one means of entry for a woman:

'Betty wants but one thing, but she had as good want everything, for the market is against our sex just now; and if a young woman has beauty, birth, breeding, wit, sense, manners, modesty, and all to
an extreme, yet if she has not money she's nobody, she had as good want them all; nothing but money now recommends a woman; the men play the game all into their own hands."

(VII,20)

Although she makes many liaisons and matches advantageous to a serving-girl, Betty, or Moll, whose sights have always been set on being a gentlewoman (VII,5-7), is always insecure; for polite society, which offers the woman no purposive function as an alternative to marriage, condemns the unprovided widow to prostitution, theft or the uncertainties of being kept as a mistress. Moll's beauty protects her from the first alternative and ensures that she can find a place herself in the world by marriage and concubinage until she is well past her prime, when 'that worst of devils, poverty' (VII,262) is not so easily thwarted by her hardheaded employment of her beauty (VII,77-8), and the prospect of relative poverty--'the dreadful necessity of my circumstances'(VII,270)--prompts her to theft in earnest.

Her crimes eventually bring her back to Virginia, to an enforced retirement from the society which has no place for her and against which she has been driven to offend; but the New World offers a new society of the self-made, where the prevailing egalitarianism of the adventurous and the unwanted gives an equal place to women. Here, as in England, money is the key to independence, and Moll the convict, readily finds a planter willing, for a consideration, to buy her and release her within a day. After this, by the exercise of the diplomacy and business acumen which had in England found only dishonest expression, she can find acceptance as a member of colonial society; so that at the end of eight years of fruitful planting she and her Lancashire husband, with whom she had been reunited in Newgate, are proprietors of an estate worth 'at least £300 sterling a year: I mean,' she takes care to add, 'worth so much in England' (VIII,215), for it is to England that they return to finish the work of repentance in the comfort of that social milieu to which they have always aspired.

Moll arrives at the colony in the full awareness of its potentiality for setting her up in the style of life she covets, because she has formerly lived for some years as the wife of the
planter who proves to be her brother. Their mother was a transported felon whose American experience is Defoe's model of the colonial opportunity:

she fell into a good family, where behaving herself well, and her mistress dying, her master married her, by whom she had my husband and his sister, and that by her diligence and good management after her husband's death, she had improved the plantations to such a degree as they then were, so that most of the estate was of her getting, not of her husband's, for she had been a widow upwards of sixteen years. (VII,116-17)

Moll's economy of words in recounting the old woman's story reveals that her perception is focussed on the quantitative change in her mother's condition. The only words which make a qualitative judgment are non-specific allusions to prudent behaviour: she uses 'good' twice, first to qualify 'family' and then 'management', and refers to her 'diligence' and 'behaving herself'. On the other hand, this sentence abounds with words and phrases which contribute to a sense of progression and stocktaking. There is an orderly sequence of events, all of which contribute to the raising of her status, step by step, from bondwoman to sole owner of the plantations where she began her servitude. The account of steadily rising status is intensified by the noting of the prudence and fruitfulness of her new life, as in her good behaviour as servant and steady success as an improving proprietor, and in her production of two offspring and employment of her sixteen years' widowhood 'so that most of the estate was of her getting'. Moll knows, moreover, that her mother's experience is common, as she has already been told that the majority of new settlers arrive as either indentured servants or transported convicts (VII,114), so that her past, like her sex, will be no impediment to her efforts to improve herself in the colony.

The provisions that she and her Lancashire Jemmy make to ensure their quick success in the new country are canvassed earlier in the book during their first brief, married life. Defoe's conception that life in the New World is a stepping-stone to better things in the mother country, is probably being expressed by Moll when she tells Jemmy

how with carrying over but two or three hundred pounds' value in English goods, with some servants and tools, a man of application would
presently lay a foundation for a family, and in a few years would raise an estate....

that after seven years we might be in a posture to leave our plantation in good hands, and come over again and receive the income of it, and live here and enjoy it; and I gave him examples of some that had done so, and lived now in very good figure in London.

(VII, 217-18)

It is in much this way that Moll and Jemmy set about raising their fortunes in Virginia: although it is Moll who contrives it all, her husband being too much devoted to playing the gentleman -- if only a retired gentleman of the road -- to do more than wonder at the efficiency with which she augments their resources:

"My dear," says he, 'what is the meaning of all this? I fear you will run us too deep in debt: when shall we be able to make returns for it all?....

"Why, who says I was deceived when I married a wife in Lancashire? I think I have married a fortune, and a very good fortune too," says he.

(VIII, 214-15)

The foresight and resourcefulness which had, in England, been denied any outlet but crime, can in America be put to respectable and remunerative use.

The sight of the plenty which his wife has brought him evokes in Jemmy a more sincere penitence than had formerly been produced by the fear of the gallows (VIII, 212). They both find easy circumstances conducive to repentance -- 'indeed we used to look at one another, sometimes with a great deal of pleasure, reflecting how much better that was, not than Newgate only, but than the most prosperous of our circumstances in the wicked trade we had been both carrying on' (VIII, 200-201). There is here little sense of self-condemnation on moral grounds; except for the pejorative 'wicked', the reformation consists of a change of material circumstances.

While this is psychologically consistent with the character of Moll as it has been portrayed throughout the book it seems to be at odds with the overtly sober intentions that Defoe expresses in the 'Author's Preface', setting them forth with an ambivalence that suggests that this is a handbook for survival in, or entry into, the bourgeoisie, and that is entirely preoccupied with the external.
trappings of that state of life. In fact, Defoe cannot justly be accused of superficiality, and the work is critical, at least by inference, of the life of the British middle classes. It exposes on almost every page the excessive materialism of their ethos, yet, such is Defoe's ambiguity, that one is left with an acute sense of uncertainty about the ethical framework of the novel. In his preface Defoe explains that he has altered the style of Moll's tale to avoid offence to 'the chastest reader', so that 'those who know how to read it...will be much more pleased with the moral than the fable, with the application than with the relation, and with the end of the writer than the life of the person written of' (VII, xix), even though in her last years she 'was not so extraordinary a penitent as she was at first' (VII, xxiii).

An appreciation of the way of life led by Moll during the penitent years in America is therefore central to an understanding of Defoe's view of the good life since his protagonist finds both moral and social acceptability there. Although this part of her adventures is abridged by comparison with more adventurous passages, there is some internal evidence to work on. As the whole object of her stay is the accumulation of an estate in land yielding enough income to sustain the status of gentility it is appropriate to compare the ethos of this opportunist parvenu with the conservative model of the country-house ethos which she is attempting to imitate. There can be no doubt that Moll sees her husband and herself as having arrived at last at that condition which they believe they should always have enjoyed when she notes that:

I took especial care to buy for him all those things that I knew he delighted to have; as two good long wigs, two silver-hilted swords, three or four fine fowling-pieces, a fine saddle with holsters and pistols very handsome, with a scarlet cloak; and, in a word, everything I could think of to oblige him, and to make him appear, as he really was, a very fine gentleman.

(VIII, 213)

She is content that with these accoutrements Jenny looks fine and impressive, but the superficiality of her idea of the landlord is revealed by this self-congratulation after she has already noted that her husband is lazy and unfitted to administer an estate; he prefers to play at hunting rather than attend to the natural business of the
plantation'(VIII,195). Moll's account of her own role as mistress is confined to particulars of the growing stock of possessions, although we gather from her unruffled recording of the arrival of the woman-servant, who 'happened to come double, having been got with child by one of the seamen in the ship...before the ship got so far as Gravesend'(VIII,213-14), that her penitence does not make her a morally censorious mistress to her household.

The description of her dealings with her Virginian family shows that Moll is not able to sustain the role she has adopted, and is in itself an explanation of the brevity of this section. The reunion with her son is fraught with sentimentality and marred by the unpleasant tones of the references to her brother-husband. The revulsion which she expresses in unsympathetic terms, the hardest of which is the ambiguous phrase, 'the old wretch'(VIII,216), may be as psychologically valid as the self-justification of her censure of the broken old man, but the reader knows that, while she condemns her brother's unpromeditated wish to continue the marriage as if nothing had been divulged, she had already pondered their kinship for a full three years before she decided that it was time to share her secret. Her self-righteous lack of charity about a trying and embarrassing episode is compounded by the grotesqueness of her pride in her son's generosity and the prudential gratification which she extracts from his largesse:

A few days after, he brought the writings of gift and the scrivener with him, and I signed them very freely, and delivered them to him with a hundred kisses; for sure nothing ever passed between a mother and a tender, dutiful child with more affection. The next day he brings me an obligation under his hand and seal, whereby he engaged himself to manage the plantation for my account...; and withal, obliged himself to make up the produce £100 a year to me....

(VIII,210)

Moll is so touched by her son's kindness that she gives him a gold watch as a memento of her love, noting in passing that: 'I did not, indeed, tell him that I stole it from a gentlewoman's side, at a meeting-house in London. That's by the way.... It was not much less worth than his leather pouch full of Spanish gold; no, though it were to be reckoned as if at London, whereas it was worth twice
as much there' (VIII, 209-210). In these circumstances the calculation of material value seems incompatible with any deep appreciation of humane values; this is confirmed by the gushing expression of maternal love, of a quality which makes her capable of denying the existence of her other long-neglected children by the act of declaring the Virginian her sole heir. Yet while this seems to reek of the counting-house, it must be admitted that this approximates to the reality of primogeniture and family relationships in the middle and upper classes, and that the country-house ethos, as expressed in the panegyrics, is an idealization of a human situation much less admirable than the poets would have us believe.

That this is Woll's summary of the happiest period of her life must, however, be kept in mind (VIII; 209). The tone of her reportage encourages the reader to believe that this is an idyllic life of healthy family relationships and well-deserved prosperity. In passages like the first quoted above, Woll relaxes her crisp and business-like style by the use of superlatives and terms of mutual yielding such as 'gifts', 'freely', 'delivered', 'passed', 'obligation', 'engaged', 'obliged'. The use of these words is a fair indication that she sees this as a scene of gentility that fulfills her ideal of the graciousness which she has always hoped to share. By contrast, brief references to the 'honest Quaker, who proved a faithful, generous, and steady friend to us' (VIII, 212), offer an example of true generosity and hospitality.

Just as Woll seems to be incapable of uncalculated generosity, so her concept of frugality, while it includes a vivid recognition of the process of husbanding one's resources, has no place for a sense of responsibility to the land. For these colonists the land is bought to 'make a sufficient plantation to us as long as we could either of us live' for the outlay of £35 (VIII, 201). It is cured, it yields, they take what the land gives, and then leave the country but live on the profits. The land does not yield as well where the proprietor is an absentee; this is measured in monetary terms by Woll's son, who estimates the yield of her mother's bequest at £150 a year if Woll were to live on the plantation, decreasing to £100 if he were to be her steward, and £60 if it were let out elsewhere (VIII, 207-08). Woll's concentration on the accumulation of income is evidence that she understands only the ethos of the market society.
and that she is oblivious of the mutual give-and-take between the land and its proprietor enjoyed by those whose affinity with the land is not based on its market value.

The colonial years ensure the complete independence that Noll has sought all her life; through marriages in which her security has depended on the success of her husbands, at maintaining an income; and through a succession of periods without a male protector, during which her capital has always consisted of goods or money which are exposed to risk. Now, by her own enterprise, her independence is achieved through the ownership of the ultimate form of eighteenth-century security, land. As a landowner, Noll is the embodiment of possessive individualism and while she sees herself as having arrived at a condition of social acceptability, her maintenance of this role necessitates the subjugation of others to slavery:\(^5\): 'we bought us two servants, viz., an English woman-servant, just come on shore from a ship of Liverpool, and a negro man-servant, things absolutely necessary for all people that pretended to settle in that country' (VIII,199-200). As she has, herself, just been sold and saved from bonded servitude by the possession of money, the irony of her purchase of others, and the uncritical use of 'things' to describe them, bites deep, and betrays her imperceptiveness of any social bonds beyond those forged by money.

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5Macpherson, Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, lists seven seventeenth-century assumptions which comprise possessive individualism; three of the propositions are relevant here: '(i) What makes a man human is freedom from dependence on the wills of others. (ii) Freedom from dependence on others means freedom from any relations with others except those relations which the individual enters voluntarily with a view to his own interest. (iii) The individual is essentially the proprietor of his own person and capacities, for which he owes nothing to society' (p.263). He also asserts that 'The greatness of seventeenth-century liberalism was its assertion of the free rational individual as the criterion of the good society; its tragedy was that this very assertion was necessarily a denial of individualism to half the nation' (p.262).
The hero of Colonel Jacque also begins life as a foundling and finds his independence through an enforced retirement from society into the colonies. Like Roll, his life is a quest for gentility, although in his case it is to regain a birthright—'for my mother kept very good company' (X, 1), and his only education is his nurse's report that his parents were of gentle birth and wished him to be brought up in this knowledge. Circumstances drive him to a life of petty crime and, when this becomes abhorrent, to a succession of escapades which end in his being kidnapped and taken to Virginia as part of a consignment of bond-servants to a planter. In effect a friendless outcast, he arrives in the colony with no alternative but to be a labouring slave, the lowest role in that society, and lower than any that eighteenth-century England offered her poor, unless one excepts the wretched population of her prisons. From this lowly status he rises to become a planter and merchant; ultimately, he himself feels that he is a part of society, although this is preceded by many years of loneliness in expiation of his crimes against society: these were his desertion from the army, and later his being briefly a part of a Jacobite rising; but the solitude amid the scenes of social life, to which these misdemeanours give rise, is self-imposed. This prudential concealment of money, name, or guilt is a characteristic common to all Defoe's protagonists, whose individualistic self-seeking is emphasized time and again by reminders that some of the details shared by reader and narrator are being deliberately withheld from other participants in the narrative. Consequently, although the condition is often reinforced by physical removal from society itself, or at least from the metropolitan society, Defoe's protagonists experience an enforced retreat from the community into the isolation of self-interest and develop the same quality of self-control and lonely introspection as the Calvinist trying to convince himself of the reality of his intercourse with God.

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6His father's instructions to his foster-mother were that she should 'bid me remember that I was a gentleman; and this, he said, was all the education he would desire of her for me' (X, 2).

although the lives of Jacque and his kind exhibit all the external trappings of the Calvinist life, their only god is the ego-ideal, which motivates all their adventuring, and references to the Christian God generally take the form of a courteous gesture of gratitude for the triumph of the ideal self. Although his goal seems almost to have been reached when he is the owner of three thriving plantations and many servants, Jacque is still not persuaded that he has reached his full potential:

Now, I looked upon myself as one buried alive in a remote part of the world, where I could see nothing at all, and hear but a little of what was seen...; and, in a word, the old reproach often came in the way -- namely, that even this was not yet the life of a gentleman.

However, I now began to frame my thoughts for a voyage to England,...with a secret resolution to see more of the world if possible, and realise those things to my mind which I had hitherto only entertained remote ideas of by the help of books.

(X,265)

Reared without any fixed values and ever pursuing the ephemeral ideal of the gentleman, Jacque, like Defoe's other creations, is always restless, so that, even when he has become a man of substance by his participation in colonial expansion, he turns his eyes back to the old world as a field for the expansion of his own mind, from the point of vantage of a social stratum more elevated than when he travelled England and Scotland as a fringe-dweller of the underworld.

Not only does Jacque direct his will to becoming a gentleman, but heredity determines also that he should exhibit traits of natural gentility. He is moved to tears when his master in Virginia modifies morality with magnanimity in talking to a transported pickpocket (X,186-87) and, as in this case, he is subject to the operation of contrition, although he still explains much of his retreat from crime as deriving from prudence rather than from principles of fair play.

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9Shortly after his act of restitution to the widow of Kentish Town he sets off for Scotland with the complete thief, Captain Jacque, and 'Though I made no great scruple of eating and drinking at the cost of his roguery, yet I resolved not... to take the least thing from anybody' (X,134).
Another incident which seems to be given as an early example of his high spirit may equally be judged as evidence of precocious self-seeking: young Jacque is provoked by his nurse's distinction of her son by the title of 'Captain', and cries because, since he is a gentleman, he should have the title (X, 3).

An example from the latter end of his life, when he is an enemy trader in hiding with the friendly merchants of New Spain, shows that the self-regarding instinct is still uppermost in his personality. He has disembarked, leaving the crew of his sloop to make the best of their way out of Spanish seas, and hears, some time later, that his sloop and its cargo have been lost but that the crew have escaped to shore:

I was better pleased with the loss of the sloop and all my cargo, the men being got on shore and escaping, than I should have been with the saving the whole cargo, if the men had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; for now I was safe, whereas then, it being supposed that they would have been forced to some discovery about me, I must have fled, and should have found it very difficult to have made my escape, even with all that my friends could have done for me too. (XI, 203)

The undisguised self-centredness of this paragraph is exposed when what appears to be a conventional response is explained by the statement 'for now I was safe'. He, who had been filled with apprehension that if he were caught he would be sent to the mines or handed over to the Inquisition, is relieved, not that his men have been delivered from a similar fate, but that he is now secure from discovery and punishment. Moreover, he shows no awareness of the danger to which his entertainment exposes his host but is solely concerned with the narrowness of his own chance of escape. Although he enjoys being able to bestow nicely-judged largesse (XI, 206-11), Jacque never succeeds in being a true gentleman because, as his own words show, he lacks the essential quality of generosity. Jacque does show a sensibility, refined by comparison with Bell's, when he cannot bring himself to punish servants among whom he has been recently numbered, but the extremes to which he goes in his method of exacting service by gratitude demean the human dignity of the negroes almost as much as do the brutalities of the scourge (X, 197-226).

His transformation from slave to overseer takes the symbolic
as well as practical form of donning new clothes: "Here', says he; 'go in there a slave, and come out a gentleman'"(X,195). The opportunity represented by this sudden change of status is open to anybody who is honest and diligent in service (X,234-35), and while Defoe takes the opportunity to outline the way in which a poor man can make good from the government grant of land, the unfolding of Colonel Jacque's experiences is enough to prove his contention that 'the most despicable ruined man in the world, has here a fair opportunity put into his hands to begin the world again' (X,236).

Self-help will here procure a man the satisfaction of economic and spiritual independence, and while the independence is gained at the expense of the total subjugation of the negroes and the temporary degradation of white bondsmen, Jacque's 'tutor' provides an example of the devout use of bondage to find the independence of renewed innocence after being a slave in the toils of sin. In the early days of his independence Jacque leads a simple, industrious life, slowly accumulating capital as the self-sufficient estate produces bountifully, until at the end of twelve years he has an agent in London who exchanges the colonial tobacco for European goods which Jacque then sells on the American market. The process of growing rich delights Jacque and, like Defoe's other protagonists, he keeps on making money long after he should have called a halt: 'Now was my time to have sat still, contented with what I had got... But... I dreamed of nothing but millions and hundreds of thousands' (XI,195-96). In spite of much evidence to the contrary, however, he is capable of recognizing values other than the monetary; he is grateful for the friendship and advice of his old master, even though he cannot resist measuring its value by comparing it with the usefulness of five hundred pounds, and is proud of the affectionate service rendered

10 He says: "How much is the life of a slave in Virginia to be preferred to that of the most prosperous thief in the world! Here I live miserable, but honest; suffer wrong, but do no wrong; my body is punished, but my conscience is not loaded'"(X,249-250); see also, X,256-57. This idea of the true freedom to be found in bondage suggests the sentiments of the Muscovite prince in *Crusoe*, an episode which will be discussed later.
by his negroes (X, 245-46). His affluence, moreover, makes it possible to provide for his dependents, just as his old master provided for him (XI, 3). Yet in spite of the measure of independence, frugality and generosity in the ethos of gentlemanly Jacob, even the years of wandering and French polish fail to obliterate the pusillanimity of the starveling child. When he becomes aware that his insignificant part in the Jacobite uprising may be discovered, he cowers within doors: 'for I was now reduced from a great man, a magistrate, a governor or master of three great plantations, and having three or four hundred servants at my command, to a poor self-condemned rebel' (XI, 150). Pressed by the fear of discovery he finally embarks on his trading voyages into Spanish territory and during the second of his enforced sojourns among the colonial Spaniards he sees what seems to him to be the ideal balance of retirement and involvement with the business of the whole world. He describes an idyll perfectly suited to the temper of any of Defoe's characters and in doing so provides an insight into the urban idea of a fruitful social order. Here is

the pleasantest and most agreeable retirement in the world; for certainly no men in the world live in such splendour and wallow in such immense treasures as the merchants of this place.

They live, as I have said, in a kind of country retreat at their villas...where they make their indigo and their sugars. But they have also houses and warehouses at Vera Cruz, where they go twice a year, when the galleons arrive from Old Spain....

* * * * *

It is impossible to describe in the narrow compass of this work with what exactness and order, and yet with how little hurry, and not the least confusion, everything was done, and how soon a weight of business of such importance and value was negotiated and finished, the goods repacked, invoices made, and everything despachted and gone; so that in about five weeks all the goods they had received from Europe by the galleons were disposed of and entered in their journals...; from thence they had bookkeepers who drew out the invoices and wrote the letters,...and then other hands copied all again into other books.

(XI, 203-05)

The making of indigo and sugar is merely mentioned; the description of process is lavished, not even on industrial production, but on the tertiary industry of the merchants' warehouses and counting houses,
where the interdependent members of the system exactly fulfill their roles, reproducing, on the microcosmic scale, an enactment of the dependence of civil societies on the mutual exchange of their respective products. This description also represents the sharp distinction between work and leisure that is a concomitant of the growing wealth of the merchant class, and later becomes typical, on all social levels, of those who work in the city; here the separation is not only in the spatial distancing of the warehouses in Vera Cruz and the villas thirty miles away, but is expressed in the contrast between the efficiency of the city and the excessive luxury of the country houses.

In *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, however, a member of civil society, having embarked on a trading trip to supply his community's wish for slaves and profit, is marooned on a virgin island with many of the tools of civilized life but no companion to share the burdens of isolation and work. Unlike real men who have experienced prolonged solitude in the waste places of the earth, the mythical Crusoe alone maintains a microcosmic society for twenty-four years, and then has only the help of the faithful Friday for...

