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REPORT
of
COMMITTEE ON EXAMINATION

This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a Committee of the Graduate School, have given Miss Helen Louise Blake final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts. We recommend that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

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REPORT
of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of
the Graduate School, have read the accompanying
thesis submitted by Miss Helen Louise Blake
for the degree of Master of Arts
They approve it as a thesis meeting the require-
ments of the Graduate School of the University of
Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts

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A STUDY OF THE FORM AND METHOD
OF SATIRE IN THE POETRY OF
THE AGE OF DRYDEN.

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The subject for discussion in this paper is the form and method of satire in the poetry of the Age of Dryden. In the term, form, are included verse-form and literary genre. Verse-form has reference, more particularly to rime and meter, while literary genre has reference to treatment of the subject-matter, as illustrated by the mock-epic, the fable, the dialog, and the elegy.. The forms taken by satire, in the Age of Dryden are ballads, fables, epistles, addresses, odes, dialoges, narratives, epigrams, lyrics, and epics, - in fact, all the various forms of poetry which are to be found in the Age. The method is either indirect or direct. By indirect is meant that method which does not use personalities, but which veils the satire in an allegory or in a general treatment of the subject. By the direct method is meant, merely, the use of personalities and obvious allusions. The indirect method tends to generalize and the direct method tends to particularize. The term, satire, as a form of literature, is interpreted variously even by contemporary writers, but for the purpose of this paper, that species of poetry which depicts the follies and the vices of the age with the intention to ridicule or to reform, is satire.

The Age of Dryden, broadly speaking, includes the years between 1660 and 1700, altho no definite year may be marked off as a boundary line when we may say that the influence of Dryden

ceased or when it began.

There are three principal subjects to which the poetical satires of the Age devote themselves: political, ecclesiastical, and social subjects. One author¹ adds moral satire, but it seems that the didactic or moral element is interwoven with some of the poetry in each of the above named types; therefore it will not be discussed as a distinct type.

The satire of the Age of Dryden has, as a background, the satire of the preceding ages. This subject has been treated by Mr. S. M. Tucker in Verse Satire in England² and by Mr. R. M. Alden in The Rise of Formal Satire in England.³ Mr. Previt -Orton, in his book The Political Satire in English Poetry⁴ covers the whole field of English satire in a more limited discussion.

Alden presents the following aspect of satire: Wyatt and most of Wyatt's successors, who drew from the classics, accepted Juvenal as their model. By the beginning of the Seventeenth Century the writing of satires was recognized as a fashion of the times. The decasyllabic couplet may probably be regarded as, at least, the equal for satiric effect of the Latin hexameter or the Italian terza rima, and therefore came to be the recognized medium for satiric expression. It was chosen first by Spenser for satire and was adopted almost simultaneously by Donne, Lodge and Hall, and it is quite as likely that this happened by coincidence as that any one

1. Samuel Tucker, Verse Satire in England. New York, 1908, p. 223.

2. New York, 1908.

3. Philadelphia, 1899.

4. Cambridge, 1910.

of them definitely set the example for the others. The couplet of the Elizabethan satirists is by no means lacking in the incisive, epigrammatic qualities that mark the satiric verse of a century¹ later, but, in general, it is more loosely and crudely formed.

It was natural, during the Elizabethan Age, that the satiric type of Juvenal, that is, the type of direct rebuke, rather than the type of Horace, which was that of general mockery, was more popular. English people had a strong moral sense and preferred the indignant scorn for the vices of the Age which Juvenal's satires revealed, to the polite ridicule of the follies of the Age which characterized Horace's satires. Horace was used more for decorative purposes, for his satires were ever decent and refined. Dryden possibly responded to these qualities found in Horace, altho he never acknowledged the fact. The coarse and vulgar form was more Juvenalian than Horatian. "Persius' chief influence, like that of Juvenal, seems to have been in the promotion of the idea that formal satire must tend toward harshness and obscurity as well as toward keenness and vigor....."

"It was in connection with literary satire that the element of personal satire most commonly appeared in the Elizabethan period."² Elizabethan satires, according to Professor Alden, may be grouped in three chronological groups. First, those sporadic attempts at formal satire which appeared in the half century between Wyatt and Donne. Secondly, the satires of the last decade of the Sixteenth Century when the formal satire came to be distinctly in fashion, reaching its height in the years 1597-1600. Thirdly,

1. Alden, The Rise of Formal Satire in England. passim.

2. ibid. pp. 227, 236.

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the satire of the decade following 1613. It is marked, on the one hand, by the influence of Wither who turned the satire into a moral or religious poem, and on the other hand, by the lapse of the form into a mere frame-work for any use to which small versifiers chose to put it.

"The list of satires comes to an almost sudden break at about the time of the accession of Charles I. Like all other literary forms of the Elizabethan Age, this one had passed thru a period of rapid decline, to be made ready for revival in the succeeding period under new influences and for new purposes. With the rise of the wars of the Commonwealth and the power of the Puritans, satire found again its ancient field of political strife and took on new vigor.

"During the period of the Commonwealth the interest in the Latin satirists had diminished. However, in 1665 were first published some of the satires of Boileau, the French imitator of the type of Horace. The influence of Boileau's satires was not long in reaching England and meant a revival of classicism. The witty treatment of contemporary events and the analytic treatment of human character, altho not lacking in the Elizabethan satire, were re-introduced by this French satirist and proved to be just what the formal classical satirists missed.¹"

A summary of the important facts in the history of satiric poetry up to this point will serve its purpose at this time. The decasyllabic couplet, first chosen by Spenser for satire, was immediately adopted by Donne, Lodge and Hall. The career of the

1. Alden, Rise of Formal Satire in England, passim.

decasyllabic couplet is of importance to note, for it recurs frequently in succeeding satires. The type of Juvenal with its fiery declamation against vice and elaborate character portrayal rather than the type of Horace with its didactic tone and general ridicule of the follies of the times, was more popular in the Elizabethan Age. In connection with the literary satire the element of personal satire appeared during this Age. The decasyllabic couplet, the Juvenalian type of rebuke, the personal satire, and the influence of Boileau will be traced thru the poems of the Age of Dryden, in which it will appear that English satire was heterogeneous before Dryden's time and that Dryden set satire in order and became the archetype for his contemporaries and successors.

CHAPTER II
PRE-DRYDENIAN WRITERS
and
MINOR SATIRISTS OF THE AGE OF DRYDEN.

The pre-Drydenian writers of satiric poetry during the period of the Commonwealth were John Cleveland (1613-1658), John Denham (1615-1669), Andrew Marvell (1621-1678), and Samuel Butler (1612-1681). Altho all of them lived when Dryden was in his youth, yet his influence, as a writer of satire, was not felt until about 1681, after they had done their writing. Cleveland, (1613-1658), as the first English writer of partisan verse, purely political in his aim and devoting his compositions to a studious attack on the other party in the state, is an important figure in the history of verse-satire. His satires are chiefly burlesques or invectives, They are full of odd conceits and sparkling witticisms, and are frankly personal in the allusions.¹ They have the Juvenalian stamp in portrayal of character which is drawn with vigor and bitterness. It is curious to note that, whereas Dryden's satiric masterpieces reveal a witty criticism of contemporary events, a keen analysis of character and a classical dignity and compactness of style, the predecessors of Dryden most often reveal but one characteristic which goes to make up a clever satire. Cleveland's finest satire is "The Rebel Scot" which far surpasses his "Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter," both of which impress the reader with their savage denunciation of the Scots. This is the type of direct rebuke practised by imitators of Juvenal. These satires excel in keen analysis of

1. See Alden, Rise of Formal Satire in England, p. 241.

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character and personal abuse. A witty criticism of contemporary events is often found, but of classical dignity and compactness of style there is no evidence.

A follower of Cleveland, Sir John Denham (1615-1669), reflected his master in his satires, which attacked not only persons of distinction outside of the court circle, but satirized in bitter notes the court of Charles II. None of his poems deserve analysis, but the facts that he followed in Cleveland's footsteps, and that he was the forerunner of a more brilliant satirist, are worthy of notice. Andrew Marvell (1621-1678), the successor of Denham, was also a disciple of Cleveland. He adopted a rough, abusive style. His business was to arouse public indignation against the court, not by delicate reserve but by going out of his way for obscene ridicule. His earliest political satire was "The Character of Holland," written during the First Dutch War, in Cleveland's manner. It imitates "The Rebel Scot" by Cleveland. His ballad on "The Statue in Stock's Market (1672) and his epigram "On Blood's Stealing the Crown" are more than commonplace. His "Fleeno, an English Priest at Rome," a mock-epic, is thought to have given Dryden his idea for "Mac-Flecknoe". Dryden's mock-epic appeared in 1682, about a year after Marvell's satire. As Dryden was literary dictator of the Age, it is most probable that he had read "Fleeno", and as Dryden was always alert to the most effective insults that he might use against his literary and political enemies, he very likely conceived the idea of picturing Shadwell as the son of Fleeno, or, in other words, as Mac-Flecknoe. The suggestion of the form of the mock-epic may also have indicated

a favorable genre to Dryden who was contemplating how he might best disgrace the impertinent versifier, Thomas Shadwell. To return to Marvell, we find the same characteristics which were present in Cleveland's verse-satire in Marvell's satire, with the added appendage, that of obscene ridicule. It was to be a long time before obscenity was to disappear from poetry.

From these poets of the Cleveland School, we pass to Samuel Butler (1612-1681). Butler was not representative of his Age, for, altho he published his satires during the period of Dryden, he actually wrote in the preceding period. He was an eccentric versifier. His "Hudibras" is modelled after "Don Quixote." "The Elephant in the Moon," by the same author, ridicules the pedantry of the discoveries of scientists and is a forerunner of Swift's prose satires on the same subject. The poems reveal a witty criticism of contemporary events and are not lacking in depiction of character, but they have no classical dignity and no compactness of style and form. Butler's poems excel in brilliant witticisms and epigrammatic sayings, but they fail in unity and classical dignity.

The heterogeneous nature of the satiric poetry of these three pre-Drydenian writers is noticeable. There is a similarity in treatment of the theme of the poems of Cleveland, ^{and Marvell} for both are Juvenalian in the persistent use of person^{al} vituperation. Marvell adds a quality not present in Cleveland's poems, that is, obscene ridicule. The form, with reference both to verse-form and literary genre, is not fixed, for there are ballads, mock-epics, epigrams, fables and dialogs, in rimed couplet or rime in couplets, in iambic, trochaic, anapestic, dactylic trimeter, tetrameter, pentameter,

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and other genres and verse-forms also appear. Marvell does not follow the type of Juvenal throught his poems, but we find the influence of Horace in the mock-epic poem, "Fleono." Even Cleveland and Marvell, who were closely allied, seem uncertain as to the most effective verse-form and literary genre for verse-satire. The vacillating habit resulted in a varied array or heterogeneous display of satire. Butler chooses the mock-epic form and the allegorical or indirect method in "Hudibras" and "The Elephant in the Moon," respectively. The Hudibrastic, octosyllabic verse, is the instrument used to convey the satire. The effectiveness, for verse-satire, of the heroic couplet as the equal of the Italian *terza rima* and the Latin hexameter had not been discovered. In form and method the result is heterogeneous. Not only those writers who did not live during the period of Dryden's glory failed to discover an effective, clever, forceful, and artistic expression for their verse-satire, but some of the writers during the immediate Age of Dryden failed to respond to his dictatorship, for they were not capable disciples. Much scurrilous doggerel was produced by mawkish postasters who had not the genius to write masterpieces.

