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A comparative study of The state of innocence and Paradise lost

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
THE STATE OF INNOCENCE AND PARADISE LOST

A Thesis Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of English
University of Richmond

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

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by
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PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the extent to which John Dryden actually copied Paradise Lost in writing his "opera," The State of Innocence and Fall of Man. That Dryden did borrow from Milton's epic and that The State of Innocence is similar to Paradise Lost is certainly not an infrequent observation. Indeed, Dryden admitted himself that Milton's poem was his model and "inspiration," and there is an oft-told tale about his alleged visit to Milton to request permission to "tagge" the lines of Paradise Lost. Yet the extent to which he did actually "tagge" the lines of Milton's poem has never been demonstrated by any of those who stated that there is a closeness. Morris Freedman has a host of articles and a doctoral dissertation, which all consider Milton and Dryden together, but he, too, scarcely touches The State of Innocence. Whether the similarity is so close that it never warranted tracing or whether The State of Innocence just never finds interested readers, one cannot now say. Certainly it is not a current discovery for Sir Walter Scott, George Saintsbury, and David Masson all speak of Dryden's adaptation in relation to Paradise Lost. In more recent times T. S. Eliot issued a statement that could have frightened scholars away from the subject, saying that a sustained comparison of the two works would be "manifestly ridiculous." Eliot apparently scared at least one person in Freedman, who, after devoting twelve pages to a shallow

consideration of Paradise Lost and The State of Innocence, decided to make quick work of the affair by quoting Eliot's aforementioned edict that it was "manifestly ridiculous" to give a thorough comparison of the two pieces. A comparison of the two works has thus been left undone.

The present state of scholarship concerning The State of Innocence does little more than repeat that which is too often said: Dryden rendered certain portions of Milton's Paradise Lost into rhymed couplets. But no one has yet shown what portions of Paradise Lost he did appropriate, nor has anyone traced the verbal and thematic links between the two pieces, which is what this study purports to do. By paralleling dozens of comparative phrases and passages, I have sought to demonstrate that not only was Dryden's plot lifted from Paradise Lost, but his vocabulary is almost wholly taken from Milton's epic. As the many examples in the paper will substantiate, Dryden could hardly have had an original thought or a truly original passage in his adaptation.

This study is not completely exhaustive, but it indisputably reveals that Dryden relied on Paradise Lost so heavily that we should nowadays be obliged to call it plagiarism. But it must be remembered that Dryden supposedly had Milton's permission to "tagge" the lines of Paradise Lost, and if Milton did permit such a thing, Dryden went about it without restraint. His labor earned little reward, though, for he truly fashioned a molehill from a mountain. But Dryden

quickly realized how meager his rendition was, and in the preface to The State of Innocence he unhappily remarked:

And truly I should be sorry, for my own sake, that any one should take the pains to compare them together...

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1667 the interest of many prominent English men of letters was absorbed in the not insignificant controversy over the comparative merits of blank verse and rhymed couplets. In the beginning, this debate chiefly involved the foremost of Restoration writers, John Dryden, and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard, who in the "Preface to his Plays, published in 1665, had censured rhyming tragedies as unnatural."¹ Conversely, Dryden had for some time maintained that rhymed couplets was the logical verse form for drama and was the superior verse form for serious subjects and epic poetry.

It was indeed natural enough for Dryden to support the verse form most characteristic of the age; yet the Neo-Classical Period was already given to a pronounced predilection for rhymed couplets due in large measure to French literary influences.² Moreover, rhyme antedated to the interludes of the medieval church, whereas blank verse as an English form was scarcely a hundred years old. Rhyme obviously had the great advantage of seniority and the added

¹Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury, eds., The Works of John Dryden (London, 1892), XV, 274.

²David Masson, The Life of John Milton (New York, 1946), VI, 274. (First published 1888-94.)

impetus of contemporary French usage. Thus, the authorities of the age, led by Dryden, generally preferred rhymed couplets while blank verse was usually regarded askance.

The debate reached its first peak when Dryden's An Essay of Dramatic Poesy appeared late in 1667. According to this essay, blank verse afforded an easiness which "renders the poet too luxuriant."³ Blank verse, Dryden maintained in his role as "Neander," tempted a poet to say many things which should at least be compressed into fewer words, or should not be said at all.⁴ If Dryden's statements were questionable, and in some quarters they were indeed, his intentions were abundantly clear. He was fighting for the future substitution of rhymed couplets for blank verse, as he had made evident in his An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, and for all great poetry Dryden called for the rhymed couplet as being the "nobler instrument."⁵

Even though it was an exceptional piece of literary criticism, Dryden's essay loomed far more important to the public than should have been expected, although the principles which Dryden was expounding so adeptly were by no means a formal and positive declaration of good rules of poetry. They were momentous indeed, but rather than ending the rhymed couplet-blank verse controversy, these principles as presented re-kindled the heat of the debate for English men of letters.

³Scott and Saintsbury, XV, 374.

⁴Ibid., p. 274.

⁵Masson, VI, 382.

The theories of verse which Dryden was expounding would naturally have been subject for public and private debate, for the matter was most controversial. And one particular individual Dryden's message could hardly have escaped was John Milton, for in August of 1667, just two weeks after An Essay of Dramatic Poesy had been registered, Paradise Lost appeared in glorious opposition to the tenets being vigilantly upheld by the most renowned Restoration dramatist. The claims which Dryden was making certainly must have annoyed Milton, for Dryden was explicit to the point of offending those who wrote in blank verse. In his essay Dryden had stated that "blank verse is acknowledged to be too low for a poem,"⁶ and three years earlier in the epistolary introduction to The Rival Ladies he had said that rhyme would "make that which is ordinary in itself, pass for excellent with less examination."⁷ These statements, perhaps more than any others that Dryden made, must have offended Milton, for it infers that excellent poetry which does not rhyme would pass for the ordinary for the lack of rhyme.⁸ And since Paradise Lost was written in blank verse, it was by Dryden's terms bound to be ordinary. But as Dryden himself was to indicate later with something more than nominal sincerity, that of all the poems

⁶ Scott and Saintsbury, XV, 369.

⁷ Walter Scott, ed., The Works of John Dryden (London, 1808), II, 121.

⁸ Morris Freedman, "Milton and Dryden on Rhyme," The Huntington Library Quarterly, XLIV (August, 1961), 339.

in the English language, Paradise Lost, even though it lacked rhyme, was not destined to pass for the commonplace.

Since their works were almost simultaneous publications, Milton and Dryden could well have exchanged presentation copies.⁹ If they did not, and in spite of Masson's speculation, there is no evidence that they did, they certainly should have, for Paradise Lost was in its metrical form contradictory to the doctrine of prosody Dryden had set forth in his essay. An Essay of Dramatic Poesy had rejected blank verse on purely theoretical grounds, but when Dryden first saw Paradise Lost or read any portion of it, "it must have come upon him like a revelation or a thunderbolt."¹⁰ Dryden's claim that rhyme was necessarily the superior form for verse was seriously shaken by Milton's poem, and it was only a matter of time before it was almost wholly destroyed, as he was later to concede himself. The sovereignty of Paradise Lost had made its appearance in "domains from which Dryden and all the rest of the world had agreed in assuming to be necessarily excluded."¹¹ Dryden realized that Milton's epic stood as a refutation and condemnation of one of the chief points of An Essay of Dramatic Poesy; but, to his credit, this did not seem to affect the early esteem he held for what he must have considered the usurping Paradise Lost. In

⁹Masson, VI, 632.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 933.

¹¹Ibid., p. 933.

fact, he was the leader of its first wave of appreciation.¹² Dryden expressed high regard for Paradise Lost frequently and extravagantly, and he did so in spite of "being opposed to the popular view toward the poem which saw it as the work of a regicide and perceived treasonous matter in it."¹³ The advent of Paradise Lost was a debilitating blow to Dryden's theory that blank verse was inferior to rhyme, but his seemingly honest recognition and praise of it indicated that Dryden was quick to alter his adamant position as exemplar of heroic couplets and was at least willing to give blank verse a hearing in the form of Paradise Lost.

Neither the critics nor the public had cordially accepted Dryden's contention that rhymed couplets were superior to blank verse, but An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, Masson points out, presented "that special form of delusion in which the literary mind of the Restoration Age had begun to find happiness."¹⁴ But it was only a beginning, for this budding happiness for rhyme was dispelled by Paradise Lost. It was early in 1669 that the extraordinary merits of Milton's poem began to be discussed by critics, and this was due at least in part to "the boundless praises of it by Dryden," the man who had issued a "powerful and seemingly incontrovertible

¹² Ibid., p. 635.

¹³ Morris Freedman, "Dryden's 'Memorable Visit' to Milton," The Huntington Library Quarterly, XVIII (February, 1955), 106.

¹⁴ Masson, VI, 384.

last word on the suitability of form."¹⁵ And though Dryden was a royalist and a Catholic, he remained faithful to his own art, and "nothing which Dryden ever wrote is so creditable to his taste as his being able to see, and daring to confess, in the day of disesteem, that the regicide poet alone deserved the honor which his contemporaries were for rendering to himself."¹⁶

Milton, of course, was no stranger to An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, and during the rhymed couplet-blank verse controversy Sir Robert Howard had occasion to visit the great Puritan, and "there is every reason to believe that Milton followed the critical campaign closely and felt he had a personal stake in its outcome."¹⁷ The outcome of the debate was naturally to effect Milton. After all, if the supporters of rhyme were successful in "swaying public tastes, then the reception of Paradise Lost might be jeopardized purely because of its verse."¹⁸ Thus, Milton had more than academic theories of verse form to be concerned with; he had an interest in the kind of reception Paradise Lost would earn as a result of a controversy that conceivably could determine the fate of his poem. Milton had such an interest in the debate and such respect for public sentiment regarding verse form that he

¹⁵Freedman, "Dryden's 'Memorable Visit' to Milton," p. 107.

¹⁶Mark Pattison, Milton (New York, 1911), p. 211.

¹⁷Morris Freedman, "Milton and Dryden" (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), p. 45.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 46.

issued in 1668 a short paragraph called "The Verse" to be prefixed to "The Argument" of all subsequent copies of his epic. The purpose of "The Verse" was to enlighten the reader on the reasons "why the poem rhimes not."¹⁹ This addendum was, in effect, Milton's contribution to the controversy, and it served in part as a kind of defense for his usage of blank verse. He opened his remarks with a sweeping dismissal of rhyme as being "no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse."²⁰ He rejected the use of rhyme "to set off wretched matter and lame meter," and he derided "the incongruity of embellishing the ordinary with rhyme."²¹ Milton had obviously found the question of verse form quite irksome, for he struck a deadly blow to "the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyming"²² with "The Verse" and, of course, with Paradise Lost itself. "The Verse" was a comprehensive embodiment of all points of the Dryden-Howard exchange, and since the major point was whether rhyme was more suitable for one kind of work than another, it has been suggested that Milton wrote Paradise Lost in blank verse perhaps only to show that blank verse might be suitable to epic matter.²³

¹⁹ Masson, VI, 634.

²⁰ Douglas Bush, ed., The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton (Boston, 1965), p. 211. All quotations from Paradise Lost that appear in this paper will be designated as to book and line, and each quotation cited will be from this edition of Milton's poems.

²¹ Freedman, "Milton and Dryden on Rhyme," p. 340.

²² Bush, p. 211.

²³ Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 56.