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11Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899), classifies merchants as members of the vicarious leisure class; however, in this case, the unusual circumstances of colonial commerce make their life almost identical with that of the true leisure class. Their life shows the potential within the commercial life for real leisure to enjoy the fruits of pecuniary acquisitiveness, and reveals another face of the threat which the power of commerce presented to the traditional ruling class. The extension of this spirit of emulation of the leisure class has, during several centuries, spread from the vicarious leisure class to the industrial classes, and taken effect in their desire for shorter working hours and sufficient money to enjoy the leisure time resulting. This has had a radical effect on the structure of status in civil society, although the pressure from below was manifestly there as early as the first attempts to form the union movement. The embryonic awareness of this logical corollary to their own success in the barbarian culture (Veblen's phrase) may partly account for the middle-class elevation of the work ethic.
the last three years of his island life. The essence of the myth is Crusoe's stoical ability to struggle on, almost undaunted by shortages or the absence of certain commodities, never yielding in his efforts to re-create about him the daily comforts of that 'middle fortune' which his father has advocated and the younger Crusoe wilfully rejected (I,2-6). Crusoe has been brought up in the city as the son of a merchant and it is not till he has to fend for himself that he discovers the complexity of the succession of processes upon which the life of the city depends; and he finds, at first hand, that in a money economy a man soon loses his awareness of the correlation between labour and value:

'It might be truly said, that now I worked for my bread. 'T is a little wonderful, and what I believe few people have thought much upon, viz., the strange multitude of little things necessary in the providing, producing, curing, dressing, making, and finishing this one article of bread.

(I,131)

Similarly, where there is no other man's labour to purchase money itself has no value (I,217); but Crusoe finds, in his own ingenuity and untiring activity, the means to procure the solace of creating order out of the apparent chaos of a singularly innocuous tract of

12See also Watt, 'Robinson Crusoe as a Myth', loc. cit., 97.

13Cf. Locke, Second Treatise of Civil Government, ed. P. Laslett, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1970), p.316. 'For 'tis not merely the Plough-man's Pains, the Reaper's and Thresher's Toil, and the Bakers' Sweat, is to be counted into the Bread we eat; the Labour of those who broke the Oxen, who digged and wrought the Iron and Stones, who felled and framed the Timber employed about the Plough, Mill, Oven, or any other Utensils,...must all be charged on the account of Labour, and received as an effect of that: Nature and the Earth furnished only the almost worthless Materials, as in themselves. 'Twould be a strange Catalogue of things, that Industry provided and made use of, about every Loaf of Bread, before it came to our use, if we could trace them; Iron, Wood, Leather, Bark, Timber, Stone, Bricks, Coals, Lime, Cloth, Dyeing-Drugs, Pitch, Tar, Wastes, Ropes, and all the Materials made use of in the Ship, that brought any of the Commodities made use of by any of the Workmen, to any part of the Work.'
natural wilderness.  

As he extends his sovereignty over the island by exploration and the use of its produce Crusoe makes frequent references to it in terms which leave no room to doubt that he sees himself as lord of an estate or ruler of a little kingdom; but his tone when he makes these allusions is nearly always mildly ironical, for he is perfectly aware that his situation can be described as 'my reign, or my captivity, which you please'(I,154) and that his power is merely potential and contingent on the absence of society. An involuntary anchorite, he has learned to make use of the solitude for his spiritual benefit, just as he has learned to utilize everything else that comes to hand; but he is still a man in the world, and the tension developed between the two aspects of his condition and the two sides of his personality is encapsulated in the following:

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here. I had neither the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life. I had nothing to covet, for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying. I was lord of the whole manor; or, if I pleased, I might call myself king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of. There were no rivals: I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me. I might have raised ship-loadings of corn, but I had no use for it; so I let as little grow as I thought enough for my occasion... I had timber enough to have built a fleet of ships. I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built. But all I could make use of was all that was valuable.

(I,144)

In this passage, as nowhere else in eighteenth-century literature, the two themes of this study are juxtaposed and interwoven with the country-house theme: the self-mastery which can be gained in retirement is linked with manorial propriety, which, in turn, gives rise to the suggestion of kingship and national expansion through trade. As lord of the island Crusoe is independent, frugal and, as events show, generous in his hospitality when

14'I had everything so ready at my hand, that it was a great pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and especially to find my stock of all necessaries so great'(I,76).
the opportunity arises.\textsuperscript{15}

Crusoe's kingdom in limbo is a working model of society and its growth from a state of nature. At first, his solitude and the island's isolation reproduce the state of nature, for although Crusoe possesses some of the trappings of civilized life, the absence of law, arbitration, and force beyond his own measures for self-preservation, proclaims him a man in the state of nature as defined by Locke.\textsuperscript{16} By the same authority, Crusoe's expenditure of labour in enclosing, herding, planting and gathering of fruits, by 'removing them out of that common state they were in', makes them his property;\textsuperscript{17} but the extent of his sovereignty over the island as a whole is open to debate. As long as he is sure that he is alone on the island the problem does not exist for there are no rival claims to the use of the territory. However, the first intimations of visits by the savages put Crusoe into a defensive posture, not so much because he fears for his own safety or, as he justifies his reaction, because he abhors their cannibalism, but because their intermittent arrivals are a threat to his sovereignty over the territory he has annexed. This emergency provides an opportunity for the hero to go through the motions of providing comfort and safety against all contingencies; this is a process which the reader has already enjoyed observing in the account of his measures to make a tolerable life after the shipwreck and now sees repeated with the addition of the frisson of horror at the nature of

\textsuperscript{15}Crusoe can also see the incongruity of styling himself lord or king of his solitude: 'It would have made a stoic smile, to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner. There was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island; I had the lives of all my subjects at my absolute command. I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away; and no rebels among all my subjects. Then to see how like a king I dined, too, all alone, attended by my servants. Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person permitted to talk to me. My dog, who was now grown very old and crazy, and had found no species to multiply his kind upon, sat always at my right hand, and two cats, one on one side the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand, as a mark of special favour.'(1,166)


\textsuperscript{17}Locke, \textit{op. cit.}, p.307.
the threat. Moreover, the reader shares his fantasy of power and natural right. His possession of a gun would no doubt have procured Crusoe fair treatment in bargaining for a boat but the suggestion is never raised during the many years of his fear, although the gun plays a major part in his dreams of wholesale slaughter of the cannibals, who are seen to be members of a society because they follow their tribal customs while Crusoe remains in a state of nature.

Ironically, the society of the island is eventually more threatened by Englishmen from whom the usual social restraints have been removed, than by the cannibals, who in the end become a god-fearing enclave of farmers. The island is gradually peopled, by the acquisition of Friday, and then Friday's father and a Spaniard who, because he has saved them all from certain death at the hands of their cannibal enemies, Crusoe considers his liegemen. He takes stock:

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection, which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected. I was absolute lord and lawgiver: they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives...for me. (1,272)

The simple feudalism is radically altered by Crusoe's sending a boat for the other Spaniards marooned on the mainland, and then, almost immediately embarking in an English ship before their arrival. His transactions with the English show the same wariness of human competition as his dealings with the savages and, although he pities the captain's distress and calls the mutineers 'brutes', he makes a compact with the captain before he commits himself to his cause. After he has sailed for civilization and abandoned the island to the defeated mutineers, and after the unsuspecting Spanish castaways

18"Look you, sir," said I, 'if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me?' He anticipated my proposals, by telling me that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in everything; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him"(1,283-89).
have arrived, the course of the island's political development, as recounted in *The Farther Adventures*, evolves from a state of nature to a simple society. While it is not relevant to consider that episode here, Crusoe's attitude to his colony is germane to this study. He devotes a quarter of *The Farther Adventures* to an account of his disposition of affairs on the island during his sojourn there while on his way to the East Indies. This reveals a governing temperament more akin to that of a benevolent despot than to the paternalistic lord of a colony that is his own image of his role:

I pleased myself with being the patron of those people I placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation. But I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince;... and the people under no discipline or government but my own, who, though I had influence over them as father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way or other, farther than voluntary consent moved them to comply. (II,186-87)19

His material generosity and his provisions to ensure the continued independence and self-sufficiency of the island do not obscure the fact that Crusoe is an absentee lord whose use of the phrase 'haughty, majestic way', combined with his restrictive and moralistic attitude to his dependents, modifies the cluster of words stemming from the idea of fatherhood, such as 'father', 'patron', and 'patriarchal', which seems to be intended to set the tone of the passage. The latter half of this passage is packed with words relating to authority and its forms of imposition, and is associated with Crusoe's attempt to maintain a form of control over the island, as a colony, similar to that which he had achieved over himself and his simple economy when he was in sole possession. Moreover, although he admires generosity of spirit, and remarks on it in both

19 Cf., Locke, op. cit. p.367; see also Defoe: 'They told me I was a father to them; and that having such a correspondent as I was in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me not to leave the place without my consent'(II,117). See also II,175-6, on his decision not to leave a sloop with them.
the Spanish 'governor' (II,103) and his Brazilian partner of former
days (II,183), the terms in which he goes on to justify this
description of the Brazilian show that Crusoe, although he is glad
to leave a Catholic missionary on his island, often confuses material
and spiritual values, for while he freely styles him a 'generous
broad-hearted man' he immediately goes on to evaluate their exchange
of gifts in monetary terms.

His attempts to be faithful to both ethical and commercial
values lead to his being again cast adrift into a succession of events
over which he has no real control. He has taken ship as a passenger
on the East Indian voyage, but his censure of the immorality of the
massacre at Madagascar (II,189-207) results in his being forcibly
disembarked at Bengal, together with the 'English goods...of value'
with which he has taken the precaution of providing himself (II,213).
With another Englishman he enters into partnership for a trading trip
to China, an adventure of which he remarks that 'trade was not my
element, rambling was'(II,214), although he seems to show considerable
aptitude for making money by commerce, as well as a propensity for
running into dangers, mainly as a result of the restlessness which he
condemns in himself as 'the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never
cares to see a thing twice over'(II,216). Yet once again the
ethical side of his character emerges to endanger the security of his
merchant caravan as it crosses Mongolia: he has been unable to
control his Puritan urge to destroy the Tartar idol and so excites
the vengeance of the nomad hordes (II,286-297). Finally, the
passage of the seasons forces them to winter in Siberia where Crusoe
enjoys the company of distinguished exiles from the Muscovite court,
one of whom is expounding upon the power of the Czar when, says
Crusoe, 'I interrupted him, and told him I was a greater and more
powerful prince than ever the Czar of Muscovy was' because 'all my
subjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will'(II,303-04).
The Russians listen eagerly to his tale of the island, especially the
prince, who recognises that Crusoe, in triumphing over solitude and
deprivation, has had his greatest victory over himself, in the same
way as he, in his own confinement, has discovered the liberty of true
independence in the Horatian spirit. This could be summarized by
his propositions:
that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves;... that... the mind of man... was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself... with but very little assistance from the world: that air to breathe in, food to sustain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exercise in order to health, completed... all that the world could do for us.

(III,304)

Here the extended novel completes a circle by repeating the theme of isolation which, however, finds a different conclusion: for in the spring, when Crusoe offers him the chance of certain escape, the muscovite declines the offer because he fears that liberty for the body will once again enforce spiritual bondage.20

The other famous adventurer in the literature of 1715 to 1730 would subscribe to Crusoe's remark 'that he that has the absolute dominion over himself, whose reason entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city'(II,306). At the end of his travels Gulliver believes he has espoused reason, although, as this is a satire on travellers' tales, among other things, his belief can be shown to be unreasonable. Empiricism is the offspring of the Copernican revolution and of man's consequent need to re-establish a sense of his relationship with all other aspects of his experience; as a mock traveller's tale, Gulliver's Travels makes great play with the problem of man's relation to other physical phenomena.21

It is probable that Swift's views on the good society were coincident with those of his early patron, Sir William Temple, and

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20II, 311: 'Here I am, free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness: there I am not sure but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in nature, may revive and take root, and in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy prisoner, whom you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full of all personal liberty. Dear sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement....' Cf. P.L., The English Hermit (Westminster, 1727), the most popular of the imitations of Robinson Crusoe. In this the castaway elects to stay on his island because 'its Blessing consists in its not being inhabited, being free of those Curses your populous and celebrated Cities regorge of...' (p.27).

his views on the gentleman, which coincided with the country-house ethos, are discernible as the positive ideal which is Swift's point of departure in his satires on the contrasting types of being in Gulliver's Travels. 22 The Lilliputian episode, being an account of the hero's experiences among highly political mannikins, is condemnatory: their preoccupation with courts and party intrigue, and the king's great satisfaction with the splendour of his palace, bespeak a small-mindedness which cannot comprehend the grand gesture, such as Gulliver's response to crisis on the night of the fire in the Queen's apartments. On the other hand, his inadvertence in failing to recognize that his action might give offence is not only an index of his pride, but of a lack of sensitivity that makes him an indefatigable but imperceptible chronicler of events. Among the giants of Brobdingnag Gulliver is at first a victim of the commercial spirit of the farmer who exploits him as a raree-show, but the king is a 'Prince of excellent Understanding' (II, vi, 111) whose responses to Gulliver's description of the political conduct of England and Europe show that he is a type of the philosopher-king. 23 He is amazed at the dependence of England on credit, the maintenance of a standing army (Brobdingnag has an efficient militia), and vigorously rejects the offer of the secret of gunpowder, upon which Gulliver muses in a way which shows his affinity with Crusoe:

A STRANGE Effect of narrow Principles and short Views: that a Prince possessed of every Quality which procures Veneration, Love, and Esteem: of strong Parts, great Wisdom and profound Learning: endowed with admirable Talents for Government, and almost adored by his Subjects, should from a nice necessity Scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no Conception, let slip an Opportunity put into his Hands, that would have made him absolute Master of the Lives, the Liberties, and the Fortunes of his People.

(II, vii, 119)


23 Cf. II, vii, 120: 'The Learning of this People is very defective: consisting only in Morality, History, Poetry, and Mathematicks: wherein they must be allowed to excel', and Plato, The Republic, ed. F. H. Cornford (Oxford, 1941), Parts II and III; Cornford gives a brief summary of the education of guardians, p. 250.
In Laputa the scholarly cast of mind is carried to excess by the projecting inhabitants, who have among them, however, Lord Munodi, who has been dismissed from the governorship of Lagado for 'Insufficiency' and whom the king regards as 'a well-meaning Man, but of a low contemptible Understanding' (III, iv, 159). Gulliver enjoys his politeness and hospitality; although he notices that all others in city and country are distractedly busy, but to no purpose, Munodi's household is well-regulated. Pleased with Gulliver's commendations, Munodi invites the visitor to his country house:

we came into a most beautiful Country; Farmers' Houses at small Distances, neatly built, the Fields enclosed, containing Vineyards, Corngrounds and Meadows....

WE came at length to the House, which was indeed a noble Structure, built according to the best Rules of ancient Architecture. The Fountains, Gardens, Walks, Avenues, and Groves were all disposed with exact Judgment and Taste. I gave due Praises to every Thing I saw, whereof his Excellency took not the least Notice till after Supper; when...he told me with a very melancholy Air, that he doubted he must throw down his Houses in Town and Country, to rebuild them after the present Mode...unless he would submit to incur the Censure of Pride, Singularity, Affectation, Ignorance, Caprice;

...That, as for himself, being not of an enterprizing Spirit, he was content to go on in the old Forms; to live in the Houses his Ancestors had built, and act as they did in every Part of life without Innovation. That, some few other Persons of Quality and Gentry had done the same; but were looked on with an Eye of Contempt and ill Will, as Enemies to Art, ignorant, and ill Commonwealths-men, preferring their own Ease and Sloth before the general Improvement of their Country.

(III, iv, 159-161)

In a satire where the author's own position is as cunningly concealed as in Gulliver's Travels one cannot state dogmatically that any view expressed undeniably represents the opinion of the author, and in speculating on this matter must draw on the author's opinions as they were stated in other works. The 'Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms' is the most delicately balanced and ambivalent of the four parts, but read in the knowledge that Swift believed that in religion reason must be supplemented by faith, and interpreted in the belief that he made the King of Brobdingnag a model of good
government and Lord Humodi's estates the pattern of the good society, one can reach conclusions consistent with those hypotheses and with the structure of the book. The latter two parts of the Travels are even more thoroughly contrasted than the first two: while the Laputans are irrational projectors, the Houyhnhnms are governed by reason, and whereas the Struldbrugs of Luggnagg are cursed with immortality, the horses, having no conception of faith, are precluded from divine grace and the gift of an afterlife. This is the essence of Gulliver's folly at the end of the book, since, in trying to ignore his human frailty and espouse pure reason, he paradoxically denies faith, the product of unreason, by which grace can translate him from the bondage of the human weakness which he despises. The use that Gulliver makes of his observations among the Houyhnhnms is at fault, not the horses themselves, which, being animals, should not be expected to have souls, and which live in a society that is praiseworthy according to the standards set by Swift in the earlier voyages. They are neither political, commercial nor so scholarly as to be unfit for social intercourse; they are a simple agrarian society, self-sufficient, non-speculative and decorously gregarious.

It is the misfortune of the travellers considered in this chapter to be so preoccupied with the making of their observations of other societies and forms of life experienced at first hand that they are unable to draw judicious inferences from their adventures. They are necessarily isolated from their own societies in order to experience fully the shock of living in others; yet the accounts of their adventures show them attempting to find some way to control the new surroundings through understanding, using or changing them. In being portrayed as recording it all, they are shown conforming to the popular ethos of their own society by trying to make capital out of their discomfitures and achievements in distant lands; and by doing this they also reveal the flaws in their individualist attitudes. As The Battle of the Books vividly demonstrates, Swift decried pedantry at all intellectual levels, and he certainly believed that the traditional gentleman was the least likely to breach this rule of literary taste. Swift saw himself as a member of the gentry, but Defoe's dissenting background precluded him from finding a place in this milieu, although The Complaining English Gentleman and the Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain show
that he was interested in the class. His novels, moreover, in spite of their bourgeois protagonists, clearly reveal an understanding of the country-house ethos and of its incompatibility with individualistic materialism. Defoe's heroes move from blatant misuse of their human estate and of the world around them to some form of harmonious interdependence with the natural world; but only Crusoe gains mastery of himself -- and that only while he is on the island -- and, having failed in the inner task of cultivation of self, all Defoe's protagonists remain mediocre imitations of the gentry they aspire to be. Their searches are, nevertheless, an earnest of the viability of the ethos at this time, and a demonstration of the spheres in which it could be imagined at work.
Crusoe, Gulliver and their kind allegedly travelled the world in search of their proper relationships to God and nature; their voyages might even be called quests for identity. There could be a similar process enacted on a larger scale where the writer laid no claim to have stirred from the mossy bank or the fireside chair. The most notable of these philosophical daydreams was The Seasons. There is no practical use to which the contemplatives discussed here put the results of their searches; they are moral and natural philosophers and sentimental conservatives who are determined only to put the world into perspective within a traditional frame of reference. Their voyages are speculative surveys of the wider world and their methods of covering the distance are interesting because they show the difficulty of accommodating newly-revealed phenomena to the traditional mores. The ways in which writers tried to solve that problem while still maintaining their intellectual integrity is the main preoccupation of this study at this point. This chapter, although it draws on Pope, Swift, Savage and others, deals mainly with The Seasons up to the 1730 edition, the first complete version of Thomson's major work. Later editions published during the poet's lifetime will be considered in the final section of this study because the authorial revisions confirm changes in the conservative ethos which are also evident in other works of the period.

In the earlier Seasons Thomson is an armchair traveller, perhaps sharing his retirement with compatible friends before a good fire in the best Horatian tradition ('Winter', 572-616), or else enjoying the solitude of a mossy rock by a shaded stream ('Summer', 622-28). From such vantage points the poet's persona contemplates the diversity of the creation and ranges the world before his mind's eye:

O Nature! all sufficient! over all
Enrich me with the knowledge of thy works;
Snatch me to heaven; thy rolling wonders there,
World beyond world, in infinite extent
Profusely scattered o'er the void immense,
Show me; their motions, periods, and their laws
Give me to scan; through the disclosing deep
Light my blind way: the mineral strata there;
Thrust blooming thence the vegetable world;
O'er that the rising system, more complex,
Of animals; and, higher still, the mind,
The varied scene of quick-compounded thought,
And where the mixing passions endless shift.

('Autumn', 1352-1364)

His is the quest of the individual trying to understand both aspects of the duality of existence: the infinity of created matter and the undisclosed recesses of the mind within; one had been opened up by the telescope and the navigators and the other had been delved into by psychological philosophers like Locke. Newton's work was also a strong influence on Thomson's thinking; it suggested both the complexity and relativity of appearances and the incompleteness of the world apprehended by the unaided senses.  

The expression of immensity and motion on the grand scale is too diffuse to be powerful poetry as the lines quoted above show clearly. This is Thomson's main difficulty: while his theme is grand enough to demand the epic sweep, the language adequate to the grandeur of Milton's vision of God and the cosmos is too inflated to describe the human psyche which perceives it all. Where Thomson has resolved the conflict inherent in the theme it is by the successful application of the method used in the following lines about his technical difficulty; they are rather too precious and contrived but they are a good demonstration of the way he works:

Ah, what shall language do? ah, where find words
Tinged with so many colours and whose power,
To life approaching, may perfume my lays
With that fine oil, those aromatic gales
That inexhaustive flow continual round?

('Spring', 475-79)

The middle three of these lines appeal to the five senses, in imitation of normal synaesthetic sense experiences. Even the line about sight is actually about the choice of words; but there is a denser texture of sensuality in 'that fine oil', which rolls sweetly

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1 James Thomson, Poetical Works. Except where noted, quotations take the form of the 1730 edition.

on the tongue, or in 'perfume my lays' and 'aromatic gales', which appeal to smell as well as to hearing and touch respectively. The fifth line reproduces the incessant movement of matter.

Another of Thomson's techniques is the exploitation of the irony of the human situation that the motion which seems utter chaos to the individual eye is, seen from a different spatial or temporal viewpoint, the ordering principle of the creation. The choice of the cycle of the seasons as the subject of the poem enacts this at the most superficial level: Like the nature that he imitates the shifting viewpoint is intrinsic to the organization of the poem, from the habitually synaesthetic use of words to the changing rhythms of the blank verse which is the vehicle of rapid transition between the vastness of distant places and the immediate, or even the microscopic, world. His conviction of the efficacy of 'the mighty hand/That, ever busy, wheels the silent spheres' ('Hymn', I.29-30) is an act of faith that is tested as he marshals vast and often intangible content into a grandiose form; it draws on different classical genres but it is essentially the product of liberal humanism and deals with its matter by using the rational methods of the new science. Man, having been ejected from the certainties of the medieval cosmology, is searching for a new place in the universal and limitless scheme now partially revealed. Thus Thomson's persona embarks on an intellectual quest to survey the world without and the mind within; he shares the spirit and uses the methods of the empirical observer. The world is seen as through a telescope, a microscope, or even through a Claude-glass; the lens does not erect a barrier between the author and perceived nature but is used, much as Augustans used a Claude-glass, as the mechanism for ordering the artist's perceptions before it is put aside so that the creative process can draw directly on nature. The lens may be seen as the symbol of man's

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changed perception of his relationship with matter in all its forms. The observations of Copernicus were also the auguries of the overthrow of medievalism and feudal society; the changes were slow, but within thirty years of the publication of Thomson's last edition of The Seasons (1746) the American Revolution had erupted -- the first political upheaval based on the humanistic liberalism that was the logical corollary of Renaissance re-assessment of man and the universe.

