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Title Page Thesis 2122

**AN ANALYSIS OF LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF REVOLUTION FROM 17TH TO 19TH CENTURY ENGLAND USING THE
REVOLUTIONARY SCRIPT**

by

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Abstract

Any time period can represent the common consensus of its contemporary population, and a literary analysis of 17th to 19th century English works can allow for a systematic approach to understanding revolutionary acts. A systematic approach to how society reacts to societal elements such as religious persecution and tyrannical governing requires Baker and Edelstein's framework of the "Revolutionary Script". This framework allows for what is essentially a close reading of literary texts; it does so by separating societal elements into "core factors" and "revolving factors". Changes to the revolving factors that are represented in literature are key to this analysis.

Core factors consist of universal problems within the human condition, such as hunger, discrimination and pain leading to societal instability. The revolving factors are what allow us to differentiate one time period from another, as each revolution targets the script's revolving factors: While religious persecution and censorship were prevalent during the Civil War, the Restoration to the Industrial Revolution sees more contrasting opinions as a result of decreasing censorship but harsh industrial labour conditions. These revolving factors are represented by the literary works of authors, allowing modern readers to understand the common sentiment to societal values at the time. This separation ultimately defines what 'revolution' means in the scope of this paper: Societal instabilities leading a population to change revolving factors symptomatic of core factors.

Milton's *Paradise Lost*, written during the Restoration, is an important begin to this analysis. Its allegorical nature stands in contrast to his earlier, bolder *Eikonoklastes* written after Charles I's death, justifying the monarch's execution. Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* posits a major detraction to the Divine Right to Rule, a major foundation of a monarch's power. George Walker's *The Vagabond* introduces the literary discourse surrounding radicalism and revolutionary ideals which eventually led to societal instability during the Gordon Riots. Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* represents how the English Civil War's "revolution" effectively removed this Divine Right to Rule by the symbiosis of Parliament and the monarch, allowing for democratic processes which were suppressed during Cromwell's Protectorate and Charles I's tyranny.

The drive to revolution can be effectively described through the close reading of influential literary works in face of constantly changing revolving factors and the core factor of societal instability. England's revolutionary script from the 17th century to the 19th century is shown to revolve around how its legislative and executive power is formulated; the monarch is connected to religious persecution and Parliament is connected to unfair legislation, both of which led an unstable society to revolution. The marriage of these centres of power into a Constitutional Monarchy leads to far more stable governance as represented in given literary works.

Keywords

Prepublication Censorship, Revolutionary Script, English Literature, English Society, Eikonoklastes, Aeropagitica, Paradise Lost, John Milton, John Locke, Two Treatises of Government, George Walker's The Vagabond, William Blake, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.

Introduction

Popular authors and their literature can represent subjective societal values which then influence their audience. This literary representation and influence in British history is problematized by its governing powers: The suppression of the ability to think freely and share these thoughts in tyrannical governance will oppress the population and eventually cause societal instability. Therefore, the development of a “revolutionary script” stands central in the attainment of these freedoms, as the population will, affected by certain ‘revolving factors’ and ‘core factors’ of this script, instigate radical change to its governing power. This clash between governance and the population is what leads to the evolution of the British revolutionary script as the population’s desires and shortcomings change or strengthen; revolution is radical change by way of society responding to societal instability. How can this revolutionary script be used to systematically analyze literary representations of revolutionary ideals in Early Modern England?

Revolving factors in British history are symptomatic of core factors; tyranny, for example, causes censorship and religious persecution, and Industrialization causes harsh labour. These revolving factors cause the population to foster revolutionary ideals, which when culminated into a revolution will lead to the changing of these revolving factors throughout history. The history of Britain can be effectively formulated around its centre of power, which has a direct effect on revolving factors. The nature of this centre of power has historically been monarchical, parliamentary or a combination of both. While the latter, Parliament, consists of ‘simple’ humans, the former sees its power concentrated into ‘rightful heirs’ to the throne by bloodline and Divine Appointment, meaning the belief that God has given the monarch the Divine Right to Rule.

The Divine Right was paramount to the stability of governance in Britain; those who challenged the monarch, challenged God’s Will. In the heavily religious society that was Early Modern England, this allowed for the persecution of influential persons and their literature which were deemed to endanger the monarchy. The phrase “The King is Dead, Long Live the King” is therefore essential in the understanding of how British regal history attempted to keep the stability of monarchical governing. The killing of one monarch would not lead to the collapse of the nation if there was another to take their place; the Divine Right to Rule would appoint a new monarch and governing power would return to the monarchy. Except when it didn’t. The centre of power may shift from belonging to the monarch to belonging to a part of the population. When an act of regicide occurs and popular motivation is enough to withhold the appointment of a new monarch, other entities may gain power over the monarch, as was with Cromwell’s Protectorate. Immense changes of the centre of power typically involve factors such as societal instability and political pressure¹.

The conception of analyzing British History through its literature faces a major stumbling block, being the complexity of the political landscape and how authors cannot all be expected to uphold a high level of historical detail within their works. In the scope of this thesis, literature will be used as a tool to represent the most major of factors and provide commentary on them in alignment with the author’s own political or ideological affiliations, even if they are affiliations which oppose the common consensus; this allows for important insights into the societal discourse at the time. Popular authors are important in the distribution of these political commentaries, as their relatability to their sizable audience takes precedence over historical accuracy. Several authors and their works showcase the transformation of the way these changes of

¹A. Bullock, S. Trombley. “The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought”, *Third Edition* (London: HarperCollins, 1999), 754–46

revolving factors were dubbed to be 'revolutionary'. These revolutionary changes will be shown to have script-like characteristics throughout the given chronology², and revolutionary changes to revolving factors will follow along this 'revolutionary script'.

The population's perspective on revolving factors will be represented by concurrent literary works. Using these works, issues such as prepublication censorship, capital punishment of dissidents and the polarization of political society will be analyzed with their socio-historical context. This serves to showcase how modern readers can understand the socio-political views of authors and how these authors not only choose to relay their views to, but also affect their contemporary audience in regards to revolution and rebellion from Early Modern England to the Industrial Revolution.

The English Civil War is the foundation on which the analysis of literary representation of revolutionary events will be based on. This analysis centralizes *Paradise Lost* by John Milton, a criticism of the monarchy presented as a theodicy³. This work carries important arguments regarding the author's sentiment and what they wilfully chose to portray to the English populace during the Restoration period. To properly contextualize *Paradise Lost*, Milton's *Eikonoklastes* will be used as a contrasting work due to its bold anti-Royalist nature during a period of refuge under Parliamentary rule. One of the relevant themes within *Paradise Lost* is that of Satan's rebellion against the "Will of God", the rebellion itself being considered to be God's will; this posits that a monarch bearing the Divine Right of Kings is not absolute in his human ruling, as God can put forth the "necessary evil", being revolutionaries, to rid the kingdom of its tyrannical monarch⁴. John Milton's authorial intent and historical context in regards to his political affiliations, specifically surrounding the anti-Catholic sentiments of the time will stand central in these readings.