With illustrations from the verse-satirists which belong to the pre-Drydenian period, the continued heterogeneous form and method will be revealed. The satires of John Oldham, Thomas Brown, Thomas Otway, Thomas D'Urfey, Sir Charles Sedley, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Rochester, and a group of anonymous satires will serve to illustrate the variety of poetical satires.

OLDHAM.

John Oldham¹ (1654-1683) introduces the Age of Dryden and "begins a line of denunciatory satirists, who like him, generalize their pictures and charge the shadows in them while they try to avoid his artistic faults and fail to attain his vigour. As a satirist he was original. He introduced into English the sustained general denunciation of the Latin satirists."²

The satire which places Oldham as one of the leading satirists of the Age of Dryden is his ^{group of} "Satyrs upon the Jesuits,"³ written in 1679 and published in 1681. These satires are classified as ecclesiastical, as they ^{are} directed against the Jesuits, a Roman Catholic sect which was founded by Ignatius Loyola. The poem is divided into Prologue, First Satyr, Second Satyr, Third Satyr and Fourth Satyr. The Prologue is replete with invectives and bitterness towards Loyola and his tribe. The rimer couplet is used. In the following couplet in the Prologue he tells what he purposes to do in the four succeeding satires.

"Red hot with Vengeance thus I'll brand disgrace
So deep, no time shall e'er the marks deface."

In Satyr 1 we have the address of Garnet's ghost to the Jesuits, met in private cabal just after the murder of Godfrey. A frequent use of epithets in his direct denunciation is found. "Bleeding God," "nice bogling Consciences," "grinning Infamy" are a few

1. Sixth edition of Works of Oldham with his Remains.
London, 1703.

2. Previte-Orton, Political Satire in English Poetry, pp. 95, 93

3. Sixth edition of Works of Oldham with his Remains,
London, 1703, p. 1.

epithets used. Oldham compares the conditions in England at this time to those of the time of Nero and the great massacre of the Christians. Satyr 2 is a savage treatment of the corruption of the Roman Catholic order. The following citation is a fair example of Oldham's treatment of these same Jesuits:

"Monsters avaunt! may some kind whirlwind sweep
 Our Land, and drown these Locusts in the deep:
 Hence ye loath'd Objects of our Scorn and Hate,
 With all the Curses of an injur'd State:
 Go, foul Imposters, to some duller Soil;
 Some easier Nation with your Cheats beguile.

 Where Ignorance, and th' Inquisition rules,
 Where the vile Herd of poor Implicit Fools
 Are damn'd contentedly, where they are led
 Blindfold to Hell, and thank and pay their Guide."

Satyr 3 Loyala's Will. After a bitter abuse of Loyala, this imposter gives a speech to his followers. In this address which pours forth its shower of satire on the Roman Catholic practices, Oldham has shown himself to be a past-master in the art of generalized denunciation. He is extravagant in his censure. This third satire is, by far, the most forceful of the "Satyrs on the Jesuits."

Satyr 4 The image of Loyala talks. His origin is related and the rogueries of the Jesuits are disclosed, also the ridiculous superstitions of the Church of Rome. At times Oldham is eloquent and at the same time sacrilegious. I quote for proof of this statement:

"But nothing with the Crowd does more enhance
 The Value of these holy Charlatans,
 Than when the Wonders of the Mass they view,
 Where spiritual Jugglers their chief Mast'ry shew:
 Hey Jingo, Sirs! What's this? 'tis the Bread you see;
 Presto be gone! 'tis now a Deity.
 Two Grains of Dough, with Cross, and stamp of Priest
 And five small Words pronounced make up their Christ.
 To this they all fall down, this all adore,
 And strait devour, what they ador'd before;
 Down goes the tiny Saviour at a bite
 To be digested, and at length beshit:"

Such a tirade is nothing less than indecent and blasphemous.

Besides this satire, Oldham has written a few social satires and imitations of Horace's, Juvenal's and Boileau's satires.¹

Among the social satires may be grouped "The Satyr against Vertue. A Pindarique Ode."² Vertue is addressed in extravagantly vituperative epithets, such as: "thou solemn grave Impertinence," "thou damn'd Fatigue," "thou puling fond Green-sickness of the mind," "curst jilt." Allusions are made to Milton's conception of Hell and the devil. The Puritan is referred to as,

"That sniveling Puritan, who spite of all the mode
Would be unfashionably good,
And exercis'd his whining Gifts to rail at Vice."

As in the "Satyr on the Jesuits," Oldham alludes to Nero and the burning of Rome in this "Satyr against Vertue." Biblical allusions are not lacking:

"How sneaking was the first debauch that sinn'd,
Who for so small a Crime sold human Kind!
How undeserving that high Place,
To be thought Parent of our sin, and race.
.....
Had the just Fates design'd me in his stead;
I'd done some great, and unexampled deed:
A deed which should decry
The Stoicks dull Equality,
And shew that sin admits transcendancy."

To be sure, Oldham is ironical, and yet to convince people that he did not mean what he said in disapproval of virtue, he wrote "An Apology for the foregoing Ode by way of Epilogue" in which he said:

"My Part is done, and you'll I hope excuse
Th' Extravagance of a repenting Muse,
Pardon whate'er she hath too boldly said,
She only acted here in Masquerade."

1. 1703 edition, pp. 136, 175, 185, 188, 266, 287, 427.

2. ibid p. 84

This poem also has the Juvenalian note of invective. The rimed couplet is a feature of this satire, a feature which is characteristic of Oldham's poems.

Another poem belonging^{to} the class of social satires is "A Satyr upon a Woman, who by her Falshood and Scorn was the Death of My Friend."¹ A quotation will be explanatory of Oldham's treatment of woman:

"Vilest of that vile Sex, which damn'd us all!
Ordain'd to cause, and plague us for our fall!
Woman! nay worse! for she can nought be said,
But Mummy by some De'il inhabited."

Curses are heaped upon the sex. Oldham does not curse moderately, but with all his satirical poetry, he bores the reader with his excesses.

A mere mention of other social satires is necessary.

"Upon a Printer that exposed him by Printing a Piece of his grossly mangled and faulty,"² is on the same pattern³ as the above satire, as is also "A Satyr touching the Nobility."

The same author has written satires in imitation of other satirists' productions. "An Imitation of Horace, Book I, Satyr IX,"⁴ was written in June, 1681. Oldham has prettily turned the Latin "satyr" to suit the English environment. The dialog form is cleverly made use of. The rimed couplet is adopted. None of the vituperation found in his social satires, in general, is present here.

"The Thirteenth Satyr of Juvenal Imitated,"⁵ was written in April, 1682. The theme of this poem may be summed up in the "Argument:" "The Poet comforts a Friend that is overmuch concerned

1. 1703 edition of his works, p. 121.

2. *ibid.* p. 257

3. *ibid.* p. 379

4. *ibid.* p. 175

5. *ibid.* p. 427

for the loss of a considerable Sum of Money, of which he has lately been Cheated by a Person, to whom he intrusted the same. The poet takes occasion to lash the Degeneracy, and Villainy of the present Times." The English setting is given the precedence over the Latin and the five-beat line with the rimed couplet predominates.

"The Eighth Satyr of Monsieur Boileau Imitated"¹ was written in October, 1682. In this satire Boileau's "Satyr upon Man" is imitated. Oldham argues, with an anonymous character, the question,

"Of all the Creatures in the World that be,
Beast, Fish, or Fowl, that go, or swim, or fly
Throughout the Globe from London to Japan,
The arrant'st Fool in my opinion's Man."

Scarcely do we recognize Oldham in this satire, for the bitterness is not present, but in its place, there is a droll mockery, which mock-epic form was adopted by Boileau in "Le Lutrin" and later imitated by Pope in "The Rape of the Lock."

"A Satyr in Imitation of the Third of Juvenal"² was written in May, 1682, and is similarly treated in the imitation of the "Thirteenth Satyr of Juvenal." The English application with the five-beat line and rimed couplet is prevalent.

"A Satyr concerning Poetry"³ finally brings to a close the satires of John Oldham. In this "satyr" the ghost of Spenser appears to the poet. A dialog ensues. The ghost states the purpose of his appearance in the following words:

1. 1703 edition of Oldham's works, p. 366
2. ibid p. 427
3. ibid p. 412

"I come, fond Idiot, ere it be too late,
Kindly to warn thee of thy wretched Fate:
Take heed betimes, repent, and learn of me
To shun the dang'rous Rocks of Poetry."

The unremunerative ^{work} and unappreciative reception that poets of the time received is described in this poem. The poem contains the advice of Spenser to would-be poets to choose another vocation outside the field of poetry. The subject, as its name infers, is satirically treated. The indirect method rather than the direct method is used and Boileau rather than Juvenal is imitated. .

BROWN.

An author of satire in prose and verse who has heretofore, for the most part, remained unmentioned is Thomas Brown (1663-1704).

There have been numerous collections of his works: A Collection of Miscellany Poems, Letters, etc. by Brown, etc. 8 vo. was published in London, 1699; in 1700, A Collection of Mock Commendatory Verses appeared; A Collected Edition of Brown's Works in 3 v. with Character of the Author by James Drake, M.D., was published in 1707-8, 8 vo.; shortly after his death appeared a Collection of all the Dialogues of Mr. T. Brown, 1704, 8 vo.; a fourth edition in 4 v. 8 vo., dated 1719; a Supplement¹ volume of "Remains" incorporated in later editions was published in 1721; and the eighth and final edition was published in 1760 in 4 vols. 8 vo. These editions form a list of the collections of Brown's poetry. The editions which have been used in this thesis are the fifth and third editions with the Life and Character of Mr. Brown and a Key to all his Writings, published in the years 1715 and 1720 in London and printed for Sam. Briscoe. The title of these editions is The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown, Serious and Comical, in Prose and Verse, and consists of 4 vols., the first and fourth of which contain the verse, the other two, the prose.

As a prose satirist under the pseudonym of Dudley Tomkinson, he wrote a satire on Dryden, The Reasons of Mr. Bays Changing his Religion Considered in a Dialogue between Crites, Eugenius, and

1. Sic.

Mr. Bays, with two other parts having separate titles, published in 1688-1690 and then republished with additions in 1691.