In the lines already quoted Thomson seems undaunted by the magnitude of the task of bringing all creation and the unseen mind within his purview and expects the willing cooperation of nature in his attempt to expose the arcane. The insatiable longing for knowledge is largely the desire to forestall chaos; this is made clear by the references to 'motions, periods,...laws', and systems, which are set against the infinitude of the 'void immense' and the sentence, 'through the disclosing deep/Light my blind way'. In organizing plenitude into a poem, the poet has made a beginning of controlling the variety of nature and by controlling, to use it; by dividing the whole into four seasons, he is employing the natural system as a structural principle and this is extended within the poem, as has already been mentioned, by using Newton's discoveries in optics as a medium of interpretation and expression.

Since fear of disorder is an impelling motive for the whole work it is natural that 'Winter' should have been the embryo of The Seasons. It expresses most vividly the fear of the power of nature to obliterate not only the familiar forms of man's surroundings by the action of wind, water and ice, but to induce despondency under gloomy skies:

'Tis done! Dread Winter has subdued the year,  
And reigns tremendous o'er the desert plains.  
How dead the vegetable kingdom lies!  
How dumb the tuneful! Horror wide extends  
His melancholy empire. Fond man!  
Behold thy pictured life;...

...Ah! whither now are fled  
Those dreams of greatness? those unsolid hopes  
Of happiness? those longings after fame?  
Those restless cares? those busy bustling days?  
("Winter", 1024-36 passim)

Perhaps the deficiency of the sense of controlled poetic structure
in the resort to exclamatory rhetoric here is more expressive of the oppressive dullness of winter than an ordered and cohesive description; the poet is seen to flounder momentarily before he takes his hopeful bearings from the rising promise of spring. A different effect is produced by the depressing cadences and close metaphoric texture of:

Thus Winter falls,  
A heavy gloom oppressive o'er the world,  
Through Nature shedding influence malign,  
And rouses up the seeds of dark disease,  
The soul of man dies in him, loathing life,  
And black with horrid views.  

Revulsion is aroused at the suggestion of 'influence malign', 'dark disease', 'loathing life' and 'horrid views', and repugnance is unrelied by the imagery of darkness and the death of the year in 'falls', 'shedding', and of man's soul.

Winter saps vitality, form, and purpose, but Thomson struggles to comprehend the shapelessness that overwhelms the familiar countryside:

Sudden the fields  
Put on their winter-robes of purest white.  
'Tis brightness all; save where the new snow melts  
Along the many current. The leafless woods  
Bow their hoar heads; and, ere the languid sun  
Faint from the west emits his evening ray,  
Earth's universal face, deep-hid and chill,  
Is one wild dazzling waste, that buries wide  
The works of man.  

At first the contours of fields, stream and woods are discernible, as beneath a clinging garment, but by evening the distinguishing characteristics of the humanized landscape have been obliterated under the 'wild...waste' that the poet still invests with some spatial dimensions in 'west', 'deep' and 'wide', a sense which is reinforced by the non-spatial, straight lines of light from the 'faint...evening ray' and the refracted light glaring from the snow. The poet's shaping vision softens the shock of the winter's formlessness for him; but this is art based on perceived reality and far different from the 'disastered' swain's direct experience of nature. Even here the medium of art moulds and interprets for the reader the shapeless disorder that overwhelms him with soft suggestions of dangers
lurking beneath the yielding heaps of snow. He is gradually involved in a maze that denies him the defined outlines of path or cottage, until he too becomes indistinguishable from his surroundings as 'creeping cold,/lays him along the snows a stiffened corse,/Unstretched and bleaching in the northern blast'(319-321).

In contrast with the pathos in 'Winter' there may also be grandeur in the swirling of water, whether it is in the form of gas, liquid or solid. Thomson exploits these various transformations of the season's dominant humour in vivid passages:

...in sable tincture, shadows vast,
Deep-tinged and damp, and congregated clouds,
And all the vapoury turbulence of heaven
Involve the face of things....

...rains obscure
Drive through the mingling skies with vapour vile,
Dash on the mountain's brow, and shake the woods
That grumbling wave below. The unsightly plain
Lies a brown deluge; as the low-bent clouds
Pour flood on flood, yet unexhausted still
Combine, and, deepening into night, shut up
The day's fair face.

('Winter', 54-57; 73-80)

Here are a spatial depth of the intangible air and an unnatural flatness in the contours of the mountain landscape. The looming depths 'involve...things' in 'sable tincture, shadows vast;/Deep-tinged...congregated clouds', 'vapoury turbulence', 'rains obscure/
Drive through the mingling skies' and 'shut up/The day's fair face'. The brown plain and 'low-bent clouds' emphasize the horizontal plane that is then superimposed on the vertical plane of the mountain's brow in the overwhelming deluge of 'Pour flood on flood, yet unexhausted still'. Throughout these lines the contrast of shape and flatness is used in the context of the terrifying inversion of the normal and therefore more comfortable view that the sky is a plane surface and that the land-forms envelop the human within their solid folds.

It is typical of Thomson's method that the foregoing description is enriched by association of line 78 with a passage in 'Spring', which is also echoed frequently in all books of the poem and is his basic statement of the proper tenancy of the earth. The mood is very different:
Ye generous Britons, cultivate the plough;
And o'er your hills and long withdrawing vales
Let Autumn spread his treasures to the sun,
Luxuriant and unbounded. As the sea
Far through his azure turbulent extent
Your empire owns, and from a thousand shores
Wafts all the pomp of life into your ports;
So with superior boon may your rich soil,
Exuberant, Nature's better blessings pour
O'er every land, the naked nations clothe,
And be the exhaustless granary of a world!

The notion of awful abundance in line 78 of 'Winter', culminates here in the mellifluous and bounding cadences of line 77 which is the key to the association. Water metaphors are often used of the plentiful harvest which waves, pours, or lies deep over the land. Here the simile is explicit and at the same time, commerce, as the medium of the redistribution of the forms of plenitude, imposes order on the vast spaces and teeming life that the passage encompasses. The optimism here may be almost as overwhelming as the melancholic effects of winter. The fine phrase, 'long withdrawing vales' is a mild introduction to the copiousness of 'luxuriant and unbounded'; this, in turn, prepares the way for the vastness of the spaces of 'the sea/Far through his azure turbulent extent/.empire...thousand shores/Wafts all the pomp of life'. These spaces would be almost unassimilable, were they not condensed into the familiar by the ending, 'into your ports'. The whole idea is then reversed and from the tangible 'rich soil' the sense of plenty spreads, developing through the comparative qualities of 'superior boon' and 'better blessings' to the superlative notions of 'every land' and 'exhaustless granary'.

The neat pattern created by this passage shows one way for the mind to cope with the knowledge of the vastness and variety of the world outside the immediate sphere of experience; the port becomes, in imagination as in reality, the node through which the traffic in plenitude passes: labelled, stacked, indented, priced, and therefore useful. The reconciliation of the barely comprehensible and the prosaic in the purposeful activities of the merchant adventurers may account for the inflated importance which their contemporaries attached to them. Such was the belief that the complexity of the system could be brought under the control of the intellect that, in
the introduction to a book on the English internal trade, Defoe could plausibly suggest that 'a general or universal PLAN OF COMMERCE is certainly much wanted in the World'.

The immense increase in the wealth of the nation in the later seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, which had been produced by tapping the riches of distant lands, was an obvious fact that had to be assimilated mentally as well as fiscally. The first poetic statements of global frugality through trade occur in Cooper's Hill (1642) and Windsor Forest. Minor talents, undaunted by distinguished precedents, were content merely to echo the lines on the Thames as bearer of trade. In 'An Epistle to the Honourable JAMES CRAGGS, Esq.' (1717), Ambrose Philips eulogizes Thames:

The Boast of Merchants, and the Sailor's Theme!
Whose spreading Flood unnumber'd Ships sustain,
And pour whole Towns afloat into the Main;
While the redundant Seas waft up fresh Stores,
The daily Tribute of far-distant Shores.

A couplet from Young's 'The Instalment' (1726) shows traces of Cooper's Hill: 'And, gathering tribute from each distant shore, / In Britain's lap the world's abundance pour.' The poverty of the imagery used by Philips and Young, when compared with the complexity underlying the metaphorical structure of the many passages on commerce in Thomson, shows the same failure to understand the traditional mores of human tenacity of the earth that may have been a source of the speculative boom in the business world.

Although imaginative poets may have found in the conservative model the means to control the challenges presented by English engagement in foreign trade, the South Sea Bubble and other inflated

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7The Poems of Ambrose Philips.

speculative schemes showed the fiscal system being misused, distorted and finally thrown into chaos because speculators had yielded to the delusive romance of mercantile adventuring. Swift ridicules the gullibility of those who subscribed to the deceptive schemes; his poem The Dubble (1720) is shaped around the twin themes of magical distortion of reality and of water, which are linked in the simple phenomenon of the visual distortion of a coin dropped into water:

Put in Your Money fairly told;  
Presto be gone -- Tis here so'en.  
Ladies, and Gentlemen, behold,  
Here's ev'ry Piece as big as ten.

Thus in a Basin drop a Shilling,  
Then fill the Vessel to the Brim,  
You shall observe as you are filling  
The pond'rous Metal seems to swim;

It rises both in Bulk and Height,  
Behold it swelling like a Sop;  
The liquid Medium cheats your Sight,  
Behold it mounted to the Top;

In Stock three hundred thousand Pounds;  
I have in view a Lord's Estate,  
My Manners all contiguous round,  
A Coach and Six, and serv'd in Plate.  

This is based on a simple demonstration in optics but certain phrases suggest conjuring-patter and so produce an imagery of deception: 'Presto be gone', 'ev'ry Piece as big as ten', 'The pond'rous Metal seems to swim', 'swelling like a Sop', 'cheats your Sight'; the obvious connotation of bread-sop in the use of 'Sop' carries the undercurrent of bribery as well. The fourth of the stanzas quoted shows the enormity of the deception for through the 'liquid Medium' of stock in the South Sea Company the subscriber, a potential bankrupt, has 'in view a Lord's Estate' of considerable magnitude. Here, very near the beginning of the poem, Swift has pointed to a cause of the mismanagement of credit: the aspirant to lordly mansions seems to be a commercial man bent upon a retirement that will crown his life's efforts, but -- or perhaps, because he is a city man -- he ignores the fact that money represents something tangible, that credit symbolizes metal money, and that both money and credit have

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value only to the extent that they can be converted into goods. Swift, on the contrary, identifies with the country interest, so he believes that the acceptance of the abstractions, money and credit, as valuable in their own right, is eroding the significance of the land that continues to multiply real assets which satisfy the basic needs of life, both physical and spiritual.\(^{10}\) The very nature of the speculator's dream of country splendour shows that, like the ephemeral credit upon which he would base his fortune, his idea of landownership is a fantasy of the gratification of the appetite for luxury. Distortion of the value of money -- 'ev'ry Piece as big as ten', 'The Silver takes a nobler Hue,...And seems a Guinea to your View'(11.114,116), 'Put on what Spectacles You please,/Your Guinea's but a Guinea still'(11.123-24) -- becomes for Swift, in this poem, a symbol of the distortion of all values, an inroad of agents of chaos, like the devils that escaped into the Gadarene swine. In a sonorous mock-blessing Swift maintains his metaphors of the sea and delusion (in the mass-hysteria of the mob), but uses them within the firm framework of liturgical and scriptural association, and thus within the concept of a divinely ordained creation:

May He whom Nature's Laws obey,
Who lifts the Poor, and sinks the Proud,
Quiet the Raging of the Sea,
And Still the Madness of the Crowd.

(209-212)

The greedy pursuit of wealth without responsibility is an aspect of disorder that is, for both Swift and Thomson, a local aberration from the eternal reality of the fine balance of order and chaos in the creation:

With what a perfect world-revolving power
Were first the unwieldy planets launched along
The illimitable void!—thus to remain,

\(^{10}\)Cf. Swift The Examiner, No.13: 'the greater Number of those who make a Figure,...be a Species of Men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution; consisting either of Generals or Colonels, or of such whose whole Fortunes lie in Funds and Stocks: So that Power, which, according to the old Maxim, was used to follow Land, is now gone over to Money.... So that if the War continue some Years longer, a Landed Man will be little better than a Farmer at a rack Rent, to the Army, and to the publick Funds.' The Examiner and Other Pieces, ed. H. Davis (Oxford, 1940) p.5.
Amid the flux of many thousand years
That oft has swept the busy race of men,
And all their laboured monuments away,
Unresisting, changeless; matchless in their course;
To day and night, with the delightful round
Of seasons faithful, not eccentric once;
So poised and perfect is the vast machine!  
('Summer', 32 ff.)

The polarities of natural order and chaos provide the main tension within Thomson's view of reality. 'Winter' shows best how nature can obliterate man's works and the forms to which he clings but when 'Summer' brings the 'Prime cheerer, Light!' (90), disorder may also follow. The story of Amelia, struck from the arms of Celadon (1171-1222) is told in terms appropriate to the season but the sentimentality of the pathetic cloys; the story of the snowbound hind in 'Winter' is more successful because his experience is not an involuntary subjection to blind fate but a prolonged struggle to assert himself against the overwhelming forces of nature, which have therefore to be described in detail. But Thomson captures something of the terror lurking in the sun's effulgence in the noontide passage:

'Tis raging noon; and, vertical, the sun
Darts on the head direct his forcible rays.
O'er heaven and earth, far as the ranging eye
Can sweep, a dazzling deluge reigns; and all
From pole to pole is undistinguished blaze.

(432-36)

The affinities with the description of tempest in 'Winter' are obvious: 'raging', 'vertical', 'Darts on the head direct', 'forceful', 'dazzling deluge', 'undistinguished blaze', and taken together with repeated references to the envelopment of all things, reproduce the sense of undifferentiated chaos; this is renewed in the night-fall when once again the earth is 'Sunk in the quenching gloom',

Order confounded lies, all beauty void,
Distinction lost, and gay variety
One universal blot.

('Autumn', 1139-1143)

As has been shown, the dominant interpretative device of The Seasons is the reordering of the perceptions of the mind within and the world without. This shows that Thomson was a precursor of the Romantic sensibility but he was also continuing the classical
tradition in making the dialectic between chaos and order, or the
\textit{concordia discors}, the central structural element of his poem. On
the one level the artist reproduces an orderly description of the
signs of disorder in the natural world, while on the technical level
he realizes the conjunction of opposites and the harmony to be
derived from their contrapuntal use.

It is consistent, therefore, that intimations of the intellect
at work should intrude even into the most abandoned solitudes: the
mind telescopes time and revives the memory of Cato's retreat from
servility in civilized Rome into the relative freedom of wild
Numidia; this ameliorates the description of the desolate man who
is a solitary castaway in that region ('Summer', 939-958). The mind
performs a similar function of rising above the immediate event to
survey the whole, in the account of the meteors ('Autumn', 1103-
1137): the sight of this phenomenon spreads panic amongst those who
see only the appearances of things and form hasty impressions based
on superstition and mob hysteria:

\begin{quote}
As thus they scan the visionary scene,
On all sides swells the superstitious din,
Incontinent: and busy frenzy talks
Of blood and battle;
\end{quote}

but

\begin{quote}
Not so the man of philosophic eye
And inspect sage: the waving brightness he
Curious surveys, inquisitive to know
The causes and materials, yet unfixed,
Of this appearance beautiful and new.
\end{quote}

(1122-25; 1133-37)

Both of these brief quotations are sibilant, yet in the first the
sibilance intensifies the sense of haste and confusion, while in the
second passage it lingers and insists, thereby suggesting the detached
pleasure of exact empirical observation. Thomson, the artist, can
exhibit the full range of human response to a single stimulus while
he leads the reader to his focal point, the mind's ability to
penetrate beyond appearances and, if not to comprehend the mystery,
at least to conquer irrational fear by the attempt to exercise reason.

The invocation to Swift in the beginning of \textit{The Dunciad} of 1728
shows the same belief in the power of the intellect to banish chaos,
which is here personified in Dulness:
O thou; whatever Title please thine ear,
Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver!
Whether thou chuse Cervantes' serious air,
Or laugh and shake in Rab'lais' easy Chair,
Or praise the Court, or magnify Mankind,
Or thy griev'd Country's copper chains unbind;
From thy Baetia tho' Her Power retires,
Grieve not at ought our sister realm acquires:
Here pleas'd behold her mighty wings out-spread,
To hatch a new Saturnian age of Lead. (I,17-26)

The exercise of Swift's intellect through his various personae has relieved colonial Ireland of the influence of Dulness, who has retired to the metropolitan country where, ironically, under her aegis the pastoral flourishes. Swift represents the civilizing power of the mind rising above the injustice and disorder of the society in which he lives; but in England, wealthy and temporarily stable, the dunces are ascendant under the patronage of their goddess:

Here she beholds the Chaos dark and deep,
Where nameless somethings in their causes sleep,
'Till genial Jacob, or a warm Third-day
Call forth each mass, a poem or a play.
How Hints, like spawn, scarce quick in embryo lie,
How new-born Nonsense first is taught to cry,
Maggots half-form'd, in rhyme exactly meet,
And learn to crawl upon poetic feet. (I,53-60)

The direct reference is to the Grub Street hacks but the appropriate metaphors of the ugliness of extreme immaturity when nature's ordering processes have barely begun strongly suggest the unformed tastes of the uncultivated writer and his audience, who admire works "Not touch'd by Nature, and not reach'd by Art" (III,226). Pope gives examples of ignorance of literary decorum and empirical inaccuracy, which Dulness admires because she sees through the distorting medium of fog, tinged with the light reflected from her own fool's colours (I,82). Like the importance of the imagery of sight in the works of Swift and Thomson considered in this chapter, Pope's metaphor emphasizes the importance of penetration beyond appearances if the intellect is to assert control over the abundance of observable matter. The invocation to Swift is a tribute to his...
individual effort in combating the forces of darkness just as the imitation of the epic games symbolizes the importance of individual prowess in defeating mediocrity.

Contemporary opinion attributed to Richard Savage the role of Pope's informant about the population of Grub Street while The Dunciad was being written and judging by his description of the role of the Bard in The Wanderer (1729) Savage must have approved Pope's higher aims in writing The Dunciad. Savage believes that the Bard 'glows impassion'd for his Country's Good' (III, 192), seeing his task as the survey of the created world, so that he may:

Through Fancy's Wilds some Moral's Point pursue:
From dark Deception clear-drawn Truth display,
As from black Chaos rose resplendent Day;

(III, 204-6)

Accordingly, the poet wanders in a 'visionary land' (IV, 2) after his renunciation of the active world which has treated him unkindly. He comes upon the Hermit, who lives in a miraculous cave-house where he dispenses simple but generous hospitality (I, 231-250). The curious dwelling is significant for the theme of the inflated and chaotic poem because not only is the hermit a bardic figure but the complex habitation wrought from the rock is a symbol of art, although the seer and his hermitage may be the poet's attempt to enforce some unity on his dream-like poem. The Hermit exclaims:

What cannot Industry completely raise?
Be the whole Earth in one great Landscape found,
By Industry is all with Beauty crown'd;

(I, 270-2)

The Hermit has also industriously made an effigy of his wife, whose death has led to this renunciation of his wealth, power and honour; his longing for Olympia is mawkish, probably because it seems to be

12 '...it was widely believed among Pope's victims that Savage was the chief informant, or, as they preferred to put it, informer.' J. Sutherland, in his introduction to the Twickenham Ed., V, xxv-xxvi.


14 'Though rich, great, young, I leave a pompous Seat,
(My Brother's now) to seek some dark Retreat' (II, 147-8).
a thinly-veiled expression of Savage's self-pity and frenzy of impotent rebellion at the injustice of his bastardy. Through the structural incoherence and the grandiose generalizing tone of the whole poem the sense of rebellion is barely held in check by elements of order. The three major narratives of the poem are: the hermit's unassuaged grief, which defies the comforts of philosophy and at one time draws him to the brink of suicide; the three traitors of Canto V, one of whom, reduced to 'One Anarchy, one Chaos of the Mind' (V, 464), foretells the executioner's axe; and the Wanderer's restless search for the peace of mind he believes the venal world has denied him. Over the diverse forms of discontent, Savage, in his bardic role, has cast the unifying, visionary gleam of light seen through Newtonian eyes.\textsuperscript{15} In the cave, the Hermit has ingeniously employed light to enhance the sanctity of his chapel by using a lens to focus light upon the 'pictur'd Saviour' (II, 68) who is the inspiration of his unusually mechanical life of renunciation of all things worldly. This is, however, shaken when the shade of Cato reawakens the Hermit's sense of public zeal (II, 380).

The tension between the active and the contemplative roles in the Hermit's life is linked with Savage's view of the role of the poet. Since his aspirations were intensified by his publicly-expressed belief that he was moving in a lower social stratum than that to which by birth he belonged, this probably made it easier for Savage to state unequivocally the urge that actuated much of the work of other writers:

\begin{quote}
Think not light Poetry, my Life's chief Care,  
The Muse's Mansion is at best but Air!  
Not sounding Verse can give great Souls their Aim,  
Action alone commands substantial Fame.  
Though with clip'd Wings I still lie flutt'ring here,  
I'd soar sublime and strike the Topmost Sphere.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

This attitude (which he modified in the 1736 revision of this poem) may be a gross exaggeration of the motives -- at least, the conscious motives -- of other writers, although the actions of Swift and Pope speak for themselves. Savage observes of Pope:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{15}Nicolson, Newton Demands the Muse, passim, documents this observation.
\textsuperscript{16}'The Picture' (1724), 11.17-22.
\end{quote}
...all that glorious warmth his lays reveal
Which only poets, kings, and patriots feel!
(I,359-50)

This occurs in a eulogistic passage on Pope as 'Monarch of the
Tuneful Train'(I,356), which, taken together with the passage
previously quoted from 'The Picture', reveals his creed of the
aristocratic ideal of individual responsibility to society:

What's Pow'r, or Wealth? Were they not form'd for Aid,
A SPRING for Virtue, and from Wrongs a Shade?
(V,147-48)17

Savage's solicitude for mankind, which finds complete expression in
Of Public Spirit but is briefly sketched in parts of The Wanderer,
is a Whiggish interpretation of the conservative ethos. His
conception of frugal use of the 'Gifts of Heav'n'(V,248) is as much
the undertaking of great capital works as the organization of the
paysage plant; but he would spread the results of this human endeav-
our amongst mankind united in commerce. The massive earthworks of
canals and land reclamation satisfy his concept of the princely
gesture and the sight of well-used land delights his sense of fitness:

In dark'ning Spots, mid Fields of various Dies,
Tilth new-manur'd, or naked Fallow lies.
Near Uplands fertile Pride enclos'd display,
The green Grass yellowing into scentful Hay,
And thick-set Hedges fence the full-ear'd Corn,
And Berries blacken on the virid Thorn.