The topic of the English Civil War will then be followed by the depictions of the Glorious Revolution within English literature. The *Two Treatises of Government* by John Locke support the same script offered, or suggested, by John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, as it revolved around the Divine Right of Kings and the latter specifically challenging Filmer's⁵ "Common Sense" in his *Patriarcha*. The works of Milton and Locke are separated by two decades, but both hint at the common sentiment of 'revolutionary scripts' in that they challenge the contemporary socio-political values which lead to revolution. John Locke invokes the concept of natural laws to argue that God's laws are subjective to individuals; intellectual mankind adheres to the law of God by adhering to its own natural law, and no king can assert to be "Divinely" justified in oppressing this individuality.

The Glorious Revolution will be followed by the Gordon Riots and its associated literature, specifically *The Vagabond* by George Walker and *Barnaby Rudge* by Charles Dickens. The "Revolutionary Decade" of the 1790s ushers in a markedly different conception of revolution in which literature was at the forefront. Literature consumption had exponentially increased in the 18th century⁶ and violence within revolution saw a great decrease relative to nations such as America and France⁷. Aforementioned great decrease does not imply a nonviolent atmosphere, for the Gordon Riots were excessively violent and had a large amount of casualties given its short time period.

Third parties have important stakes within the propagation of revolutionary actions by virtue of increasing international politics and free trade. This claim regards the presence of interested third parties guiding rioters to the fulfil a 'hidden' agenda⁸.

² Keith Baker and E.M. Edelstein, *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 4.

³ Peter Fisher. *Milton's Theodicy*. (United States: University of Pennsylvania Press 1956): 28–53.

⁴ Baker and Edelstein, *Scripting Revolution*, 12.

⁵ L.C Green. *Modern Law Review* 14, no. 1. (Wiley, 1951), 108.

⁶ George Walker. *The Vagabond*, Edited by W.M. Verhoeven. (Broadview Press, 2004), 13.

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

Barnaby Rudge by Charles Dickens is somewhat less tactful about its representation of contemporary politics and commentary on anti-papist sentiments which fuelled the Gordon Riots. The story builds on the easily manipulable, physically strong Barnaby. He is coerced into joining the anti-papist Gordon riots which are instigated by Dickens' purposefully sympathetically represented Lord Gordon. The common themes between the previous works such as *Two Treatises* and *Paradise Lost* concern the status of most rioters or revolutionaries to be not as politically inclined but merely as the "muscle" to carriers of ideology⁹. These carriers of ideology are typically third-party, politically inclined upper-class persons. The stating of these common themes will help lead into Industrialized England's depictions of revolution in Anglophone literature. This is due to the way revolutions are scripted and executed approaching the modern age; namely with the interest of third parties and globalized politics. This switch from Divine-Right based revolution to globalized issues ranging from international trade to politics finds its impetus in the Glorious Revolution to the Industrial Revolution.

The most striking revolution in modern history would be that of the French Revolution. Despite its heavily Francophone context, its effect on the world was such there is a widespread availability of Anglophone literature on it. Its international importance is partly due to it compelling other nations' populaces to desire revolution following the propagation of ethnic nationalism and ideals of liberty.

Barnaby Rudge was written using the hindsight of decades; Charles Dickens and his audience would already have an understanding of how the Gordon Riots took place and the common narrative surrounding it. This means that, despite being published 4 decades after, it follows the timeline of the Gordon Riots and serves as a representation of third party interference in (attempted) revolutions. The French Revolution and its representation of the evolution of the revolutionary script are analyzed in William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (from here on referred to as *The Marriage*). This work was inspired by *Paradise Lost*: He considers Milton's conception of Satan to be that of a heroic revolutionary, rebelling against God not because he went against God's Will, but exactly because God "willed" it; this is a similar stance adopted in the *Two Treatises* almost a century earlier.

Barnaby Rudge showcases that in the rapidly changing socio-political climate in the face of industrialism important changes are signified through the revolutionary script's revolving factors. *The Marriage* importantly represents the unity of Parliament and Monarchy (Heaven and Hell), in which the Divine Right has lost its efficacy, allowing for a constitutional monarchy. This means that the revolving factors (unfair legislation, religious persecution) have been changed through revolution while societal instability, the core factor, remains stable. New issues require new works of literature, and with that, the framework of the revolutionary script is used to analyze how representations of revolutionary ideals manifest in literary works in Early Modern England.

⁹ Ronald Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort (1642–1646)*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 155-156

Chapter I

What Revolution Means to England's Centres of Power

The Wars of the Three Kingdoms started in 1638, enveloping Charles I's reign, the Interregnum and the Restoration for the purposes of this paper. The warring parties constituted proponents of the Parliament versus proponents of the monarch; the former believed the monarch should govern through the Parliament, whilst the latter typically believed in the Divine Right of Kings, and thus posited there should be no congressional buffer between monarchic authority and governance. The distinction at times is hard to narrow down in regards to these warring parties' beliefs in the Divine Right; being that literary works are inherently subjective, the actual complexity of geo- and socio-political conflicts are not objectively available from any singular work. As will be seen in given English literary works, proponents of the Parliament typically did not deny the Divine Right of Kings nor did they wish to abolish the monarchy; it appears that the common consensus was that any monarch that was *absolute* in their ruling, was a tyrant¹⁰. Those who supported a congressional buffer and those who outright claimed the centrality of the monarch's power in Early Modern England find a commonality: their belief in the Divine Right to Rule. The revolutionary script of Charles I's reign can be defined by this commonality of religious dogma, symptomatic of the revolutionary script's core factor of societal instability.

The beheading of Charles I brought changes to England's revolutionary script. An analysis of these changes first requires an etymological basis for the word "revolution". The concept of revolution appears to have attained meaning similar to that of its modern usage; being the violent overthrow of ruling powers to bring societal change (revolving factors). Languages are as dynamic as their speakers; whenever new societal changes occur, words adapt to satisfy new semantic necessities. The etymology of "revolution" finds itself in astronomy and astrology or other circular motions¹¹.

The common consensus is that the word "revolution" gained its modern meaning in the 17th century in political literature; an important work that touches upon this idea of "revolution" meaning societal change instigated by people is Hans Blumenberg's *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*. In this work, matters of repression and human logic are used to assert that the human condition pushes forward the desire for change. As shown through the literature in this work, the dialectic between the human condition and outside repression from tyrannical monarchs or gruelling labour laws result in revolution; this phenomenon brought new semantic meaning to the word "revolution."

Several works in the 17th century have been identified as using "revolution" in its modern semantic meaning. Edward Blount meaning to shelter soldiers/rebels during an overthrow of the state: "Assuring those quarters from all revolutions that might be feared"¹² or Robert Heath's *Clarastella* stating that a better world be created through revolution: "Nothing but fair Utopian worlds i' the moon / Must be new formed by revolution"¹³. These works evidence the new semantic meaning to the word "revolution"; while at first its connotations being limited to an object rotating around another object, typical in astronomy, it is now used to denote immense changes. This evidences the developing political climate's representation in literature and the beginning of the modern concept of revolution and its script¹⁴;

¹⁰ Baker and Edelstein, *Scripting Revolution*, 12.

¹¹ Christopher Hill, *The Word 'Revolution' in Seventeenth-Century England*, in For Veronica Wedgwood These: Studies in Seventeenth-Century History (London, 1986), 134

¹² Girolamo Conestaggio, *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crown of Castill*, translation Edward Blount.. 175

¹³ Robert Heath, *On Copernicus his opinion of the earths turning round* in *Clarastella*, together with Poems occasional, Elegies, Epigrams, Satyrs (1650) (Florida, 1970). 75

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 138

frequent changes in governance and turbulent societal movements required this semantic change, given by its use in Parliament during Cromwell's reign¹⁵.