For the purpose of this thesis merely the satiric poems will be discussed.

It is said by the editor in the first volume of his works, published in 1720: "He (Brown) was a perfect Original in his way of Writing, and less a Plagiary than any of our modern Authors: ... Tho' Mr. Brown may be suppos'd to have taken some part of his Design from Lucian, and imitated that witty Grecian in his Dialogues of the Dead, yet certainly the many and beautiful Embellishments in all his Works (which laugh'd at the Follies of Mankind, and crush'd the Vices of the Times) were perfectly his own."

The satirical poetry of Brown is difficult to classify. An appropriate tabulation seems to group his poems into social satires, with sub-divisions of general and particular satires. By general is meant satires which concern general subjects, such as, marriage; by particular is meant those satires which are directed at persons and the classes which they represent. Sometimes these assume a political, sometimes an ecclesiastical, and sometimes merely a personal nature.

Besides the division of social satire, the fable plays an important role in Brown's repertoire. The fable is as variable in nature as the social satire, and, for this reason, the most satisfactory method is to review each satire and, wherever possible, classify each.

First, we shall consider the general social satires. In the two following satires, the theme is similar: "The Satyr against Woman,"¹ and "A Satyr on Marriage,"² Brown's bitter denunciation of woman and marriage is Lucianic in tone. The rimed couplet is used in these poems as is also direct address. Iambic pentameter is the meter of "A Satyr against Woman," and anapestic tetrameter (doggerel rimed in couplets) is the meter of "A Satyr on Marriage."

The Lucianic dialog is imitated in numerous social satires; as for example, "A Pleasant Dialogue between the Pillory and Daniel Defoe,"³ which is a satire on the distaste with which the nobility hear their own crimes reported, and in "The Last Observer: Or, the Devil in Mourning,"⁴ also "A Dialogue betwixt the new Lotteries, and the Royal-Oak,"⁵ which is a satire on the sham money-making schemes of the day. Direct address and conventional raillery is a prevailing feature in these dialogs.

Such are the general social satires. We shall now consider the particular social satires which comprise a larger number. In all the poems of this type, Thomas Brown reveals himself a master in the use of personal invectives.

Such epithets as "base sordid monster," "mercenary slave," "thou churchyard pimp and pander to the grave," "Death's lusty factor," "Son of Desolation," "thou motley lump of ignorance and pride," are wittily applied to the ignorant quack in the "Satyr upon an Ignorant Quack."⁶ "A Tale from Bocas, or a Cure for Cuckoldom"⁷ ridicules the law profession. The narrative method is exemplified in this satire. Medical men are satirized in "On the

1. 1720 edition, vol. 1, p. 60.
 2. ibid. p. 64
 3. ibid. p. 148
 4. ibid. p. 149

5. 1715 edition, vol. 4, p. 102
 6. 1720 ed., vol. 4, p. 70.
 7. ibid. p. 123.

Death of Dr. Kirleus"¹ and "To My Friend Mr. Playford, on, the Publications of His Second Book of Pills."² He employs the direct method in his attacks upon his objects.

In the poem "To Mr. D'Urfey upon his Incomparable Ballads Call'd by him Lyric Odes,"³ D'Urfey is insolently addressed as, "thou cur, half French, half English breed," also in "To Mr. Dryden, on his Conversion,"⁴ Dryden is in verse, "Traytor to God, and Rebel to thy pen," "Priest-ridden Poet, perjur'd son of Ben." "The Highlander"⁵ a satire on^{the} much abused Scotch "who feed hourly on tobacco and for their food eat oatmeal" is composed in rimed couplet, as usual in Brown's poems.

Among the other poems of this group of personal abusive satires are "Upon the Anonymous Author of Legion's Humble Address to the Lords,"⁶ "To that most Senseless Scoundrel the Author of Legion's Humble Address"⁷ and "A Song in Ridicule of a Famous Musician"⁸ who was caught serenading his mistress with a base-viol, in a very frosty night.

The church incumbents are not overlooked by this author of powerful invectives. "An Elegy on that most Orthodox, and Pains-taking Divine, Mr. Samuel Smith, Ordinary of Newgate, who dy'd of a Quinsey on St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August, 1698"⁹ is redolent with personal abuse, as is also "An Epitaph upon that

1. 1715 edition, vol. 4, p. 99

2. *ibid*, p. 56.

3. *ibid*, p. 110

4. 1720 edition, vol. 1, p. 144

5. *ibid*, p. 126

6. *ibid*, p. 146

7. *ibid*, p. 147

8. 1715 edition, vol. 4, p. 73

9. *ibid* p. 41.

profound and learned Casuist, the late Ordinary of Newgate,"¹ in which the following quotation is found:

"If a Sinner came him nigh
With Soul black as Chimney,
And had but the Sense
To give him the Pence,
With a little Church-paint
He'd make him a Saint."

In brief, the social satires which deserve notice have been mentioned.

Among the most interesting and clever poems Brown has written are his fables, which will now be discussed.

"The Fable of the Bat and the Birds"² in imitation of that of the Buzzard in "The Hind and the Panther" was written in 1689. The birds and the beasts declare war on each other. The foolish bat, a bird of obscure and base origin, joins the beasts. The birds win a victory over the beasts who in their confusion fight each other. The bat is discovered in a cellar. He is brought to the bar of justice where the full house sits talking of the war. The birds take turn in "drolling" upon the poor apostatizing bat.

"First, Parrot Settle open'd wide his Throat,
Next Cuckow Rimer always in a Note;
And Peacock Chetwood, of the Clergy kind;
But his Poetick Feet disgrac'd the Train behind.
And Creech, and Norris, Blackbirds of Renown;
And Corm'rant Higden, for devouring known.
Nay, to augment the Hardship of his Woes,
Owl Durfy clapt his Wings, and hooted in the Close.

.....
The Eagle order'd silence in the Room,
And thus aloud pronounc'd the shivring Lubber's doom."

The bird is addressed, and to mortify the bat they give his place to the buzzard Shadwell whom they appoint historian of their state "And Poet Laureat of the Woods create." In this fable, which is

1. 1715 edition, vol. 4, p. 43.

2. ibid. p. 36.

reminiscent of Dryden's "Mac-Flecknoe" the direct method is used with an allegorical background. It is classed as a political satire in which the rimed couplet prevails.

"The Fable of the Wolf and the Porcupine"¹ is a fanciful treatment of the question as to whether or not England shall have a standing army. In a dialog between the two animals concerning the past war and the present peace, the wolf says:

"Yet you your quills erected wear,
And tho' none seeks to harm ye,
In time of Peace about you bear
Methinks a standing army."

The porcupine retorts thus:

"Friend - - 'tis true
The war's at length decided,
But 'gainst such tricking blades as you,
'Tis good to be provided."

This is a political satire in the Yankee Doodle balled doggerel measure.

"The Weesils, a satyrical Fable"² gives an account of some argumentative passages in the Lion's Court, about Weesilion's taking the oaths. This fable is directed against Dr. Sherlock who took the oaths to King William and Queen Mary thru the persuasion of his wife. The poem was written about 1691 and is divided into two sections. The argument of the first section is:

"Husband and Wife at Variance are
About the Oathes, till Female Art
Informs his Conscience, he must Swear,
And brings him over to her part."

To quote further:

"Weesilion lived, in Matrimonial state;
Lucky and bearn'd, he bore no Cross in Life
Unless Mankind's Domestic Cross, a Wife."

1. 1715 edition, vol. 4, p. 39

2. Published in William III Tracts, 1691-1699, vol. 1, by University of Minnesota. Original copy published separately in London, 1691.

But in the Lion's Court there lived an "awful bard." The lion was betrayed and finally deposed. Some refused to take the oath to the new king and Weesilion of "the Learn'd Ministerial Crew," also thought it wrong, so refused. His wife, "and known a weesil of another strain, perceiving that her bacon did decrease," resolved to persuade him to take the oath. A debate follows in which Wife Weesil wins Husband Weesil over to do so. The argument of the second section is summed up as follows:

"The Weesil of his former Flock,
Our Convert's Double-dealing shews,
Who patiently receives the Shock,
And lays the Fault upon his Spouse."

This fable is a political satire in the indirect method. It is in the indirect method for the direct reference to particular persons is lacking.

In this brief discussion of Brown's satirical poems, we have attempted to point out the influence of Dryden in Brown's beast-fables and we have also attempted to point out the heterogeneous nature of form and method of verse-satire in these poems. Brown reveals the imprint of Dryden in his fables, which are political and contain the clever witticisms of contemporary events. It is also worthy of mention that in "The Fable of the Bat and the Birds" the rimed couplet is used with comparative ease and skill.

OTWAY.

Thomas Otway (1651-1685) is celebrated as a dramatist, but he also has written one verse-satire which deserves notice. In "The Poet's Complaint of his Muse: or, a satire against libels"¹ he retaliates against his literary opponents. "This poem," says Thornton, "which owes its preservation more to the name of the author than to its merit, has now, after the lapse of more than one hundred years, lost the interest it probably yielded when the allusions it contains were obvious and striking. The cumbrous allegory of Spenser,^{thru} which the poet has chosen to convey the satire, involves his meaning in greater obscurity; and the barbarous measure of the verse, written in imitation of the lawless Pindaric odes, disgusts every admirer of elegant and polished versification. It is not sufficiently clear what was the precise design of the author in this satire. Under the term "Libel" he probably comprehends faction and sedition; as well as all the store of abuse vented in multitudes of ballads and other similar productions, with which the press, at that period, incessantly teemed. The allegory, however, wants connection and uniformity. The monster Libel, the offspring of Rebellion,² is a type of the Shaftsbury faction."

1. Otway's Works, 1813 edition, published by Thomas Thornton, London.

2. 1813 edition published by Thomas Thornton, Preface.

The form of this poem is that of an ode. It was printed in 1689 and was dedicated to Thomas Earl of Ossory. There are twenty-one stanzas, with no less than twenty-one lines to a stanza. The rimed couplet predominates. The story is that of a bard who comes to a bare hill and lies down to rest. It is a place "where the earth was bare, and naked all was at her birth,

When by the word it first was made,
Ere God had said,
Let grass and herbs and ev'ry green thing grow,
With fruitful trees after their kind; and it was so."

Two stanzas are devoted to the introduction, then the narrative follows. Occurrences in the poet's life are related. He tells how he grows in love with a deceitful muse. In the course of events, his muse deserts him and leaves him dejected. He calls for advice from the council. The council draws aside the veil of dotage from the bard's eyes, and he beholds his muse with a horrid train. Allusions are made to the Earl of Rochester and the "City-Poet" or Elkanah Settle.

"Till at last in the rear there came
The Poet's scandal, and the Muse's shame,
A beast of monstrous guise, and Libel was his name."