(V,253-58)

During brief moments of self-forgetfulness like these, his pleasure
in the order that can be imposed on the material world rises above
the kaleidoscopic glimpses of disorder reproduced by the self-
pitying poet whose 'Soul believes,/Tis hard Vice triumphs, and that
Virtue grieves'(V,159-160). Although the wandering poet looks on
life from different points of view, he does not free himself as poet
from his own dissatisfaction. His imagination is fertile but he
often fails to use this to advantage even though his imagery of light
shows his interest in the dependence of appearances on the observer's
physical relation to the object. Consequently he fails to organize
his materials into a controlled, organic entity of the imagination.

17Cf., Clarence Tracy's introduction to Savage's
Poetical Works, p.5.
His failure provides an excellent foil to The Seasons, in which, although there are many manifestations of chaos this is always subservient to the principle of order because it is essential to the theme that the poet's vision should transcend the unaided perceptions of the individual, if only because he, as the artist, has striven to form the vision. Thomson moulds the smiling face of civil society not from ease but from vigour; his landscapes are peopled with sweating labourers, not transformed by the unseen influence of the rich promoting vast capital works. The difference can be seen in the following passage which exposes the core of Thomson's vision of order in society:

And what a pleasing prospect lies around!
Of hills and vales, and woods, and lawns, and spires,
And towns betwixt, and gilded streams, till all
The stretching landskip into smoke decays;
Happy Britannia, where the Queen of Arts,
Inspiring vigour, liberty, abroad
Walks through the land of heroes unconfined,
And scatters plenty with unsparing hand.
Rich is thy soil, and merciful thy skies;
Thy streams unfailing in the Summer's drought;
Unmatched thy guardian-oaks; thy vallies float
With golden waves; and on thy mountains flocks
Breat numberless; while, roving round their sides,
Bellow the blackening herds in lusty droves.
Beneath, thy meadows flame, and rise unquelled
Against the mower's scythe. On every hand
Thy villas shine. Thy country teems with wealth;
And Property assures it to the swain,
Pleased and unwearied in his certain toil.
Full are thy cities with the sons of art;
And trade and joy, in every busy street,
Mingling are heard: even Drudgery himself,
As at the car he sweats, or, dusty, hews
The palace stone, looks gay. Thy crowded ports,
Where rising masts an endless prospect yield,
With labour burn, and echo to the shouts
Of hurried sailor, as he hearty waves
His last adieu, and loosening every sheet,
Resigns the spreading vessel to the wind.

Bold, firm, and graceful, are thy generous youth,
By hardship sinewed, and by danger fired,
Scattering the nations where they go; and first
Or on the listed plain or wintry seas,
Wild are thy glories too, as o'er the plans
Of thriving peace thy thoughtful sires preside--
In genius and substantial learning, high;
For every virtue, every worth, renowned;
Sincere, plain-hearted, hospitable, kind,
Yet like the mustering thunder when provoked,
Men are at the centre of this landscape, and the quality of their minds and work determines the quality of the society that they make; this is Thomson's version of Pope's theme in *The Dunciad*. But as this is a working model of society the labourer is in the foreground because civil society depends upon his industry, although there is little concession here to the reality of the condition of the labouring poor in the early eighteenth century. This is, however, an artist's interpretation of eighteenth-century life in terms of the conservative ideal of the organic society: other contemporary thinkers ignored the existence of the majority of the nation on whom their affluence depended and it is at least a corrective of this dishonest interpretation of facts that Thomson should place the swain, the navvy and the sailor at the hub of the wheel of wealth-enlarging industry. Their pleasure, gaiety and heartiness represent the outward sign of their awareness of the individual worth of their contributions to the society to which they are indispensable. This contrasts with the worst aspects of the market society which is symbolized in the art of the time by the disabled soldier, whose plight proves that, to their contemporaries, the individual poor have only a practical, not an intrinsic value.

The workers of Thomson's landscape are happy since they are aware that their worth is appreciated, partly because 'Property assures wealth ... to the swain', but mainly because of the values inherent in the system. Liberty is the essential condition of Industry -- 'the Queen of Arts' -- because liberty places a full value on the individual and, as a corollary, ideally ensures that he receives the fruits of his labours. The English nation not only enjoys liberty for itself but, represented by its youth of all classes, it is the vindicator of the oppressed of all lands. Wealth is the product of industry, or frugality; the terms are practically interchangeable as names for the temperate use of the fruits of the earth so that there is natural increase and plenty for all seasons and all people. The structure of the verse-paragraph exhibits this natural progression of use: beginning with soil, climate and water-sources, it proceeds to the description of crops and herds, thence to the
The result of the loving use of this countryside, so that in description it sounds like a succession of formes ornées, is reached in the two brief statements: 'On every hand/Thy villas shine. Thy country teems with wealth'. The wealth is concentrated in the hands of the Landlords who, because their riches are based on the judicious give-and-take of agriculture, know how to give back to the labourer whose work made the natural wealth accessible.

The vigorous paragraph that follows continues the theme of industry with less logic but more vitality. The different emphases are probably indicative of the incompatibility of the organic, hierarchical society to the vivid activity of commerce, in which one may seem to reap where one does not sow. The third virtue of the country-house ethos is found in the mettlesome youth of Britain, whose generosity is shown in its most aristocratic light as it responds courageously to challenge; but the adventurous courage of youth mellows into the milder generosity of the 'thoughtful sires' who, 'Sincere, plain-hearted, hospitable, kind', undertake the magistracy of the world's affairs by defending liberty.

Thomson uses the familiar terms of the country-house ethos -- liberty, frugality or industry, and generosity -- to describe the whole of England as a model of the estate, and to show that Englishmen of the ruling classes, reared in this society, are collectively fitted to spread respect for liberty, to practise frugality upon the diversity of the world's productive capacity, and generously to bestow arms and arts on nations less gifted with wealth and leisure. There seems to have been some validity for this poetic view, although Thomson's awareness of the problems of the humblest tenants of this society reveals creative foresight:

The power of the land and of commerce fused to create a paradise for gentlemen, for the aristocracy of birth; it thus became much easier for Britain to adopt an imperial authority, to rule alien peoples, and to train its ruling class for that purpose, rather than to adjust its institutions and its social system to the needs of an industrial society.18

The implications of that last clause were mainly for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to discover by harsh experience, although,

it will be seen in the next section that writers of the forties and fifties were beginning to grapple with this difficulty. As a whole, Plumb's summary reflects the conservatism which he, at least, sees in the British response to the challenge held out by the 'Lusitania Prince'. The British extended their sphere of paternalistic influence in a gradual adaptation of feudalism, instead of readjusting their internal social organization to accommodate and take advantage of the new influences within a cohesive national unit. With the conservative image of the country estate and its attendant ethos ready to hand to project, explain and justify, there was no necessity to use root-and-branch methods to adapt to new concepts and conditions. The contemplative Edward Young could write:

Luxuriant isle! what tide that flows,
Or stream that glides, or wind that blows,
Or genial sun that shiner, or shower that pours,
But flows, glides, breathes, shines, pours for thee?
How every heart dilates to see
Each land's each season blending on thy shores:
All these one British harvest make!
The servent Ocean for thy sake
Both sinks and swells: his arms thy bosom wrap,
And fondly give, in boundless dower
To mighty George's growing power,
The wafted world into thy loaded lap.

The cloying imagery of this passage denies the reciprocity that is basic to the country-house ethos, although the idea of the estate is implicit in the metaphor of Britain regnant: it thus reveals the weakness inherent in the superficial use of the ready-made image.

By comparison, there is a passage in The Seasons that, while it does not overtly assert Britain's primacy among the nations, does claim her inviolability and power among the world community, as if it were a moated keep amid the waving ears of corn:

Island of bliss! amid the subject seas
That thunder round thy rocky coasts, set up,
At once the wonder, terror, and delight,
Of distant nations, whose remotest shore
Can soon be shaken by thy naval arm;
Not to be shook thyself, but all assaults
Baffling, like thy hoar cliffs the loud sea-wave.

('Summer', 1595-1601)

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Unlike Young, Thomson does not express his faith in ascendant power alone but prays that his country will be granted 'the saving Virtues'—peace, social love, charity, truth, dignity, courage, temperance, chastity, industry. All are to be overseen by 'That first paternal virtue, Public Zeal' (1616). On the human level, Thomson would have Britain reflect the maternal role of Nature, whose 'kind impartial care...naught disdains: thoughtful to feed/Her lowest sons, and clothe the coming year' ('Summer', 1660-62).

The frequency with which Thomson returns to the theme of disorder has already been shown, although so far it has been discussed only in the context of nature. Throughout The Seasons the chaos and harmony of nature are extended and paralleled by references to these same two aspects of human nature. As the country-house ethos lays emphasis on use, so one of the first signs of disorder among men is misuse. Thomson despises the hunt as demeaning man to a condition below that of the ravaging beasts of prey, for man as a hunter behaves as a 'steady tyrant' exercising 'the thoughtless insolence of power' ('Autumn', 390-91), clumsily destroying what is good in order to extract some small benefit for himself. The needless destruction of the entire hive for the sake of the summer's store of honey is an example of one-sided commerce with nature. Hunted animals are intensely realized ('Autumn', 401-469) and exploited cattle command sympathy ('Spring', 342-370) but the 'still-heaving hive' ('Autumn', 1172-1207), overturned by the greedy apiarist, is a powerful example of misuse because it fits neatly into the organic structure of the poem. Thomson shows the interpenetration of discord and harmony at and between the various levels of the great chain of existence: the hive, the tidy image of human society, is a metaphor of the forces of chaos that can overturn the order produced from industry. It is a connexion which Thomson makes quite explicitly in his topical comparison with an earthquake at Palermo. The injustice of the total destruction of the little society is more obvious because Thomson dwells on the mutual benevolence of the community within the hive, which industriously acquires its wealth for the common good. This contrasts with the human city which, in one aspect resembling its waxen counterpart, 'swarms intense' and 'Hums indistinct', but where 'The sons of riot flow/Down the loose stream
of false enchanted joy/to swift destruction' ('Winter', 630, 632-4). Here the virtues are forfeit to deceptive enchantments; the fop emerges from the glitter of the court like a 'gay insect in his summer shine,/...light-fluttering, spreads his mealy wings' (644-45). Needless luxury seems to be associated with the transient summer insect (as opposed to the frugal bee):

Ah! little think the gay licentious proud,
Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround--
They, who their thoughtless hours in giddy mirth,
And wanton, often cruel, riot waste--
Ah! little think they, while they dance along,
How many feel, this very moment, death
And all the sad variety of pain.

('Winter', 322-28)

Almost immediately after this passage Thomson inserts a tribute to Howard and his 'generous band' (359) who entered the cesspools of civilization to begin the long task of bringing guidance and purpose to those who had been indiscriminately ejected from the social fabric. Like the sages of both classical times and British history who are mentioned in various parts of The Seasons, the reforming Quakers represent the order brought to life by the individual who epitomizes what is best in his society or stands firm against the evils that beset it:

...the virtuous man,
Who keeps his tempered mind serene and pure,
And all his passions aptly harmonized
Amid a jarring world with vice inflamed.

('Summer', 465-68)

He is a microcosm demonstrating the triumph of harmony over discord. This is essentially the Horatian, beatus ille motif of individual self-control but the implications of self-sufficiency spread beyond the microcosm to produce a node of order in a potentially chaotic world. Woman finds a similar role within the slightly larger unit of the family: "Well-ordered home man's best delight to make;/... This be the female dignity and praise" ('Autumn', 603, 609). Others of low status are also seen as bringing order to their spheres of influence. In the heat of summer noon the 'monarch-swain' ('Summer', 494) sleeps cushioned on moss and well-provided with food while his alert dog watches over the herd, ready to wake his master.
if danger threatens. Similarly, the hardy Hebridean with his small flock of tiny sheep is depicted leading a simple and self-sufficient life that brings a type of order to 'The shepherd's sea-girt realm' ('Autumn', 874). Both herdsman and shepherd have sufficient food, and a comfortable place to rest, to which must be added their status as free men; that makes them kings indeed, compared with the labouring poor of town and country. Amongst these poor, Lavinia cannot be considered typical, although necessity compels her to glean Palemon's fields ('Autumn', 177ff): she is

Acasto's daughter—his, whose open stores,
Though vast, were little to his ampler heart,
The father of a country;

(283-5)

and when Palemon adds: 'His bounty taught to gain, and right enjoy' (287), the fullness of Acasto's traditional virtues is confirmed. As the beneficiary of the old man's advice and help, Palemon leads the life of the beatus vir in the Arcadian manner; but Lavinia has inherited her father's wisdom, because she can live in a dignified Horatian retreat that is dictated by necessity but graced by a virtue nourished, rather than blighted, by the poverty that has forced her retirement from the world. Both, in their different modes of life, illustrate the enactment of independence, frugality and generosity; and in their union both aspects of right use — the use of want and of riches — are confirmed in a long and fruitful marriage that is an exemplar to their countryside.

Great power in courts or parliaments is not a necessary pre-condition of the ability to hold chaos at bay by imposing order. In their rural lives Palemon and Lavinia enjoy all the aspects of the beatus ille formula; this is also the setting for Thomson's persona, and their lives show, on the natural plane, what he, on the poetic plane, is doing. Although confined to a humble sphere,20 his impartial, philosophic eye scans the universe as that of the independent man; the poetic structure of The Seasons is almost a model of the frugal use of the world's plenitude; and the refined social feelings that animate the poem are a reflection of his generosity. In The Seasons the country-house ethos, where it is being practised by the poor man as poet, can be interpreted as an Horatian adaptation

20Cf. 'Winter', 597-98.
of the classical virtues. The reflective temper of the Horatian mode draws on its only form of wealth, philosophy, which Thomson metaphorically associates with the light of a summer noon, a light that nourishes the soul so that it can soar 'above the tangling mass of cares and low desires, / That bind the fluttering crowd'. From this height Philosophy surveys the physical creation and the spheres of thought,

To reason's and to fancy's eye displayed--
The first up-tracing, from the vast inane,
The chain of causes and effects to Him,
Who, all-sustaining in Himself alone
Possesses being; while the last receives
The whole magnificence of heaven and earth....

. . . . .
Tutored by thee, hence Poetry exalts
Her voice to ages; and informs the page
With music, image, sentiment, and thought,
Never to die;...

. . . . .
Without thee what were unassisted man?
A savage, roaming through the woods and wilds....

('Summer', 1730-1759, passim)

The last two lines, read in the context of the whole poem, are a reminder that philosophy and poetry, not only tame man and fit him for civil society but reclaim modern man who has relapsed into the wilderness and can thus perpetuate him in poetry as a symbol of order. The unnamed swain who dies in the snow has already been considered, but the fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition is given similar treatment ('Winter', 920-935). Willoughby's defeat by the polar ice becomes a triumph of the human will to assert order and to support reason with action -- in this case exploration following the theory of the north-east passage. Stretched to the utmost against a 'foil' opponent that is worthy of the contest, 'Each full exerted at his several task, / Froze into statues'; but they all held firm to their purpose at the moment of being frozen into lasting memorials of their dauntless zeal to overcome the elements.

Deathless courage in pursuit of a chosen goal is the supreme example of the purpose that may animate the human spirit in various degrees. It is seen as the most striking contrast with the aimlessness that may invade the soul that neither perceives nor strives to comprehend the ordering principle of creation:
For ever running an enchanted round,
Passes the day, deceitful, tedious, void;
As fleets the vision o'er the formful brain,
This moment hurrying all the impassioned soul,
The next in nothing lost. 'Tis so to him,
The dreamer of this earth, a cheerless blank--
A sight of horror to the cruel wretch,
Who, rolling in inhuman pleasure deep,
The whole day long has made the widow pine,
And snatched the morsel from her orphan's mouth
To give his dogs: but to the tuneful mind,
Who makes the hopeless heart to sing for joy,
Diffusing kind beneficence around
Boastless as now descends the silent dew--
To him the long review of ordered life
Is inward rapture only to be felt.

('Summer', 1630-1646)

The fear of a lost sense of purpose is yet another form of chaos
that Thomson holds in check, but his liberal optimism can control the
threat by taking 'the subject as the point of departure, to determine
the nature and the value of the human cognitive act, attempting
thereby to find an anchorage for objective existence in the knowing
subject.'21

Possibly because the bases of his ontological belief are un-
shaken by the epistemological revolution, Thomson can confidently
graft the new science onto the conservative ethos. He has then a
fixed point from which he can test the absurdity of feeding dogs rather
than orphans, just as from the same certainty, Swift can demonstrate
that the value of money must be inflated in many minds before the
distortion passes into the economy. The poet's eye remains on the
object and he establishes his relationship to it by the terms of his
description. He can thus enjoy the full inheritance of his man's
estate through the exercise of his creative power to interpret the
conditions of existence. In this quest of the individual mind the
poet's persona is far removed from Defoe's protagonists, who engage
in solitary contest with poverty or social alienation to gain
possession of a more fruitful social estate. These two ways of
establishing the individual's relation to the world by reference to
the two themes considered in this study are polarized during the years
1715 to 1730 but they are, to some extent, reconciled during the two
decades that follow.

PART III: 1731 - 1750
The two previous chapters have traced the essentially individual quests of the protagonists and personae of works of 1715 to 1730. The following chapters, dealing with the two decades from 1731, show a different perception of the world. Writers who combine the themes of personal retreat and national expansion absorb their questioning of the relation of the individual to the world into the larger problem of the nature of social institutions:

God loves from Whole to Parts: But human soul
- Must rise from Individual to the Whole.
Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
- . . . . . . .
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race.\(^1\)

The wider range of interest requires a new approach to the material. There is a transition from the subjectivity of the novels masquerading as personal memoirs to the adoption of techniques that make it possible to incorporate the material more objectively. In spite of the great success of the dialectic between subject and object in

\textit{The Seasons}, Thomson distances himself from the object in his later long poems. There is a barrier between the story and the reader in both \textit{Liberty} and \textit{The Castle of Indolence}: in one case this is the artificiality of the personified narrator and in the other the irony of the archaisms constitutes a literary filter. Even the drama of the period suffers from an excess of objectivity: the paper-cutout characters are created and placed, and then go through a series of actions in accordance with the didactic purposes of their author; naturally, satire is the dramatic form of the best plays during these years. Pope, however, is the consummate example of the literature of the thirties and forties because he lived his role; he removed himself

physically from the world and created a Horatian persona from the details of his circumstances. While he made a living from pleasing his public, he dedicated his work to politicians and this, from a poet who prided himself on his independence, is a practical confirmation that Pope believed in the value of the poet's role as legislator to society.

The dedication of An Essay on Man to Bolingbroke is the tribute of the poet to the man who represents the political philosophy that Pope finds most congenial. At the time it was written, Bolingbroke had long been a discredited politician, but he was held in high esteem among the Tory coterie that surrounded the Prince of Wales. His political ideals, maintained during many years, were promulgated through his journal The Craftsman, but they also gained currency through their transformation into literature by writers like Pope, Thomson and Gay. This group of writers is addressing itself to the middle class by invoking an ethos which is manifestly anachronistic to the society of Walpole's England. At this point the country-house ethos clearly becomes an excellent example of Carl Mannheim's 'dynamic, historical, structural configuration': faced with change, the imagination still adapts the models of the past. At this time the traditional ethos shifts from the role of personal metaphor for comprehending a changed perception of the physical world to being an historical rationale for a political philosophy in a changed society.

It was probably the incontrovertible strength of Walpole's power that induced the writer of the thirties and forties to turn from the analysis of the personal dilemma to the role of social critic. Condemnation to a long period in opposition was galling and conducive to impracticality. The long peace was inglorious, if good for trade, and the lord of the manor of Houghton, which had been built on the site of the village now removed beyond the park wall, was the bloated symbol of the corruptibility and partiality that seemed to be eroding the bases of the conservative concept of social responsibility. The power of money became the malignant influence against which conserva-

2After 1735 the Prince of Wales and his secretary, Lyttelton, were the focus of an opposition group including Pope, Johnson, Fielding, Warton, Thomson, Pitt, Windham, Cobham and Marchmont, see I. Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle, p.33.
tives ranged the power of the land, now declined but radiant with the
virtues of the country-house ethos and the legendary Elizabethan age
in which its way of life had supposedly created the conditions of
merry England. In the Walpole administration, the Opposition could
see the institutional perpetuation of the habits of new wealth.
Although the rise of the newly rich is a traditional embarrassment
to the established gentry, the parvenu had formerly been assimilated
by the force of convention; now the conjunction of new political
and economic conditions was producing social changes which destroyed
the simple political body that evolves from the patriarchy.
Consequently, although writers of earlier years, like Mr. Spectator
and Defoe, are to some degree conscious of the need for social
education of their middle class audience, the social critics of the
thirties and forties are much more aggressively didactic. They
direct their attacks on modern vices and in praise of the traditional
ethos to a post-Revolutionary and affluent middle class who need to be
reminded of the values of the past in an attempt to turn back the
clock now that "the very genius of our people is changed both in
public and private life...the spirit of private interest prevails
among us" 3

The problem of relativity still taxes the creative mind that
fears disorientation induced by the obvious social changes but now
it takes the form of an objective study of the phenomenon, man. An
Essay on Man shows the reforming zeal inherent in the deliberate
confinegment of the Horatian stance, especially where the man who
gathers his forces in this way is conscious of his explicatory power
as a poet to

Expatriate free o'er all this scene of Man;
A mighty maze! but not without a plan;
A Wild, where weeds and flow'rs promiscuous shoot;
Or Garden, tempting with forbidden fruit.
Together let us beat this ample field,
Try what the open, what the covert yield;
The latent tracts, the giddy heights explore
Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar.