This notion is somewhat overdrawn, but it surely indicates that Milton had no slight interest in the question of verse form. Moreover, the three introductions to Paradise Lost were all concerned with the matter of verse form: the printer's introduction, the introductory poem by Andrew Marvell affixed to Paradise Lost in the second edition of 1674, and, of course, the aforementioned introductory piece by Milton.²⁴

After Paradise Lost had been published, "Dryden, we know for certain, did henceforward cultivate Milton's acquaintance,"²⁵ according to Masson. Although this statement is without any genuine support, it is eminently possible, and perhaps even probable after the Restoration, that Dryden and Milton did meet on occasion. They were at least for a number of years in contact with a mutual acquaintance in Gilbert Pickering, a leading figure in the Puritan Parliament, a friend of Milton, and a cousin of Dryden.²⁶ Moreover, the two authors were both admirers of Oliver Cromwell, and each wrote a poem in praise of the Lord Protector. Milton and Dryden had also appeared together in the funeral procession of the Puritan leader.²⁷

Actually, very little is known about their personal relationships, but the best known reference to a meeting of

²⁴Freedman, "Dryden's 'Memorable Visit' to Milton," p. 108.

²⁵Masson, VI, 637.

²⁶Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 26.

²⁷Ibid., p. 30.

Milton and Dryden is recorded in notes which John Aubrey wrote hurriedly and sent to Anthony a Wood.²⁸ In this note, Aubrey added Dryden's name to a list of Milton's "familiar learned acquaintance" and tells the familiar and probably apocryphal story about tagging his verses:

Jo; Dreyden Esq. Poet Laureate, who very much admires him: and went to him to have leave to putt his Paradise-lost into a Drama in Rhyme: Mr Milton recievd him civilly, and told him he would give him leave to tagge his Verses.²⁹

Another indication, however slight, occurs in Dryden's preface to his Fables, in which he states that "Milton was the poetical son of Spenser, and....Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original."³⁰

Yet there is an earlier and a "clearly contemptuous" reference to the tagging of Milton's verse occurring in Andrew Marvell's prefatory poem in the second edition of Paradise Lost in 1674.³¹

...a work so infinite he spanned,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excel)

²⁸The evidence, states Freedman, "is most insubstantial that Aubrey ever met Milton," and that the conclusion that Aubrey did meet the author of Paradise Lost "is based on the most tenuous and slipshod deduction."

²⁹Andrew Clark, ed., 'Brief Lives' Chiefly of Contemporaries Set Down by John Aubrey (Oxford 1898), II, 72.

³⁰Scott, II, 206.

³¹Freedman, "Dryden's 'Memorable Visit' to Milton," p. 100.

Might hence presume the whole creation's day,
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.³²

These lines strongly suggest that Marvell was thinking of Dryden's "ill-imitation" (The State of Innocence), and further examination of this commendatory piece reveals without question to whom Marvell was referring:³³

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure;
While the Town-Bayes³⁴ writes all the while and spells,
And like a pack-horse tires without his bells.³⁵

Also, the first recorded allusion to Dryden's request of Milton to "tagge" the lines of Paradise Lost for an opera appears here.³⁶

The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.

Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rhyme.³⁷

³² Bush, p. 210, lines 16-21.

³³ According to Freedman, it was highly likely "that Marvell may have been thinking of The State of Innocence itself." Freedman leaves much room for unwarranted doubt here, for it is certain, I feel, that Marvell had Dryden in mind. Freedman adds that Marvell's prefatory poem was probably "the result of permission asked for and granted, rather than of any meeting, or discussion of a meeting."

³⁴ "Bayes" was a common nickname for Dryden taken from the satirical play, The Rehearsal. (Bush, p. 210.)

³⁵ Bush, p. 210, lines 45-48.

³⁶ Freedman has suggested that Marvell's poem may have inspired Aubrey to create a story of a Milton-Dryden visit.

³⁷ Bush, p. 210, lines 50, 53-54.

Dryden and Milton are not often considered together, for though they lived in the same era, they were separated by a generation in their respective ages.³⁸ But assuming that a meeting was consummated, it was a meeting of young and old, for Milton was in his sixties nearing the end of his days, while Dryden was only in his late thirties.

It is important to consider Dryden's motives for wanting to become acquainted with Milton, for if Dryden were sufficiently awed by Paradise Lost, as is reasonable to suspect, judging from his reaction to the poem,³⁹ he very probably conceived an immediate notion of creating a drama or an "opera" from it. Thus, if his friendly overtures to Milton were indeed factual, they anticipate Dryden's request to tag the lines of Paradise Lost. There are a number of strong indications that Dryden's request to put Paradise Lost in rhyme was the culmination of a series of frustrations and setbacks. Like most Neo-Classical writers, Dryden nourished a desire to create an epic of his own, and the rendering of a blank verse epic into couplets, the verse form most characteristic of the age, would have been the logical move for a writer who was later to admit that "the genius of our

³⁸ Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 7.

³⁹ Dryden, after first seeing Paradise Lost, is reported to have said: "This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too." (Scott-Saintsbury, XVIII, 291.)

countrymen, in general, is in being rather to improve an invention than to invent themselves."⁴⁰

According to Freedman, "Dryden began his critical and creative engagement with Milton's art in the seventies, and for the next decade, every one of his major works was affected by Milton, including All for Love, his best play, and Absalom and Achitophel, his greatest poem."⁴¹ Freedman suggests further that if Milton and Dryden did confer with each other, Dryden would have been far from humble in the presence of the aged Puritan, for Dryden was "riding a wave of high confidence" because the early seventies were very successful years for him.⁴² If this were so, Dryden seemingly would have had much less impetus to adopt Milton's poem into heroic couplets, for an adaptation seems hardly the logical step for an author to take when he is "riding a wave of high confidence," and is enjoying great success on his own. But by closely examining the state of Dryden's career in 1674, we find that the prospect was actually dismal,⁴³ to say the least. His last two productions, in 1672 and 1673, had been his two worst plays, The Assination and Amboyna, prompting George McFadden to call these years "the most barren period in Dryden's long literary

⁴⁰ Scott, XI, 216.

⁴¹ Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 8.

⁴² Freedman, "Dryden's 'Memorable Visit' to Milton," p. 107.

⁴³ George McFadden, "Dryden's 'Most Barren Period'--and Milton," The Huntington Library Quarterly, XXIV (August, 1961), p. 233.

career."⁴⁴ Dryden also, according to McFadden, "was at this time aware of great shortcomings in his work, especially in its lack of 'passion' and 'nature.'"⁴⁵ It appears, then, in spite of Freedman's assertion that Dryden was experiencing a high point in his career, that Dryden was more likely experiencing a period of insignificant production and almost no inspiration. In such an unhappy condition and out of desperation and grave concern for his career, Dryden turned to other writers as sources of inspiration, and he was bound to consider Milton, "for in his (Dryden's) quest for style it was natural for him to seek help from the great."⁴⁶

McFadden states also that Dryden had an interest in verse style and a fascination with the heroic poem that, along with his concern for the controversy over rhyme, accounted for his attention to Paradise Lost.

As poet laureate Dryden had obvious reasons for wanting to compose a work of national importance, for he realized that his satire and didactic verse were considered to be lower genres.⁴⁷ And, like so many Restoration authors, he had long wanted to create a work of epic proportions. This desire was intensified during his drought of meager accomplishment in the early seventies, and the appearance of

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 283.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 285.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 288.

⁴⁷Albert C. Baugh, ed., A Literary History of England (New York, 1948), p. 722.

Paradise Lost seven years earlier had forced him to give considerable thought to an epic poem. At this impasse in his career, Dryden had been reading Boileau's translation of Longinus' On the Sublime in conjunction with his serious attention to Milton.⁴⁸ This crucial stage in his development "decided him upon an intensified policy of serious imitation of great poets."⁴⁹ W. P. Ker relates Dryden's attitude as one that was characterized by anxiety in search of a great poetical work:

Dryden was quite serious with his Heroic Plays, and they were the result of the same kind of aspiration as Paradise Lost and Samson Agonistes; that is, they were the attempts of a man still nursing the unconquerable hope, an adventurer trying to capture the ideal beauty, to gain a perfection that no poet on earth had hitherto realized....The ruling idea is that of the heroic poem--the epic--as it was with Boccaccio....The Heroic Drama is only the dramatic counterpart of the epic poem....that Ideal which he never had time for in narrative poetry....⁵⁰

But there are other considerations for Dryden's "copying" of Paradise Lost, not the least of which may have been the justifying of rhyme by simply putting into rhyme a great blank verse work.⁵¹ But as Jonathan Swift had commented on Dryden,

⁴⁸McFadden, p. 286.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 286.

⁵⁰W. P. Ker, Form and Style in Poetry (London, 1928), p. 103.

⁵¹McFadden has stated that "the interweaving and internal reinforcement of sound, more than concern to justify rhyme, was Dryden's main interest in what proved to be a technical experiment of the first importance for the development of his poetic style."

other needs forced him to stay on "the lowlands of Parnassus."⁵²

Since no original inspiration seemed forthcoming to Dryden in this unhappy and unproductive period of his career, and since Milton had provided a likely model for a drama of momentous scope, we must conclude from the evidence in the following chapter that Dryden made his decision to copy Paradise Lost. He spent only a month on its creation, prompting Masson to suggest that Dryden's idea of literature was "simply the grocer's notion of finding out the articles immediately in demand."⁵³ While Masson indicates that Dryden was inspired only by the current need for drama and a desire to fill its demand, Sir Walter Scott offers another theory:

The probable motive, therefore, of this alteration, was the wish, so common to genius, to exert itself upon a subject in which another had already attained brilliant success, or, as Dryden has termed a similar attempt, the desire to shoot in the bow of Ulysses.⁵⁴

Thus, from the bow of Ulysses was fired Dryden's rendition of Paradise Lost put in rhymed couplets. The so-called "opera" was entitled The State of Innocence and Fall of Man. It first appeared in manuscript in 1674 and enjoyed a wide circulation, and after it was published in 1677 "it went

⁵²Baugh, p. 722.

⁵³Masson, VI, 370.

⁵⁴Scott, V, 91. All quotations from The State of Innocence that appear in this paper will be taken from this edition of Dryden's works.

through more editions during Dryden's lifetime than any other play of his."⁵⁵ The rhymed couplet-blank verse controversy may have been responsible for the great interest in The State of Innocence, but "it is more likely that Dryden popularized material for which the age was ripe."⁵⁶

Freedman offers two hypotheses as to why Dryden's rhymed copy of Paradise Lost evolved as it did. His first suggestion is that Dryden's tagged version was begun as a rhymed epic and later turned into a drama.⁵⁷ His second speculation is that The State of Innocence was an uncompleted theatrical venture.⁵⁸ Though no support has been made of either hypothesis, they are in line with Freedman's theory that "dramatic need frequently prompted Dryden to expound Milton."⁵⁹ And in The State of Innocence, as we shall later see, expound he did.

The State of Innocence was received quite cordially in its time, perhaps because Dryden's seemingly ostensible reason for writing it was to present it for a court performance honoring the marriage of the Duke of York and Mary of Modena.⁶⁰ Yet the work was never performed for them.

⁵⁵Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 90.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 90.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 89.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 89.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 93.

⁶⁰David Nichol Smith, John Dryden (Cambridge, 1950), p. 35.