There is also satire on the Presbyterians and on Lord Shaftesbury, whom Dryden exposes in "The Medal." In the narrative there follows a description of those who assisted the mother of Libel before his birth. "Bawd Hypocrisy," "Madame Impudence," "the fair dame Scandal with her squinting eyes," "Malice, queen of far spreading lies," "Mid-wife Mutiny" are significant epithets. Rochester is the one who

"loved to cast stinking satires up in ill-pil'd
rhymes
And live by the corruptions of unhappy times."

Libel is pictured as "he who wore a mystical green ribband in his hat." This was the true accoutrement of the arch-villain, Shaftesbury. In the progress of the poem, Libel's early life, youth, and later years are related in detail.

This poem abounds in personal invective and may be classed as belonging to the same general group as "Mac-Flecknoe"¹ and "The Dunciad,"² for contemporary poets are ridiculed in mock-epic form. Altho there is the allegorical background, the allusions are not difficult to interpret, for the writers of verse assume their true names.

1. By Dryden.
2. By Pope.

D'URFEY..

"Thomas D'Urfey (1653-1723) was the most popular ballad composer under the Restoration," says Previt -Orton in his chapter on the "Political and Ecclesiastical Satire of the Age of Dryden" published in the eighth volume of the Cambridge History of English Literature.

As a ballad writer, we shall now consider D'Urfey.¹

"The Trimmer" was written about 1690 at the time of William and Mary. The word "Trimmer" was a political term in use in the reign of Charles II and William III. D'Urfey interprets "Trimmer" as "applied to the most profligate of time-servers."² This ballad consists of three riming lines and a refrain of

"Which nobody can deny, deny,
Which nobody can deny."

in each stanza. This may be classified as a political satire, for the "Trimmers" are ridiculed thruout.

"London's Loyalty" is a political satire of about 1683 and was written with rime in couplets. D'Urfey was not hesitant about his use of epithets, in which particular he imitated Cleveland, Marvell, and Oldham, who, in turn, were influenced by the style of Juvenal.

1. Wilkins' Political Ballads, 2 vols. London, 1860.
Roxburghe Ballads, vol. 5, Hertford, 1885. D'Urfey's New Operas
With Comical Stories and Poems, London, 1721.

2. Wilkins' Political Ballads, vol. 2., p. 16.

"The Bully"¹ was written in 1678 for his comedy "The Fool turned Critick." "The Bully" is a coarse satirical picture of Sir Thomas Armstrong who was considered as the "Bully Knight." It is a "particular" social satire and follows:

"Room, room, room for a man o' th' Town,
 That takes delight in roaring;
 That daily rambles up and down,
 And spends his nights in whoring;
 That for the modish name of Spark
 Dares his companions rally,
 Commits a Murder in the dark,
 Then sneaks into an Alley.
 To every female that he sees
 He swears he bears affection;
 Disdains all Law, Arrests, or Fees,
 By help of a Protection;
 At last intending worsser wrongs,
 By some relenting Cully,
 He's decently whipt through the Lungs, -
 And there's an end of Bully."

D'Urfey's "New Song made by a Person of Quality" will also serve to illustrate the tendencies of this poet's verse. It was written in 1683 and may be grouped as a political satire in the direct method. This "New Song" is rightly called a mirror of the times in which few notorious characters escape from the author's bitter censure. Among those who seem to be out of favor with D'Urfey are the Whigs, to whom he directs the following lines:

"Now listen, ye Whigs, and hear what I speak,
 A Monarch (like Heaven) can give and can take;
 But you for Rebellion no reason can bring,
 So hang yourselves all; and God save the King!"

1. Roxburghe Ballads, vol. 5, p. 336.

THE COURT POETS.

On the accession of Charles II (1660) to the throne of England, that country little realized that there was being welcomed "a monarch to whom most things were easy save wisdom, who preferred the ribaldry of Buckhurst and Sedley to the grave advice of Arlington, who sauntered away his days in the society of his mistresses and delighted in satire; even tho it was directed against himself."¹ Charles II had spent his youth in France and at The Hague in Holland, and when he became King of England he retained the merry associates of his years spent on the Continent. With Charles II, the Golden Age of political satire was ushered in. A trio of court poets; namely, Sir Charles Sedley (1639-1701); Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and Earl of Dorset (1638-1706); and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, (1647-1680), were conspicuous for their court satires, both political and social. There was a uniformity in the lives of these three wits. Their youth was spent in dissolute and unscrupulous extravagances, altho they had devoted part of their years to active service in the King's battalion. Rochester died in middle age, but both Sedley and Buckhurst lived to become politicians of some influence. In poetry there was a striking similarity in these courtiers. The three imitated Boileau and Horace. "Only in satire did they give free reign to their eager antipathies and generous impulses."² There was a carelessness in all their works, which characteristic made it difficult to distinguish the works of one from another.

1. Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit., vol. 8, chap. 8, pp.224-225.
2. ibid, p. 229.

Altho Rochester far surpasses Sedley and Buckhurst, yet a few poems will be given by these minor poets in order to illustrate the nature of the satires composed.

Sedley.

Sir Charles Sedley¹ (1639-1701) ranks among the satirists of the Age of Dryden more especially for his social satires than for his political or ecclesiastical satires.

"An eminent hand" says: "It must be acknowledged he (Sedley) excell'd Dorset, Rochester, and those superior poets, who, as they conceiv'd lewdly, so they wrote in plain English and took no Care to cover the worst of their thoughts in clean Linnen; which scandalous Custom, in a Word, has assisted to bury the best performances of that age, because blended with the Prophaness or Indecency. They are not fit to be read by People whose Religion and Modesty have not quite forsaken them; and which, had those grosser parts been left out would justly have pass'd for the most polite Poetry that the World ever saw. But Sedley's Poems shall live forever."²

Altho, in general, the poetry of Sedley may be read without a blush, there are a few social satires, such as, "The Fall"³ and "On the Happy Corydon and Phillis"⁴ which do not deserve the foregoing compliment. The former is a narrative in which a trivial incident of every day occurrence is satirized, while the latter is a coarse social satire of a similar nature.

1. Works of Sir Charles Sedley, 2 vols. London, 1722.

2. Works of Sir Charles Sedley, London, 1722, vol. 1, Introduction.

3. ibid. p. 15.

4. Works of Sir Charles Sedley, vol. 2, p. 84.

The best of his social satires is, I believe, "The Happy Pair: Or a Poem on Matrimony"¹ in which he satirizes the conventional marriage with its pretended love. The English conventional marriage for money rather than for love furnished food for these earlier satirists, just as it does today for the great English satirist, George Bernard Shaw. In this satire the direct method is used with rimed couplet and non-stanzaic verse.

Among this author's social satires may be grouped fables which form concludes with a "Moral" or application of the fabulous or allegorical to the present conditions. For the purpose of illustration, a quotation from a typical fable entitled, "A Fable"² follows:

"In Aesop's Tales an honest Wretch we find,
Whose Years and Comforts equally declin'd.
He, in two Wives, had two domestick Ills,
For both had different Age to different Wills.
One pluck'd his black Hairs out, and one his gray,
The man for Quietness did both obey;
Till the whole Parish saw his head quite bare,
And said he wanted Sense as well as Hair.

Moral.

The Parties henpeck'd, W-m are thy Wives;
The Hairs they pluck, are thy Prerogatives.
Tories thy Person hate, thy Whigs thy Power.
Tho' much thou yieldest, still they tugg for more;
Till thou, and this old man, alike are shown,
He without Hair, and thou without a Crown.

Besides these forms of social satires, Sedley has written ballads, epilogues, epigrams, prologues, songs, and epitaphs, He attacks not only the follies, but the vices of the Age. He is the moralist thruout, for he reveals the corruptions for the purpose

1. Works of Charles Sedley, vol. 1, p. 15.
2. ibid. p. 4.

of teaching a lesson.

Not only did he write amusing social satires, but he wrote scathing satires on the Roman Catholic degeneracy of the times. The tone of Juvenal, imitated by Cleveland, Marvell, and Oldham in England is noticeable in "An Epilogue"¹ which is classed as an ecclesiastical satire and is replete with bitter invectives.

"There are damn'd Rogues amongst the French and Papist
 That fix Salvation to short Band and Hair,
 That belch and snuffle to prolong a Pray'r;
 That use t' enjoy the Creature to express
 Plain Whoring, Gluttony, and Drunkenness.
 And in a decent Way perform them too,
 As well, nay better far, alas! than you,
 Whose fleshly Failings are but Fornication,
 We godly phrase it, Gospel Propegation,
 Just as Rebellion was call'd Reformation."

1. Works of Sir Charles Sedley, vol. 1, p. 11.

Dorset.

After this discussion of Sedley's poems, we now approach Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset. "In no other poet will you find so vast a disproportion between his works and the eulogies they evoked."¹ Prior, as well as Dryden, exaggerates the merit of Dorset's poems. Prior says: "The manner in which he wrote will hardly ever be equalled..... Every one of his pieces is an ingot of gold, intrinsically and solidly valuable, such as wrought or beaten thinner, would shine thro' a whole book of an author."²

Dorset was, above all, a satirist. He was not, however, playful and mild in his satires, but, on the contrary, he was caustic and scornful.

The poem, I believe, which best reveals the ability of Dorset is, "A Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies,"³ written by the Earl of Dorset in the year 1686. The meter is that of a rime couplet. In a few lines towards the beginning of the poem the author instructs his Muse as to what he desires her to do:

"Go on, my Muse, and with bold voice proclaim
The vicious Lives, and long detested Fame,
Of Scoundrel Lords, and their lewd Wives Amours,
Pimp Statesmen, Canting Priests, Court Bawds and Whores:"⁴

1. Cambridge History of Eng. Lit., vol. 8, chap. 8, p. 246.
2. Ibid
3. Works of the Earl of Rochester, Roscomon, and Dorset, 2 vols. London, 1739, vol. 1, p. 32.
4. Ibid, p. 33.

When Dorset was forty-five years of age, he composed this satire, which is crowded with vituperation and scorn for the degenerate, immoral practices of the Court of Charles II and James II. Dorset was somewhat of a reformed rake himself, having sown his wild oats during the notorious career of Sedley and Rochester. "A Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies" is an elaborate and detailed picture of the corruption of society, with its obscene and highly vulgar amusements. Dorset does not falter in his use of personalities. Most frequently, however, he does not supply all the letters of the name, but only gives the first and last letters, such as, C-s, P-th, and so forth. With little ingenuity, the reader may easily imagine the remaining letters.

Dorset was particularly suited to expose the vices of the age for he had experienced this type of life. He had no mercy even for dignitaries, but revelled in tales of excesses to which the court and court mistresses and King were addicted during the most dissolute of ages.