¹⁵ Ilan Rachum. *The Meaning of 'Revolution' in the English Revolution (1648-1660)*, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 2. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995). 205.

Paradise Lost's Allegorical Nature and Milton's Iconoclasm

With the political climate being cause for the increased semantic width of the word "revolution", the novel way in which the leading powers were challenged demanded novel works of literature. Charles I, coronated 1625, beheaded 1649, argued for the Divine Right of Kings and established an authoritative presence. This caused unrest in regards to the socio-political climate and the role of authors within society, considering the heavy censorship of anti-monarchical works. This censorship is also the reason why works such as Hobbes' *Behemoth* could not be published in their own times. According to Randy Robertson, the psychological impact of censorship and possibly harsh punishments as in the cases of William Prynne, John Twyn, and Stephen College, were detrimental to their contemporary authors¹⁶. Censorship being a double-edged sword, the execution of Charles I and the instatement of an anti-Royalist Parliament brought with it the censoring of Royalist authors.

The beheading of a Divinely appointed king was an iconoclastic phenomenon; it opened the gates for authors with anti-Royalist sentiments to spread their ideals without fear of persecution. One such work was *Eikonoklastes* by Milton; its criticism of Charles I and the monarchy starts no later than its titular destruction of the Royalist work, *Eikon Basilike*, the royal icon. It directly criticizes the Monarch by reducing it to an "earthly" nature: "...is not now to depend upon the doubtful consent of any earthly Monarch; nor to be again fetter'd with a presumptuous negative voice, tyrannical to the Parliament, but much more tyrannical to the Church of God"¹⁷. The Restoration following the death of "earthly" Charles I brought with it the Royal Proclamation of 1660; Milton was considered a traitor and imprisoned in the Tower of London for his ideals represented partly through *Eikonoklastes*, through statements such as: "For Pietie grounded upon error can no more justifie King Charles, then it did Queen Mary, in the sight of God or Man."¹⁸ where he likens Charles I's death to that of Queen Mary, considered a Catholic traitor.

Post offices and carriers were once again under the control of the monarchy and therefore, no correspondence was private and the populace was fearful. The dissolution of the Protectorate and Cromwell's subsequent death led to the Restoration of Charles II. It is no surprise, then, that Milton decided to conceal his criticism of the authoritative system, the tyrant, in an allegory of divine entities: *Paradise Lost*. It concerns a fictitious retelling of the story of Adam and Eve of Genesis but is far from being an exegesis; it contains many non-Abrahamic elements borrowed from Pagan traditions and Greek Mythology.¹⁹ It is not meant to be an exegesis in the first place; instead, it is a theodicy, which attempts to "assert eternal providence and justify the ways of God to men"²⁰.

In the way Charles I ruled through his own perception of the Divine Right of Kings, a possible reading of *Paradise Lost* may present an analogy in which Charles I's kingdom is created by God, and Satan and his followers in Pandaemonium is the populace taking on a revolutionary stance against their perceived injustices. Censorship, tyranny and a general looming of authority felt during the reign of Charles I can see itself reflected in *Paradise Lost*:

"With fixed anchor in his scaly rind / Moors by his side under the lee, while night... / Chained on the burning lake; nor ever thence... / And high permission of all-ruling Heaven / Left him at large to his own dark designs / ... / Said then the lost Archangel, "this the seat That we must change for Heaven?... / Who now is sovereign can dispose and bid / What shall be right: farthest from him is best / Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme / Above his equals... / and thou, profoundest Hell, / Receive thy new possessor—one who brings / A mind not to be

¹⁶ Randy Robertson. *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: The Subtle Art of Division*. (Penn State University Press, 2015) 10

¹⁷ John Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, (Matthew Simmons, London: 1649), chapter XIII

¹⁸ Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, chapter XVII

¹⁹ Collett and Jonathan H. "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology in *Paradise Lost*." (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 85, 1970): 88–96.

²⁰ John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, (Matthew Simmons, London: 1667), Book 1

changed by place or time.”²¹ The “lost Archangel” finds itself chained on the burning lake and realizes that “the seat” he has fallen into is the infernal depth of Tartarus. God’s creation of Heaven, the “happy fields where joy for ever dwells”, still exists even if Lucifer is no longer capable of experiencing it. The final line can be seen as a direct commentary on the reign of Charles I, stating that the monarch’s mind is volatile and unsteady.

The good governing of Tartarus and the “volatile and authoritative” governing of Heaven could be seen as a comparison between the conditions in which Charles I’s populace had to live in, the subsequent revolution that had led to his execution and the “loss” of Paradise that was the Restoration. The democratic form in which Lucifer rallies other fallen angels in Pandemonium supports this: using rhetoric and manipulation to gain their support and trust, Book II in *Paradise Lost* gives us phrases such as “the common vote”, “they vote”, “well have ye judged” which evidence the intentional nature of this democratic process akin to Parliamentary legislation.

Reinforcing the idea of Lucifer being skilled at rhetoric, *Eikonoklastes* opens with a paragraph stating the importance of argumentative skills: “Kings most commonly, though strong in Legions, are but weak at Arguments; as they who ever have accustom'd from the Cradle to use thir will onely as thir right hand, thir reason alwayes as thir left. Whence unexpectedly constrain'd to that kind of combat, they prove but weak and puny Adversaries.”²²

The revolutionary climate in the 17th and 18th century and the Protectorate’s democratic ruling increased anti-Royalist writing and decreased Royalist writing. While Royalist censorship skyrocketed under Cromwell’s rule²³, the subsequent Restoration and the Royal Proclamation restored the status quo against which Milton rebelled, causing his imprisonment. His earlier ideas surrounding censorship can be found in his pre-Protectorate *Aeropagitica*. Here Milton argued that the contemporary literate population would be protected from destabilization through their innate ability to reason:

“I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are...”²⁴

It must be stated that Milton is not completely against censorship however, still maintaining that a good balance must be held between what is provided to the populace for consumption and what is deemed to be dangerous: “unlesse warinesse be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image; but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God, as it were in the eye...”²⁵. Therefore, the idea of prepublication censorship was to prevent readers from reading ‘morally incorrect’ works. This, according to Milton, robbed the reader of the ability to make a choice between good and evil, and therefore their ‘good’ was of no effect.

This destabilization directly coincides with the values represented in *Paradise Lost*; Satan directly represents evil through his actions of greed, jealousy and manipulation towards the reader. Beelzebub, Moloch, and Belial each represent cardinal sins; the reader at first is not a witness to any of these evil machinations, instead Satan is portrayed as a morally good character easily empathized with. Never does Milton directly state their evil or good nature outside of objective means; all judging is left to the reader and their intuition.

²¹ Ibid.

²² John Milton. *Eikonoklastes*, PREFACE

²³ Jason Peacey. *Cromwellian England: A Propaganda State?* History 91, no. 2 (302), (Hoboken: Wiley, 2006): 176–99.

²⁴ John Milton. *Aeropagitica*, (London, 1644), paragraph 8

²⁵ Ibid.