It was hastily written, and "it was to have been, as the stage directions show, highly spectacular," but perhaps the 'Fall of Man' was not considered to be in the best taste for a wedding celebration.⁶¹

The suggestion that Dryden attempted to traffic upon the fame of Paradise Lost is certainly to be considered, but Dryden could not have seriously expected to gain great fame from Paradise Lost, "which in seven years had not gone into a second edition."⁶² Moreover, Paradise Lost had not received the wide acclamation it was destined to get. Actually, the notoriety of The State of Innocence in manuscript as a rhymed adaptation of Paradise Lost "called attention to Milton's epic,"⁶³ and the popularity of The State of Innocence could well have hurried the second edition of Paradise Lost in 1674.⁶⁴ Besides, The State of Innocence constituted "a kind of competing version of Milton's matter,"⁶⁵ and even though it had elaborate stage directions, it had never been performed. Dryden had indicated that it was not designed to be performed. Yet it seems highly unlikely that he should have written a play not intended for the stage.⁶⁶

⁶¹Ibid., p. 35.

⁶²McFadden, p. 283..

⁶³Ibid., p. 283..

⁶⁴Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 91.

⁶⁵Freedman, "Dryden's 'Memorable Visit' to Milton," p. 101.

⁶⁶Richard Garnett, The Life and Writings of John Milton (New York, 1949), p. 187.

Professor Havens suggests that The State of Innocence was never performed because of Dryden's political activities or that it was too expensive to stage.⁶⁷ Since it was never given, Havens adds that, "if it had been, the honor which fell to Addison of being the popularizer of England's greatest poem might, though in less measure, have been Dryden's."⁶⁸ But in speaking of the two works compared--for Havens compared only three passages from each work--he adds that "such grotesque features are obvious enough and have been noticed by most readers, with the result that admirers of Dryden have been at a loss to explain how that appreciative and skillful artist came to make such a feeble and absurd adaptation of a great work."⁶⁹ But it is difficult to see how a "feeble and absurd" adaptation would have been the popularizer of Paradise Lost simply by being performed, as Havens has suggested. Yet The State of Innocence must have directed a measure of interest to its parent work, Paradise Lost, for its only value seems to be the close relationship between them.

After The State of Innocence was published in 1677, Dryden acquired more reverence for Milton's work, calling Paradise Lost "one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced."⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Raymond Dexter Havens, The Influence of Milton on English Poetry (Cambridge, 1922), p. 120.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 120.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 119.

⁷⁰ Scott, V, 106.

Dryden apparently did not know how good Paradise Lost was when he wrote the preface to The State of Innocence in 1674. Had he known how great it was, says Mark Pattison, "he never could have produced his vulgar parody, The State of Innocence, a piece upon which he received the compliments of his contemporaries, as 'having refined the ore of Milton'."⁷¹ Perhaps because Dryden did not give Paradise Lost the close attention it deserved, he finally yielded the field of critical combat to Milton and blank verse in 1677. He all but conceded defeat by putting his heroic play, All for Love, into blank verse in that same year, and he allegedly considered it the favorite of all his dramas. Unlike Milton, "Dryden was perhaps too much concerned with the contemporary meaningfulness and reception of his work."⁷² As he had altered his belief about blank verse in view of the fact that it was after all not unpopular, it certainly must have been with little reluctance that he saw his rhymed copy of Paradise Lost slip into the limbo of forgotten things.⁷³

Opinions of Dryden's adaptation are varied. Saintsbury refers to it as "the eccentric but far from despicable The

⁷¹Pattison, p. 211. Charles E. Ward in his biography of Dryden explains that Dryden's making an "opera of Paradise Lost was perfectly logical, since only a year before an operatic Macbeth had been a huge success. Ward adds that from Dryden's point of view and that of his contemporaries "there was nothing sacrosanct about Milton or anyone else."

⁷²Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 39.

⁷³John Howard Bertram, The Age of Milton (London, 1904), p. 54.

State of Innocence,"⁷⁴ and Scott specifically points to Lucifer's speech of Act III, scene i, as approaching in sublimity its prototype in Milton.⁷⁵ Bredvold, offering a less pleasant observation, calls it a "philosophical perversion of the epic,"⁷⁶ while Mark Van Doren sees it as "virtually one protracted ode...and partly in consequence of a new and close acquaintance with Milton's blank verse, partly as the fruit of his experience among rhythms, Dryden has swollen his stream and learned to compose with a powerful steady pulse."⁷⁷

David Nichol Smith states that there is actually nothing Miltonic in The State of Innocence beyond Milton's own words and ideas, and he describes Dryden's drama as "an attempt to reduce the reducible matter in Paradise Lost to the formalities and elegancies of a rhymed play, with the help of additional matter for which Paradise Lost gives no warrant."⁷⁸ Smith goes on to say that "perhaps the best that can be said for this so-called opera--which is not a libretto but a short drama with opportunities for music and

⁷⁴George Saintsbury, Essays and Papers (London, 1945), p. 75.

⁷⁵Scott, V, p. 93. (The "prototype in Milton" is the first hundred lines or so of Book IV.)

⁷⁶Louis I. Bredvold, The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden (Ann Arbor, 1934), p. 67.

⁷⁷Mark Van Doren, John Dryden: A Study of His Poetry (New York, 1946), p. 189.

⁷⁸Smith, p. 35.

dances and scenic effects--is that we should think better of it if we did not know Paradise Lost."⁷⁹ Yet generally the feeling is that it was an unlucky moment when Dryden conceived the idea of what musicians call a variation on the theme.⁸⁰

Morris Freedman sees The State of Innocence as a rebuttal to the blank verse of Paradise Lost and also refers to it as "an ingenious sugar coating of the heavy fare of the epic."⁸¹ The State of Innocence was over-all a deterioration of "the compelling but lofty theological substance of Paradise Lost," and it was a diminution of the epic.⁸² Yet, according to Freedman, Dryden's other point, "that rime adds a sweetness, may be justified in The State of Innocence dramatically rather than doctrinally."⁸³ Yet, for Dryden, Freedman considers it a "botched job."⁸⁴ One critic, Edward N. Hooker, leaves it all for the reader to decide: "Dryden had committed an act of--well, I will let you name the crime. He had not only rewritten John Milton's Paradise Lost; he had converted the old Puritan's epic into a rhymed opera entitled The State of Innocence."⁸⁵

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 35.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 36.

⁸¹Freedman, "Milton and Dryden," p. 90.

⁸²Ibid., p. 90.

⁸³Ibid., p. 94.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 94.

⁸⁵Edward N. Hooker, "Dryden and the Atoms of Epicurus," ELH, XXIV (September, 1957), p. 179.

CHAPTER II

PARADISE LOST AND THE STATE OF INNOCENCE COMPARED

The State of Innocence is an "opera" in five acts encompassing in rhymed couplets the essential narrative of Paradise Lost. The designation "opera" probably originates from Dryden's elaborate staging instructions which frequently call for background music in various scenes, but the stage directions do not provide either song lyrics or a musical score. Thus, it is not an opera in the sense that the dialogue is sung accompanied by instrumental music, nor is it a libretto or a long musical composition. It is more accurately classified as an "operatic drama" or a "dramatic opera" similar to the operatic versions of Shakespeare's The Tempest and Macbeth, which were popular during the Restoration Age.

In The State of Innocence Dryden often creates an artificial atmosphere with his cryptic provisions for background music. The opening stage directions, for example, call for:

A Symphony of warlike Music is heard for some time...

Tunes of Victory are played, and an Hymn sung...

A Tune of Horror and Lamentation is heard...

In this example and in other instances throughout the play, there is an attempt by Dryden seemingly to re-create with stage directions a celestial or an otherworldly atmosphere similar to that of Paradise Lost. Yet the over-all effect

which Dryden achieves is a weak performance at best. It amounts to a superficial tacking-on to The State of Innocence a poor semblance of that which Milton has built into Paradise Lost.

The State of Innocence is only a fraction as long as its epical source, for Paradise Lost spans more than 10,500 lines while Dryden completes his rendition of the fall of man in just over 1400 lines, not including his somewhat prolix stage directions. Although his version is chiefly in rhymed couplets, of course, there are occasional lines of blank verse, and at the end of the second act there is an exchange between Lucifer and Uriel rendered in more than sixty lines of continuous blank verse. Thus, The State of Innocence is by no means written totally in rhymed couplets, whereas Milton, naturally, uses only blank verse for Paradise Lost.

Dryden adopted the basic theme of Paradise Lost, but for his dramatic purposes some areas of thought and action are necessarily left unexplored. The most conspicuous area or location which Dryden leaves untouched is Heaven and the events that happen therein. Stage scenes for the Garden of Eden and the Hell of Lucifer would have been feats in themselves, but, assuming that Dryden at least originally planned his work for stage production,¹ a stage depiction of Heaven would have been well-nigh unimaginable, for then God too must

¹Dryden, as mentioned in the previous chapter, stated that The State of Innocence was not designed to be performed.

become a stage figure. As Dryden writes it, there are only occasional references to "the Thunderer" or to "the All-Good."

In Paradise Lost Milton's dramatis personae are God, the Son of God, Michael and the faithful angels, Satan and the rebellious angels, the allegorical Sin and Death, and the first members of mankind, Adam and Eve. Dryden, however, has limited his characters to the Heavenly angels led by Michael, the fallen angels led by Lucifer, and of course, Adam and Eve. God, the Son of God, and Sin and Death are not included in The State of Innocence, yet the twelve names of the characters Dryden does employ all appear in and are taken from Paradise Lost. They are in order of appearance: Lucifer, Asmoday (spelled "Asmadai" in Milton's epic), Moloch, Beelzebub, Belial, Satan, Adam, Eve, Raphael, Uriel, Gabriel, and Ithuriel. While Milton uses the name "Satan" to designate the leader of the rebellious angels and the tempter of Eve, Dryden identifies the same character as "Lucifer."² A devil referred to as "Satan" does appear in The State of Innocence, though, but utters only a single passage nine lines in length, hardly enough to be considered an important character. He simply concurs with those at the council of devils who favor war against Heaven and states that "We venture nothing, and may all obtain."

²I have seen no indication as to why Dryden bothered to name his protagonist "Lucifer" instead of adopting Milton's "Satan" for the main role. I surmise that since Dryden makes Lucifer the most outstanding figure in The State of Innocence by far, it would be more appropriate to identify the rebel leader with his Heavenly name, since he was "brighter once amidst the host."

The characters of each work do not parallel by name strictly, but by their particular functions and utterances, Dryden's characters may generally be matched with the characters in Paradise Lost who speak and act in a similar manner. For example, in Milton's work the fallen angel next in power to Satan is Beelzebub, whereas Dryden has Asmoday come up from the burning lake after Lucifer to become his second-in-command. Asmoday and Beelzebub correspond generally, then, in function and in speech. For instance, Beelzebub, in despair, asks what good is the strength of Hell in alleviating their undergoing of eternal punishment. He states:

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led th' embattled Seraphim to war,

...endangered heav'n's perpetual King,
And put to proof his high supremacy,
Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate;

...foul defeat
Hath lost us heaven's, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as gods and heav'nly essences
Can perish: for the mind and spirit remains
Invincible, and vigor soon returns...

(I. 128.)

Dryden has Asmoday utter this same theme with certain verbal alterations of course, but Asmoday's speech is strikingly similar to Beelzebub's in vocabulary and tone.

Asmoday:

Prince of the thrones, who in the fields of light
Led'st forth the embattled seraphim to fight;
Who shook the power of heaven's eternal state,
Had broke it too, if not upheld by fate;
But now those hopes are fled: Thus low we lie,

Shut from his day, and that contended sky,
And lost, as far as heavenly forms can die;
Yet, not all perished: We defy him still,
And yet wage war, with our unconquered will.
(I. i. 17.)