(I,5-12)

The poet's intention is similar to that of Thomson in The Seasons,

3Quoted in Kramnick, p.73, from a manuscript letter of Bolingbroke to Chesterfield (n.d., but circa 1750).
but the scope is, as these lines suggest, deliberately constricted by the circumspect Pope, 'His knowledge measured to his state and place, His time a moment, and a point his space' (I, 71-2). His contrasted wilderness and garden, and the avowed intention, expressed in subsequent lines, to shoot flying folly and catch 'Manners' as they break from covert, suggest that he has confined his view to the modest scale of the country estate as the microcosm from which he will draw his moral. Yet in doing this he clearly gestures towards the macrocosm in expansive terms like 'this ample field', or 'The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore'. There is an air of calculated humility, as in the deprecatory outline of the work in hand which he gives in 'The Design'. The Essay on Man, as the prelude to the epistles and satires, marks the beginning of an ambitious project, but Pope, the cautious explorer of his chosen field, claims with a deliberate show of modesty that:

What is now published, is only to be considered as a general map of MAN, marking out no more than the greater parts, their extent, their limits, and their connection, but leaving the particular to be more fully delineated in the charts which are to follow.... I am here only opening the fountains, and clearing the passage. To deduce the rivers, to follow them in their course, and to observe their effects, may be a task more agreeable.

In setting up his map of mankind -- or his system of values -- Pope expounds the theory of the concordia discord. The tensions that produce the orderly working of the 'Vast chain of Being' mean that the happiness of the individual human is contingent, and that, in essence, 'Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of Sense, Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence' (IV, 79-80). Since this is so, individual man must be forever insecure and the most highly-prized personal virtue becomes the achievement of independence rather than fame and greatness (IV, vi). This is to be enjoyed as part of the universal frugality of the natural system whereby 'Beast in aid of Man, and Man of Beast; All serv'd, all serving! nothing stands alone; The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown'.

The practice of generosity also derives from a proper sense of the

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4III, 24-26; the whole of III,i is an exposition of the frugality of the great chain of being.
reciprocity between parts of the great chain, and this generosity is the prerequisite of overlordship, at whatever level it is exerted, just as it was in the golden age, before civil society emerged into the state:

'Till then, by Nature crown'd, each Patriarch sate,
King, priest, and parent of his growing state;

* * * * *
For Nature knew no right divine in Men,
No ill could fear in God; and understood
A sov'reign being but a sov'reign good.

(III,215-6,236-8)

Seen in this light, sovereignty is the natural outcome of the superior exercise of the social virtues. This is the justification, argued from the a priori principles of the traditional social structure that Pope, as satirist, defends. In objectifying this structure Pope uses the satirical device of distancing himself by removing physically from the object of his contemplation: he adopts the Horatian stance.

In The Garden and the City, Haynard Mack has revealed the complexities of this fiction. Pope sees the concentric and interlocking ripples of responsibility between man and man, and man and his larger allegiances, but at the very centre of his concept is the integrity of the percipient mind of the poet as legislator to mankind. He can thus create within himself the ideal civility and sometimes extend to his friends the enjoyment of this microcosmic working model of the good society. This serves as a foil to reality in the world at large; it is the more in contrast with reality by virtue of the comparative thoroughness of his repudiation of worldly goods. If the ultimate test of a man's magnanimity is the quality of his use of what is not his own then Pope's benevolence is patent in putting his rented acres to a use both beautiful and appropriate. They signify his independence because he has impressed his creative stamp

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5Reference here and below is being made to 'Satire II,ii', The Twickenham Edition, Vol.IV, Imitations of Horace, ed. John Butt (London, 1939). There is, of course, a parallel between Pope's preservation, in poetry and letters, of his achievement at Twickenham and the addition to a man's self-esteem in the thought of the posthumous gratitude that will be aroused by a well-husbanded legacy of material goods.
upon their modest self-containment which, although it is threatened, is still maintained by tunnelling under the intrusive road. At Twickenham also, he can live without fear of eviction because of his religion.

The financial pressures of the punitive double tax and his losses in South Sea investment cannot shake his independence as master of this simple economy. His frugality is symbolized in the rejection of luxury as he trifles with simple foods:

> Content with little, I can piddle here
> On Broccoli and mutton, round the year. (137-38)

The meal is plain but his appreciation of frugality makes Pope relish the knowledge of its provenance. Not for him the townsman's diet of foods bought from among the promiscuous jumble of the market-place; his mutton comes from well-known pastures, the poultry from his land and the palatable fish are caught beneath his windows. The absence of an extensive estate does not therefore deny him the pleasure of feeling that over much that he sees, even where it is not in his care, he extends the sovereignty of grateful use. Yet this is not the end of his frugality, for like the lordly horticulturist of the previous century he employs art to create suitable conditions for the sun-loving fig and grape to complement the homely walnut that bears readily in the English climate. The proper use of what is available to him enables Pope to be generous within his means by providing ready hospitality to his friends. But the best expression of his generosity is his Horatian role as exemplar of wise economy in straitened circumstances. The validity of the persona that he projects through his satires lies not in its relation to the reality of his way of life but in its adequacy as a critical touchstone by which he can pass judgment on others, especially the rich and powerful.

Pope is the simple honestus vir, and he lays open his life to the perusal of the reader. The modesty of his means and the civil disabilities under which he labours are manipulated to make the reader acquit him of any suggestion of concealment in the exposition of his affairs. We can infer from the 'Epistle to Bathurst' that his is a virtue now out of fashion in an economy that uses gold and its even less tangible substitute, 'paper-credit', as the basis of
its transactions. Implicit in the first part of the satire is the assumption that the events referred to could never have happened within a land-based economic system and that the traditional values are warped by the new regime which enables one man to 'eat the bread another sows'(22). Pope sees the power of credit as delusive:

Blest paper-credit! last and best supply!
That lends Corruption lighter wings to fly:
Gold imp'd by thee, can compass hardest things,
Can pocket States, can fetch or carry Kings;
A single Leaf shall waft an Army o'er,
Or ship off Senates to a distant Shore;
A leaf, like Sibyl's, scatter to and fro
Our fates and fortunes, as the winds shall blow:
Pregnant with thousands flits the Scrap unseen,
And silent sells a King, or buys a Queen.

(69-78)

Pope makes play with the absurdity of pocketing states and buying and selling and then moving kings as if they were the nondescript objects that are fetched and carried in daily life, or with the Persian-carpet whimsy of an army wafted on the single leaf of a letter of credit. The significance of the falconer's 'imped' reinforces 'blest' by allusion to the spiritual use of the term as well as strengthening the flying metaphor. The simile of the Sibyl's leaf suggests that the esoteric mumbo-jumbo of the City is as baseless as the Sibyl's prophetic ravings, which must have been an argument popular among disappointed investors for years after 1720. Through all, however, there is the suggestion of secrecy and of the power of credit to perform its function unobtrusively. If this is so, argues Pope, then it does indeed strengthen the wings of corruption. In ancient times the independence of the nation could not be invisibly undermined by a sly bribe:

A Statesman's slumbers how this speech would spoil:
"Sir, Spain has sent a thousand jars of oil;
"Huge bales of British cloth blockade the door;
"A hundred oxen at your levee roar."

(43-46)

Neither could the proper practice of frugality in trade be undermined by improper trade manipulation such as the cartel among coal-mine proprietors to artificially raise the price of coal (61-64).

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Pope's farcical remedy for gambling, that the goods themselves not the money they represent, should be exchanged at the gaming table (53-62), forcibly reminds the reader that this aristocratic pastime represents a gross misuse of wealth and that this form of recklessness is the antithesis of generosity.

A man's needs are in fact very simple, decides Pope. When Bathurst demurs at the simplicity of 'Meat, Cloathes, and Fire' (62) his poetic mentor shows that money can provide no more. Yet still the rich hide their irremediable human frailty beneath the panoply of wealth and despise the poor for their want. The fallacy of the undeserving poor can develop unchallenged in a commercial society where money gives access to the necessities of life without exposure to the seasonal variation of the land-based economy. Cut off from the land, the plutocracy is unaware of the common dependence on the land that is the source of the landed gentry's traditional acceptance of responsibility for the poor.7 Pope mocks this illusory faith in the power of money and the consequent venality of the age by satirically praising Sir John Blunt because in leading the South Sea Company into its crisis he has exposed the insubstantiality of money. Nevertheless, the South Sea deceit was bound to be exposed eventually because the law of nature endures on a time scale that is different from, but just as cyclic, as ours:

Riches, like insects, when conceal'd they lie, Wait but for wings, and in their season, fly. Who sees pale mammon shine amidst his store, Sees but a backward steward for the Poor; This year a Reservoir, to keep and spare, The next a Fountain, spouting thro' his Hair, In lavish streams to quench a Country's thirst, And men and dogs shall drink him 'till they burst. (171-178)

By the imagery of natural process and abundance that cannot be permanently hampered, Pope indicates nature's eventual triumph over the unnatural. Old Cotta and his son represent this process but the son's prodigality in reaction to his father's miserly misuse of wealth

799-106: Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, p.265, shows that the example cited in Pope's footnote (102, Vol. III, ii, p.98) was not a singular instance of trying to extract profit from companies apparently intent on helping the poor.
strengthens the poet's advocacy of the value of good example. The Man of Ross is the mean; his proper disbursement of a modest income is enhanced as an example by being cited between the rich and immoderate Cottas and the similar extremes of the improper husbandry of vast wealth in Villiers and Cutler. The Man of Ross was a country gentleman so retiring that there is no inscription to mark his burial-place in the chancel of the parish church. On the other hand the city perverts 'plain, good' Sir Balaam, and he is eventually cast into the unhallowed oblivion of a traitor's grave. The diverting fable of the dissolution of a citizen 'religious, punctual, frugal and so forth' sustains the pleasantly bantering tone of the poem; this has been threatened by serious reflections arising from the examples cited from life. Yet so complete is Sir Balaam's downfall that the tale induces a sobering respect for the Devil's new-found wisdom in 'making rich, not making poor' and throws doubt on the strength of the traditional ethos to provide a positive example to withstand the temptations of a plutocratic society.

Even while the 'Epistle IV', to Burlington, intensifies the theme of wasteful expenditure by the culturally deprived, it ends with creation not with dissolution as in the previous Epistle. In this it is appropriate to the amateur architect, Burlington. At the end, the rising tone of confidence in the permanence and communal value of the works of the age reflects Pope's faith in the permanence of the natural order. The wealth of self-made Timon brings an empty grandeur that bears little comparison with independence of spirit; his ill-conceived distortion of nature into a pleasure garden is the antithesis of frugality, and the lavish display in his echoing hall is only the token of hospitality.

Yet hence the Poor are cloath'd, the Hungry fed;
Health to himself, and to his Infants bread
The Lab' rer bears: What his hard Heart denies,
His charitable Vanity supplies. 

(169-172)

Just as wealth, abused, still filters through to the poor, so the tortured landscape will avenge its suffering:

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 re-assume the land.

(173-75)
In the images of smiling fertility Pope regains the serenity that has been ruffled by Simon's entertainment and in the calming, even soporific, lines there is a suggestion that Pope shares the complacency of some economic theorists that, misuse notwithstanding, the labourer's eventual receipt of enough food justifies the rich man's indulgence in conspicuous consumption. The succeeding lines banish this fleeting thought. The peaceful industry they depict re-establishes the mean and sets it in relation to a man of Burlington's standing who has it in his power to be a benefactor beyond the confines of his land. We know that this man is a good landlord of his inherited acres because his 'cheerful Tenants bless their yearly toil'(183). His garden is a kind of ferme ornée where he puts his grass to use in grazing, and his silviculture is directed to a useful, rather than a decorative, future. The timber and the purposes for which it is designed draw the poem beyond contemplation of the care of paternal acres to the provision of safe and appropriate facilities for the conduct of the nation's business and worship. The final lines of the Epistle to Burlington remind the reader that Pope is a member of the Opposition. The line, 'Till Kings call forth th'Ideas of your mind' (195), holds promise of the patriot king that the Opposition hopes is latent in Frederick, Prince of Wales. Pope envisages Burlington's creative talent providing designs for public works worthy of a king who has a proper concern for the honour and welfare of his domain.

Although their hope was illusory, the Opposition invested the king's heir with the embryonic properties of the ideal ruler. This was still the first flush of the constitutional monarchy and with the first young heir in their midst it was appropriate that artists should express their ideas about kingship and the government of the nation by trying to coax reality into the cohesive model of the national estate. Changing market forces, aggravated by the undisguised intrusion of executive government into the economic field, seemed to threaten the individual and collective enjoyment of the good life by attacking its first premise -- independence. Bolingbroke subtly suggests that the Englishman's social creed no longer goes unquestioned by publishing The Freeholder's Political Catechism:

By being a Freeholder of Great Britain, I am a greater Man in my Civil Capacity, than the greatest Subject of an Arbitrary Prince, because I am governed by Laws, to
which I give my Consent, and my Life, Liberty, and Goods, cannot be taken from me, but according to those Laws: I am a Free Man.\footnote{London, 1733, p.3. A pamphlet attributed to Bolingbroke.}

Another article of Opposition faith is the assertion that the English monarchs 'most indulgent to the Liberties of the People' were Alfred, Edward I, Edward II, Henry V and 'the immortal Queen Elizabeth'.\footnote{Freeholder's Political Catechism, pp.10-11.}

Their discontent with the growing power of the contemporary ruling clique made it inevitable that liberty and honesty -- also at a discount among the minions of the 'Screenmaster General' -- should be common themes, but used most often in a historical or foreign context.

The drama of these years is a case in point. \textit{Sophonisba}, Thomson's first play, is a dramatic enactment of the theme of liberty and enslavement. Sophonisba is Hannibal's sister, who by refusing to compromise with Rome (embodied at its ethically ideal in the person of Scipio) initiates a train of events that lead her and others into various kinds of tyrannical servitude more binding to the spirit than the fetters of Roman captivity. Scipio and Sophonisba, who never meet in the play, embody the opposing aspects of this study. On the one hand Sophonisba is proud that:

\begin{quote}
Carthage
Unblemish'd rises on the base of commerce,
Founds her fair empire on that common good,
And asks of Heaven nought but the winds and tides
To carry plenty, letters, science, wealth,
Civility, and grandeur, round the world.\footnote{III, 3; all references to Thomson's plays are to The Works of James Thomson, Vols. II and III, (London, 1788).}
\end{quote}

Her 'public spirit' manifests itself in insistence on the form of independence and blinds her to the fact that she is in bondage to her doting husband, the old tyrant Syphax, whom she married because, to please her, he would wage war against Rome without a thought for
the needs of his people. Masinissa, the young king she loves, will not subdue his sense of justice to his passion for Sophonisba since Scipio's example of good government has won him to an idealistic alliance with Rome. When Syphax conquers his land, Masinissa resorts to the hills where he bides his time till he can free his people from the oppressive yoke of his old rival. This behaviour shows that he is to be closely identified with Scipio, for whom self-conquest is the first condition of virtus, without which power becomes the hollow exercise of tyranny:

Why should we pretend
To conquer nations, and to rule mankind,....
While slaves at heart?

* * *
Real glory
Springs from the silent conquest of ourselves;
And without that the conqueror is nought
But the first slave.

(V,ii)

But Masinissa is not a Roman, and in his hour of glory he is unmanned and destroyed by the reawakening of his love for Sophonisba after she has fallen into his power.

The inmoderate passions of North Africans find no place among the precious sensibilities of another of Thomson's plays about government, Edward and Eleonora. Although the scene is the pavilions before the walls of Jaffa only the self-immolation of the fanatical dervish assassin provides local colour. In contrast, the sacrificial love of Eleonora and Edward for each other and for their children signifies dignity and a sense of responsibility proper to any English gentleman, but especially suitable in the heir to the British throne on the eve of his succession to a good father. The tenderness of his relationship with his wife is complemented by his love for his people and echoed in the overriding concern of England's guardian spirit and Edward's adviser, Gloster, that England's kings should aim:

...On the firm base
Of well-proportioned liberty, to build
The common quiet, happiness, and glory,
Of king and people, England's rising grandeur.
(I,1.)

The exposition of ideas on responsible kingship in the setting of
the Crusade to Jaffa enables Gloster's remarks on the futility of
spiritual expansionism in the Middle Ages to reflect on the disparity
of intention and reality in modern commercial expansionism:

Sure I am 'tis madness,
Inhuman madness, thus, from half the world,
To drain its blood and treasure, to neglect
Each art of peace, each care of government;
And all for what? by spreading desolation,
Rapine and slaughter o'er the other half,
To gain a conquest we can never hold.

(I,iii)

The impatience of the Tory opposition by 1740 may account for
the overt didacticism of Edward and Eleonora, although the action of
all Thomson's plays is blurred by the talk of high ideals and tender
sensibilities which is usually found in sentimental drama. His
Agamemnon of two years earlier was also a drama of domestic life
played out against the movement of great events. In this, however,
the dramatic situation, the events and the theme bear some relation
to each other: Agamemnon returns from Troy to find that Egisthus
has usurped his bed and the regency that he had left in the hands of
Melisander. Ironical exchanges as the rivals for domestic and
political power parry covertly provide the opportunity for statements
on the nature of government. Meanwhile Melisander's reflections on
the lessons of his seven years marooned on an island, in solitary
banishment, show the necessity of civil society to the well-being of
the individual, for 'there, cut off/From social life, I felt a constant
death'(III,i), but now:

Hail social life! into thy pleasing bounds
Again I come, to pay the common stock
My share of service: and, in glad return,
To taste thy comforts, thy protected joys.

(III,i)

Honour is naturally associated with concepts of liberty,
independence and generosity. Although this is one of the important
motives for dramatic action in Thomson's plays, it is given greater
thematic importance in two other plays of the period which are
relevant to this discussion. Polly, Gay's sequel to The Beggar's
Opera, was written in 1729 but it can be most conveniently related
to this section. The rich West Indian merchant, Ducat, is the
antithesis of the country gentleman. In this the satire conforms
to the traditional characterization of commercial and landed interests: it is just as predictable in its attribution of honour to the black men and dishonour to the whites and the irony of Wacheath's disguising himself as a black man establishes the falsity of the pretensions of commercial, civil society presided over by the arch-manipulator, Walpole. The words of the old chief Pohetohee, suggest that the savage of the degenerate Western Hemisphere is more civilized than the European:11 'We think virtue, honour, and courage as essential to a man as his limbs, or senses...How custom can degrade nature!' (III,i).

The projection of honour onto the postulate of the noble savage is a simple satiric device because by inverting stock associations and symbols it rapidly serves an immediate political purpose; serious drama, however, has to work out its dramatic events within the framework of the clear moral imperatives that past societies seem to reveal to our hindsight and Lillo, as he had a soberly didactic intention, found the first great age of expansion historically as well as ethnically appropriate to his tale of The London Merchant. He too sets the standard assumptions on their heads because he aims to establish the city merchant's claim to have a sense of social responsibility as highly developed as that of the members of the landed gentry. The opening dialogue between the merchant and his apprentice gives notice of the irrelevance of the traditional characterization of the merchant as the comic butt of dramatic action, as a man of narrow views and egocentric gullibility:

Truman. Sir, the Packet from Genoa is arriv'd.

(Gives letters.

Thorgood. Heaven be praised, the Storm that threaten'd our Royal Mistress, pure Religion, Liberty, & Laws, is for a time diverted.12


If the audience expects that the merchant's preoccupation with cargoes is the occasion of his relief at the averted storm, it is jolted into respect for Thorowgood's statesmanlike concern for the nation and the abstract virtues for which England stands. The dramatic force of this attack is, however, almost immediately blunted by the substitution of didacticism for significant action and, as the play progresses, references to national affairs are superimposed on the private drama into which the merchant's household is drawn by George Barnwell's dishonourable conduct. Lillo's ponderous technique can be illustrated by the brief scene that foreshadows the dénouement:

Thorowood [to Trueman]. I think I would not have you only learn the method of mercantile...merely as a means of getting wealth...I will be well worth your pains to study it as a Science...See how it is founded in Reason & the Nature of things...How it has promoted Humanity, as it has opened and yet keeps up an intercourse between Nations, far remote from one another in situation, customs and Religion; promoting Arts, Industry, Peace and Plenty; by mutual benefits diffusing mutual Love from Pole to Pole.

(III, I)

After some further measured discourse, more appropriate to an essay than to dramatic dialogue, Thorowgood throws out the remark, as ominous to the audience as to Trueman, that Barnwell's accounts are overdue and he wants to see them almost immediately.

Thorowood's analysis of the merchant's function serves to set him up firmly as the repository of the country-house ethos in the city. As in The Spectator 69 the merchant is portrayed as the executive of frugality on the macrocosmic scale. His independence is beyond question if we are to accept the evidence of the first scene that Queen Elizabeth has called on the goodwill of Thorowood and his fellow merchants to use their Italian connexions to help secure the nation against Spanish power.13 The opening lines of the second scene establish his generosity at the same time as they explain the rationale of Lillo's didacticism:

Thorowood...Let there be plenty, and of the best; that the Courtiers, tho' they should deny us Citizens' politeness, may at least commend our Hospitality.

13...the State and Bank of Genoa, having maturely weigh'd, and rightly judged of their true interest, prefer the friendship of the Merchants of London, to that of the Monarch, who proudly stiles himself King of both Indies!(1,1).
Maria. Sir, I have endeavoured not to wrong your well-known Generosity by ill-tim'd Parsimony. 

(I,ii)

The good London merchant is undeniably possessed of the gentlemanly virtues, responsible in their application and piously determined to do all in his power to ensure their retention by the next generation. Although the macrocosmic frame of reference is not integral to the dramatic action, it is sufficiently in evidence to remind the audience that Thoroughgood is a custodian of the national estate. This should also be enough to establish the importance to society of one apprentice's fall: he becomes both the representative of the community that should value and emulate Thoroughgood's ethos and the example of the disorder that flows from the abuse of freedom and responsibility.

Thoroughgood, as the Christian gentleman, presides over the elements of order just as Millwood is a type of anti-Christ spreading chaos. Her behaviour is predicated on a distortion of Hobbes's writings:

I follow'd my inclinations, and that the best of you does every day. . All actions are alike natural and indifferent to Man and Beast, who devour, or are devour'd, as they meet with others weaker or stronger than themselves. 

(IV,viii)

She can only conceive of moral anarchy, so the Christian redemption that lights Barnwell's last day has no power to relieve her torments so that in her defeat by disorder there is no condition in time or space that will ease the burden of existence:

She goes to death encompassed with horror, loathing life, and yet afraid to die; no tongue can tell her anguish and despair.