Just as human intuition and natural rationale is gifted by God (“*And high permission of all-ruling Heaven*”²⁶), God has also allowed the English populace to rebel against the Divine Right of Kings’ product of tyranny. This is important in the identification of the role Anglophone literature played in contemporary views on revolution; God and the Divine Right were imperative to the functioning of society and therefore oratory and rhetorical skills were used in analogous literary works. The existence of *Paradise Lost* itself was an attack on contemporary censorship, the Restoration and the Divine Right; therefore it plays a major part in identifying the revolving factors of the revolutionary script of its time. Its position in English canon gives it undeniable importance in establishing the common consensus due to its reaching out to the rationality of the literate population.

²⁶ John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book 1

Locke's Rationality in Face of The Glorious Revolution

The topic of human reason and rationale in Christianity is recurrent in 17th century literary works. Many intellectuals of the time were experimenting with the 'tabula rasa' concept that purportedly was the human mind at birth, meaning experience precedes God-given knowledge. This empiricism walked along the razor's edge of what was acceptable in the religious world of Western Europe and England, as it posited that rationalism could not justify an idea of innate knowledge. John Locke was a prominent proponent of this idea, as evidenced by *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and the co-occurring *Two Treatises of Government*, published at roughly the same time possibly due to issues of censorship and exile²⁷.

An Essay Concerning Human Understanding was in a precarious situation following George Berkeley's refutation in *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*; he feared it would be among the first stepping stones to atheism, an unpopular concept at the time. Locke's non-dogmatic ideals of religious liberty and freedom of worship is further evidenced by *A Letter Concerning Toleration* by claiming the existence of a Tabula Rasa and thus the non-innateness of religion. The importance of this discourse within the era of the Glorious Revolution finds itself in the fact that new ideas and concepts of religious value were trickling into society and in themselves could be considered a 'revolution', attempting to remove the revolving factor of religious persecution and oppression. The successful union of Parliament and the Monarchy marked a change in the revolutionary script, representing the population's ability to change the revolving factors, gaining the democratic aspect which was missing from both Cromwell's Protectorate and Charles I's Monarchy. Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* would take the first step of many in the changing of these revolving factors depending on religious dogma (eventually leading to the publication of Shelley's *The Necessity of Atheism* in 1811).

Locke's close run-ins with the Tower of London due to his association with Shaftesbury (a frequent 'visitor')²⁸ influenced his publishing of *Two Treatises of Government*, the foundation of which was borne from the volatile political atmosphere in England at the time. While carrying similar criticisms of religion as *Paradise Lost*, an allegorical theodicy, Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* is a prosaic justification of man's God-given purpose. An evident characteristic of his empiricism and non-innate rationalism, Locke posited that the Divine Right of Kings could not be an absolute ruling, as natural laws created by the God-given ability of reason and intellect held precedence over birth right. Locke's refutation of Filmer's *Patriarcha* is as follows:

"§153 For I thought he had been giving us out of Scripture proofs / and examples of monarchical government, founded on paternal authority, / descending from Adam; and not an history of the Jews: amongst / whom yet we find no kings, till many years after they were a people: and / when kings were their rulers, there is not the least mention or room for / a presence that they were heirs to Adam, or kings by paternal authority"²⁹

Section 153 to 164 in Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* further expands on the problematic nature of Filmer's *Patriarcha* (which supported the Divine Right), but also the Divine Right of Kings itself. By 1689, the Glorious Revolution had ended and posited itself as probably the most influential revolution in England to date³⁰. It effectively abolished the practical use of the Divine Right and put constraints on the monarch's

²⁷ Peter Laslett et al. *Two Treatises of Government*. The Philosophical Quarterly, 1966, "Introduction," 59–61.

²⁸ Britannica, *John Locke Biography*, Association with Shaftesbury, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Locke/Association-with-Shaftesbury>

²⁹ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, (Awnsham Churchill, England: 1689), 153

³⁰ Gary De Krey. *Between Revolutions: Re-appraising the Restoration in Britain*. (History Compass, 2008), 738–773

executive power. Locke's positing that laws should be enforced for the public good and society's moral code follow along the lines of previous literary response to the earlier English Civil War, such as aforementioned *Paradise Lost* in its criticism of tyranny.

Noticeable is how analogy, hidden accusations and roundabout commentary on the leading powers and monarchs has decreased since the Restoration, yet the main points and desires that form the impetus to revolution remain the same, its place taken by direct confrontation. Locke directly confronts the monarchy on the legitimacy of its foundation, being the Divine Right of Kings, doing so in exile in another kingdom. This is a trend noticeable in the coming of ages and is a major signifier on how Anglophone Literature and its revolutionary script's revolving factors change: Public opinion and criticism on the leading powers had become more bold and brash, openly justifying their impetus to revolution. *Two Treatises* being a work of political philosophy puts it in a more dangerous position than allegorical works based on a "story", such as *Paradise Lost*, especially considering its pro-revolutionary stance.

This increasing boldness is important in understanding the evolution of Britain's revolutionary script: The grip of tyrannical rulers decreased and Britain saw increasing freedom in its literature. The importance of this shift is not in purely bureaucratic procedures, but in the perception of the ruling powers: the Divine Right bestowed by God was a concept too big to rebel against for much of the population by virtue of its design, but men in Parliament were simply that; men. Revolution was a few legislative changes away, and this brought with it a bold determination within the population. The allegorical and secretive nature of literature under tyrannical rule stands in stark contrast to the increasingly bold, critical nature of literature such as the *Two Treatises*, and even more so when considering works such as Blake's reaction to *Paradise Lost*; the convergence of England's centres of power into a constitutional monarchy plays an important role in this.

Chapter II

Non-Divine Legislation and the Increasing Drive to Revolution

The Parliament of Great Britain was formed in 1707 with the Treaty of Union, incorporating the English and the Scottish parliament, fully establishing itself over the monarch. The practical power of the Divine Right of Kings had been dissolved; legislative and executive power were drained from the hands of the monarchy. The English throne had been outsourced to relatively foreign hands, and rules of succession were based on international politics and religion in lieu of bloodline³¹. This claim was supported by the fact that the Scottish throne could not be given to the Stuarts' male heritage partly due to England's conflict with the French, an almost entirely Catholic kingdom³². England's Protestantism and Parliamentary precedence was directly in opposition to the Catholic ideal of the Divine Right to Rule; while Protestantism favoured the individual perception of religion, Catholics were dogmatic and focused on prelacy. Therefore the Coronation Oath Act of 1688 and the Act of Settlement of 1701 could not be fulfilled by Catholic rulers, excluding them from taking the throne. In turn, matters of international relations preceded religion.

This rational, non-Divine nature marks the start of a more globalized conception of revolution³³. Increased individualism, free trade and London being an industrial hub are all cause for perceived inequalities within the populace. The societal instability within the population which recently started its industrialization becomes apparent during violent events such as riots and (attempted) revolutions. The Gordon Riots of 1780 was a precursor to these new material issues which permeated society³⁴. This radical shift in societal issues would rewrite the revolving factors of England's revolutionary script: the Gordon Riots and the closely following French Revolution concerned matters of national identity, social and fiscal equality.

The Gordon Riots finds its importance not in it being an attempted revolution, but in its representation of the evolving atmosphere of (inter)national politics, and how the literature surrounding the riots chose to represent instabilities in society and its revolving factors. Despite the Gordon Riots having been a movement against the Papist Act of 1778, this was partly superficial as many of the participating elements were instigated by their economic situation³⁵. This still implies a heavily anti-Catholic rhetoric however, considering most of these economic issues were exacerbated by the success of the American War of Independence, leading to the English army's attempts at recruiting Catholics by abjuring anti-Catholic doctrines³⁶.