In these speeches and indeed throughout The State of Innocence there seems to be no attempt on Dryden's part to conceal his source. As later illustrations will indicate, Dryden "borrows" ponderously from Paradise Lost and in such a way that he appears almost daring. The same is true further in the narrative when Beelzebub in Paradise Lost and Asmoday in The State of Innocence suggest to the great council of rebel angels, who have assembled to decide on their course of action, that there is an "easier enterprise" than outright war with Heaven. Beelzebub presents the idea, but it was not a product of his thought, for Satan had planted the suggestion in Beelzebub's mind.

Beelzebub:

Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
With dangerous expedition to invade
Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or siege
Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
Some easier enterprise? There is a place
(If ancient and prophetic fame in heav'n
Err not), another world, the happy seat
Of some new race called man, about this time
To be created like to us...

...so was his will
Pronounced among the gods, and by an oath,
That shook heav'n's whole circumference, confirmed.
(II. 341.)

In The State of Innocence Asmoday offers Dryden's rebels the same "easier enterprise" in almost the same words.

Asmoday:

Nor yet so lost in this low state we are
As to despair of a well-managed war.
Nor need we tempt those heights which angels keep,
Who fear no force, or ambush, from the deep.
What if we find some easier enterprise?
There is a place,---if ancient prophecies
And fame in heaven not err,---the blest abode
Of some new race, called Man, a demi-god,
Whom, near this time, the Almighty must create;
He swore it, shook the heavens, and made it fate.
(I. i. 140.)

They go on to suggest that this world newly-formed is vulnerable to their machinations, and Beelzebub offers his devilish counsel as he has been advised by Satan to do.

Beelzebub:

 Though heav'n be shut
And heav'n's high Arbitrator sit secure
In his own strength, this place may lie exposed,

 ...If not drive,
Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
Abolish his own works.

(II. 357.)

Asmoday, though not so eloquent, expresses the essential idea of Beelzebub's lengthy passage with brevity and fidelity.

Asmoday:

Though heaven be shut, that world, if it be made,
As nearest heaven, lies open to invade:
Man therefore must be known, his strength, his state,
And by what tenure he holds all of fate.
Him let us seduce and overthrow;
The first is easiest, and makes heaven his foe.
(I. i. 160.)

Beelzebub then asks the "Synod of Gods" if his plan has any value, or would they prefer to "sit in darkness here/Hatching vain empires."

Beelzebub:

Advise if this be worth
Attempting...

(II. 376.)

Dryden's Asmoday submits his plan to the Hellish council in the same manner, and again with Milton's words.

Asmoday:

Advise, if this attempt be worth our care
(I. i. 166.)

Since Dryden's portrayal of his characters is not completely parallel with Milton's in speech or behavior, the same words or the same ideas are frequently imparted by two entirely different characters. An example of this occurs after the lost angels have fallen into Hell. At Satan's instigation in Paradise Lost, they have assembled in order to discuss and decide what recourse is now available to them in their wretched condition. Satan has been made the leader of the rebels, and he suggests a formal conference.

Satan:

...and by what best way,
Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate...

(II. 40.)

But in The State of Innocence it is Asmoday who makes this suggestion, and his words are closely kindered to those of Satan.

Asmoday:

'Tis fit in frequent senate we confer,
And then determine how to steer our course;
To wage new war by fraud, or open force.
The doom's now past; submission were in vain.
(I. i. 73.)

The lost archangels in both works are now prepared to make proposals, and the council is engaged to hear what ideas the devils may have. Moloch in Paradise Lost is the first to speak, and he is in favor of open force probably because he cannot conceive of anything more subtle. In his outward and confirmed belligerence Moloch states his position:

My sentence is for open war.
(II. 51.)

He then adds that he is not skilled in strategy, for that is a waste of time:

Of wiles,
More unexpert, I boast not:
(II. 52.)

No, let us rather choose,
Armed with hell flames and fury...
(II. 60.)

In The State of Innocence it is also Moloch who is first to offer an alternative, and like his brother in Paradise Lost,

he can think only of battle with Heaven. His belligerence and his expression for it are obviously taken from Paradise Lost. Moloch begins:

My sentence is for war; that open too...
(I. i. 100.)

And like Milton's Moloch he is no strategist and is quick to admit it:

Unskilled in stratagems, plain force I know...
(I. i. 101.)

What then remains but battle?
(I. i. 106.)

Certain information in Paradise Lost made evident through Milton's narration is presented in The State of Innocence by the dialogue and the soliloquys of Lucifer. For instance, in Milton's poem just prior to the re-grouping of the fallen angels Milton provides this description of the insurgents as they lie scattered throughout the bottom of Hell.

Milton:

His legions, angel forms, who lay entranced
Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
(I. 301.)

Lucifer in The State of Innocence is witness to an analogous situation, and his observation is very similar to that which Milton has made.

Lucifer:

See on the lake
Our troops, like scattered leaves in autumn, lie.
(I. i. 29.)

Thirty lines further in Paradise Lost, after Satan has warned the outcasts that they must, "Awake, arise, or be forever fall'n," Milton narrates their response.

Milton:

They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
...and bestir themselves ere well awake.
(I. 331.)

In Dryden's work it is Asmodeus who perceives the devils as they awaken from their sleep, and he similarly observes that which Milton has seen.

Asmodeus:

They wake, they hear,
Shake off their slumber first, and next their fear;
And only for the appointed signal stay.
(I. i. 53.)

Satan of Paradise Lost and Lucifer of The State of Innocence, as aforementioned, are essentially the same character. Although Dryden's Lucifer utters perhaps only a fraction of that which Milton's Satan says, the two correspond with great similarity and regularity on their respective scales: the one epical, the other miniature. As they realize that they are no longer being hotly pursued by the ministers of war sent from Heaven, Lucifer and Satan utter

comparable observations, now that the bellowing of the battle and the dogged pursuit seem to have ceased. But Satan is not absolutely convinced that all is over. There is the possibility that the "fiery surge" has not ended and that it may return once more with "impetuous rage," as revealed in the doubtful tone of Satan's words.

Satan:

Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.
(I. 176.)

Lucifer is more certain, however, that "the victor has recalled the avenging storms" in The State of Innocence, but he uses Milton's words to express his surety.

Lucifer:

His shafts are spent, and his tired thunders sleep,
Nor longer bellow through the boundless deep.
(I. i. 9.)

Now that the great conflict between Heaven and Hell has subsided, a transient calm encompasses the region of the burning lake. Satan and Lucifer both wonder as they survey the region whether this is actually the end of their fall and if this is the place in which they must now be confined. Milton's Satan expresses his quizzical attitude thusly:

...this the seat
That we must change for heav'n, this mournful gloom
For that celestial light?
(I. 243.)

In The State of Innocence as Lucifer raises himself on the lake, he opens the play with the same observation. He, too, is perplexed.

Lucifer:

Is this the seat our conqueror has given?
And this the climate we must change for heaven?
(I. i. 1.)

Then, as Satan and Lucifer first recognize their seconds in power, they are moved by the same emotion as they speak to express joy and wonder. Beelzebub is next to Satan, and the apostate angel seems glad to see his comrade, yet he is amazed by the altered appearance of Beelzebub.

Satan:

If thou beest he--but O how fall'n! How changed
From him...
(I. 84.)

Dryden's Lucifer is also wonder-struck by the changed appearance of his second-in-command, Asmoday, and Dryden has him express this feeling in almost the same language that Milton used.

Lucifer:

If thou art he! But ah! how changed from him
(I. i. 13.)

Later, as the gathering of the rebellious forces takes place, Milton describes Satan's flight out of the "liquid fire" to escape the "Stygian flood."

Milton:

Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air
(I. 225.)

The same event takes place in Dryden, except that Lucifer describes it in his dialogue modelled obviously on Milton's narration.

Lucifer:

With wings expanded wide, ourselves we'll rear,
And fly incumbent on the dusky air.
(I. i. 37.)

And as Milton's Satan flies "incumbent on the dusky air," he speaks to Hell as if he were its conquering warrior.

Satan:

...and thou, profoundest hell,
Receive thy new possessor...
(I. 251.)

And he adds that Hell was not built for the envy of God:

...th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy...
(I. 259.)

Dryden's Lucifer also wings aloft on the "dusky air" and exclaims in the manner of a conquering warrior, as Satan does above, that there is to be a new regime in Hell.

Lucifer:

Hell, thy new lord receive!
(I. i. 38.)

And again following Satan in the above example, Lucifer states that here he shall be free of Heaven's envy.

Lucifer:

Heaven cannot envy me an empire here.
(I. i. 40.)

After Satan and Beelzebub in Paradise Lost have moved across the burning floor of Hell and have aroused the devilish legions, Satan makes a resounding speech that reverberates throughout the canyons of Hell. He calls to the lost ones to arise or stay forever in Hell transfixed by thunderbolts.

Satan:

Princes, Potentates,
Warriors, the flow'r of heav'n once yours, now lost,
If such astonishment as this can seize
Eternal Spirits; or have you chos'n this place
After the toil of battle to repose
Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find
To slumber here, as in the vales of heav'n?
Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
To adore the Conqueror, who now beholds
Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
With scattered arms and ensigns, till anon
His swift pursuers from heav'n gates discern
Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf?
Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n!

(I. 315-330.)

Lucifer in The State of Innocence makes the same speech in rhymed couplets. His speech has the vocabulary, the theme, and the general tone of a call to arms which Milton's has. But although the passages are so outwardly similar, the

eloquence and power of Milton is not found in Dryden's rendition of the speech.

Lucifer:

Dominions, Powers, ye chiefs of heaven's bright host,
(Of heaven, once yours; but now in battle lost)
Wake from your slumber! Are your beds of down?
Sleep you so easy there? Or fear the frown
Of his who threw you hence, and joys to see
Your abject state confess his victory?
Rise, rise, ere from his battlements he view
Your prostrate postures, and his bolts renew,
To strike you deeper down.

(I. i. 44-52.)

Oftentimes, Dryden barely alters more than a word or two from Paradise Lost, lifting some passages well-nigh verbatim. As an indication, Moloch in The State of Innocence makes a statement identical to that of Satan in Paradise Lost. In taking this more well-known line from Milton, Dryden saw fit to change only a single word.

Satan:

Better to reign in hell than serve in heav'n.
(I. 263.)

Dryden apparently found "rule" more suitable to his purpose than "reign," or perhaps it was changed to give Moloch a little character of his own.

Moloch:

Better to rule in hell, than serve in heaven.
(I. i. 263.)

Also, Satan and Moloch, in rationalizing their change of status from near-great in Heaven to great in Hell, offer similar consolation. As both now are rulers in Hell, they feel that their first real gain is freedom. Yet Satan does not appear to be overjoyed at the prospect, for he sounds noticeably restrained in his new position.

Satan:

Here at least
We shall be free;

(I. 258.)

Moloch in Dryden's work shares this same feeling with Satan, and as the following example indicates, Moloch also shares the words of Milton.

Moloch:

We have, by hell, at least gained liberty.

(I. i. 69.)