Biblical allusions are not lacking. "Sodom and Gomorrah," "Joseph's Sacks," "Meek as Moses," and "for one poor Babe two Mothers not Debate" are a few allusions in this satire. The portrayal of the lewd characters is described in great detail, in the manner of an amateur writer. There are prototypes of this poem to be found in Rochester's poems, and were it not for the author's name affixed to this satire, it would be difficult to distinguish to what author readers are indebted. Dorset reveals the impress of Dryden in his merciless denunciation and in ^{the} use of ^{the} rhimed couplet.

Altho both characteristics existed in preceding verse-satirists, yet it is very probable that Dorset had read Dryden's satires and reflected Dryden in his best poem, "A Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies." This poem is classed as a social satire with the tone of Juvenal and Horace. Horace has been imitated in "the inconsequent chatter, full of moral maxims and worldly wisdom,¹ and Juvenal has been imitated in fiery declamations against vice."²

Another satire by Dorset is "To a Person of Honour", which is a personal satire directed against Honourable Edward Howard who wrote an heroic poem entitled, "The British Princes" printed in 1669. The direct method with rimed couplet is prevalent in Dorset's poem.

1. Cambridge History of Eng. Lit., v. 8, chap. 2, p. 65.
2. Works of Rochester, Roscomon, and Dorset, vol. 1, p. 48.

Rochester.

With this illustration from Dorset's poems, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, (1647-1680)¹ will furnish a further study of the social satire. "Rochester obtained notoriety as, after Buckingham, being the most dissolute character of a dissolute age."² As there has been much written on Rochester's life, a few facts will suffice. In 1673, Dryden and Rochester were on friendly terms, but partly owing to Rochester's jealous nature, and partly owing to Dryden's attachment to John Sheffield, the Earl of Mulgrave, a rival of Rochester in wit and court favor, their friendship was soon severed. Rochester immediately began to libel Dryden in poetry. After an embarrassing encounter between Mulgrave and Rochester, the "Essay on Satire" (1679) appeared. Rochester considered it a personal insult from Dryden who, however, did not write it. Dryden was waylaid by an emissary from Rochester and severely beaten. Dryden was libelled again and again by Rochester in his poems. In answer to Burnet who objected that revenge and falsehood were the blemishes of satire, Rochester said: "A man could not write with life, unless he was heated with revenge, for to make a Satire without Resentments, upon the cold notions of Philosophy, was as if a man would in cold blood cut men's throats, who had never offended him. And be it said, the lyes in these Libels came often in as ornaments³ that could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the poem."

1. See Cambridge History of Eng. Lit., vol. 8, chap. 8. Works of Rochester, Roscomon and Dorset, vol. 1, London, 1739.
2. Garnett's Age of Dryden.
3. Cambridge History of Eng. Lit., vol. 8, chap. 8, pp. 242-243.

The representative satires of the Earl of Rochester will now be discussed.

Rochester's masterpiece is the "Satire against Man"¹ imitated from Monsieur Boileau. The five-beat rimed couplet prevails. The cynical contempt of which Rochester shows himself a master in this poem, is cleverly uttered. The tone of the satire will be best illustrated by quotations.

"Women and Men of Wit are dangerous Tools,-
And even Fatal to admiring Fools. 2

.....
"For all his Pride, and his Philosophy,
'Tis evident Beasts are in their Degree
As wise at least, and better far than he. 3

.....
Be Judge yourself, I'll bring it to the Test,
Which is the basest Creature, Man or Beast.
Birds feed on Birds, Beasts on each other prey;
But Salvage Man alone do's Man betray. 4

.....
"For all Men would be Cowards, if they durst. 5

.....
"Men must be Knaves 'tis in their own Defence. 6

.....
"Thus, Sir, you see what Human Nature craves,
Most Men are Cowards, all Men should be Knaves;" 7

After belittling man and doubting his goodness, he says in reference to good men:

"If such there are, yet grant me this at least,
Man differs more from Man than Man from Beast." 8

1. Works of Rochester, Roscomon and Dorset, vol. 1, p. 58.
2. ibid. p. 60
3. ibid. p. 62
4. ibid., p. 63
5. ibid., p. 64
6. ibid., .
7. ibid.,
8. ibid., p. 66

This poem is a social satire in the direct method altho not one particular man is satirized, but rather man as a class.

"Horace's Tenth Satyr of the First Book Imitated,"¹
contains Rochester's literary preferences. Dryden is libelled as are also his contemporaries.

"Well, Sir, 'tis granted I said Dryden's Rhimes
Were stoll'n, unequal, may dull many Times:"²

Such quotations as the following illustrate the poem: "Crown's tedious Scenes for Poetry and Wit," "blundering Settle," "puz'ling Otway," "refin'd Etherage," "Flatman, that slow Drudge," "hasty Shadwell," "slow Wycherley."

"For pointed Satyr, I would Buckhurst choose,
The best Good Man with the worst-natur'd Muse."³
"Sedley has that prevailing gentle Art,
That can with a resistless Power impart
The loosest Wishes to the chastest Heart."⁴

⁵
For clever, heroic irony "The Debauchee," which contains fourteen lines of rimed couplet, is a masterpiece.

Rochester was daring and malicious in his personal abuse. He attacked Sir Carr Scroope, Nell Gwyn or Charles II with the same levity. In reply to Sir Carr Scroope's answer to "The Tenth Satire of the First Book of Horace" by Rochester, entitled "In Defence of Satire" Rochester wrote an "Answer to Sir Carr Scroope." After a savage treatment of Scroope, Rochester concludes thus:

1. Works of Rochester, Roscomon and Dorset, vol. 1, p. 67.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p. 69
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 80

"Half witty, and half mad, and scarce half brave,
 Half honest, which is very much a Knave;
 Made up of all the Halves, thou canst not pass
 For anything entire, but for an Ass." 1

"A Session of the Poets" permits Rochester to attack his contemporaries again. In the progress of the poem, Apollo sees fit to establish a government, leader and laws for the sons of the Muses. Apollo debates upon which to choose as leader. Dryden, "gentle George," "brawny Wycherley," Tom Shadwell, Lee, "Poet Settle," Otway "little starch Johnny Crown," "Poetess Afra," D'Urfey and Betterton are numbered among those desirous of the laurels. A court scene with Apollo presiding is enacted in this poem, in which the rimed couplet prevails. It does not contain the bitterness and vituperation found in such excess in Dorset's "A Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies."

Numbered among Rochester's satires are several coarse, obscene, social satires. No poet of the Age surpassed Rochester in lewdness and vulgarity of theme. Mere mention of these social satires is hardly due. "Tunbridge-Wells," "Portsmouth's Looking-Glass," "Bath Intrigues," "On the Women About Town," and "A Satire Against Marriage" and many others could be mentioned, but to no purpose, for there is a uniformity about subject-matter and treatment.

In these poems, written by Rochester his ability in the use of the heroic couplet is noticeable. Like his contemporaries, Rochester followed not only Horace in making verse a vehicle for criticism, but imitated Boileau's style and form in his master-work "Satire against Man."

1. Works of Rochester, Roscommon and Dorset, vol. 1, p. 120.

ANONYMOUS POETICAL SATIRES.

Numerous anonymous satirical poems have been collected and are accessible. The collections which have been used in this study are Poems on Affairs of State, Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries annotated by W. Walker Wilkins,² and the Roxburgh Ballads.³

The representative poems of each collection will be reviewed.

We are told that the Duke of Buckingham, Fleetwood, Sheppard, Sprat, Drake, Gould, Brady and Shadwell were responsible for the contents of the Poems on Affairs of State.⁴ This collection also contains poems by the Earl of Rochester, Dryden, Marvell, and others, but only the anonymous satirical poems will be here considered. Few volumes contain such a variety of subject-matter and such a variety of treatment of this subject-matter as the State Poems or Poems on Affairs of State. There are fables, prologues, letters, songs, psalms, litanies, dreams, epitaphs, panegyrics, ballads, riddles, prescriptions, last wills and testaments, dialogs, narratives, and descriptions.

In one volume of these poems there are forty-three fables⁵ under the general title of "Aesop at Tunbridge," written in 1698.

1. London, 1697-1699, and London, 1697-1707.
2. London, 1860.
3. Hertford, vol. 5, 1885.
4. Cambridge History of Eng. Lit., vol. 8, p. 103.
5. Poems on Affairs of State, vol. 2, 1703.

The fables, in general, contain dialog, and a "judgment" scene is the favorite device in them. The didactic element is indirectly presented thru an allegorical treatment of live issues relative to poetical, ecclesiastical, and social questions and each fable concludes with a direct application for the benefit of the reader. This latter feature is particularly helpful, for without it few would be able to interpret the allusion.

"The Frogs Concern" and "The Farmer and his Dog"¹ will be discussed as illustrations of fables. The prevailing meter of the former is iambic tetrameter rimed in couplets, while the latter alternates with iambic tetrameter and iambic trimeter and rimes in quatrains. The story of "The Frogs Concern" follows. A generous race of frogs appears, produced by the solar influence on the prolific spawn. The young ones become so powerful that they crave a ruler. They first choose a log, but after argument they decide to depose the log. Then a neighboring stork is chosen, and yet he does not please them, for he,

"Up from the mud the Frogs would pick,
And squeeze their corps within his Beak."

"One frog much wiser than the rest," declares that,

"'tis just to chuse agen:
The Brood of Frogs all crok'd, Amen.
The next they chose was a dull ass,
Which prov'd as bad as t'other was;"

The poem ends thus:

"Thus often we have chose a K-
And still have found it the same thing."

The human element enters into the fable of "The Farmer and his Dog."

1. Poems on Affairs of State, vol. 2, 1703.

A farmer owns a dog in which he has full confidence. He leaves the dog to watch his flocks. The farmer deems Towser to be worthy of his trust, altho he has often been warned by his friends of the dog's deceitfulness. On returning he finds "Towser" with bloody mouth and paws." He has a halter brought and Towser is trussed to the Pippin Tree. The application is:

"When ministers their Prince abuse,
And on the Subjects prey:
With antient Monarchs 'twas in use,
To send them Towser's way."

Since
A there is a uniformity about the class of fables, these two poems:

"The Frogs Concern" and "The Farmer and his Dog" will suffice.

A "Prologue for Sir John Falstaff" savours of keen observation and a frankness of expression. After comments are uttered upon the fair ladies, the actor says:

"But Supreme Jove, what washy Rogues are here?
Are these the Sons of Beef and English Beer?
This comes of Meagre Soop andsour Champagne.
Degenerate Race!"

With a knowledge of the corruption of the morals of the English people from the reign of Charles I thru William III, and particularly during the reign of Charles II, the justification for this speech is realized.

"An Epistle to Mr. Dryden"¹ and "A Consolatory Epistle to Julian on his Confinement"² will serve to illustrate anonymous satirical epistles.