The "no popery" slogan then is a hallmark of The Gordon Riots; it signified the superficial insurrections against the Papist Acts being used as an easy way to instigate mass riots to further the goals of persons of no political affiliation. Those with political affiliations but with hidden agendas were also considered to be culprits; rioters were suspected of being "in service of French spies", attempting to discredit the constitutional monarchy of England. This chaos of international politics is a strong marker in history; it was a major turning point where the concept of revolution evolved to a much closer reflection of its modern day form. The literature of its time adapted accordingly to

³¹ Parliament.Uk. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/act-of-union-1707/>.

³² Ibid.

³³ Christopher Hill, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution: A Social and Economic History of Britain 1530-1780*. (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967), 14

³⁴ Edmund Burke. *A Letter to a Noble Lord*. (Kessinger Publishing, 2004)

³⁵ George Rudé. *The Gordon Riots, in Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century*. (London: Fontana/Collins, 1974), 287

³⁶ Lauren Michalak, *The British Constitution in Crisis: The Gordon Riots and the American Revolution*. (Age of Revolutions, 2021), <https://ageofrevolutions.com/2021/05/03/the-british-constitution-in-crisis-the-gordon-riots-and-the-american-revolution/>

(inter)national policies and politics and so did the reception of said literature. The importance of the two major views, being Jacobin and Anti-Jacobin, play a central role in the representation of the literature of the (inter)national politics of these times.

Two works of literature regarding the Gordon Riots, one Anti-Jacobin and the other Jacobin, will therefore be analyzed respectively: *The Vagabond* by George Walker and *Barnaby Rudge* by Charles Dickens. The importance in these two works in reflecting the age's perception of revolution lies only partially in their bureaucratic nature, given the overt elements of lobbying in the latter work and the safeguarding of political third parties' interests by virtue of instigating revolutionary action. The major reason these two find their importance in an analysis of the Gordon Riots is their representation of the needs of the working class; the looming Industrial Revolution and social reform as showcased in *Barnaby Rudge* will be explained by the effects of the French Revolution on England, namely matters of liberty and economic inequality.

The French Revolution took place in roughly 1789 and ended in 1799, coming soon after the Gordon Riots in England. The socio-economic and political factors that led to the occurring of the Gordon Riots foreshadowed the French Revolution as posited by Whig Edmund Burke³⁷, who was a major detractor of revolutionary action and of the French Revolution specifically. The desire for societal change did not wane with the failure of the Gordon Riots; the economically oppressed working class was still a source of fear to the upper class populace, Members of Parliament and other legislative entities alike.

The French Revolution accelerated the growth of the seed that had already been planted in the minds of the working class and/or revolutionary English populace; namely the concepts of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The Industrial Revolution instilled a need for change within the working populace of England due to their deteriorating standard of living and the improving of that of their superiors; Thomas Paine aptly asks: "*whether man shall inherit his rights, and universal civilization take place? Whether the fruits of his labours shall be enjoyed by himself or consumed by the profligacy of governments?*"³⁸.

The redistribution of the ruling class's power from Divinely-appointed monarchs to simply educated persons within Parliament allowed for the common man to comprehend the power of unity; marching up to Parliament and forcing their issues to be noticed and their demands to be met, and their doing so was becoming more and more fathomable. The French Revolution had thus accomplished a far more one-sided victory than the Glorious Revolution, which had "*ended in a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie*"³⁹. Therefore the French Revolution saw certain popularity in the English populace and earlier literary works; these heavily depended upon concepts such as the Divine Right to Rule as well as the Divine Right to Rebel, as showcased in Chapter I.

The affluent population sides against those who wish for reform due to their financial or religious oppression; the latter was deemed to side with "Satan" by the former⁴⁰. This creates a remarkable connection to one of the previously analyzed works, namely Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The revolutionaries were represented by Lucifer and the inhabitants of Tartarus, and those attempting to maintain the rigid status quo by dogmatic ruling were represented by God and his Angels. Milton's work was written in a time during which the monarch may have still had the Divine Right to Rule, but none of its executive powers nor control of the military. The monarch's power had been redistributed to the Parliament and, as time progressed, the people. Its Divine nature had then become second to Parliament, or even third to the revolutionary power of the population. The reformist/revolutionary William Blake, a high-profile proponent of the French Revolution, authored *The*

³⁷ Edmund Burke. *A Letter to a Noble Lord*. (Kessinger Publishing, 2004)

³⁸ Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man*, (Britain: Joseph Johnson, 1791), 151

³⁹ Samuel Bernstein. *English Reactions to the French Revolution* in *Science & Society* 9, no. 2 (1945), 148

⁴⁰ Bernstein, *English Reactions*, 147

Marriage in the 1790s. This literary work is a theodicy which, while commenting on Milton's *Paradise Lost*, carries its own argument in regards to the political situation of its time.

George Walker's Criticisms of Jacobin Revolutionaries

The Vagabond by George Walker was published in 1799 during decades of frequent revolutionary events. Political societies (also called 'radical societies' or 'Jacobin clubs') such as the London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information and the Bill of Rights Society were plentiful and some of them were serious, conspicuous and bold groupings advocating for revolution. The ability for such conspicuous political societies to be formed is telling of the developing freedom of speech in England around the culmination of the French Revolution. As with any political turmoil, part of the populace was divided into proponents and detractors. In this respect, *The Vagabond* found itself a detractor of the political turmoil, George Walker identifying himself as an anti-Jacobin author with this work. It is an attack on revolutionaries supporting parliamentary reform and elements of the French Revolution. One of the themes found in works such as *The Vagabond* and *Barnaby Rudge* is that of the influential third party instigating revolution. In *The Vagabond*, this third party is derogatorily called "Citizen Ego", the character itself based on the revolutionary John Thelwall: "Blood and murder," roared our Citizen Ego, "where are my pistols? Citizens, we are betrayed! Let us fly! The spies of Government are come upon us, thick as the locusts of Egypt."⁴¹

George Walker attempted to criticize and parody persons who write "impractical political romances", as told in the preface of *The Vagabond*. These political works being so abundant marks a major change since the pre-publishing censorship seen during the early 17th century. Anti-radical writers engaged with radical revolutionary writers (as George Walker proclaims, he is an anti-radical anti-Jacobin) in public view, using 'political romances' to influence public opinion. Citizen Ego is perhaps the strongest manifestation of this 'political romance' in that he is shown to be incredibly well-versed in rhetoric and oratory skills, especially the person, John Thelwall, that he was based on⁴².

The Vagabond has many allusions to real life persons, the other major person being William Godwin and his work *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* and *The Adventures of Caleb Williams*. The importance of the latter work by Godwin is in its polar opposition to the ideals portrayed in *The Vagabond* whilst using the same "adventure genre": The two works showcase the use of literary fiction to spread their own ideological ideals. The 'prominent absurdities' that George Walker wished to place in a practical light, concerning Godwin and his *The Adventures of Caleb Williams* and *Political Justice*, were regarding the political ideals his works were based on. In fact, the character representing Godwin is called Stupeo: This name might owe itself to the Latin word "to be dazed", but superficially any English reader would perceive this as "stupid". His burning at the stake is disconcertingly wittily presented as him endeavouring to kindle the world, yet expiring himself in a blaze.