In Paradise Lost after Satan had delivered his great speech concerning the invasion and the conquering of the new enterprise of Heaven, the world of man, the leader of the archangels makes it abundantly clear to his comrades that he alone will go on the perilous mission to Man's "new-created orb." Nine fiery walls surround their domain, and the gates are of "burning adamant to prohibit all egress." But if one of them were somehow able to negotiate these gates, he would find himself on the edge of "that abortive gulf," according to Satan. Thus, since Satan is the ruler, he states that

this duty is meant only for him. He is of a higher order, a higher species than the other devils. He claims to be royalty.

Satan:

Wherefore do I assume
These royalties, and not to refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more, as he above the rest
High honored sits?

(II. 450.)

In Dryden's version, Lucifer is greater than the rest, and he, too, demands that the "last great stake of hell" should only be managed by royalty. The close verbal similarity is not so evident here, but the idea Lucifer reveals and the tone of the passage is adopted from Milton's passage given above.

Lucifer:

Why am I ranked in state above the rest,
If, while I stand of sovereign power possest,
Another dares, in danger, farther go?
Kings are not made for ease, and pageant-show.
Who would be conqueror, must venture all:
He merits not to rise, who dares not fall.

(I. i. 180.)

After Satan has made his claim to the task of deliverance for his sinister legions, he becomes immovable in his decision. He abruptly ends the conference in all his power and personal glory, and no member of the horde is permitted to volunteer to go on the mission to earth, thereby winning the same kind of glory that Satan has just earned. His insurgent troops are now as frightened of him as they are of the journey itself.

Thus, as Satan takes command, no one is allowed to offer to go. The words are Milton's narration:

Thus saying, rose
The monarch, and prevented all reply;
(II. 465.)

In Dryden's work, Moloch attempts to speak before the megalomaniacal Lucifer can claim all the glory for himself by volunteering to journey "through the war of antique chaos." Moloch, it seems, wants to offer himself for the mission, but just as he rises to speak and volunteer his services, Lucifer compels him to desist. According to Dryden's stage directions, Lucifer rises after Moloch and "laying his sceptre on Moloch's head" instructs him. His words do not correspond to Paradise Lost as much as the incident itself does, but Lucifer's command is worth noting, for it reveals the same basic drive seen in Satan.

Lucifer:

Rash angel, stay;
The palm is mine, which none shall take away.
(I. i. 177.)

Going further into the respective works, we find Milton's Satan and Dryden's Lucifer as they are on their journey to earth and are about to encounter the Archangel, Uriel. Satan is disguised as a young Cherub as he approaches the angel, and, in order to learn the whereabouts of God's new creation, he greets Uriel as a regent who is "gloriously bright."

Satan:

Uriel, for thou of those sev'n Spirits that stand
In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright...
(III. 654.)

And further in the passage Milton describes Uriel:

Uriel thou regent of the sun...

Dryden, however, refers to Uriel as "the Regent of the Sun" in the stage directions following Lucifer's accosting of Uriel. In The State of Innocence the ruling devil is seeking from his Uriel the same information which Satan was able to extract from Uriel in Paradise Lost. And like Milton's Satan, Lucifer is able to beguile Uriel by assuming a "smooth submissive face," presumably that of a youthful Cherub. The close similarity of incident is at once apparent, but Dryden's re-arrangement of Satan's words as given in the above example reveal a less than subtle attempt to conceal the source, as the following passage will surely indicate. And, significantly, the two Uriels differ not in the least. They are both "of the seven" and both are seemingly immersed in a "glorious light."

Lucifer:

One of the seven...
Who stands in presence of the eternal throne,
And seems the regent of that glorious light.
(II. i. 102.)

Concerning the same incident, Satan in speaking to Uriel refers to him as:

...his eye
To visit oft this new creation round;
(II. 660.)

And still Dryden will not be outdone. He picks up the image of the "eye" and finds it malleable enough to fit his play.

Lucifer:

(The world's eye...and thou the eye of it)
(II. i. 114.)

Carefully patterned after the "prototype" in Paradise Lost, the Uriel of The State of Innocence performs just as Milton's does, but Dryden's Uriel has much less to say even though his function is the same. He greets the sinister Lucifer, who appears to him as a "humble cherub," and directs him to the blessed "abode" of God's wondrous new enterprise. The directions which Dryden's Uriel gives are comparable to those given by Milton's Uriel.

Uriel in Paradise Lost:

That spot to which I point is Paradise,
Adam's abode, those lofty shades his bow'r.
Thy way thou canst not miss,
(III. 733.)

Uriel in The State of Innocence:

On yonder mount; thou see'st it fenced with rocks
There his abode,
Thither direct thy flight.
(II. i. 134.)

Almost as soon as the invading demons have safely passed their respective "regents of the sun," the two Uriels realize

that they were not cherubs at all, for their looks were by "passions foul obscured," and their "envious eyes" had revealed their "curst intent." The two Uriels then immediately descend to earth to warn Gabriel, who in both Milton and Dryden is chief of the angels sent by Heaven to guard the new world and its inhabitants, Adam and Eve. Their speeches of warning are strikingly similar, and this is one example in which Dryden's passage is actually longer than that which he found in Milton.

Uriel in Paradise Lost:

Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath giv'n
Charge and strict watch that to this happy place
No evil thing approach or enter in;
This day at highth of noon came to my sphere
A Spirit, zealous, as he seemed, to know
More of th' Almighty's works, and chiefly man,
God's latest image. I describ'd his way
Bent on all speed, and mark'd his airy gait;
Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks
Alien from heav'n, with passions foul obscured.
Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
Lost sight of him; one of the banished crew,
I fear, hath ventured from the deep, to raise
New troubles; him thy care must be to find.

(IV. 561-575.)

Uriel in The State of Innocence:

Gabriel, if now the watch be set, prepared,
With strictest guard, to shew thy utmost care.
This morning came a spirit, fair he seemed,
Whom, by his face, I some young cherub deem'd;
Of man he much inquired, and where his place,
With shews of zeal to praise his Maker's grace;
But I, with watchful eyes, observ'd his flight,
And saw him on yon steepy mount alight;
There, as he thought, unseen, he laid aside
His borrowed mask, and re-assum'd his pride:
I mark'd his looks, averse to heaven and good;

Dusky he grew, and long revolving stood
On some deep, dark design; thence shot with haste,
And o'er the mounds of Paradise he past:
By his proud port, he seemed the Prince of Hell;
And here he lurks in shades 'till night: Search well
Each grove and thicket, pry in every shape,
Lest, hid in some, the arch hypocrite escape.
(III. i. 108-126.)

Once he has gained admission into Paradise, Satan comes upon Adam and Eve together in the Garden of Eden, and he watches them unseen in envious wonder. While contemplating the happy pair, Satan remarks silently to himself that he is not really inclined to harm these two, and he says that he could pity them, for their innocence melts his heart. But he quickly realizes that in his damnation he must destroy their bliss so that revenge may be had on Heaven. Satan makes it known in his unheard speech that "by conquering this new world" he is doing something he would abhor, were he not damned. This feeling of pity which Satan temporarily exhibits toward the innocent pair, and the general attitude of compassion, albeit transient, is likewise developed in the character of Dryden's Lucifer. Moreover, Lucifer hastens to make it clear that Eve "wronged me not," but as he explains in the soliloquy it is "through her" that he will "revenge the offence" on Heaven, "whose thunder took away my birth-right skies." The attitudes, then, of the two devils concerning the hideous deed they must accomplish is the same, for Dryden has patterned Lucifer's attitude from that manifested in Satan. Yet the apostate angel in The State of

Innocence is characterized more by malicious envy and lustful passion as he stealthily watches Adam and Eve. He is bitter because he has no body "formed for the same delights which they pursue!" He adds that his passions are moved so variously that he "could enjoy, and blast her in the act of love." Of the devils, Dryden's is certainly the more debased, the more degenerate of the two.

It is significant in comparing the works, too, that the devils of Milton and Dryden learn of the consequences of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge by overhearing Adam and Eve discuss it. After hearing the news Satan is beset by wonder:

Can it be sin to know,
Can it be death?

(IV. 517.)

Lucifer is also moved after hearing Adam and Eve, and he similarly expresses incredibility:

Must they die, if they attempt to know?

(III. i. 76.)

At this information the devils immediately perceive that the foundations for the ruin of God's new creation must be placed on this matter of knowledge forbidden.

Satan:

O fair foundation laid whereon to build
Their ruin!

(IV. 521.)

Dryden renders the same idea with only slight alteration in words.

Lucifer:

On this foundation I their ruin lay
(III. i. 78.)

Now that each devil has learned enough from Adam and Eve to conceive a plan of destruction, they depart from the scene leaving the couple an unheard, unheeded warning.

Satan:

Live while ye may,
Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,
Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed.
(IV. 533.)

At the change of scenes, Lucifer, too, apparently has conceived his machination, for he utters the same kind of sinister warning that no one hears.

Lucifer:

Live happy whilst you may,
Blest pair; y'are not allowed another day!
(III. i. 99.)

Now that Satan is loose in Paradise with his whereabouts unknown, Gabriel divides his searching party of angels so that all regions of the orb may be carefully scanned. As he dispatches his troops to the North and to the South walls of Paradise, he decides to send Ithuriel and Zephon to the Garden of Eden. Their mission is to check the bower of Adam, and

they are instructed to seize the escaped rebel if he is found there. As they arrive at the scene, they find Satan there "squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve." Confronting the devil, they demand to know which of the "rebel Spirits" he is and what he is doing in the Garden. At once Satan waxes bold and imperious, scornfully remarking that their inability to recognize him shows how unimportant they are in the hierarchy of Heaven.

Satan:

Not to know me argues yourselves unknown.
(IV. 830.)

In The State of Innocence it is Ithuriel and Gabriel who accost Lucifer in the Garden after Lucifer has whispered into Eve's ear and has caused her to have a vision. The same degree of arrogance is revealed in Lucifer's character as in Satan's when the guardian angels demand to know "what thou art." Dryden changes only a syllable from the passage uttered by Satan in the above example.

Lucifer:

Not to know me, argues thyself unknown.
(III. i. 182.)

Then, Zephon, "answering scorn with scorn," severely rebukes the devil in Paradise Lost.

Zephon:

Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same.
(III. i. 186.)

In Dryden's version it is Gabriel who puts the "vain spirit" in his place, and he uses Zephon's words to form a comparable reproof.

Gabriel:

Think'st thou, vain spirit, thy glories are the same?
(III. i. 186.)

Satan is momentarily abashed, and he is made very unhappy by the fact that his radiance is "visibly impaired" causing him to go unrecognized. Yet he remains undaunted and replies that if he "must contend," he will take his chances only with the Almighty. By doing so, he reasons, "more glory will be won, or less the lost." He refuses to recognize the angels from Heaven as his equals.

Satan:

Best with the best, the sender not the sent.
(IV. 852.)

In The State of Innocence Dryden's Lucifer utters the same reply, although he has been directly challenged by Gabriel to "prove our might." Lucifer declines the skirmish, of course, answering that he, too, wants only to contend with "Him."

Lucifer:

More honor from the sender than the sent.
(III. i. 246.)

In Paradise Lost Gabriel asks Satan why he has come to disturb God's new creation, since Satan's place is in Hell.

that the only recompense asked of him was gratitude.

Satan:

The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
How due!

(IV. 47.)

In a passage of twenty-two lines, Dryden has Lucifer experience the same emotions and feelings that Satan has revealed above.

In a serene moment of unhappy reflection Lucifer makes it known that his lack of gratitude has been most enigmatical:

"Why...was so ungrateful I?" Like Satan he admits that little was asked of him, but he failed even to pay that "small tribute."