"An Epistle to Mr. Dryden" deplores the degeneracy of the times in political affairs and church affairs. An example of the

1. Poems on Affairs of State, vol. 2, p. 143.
2. ibid. p. 132.

epistolary form is,

"Dryden, thy Wit has catterwaul'd too long,
 Now Lero, Lero, is thy only Song.
 What Singing, Dancing, Interludes of late,
 Stuff, and set off our goodly Farce of State?
 Not Albevil can turn a deep intrigue,
 Till first well warn'd with Bishop Talgol's Jigg."

The poem "A Consolatory Epistle to Julian on his Confinement" begins:

"Dear Friend,
 When those we love are in distress,
 Kind Verse may comfort tho' it can't redress."

Direct reference to Dryden, who

"lives upon his Pension not his Wit"

to

"Gentle George (with Flux in Tongue and Purse)
 In shunning one snare runs into a worse.

 Otway can hardly Guts from Goal preserve,
 For tho' he's very fat he's like to starve.
 And Sing-song Durfey (placed beneath Abuses)
 Lives by his Impudence not by the Muses.
 Poor Crown too has his third Days mixt with Gall,
 He lives so ill, he hardly lives at all.
 Shadwell, and Jettie, who pretend to Reason,
 Tho' paid so well scribbling Doggrel Treason,
 Must now expect a very barren season,

Such lines as:

"Were't possible that Wit cou'd turn a penny,
 Poets would then grow rich as well as any;
 For 'tis not wit to have a great Estate
 (The blind effects of Fortune and of Fate)
 For oft we see a Coxcomb, dull and vain,
 Brim-ful of Cash, and empty in his Brain."

are consoling, and yet it is doubtful whether the succeeding lines to Julian are conducive to a happy and peaceful state of mind:

"And he that had no meaning to be wrong,
 Can't suffer sure for their no meaning Song.
 And that's the Consolation that I bring,
 Thou (Julian) art too dull to think a treacherous
 thing;
 And 'tis the thoughtful Traytor that offends his King."

Two songs entitled "A Song on the Taxes" and "A Song" will now be reviewed.

"A Song on the Taxes" was written in 1696. The meter is that of the doggerel, anapestic tetrameter, with usual rime in couplets. It is a political satire. A few lines from this poem reveal a pessimistic note:

"We pray for our New-born, we pray for our Dead,
 We pay if we're single, we pay if we're wed;
 To show that our Merciful Senate don't fail
 To begin at the Head and tax down to the Tail.

 At home we are cheated, abroad we're defeated,
 But the end on't, the end on't, the Lord above knows."

"A Song" contains the short line stanza with aabccb rime. The thought of the poem may be summed up as follows:

"What the Priests Gospel call
 Doth not move us at all,
 We Commons will have the Dominion."

It is a political satire treated in the direct method.

Psalms and litanies may be grouped together. "A Psalm sung¹ the 30th of January, 1696, at the C-s H-d Club" is a narrative on the royal succession in England. The rule of Charles I is mockingly described, then

"This K- begat another K- (Charles II)
 Which made the nation sad,
 Was of the same Religion,
 A Papist, with his Dad."

Then we hear that,

"At last he dy'd we know not how,
 But same say by his brother; (James II)
 His Soul to Royal Tophet went
 To see his Dad and Mother:
 Then furious J- usurp'd the Throne,
 To pull Religion down;
 But by his Wife and Priests undone,
 He quickly lost the Crown."

1. Poems on the Affairs of State, vol. 2, p. 406.

The meter, as is observed, is Iambic pentameter with variable rime.

"A New Litany for the Holy Time of Lent"¹ is a clever imitation of the church form. The Church of England "Libera nos, Domine" and "Quaesumus te audire nos, Domine" are conventionally placed. From all earthly torments, deliverance is sought and especially,

"From Parliaments that dare oppose,
And lead their Sovereign by the Nose,
And from the Sanguinary Laws,
Libera nos, Domine."

Another favorite form was that of a dream. "The Battle-Royal: a Dream"² was written in 1687. After a fitting introduction, the dream is reported.

"Three fierce contenders in a hot debate:
And on a Table lay before them there
The Directory, Mass, and Common Pray'r,"

are heard debating. The false pretences and rascality of the presiding dignitaries of the churches become evident. The poem concludes with a didactic tenor.

A typical epitaph of the times is "An Epitaph of the late King of Spain."³ It is written in both French and English. The English is repeated:

"Here lies the last King Charles of Spain,
Who all his Life ne'er made Campaign;
He made no Children, Girl nor Boy,
Nor gave two Wives one nuptial Joy.
What has this valiant Prince then done,
Who long possess'd so vast a Throne?
E'en nothing neither Good nor Ill,
Nay not so much as made his Will."

1. Poems on Affairs of State, 1704 edition, vol. 3, p. 253
2. ibid 1697 edition, vol. 1, p. 220.
3. ibid, 1703 edition, vol. 2, p. 240.

"A Ballad on the Poll-Act"¹ is a political satire on the poll-tax of England. The standard ballad measure prevails.

"A Riddle"² is verse form and rimed couplet, but with little more to recommend it.

"A Cawdle for a sick Jesuit"³ or a prescription for a sick Jesuit prescribes thus:

"From Rome's Infallibility take a Grain,
Two Drams of Inquisition fetch from Spain."

and so on for sixteen lines in rimed couplet.

The last wills and testaments are the source of great interest.

"The Last Will and Testament of Anthony K. of Poland"⁴ (Shaftesbury) is representative of this class. The apportionment of his spiritual as well as physical possessions is amusing. He says:

"But I, who all Mankind have cheated now
Intend likewise to cheat the Devil too:
Therefore I leave my Soul unto my Son,
For he, as wise men think, as yet has none.
Then for my Polish Crown, that pretty thing,
Let M- mouth take't who longs to be a King;
Jack Ketch must have my Clothes, the King my Lands.
.....
A -ng, in Murders, and in Whorings skill'd,
.....
To thee I do bequeath my Brace of Whores.
.....
To thee, young G-y, I'll some small Toy present,
.....
Then take the Knife with which I cut my Corns,
'Twill serve to pare, and sharp your Lordship's Horns,
.....

1. Poems on Affairs of State, 1703 edition, vol. 2, p. 400.
2. Ibid., 1704 edition, vol. 3, p. 28.
3. Ibid., 1697 edition, vol. 1, part 2, p. 213.
4. Ibid., 1703 edition, vol. 8, p. 119.

To Titus let my Ears be thrown,
 For he 'tis thought will shortly lose his own.
 I leave old Baxter my emvenom'd Teeth,

.....
 Item, I leave my tongue to wise Lord N-th,
 My squinting Eyes let Ignoramus wear,

.....
 Let the Cits take my Nose, because 'tis said,
 That by the nose I them have always led;

.....
 To good K.C. I leave (the faith 'tis pity)
 A poison'd Nation; and deluded City;

.....
 There's one thing still which I had quite forgot,
 To him I leave the Carcass of my Plot."

Then follows an "Epitaph upon his Bowels."

in illustration of panegyrics,
 At this time, ^A mention only need be made of "A Panegyrick
 on K.W. - " ¹ written about 1696 in rimed couplet.

In no age have the women, so often been the subject of
 verse-satire as at this time. The immoral tendency, especially, ¹
 was favorable for such poems as "Cullen with his Flock of Misses"
 written in 1679, "Instructions to his Mistress how to behave her-
 self at Supper with her Husband" ² and "On the D-ss of P - th's
 Picture" ³ written in September, 1682.

"Cullen with his Flock of Misses" is written in iambic
 tetrameter with rime in couplets. The narrative of the poem is
 that of Cullen who drives his sheep along by Whitehall where there
 is much ado. Charles II has discovered that his court-mistress,
 Portsmouth, is not faithful to him and consequently wishes to
 bargain for another. There are many offers for the position.
 After much debate the meeting adjourns.

1. Poems on Affairs of State, 1697 edition, vol. 1, p. 138.
2. ibid. p. 215.
3. ibid. p. 191.

"And Cullen with his Flocks return'd,
Swearing there was at every Fair
Blither Girls than any there."

"The Instructions to his Mistress how to behave herself at Supper with her Husband" is still another mirror of the deceitful, lewd condition of the Age." "That ill but rude familiar thing, your Husband," says the admirer, "is a nuisance." These are a few of the instructions given his mistress.

"When call'd to Table, you demurely go,
Gently in passing, touch my hand or so:
Mark all my Actions, well observe my Eye.

.....
If I do ought of which you would complain,
Upon your Elbow languishingly lean:
But if you're pleas'd with what I do or say,
Steal me a Smile, and snatch your Eyes away:
When you reflect on our past secret Joys,
Hold modestly your Fan before your Eyes;
And when the nauseous Husband tedious grows,
Your lifted Hands with scornful Anger close."

"On the D - as of P - th's Picture" partakes of the nature of an epitaph. The dashes in the title are ingenious artifices to evade punishment for libel. A slight knowledge of the court circle would enable any one to interpret whose picture was meant, for the Duchess of Portsmouth was the court-mistress of Charles II and was a Frenchwoman by whom many intrigues were planned and of whom it was said she was

"Foe to England, Spye for France;
False and foolish, proud and bold,
Ugly as you see, and old."

Poets were particularly fond of ghosts. We have
"Rochester's Ghost,"¹ "Dr. Wild's Ghost,"² "Caesar's Ghost,"³

1. Poems on Affairs of State, 1703 edition, vol. 2, p. 128.
2. ibid, p. 166
3. ibid, 1705 edition, vol. 1, p. 229.

"Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Ghost,"¹ and "The Ghost of King Charles II";² and various others appear. The two latter satires will be discussed.

"Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Ghost" is written in rime couplet as is also "The Ghost of King Charles II."

"It happened in the Twy-light of the Day,
As England's Monarch in his Closet lay,
.....
The bloody shape of Godfrey did appear."

Wholesome advice is delivered to the King, who is "a mighty Bankrupt on a Golden Throne" and who "each Night (lodges) in that French Syren's Arms." Tho' very attentive to the advice of the ghost, when Chiffinch enters "hand in hand with whore;"

"The King tho' much concern'd twixt Joy and Fear,
Starts from the Couch, and bids the Dame draw near."

"The Ghost of K.C. - II" written about the year 1692, is similar to the previous poem. The ghost recalls the happenings which affect the King and then proceeds to give advice to the King who is William III. The ghost of Charles is

"..... call'd away
By a shrill Voice which ushers in the Day."

As there are a few anonymous satires which are difficult to classify, I shall review them as distinct satires.

"The Impartial Trimmer"³ was written in 1682. The reign of Charles II was noteworthy for its "French Counsellors and whores and French Education." The corruption of the court and the lascivious nature of the King were deplored.

1. Poems on Affairs of State, 1703 edition, vol. 1, p. 86.
2. Ibid., 1703 edition, vol. 2, p. 317.
3. Ibid., 1697 edition, vol. 1, p. 166.