In the following text, Stupeo (Godwin) confronts an innkeeper punishing his son for theft: he claims that coercion is wrong and would make the father a tyrant, not realizing the petty nature of this encounter: This is a direct critique on the Jacobin nature of *The Adventures of Caleb Williams* and its commentary on power dynamics between governing powers and the population. Mentioning mythological beings and conspiracy theories regarding the rich after given quote, his evoking of Godwin's principles is shown in a mocking light: "What," cried I, seizing him by the arm, "what are you doing? What has the poor lad done?" "What I'll murder him for if he repeats," answered the angry innkeeper: "he has been robbing an orchard, and will bring himself to the gallows." "But you should advise him—you should convince him of his error by reason and argument, and not use coercion." "I don't know what you mean by coercion?" said he: "but I have already sufficiently talked to

⁴¹ George Walker, *The Vagabond*, 94

⁴² Arthur Young, *The Example of France, a Warning to Britain*. (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2010)

him, and now his hide shall suffer.” “You are wrong; all coercion is wrong,” cried I: “at this moment your son feels a sense of insult and injury; he feels himself right, and that you are a tyrant.”⁴³

This way of dichotomizing the two major sides of the contemporary political conflicts provides a direct counterview of what previous works such as *Paradise Lost* used in its analogy; instead of revolutionaries having a ‘divine’ cause in their battle against the tyranny of a God-appointed monarch, George Walker trivializes their cause and character. This freedom of criticism and the back-and-forth between authors of different ideologies is prevalent within this time period: George Walker’s criticism of radicalism and revolution was met with harsh counter-criticism; a number of authors have written responses, some vitriolic and some more positively subjective; an example of the former being a review from the *Analytical Review*, a radically-aligned periodical paper revolving around reviewing and summarizing published works. Its review of *The Vagabond* is markedly vitriolic in that it attacks its eloquence, literary merit (specifically its absence) and its “pernicious” representation of Godwin’s philosophical politics:

“...his performance falls much short of his object. Its literary merits, indeed, are so low, that were it not for the circulation which Mr. W’s former character as a novelist is likely to give it, we should deem it entitled to a very trifling share of our attention...”⁴⁴

The *Analytical Review* periodical faced its ‘nemesis’, a loyalist periodical named the *Anti-Jacobin Review*⁴⁵. The *Anti-Jacobin Review*’s review of *The Vagabond* is positive and advocates for the contents of the literary work. The juxtaposition of this loyalist review considering *The Vagabond* a recommended, lively sketch of the “New Philosophy”, and the *Analytical Review* considering it a failure on all ends (except admitting its skilful writing⁴⁶) presents the contemporary state of literary discourse and the dialectic fostered within it.

The occasion for such discourse to possibly be fostered effectively represents the changing revolving factors, allowing for a socio-political climate in which authors are relatively free to criticize and belittle opposing political views. No longer would the Tower of London be used to imprison writers and politically-inclined persons as much as it had been in the 17th century; literature was relatively free from censorship. Even Lord George Gordon, who was held in the Tower of London, was acquitted despite his role in the Gordon Riots.

Censorship still had a foothold in England, however; evidenced by writers such as Joseph Johnson (co-founder of *Analytical Review*) being found guilty of seditious libel and inciting rebellion⁴⁷, it was still a present element of its time; he was sentenced to 6 months in prison along with a substantial fine. This is a stark contrast to being burned at the stake in the early modern period, and therefore the idea of linear progress is acceptable in regards to the complicated nature of history. The contrast shown through the analysis of the socio-political environment in which *The Vagabond* was written is important in understanding how cultural developments in Early Modern England are represented by literature. In this case, it marks a new societal understanding in which the population has become capable of affecting legislative processes in favour of their own ideologies, and this dialectic was appropriately represented by contemporary works such as *The Vagabond* and *Barnaby Rudge*.

⁴³ George Walker, *The Vagabond*, 95

⁴⁴ *Analytical Review*, New Series I, (England: Joseph Johnson, 1799): 210-215

⁴⁵ Emily Lorraine, *Anti-Jacobins: The Early Contributors to the Anti-Jacobin Review*. 1st ed. (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1988), 39.

⁴⁶ George Walker. *The Vagabond*, 377

⁴⁷ Kent Hackmann. *Gerald P. Tyson. Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher*. (Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies 11, 1979)

William Blake's Modern Boldness in Face of The French Revolution

William Blake was a radical thinker and proponent of revolutionary reform, as evidenced by works such as *The French Revolution*, prospectuses such as *To the Public* and the subject of this chapter, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. He also took part in the Gordon Riots and the burning of the Newgate prison, which immediately characterizes him as a revolutionary actor by physical and by literary ambitions. As in his prospectus *To the Public*, he had ideas of social reform and better living standards, including that of his own: "*The Labours of the Artist, the Poet, the Musician, have been proverbially attended by poverty and obscurity...*".

His attempted epic *The French Revolution* establishes his thoughts supportive of the revolutionaries in the French Revolution; Edmund Burke and his earlier mentioned detractions of revolutionary reform are directly challenged by William Blake, who then claims that institutions such as monarchy or elitist feudal systems are perverse to human nature, as when he represented Religion and Monarchy respectively as the "*den nam'd Religion*" and the "*tower nam'd Order*"⁴⁸. The removal of these institutions would be a revolution *and* return to status quo. The direct stating of his desire for the removal of the monarchy along the principles of the French Revolution could have had him charged, imprisoned and executed a century earlier. Or even worse, had his works censored. But modern accounts rarely mention any censorship of his works or any charges related to his literary works. The reality was that despite the *Licensing of the Press Act 1662* still being enforced up to 1765, the 'revolutionary event' that was *Entick v. Carrington* effectively gave authors freedom of writing and limited the executive power of press licensing laws and prepublication censorship (enforced by tyrannical statesmen like Lord Halifax)⁴⁹. This meant that authorities could no longer trespass upon authors' properties and confiscate their literary works, and was the final major blow to the revolving factors of the 18th century. Blake's *The Marriage* bold nature in the 1790s corresponds with this 'revolutionary' change.

The Marriage was published in the early phases of the French Revolution and uses the Bible as its foundation, akin to *Paradise Lost*. It concerns the dichotomy of rebellion, peril and change versus ease, meekness and quiet. In the work he directly criticizes dogmatic values of religion in *Proverbs of Hell*: "*...some took advantage of and enslaved the vulgar by attempting to realize or abstract the mental deities from their objects. Thus began Priesthood*". It is discernable that William Blake's words were not aimed at Catholicism specifically, but to organized religion as a whole⁵⁰; the premise of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* finds itself as a direct critique of Swedenborg's ideals and works such as *Heaven and Hell*. His open exclamation of what could be perceived as heretical claims and ideas about religion in *The Marriage* go unpunished; this is a marker of the changing age and what works of literature could be published without fear of the repressive pre-publishing censorship carried out by the former ruling powers.

The work itself constantly revolves around aforementioned dichotomies: "*Without contraries is no progression. Attraction and repulsion, reason and energy, love and hate, are necessary to human existence. From these contraries spring what the religious call Good and Evil. Good is the passive that obeys reason; Evil is the active springing from Energy.*". This is a remarkable quote in that it provides a direct foundation on which to judge its relation to Milton's *Paradise Lost* and contemporary revolutionary events.