Lucifer:

To acknowledge this, was all he did exact;
Small tribute, where the will to pay was act.

(III. i. 11.)

Satan next shows a flash of desire to gain repentance, yet he knows full well that repentance is infinitely beyond his achieving.

Satan:

But say I could repent and could obtain
By act of grace my former state;

(IV. 93.)

Dryden has his devil leader to follow suit here, but Lucifer is not one to be indirect. In ten unmistakable syllables he expresses genuine regret and the realistic observation that

contrition is impossible. The genuine and subtle feelings of Satan are comparable to the sincere but openly frank expression of Lucifer.

Lucifer:

I mourn it now, unable to repent
(III. i. 13.)

For both apostates all hope is gone, and they are painfully cognizant of the fact. Their profession henceforth must be Wickedness.

Satan:

So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
Evil, be thou my good;
(IV. 108.)

Dryden copies Milton's Satan as Lucifer expresses the same lack of hope in the same words, and adds that his profession, too, is to be Evil.

Lucifer:

Hope, farewell;
And with hope, fear;
Then, Ill, be thou my good;
(III. i. 15.)

The basic matter of Books VI, VII, and VIII in Paradise Lost, the visitation of Raphael to the Garden of Eden and his lengthy revelation to Adam about how man came to be, is not included in The State of Innocence, nor are there any significant allusions to the events which transpired in Heaven prior

to the creation of Man. From Book V the most significant item of similarity appearing in Dryden's work is the dream-vision of Eve, which Dryden renders in a swift thirty-two lines. The verbal similarities are slight, but the actual incidents are fundamentally identical. And, still following Milton's schedule of events, Dryden provides the account of the coming of Raphael to the Garden of Eden just after the dream-vision of Eve.

In his meeting with Raphael in Paradise Lost, Adam tells the Archangel that Eve transcends wisdom to the point that wise counsel appears as folly when she speaks.

Adam in Paradise Lost:

Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses discount'nanced, and like folly shows
(VIII. 552.)

Dryden's Adam informs Raphael of the same trait in the Eve of The State of Innocence:

Reason itself turns folly when she speaks.
(IV. i. 202.)

Later, the two Adams are faced with the same Eve who wants to do her labors in the Garden of Eden away from her mate. The Adams, powerless to act judiciously in meeting the persuasiveness of the Eves, are ruled by their hearts as they permit their mates to go alone.

Adam in Paradise Lost:

Go in thy native innocence, rely
On what thou hast of viture, summon all
(IX. 373.)

Dryden, as to be expected, has his Adam speak similarly:

Go; in thy native innocence proceed
And summon all thy reason at thy need.
(IV. i. 189.)

At this point, Eve convinced Adam that she could withstand temptation in time of trial, and that nothing would dare approach her while she was alone, for it would imply that the tempter is weak and cowardly, especially if he should fail.

Eve in Paradise Lost:

...our trial, when least sought,
May find us both perhaps far less prepared...
A foe so proud will first the weaker seek;
So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse.
(IX. 380.)

Dryden's Eve feels also that she is in no danger while alone, for she foolishly believes that the foe would never assail the weaker of the two, simply as a matter of honor.

Eve in The State of Innocence:

Trials, less sought, would find us less prepared.
Our foe's too proud the weaker to assail,
Or doubles his dishonor if he fail.
(IV. i. 196.)

The sisters Eve next implore the brothers Adam that nothing should ever be held in suspicion or doubt in their blissful

estate. The bower of bliss is beyond suspicion and the happy region should never be questioned.

Eve in Paradise Lost:

Let us not then suspect our happy state.
(IX. 337.)

Dryden felt no need to change the wording of this phrase either, as his Eve utters in like manner.

Eve in The State of Innocence:

Why should we suspect our happy state?
(IV. i. 166.)

The motives for holding in suspicion the durability of their happy state are apparently not strong enough, for Eve is induced to eat of the interdicted fruit by Satan in Paradise Lost and by Lucifer in The State of Innocence. After each tempter had informed each Eve that by partaking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge they would attain godhead, each Eve is willing to believe, and thus they fall to "death's harbinger." They ask themselves if they should be denied that which animals may possess without fear of death, as the devils have suggested to them. Should they be refused that food which is available to the lower creatures of the kingdom? They wonder: are we not high enough to enjoy the "intellectual food"?

Eve in Paradise Lost:

Or to us denied
This intellectual food, for beasts reserved?
(IX. 767.)

Eve in The State of Innocence:

Is intellectual food to man denied,
Which brutes have with so much advantage tried?
(IV. i. 329.)

Milton's Eve and Dryden's Eve prefer not to bypass the offered fruit and thus lose their opportunity for sovereignty and godhead. Their fates, of course, are legend. Just as these two works are mainly distinguished by verse form, the only difference in the two Eves, superficially at least, is that one succumbs in blank verse and the other in rhymed couplets.

Throughout this chapter my purpose has been to trace certain parts of The State of Innocence with certain parts of Paradise Lost by briefly sketching those portions of the respective narratives most relevant to an overall comparison of theme and word usage. This method of presenting the material was chosen to be most illustrative of the comparable passages which I have compiled. Yet there are innumerable passages that are far too unwieldy to be shown in expository form, and in order to demonstrate further the extent to which Dryden has actually copied Paradise Lost, additional passages and short phrases will be found in the appendix.

CHAPTER III

SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY

There is decidedly little in Dryden's "opera" concerning science, and there is but one passage by which Dryden's theory of planetary motions may be ascertained. In Paradise Lost Milton, of course, employs the geocentric or Ptolemaic system as the better method of indicating that the world of man is to be a permanently fixed center. There are accounts in Paradise Lost which outline the Copernican system, but the topic is raised merely, and the passages remain non-committal. In The State of Innocence, however, Dryden follows Milton's example only to the extent that he employed the Ptolemaic system as his prevailing belief concerning the positions and the movements of the planets. The character of Uriel is responsible for expressing Dryden's choice of systems, and the angel is succinct and to the point, in making it clear that the earth is the center of the universe.

Uriel:

There hangs the ball of earth and water mixt,
Self-centered and unmoved.

(II. i. 131.)

It is evident, then, that the earth is stationary and that it has no orbit. Uriel, who is the regent of the sun in both works, then makes it known that his "orb," the sun, is not stationary:

Here will I watch...while my orb rolls on
(II. i. 149.)

A conviction basic to Milton's work is that man's will is free and that freedom to choose between good and evil is inherent in Adam and Eve. In Paradise Lost Milton "rejects the Calvinistic doctrine of election and reprobation, and the 'elect' are, in the liberal Arminian sense, all believers."¹ Thus, every man is free to choose for himself, and "all believers" comprise the elect group. Man's fate is not predestined, and all members of the human race have the choice of determining their fate, even though God foreknows that choice. Dryden expresses the same Arminian attitude, though somewhat less stoutly. However, he does make it perfectly clear that the elect group is composed of "all thy race," as suggested by the Archangel Raphael:

In prayer and praise does all devotion lie:
So doing, thou and all thy race are blest.
(II. i. 32.)

Dryden's attitude toward free will, at least insofar as The State of Innocence is concerned, is fundamentally Miltonic and thus Arminian. Dryden has his Raphael to instruct Adam that he is free to choose between good and evil, and that Heaven does not compel the choosing of good. Adam has been created free, and he has been endowed with reason to determine his own fate. Raphael expresses this idea:

¹Bush, p. 205.

Praise him alone, who god-like formed thee free,
With will unbounded as a deity;
Who gave thee reason, as thy aid, to chuse
Apparent good, and evil to refuse.
Obedience is that good; this heaven exacts,
And heaven all-just, from man requires not acts,
Which man wants power to do: Power then is given
Of doing good, but not compelled by heaven.
(IV. i. 23.)

Raphael then adds that Heaven has bestowed "boundless liberty of choice" and he makes the implication that Adam's choice is pre-ordained in that the "first Mover" has already set the events in motion.

Raphael:

So orbs from the first Mover motion take
Yet each their proper revolutions make.
(IV. i. 39.)

Dryden's Adam is not so easily satisfied, however. He becomes very inquisitive ("I argue only to be better taught."), and asks the angels if man can actually have freedom of will when all things are pre-ordained by Heaven.

Adam:

Freedom of will of all good things is blest;
But can it be by finite man possest?
(IV. i. 33.)

Are we not bounded now, by firm decree,
Since whatsoe'er is pre-ordained must be?
Else heaven for man events might pre-ordain,
And man's free will might make those orders vain.
(IV. i. 42.)

Gabriel attempts to answer Adam by explaining that when the world was created, all creatures or agents of Heaven were

made to abide by their natures and functions as "the Eternal" has ordered. But, says Gabriel, of all creatures that Heaven formed, "Man only boasts an arbitrary state." Yet Adam is seemingly implacable. He cannot comprehend how man can truly enjoy freedom of will if God foreknows what will be.

Adam:

Where is freedom then?
Or who can break the chain which limits men
To act what is unchangeably forecast,
Since the first cause gives motion to the last?
(IV. i. 52.)

Raphael replies to Adam with what is, I believe, a very solid and forthright explanation. He reminds Adam that by fore-knowing, Heaven (Dryden never says "God") does not cause things to be, but that God's "prescience" simply enables him to suppose the happenings of the future.

Raphael:

Heaven by fore-knowing what will surely be,
Does only, first, effects in causes see,
And finds, but does not make, necessity.
Creation is of power and will the effect,
Foreknowledge only of his intellect.
His prescience makes not, but supposes things;
Infers necessity to be, not brings.
Thus thou art not constrained to good or ill;
Causes, which work the effect, force not the will.
(IV. i. 56.)

In Paradise Lost God reveals to his Son that man could never "justly accuse Their Maker...as if predestination over-ruled their will." On the contrary, "they themselves decreed Their own revolt," and "Foreknowledge had no influence on

their fault,/Which had no less proved certain unforeknown."
(III. 118.) But Dryden's Adam does in effect accuse Heaven
of having pre-destined his will. Adam states that:

Heaven may prevent that ill he does foresee;
And, not preventing, though he does not cause,
He seems to will that men should break his laws.
(IV. i. 98.)

And he adds that his power to choose either good or evil is
not in reality a choice synonymous to free will.

Adam:

I find that I can chuse to love or hate,
Obey or disobey, do good or ill;
Yet such a choice is but consent not will.
(IV. i. 72.)

Raphael then sums up the argument of the angels by replying
that because man is actually free to choose good or ill, the
possibility of reward or punishment still exists, and that
no reward or punishment could possibly be decreed if God had
ordained the sin of Adam.

Raphael:

But what reward or punishment could be,
If man to neither good nor ill were free?
The eternal justice could decree no pain
To him whose sins itself did first ordain;
And good, compelled, could not reward exact:
His power would shine in goodness, not thy act.
(IV. i. 106.)

Gabriel adds to this by explaining that by "hindering ill"
God "would all choice prevent." It would be taking from man

the freedom to make his own decision. But this, Adam believes, would be the more logical thing to do, for one is "Better constrained to good, than free to ill." But as he makes this statement the time has come for the angels to depart, and as they go they instruct Adam to obey and make the choice that will result in beatitude for his race. But unlike Adam in Paradise Lost, Dryden leaves his Adam in very serious doubt. As the angels soar off into the clouds he soliloquizes:

Hard state of life! since heaven foreknows my will,
Why am I not tied up from doing ill?
Why am I trusted with myself at large,
When he's more able to sustain the charge?
Since angels fell, whose strength was more than mind,
'Twould show more grace my frailty to confine.
Fore-knowing the success, to leave me free,
Excuses him, and yet supports not me.