"The Tribe of Levi,"¹ written in rimed couplet, will furnish the last example of the Poems on Affairs of State. This is a satire on priests.

"No greater Plague did any State molest,
Than the severe, the lasting Plague, a Priest."

The priests

"Who Locust-like the Nations overspread"

are the slaves of Levi, the chief priest, who is God's viceregent. The accession of William III and the dethronement of James II, with the plots and counter-plots, are described with severe adverse criticism. Added to these embellishments, there is the satire on the priests whose character is questionable, but presumably low.

A few representative ballads from Wilkins' Political Ballads, volumes one and two, will now be presented.

The theme of the "Cavalier's Complaint"² is that of the dissatisfaction that the Cavaliers felt at the time of the Restoration, when the Presbyterians were favored by preferments. In this poem the conventional ballad measure is used.

"The Geneva Ballad"³ was written during the rule of Charles II, when the Presbyterians were showing their opposition to the King, who was revealing an attachment to popery. This poem was written by an exponent of the Cavaliers or Papists who used the ballad as a vehicle for his retort to Jack Presbyter or Splay-mouth, as the Presbyterian body was nick-named.

1. Poems on Affairs of State, 1703 edition, vol. 2, p. 169.
2. Wilkins Political Ballads, vol. 1, p. 162, London, 1860.
3. ibid., p. 203.

"The Weasel Uncased; or, the in and the outside of a Priest drawn to the Life"¹ is the title of another ballad written in 1691. The same theme, that of Dr. Sherlock, a dean who was a turncoat, in that he at first refused to take the oath to William III and Mary, but thru the persuasion of his wife finally took the oath, was treated in the satirical fable entitled "The Weesils" by Thomas Brown, in 1691, the same year as this ballad.

Among the Roxburghe Ballads² several representative poems will be analyzed.

"The Parliament Dissolv'd at Oxford,"³ written in 1681, depicts the hatred of King Charles II for the "Frantick Votes and mad Resolves" of the Commons, also his dislike for the Presbyterians, is voiced in the following quotation:

"The Presbyterians sick with too much freedom,
Are ripe for Bethl'em; it's high time to bleed 'em;
The Second Charles does neither fear nor need 'em."

The power of Finch, the Lord Chancellor, and the would-be power of Charles II, are ridiculed. Charles II was notable for his weakness morally and executively; he was ruled by his associates who included both men and women.

Poems relative to the struggle between the Duke of York and Monmouth for the succession to the English throne on the death of Charles II, were frequent. The Duke of York, subsequently James II of England, was the son of Charles I and brother to Charles II. Monmouth was the son of Charles II and deemed illegitimate. Shaftesbury espoused the cause of Monmouth and is the Achitophel of Dryden's

1. Wilkins' Political Ballads, vol. 2, p. 19.
2. Hertford, 1885, vol. 5.
3. ibid. p. 20.

"Absalom and Achitophel." The poems were based on this political status.

"The Advice of his Grace"¹ (Duke of Monmouth) was the poem by an admirer of York. Bitter personal invective is prominent in the form of rimed couplet. Such lines as these on Monmouth are observed:

"With bows, and leers, and little Arts, you try
A rude unthinking Tumult's Love to buy;
And he who stoops to do so mean a thing,
Shows, He by Heaven was ne're design'd for King."

"Shaftesbury's Farewell"² belongs to this collection. It, however, is not a ballad. Biblical allusion is found in the following, relating to Shaftesbury:

"Yes, from Rebellion's late Inhumane Rage,
The crimes and chaos of that monstrous Age,
As the old Patriarch from Sodom flew,
So to great Charles's sacred Bosom thou;
But Oh! with more than Lot's Wife's fatal fault,
For which she stood in Monumental Salt
Though the black scene thy hasting foot-step flies
Thy Soul turns back, and looks with longing eyes."

The poem invokes Shaftesbury. The affected importance of the man is satirized in rimed couplet.

"The Good News in Bad Times or Absalom's Return to David's Bosome"³ was written presumably between November and December, 1683, and after "Absalom and Achitophel" by Dryden, from whom the author probably received the suggestion of the sub-title. Absalom is the Duke of Monmouth and David is Charles II. The "good news" is that Monmouth's conscience has so affected him

1. Roxburghe Ballads, vol. 5, p. 50.

2. ibid. p. 237

3. ibid. p. 399

that he (Monmouth) now realizes that he did wrong to his father and asks for pardon. The King grants his pardon and York intercedes for him. Allusion is made to Shaftesbury, who is dead. If Shaftesbury or Achitophel still were living, Monmouth would not be pleading; for Shaftesbury was the promulgator of the plot to make Monmouth king instead of York. This ballad commends Monmouth on his attitude towards his king and advises him to continue in the path of righteousness. This is a political satire with the direct method utilized.

Titus Oates was another favorite theme for ballad writers. At one time, he had been held in favor, but when James II ascended the throne he was held in prison for perjury and was the recipient of a whipping which, when endured with patience for awhile, became unbearable and resulted in his "roaring and bellowing like the Bulls of Basan."¹ One of the many ballads on Titus Oates is "The Downfall of Antichrist; or Titus again in Querps"² which ballad was sung to the tune of Chevy-Chase. It contains six couplets in rime and it also has internal rime.

"A Satyr against Coffee"³ is in the Roxburghe Collection. The triple end rime is used with the iambic tetrameter in the first line of each stanza, followed by two lines of iambic pentameter. The direct invective is adopted and personification of Coffee adds a novelty. Coffee is referred to as:

1. Roxburghe Ballads, vol. 5, p. 599.
2. ibid., p. 596.
3. ibid., p. 184

"Thou Murtherer of Parthings, and of Pence;
And Midwife to all false Intelligence.

.....
A Swill that needs must be accurst,
And of all sorts of drink the very worst,
.....

"The Sister of the common Sewer." Such a tirade over such a trivial subject seems but the ranting of a fanatic.

With this ballad a brief resumé of the representative poetical satires is brought to a close.

The great variety of verse-form, of subject-matter and of treatment of the subject-matter in satiric poetry, was never more remarkable than during the Age of Dryden. Satire was the popular literary form. It was sometimes political, sometimes ecclesiastical, sometimes social and sometimes purely literary. It might take the form of an epilogue, a prologue, a fable, an ode, a song, an elegy, a ballad, an epitaph, and epigram, a mock-epic or any species whatsoever, just as long as it contained ridicule. It did not necessarily need to be free from obscenity; on the contrary, it was the fashion to be lewd and vulgar. Sometimes general satire predominated and sometimes personal satire. Juvenal, Horace, Lucian and Boileau were, by turns, imitated. In one satire the vices of the age would be put to shame, in another the follies of the age would be laughed to scorn. The satires were, at times, didactic and, at times, merely for amusement. Either the direct method or the indirect method of treatment was used, whichever pleased at the time of the composition of the piece. Altho Cleveland wielded a little influence over Denham and Marvell, and Butler's Hudibrastic meter was used in a few succeeding poetic expressions, yet there was no poet who

had the power and ability to perfect and make effective verse-satire as a medium for expression. The satire was heterogeneous, and no dictator appeared who could mold this heterogeneous mass into an effective satiric form until Dryden evinced his mastery in "Absalom and Achitophel" (1681). It is not to be understood that immediately the verse-satire became effective, for it was not possible for mediocre poets to produce poems such as a Dryden could produce.

It has been my purpose, thus far, to show that the verse-satire before "Absalom and Achitophel," the first verse-satire by Dryden, was heterogeneous. It is my purpose, now, to show that Dryden perfected verse-satire and made it a more effective organ of expression than it had ever before been made in England. This Drydenian satire was to influence future writers of satire in future ages of English literature.

CHAPTER III

DRYDEN.

Very early in the development of English satire its metrical form became fairly well fixed. The decasyllabic couplet was regarded as the equal for satiric effect of the Italian terza rima and the Latin hexameter. It was chosen first by Spenser for satire, then immediately by Donne, Lodge, and Hall. Cleveland, Denham, Marvell, Oldham, and all of the satiric poets used the decasyllabic couplet to some extent, yet in none do we find the rhythm and perfected rime that proved so artistic in the verse-satire of Dryden. Not only did Dryden inherit the decasyllabic couplet, but he also inherited the personal abuse and savage character portrayal so popular in the satires of Cleveland, Marvell, Butler, and Oldham. This type of direct rebuke and elaborate character portrayal was the type of Juvenal's satires. Horace's satires were also popular for some time and served to inspire the satiric poems of Boileau, whose influence was felt in England at the time that Dryden wrote. This Horatian satire was more generalized than the Juvenalian satire and laughed at the follies rather than rebuked the people for their vices. Horace adopts frequently the mock-epic form in his verse-satire. The Lucianic dialog had also been introduced when Dryden appeared. There had been a crudeness and lack of harmony of diction, of argumentative ability, and versatility in such writers as Cleveland, Marvell, Butler, Oldham, Brown, D'Urfey, Otway and the

court poets. It was Dryden's task to perfect this preceding verse-satire and to produce an effective literary verse-form for satire. In order to appreciate the value of Dryden as the creator of English classical satire in verse, the satires including "Absalom and Achitophel," "The Medal," "Mac-Flecknoe," "The Hind and the Panther," and the "Satire on the Dutch" will be discussed at this time.

There have been many dissertations written on Dryden and his prose and verse productions and the one satire above all which has been annotated and annotated again is his greatest masterpiece "Absalom and Achitophel," "considered indisputably the best and most nervous political satire that ever was written."

It was thought for a long time that the idea of applying the scriptural story to the period of Charles II was Dryden's ingenuity, but this appears to be a mistake. So far back as 1679, some favourer of Lord Stafford and of the Catholic cause ventured to paraphrase the story of Naboth's vineyard, and to apply it to the condemnation of that unfortunate nobleman for the Catholic plot. In that piece the Scripture names and characters are given to the objects of the poet's satire precisely on the plan adopted by Dryden in "Absalom and Achitophel." Not only had the scheme of a similar poem been conceived, but the very passage of Scripture adopted by Dryden as the foundation of his parable had been already applied to Charles and his undutiful son. There appeared, in 1680, a small tract called "Absalom's Conspiracy, or the Tragedy of Treason," which, as it seems, furnished the general argument of

1. Scott and Saintsbury's Edition of John Dryden's Works, London, 1884, vol. 9, and London, 1885, vol. 10.
 2. ibid. vol. 9, p. 197.