(V,iv)

Although The London Merchant is stilted and sentimental to the twentieth-century taste, its appeal to the eighteenth-century audience was undoubtedly profound. The tale of George Barnwell was well-known and through successive performances of the play during the eighteenth century the familiarity of the old ballad tale must have been so reinforced that there can have been no real element of suspense to attract the perennial audiences. The plot is a simple re-enactment of the Cain and Abel story of the predator disrupting
the orderly life of the steward of God's plenty; Millwood is the rapacious force of evil and Thorowgood and his friend, Barnwell's uncle and guardian, are the representatives of stable and industrious society, one still the good steward in the City but the other retired from active life to country contemplation. In his preparation of his own soul for death and his Christian concern for the spiritual well-being of his nephew and his murderer, Barnwell's uncle is a spiritual steward. His first speech in this scene shows the common motivation to the contemplative life:

O Death, thou strange mysterious Power,—seen every day, yet never understood...—What art thou?—The extensive mind of Man, that with a thought circles the Earth's vast globe,—sinks to the centre, or ascends above the Stars, that Worlds exotic finds, or thinks it finds, thy thick clouds attempts to pass in vain, lost and bewildered in the horrid gloom,—defeated she returns more doubtful than before, of nothing certain, but of labour lost. (III,vii)

He was once a city merchant garnering the fruits of the earth but now his spiritual needs demand the contemplative quest to bring comfort home to his uncertain soul as it confronts the unmapped spaces of eternity. Yet Thorowgood, in his active role of man of affairs, is no less an exemplar and guardian to George Barnwell, or to anyone else who comes within his sphere of influence. His other apprentice, Trueman, understands his master's vision of the widely diffused social benefits of commerce with the people of distant lands; that by taking from them, with their own consent, their useless superfluities, & giving them, in return, what, from their ignorance in manual arts, their situation, or some other accident they stand in need of.

(III,i)

The humaneness of the respect for others in these words exemplifies the possibilities for good in the commercial affairs of a civil society. On the other hand Millwood's metaphorical reference to Spanish expansion serves both to alienate the sympathy and to reinforce the self-righteousness of the English audience:

I would have my Conquests compleat, like those of the Spaniards in the New-World; who first plunder'd the Natives of all the wealth they had, and then condemn'd the Wretches to the Mines for life, to work for more. (I,iii)
Undoubtedly this play must have engendered self-respect in the commercial class. Here, undisguised by exotic settings and undiminished by exalted rank as in the plays by Thomson and Johnson, the social realities and the ideals of a class gaining strength and confidence are organized into drama.

The London of Lillo's play is the heart of the merry England of Elizabeth. It is here too that Johnson sets the virtue that is so conspicuously absent from the contemporary city of London:

On Thames's Banks, in silent Thought we stood,
Where GREENWICH smiles upon the silver Flood:
Struck with the Seat that gave ELIZA Birth,
We kneel, and kiss the consecrated Earth;
In pleasing Dreams the blissful Age renew,
And call BRITANNIA's Glories back to view;
Behold her Cross triumphant on the Main,
The Guard of Commerce, and the Dread of Spain,
Ere Masquerades debauch'd, Excise oppress'd,
Or English Honour grew a standing jest.

(21-30)14

The first three couplets drift into the lyricism of an insubstantial daydream. The tone is set by the Spenserian hyperbole of line 22; this unexpected mood of lyrical mock-intimacy precedes a statement of the country-house ethos that is indirect but contains all the stock clues to the authorial point of view. Honour is diminished by being 'a standing jest' in the line succeeding the topical reference to excise, which the Opposition sees as Walpole's latest attack on the tradition of personal independence. Masquerades, the symbol of the age's luxurious wastefulness, are both the product and the undoing of Britain's success as commercial guardian of the world's frugality. Finally the social promiscuity and anonymity of the masquerade as entertainment and the threatened tax on alcohol, the lubricant of hospitality, suggest the decay of standards since Britain generously espoused the role of watchdog against the power misused by Spain in her days of affluence. The two couplets contrast and compare the past and the present ages and the details in the satire reflect the condition of the national ethos in each period by inferences to be drawn from four lines of comment on contemporary politics: Walpole's

unwillingness to make commercial war in spite of the Opposition's sensitivity to indignities imposed on British sailors by the Spaniards, and his unsuccessful attempt to raise revenue by excise.

Johnson's London is venal and consequently a source of social injustice (11.176-79), where the poor man is debarred from the benefits of civil society and may be actively pursued as an outcast. Money, in its ugliest forms of bribe and hoard, underlies most of the imagery of town-life, and even the suggested retreats to country or colony are tainted with the reminder of greed in others. Thales, as he is about to leave the town for the purer country, remarks that for less than the rent of a cellar in the Strand 'Some hireling Senator's deserted Seat' (1.213) would be available in the country. The suggestion of the power of money to lure the landlord from his proper country responsibilities and the later mention of the luxurious food enjoyed by the 'venal lord', overshadow the paradisal imagery of the culture of waterways and plants, of plain food and natural music, although their simplicity temporarily relieves the tension of the recitation of city vices. Similarly the colonial wilderness is threatened by Spanish greed (1.173) and the possibility of retreat to the New World takes the form of negative questions.

The Spaniard is the archetype of the greedy imperialist who misuses his opportunity to tenant the earth by laying waste, for quick returns, the land he should patiently be colonizing. In his London, Glover has his personified Commerce admonish the Spaniards:

'Insatiate race! the shame of polish'd lands!
Disgrace of Europe! for inhuman deeds
And insolence renowned! what demon led
Thee first to plough the undiscover'd surge,
Which lev'd an hidden world? whose malice taught
Thee first to taint with rapine, and with rage,
With more than savage thirst of blood, the arts,
By me for gentlest intercourse ordain'd,
For mutual aids, and hospitable ties
From shore to shore.'15

The attack on the Spaniards as civilized savages is forceful and even evocative but it is clumsily executed. Extreme distaste for the idolatrous Spaniards was topical and needed little emphasis to please the contemporary reader, especially those supporters of the

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Opposition whose sympathies lay with the expression of generosity and frugality in the last few lines quoted. The sense of the obloquy resulting from Britain's supine acceptance of Spanish 'insolence' in the thirties is, later in the poem, mollified by the memory of how Commerce first established herself in the island:

Albion, sea-embrac'd,
The joy of freedom, dread of treacherous kings,
The destin'd mistress of the subject main,
And arbitress of Europe, now demands
Thy presence, goddess.

(p. 20, col. 2)

Once again reference is being made to the Opposition's golden age, the days of Elizabeth. These lines also place Britain where the Tories, because they still hold to the shadow of the country-house ethos, seem always to place her: she is the independent and lordly magistrate to the world but her strength and independence are based on commerce; this dispels ignorance, encourages arts and fosters public spirit. Commerce is also credited with the power to endow the individual with wealth and independence as well as with the leisure needed for 'contemplative repose'.

Glover's poem is tedious. Its only value now lies in its being further evidence of the ubiquity of the cluster of ideas attached to the country-house ethos and being applied to national affairs: ideas about sovereignty and stewardship are linked with the historical view and the contemporary form of commercial xenophobia. The whole poem suffers from its polemical bias and the poet's reliance on the devices of personification and the historical survey ensures that imagination will have no scope to bring fresh light to bear on the material.

Liberty is encumbered with the same burdens, although Thomson is more successful in assimilating politics within the whole. It is the result of Thomson's opposition to Walpole's policies and although he has given a general turn to his didacticism, only in small patches does the poet's vision rise above the mediocrity imposed by its conception. The few virtues of this overlong poem lie in the

10p. 21, col. 1; also p. 18, col. 2, p. 19, col. 1.

17p. 21, col. 1.
confident exposition of a vision of community based on Bolingbroke's ideas and in the communication of the vitality of the busyness of man. It takes the form of a warning delivered by the vision of Liberty personified who, as she narrates the vicissitudes of her career, teaches by precept. Liberty inculcates the value to the nation of espousing freedom and the disaster awaiting Britons if they supinely accept the power-hungry corruption of the Walpole administration. The English constitution is the expression of the British respect for liberty but as the product of organic growth it must be nurtured:

'By those three virtues be the frame sustained
Of British freedom -- independent life;
Integrity in office; and, o'er all
Supreme, a passion for the commonweal.'

(V, 120-23)

These virtues can be read as the public face of the country-house ethos: independence is clearly stated, official integrity is the right use of power and influence, a variant of the landowner's frugality, and the 'noblest passion' (V, 222) is generosity of spirit.

In keeping with the vast scope of liberty's tale of her experiences in many lands during the long ages since the Golden Age the theme repeatedly returns to the concept of public virtue. An almost religious fervour inflates Thomson's effusions on this subject and his force is dissipated in the attempt to produce verbal grandeur by reference to the sacred, the vast, the noble and the tender, while sometimes he evokes contrasting suggestions of horror by images of chains and violence. Thus sentimentality replaces Miltonic grandeur because the promise of redemption lies prosaically in man who must be puffed to heroic proportions to assume the mantle of liberalism:

'Britons! be firm; nor let corruption sly
Twine round your heart indissoluble chains.
The steel of Brutus burst the grosser bonds
By Caesar cast o'er Rome; but still remained
The soft enchanting fetters of the mind,
And other Caesars rose....

'But, ah, too little known to modern times!
Be not the noblest passion passed unsung,
That ray peculiar, from unbounded love
Effused, which kindles the heroic soul--
Devotion to the public. Glorious flame!
Celestial ardour!

(V, 200-209, 221-25)
In The Seasons the sweeping verbal gesture is used to produce a sense of incessant motion suitable to the subject but the theme of Liberty is static and neither Thomson's enthusiasm for the ideal, nor his adoption of the device of the historical and geographical survey, can give vitality to the reality behind the ideal.

The simple truth upon which political idealism often founders, the fact that everyone is not equally free, does not escape Thomson's sympathetic eye. The emphasis that he and his contemporaries place on care for the public good is evidence of an aroused social conscience, and his descriptions of men at work show that he is aware of 'the toiling poor, whose cup with many a bitter drop is mixed' (V, 213-14). The traditional ethos which he proposes as the panacea can perhaps ameliorate even though it will never cure the inequalities inherent in the human condition. The palace of the laws has already been mentioned in the first chapter of this study; like an immense manor-house it covers the earth:

'To the four heavens
Four gates impartial thrown, unceasing crowds,
With kings themselves the hearty peasant mixed,
Pour urgent in. And though to different ranks
Responsive place belongs, yet equal spreads
The sheltering roof o'er all.'

(IV, 1180-85)

This is a vision and the style is vigorous and precise in propounding a social philosophy that is within the bounds of possible realization and is here a useful poetic interpretation of Bolingbroke's description of the idealized administration of Elizabeth who 'united the great body of the people in her and their common interest, and... inflamed them with one national spirit'.

The familiar Horatian model also provides solid ground for Thomson's idealism. Perhaps better roads or the increasing tenderness of the social conscience were the cause, but there can be no doubt that during the thirties and forties the active and retired lives were no longer considered mutually exclusive. The independent country gentleman both 'stands the patriot's ground' in the House, and 'draws new vigour in the peaceful shade' (IV, 548-49). The country

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interlude is Horatian and while it can be enjoyed by anyone it always serves a positive social purpose because those who enjoy its benefits become also a bulwark against the encroaching enemies of the free society:

'Economy and taste, combined, direct
His clear affairs, and from debauching fiends
Secure his little kingdom. Nor can those
Whom fortune heaps, without these virtues, reach
That truce with pain, that animated ease,
That self-enjoyment springing from within,
That independence, active or retired,
Which make the soundest bliss of man below.'

(V, 145-152)

His moderate 'little kingdom' and 'clear affairs' administered with 'economy and taste' is in firm poetic control of the threats from 'debauching fiends', pain and vast wealth. The self-containment and vivacity expressed in the latter four lines of bounding iambics have a simple joy that the grandiose sentimentality of most of his declamatory verse loses as it strains for the effect. Frugality and independence, and the generosity mentioned several lines earlier, taken together with the phrase 'little kingdom', bring clearly to mind the microcosmic good society based on the country-house ethos, of which the palace of the laws is the macrocosmic version. The traditional way is orderly and decorous and the man who follows its dictates is a faithful steward of all that is given into his care. Repugnance of misuse gives force to the succeeding lines that depict the antithesis of the well-run estate where it is in the power of 'A wondering, tasteless, gaily wretched train', who 'Though rich, are beggars, and though noble, slaves'(V, 155-56). 'Brutal riot' replaces 'hospitable cheer' and drunkenness inflames party rivalry. As in Timon's villa, architecture and landscape art are 'presumptuous', and the table 'steams disgust'. Fashion, gambling, ephemeral entertainment and a faithless retinue batten on the rich man's vanity and insolence reverberates against the roof that should be a symbol of the social order.

Party spirit is repeatedly cited as disruptive of good order and Thomson obviously feels distaste for the party system which is undermining the dominance of the independent country gentleman in the Commons. The eighteenth-century fear of the mob was no doubt exacerbated by the resurgence of divisive politics and the social
critics of the Opposition were alarmed by the growth of the plutocracy who had money-power without the additional social responsibility of landowning. As the cities grew they seemed to be attracting a vast deracinated proletariat in the place of the labouring hinds of the romanticized idea of the cohesive village community. Here, in the cities that had successfully opposed tradition in the Civil War of less than a hundred years before, was the reality of the schism that divided elected representatives on matters of policy. There was precedent, moreover, in the affairs of Greece, the model of freedom: Liberty tells how freedom there nearly fell victim to party rage "'that ever tears/A populace unequal, part too rich/And part or fierce with want or abject grown'"(II, 151-53). To Thomson, the inequality of the English populace is manifest and the violence of want is feared while its abjectness afflicts the 'tender passenger' (V, 648). It would not be judging too harshly to suggest that prudential considerations of one kind or another demand the amelioration of socially divisive conditions during these years when 'Gin Lane' is more of a reality than 'Beer Street'. It seems likely that this is cogently present in Thomson's satisfaction at scenes of productivity; use is a sign of order and full bellies among the populace. In much the same way it becomes, by a process of extension rather than of analogy, a confirmation of order in the wider sphere, so that the frugality of world trade represents security against the unpredictable forces of the insufficiently-known planet. Translated into poetic terms, civilizing liberty becomes 'the power, whose vital radiance calls/From the brute mass of man an ordered world'(IV,11-12). Transposed to England, imports can be redefined as 'the mingled harvest of mankind'(V, 59). Just as commerce organizes disorderly diversity by the exchange of commodities between the microcosmic and macrocosmic units of estate and empire, poetry can mingle them through metaphor; England's

'hearty fruits the hand of freedom own;
And warm with culture, her thick clustering fields,
Prolific teen. Eternal verdure crowns
Her meads; her gardens smile eternal spring.
She gives the hunter-horse, unquelled by toil,
Ardent to rush into the rapid chase;
She, whitening o'er her downs, diffusive pours
Unnumbered flocks; she weaves the fleecy robe,
That wraps the nations: she to lusty droves
The richest pasture spreads; and, hers, deep-wave
Autumnal seas of pleasing plenty round.

. . . . .
Enlivening those, add cities full
Of wealth, of trade, of cheerful toiling crowds;
Add thriving towns; add villages and farms,
Innumerable crept along the lively vale,
Where bold unrivalled peasants happy dwell;
Add ancient seats, with venerable oaks
Embosomed high, while kindred floods below
Wind through the mead; end those of modern hand
More pompous add, that splendid shine afar.'

(V, 32-42; 47-55)

With superlatives of quality or intimations of vast or innumerable quantities set in the familiar scale of the English landscape
Thomson can exorcise the unknowable and frightening aspect of plenitude. By description of the vigorous life of cities, public works and, elsewhere, of colonies, he makes for the 'them' and 'us' of the two nations existing side by side in English society an opportunity to find common cause in 'social labour'(V, 620). Always, however, there remains antagonism between his liberal social optimism and the conservative hierarchical orderliness that he imagines.

What seems a just solution to the affluent is a matter of 'manly submission, unimposing toil' and charitable handouts for those who decrease the wealth of the nation.19

The country-house ethos probably had some pretensions to validity as a rationale for a tolerable society until perhaps the end of the sixteenth century but it was predicated on low population density in isolated settlements that constituted limited but mainly self-sufficient societies. Resounding phrases that refurbish the image for the new age sound plausible: 'as trade and commerce enrich, so they fortify, our country. The sea is our barrier, ships are our fortresses, and the mariners, that trade and commerce alone can furnish, are the garrisons to defend them'.20 Couched in this metaphor, or in the simile of the colonies being 'like so many farms of the mother-country'21, the mercantilist present evokes clusters of

19V, 626; V, 647-662.
21ibid., p.120.
nostalgic associations of a primitive agrarian society. Thomson juxtaposes this simplistic political philosophy with his own compassion, which has been sublimated into a faith in the ultimately reforming power of the concept of liberty, and puts the mixture to the test of poetic expression. The failure of this exercise that he had hoped would produce his greatest poem shows the impossibility of the poet's keeping his eye on an object that does not exist:

As thick to view these varied wonders rose,
Shook all my soul with transport, unassured
The Vision broke; and on my waking eye
Rushed the still ruins of dejected Rome.

(V, 717-720)
7 PHILANTHROPISTS

The figures of Pope in his garden and Liberty on her pedestal setting examples of high-mindedness to the men of power dominated the last chapter. In works considered in this chapter the artistic process is directed to more practical aspects of living in society: to the texture of social life, to luxury as the antithesis of use, and to the effectiveness of retirement as a preparation for active life. Thomson, always the guest, never the master, of a country estate provides the best evidence of the social concern of the sensibility of the thirties and forties if only because in the continuing changes of emphasis in The Seasons he documents his own shifting perceptions. In Pope's case the nurture of his garden provided the context of reality which Thomson had scope to realize only through his art.

Pope's use of the few acres at Twickenham to reinforce his Horatian role was as much a real as a symbolic expression of his independence. Although its neighbourhood and limited productive capacity establish it as a villa urbana, the combination of pleasure and use which Pope derived from it marked his property as a villa rustica, a term which was probably interchangeable with ferme ornée.¹ The basic idea was incorporated in the more informal garden art that was already being adopted by the great patrons of landscape architecture and was actually the common sense use of what lay ready to hand. Classical dress of honourable precedent dignified practices that Defoe, in his persona of gentleman, considered necessities if families of the 'meaner gentry', dependent on estate incomes of less than £500 a year, were not to live beyond their means. The gentleman's

first advantage is that he pays no rent, that his park having some meadow grounds within the pale...

affords him grass and hay for his coach horses and saddle horses...; besides that, he has venison perhaps in his park, sufficient for his own table at least, and rabbits in his own warren adjoining, pigeons from a dove house in the yard, fish in his own ponds or in some small river adjoining and within his own royalty, and milk with all the needfull addenda to his kitchen, which a small dary of 4 or 5 cows yields to him.  

There is, of course, nothing very original in the country proprietor's benefiting from the raw materials that lie close to hand; from medieval times writers and artists depict essentially the same activities and the seventeenth-century country-house panegyric assumes this use as part of the practice of frugality. But the European garden design that accompanied the architectural elegance of country palaces by Jones and Wren determined that artificiality dominated the country estate during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and that natural use was subordinated to order imposed from without by geometrical rule of thumb. Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* is partly a tribute to Jones but incidentally it reveals the evolution of the new school of landscape design that was developing during the twenties and thirties, in which greater weight was given to the active encouragement of the symbiosis of man and nature; this was very similar to the ideal of fostering the interdependence of agriculture and industry that writers of the thirties and forties saw as the healthy national economy. These attitudes were in the air rather than explicitly stated and it was left to political economists and poets to make substantial at the national level what gardeners were applying to the landscape. Defoe's *Compleat Gentleman* remained in manuscript and *Vitruvius Britannicus* was ostensibly an architectural prospectus; yet, in his introduction to the recent edition of Campbell's work, John Harris has commented on the 'tatterdemalion' quality of Volume III, published in 1725.

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2Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, ed. Karl D. Bülbring (London, 1870), p. 247. This work, although written in 1728 or 1729 was not published until 1890.

Harris attributes the inclusion of many plates showing gardens to Campbell's feeling that his earlier volumes had been too formal. It seems much more likely that his decision was an instinctive response to the pervasive interest in garden design and the reawakening sense of the role of the garden as intermediary between the artificial structure of the house and the land on which it stands and on which its tenants ultimately depend. The criteria of garden design at this time implicitly reinforced natural processes and natural use, unlike the style which it replaced, but this way of humanizing the natural landscape was also directed to keeping it under control. The philanthropic writers who admitted to the natural incidence of the poor and the distressed and had high hopes for a future of social justice were also determined to control the forces they feared, those of social disintegration and personal ennui. The work of Thomson provides an analysis of social processes and the ties which unite men in civil society in the 1744 version of The Seasons, while The Castle of Indolence is a warning against the personal and social dangers of affluence.

Chapter 5 included a long section on The Seasons up to the 1730 edition but some of the changes made during the following fifteen years are relevant here, although Ralph Cohen has written a book to explain the function of the changing language of the poem that describes a world in change with its momentary beauty, awe and uncertainty urging upon the reader an act of faith. Phrases and other adverbial modifiers point to moments of time and place undergoing change; the danger, anxiety and beauty of the world become revealed by those parts of speech which function to evoke the very process they describe.4

On the larger scale, also, Thomson's additions concentrate the reader's attention on process. An apparently simple lengthening of the catalogue of spring flowers actually depicts the succession of their blooming through the months of spring ('Spring', 530-552). The affectionate detail of the entirely new angling section is very like Walton's practical handbook, The Compleat Angler, in its contagious delight in the artifices of both the angler and his prey ('Spring', 379-466). The 'social commerce' of the water cycle, ('Autumn', 756-

835) in which it is the triumph of Augustan man to trace 'The full-adjusted harmony of things', is also, it seems, animated to fulfil its appointed role, so that the waters 'love', 'toil', 'aspire', 'labour', or may be 'led astray' and 'charmed'.

Successive transformations to the description of the effects of plague on a city in 'Summer' show a gradual refinement of the technique of portraying process, although the purpose remains that of revealing the fragility of 'the social tie' (1727 ed., 1077) when it is threatened by malignant forces in nature. The final version reproduces a more complex but essentially realistic experience of the dissolution of social props and of the horror of dying in fear and isolation.5 The slightly absurd spotted ghosts of the original are left out of the 1730 text but the resonant and spectral lines on the deserted streets 'ranged at noon by beasts of prey/And birds of bloody beak' (1727 ed., 1071-72) remain until 1744, when they are

5 The 1727 text:

Empty the streets, with uncouth verdure clad;
And ranged at open noon by beasts of prey
And birds of bloody beak: while, all night long,
In spotted troops the recent ghosts complain.
Demanding but the covering grave. Meantime
Locked is the deaf door to distress; even friends,
And relatives endeared for many a year,
Savaged by woe, forget the social tie,
The blest engagement of the yearning heart,
And sick in solitude successive die
Untended and unmourned.