(IV. i. 113.)

Dryden has presented the basic Arminian point of view through the instructions which Raphael conveys to Adam. Yet Dryden has not strictly held this view. He has fashioned such a questioning, doubting Adam that Adam has to be told more than once that he is free and he is able to choose between evil and good, and the angels have explained the reasoning of his having the choice. But Adam will not be satisfied. He says he argues only to be better taught, but he is not capable apparently of understanding what the angels have told him. He cannot or he does not grasp the explanation, which is probably Dryden's method of preventing his drama from seeming to be anti-Calvinistic. After all, Adam is

every man questioning the doctrine of free will, and as Dryden presents him, Adam is never wholly convinced that he actually does have freedom to choose between good and evil. In fact, Adam stated that it would be better if he were constrained to good than free to ill, since Heaven already knows what his fate must inexorably be. Even after the angels have departed, Adam, quite significantly, is still very much in the throes of doubt. He reiterates that Heaven's foreknowledge constitutes an exoneration of God, yet it does not support Adam. Dryden's Adam is given these grave misgivings, I believe, because Dryden probably needed a kind of safety valve in the event that his drama should be taken to task for being anti-Calvinistic. Certainly Dryden follows Milton's example to the point of providing a description of free will and presenting the Arminian attitude of salvation for all. But the inquisitive Adam refuses to accept completely the explanation given by the angels, which in effect clears the time-serving Dryden. But the fact necessarily remains that Adam in The State of Innocence does have free will--whether he believes it or not.

CONCLUSION

The thesis of this study has not been the demonstration that Dryden went to Milton's Paradise Lost for the model and the source of his drama entitled The State of Innocence, for that is a fact which Dryden himself hastily admitted and one which even a cursory glance of Dryden's play will readily confirm. The purpose has been rather to reveal the extent to which Dryden actually copied Paradise Lost, since to my knowledge no one has yet undertaken to disclose fully such information by actually writing a prolonged comparative study. In his unpublished doctoral dissertation, Milton and Dryden, Morris Freedman devoted twelve pages to a speedy examination of The State of Innocence, but he presented only a few desultorily selected passages that really showed little in verbal or thematic links to Paradise Lost. And by way of apology or excuse for not providing a more thorough and more orderly examination, Freedman quotes T. S. Eliot, who has said that it is "manifestly ridiculous to carry out any sustained comparison of Dryden's almost off-hand adaptation with the grand Paradise Lost," a remark which Freedman apparently held fast to his bosom. So impressed was he by Eliot's edict that Freedman's coverage was neither a sustained effort nor a true comparison; yet I am indebted to his dissertation for some background material on Milton and Dryden, a topic Mr. Eliot evidently approved.

Countless scholars from Masson to Havens to Smith have remarked in passing that Dryden did indeed copy Paradise Lost, but the extent to which he did "borrow" from Milton was never ascertained. And although this study has not exhausted the subject, for it could easily fill an entire volume, it does purport to show the prodigiousness of Dryden's appropriations from Milton's epic. Indeed the comparative quotations which have been examined in the text and the compilation of comparative phrases in the appendix indisputably support the thesis that Dryden could hardly have had an original thought in his "opera." In fact, it comes to the point that Dryden did not just copy Paradise Lost, he simply lifted what he could and put it into rhymed couplets, which is the most original thing about The State of Innocence.

It is at once obvious from a reading of The State of Innocence that Dryden patterned his narrative after Milton's, yet Dryden could not cover in 1400 lines that which Milton covered in 10,500 lines. But as this study should substantiate, for all that Dryden does include, he followed the narrative of Paradise Lost. And I would further submit that almost all of his words--in the vocabular sense--were extracted from Milton. But even so, I found it strange indeed that Dryden did not adopt any of Milton's proper nouns, classical allusions, or geographical locations. Milton, of course, uses hundreds of these ("Memphian," "Cronian," "Thyestean," "American," "Sanai," "Urania," etc.), but Dryden did not

employ a single one in his adaptation, which is no small surprise considering that The State of Innocence is supposedly a New-Classical piece. Perhaps Dryden found such allusions unadaptable for his purposes and was content only with the imagery of darkness and light, the prevailing images of his play. But I suspect that he excluded the richer Miltonic language in order to make the work more suited to stage production. Dryden did say, of course, that The State of Innocence was not designed for performing, but I find it difficult to believe that he began the project with no intention of producing it. No one can possibly know what Dryden's true thoughts were concerning the play, but it is my belief that he sought to fashion and produce a dramatic version of Milton's epic poem. And, since it was never performed, it was easy enough for Dryden to say in the Preface to The State of Innocence that it was not meant to be performed. However, there is much truth in his words that it was not designed for the stage--whether he meant it or not.

APPENDIX I

The following list gives further account of the number of passages, short descriptions, and various phrases found in The State of Innocence which are lifted outright from Paradise Lost. The list includes Dryden's borrowed phrase along with Milton's original wording.

MILTON

DRYDEN

"mother of mankind" (I-36)	"mother of mankind" (III-i-153)
"the apostate angel" (I-125)	"The Apostate Angel" (IV-i-13)
"dark designs" (I-213)	"dark design" (III-i-121)
"Chaos and old night" (I-544)	"Chaos, and old night" (I-i-188)
"deep scars of Thunder" (I-601)	"dire thunder scar" (I-i-193)
"flaming swords" (I-664)	"the flaming sword" (V-i-348)
"downward bend" (I-681)	"downward bend" (III-i-151)
"liquid fire" (I-101)	"liquid burnings" (I-i-5)
"against the Thunderer's" (I-28)	"against the Thunderer" (I-i-84)
"dire revenge" (II-128)	"dire revenge" (II-i-93)
"ignoble ease" (II-227)	"ignoble ease" (I-i-206)
"new-created world" (III-89)	"New-created orb" (II-i-14)

MILTON

DRYDEN

"a sylvan scene" (IV-140)

"a sylvan scene" (II-i-136)

"o'er hill, o'er dale" (IV-562)

"ye hills and dales" (II-ii-8)

"happy place" (IV-538)

"happy place" (IV-i-166)

"goodness infinite" (IV-734)

"goodness infinite" (V-i-355)

"prince of hell" (IV-871)

"Prince of Hell" (III-i-123)

"state of bliss" (V-241)

"state of bliss" (IV-i-171)

"dispeopled heaven" (VII-151)

"peopled heaven" (II-i-51)

"six days' work" (VII-568)

"six days pain" (III-i-21)

"imperial throne" (VII-585)

"imperial throne" (III-i-183)

"nuptial bower" (VII-633)

"nuptial bower" (V-i-362)

"fruit divine" (IX-776)

"fruit divine" (II-i-75)

"fair fruit" (IX-798)

"fair fruit" (V-i-38)

"wild woods" (IX-910)

"wild woods" (V-i-57)

"angelic guards" (X-18)

"angelic guards" (V-i-116)

"ethereal people" (X-27)

"ethereal people" (V-i-120)

"their dark divan" (X-457)

"our dark divan" (I-i-84)

"this fair defect" (X-890)

"this fair defect" (V-i-200)

MILTON

DRYDEN

"by temperance taught" (XI-531)	"by temperance taught" (V-i-339)
"the Deity" (XII-15)	"the Deity" (II-i-52)
"gliding meteorous" (XII-629)	"glide, like meteors" (V-i-355)
"impenetrable to star or sun light" (IX-1086)	"impenetrable to the stars or sun" (V-i-44)
"with fruit...Ruddy and gold" (IX-577)	"ruddy fruit distinguished o'er with gold" (IV-i-235)
"rung with hallelujahs" (VII-633)	"dissolved in hallelujahs" (I-i-114)
"Divided empire" (IV-111)	"divided empire" (III-i-19)
"nether empire" (IV-145)	"nether world" (II-i-90)
"vain desire" (IV-466)	"Vain desire" (III-i-5)
"ethereal mould" (II-139)	"ethereal parasite" (I-i-98)
"immortal hate" (I-107)	"immortal hate" (IV-i-152)
"Eternal King" (III-374)	"Eternal Mind" (V-i-290)
"immortal fruits" (III-67)	"immortal fruits" (IV-i-206)
"new-created world" (III-89)	"new-made state" (V-i-94)
"happy state" (I-141)	"happy state" (IV-i-166)
"Thunderbolts transfix" (I-328)	"transfixed with thunderbolts" (I-i)

MILTON

DRYDEN

"warlike sound" (I-531)

"warlike music" (I-i)

"Purge off this gloom" (II-400)

"purge my gloom" (III-i-223)

"happy plains" (V-143)

"happy ground" (III-i-130)

"Eternal Providence" (I-25)

"eternal infinite" (II-i-16)

"vast abyss" (I-21)

"vast chaos" (I-i-188)

"shape divine" (VIII-295)

"shape divine" (V-i-142)

"a woody theatre" (IV-141)

"theatre of trees" (II-i-135)

"champaign head" (IV-134)

"champaign country" (II-i)

"arch-felon" (IV-179)

"arch hypocrite" (III-i-126)

"blissful Paradise" (IV-208)

"blissful Paradise" (V-i-270)

"shady bower" (V-367)

"shady bowers" (III-i-58)

"eternal empire" (VII-96)

"eternal state" (I-i-19)

"Boundless the deep" (VII-168)

"the boundless deep" (I-i-10)

"flaming ministers" (IX-156)

"flaming minister" (II-i-21)

"Empress of this fair world"
(IX-568)

"Thou Empress" (IV-i-42)

"native home" (X-1085)

"native home" (V-i-297)

"celestial temper" (IV-812)

"celestial forehead" (V-i-111)

MILTON

DRYDEN

- "strict sentries" (II-412) "strict guard keep" (I-i-96)
- "waged in the troubled sky"
(II-534) "contended sky" (I-i-22)
- "fair plant" (V-58) "fair tree" (IV-i-262)
- "Differing but in degree" (V-490) "differing in degree" (V-i-64)
- "Sated at length" (IX-598) "When sated" (V-i-182)
- (M) "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (X-205)
- (D) "By thy own toil procured, thou food shalt eat;" (V-i-276)
- (M) "Did I request thee, Maker, from clay
To mould me man?" (X-743)
- (D) "Did we solicit heaven to mould our clay?" (V-i-250)
- (M) "Oh! why did God,
Creator wise, that peopled highest heaven
With spirits masculine," (X-888)
- (D) "Our wise Creator, for his choirs divine,
Peopled his heaven with souls all masculine." (V-i-197)
- (M) "...and whither wander down
Into a lower world" (XI-282)
- (D) "I go to wander in the lower earth" (V-i-365)
- (M) "Must I thus leave thee, Paradise?" (XI-265)
- (D) "Must we this blissful paradise forego?" (V-i-270)