Blake posits that Heaven and Hell cannot be bestowed judgments of morality or humanity; therefore Evil is merely the execution of Dionysian will ("*The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom*"), and Good is that of meek passivity. This is especially interesting considering Blake's

⁴⁸ Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book 1, page 1

⁴⁹ *Entick v. Carrington*. 19 *Howell's State Trials* 1029. (United States: Constitution Society, 1765).

⁵⁰ Gerald Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*. (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975) 30

claim as to Milton's loyalties⁵¹, which appear to be pledged to the inhabitants of Tartarus. Dionysian instinct is definitely something William Blake has witnessed and been an actor in during his life, corroborated by his partaking in the Gordon Riots. The existence of these dichotomies is not defined as being qualities bestowed singularly upon a human actor; "[contraries] are necessary to Human existence", and therefore this work serves to align Milton's reformist works with Lucifer's ideals, yet manages to abstain from calling him a servant of the Devil. Religion does not appear in William Blake's literary works as a real entity with dogmatic rules; he claims that "*One law for the lion and ox is Oppression*" and questions the legitimacy of the Ten Commandments⁵²: "*I tell you, no virtue can exist without breaking these Ten Commandments. Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules*". This is similar to John Locke's idea that God's laws are comprised of that what lies naturally within the Human mind, rather than from a set of dogmatic rules.

Blake as a popular author finds himself in an important position in the analysis of literary representations of the revolutionary script and its core factors of societal instability. This importance is due to his proximity to the modern age, providing a stark contrast to the revolving factors of the Early Modern English revolutionary script, which were comprised of tyrannical ruling (whether Parliamentary or Monarchical). His works are rooted in societal instability and to an extent, (religious) political pressure, which this analysis has deemed to be core factors to the British revolutionary script.

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, likened to the unity of Parliament and Monarchy reinforces the idea of Blake's dichotomies; the symbiosis of two opposites is posited to provide societal stability. Charles II's "An Act of Free and Generall Pardon Indempnity and Oblivion" in 1660 contains a pardon "Extended to all Acts of Hostility, Injuries, &c. between the King and his Parliament". This pardon paves the way to the end of the absolutist ruling of monarchs under the Divine Right to Rule, essentially marking the end of the revolving factors of tyranny and religious persecution in English society (in a purely legislative sense, not practical)⁵³.

⁵¹ Joseph Hillier, *Milton's Messiah: The Son of God in the Works of John Milton*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 2012)

⁵² Paul Miner, *William Blake's 'Divine Analogy.'* Criticism 3, no. 1, (1961) 48

⁵³ *An Act of Free and Generall Pardon Indempnity and Oblivion*, (Great Britain: Record Commission 1628-80) <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp226-234#fnn22>

Charles Dickens' Perception on the Industrial Revolution

The dialectical nature of contemporary politics after the Gordon Riots and the French Revolution has been shown through an analysis of George Walker's *The Vagabond*, the critical reception to his work and the effects of the French Revolution; this evidences a more forgiving environment for literary discourse. To effectively analyze this literary discourse, the analysis of *The Vagabond*, an anti-Jacobin work, will be contrasted with the analysis of a Jacobin-aligned work, *Barnaby Rudge*.

To comparatively analyze audience reception between Jacobin and anti-Jacobin works, Jacobin-aligned *Barnaby Rudge* by Charles Dickens will be analyzed. The importance in this work lies within the author's economical background, political views and the timing of the novel's publishing; it being 4 decades after *The Vagabond* and *The Marriage*, having allowed the effects of the French Revolution to settle within the English populace. The revolving factors that led to revolution, such as Charles I's tyrannical governance based on the Divine Right, or Cromwell's unfair legislation and heavy censorship, had been replaced by the constitutional monarchy, a more democratic process. This in turn gave the population the ability to influence legislation and governance through peaceful means in lieu of violent revolution. Persons such as Voltaire proclaiming England the 'Land of Liberty' in regards to its now freedom of press and political liberty evidence the success of previous revolutions, given that 'freedom of press' and 'political liberty' are the opposites of the aforementioned revolving factors of 'censorship' and 'tyranny'⁵⁴.

Charles Dickens had radical, reformist and revolutionary ideals⁵⁵. Being born in poverty and continuing to live in poverty for close to half of his life, his works typically involve autobiographical elements and allude to desires of revolution (see the autobiographical revelations made in the publishing of *David Copperfield*, the depictions of poverty and forced labour in *Oliver Twist*). His criticisms against The Poor Law and its foundation of forced labour and the juxtaposition of workhouses to 'Bastilles'⁵⁶ showcase his involvement in civil matters; the reception to his *A Christmas Carol* stand central in this effect⁵⁷. Charles Dickens' personal interest in revolution and change for the better is important in his writing of *Barnaby Rudge*; it showcases the contemporary author's interest in their current times and direct environment in lieu of the history of centuries past.

While admittedly the Gordon Riots were 5 decades prior to the publishing of *Barnaby Rudge*, the effects of it and the French Revolution were still heavily felt; they precipitated the changes to the revolving factors that came with the industrial revolution of England⁵⁸. Actors within politically-inclined works of literature serve a purpose relative to the topic. The foremost important actor in *Barnaby Rudge* is the "human sea" of rioters instigated by Lord Gordon, and the topic they serve is to showcase what poverty and rigid class-boundaries does to a population. The rioters are referred to as "ragamuffins" by John Grueby, denoting their economic class, showcasing how their rioting is prescribed as a result of a "madness" which permeates the relevant economic classes⁵⁹. This means that, along Charles Dickens' opinion of civil matters and desire for reform and assistance to the poor, *Barnaby Rudge* is not a critique of Papist laws or a condemnation of neither Catholics nor Protestants; it is a critique of poor governing and bureaucratic measures taken without real regard for the population it affects:

⁵⁴ Voltaire, *Letters on the English*, (France: Basile 1778), Letter V

⁵⁵ Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens: A Life Defined by Writing*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009) 389-390

⁵⁶ Katherine Connelly, "'Are There No Food Banks?' The Poor Laws and Charles Dickens at 150." <https://www.counterfire.org/articles/history/21290-are-there-no-food-banks-the-poor-laws-and-charles-dickens-at-150>. (Counterfire: History, 2020).

⁵⁷ Henry Chorley, *A Christmas Carol*, The Athenaeum, (England: Chapman & Hall 1843) 1127-1128.

⁵⁸ Edmund Burke, *A Letter to a Noble Lord*, (Kessinger Publishing, 2004)

⁵⁹ Angus Wilson, *The World of Charles Dickens*, (Penguin Books, 1972).

“Through this vast throng, sprinkled doubtless here and there with honest zealots, but composed for the most part of the very scum and refuse of London, whose growth was fostered by bad criminal laws, bad prison regulations, and the worst conceivable police, such of the members of both Houses of Parliament as had not taken the precaution to be already at their posts, were compelled to fight and force their way.”⁶⁰

This quote supports the before given statement; it acknowledges the presence of “honest zealots” alongside “scum”, but it does not assert this to immediately qualify them as “evil” or “bad” persons. This reflects representations in the analogy of *Paradise Lost*; the work did not appoint value judgments to the “violent” actors given within it. In this way, Charles Dickens represents the mob led by Lord Gordon and their characteristics, but does not force the reader into accepting them as evil or good. This in turn puts the blame on third parties along with poor governing; namely, John Chester, Gashford and the Parliament (or persons as Lord Halifax, who enforced bogus censorship laws as described before). This explains the revolutionary script’s contemporary state; while the Catholic vs. Protestant issue still had a major foothold in English culture; the religiously motivated monarchy bore neither legislative nor executive power on the same level as it had before (by virtue of the constitutional monarchy instituted during the Glorious Revolution).