The final text:

Empty the streets, with uncouth verdure clad;
Into the worst of deserts sudden turned
The cheerful haunt of men--unless, escaped
From the doomed house, where matchless horror reigns,
Shut up by barbarous fear, the smitten wretch
With frenzy wild breaks loose, and, loud to Heaven screaming, the dreadful policy arraigns,
Inhuman and unwise. The sullen door,
Yet uninfected, on its cautious hinge
Fearing to turn, abhors society:
Dependents, friends, relations, Love himself,
Savaged by woe, forget the tender tie,
The sweet engagement of the feeling heart,
But vain their selfish care: the circling sky,
The wide enlivening air is full of fate;
And, struck by turns, in solitary pangs
They fall, unblest, untended, and unmourned.
Thus o'er the prostrate city black despair
Extends her raven wing.

(1070-88)
sacrificed to less elegant lines; these are a transition from a
description of the causes of the plague so the mood is still one of
detachment:

Empty the streets, with uncouth verdure clad;
Into the worst of deserts sudden turned
The cheerful haunt of men.

(1070-72)

This is the stricken city seen from inside with the subjective eye
but it is still a generalized view; it is then suddenly constricted
into the individual horror of the frenzied plague-bearer escaping
from the terrifying confinement of his quarantine. His is a
'barbarous fear' that makes him behave in a way that would have been
foreign to him in normal times. In the unpeopled streets he savagely
screams his anger against measures taken for the common good; yet
'barbarous fear' is syntactically the agent that sealed his door.
This sentence, with its double vision of the effect of fear, is new
to the 1744 version, but the image of the other locked door, from
behind which the healthy deny hospitality to relatives and friends
who were cherished in less desperate times, changes gradually through
the several versions: the 'deaf' door of 1727 becomes 'sullen' later,
but by 1744 it is aggressively mean-spirited; it is not only sullen
but 'cautious' and 'fearing'--it 'abhors society'. The door, still
unmarked with evidence of disease within, becomes by this personification
the symbol of the puerilannity of the people it shields: the
corruption of the plague destroys bodies but it also weakens the ties
of civil society when 'selfish care' replaces the 'sweet engagement of
the feeling heart'. Thus divided, society is conquered by an enemy
more dreadful than the ravening jackals and vultures of the earlier
versions: the air is full of the active agents of the plague and
those who were healthy at first and who sought to hold to their good
fortune in isolation, also die alone and comfortless. 'Thus o'er
the prostrate city black despair/Extends her raven wing', over-
shadowing a diseased society that is destroyed more by its moral
corruption than by its mortal illness, just as despair is more to be feared than the 'birds of bloody beak' which hover in wait for the
dead.

By implication the country-house virtues are affirmed by this
pathology of the breakdown of civil society. When a social unit is
terrorized, the ability to remain steadfast in the face of an uncertain future is the ultimate test of independence of spirit and the aim of those who strive for self-mastery. Generosity, as magnanimity, is obviously a quality essential in any group of people who share a common danger and a faith that the individual is subsumed in the whole through the notion of an overall plan of existence seems to lie behind the ability to risk one's life in the hope of saving another. The changes to this passage suggest that Thomson is gradually giving form to his understanding that the shocks of the unforeseen, by which the universe of The Seasons is beset, will quickly destroy civilization unless individuals rise above self-interest.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the changes to this brief passage can be confirmed by the tenor of more significant additions to the later editions of the poem. The more explicit delineation of process is the textural aspect of Thomson's finer adjustment of his focus on man as an influence in the balance of the natural system. Consequently there is an intensification of the delight in the paysage riant and in the men who bring order of all kinds which is apparent in the first editions of The Seasons. Through this poetry of process and use the depth of the connexions between country preoccupations and commerce begin to emerge. John Barrell, in his study of the interpenetration of the enclosure movement and art, has noted the close linking of ideas of cultivation and civilization in the writing of the period and says of the later agricultural revolution that the public,

however much it wanted to see in landscape-art an image of the Golden Age, understood well enough that this was not the image of nature unimproved; that in art, just as much as in agriculture, the landscapes of Paradise and of the Campagna were the product of an ability to control and to manipulate nature, ... repay investment.\(^6\)

The desire to control and profit from the plenitude of the creation is epitomized in the long passage on the tropics included in

\(^6\)The Idea of Landscape, p.61. For the link between ideas of cultivation and civilization, see p.94.
the 1744 edition of 'Summer' (629-1051 is mainly new). The opening
lines of the passage clearly assert the poet's intention to control;
this is 'a daring flight... to view the wonders of the torrid
zone' but he, whose fancy it is, is safely shaded from an English
summer sun and the peaceful country-side around him basks drowsily
in the warmth. The picture conjured up is instantly discrete from
its frame of reference in an English copse:

Great are the scenes, with dreadful beauty crowned
And barbarous wealth, that see, each circling year,
Returning suns and double seasons pass.

(643-45)

Blazing heat and a terrifying fecundity defy control; the woods,
portrayed in terms similar to those used for crops, spread 'high
waving', 'wide-diffused' and 'boundless' over tiers of hills to a
distant horizon. There is a kind of self-sufficiency here in the
completeness of the nature that is paradisally ready to hand to
cherish the idle -- 'Bear me', 'Lay me', 'Quench my hot limbs', 'lead
me', 'Let me behold', 'Give me' -- the poet seems to have abandoned
his objectivity as he indulges the fanciful desire to be fed and
tended among citrus groves, coconuts, pineapples and luscious fruits
of the tropics:

Bear me, Pomona! to thy citron groves;
To where the lemon and the piercing lime,
With the deep orange glowing through the green,
Their lighter glories blend. Lay me reclined
Beneath the spreading tamarind, that shakes,
Fanned by the breeze, its fever-cooling fruit.
Deep in the night the massy locust sheds
Quench my hot limbs....

(663-670 ff)

The abundance is poetically tamed by the device of making the poetic
persona the focus of activity and through the use of the sympathetic
fallacy in this soothing idyll.

Thomson's idea of the tropics demands that anarchy should be
evident and threatening in the sheer abundance of:

interminable meads
And vast savannas, where the wandering eye
Unfixt, is in a verdant ocean lost.

oft these valleys shift
Their green-embroidered robe to fiery brown,
And swift to green again, as scorching suns
Or streaming dews and torrent rains prevail.
(691-93; 697-700)

Fluidity and magnitude suggest the uncontrollable and this is densely compressed into the single line that reveals Thomson's repugnance for the grossness of these scenes: 'Prodigious rivers roll their fattening seas'(705). He is far happier among the cool heights of Abyssinian mountains

Where palaces and fanes and villas rise,
And gardens smile around and cultivated fields,
And fountains gush, and careless herds and flocks
Securely stray -- a world within itself,
Disdaining all assault.
(769-773)

The self-contained microcosm here is a comfortable image as utopian as Rasselas's mountain kingdom and the defensive phrase, 'Disdaining all assault', is reminiscent of the self-protective isolation of the Horatian poems of the first decade of the eighteenth century. Nature is channelled safely through pipes, segregated into herds and flocks, pruned into gardens or hedged into fields, and the buildings have distinct and hierarchical purposes. But even this shangri-la is not immune from the fury of the tropical storm, a circumstance which suggests the inadequacy of this and the previous attempt to cope imaginatively with the fear of the tropics. Moreover, both lotus-eating and utopianism constitute the intrusion of man into the tropics; they are visions in which the immediate surroundings are imagined as a closed system ministering to man at the extremes of passivity and dominance, two dreams of the good life that were probably being reinforced by contemporary travellers' tales about the tropics. Since these schemes of life assume that remote places are also self-contained units they do not fit a faith in God's larger plan, so that the awesome plenitude of the torrid zone still poses the problem of frugality:

But what avails this wondrous waste of wealth,
This gay profusion of luxurious bliss,
This pomp of Nature? what their balmy meads,
Their powerful herbs, and Ceres void of pain?
(860-63)

Failure to use an 'untoiling harvest'(831) is a denial of generosity
and it leads to idleness. Never having been enlightened by the tutelage of the 'humanizing muses', the children of the sun are enslaved and brutalized by heated passions (875-897) in a world where 'The parent sun himself/Seems o'er this world of slaves to tyrannize'(884-35). The use of the moderating 'seems', however, indicates Thomson's awareness of the quaintness of the intrusion of the theory of affinities into what appears to be a rational explanation of European commercial exploitation.

A sense of much gained and of even better and juster times to come with the application of rational thought to practical problems, lies behind the progressive infusion of the texture of process into The Seasons. Yet Thomson never departs far from his impulse of devotion to the First Cause of the vast field of speculative thought and so holds fast to conservatism based on the status of the patriarchy as an a priori principle of social organization. The sheep-shearing ('Summer', 371-431) demonstrates this brand of liberal conservatism: the scene of gaiety and competence is moulded round the purpose of the activity and the social structure that organizes the collective work. The shepherd and his wife are elevated, on the day that crowns their year's work, with the metonymic status of 'pastoral queen' and 'shepherd-king' of this node of industry (401-02) and all mankind, who in the guise of the rustic shearsers on this day subdue nature to their will, is characterized as 'needy man, that all-depending lord'(413). At the same time as it revives echoes of the origins of kingship in early pastoral societies the description of the shearing is preparing the ground for a patriotic panegyric to a new form of sovereignty:

A simple scene: yet hence Britannia sees
Her solid grandeur rise: hence she commands
The exalted stores of every brighter clime,
The treasures of the sun without his rage:
Hence, fervent with all culture, toil, and arts,
Wide glows her land: her dreadful thunder hence
Rides o'er the waves sublime, and now, even now,
Impending hangs o'er Gallia's humbled coast;
Hence rules the circling deep, and awes the world.

This is a generalized description but, by comparison, a passage later in 'Summer' that rejoices with the earth in the fruitfulness of the land, as summer mellows into autumn (1371-1437), loses poetic force by ignoring the evocation of nature itself and indulges instead in the banality of describing the elevating effects of nature which Thomson communicates more successfully elsewhere through the texture of his verse. An uninteresting catalogue of country estates in the Thames valley culminates in apostrophe and personification:

O vale of bliss! O softly swelling hills!
On which the power of cultivation lies,
And joys to see the wonders of his toil.

Yet the succession of ideas, loosely connected, or perhaps further dissipated, by thoughts of his fruitless love for Amanda, manages to suggest that the country estate is a principle of order, and the impression is reinforced by the vigorous lines on industry that, in the 1744 edition, follow.

There are other, more precise, examples of the ordering power of the estate: Lyttleton, Cobham, Chesterfield, more forcefully demonstrate the implications of the role of the private estate and the significance of personal retreat at this time because they are statesmen. Even the 'garden and the rural seat' are presided over by deities who 'shining through the cheerful land/In countless numbers, blest Britannia sees' ('Autumn', 1038-1040). The introduction of the classical pantheon cannot long detract from the shaping

7Cf. William Shenstone's 'Elegy XVIII: He repeats the song of Colin, a discerning shepherd, lamenting the state of the woollen manufactory'; note especially stanza 15:

"Ere long she came: ah! woe is me! she came,
Robed in the Gallic loom's extraneous twine."


8J. H. Hagstrum, The Sister Arts (Chicago, 1958), pp.259-267 discusses the use of personification in the creation of 'heroic landscape'.
power of the garden itself, especially as a conversation with Pitt is imagined in which the young man's native eloquence, which is bound to influence his peers in time to come, is refined by the judicious combination of elegant art and exuberant nature in 'The fair majestic paradise of Stowe!'(1042). The last lines on this estate, in which the poet addresses its master, Cobham, show that the garden, however lovely as a work of art or potent as a moulder of thought in those destined for public life, is no substitute for action. Like Marvell addressing Fairfax, Thomson regrets that the shaming of his woods should keep Cobham from the national problem of regulating the unruly rivalry of France.

At Hagley Park, Lyttleton, although he actually writes some poetry, indulges in leisure that is merely the background to his active life. Its gothic romanticism refreshes the statesman but does not divert him from his public role; here he has time for reflection, and it is turned to his country's future good:

...oft, conducted by historic truth,
You tread the long extent of backward time,
Planning with warm benevolence of mind
And honest zeal, unwarped by party-rage,
Britannia's weal,—how from the venal gulf
To raise her virtue and her arts revive,
('Spring', 926-931)

Hagley Park is not only a garden; it is an estate presided over by a proprietor who holds to the old virtues and whose loving relationship with his wife proves that the domestic virtues are still alive in his domain. Thomson dwells with pleasure on their happiness as he portrays them walking through their garden until, symbolically, they reach the brow of the hill that affords them the prospect of the world outside its confines. What they can see encompasses every kind of landscape -- all forms of countryside, both wild and adapted to man's use, and country villages or 'spiry towns'. All this they see as the 'eye excursive roams--/Wide-stretching from the Hall in whose kind haunt/The hospitable Genius lingers still'(956-58). The estate as a node of national life is symbolized in the image of Lord and Lady Lyttleton at the focal point of a representative landscape and uniting in their bond of love and common interest the past, present and future, both material and metaphysical.

The countryside is not the only source of virtue. Chesterfield's
sphere is the Court, yet his 'patriot virtues, and consummate skill/
...touch the finer springs that move the world' ('Winter', 657-58). Cohen has suggested that an important reason for Thomson's use of Chesterfield as a man of order is that as an urban aristocrat he shows that the city is not necessarily corrupt. Although the passage is liberally sprinkled with terms descriptive of surfaces and manners (there is even a clothing metaphor), the whole is, like his eloquence, based on solid virtues:

That wit, the vivid energy of sense,
The truth of nature, which with Attic point,
And kind well-tempered satire, smoothly keen,
Steals through the soul and without pain corrects.

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City life and the adulation of the courts of two countries have not rendered him effete: he still follows nature and relies on what were felt to be characteristically traditional British qualities--vitality and common sense; and while the classics exercise their moderating influence, the hearty blacksmith's skill in shaping the weapon becomes the metaphor of his public stance, at the same time suggesting the integrity of his life at all levels.

The same kind of court-bred, but nevertheless homely, virtues are the source of Peter the Great's miracle of 'active government' ('Winter', 950-987). The legendary quality of the young king's humble excursion to the West and the Herculean task for which it was the preparation can hardly have failed to delight the imagination of optimists in the halcyon years before the emergence of active liberalism. The example must have accorded with one forceful side of Thomson's social preoccupations at the time by showing the potential of human intelligence and energy for shaping order out of the apparent chaos of Russia's undeveloped expanse, although the tale of distant wonders may well have roused his disbelief because it conflicts with one of the fundamentals of conservative theory:

Ye shades of ancient heroes, ye who toiled
Through long successive ages to build up

9The Unfolding of 'The Seasons', p.291.
A labouring plan of state, behold at once
The wonder done!

(960-63)

The organic development of tradition, which was being reinforced by antiquarian and historical studies and was used by Thomson as the basis of his technique in Liberty, is irrelevant to the apparent success of reforms initiated from above by one man. The radicalism is, perhaps, modified by his attempt to encompass the practical skills himself, 'Unw earied plying the mechanic tool, Gathered the seeds of trade, of useful arts, Of civil wisdom, and of martial skill' (969-971). Certain key phrases that Thomson uses in the brief but forceful description of Peter's reign show that the poet's sympathy is excited by the bold undertaking; 'cities rise', 'smiles the rural reign', 'Far-distant flood to flood is social joined' are combinations of words that he uses frequently in other contexts to describe man's use of natural abundance and the passage closes with lines that show the serious reflections on which the pleasant satire of The Castle of Indolence is based:

Sloth flies the land, and ignorance and vice,
Of old dishonour proud: it glows around,
Taught by the royal hand that roused the whole,
One scene of arts, of arms, of rising trade---
For, what his wisdom planned and power enforced,
More potent still his great example showed.

(982-87)

Peter, bred in the sheltered opulence of a Russian court and faced with a vast task of shaking national indifference, would have been justified by precedent had he chosen the easy way. Mid-eighteenth-century England was apparently riding on the crest of a wave of national confidence but it was widely believed that sloth, ignorance and vice were diseases attacking a society 'as old fame reports, wise, generous, bold, and stout'. Natural degeneration was being aggravated by the 'soul-enfeebling wizard, Indolence' (II, xxix):

A rage of pleasure maddened every breast;
Down to the lowest lees the ferment ran:
To his licentious wish each must be blest,
With joy be fevered, -- snatch it as he can.
Thus Vice the standard reared; her arriere-ban
Corruption called, and loud she gave the word:
'Mind, mind yourselves! Why should the vulgar man,  
The lacquey, be more virtuous than his lord?  
Enjoy this span of life! 'tis all the gods afford.'  
(II,xxx)

In Canto II Archimage's call is objectively associated with disease, disorder, fermentation, and precipitate war. His own words in Canto I are, like Satan's persuasions in Paradise Regained, eloquent distortions of sound reason. His first argument is the misuse of the parable of the lilies of the field: a metaphor of grace and a humbling symbol of the infinitude of divine power, the toiling and spinning of the King James version is subtly twisted from a message for the relief of anxious care to a justification of present laziness and nostalgia for man's prelapsarian ease:

'(Behold! ye pilgrims of the earth, behold!  
See all but man with unearned pleasure gay,  
See her bright robes the butterfly unfold,  
Broke from her wintry tomb in prime of hay,  
What youthful bride can equal her array?  
Who can with her for easy pleasure vie?  
From mead to mead with gentle wing to stray,  
From flower to flower on balmy gales to fly,  
Is all she has to do beneath the radiant sky.'  
(I, ix)

Archimage's argument is evoked by, just as it calls forth, a complex group of contemporary attitudes: these can be reduced to three basic groups to show what Thomson is doing with his protagonists, Archimage and Sir Industry. Under the headings of luxury, use, and retirement, most of the material in the poem can be comprehended and related to the themes of this work. These three aspects of experience are obviously fundamental to the poem, although in the process of the narrative they sometimes seem divorced and at times the coherent sense of the poet's shaping vision is submerged in detail; they are, however, intrinsically linked.

Luxury is a denial of use in favour of personal comfort. The argument that the luxurious life uses much material and keeps many artisans in labour is rejected within the context of The Castle of Indolence, which thereby undermines that justification for the softer ways of affluence in early eighteenth-century England. Thomson's

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luxurious man renounces the work ethic so forcefully that he shirks all effort unless it is directed to self-gratification. The pursuit of ease, whether it is peace of body or mind, is essentially a private activity: it has a personal, as opposed to a public, nature. The urges to attain physical comfort and personal spiritual salvation are equally self-centred and luxurious and they are closely related to the wish for fulfilment of desires which at the physical level may be characterized by their extremes of lust, gluttony and avarice, while on the intellectual plane they may take the form of indulgence in contemplation of the arts. Luxury may also seek the easy road to personal aggrandizement through display or, yet again, may find ease in the security of deliberate confinement of one's desires or influence within the controllable sphere of the retired life.

Although much of the poem is about Sir Industry and some critics have felt that this is an attempt at moralizing that spoils the fantasy of the whole, the poem is supported by a vision as coherent and devout as that underlying The Seasons and use and retreat are inextricably linked with luxury. The castle signifies the luxury in which the idle enjoy their indolence, for very few of the lazy suffer the consequences that would, in real life, follow their indifference to all but pleasure. There is irony in the castle being, in the conservative view, a centre of administrative energy where empty luxury has no place. Similarly, the choice of the biblical metaphor of the lilies of the field as Archimage's first line of attack shows the doctrinal bases, both moral and social, that underlie the satire. The wizard does not actually invoke the gospel example; that would be to invite comparison. Instead, the connexion is made by the reader at the level of poetic imagery which is reinforced in subsequent stanzas. The lilies of the field remind man of God's

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11See A. D. McKillop in his introduction to The Castle of Indolence and other poems (Lawrence, 1961), p.2.

12And stanza xii is Archimage's substitute for another message of grace: 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest' (Matthew 11:28).
grace and power precisely because they evoke the prelapsarian estate that exists somewhere in our unconscious; Archimage chooses to forget the doctrine of the Fall and that the wildings enjoy their brief glory here without hope of redemption to a higher plane of existence. Since man no longer enjoys his hypothetical golden age in the Garden of Eden he must work to make use of the material world and therefore, seen in the light of orthodox Christian doctrine, luxury is not to be considered as the crowning reward of progress. Sir Balaam made the mistake of thinking that his life’s hard work in the city should not be its own reward but that ease is the natural result of successful toil. It is, according to the stanza already quoted from Canto II, a modern misconception: luxurious living is a retreat or regression based on ignorance of the ethical and social foundations of British society. The ferment of the self-seeking described there is a denial of the independence, frugality and generosity of the country-house ethos against which, as will be seen, Thomson measures the wizard’s menage. In Canto I the castle welcomes its guests:

xxxiii
The doors that knew no shrill alarming bell,
Ne cursed knocker plied by villain’s hand,
Self-opened into halls, where, who can tell
What elegance and grandeur wide expand
The pride of Turkey and of Persia Land?
Soft quilts on quilts, on carpets carpets spread,
And couches stretched around in seemly band;
And endless pillows rise to prop the head;
So that each spacious room was one full-swelling bed.

xxxiv
And everywhere huge covered tables stood,
With wines high-flavoured and rich viands crowned
Whatever sprightly juice or tastful food
On the green bosom of this Earth are found,
And all old Ocean genders in his round--
Some hand unseen these silently displayed,
Even undemanded by a sign or sound;
You need but wish, and, silently obeyed,
Fair-ranged the dishes rose, and thick the glasses played.

xxxv
Here freedom reigned without the least alloy;
Nor gossip’s tale, nor ancient maiden’s gall,
Nor saintly spleen durst murmur at our joy,
And with envenomed tongue our pleasures pall.
For why? there was but one great rule for all;
To wit, that each should work his own desire,
And eat, drink, study, sleep, as it may fall,
Or melt the time in love, or wake the lyre,
And carol what, unbid, the Muses might inspire.

This is a travesty of manorial housekeeping. Independence has
become liberty to fulfil one's own desire' and it is also freedom
from the constraints of social stratification, since both host and
servant fulfil their tasks unseen. Frugality at the household level
here finds no place; this follows from the banishment of work from
the castle of Indolence, although frugality is represented on the
larger scale by the indiscriminate offering of gastronomic luxuries
gathered from the whole world by the wizard's magic. The same
applies to the vast carpets, 'The pride of Turkey or of Persia Land';
given the remoteness of their provenance and their high artistic
merit, they are given a static description which obliterates time,
space and man's efforts to overcome these limitations. The
generosity of this house lies in the sumptuousness of the appointments,
not in their provision, where everything is done without the
intervention of people, a circumstance obviously gratifying to the
lazy of all times who gladly shirk the obligations of our mutual
dependence in social life.