- (M) "So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf" (XI-323)
- (D) "I, with green turfs, would grateful altars raise" (V-i-288)
- (M) "O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce" (XII-469)
- (D) "O Goodness infinite! whose heavenly will
Can so much produce from so much ill!" (V-i-355)
- (M) "And, see! the guards,
By me encamped on yonder hill, expect
Their motion, at whose front a flaming sword,
In signal of remove" (XII-592)
- (D) "For see, the guards, from yon' far eastern hill,
Already move, nor longer stay afford;
High in the air they wave the flaming sword,
Your signal to depart" (V-i-546)
- (M) "...what best may ease
The present misery, and render hell
More tolerable, if there be cure or charm
To respite or deceive, or slack the pain" (II-458)
- (D) "...what time remains,
Seek to forget, at least divert your pains
With sports and music, in the vales and fields,
And whate'er joy so sad a climate yields." (I-i-104)
- (M) "A shape within the watery gleam appeared,
Bending to look on me" (IV-461)
- (D) "And now a face peeps up, and now draws near,
With smiling looks, as pleased to see me here." (II-ii-18)
- (M) "But who I was, or where, or from what cause" (VIII-270)
- (D) "What am I? or from whence?" (II-i-1)
- (M) "Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill," (IX-846)
- (D) "My trembling heart forebodes some ill;" (V-i-27)

- (M) "He to be avenged,
And to repair his numbers thus imparied,
Whether such virture spent of old now failed
More angels to create" (IX-143)
- (D) "Or was his virture spent, and he no more
With angels could supply the exhausted store,
Of which I swept the sky? (III-i-51)
- (M) "Lest, thou not tasting, different degree
Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
Deity for thee, when fate will not permit." (IX-884)
- (D) "Lest, differing in degree, you claim too late
Unequal love, when 'tis denied by fate." (V-i-63)
- (M) "But in her cheek distemper flushing glowed." (IX-887)
- (D) "That blood, which flushes guilty in your face?" (V-i-31)
- (M) "Oh, fairest of creation, last and best
Of all God's works!" (IX-996)
- (D) "O fairest of all creatures, last and best
Of what heaven made," (V-i-46)
- (M) "How art thou lost!" (IX-900)
- (D) "...how art thou dispossesst." (V-i-47)
- (M) "And me with thee hath ruined; for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die.
How can I live without thee?" (IX-906)
- (D) "Now cause of thy own ruin; and with thine,
(Ah, who can live without thee!) cause of mine." (V-i-49)
- (M) "Oh, glorious trial of exceeding love" (IX-961)
- (D) "O wondrous power of matchless love exprest!" (V-i-72)
- (M) "And fear of death deliver to the winds." (IX-989)
- (D) "Give to the winds thy fear of death" (V-i-84)

- (M) "Those heavenly shapes...with their blaze
Insufferably bright." (IX-1083)
- (D) "Some shape divine, whose beams I cannot bear!" (V-i-141)
- (M) "But might as ill have happened thou being by,
Or to thyself, perhaps?" (IX-1147)
- (D) "Such might have been thy hap, alone assailed;
And so, together, might we both have failed." (V-i-157)
- (M) "...why didst not thou, the head,
Command me absolutely not to go," (IX-1155)
- (D) "You should have shown the authority you boast," (V-i-164)
- (M) "...fairest this of all thy gifts!" (VIII-493)
- (D) "...fairest of thy Creator's works!" (II-ii-29)
- (M) "...to keep you low and ignorant" (IX-704)
- (D) "...to keep you blindly low" (IV-i-397)
- (M) "...when to his wish
Beyond his hope, Eve separated he spies" (IX-423)
- (D) "But see, the woman
Alone! beyond my hopes!" (IV-i-218)
- (M) "Look on me,
Me, who have touched and tasted, yet both live,
And life more perfect have attained than fate
Meant me, by vent'ring higher than my lot." (IX-687)
- (D) "Behold, in me, what shall arrive to you.
I tasted; yet I live: Nay more; have got
A state more perfect than my native lot." (IV-i-318)
- (M) "He knows that...
Ye eat thereof...ye shall be gods" (IX-5)
- (D) "He knows that eating, you shall godlike be" (IV-i-300)

- (M) "...this fair earth I see,
Warmed by the sun, producing every kind." (IX-720)
- (D) "The sun and earth produce of every kind" (IV-i-308)
- (M) "But what if God have seen,
And death ensue? Then I shall be no more!
And Adam, wedded to another Eve,
Shall live with her, enjoying; I extinct:
A death to think! Confirmed, then, I resolve,
Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe;" (IX-826)
- (D) "...but how if heaven has spied?
If I should die, and He above provide
Some other Eve, and place her in my stead?
Shall she possess his love, when I am dead?
No; he shall eat, and die with me, or live" (IX-i-11)

APPENDIX II

SYNOPSIS OF THE STATE OF INNOCENCE

Act I

Lucifer and his legions of rebellious angels have been expelled from Heaven and now lie prostrate on a "Lake of Brimstone or rolling Fire." As Lucifer scans the region and meets his second-in-command, Asmoday, "Tunes of Horror and Lamentation" are heard in Hell. Lucifer and Asmoday then fly out of the lake, though they are still immersed in fire, and summon the rest of the devil to join them. The Hellish warriors gather to confer in a senate to decide what retaliatory measures they can take, and various alternatives are presented by a number of the rebels. Moloch states that he is for open war, and Satan immediately agrees with him. Belial comes out against war and reasons that "annihilation were to lose heaven more." Also in protest against war is Beelzebub, but Asmoday then suggests "some easier enterprise." There is a new race called Man that "nearest to heaven lies open to invade," and would be easy revenge against Heaven. A reconnoitering mission is suggested so that man's strength and estate may be established, and Belial then points out the great and sundry hazards of such a journey. But Lucifer states that he will manage this, "the last great stake of hell," the danger notwithstanding. He appoints himself ruler

over all and leaves on his perilous mission through "vast chaos and old night" promising the rest of the lost angels that "I shall return...and outward lead the colonies of hell."

Act II

The scene is a "Champaign Country" and the newly-created Adam is seen alone in deep reflection concerning his existence: "What am I? or from whence?" Then Raphael descends to Adam in a cloud to inform him of his origin and to explain that Man must take the place of "those who, falling, lost the sky." Adam complains of being lonely, but Raphael instructs him to "live happy in thyself alone," yet Raphael later adds that "it were not best for man to be alone: An equal, yet thy subject, is designed." He then takes Adam to a mansion provided for him, the Garden of Eden, and as they depart to soft music the scene changes and "a black cloud comes whirling from the adverse part of the Heavens, bearing Lucifer in it." Lucifer then sees a chariot coming toward him bearing Uriel, "the Regent of the Sun." At Uriel's behest as to who he is and why he is near man's new kingdom, Lucifer answers that he is a "humble cherub" who came to view the handiwork of our "great Maker's power." Uriel directs Lucifer to the dwelling place of man, but as the apostate angel flies downward out of sight, Uriel voices suspicions of him: "Here will I watch, and, while my orb rolls on, Pursue from hence Thy much suspected flight." Adam and Eve are next seen

together in Paradise as Eve is expressing love for Adam second to herself, and she is held by some restraint before embracing him: "Some restraining thought, I know not why, tells me, you should long beg, I long deny." Adam replies that we were both made in vain if not made to love.

Act III

Lucifer is seen in Paradise reminiscing about his once high place in heaven and temporarily mourning his fall: "I mourn it now, unable to repent." But he quickly turns to his project of seducing man. Adam and Eve are then seen talking together while Lucifer stealthily observes them, and the lost archangel wonders if God has spent all his virtue and could make no more angels. Adam tells Eve that they may partake of "all nature's excellence," but "one only fruit, in the mid garden placed,--the Tree of Knowledge,--is denied our taste." As Lucifer listens to them, Adam adds that death is "the threatened ill" of the forbidden fruit if it is eaten. Adam and Eve go off together and Lucifer grows envious of their happiness. Gabriel and Ithuriel descend to the Garden of Eden, for they are to be "the guardians of this new pair." Uriel then flies down from the sun to warn Gabriel and Ithuriel that a humble angel had come to view his maker's grace, and that "he seemed the Prince of Hell." Uriel leaves the two guardians as they go in different directions in search of Lucifer. Lucifer appears in "a night-piece of a

pleasant bower" where Adam and Eve are sleeping. Knowing that Eve is the weaker of the pair, he sits by her and whispers in her ear. A vision appears with a tree laden with fruit, four weird spirits, an angel, and a "Woman, habited like Eve." The Angel, singing, implores the Woman to eat the fruit, but she refuses, knowing that it will cause death. The Angel picks some fruit and gives it to the Spirits who "immediately put off their deformed shapes, and appear Angels." The Angel then gives fruit to the Woman, who eats it and is taken away by two angels as the Vision ends. Gabriel and Ithuriel discover Lucifer, and the three of them heatedly debate over the serving of God. Gabriel orders Lucifer to "avoid the place, and never more appear upon this hallowed earth." Lucifer then leaves with the angels following him.

Act IV

Adam and Eve are speaking of the strange dream as a cloud of angels appears led by Raphael and Gabriel, who now confer with Adam. They warn him to guide Eve's frailty. Raphael tells Adam that Heaven foreknows what will be, explaining that "creation is of power and will the effect, foreknowledge only of his intellect." He adds that Adam is not constrained to good or ill, for "causes, which work the effect, force not the will." Adam replies that since Heaven does not prevent the foreseen ill, it "seems to will that

men should break his laws." But Gabriel answers that by hindering ill God "would all choice prevent" and would "take away the will." Raphael and Gabriel and the other angels depart flying up into a cloud, but Adam still wonders: "since Heaven foreknows my will, why am I not tied up from doing ill?" Eve now wants to separate so that they can get more work done in the luxuriant growth of the Garden of Eden, but Adam warns that "the fallen archangel, envious of our state, Pursues our beings with immortal hate." But Eve persists and is granted her request. Eve goes near to the Tree of Knowledge to gaze at it, as Lucifer appears in the form of a serpent, plucks an apple, and carries it away. He then returns in human shape claiming that the fruit has made him "God-like and next to thee." He induces Eve to eat by telling her that "you shall godhead gain." As she eats the forbidden fruit, Eve hurriedly leaves, and Lucifer knows that she is "the tempter to ensnare his (Adam's) heart."

Act V

Eve returns to Paradise scorning "this earthly seat" and believing that "Heaven is my Palace." She states that Adam has already been overmuch my lord and "'tis in my power to be sovereign now." But she reasons that Adam should share her fate because God might "provide some other Eve." Thus Adam "shall eat, and die with me, or live."

They meet again in the Garden and Adam's heart "forbodes" some ill. Eve's face flushes guiltily as she informs him of her great sin. Adam reflects and decides that "not cozened, I with choice my life resign: Imprudence was your fault, but love was mine." Thus eating the fruit Adam realizes that their "lot is cast," as Lucifer boasts to himself of "sick Nature." Gabriel and Raphael descend once more to Adam and Eve as the news of the Fall saddens the firmament. But their deaths have been deferred and banishment is to be their doom. Adam and Eve then turn to quarreling over who is the cause of their misfortune, Eve for eating of the forbidden fruit or Adam for allowing her to go alone into the Garden of Eden. Raphael descends to inform them that "Th' All-good does not his creatures death desire," but that the sinful pair are exiled "to the lower world," and will forever procure their food and shelter through toil. Raphael presents to them a vision of what they will have caused in the future. Eve states that "not knowing, we but share our part of woe: Now, we the fate of future ages bear." After showing them death, Raphael offers hope for the future, for "the blest" shall be crowned with immortality. Adam and Eve rejoice, and Eve expresses the idea that the fall was fortunate: "Ravished with joy, I can but half repent the sin, which heaven makes happy in the event." The blessed Spirits and the Angels exeunt leaving Adam and Eve to prepare for the coming winter, "for now the war of nature is begun."

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VIFA

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