Revolutionary change had to be instigated from inside the Parliament, and thus Charles Dickens chose to cover his critique under the same mantle as persons as Lord Gordon, John Chester or Gashford had; under the anti-Papist sentiments of the Gordon Riots. The true goal of Charles Dickens was not to write a historical novel, but instead to criticize the Chartist movements of his time⁶¹: from the way the rioting masses are analogized into smaller events, such as Joe’s rebellion against his father for his poor working conditions⁶².

The importance in Charles Dickens’ critique on the Chartist movements lay not in his being a proponent, but near-alignment with labour laws; he specifically states that he is not a Chartist due to his belief that violence should not be the way to reform⁶³. This is evidence that the requirements to changing the revolving factors have shifted away from violent radicalism; beheadings and mass executions have changed into protests and bureaucratic reform of legislation through Parliament. This is further evidenced by the Chartist movement seeking to include working-age men in the voting process and grant them the ability to be a Member of Parliament. This would effectively include the working class into the legislative process by non-violent means. Such concessions would not be possible in the age of Divine Right and the exclusive legislative power of the monarch or military rule of Cromwell.

The rebellion of Joe Willet against John is simple in its design: “...Joe started up, overturned the table, fell upon his long enemy, pummeled him with all his might and main, and finished by driving him with surprising swiftness against a heap of spittoons in one corner; plunging into which, head foremost, with a tremendous crash, he lay at full length among the ruins, stunned and motionless...”⁶⁴

The result of this violent rebellion, and the price paid by Joe Willet in the war (losing his arm) signify the eventual negative effects armed rebellion would cause in Charles Dickens’ philosophy. Armed rebellions are typically steered into achieving a goal by influential popular leaders, who in turn are influenced by secretive third parties with a stake in said goal. England then becoming more industrialized and internationalized meant that wealthy persons, through their privatized wealth, could influence the populace⁶⁵. One such example occurs in *Barnaby Rudge* by Sir John Chester, who is a Member of Parliament, and an enemy of the Catholic Geoffrey Haredale. The concept of

⁶⁰ Charles Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*, (England: Chapman & Hall, 1841), Chapter 49

⁶¹ Thomas Rice, “*The Politics of Barnaby Rudge*.” *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. Robert Giddings. (London: Vision, 1983).

⁶² Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*, Chapter 31

⁶³ John Drew, *Editing Life: Dickens and Household Words (1850–59)*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2003).

⁶⁴ Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*, Chapter 30

⁶⁵ T.M Norris, *Samuel Garbett and the Early Development of Industrial Lobbying in Great Britain*, (The Economic History Review, 1958) 460

“lobbying”, in which individuals or private entities attempt to influence legislation according to their own desires, had been introduced to English society around the same time as the Glorious Revolution and the consequent industrialization.

Petitions to Parliament in the way of lobbying found its success typically only when powerful backers were present⁶⁶; this was a direct result of lobbying being in its infancy and the ruling Parliamentary officials having a negative disposition towards third-party policy making⁶⁷. This goes hand in hand with *Barnaby Rudge's* representation of Sir John Chester's intention to use Gashford to manipulate Lord Gordon; Sir John Chester's ideals (himself being a representation of Lord Chesterfield, a prominent Whig politician) could only be lobbied for in parliament if Lord Gordon, an influential figure, secured the power of the populace. This backing had to be secured through any means possible; instigating anti-Catholic protests in the name of bettering economic conditions and safeguarding national security was the foremost instrument to achieving this backing, corroborated by the overwhelming hatred of John Chester towards the Catholic Geoffrey Haredale.

Culture and religion could never be removed from a population, despite the decreasing importance of religious power in face of the new distribution of legislative and executive power. Using these cultural and religious preconceptions to good effect allows third parties to safeguard their own interests and move the masses towards it. The importance of this act within *Barnaby Rudge* lies in its connection to revolutionary processes: The Papist Act of 1778 had to be repealed; otherwise bureaucratic process would open the nation up to Catholic influence; who by having a direct relation to the legislative process through lobbying could find themselves in positions of power again.

In lieu of beheading the monarch and claiming rule, the use of riots and civil action was now to influence the existing legislative powers. Literary works in the 18th and 19th century then strongly contrast those of the 17th century. This is a direct effect of the revolutions that occurred in the 17th century; the executive power granted by the Divine Right was effectively removed from the legislation of England and Parliament reigned through a constitutional monarchy. This allowed for more free criticism of the ruling powers that would be increasingly common in 18th and 19th century literary works.

⁶⁶ Ibid, pg 451

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Conclusion

This work started with the question: "How can the revolutionary script be used to systematically analyze literary representations of revolutionary ideals in Early Modern England?". The revolutionary script's revolving factors were shown to be dynamic; this nature prone to change was used to systematically analyze literary works and understand the common consensus of its contemporary population. The literature of prominent authors in British history has been used to systematically analyze representations of its population's common consensus through the "revolutionary script". This script builds on the foundation of core- and revolving factors. Societal instability is the core factor, which is present throughout any time period. Revolving factors are symptomatic and therefore a signature of the time period of the analysis. Prominent works of literature were chosen due to their popularity and wide reach, considering its relation to the common consensus.

The English Civil War laid the foundation to track the evolution of the revolutionary script. Milton's *Paradise Lost* represented the revolving factors of tyranny and censorship through its analogies; this was corroborated by Milton's authorial intentions using *Aeropagitica* and *Eikonoklastes*. Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* was then used to further solidify the common consensus represented in Milton's works; its political-philosophical importance and fitting connection to Milton's epic poem provides strong evidence deeming the literary analysis successful.

How authors react to revolving factors represents their perceptions on contemporary events and thus forms their socio-political views. Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* showed that invalid licensing laws and unlawful censorship decreased; his work directly criticized the governing powers and religious matters while maintaining a similar topic to that of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. This was shown to stem from the unity of Parliament and Monarchy; the two centres of power individually caused tyranny, bad governance and legislation, the aforementioned revolving factors. The Constitutional Monarchy allowed societal reform to occur without (or less) violence. Presenting polarized points of view as in *The Vagabond* and *Barnaby Rudge* which followed the French Revolution allowed the analysis of how the contemporary climate allowed for literary discourse of both Royalists and Parliamentarians: Under Cromwell's rule, Royalist works were censored and under Charles I's rule, Parliamentary works were censored. Under both, censorship laws slowly faded away for works but the most extreme of libels.

This concludes in the result that a revolutionary script's core factor must be based on something through which identifying issues are symptomized; England's societal instability manifested tyrannical governance to keep its population under control. The instigation of revolutionary actions would then end up changing the revolving factors; this process can be analyzed through literary works and is a systematic analysis applicable to many other historical phenomena.

This systematic analysis using literary works has been used as a political tool and still is to this day. Systematic research using the revolutionary script could bear fruit with the analysis of modern popular works and their perceptions of revolution. This means that through modern-day globalism and internationalization, the efficacy of literature as a political tool can be major points of future research in areas such as risk management, international politics and modern day censorship in conflict-ridden and revolution-prone nations, such as the MENA region and Ukraine.

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