Unreality dominates the castle. Life is depicted on the walls
in tapestries of Arcadian romance and even history is distorted into
pastoral. The guests are most pleased by a 'cunning' depiction of
Abraham migrating from Ur as leader of a band of careless arcadians:
'Blest sons of nature they! true golden age indeed!'(I,xxxvii) The
readiness to ignore the purposefulness of Abraham's journey as it
has been traditionally interpreted to our culture and the wilful
dismissal of the ordeals and hardships that are the essence of tales
of heroic journeys that have led to the foundation of a people, con-
firm the rejection of all suggestion of use and purpose by those under
the wizard's spell. The pastoral country surrounding the castle of
Indolence, which attracts men within its dangerous sphere of influence
by its promise of refreshment when seen from the brow of the hill, is
a landscape that denies a sense of use. Patricia Spacks has used
the term 'negative suggestion' to account for the passivity of the
world of Canto II and uselessness cuts deep into the subconscious apprehension of the countryside Thomson describes: while flocks bleat loudly among the hills the 'vacant shepherds' pipe in the valley, life-giving water plays, bickers, prattles and purrs; the birds mentioned are stockdoves and nightingales, both more notable for their sound than for their activity (except love), and the grasshopper, the symbol of improvidence amid plenty, is insistently present. Later, this evocation of inconsequential sounds is reinforced by a specific rejection of sounds from the workaday world in the stanza beginning: "'No cocks, with me, to rustic labour call, / From village on to village sounding clear'"(xiv). For the reader the refreshing force of stanza xiv lies more in the vigour of the verbs than in the morning hubbub, just as the cushioned luxury of the castle cloys suddenly because there are no verbs of process.

The unseen hand is the essence of luxury. It is with this that Sloth tempts the youth in Shenstone's Moral Piece, 'The Garden of Hercules'(1740): if he were to fall under Sloth's gaudy influence he would be rejecting the traditional virtues by denying the humanity of others, misusing the frugality inherent in plenty and receiving without giving freely in return:

'Let others prune the vine; the genial bowl
Shall crown thy table, and enlarge thy soul
Let vulgar hands explore the brilliant mine,
So the gay produce glitter still on thine.

See in my cause consenting gods employ'd
Nor slight these gods, their blessings unenjoy'd.
For thee the poplar shall its amber drain;
For thee, in clouded beauty, spring the cane;
Some costly tribute every clime shall pay,
Some charming treasure every wind convey'.

(11.184-87; 192-97)"

In its openly didactic way 'The Garden of Hercules' pursues exactly the same argument as The Castle in terms that were already overworked several decades before it was written; but the reiteration of the images used by earlier, superficial writers on macrocosmic frugality

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shows the origins of the contemporary, luxurious vitiation of a healthy system.

During these years when the importance of the social impulse was being fully appreciated, thoughtful writers were fully aware that to turn away from involvement in social responsibility was to reject the very bases of civilization. The texture of The Castle of Indolence shows that the guests of Archimago are offered the enjoyment of the highest achievements of man's intellect and skill but that the castle symbolizes the apex of the culture without acknowledging the broad base of the structure. The crisis of the monarchy was still a part of the tension of contemporary events, so the word 'castle' must have had lingering connotations of William's alien reign and of his imposition of a foreign élite to pursue the ways of French culture within the moated walls of the castles with which he replaced the native manors. For these reasons alone one must reject the argument that the lack of poetic lustre in Canto II implies only the rejection of the poetry of sensuous enchantment that Thomson has just [in Canto I] demonstrated his ability to write: his capacity to create it made him no less vividly aware of its dangers. The approved function of emotion in eighteenth-century poetry was to move readers toward some great end. If one abandons awareness of the end, The Castle of Indolence argues, emotion becomes far too dangerous a poetic resource.14

The assumption that the 'impressionistic verse' of Canto I can deny the reader reveals a twentieth-century bias; it is unlikely that any contemporary reader would have missed the emotional flux built into Canto I. In the deliberate vagueness of general effect and lack of process the reader is confronted with the mockery of his escapist daydreams and he recognizes, in the passive elegance of this shadow of Senesrion allegory, the unpalatable truth that if dreams of ease are fulfilled they do not satisfy for long because they ignore the quality which ensures the survival of civil society—the urge to be active.

False retirement in Canto I of The Castle of Indolence can be

compared to the narrative of the Man of the Hill in Tom Jones.¹⁵

The general reader often regards this long digression as a boring morality tale. The moral lies in another direction than in the simplistic view that it is a timely warning against misspending youth. It is no mere coincidence that the travellers knock at the hermit's door after Partridge has badgered Tom out of his intention to go to the top of the hill in order to indulge in melancholy contemplation by moonlight (viii, 10). Although Tom is diverted from his walk on the hill, the Man of the Hill habitually walks there by night. He is, moreover, dressed like Robinson Crusoe, in clothes roughly fashioned from wild animal skins; but his clothes are an affectation, not a necessity, just as his solitary life is a self-imposed response to his 'great philanthropy' which, he says, 'chiefly inclines us to avoid and detest mankind; not on account so much of their private and selfish vices, but for those of a relative kind; such as envy, malice, treachery, cruelty, with every other species of malevolence. These are the vices which true philanthropy abhors, and which rather than see and converse with, she avoids society itself'(p.278). His moral views were formed by four years 'totally given up to contemplation, and entirely unembarrassed with the affairs of the world'(p.310) when his kind old father had spoiled him as the prodigal son. His belief in human depravity is based on his experiences of betrayal by his first mistress and his first friend. Tom tries to persuade the old man that misplaced trust, not general human wickedness, was the cause of his misfortunes but logical argument cannot shift the man who has travelled extensively in Europe, professedly to view the variety of mankind, but came home only with opinions of the manners of landlords and with his prejudices reinforced by a Venetian carnival.

Fielding makes the Man of the Hill wrong in so many ways that there can be no doubt that he is being held up as an example of misuse of retreat. The final incident seems designed to confirm the reader's belief that this man has learned as little from his retirement as from his life in the world and that, far from retreat

being a preparation for benevolent participation in society as the writers of the thirties and forties recommended, this man's indifference to others' troubles amounts to misanthropy. Tom and the old man, while they are viewing the prospect from the top of the hill, both hear cries of distress from a thicket: Tom, armed only with his staff, saves Jenny Jones from the assault but 'the good Man of the Hill, when our hero departed, sat himself down on the brow, where, though he had a gun in his hand, he with great patience and unconcern had attended the issue'(p.349). He then directs Tom and Jenny to Upton to find clothes, rather than clothing Jenny's nakedness from his own well-provided household, where, it may also be noted, no refreshment has been provided during the long night, a significant omission in the context of this novel.

The Man of the Hill can also be judged against the earlier, positive model of Mr. Wilson in Joseph Andrews. He now enjoys a Horatian retreat as an active member of a country neighbourhood after youthful profligacy in the city. The incidents which introduce the digressions of the Man of the Hill and Mr. Wilson indicate the differences that will be revealed in their uses of retirement. Parson Adams, like Partridge, is eager to seek refuge because he is afraid of spirits and in each case danger comes to the doorstep and makes the hosts suspect complicity between the travellers and the footpads: Tom has to save the armed old man from his assailants but Mr. Wilson unhesitatingly goes out to deal successfully with Parson Adam's ghostly sheep-stealers. In defending those under his protection and committing wrongdoers to justice Mr. Wilson acts as a member of society but the squire's son transgresses this code: the young tyrant has deprived his tenants of their independence by taking away their guns, breaks into the frugality of their cultivation by riding where he will, and is capable of such an uncharitable act as the spiteful killing of Miss. Wilson's lapdog. Mr. Wilson, on the other hand, lives by the country-house code: his independence is proclaimed by his being considered an eccentric, "the squire of the parish representing me as a madman, and the parson as a Presbyterian, because I will not hunt with the one nor drink with

the other".17 His domestic economy is a model of Horatian frugality: the Wilsons live modestly on the produce of Mr. Wilson's gardening in what is essentially a ferme orière:

No parterres, no fountains, no statues, embellished
dthis little garden. Its only ornament was a short
walk, shaded on each side by a filbert-hedge, with
a small alcove at one end, whither in hot weather
the gentleman and his wife used to retire, and
divert themselves with their children.... Here
was variety of fruit, and everything useful for
the kitchen.

(pp.61-62)

From this bounty the Wilsons give generous hospitality -- Mrs. Wilson
'produced everything eatable in her house on the table' for the
travellers (p.22) -- and extend charity to their neighbours with
home-made cordials and garden produce (p.65).

Both Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones find, at last, their place in
society as landlords, which is the role that sums up the early
eighteenth-century idea of the good life. From the few details of
their lives that the author provides but mainly from the love with
which they are surrounded, the reader can infer that they fit into
the country-house model. When his exertions are finished, Sir
Industry also retires to this most favoured condition of life:

For this he chose a farm in Deva's vale,
Where his long alleys peeped upon the main.
In this calm seat he drew the healthful gale,
Commixed the chief, the patriot, and the swain,
A happy monarch of his sylvan train!
Here, sided by the guardians of the fold,
He walked his rounds, and cheered his blest domain.

(II, xxv)

Although the situation is retired, the vista of the sea denotes
awareness of the activity of commerce, and patriotism signifies a
willingness to be called into action when needed. Overall there is
an air of moderate activity: Sir Industry breathes deeply, leads his
workers in their tasks and happily combines several functions.
There is no idleness in this retreat, just as, in a different way, his
early years in the greenwood shade are, like Jones's, retired but
vigorous and an excellent education for the active life. Tom's

17All references to Joseph Andrews are to Vol. II of
the Gosse ed.; p.39.
fictional career has many things in common with the development of 
the allegorical figure of Sir Industry. Paradise Hall is described 
as Fortune's gift to Squire Alworthy; on this large estate he leads 
the traditional life of the country gentleman in all its aspects, 
and, during his minority, Tom enjoys the privileges of this life with-
out its responsibilities and is often free to complement his formal 
education by country sports and pastimes. Tom's mentors are all 
too human, but young Industry is taught by the gods, which may 
compensate for the roughness of his primitive Horatian life. Having 
been prepared by the well-rounded education of a wholesome retired 
life, Tom, as the civilized, good-natured man, is well able both to 
survive and to spread the fruits of his comity when he confronts the 
viciousness of individual members of civil society. His achievement 
on his brief Odyssey into the world of affairs is qualitatively 
similar to Sir Industry's self-imposed mission to civilize the world. 

Later in the century when Gibbon prefaced a paragraph on luxury 
with the statement, 'Agriculture is the foundation of manufactures', 
this was knowledge intrinsic in the economic life of the age.18 As 
British trading might then chiefly depended on her ability to export 
wool and corn, the state of agriculture, 'Fair Queen of Arts'(II,xix), 
the activity that humanizes the landscape and civilizes the tillers 
of the soil, become an outward sign of the health of the community 
which practises it. The proper conduct of agriculture ensures the 
independence of the landowner and demands of him that he should be 
both frugal and generous; it is then beautiful in the eyes of the 
conservative who sees it upholding the classical canons of taste -- 
'Nature and Art at once, delight and use combined'(II,xix). A 
proper relationship between man and man and between man and his 
terrain, which is essential to the successful use of land in 
agriculture, is similarly the ideal for the conduct of commercial 
affairs. In Thomson's description of Industry's activity in the 
cities, a suggestion of agriculture still clings to the phrasing: 

Then town: he quickened by mechanic arts, 
And bade the fervent city glow with toil; 
Bade social commerce raise renowned marts, 
Join land to land, and marry soil to soil, 
Unite the poles, and without bloody spoil

18The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, I,53.
Bring home of either Ind the gorgeous stores;
Or, should despotic rage the world embroil,
Bade tyrants tremble on remotest shores;
While o'er the encircling deep Britannia's thunder roars.

(II, xx)

Harvesters 'glow with toil' when they 'bring home...stores', vines are traditionally married or joined to the elm and quickening and raising are associated with the germination of plants. Once again the word 'commerce' is modified by 'social'; this emphasizes the imagery of a world community, which is also called up by the agricultural terms and, just as she was in the patriotic poems of 1683 to 1714, Britain is the magistrate.

The facts of trade notwithstanding, the city man, relying on the mechanisms of credit, may lose his appreciation of the connexion between agriculture and industry and brief rests at his villa urbana cannot be relied on to remind him that land, like money, yields variously, according to the use to which it is put. The villa urbana may become another of the species of the castle of Indolence where a man may relax amongst rural pleasures without sharing the duties of a country life. The pastoral landscape that delights the lazy guests of the castle is an empty stage set, but then, so is the paysage riant to the eyes of a city-dweller who forgets that it is more than a charming landscape. The Seasons analysed the countryside in all its moods, and in doing this it may well have served to remind the increasingly urban reading public of the mutual dependence of city and country while it depicted the interdependence of all creation. The fullness of description made any repetition in Thomson's later works redundant, so the merest suggestion of 'the field, with lively culture green' (II, xlix) should be enough to evoke a stock Thomsonian response in the reader: But within the context of his attack on luxury in The Castle Thomson must reassert man's role in the landscape. Within the poem, the Bard, like Thomson himself, tries to fire the indolent with his vision of man's life as active sovereign lord of the earth and representative of the 'never-resting', 'all-directing' overlord, 'By whom each atom stirs, the planets roll;/ Who fills, surrounds, informs, and agitates the whole' (II, xlvii). Whereas, in Canto I, negative suggestion is used to spurn the activities of life, in Canto II it is used to reject idleness:
It was not by vile loitering in ease
That Greece obtained the brighter palm of art;

It was not thence majestic Rome arose,
And o'er the nations shook her conquering dart:
For sluggard's brow the laurel never grows;
Renown is not the child of indolent repose.

Aspiration and withdrawal contend in these lines: 'vile loitering' sluggard and 'indolent repose' strongly suggest distaste by the combination of plosive and liquid sounds but power and ascendancy triumph in 'obtained the brighter palm', 'majestic Rome arose', 'shook her conquering dart' and 'renown'. Action is dominant over inertia.

This chapter began with a discussion of Defoe's gentleman eking out a limited income by using the materials at hand in his park and of the growing appreciation and application of the ferme ornée. It ends with a practical poem by Richard Savage which sets out a programme of public works for the whole nation and for the colonies. Like the ferme ornée public works combine beauty and use, pleasure and profit but as the vastness of their scale makes them a work for princes, Savage addressed the deaf ear of Frederick, Prince of Wales, with Of Public Spirit in Regard to Public Works. A Poem. Technically it is a dull poem, although at times it rises above its deficiencies by the force of Savage's belief in social justice. Personal experience taught him to pity those who do not count because they are poor, or are set apart from society in exiles, prisons or brothels (11.177-206);[19] his schemes for public works are based on the premise that all men should be given a fair chance to prosper in society. If his ideal foreshadows the popularism that was to follow in the train of pragmatic liberalism, it is also the logical extension of the conservative ethos applied to a large population that is increasingly adhering to the mores of industrial organization. Savage's objectivity shows in his repudiation of aggressive individualism that, in the guise of patriotism, encourages wars which give vent to jingoistic emotions and temporarily ameliorate the social consequences of the economic system. This is not true patriotism,

[19] Poetical Works; The second version, published in 1737, is the text used here.
cries Public Spirit, who personifies all that the country gentleman represented in the early eighteenth-century House of Commons:

'No, no -- such Wars do thou, Ambition, wage!
Go sterilize the Fertile with thy Rage!
Whole Nations to depopulate is thing;
'To people, culture and protect, be mine!'

(11.217-220)

The weaknesses of personification and apostrophe undermine Savage's pretensions to poetry, although the use of personification produces a dramatic enactment of a programme suitable to a patriot king and which quite clearly continues the literary tradition of the country-house ethos. Savage's Public Spirit grants everyone's right to independence and self-respect; her economy is based on the frugality of bold schemes of public utilities that will make life easier and more prosperous:

Thus Public Spirit, Liberty and Peace
Carve, build, and plant, and give the Land Increase;
From peasant Hands imperial Works arise,
And British hence with Roman Grandeur vies;

Though no vast Wall extend from Coast to Coast,
No Pyramid aspire, sublimely lost;
Yet the safe Road through Rocks shall, winding, tend,
And the firm Cause-way o'er the Clays ascend;
Here stately Streets, here ample Squares invite
The salutary Gale, that breathes Delight.
Here Structures mark the charitable Soil,
For casual Ill; main'd Valour; feeble Toil,
Worn out with Care, Infirmitv and Age.

(11.91-94; 108-113)

Public Spirit is also generous; the amenity of public parks suggests al fresco manorial housekeeping: 'Free-opening Gates; and bow'ry Pleasures free'(1.88).

In the earlier discussion of Defoe's protagonists it was shown that the process of colonization, regarded from the personal level, at least, could be seen as a strange mélange of enforced retreat and a step up the social scale into the middleclass model of country life. By contrast, Savage's colonialism is a model of philanthropy directed both to the colonists and the natives and it rejects the exploitation of slave labour in the creation of a commonwealth that is 'Free, numerous, pleas'd and busy'(1.288). Savage's benevolence, however,
does not exclude a major inducement to the planting of colonies. In a long passage, which predates Thomson's pleasant lament for wasted plenty in the 1744 version of 'Summer', Public Spirit deplors the neglect of much of earth's plenitude in the uninhabited reaches of the globe:

'Shall Fruits, which none, but brutal Eyes, survey,
'Untouch'd grow ripe, untasted drop away?
'Shall here th'irrational, the salvage Kind
'Lord it o'er Stores by Heav'n for Man design'd,
'And trample what mild Suns benignly raise,
'While Man must lose the Use, and Heav'n the Praise?

...'I swear (be witness Earth and Skies!)
'Fair Order here shall from Confusion rise.
'Rapt I a future Colony survey!
Come then, ye Sons of Mis'ry! come away!' (ll.245-260 passim)

At the heart of the colonizing urge is the idea of order shaped from abundance by use, and use is the courteous acceptance of what lies to hand. Colonization is the triumph of reason over the irrational, a combination of the successful control of the threat posed by plenitude with the philanthropic disposition of the unemployable surplus of urban poor who congregate and breed at the centres of civil society.

Savage's diffuse and prosaic style enumerates practical details that more creative writers can afford to ignore but in his simple pleasure in the ability of the well-intentioned man to bring order to the rank growth of the city and the wilds he reflects the preoccupations of the whole generation of writers of the thirties and forties. The picaresque ramblings during which Fielding's good-natured men were put to the test of real life have their equivalent in Thomson's and Pope's satires or in Thomson's discursive poems about the mind's perception of the whole phenomenon of creation. All the writers of this period considered here were asking what it means to tenant the earth and exploring the question within the context of the social responsibility of individuals and states.
THE USE OF RICHES

This study set out to explore the tenuous link between two diverse but often coincidental fields of fiction and imagery in early eighteenth-century English literature: images and fantasies of the retired life and descriptions and allusions from the world beyond Europe. Set in contrast to both these spheres of activity stands the city which is the centre of civil society. The city represents the node from which commercial and colonizing enterprises set out to impose the rule of reason and rational use on the wilderness and to which they returned with their harvest. It also represents the mores traditionally antipathetic to the rural values of the contemplative which, if they are not to remain merely bucolic, must be ameliorated by the customs of civil society. The ideal country estate possesses the virtue of country simplicity modified by the social and political structures of civil society which are reified in the architectural entity of the house.

The frequent apposition of themes of retirement and expansion in the literature of this era is less remarkable than at first it seems. Skill in navigation which was the first condition of expansion was made possible by the technological advances that showed men a new view of their places in the universe. The actual exploration of the two realms from which the cozy certainties had been stripped, the mind and the vast spaces of the earth, called for opposing qualities of character. In art, however, the contraposition could be transcended. Through the images of art the choices, sometimes exhilarating, sometimes intimidating, could be modified and assimilated into a code evoking familiar responses and from within which the mind could discriminate. The country-house ethos, as a possible idealization of the mores of civil society, provided such a code and the house itself was a convenient metonym for structures of order and use as a bulwark against the chaos of undifferentiated plenitude.

The attempt to trace the nature and metamorphoses of this
integrated symbol of potential order through the writings of those who were acutely conscious of the threat of disorder of all kinds has taken a devious course but, as the chapter titles were intended to indicate, it has consistently taken its bearings from the authors' interpretations of the purposes of human activity. They were reflecting and building on tendencies inherent in their contemporaries' views of their own intentions. Writers at this time were well-placed to undertake this task: although they were themselves members of the middle class and writing for the growing reading public they also benefited from the remnants of aristocratic patronage. In the houses of the aristocracy they shared in the orderly consumption of goods of diverse provenance and the enjoyment of the retired pleasures of garden and arboretum. From vantage points quite beyond their own means to provide they were able to observe that 'Everywhere that perfectly beautiful equilibrium between man and nature, which marked the eighteenth-century landscape, was in process of being established'.\(^1\) The genres of periodical essay and novel transmitted the established culture to aspiring members of the middle class; at the level of theme and imagery this is repeated in the transformation of the country-house ethos, as the touchstone of gentility and code of good behaviour, into a theory of right use applied to the problems of a new age.

The country-house ethos was particularly appropriate as an interpretative model for the early eighteenth century. The ethos is a code for the right use of riches; even the Elizabethan merchant, Thorowgood, is seen using his riches thus in Lillo's play; and eighteenth-century Britain was growing rich, while every member of the prosperous classes shared in the increasing affluence. To this extent all Britons (with the proviso that 'all' refers only to those who counted) were inheritors of the territories opened up by exploration, commerce and colonization. There was no anomaly in such a concept of inheritance, since properties and their rights and titles had always been marketable and, with heredity contingent on

the fragile chain of human lives, lordship was not so much a matter of inheritance as of coming into possession of some land that had continuity with the past and would be passed into other hands in future. During the years 1688 to 1714 this consciousness of responsibility resolved itself mainly into the concept of economic expansion as a version of the balanced self-sufficiency of a model farm (they were the Landlords) and in the Patriot's vision of Britain as magistrate and arbiter of order to the world. The next phase (1715-1730) produced individualistic attempts to come to understand the terms and extent of the tenancy or period of possession; the Footsore Wanderers of Defoe and Swift put all to the test of practical experience, but Thomson, the untiring Armchair Traveller, sought an intellectual integration of knowledge and experience. The final period considered was a time of increasing social conscientiousness in the first gentle stirrings of the age of liberal supremacy. Now it was a question of the personal and social values appropriate to the maintenance of the inheritance once the lord is comfortably in possession: the Legislators stood for positive values against disruptive threats in Liberty and in Pope's Horatian satires and the Philanthropists searched out the social ties that bind man to man in the later version of The Seasons and in The Castle of Indolence.
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