Dryden's poem and has been unnoticed by any former commentator."¹
 This much may be said for the originality of the theme and for the application of it. Part I was published for the first time anonymously on November 17, 1681, probably at the suggestion of Charles II. "The only considerable additions made to the poem, after the first edition, have a tendency rather to mollify than to sharpen the satire."² An addition of twelve lines on the character of Achitophel, also an addition of good will expressed towards Monmouth, is found in the second edition. As early as December 10, Dryden was attacked by poetasters and prose writers. A few of these writers with their works were: "Towser the Second" by Henry Case, "Poetical Reflections" by the Duke of Buckingham, "A Whip for the Fool's Back" by a nonconformist clergyman, "Asariah and Hushai" by Samuel Pordage, and "Absalom Senior; or, Achitophel Transposed, a Poem" by Elkanah Settle. "Dryden's effect on his contemporaries in the rhyming trade was so tremendous that they attacked him in his own words and metre, barely conscious of the homage they were doing him."³ Dryden paid but little heed to these criticisms with the exception of Settle and Shadwell whom he scourged in the second part of "Absalom and Achitophel."

The story of Part I is that of David or King Charles II, Absalom or the Duke of Monmouth, Achitophel or Shaftesbury and the Duke of York or David's brother. Absalom is the illegitimate son of Charles II while the Duke of York is the brother of Charles II and rightful heir to the throne. Thru the machinations of the

1. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. 9, p. 198.

2. *Ibid.* p. 201.

3. Previt  -Orton, Political Satire in English Poetry, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 124-125.

shrewd Achitophel or Shaftesbury, Monmouth hopes to prove himself the legitimate heir to the throne. A series of plots is arranged. Finally, the Duke of York, who is a Roman Catholic, is sent to Brussels, as an exile. Charles II becomes very ill and sends for him. The Duke gains the favor of Charles II and Monmouth is now sent to serve a term as an exile in Brussels. Monmouth is prevailed upon by Shaftesbury to return. He does return to the great displeasure of the father. Monmouth is declared illegitimate. Nevertheless Shaftesbury declares that he will oppose the right of the Duke of York to the throne of England.

This was the state of affairs when the poem was published. Throughout the satire, Monmouth is not made the object of the scorn and vituperation, on the contrary, it is Shaftesbury who suffers. The type of this satire is the type of direct rebuke which, along with elaborate character portrayal, was borrowed from Juvenal, Cleveland, Marvell, Butler, and Oldham and the minor versifiers before Dryden's time, and during his time imitated Juvenal in their verse-satires.

"Absalom and Achitophel" is a poetry pamphlet dedicated to the hour; it is yet immortal. No poem in our language is so interpenetrated with contemporary allusions, with contemporary portraiture, with contemporary point, yet no poem in our language has been more enjoyed by readers. The idea of casting a satire in epic mould is derived from the fourth satire of Juvenal - the Dryden is serious where Juvenal is mock-heroic. Horace and Lucian undoubtedly supplied him with models for elaborate portraits, and Lucian's description of the social and political condition of

Rome at the time of the great civic conflict is unmistakably Dryden's archetype, for the picture of the state of the parties in London."

Part I is complete in itself and is by no means to be considered as a mere instalment or as an introduction to a larger whole. Part II is a mere after-thought and is only in part by Dryden.

Part I of "Absalom and Achitophel" is, then, to summarize, the greatest political verse-satire in English literature, is written in epic form with rimed couplet, is a Varronian satire, shows the influence of Juvenal and Lucian, is treated allegorically, and contains superb argumentative passages.

This poem occasioned the writing of several minor satires, for the most part from the pen of scurrilous poetasters, and yet there was one reply which is worthy of mention, written by Elkanah Settle (1648-1724).

Settle was called the "City-Poet" and was an active exponent of the true blue Protestants and an energetic adversary of the Popish party and of the Tories. His poetical achievement "Absalom and Achitophel Transposed, a Poem" numbers among the more clever retorts to this Drydenian satire.

Unfortunately a copy of Settle's poem is inaccessible, therefore the critique which is rendered here is from a secondary source; namely, from Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works by Frank C. Brown.¹

"Settle seems to have set to work at once on a reply to

1. University of Chicago Press, 1910.

vindicate the principal figures of Dryden's satire; and turn public sentiment by making counter-charges against the Tory leaders. His poem entitled, "Absalom Senior; or Achitophel Transposed" appeared anonymously on the 6th of April, 1682. It consists of 1500 lines in imitation of Dryden's style and is not unskillfully written.

"Settle was probably selected to make a reply to Dryden's biting satire on the Whigs in his "Absalom and Achitophel". The answer, entitled "Absalom Senior: or Achitophel Transposed" contained as a dedication "The Epistle to the Tories."

"This poem is written in heroic couplets. The author begins with a somewhat lengthy attack on the pope, on whom he places the blame for the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Popish Plot. After some arguments against the divine right of kings, he passes to the real subjects of his satire. The Duke of York as "Absalom" is abused for having alienated from the King the affections of the people. Halifax, as "Achitophel" is lashed in caustic terms for his work in defeating the Bill of Exclusion, and Dryden as "Aniel" is accused of gross immorality, charged with having had part in originating the Protestant Plot; Shaftesbury as "Barzillai" and Monmouth as "Ithream" are eulogized in extravagant terms. The poem closes with an ironical prophesy of the glories of the reign of James."¹

Part II of "Absalom and Achitophel" appeared November 10, 1682, after the appearance of "The Medal" on March 16, 1681-2, and after the appearance of "Mac-Flecknoe" on October 4, 1682.

1. See Brown's Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works.

Dryden deputed Nahum Tate to be his assistant in the second part of "Absalom and Achitophel." He reserved for himself the execution of particular characters and the general plan and revision of the poem. Part II owes all its spirit to the touches and additions of Dryden. "Those lines to the number of two hundred, beginning -

'Next these a troop of busy spirits press:'

and concluding -

'To talk like Doeg, and to write like thee,'

are entirely composed by Dryden, and contain some of the most masterly strokes of his pen. The portraits of Doeg and Og, under which names he stigmatized his personal antagonists Settle and Shadwell, are executed with a strength of satirical coloring unmatched in the English language. When we consider that Dryden had already, and very lately, made Shadwell the subject of an entire independent satire, it seems wonderful with what ease he has executed a separate and even more striking, caricature of his adversary, without repeating an idea or expression which he had used in "Mac-Flecknoe". This is, indeed, partly owing to the dexterous division of his subject, as well as to the rich fertility of his vein of satire. For, after apparently exhausting upon his enemy all the approbrium and contempt with which a literary character could be loaded, he seized this second occasion to brand and blacken his political and moral principles, and to exaggerate his former charge of dulness, by combining it with those of sedition, profaneness and immorality.¹

1. Scott and Saintsbury, John Dryden's Works, vol. 9, p.321.

The second part of this poem was not as popular as the first part. It lacked, for the most part, the wealth of ideas of a Dryden, and it lacked also the novelty of Part I, for the aptness of the allusions of the characters at that period in England to Biblical characters, did neither "please the imagination or arrest the attention."¹

On March, 1682, but four months after Part I of "Absalom and Achitophel," "The Medal," by John Dryden was published.

An historical setting for the poem is necessary to understand the significance of "The Medal." Because Shaftesbury was suspected of participation in intrigues and plots against the King and the government, he was placed in the Tower of London in July, 1681. In November of the same year, a bill of high treason was presented against him. After an infamous trial of Shaftesbury, he was acquitted and the delight of the Whigs cannot be overestimated. In celebration of their triumph, medals of Lord Shaftesbury, designed by William Bower, were distributed. "The obverse side presented the bust of the Earl, with the legend "Antonio Comiti de Shaftesbury;" the reverse, a view of London, the Bridge, and the Tower; the sun is rising above the Tower, and just in the act of dispersing a cloud; the legend around the exergue is "Lestatur," and beneath is the date of his acquittal '24th November, 1681.'"

The occasion for Dryden's writing the poem is thus related: "One day as the King (Charles II) was walking in the Mall, and talking with Dryden, he said, 'If I was a poet, and I think I am poor enough to be one, I would write a poem on such a subject,

1. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. 9, p. 322.

in the following manner." He then gave him the plan of "The Medal." Dryden took the hint, carried the poem, as soon as it was written, to the King, and had a present of a hundred broad pieces for it.¹

"In "The Medal"² ^{Dryden} hurried at Shaftesbury a philippic which for rancorous abuse, for lofty and uncompromising scorn, for coarse, scathing, ruthless denunciation couched in diction which now swells to the declamatory grandeur of Juvenal and now sinks to the sordid vulgarity of Swift, has no parallel in our literature. The former attack, "Absalom and Achitophel" was mercy to this new outburst. To find anything approaching it in severity and skill we must go back to Claudian's ³ savage onslaught on Achitophel of the Fourth Century."

Among the mentionable retorts to "The Medal," "The Medal Revers'd" (1681) by Samuel Fordage, "The Mushroom" (1681) by Edmund Hickeringill, and "The Medal of John Bayes" (1681) by Thomas Shadwell, were written.

After a satirical dedicatory "Epistle to the Whigs" in prose, the poem entitled "The Medal: A Satire against Sedition" by Dryden, appears. It is written in epic form, in rised couplet, and is a personal political satire in the direct method. The didactic note is applied at the close of this poem, which for bitter vituperation has been seldom, if at any time, surpassed.

As has been previously said "Absalom and Achitophel" and "The Medal" were directed at the notorious politician, Shaftesbury. Thomas Shadwell, among others, replied to these political effusions of Dryden.

1. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. 9, p. 417.
2. Invectives directed against Rufinus and Eutropius.
3. Essays and Studies, J. Chariton Collins, London, 1895, p. 45.

Thomas Shadwell (1640-1692) was the object of much abuse, particularly from the pen of Dryden. Dryden, whose hobby was writing prologues for plays of amateur productions, furnished Shadwell with the "Prologue" to his "True Widow" (1697). But when Dryden joined the court party, on the accession of Charles II (1630-1685), the two quondam friends became enemies. Still more, there was a feeling of dislike between the two when Shadwell responded to Part I of "Absalom and Achitophel" (Nov. 1681) and "The Medal" published in March, 1682, four months after Part I of "Absalom and Achitophel," by his "The Medal of John Bayes."¹

Dryden was an exponent of the Duke of York, therefore against Monmouth whose advocate was Shaftesbury or the Achitophel of Dryden's poem. Shadwell upheld Shaftesbury and objected to Dryden's maltreatment of his friend, so answered in his "Medal of John Bayes" directedly aimed at "The Medal" of Dryden who was referred to a John Bayes in the "Rehearsal" of Buckingham. The poem by Shadwell was written either in the summer or autumn of 1682, not long after the publication of "The Medal" by Dryden. The meter, rimed couplet, is the same in ^{the} poem by Dryden and that by Shadwell. The sub-title of the earlier poem is "A Satire against Sedition" while the sub-title of the later poem is "A Satyr upon Folly and Knavery." Shadwell stoops to libellous remarks upon Dryden. A series of quotations will illustrate the nature of this poem, which is not accessible in the Minnesota University Library, but which was procured from the library at the University of Chicago. The poem

1. Printed by Janeway, London, 1682.

begins thus:

"How long shall I endure, without reply,
To hear this Bayes, this Hackney-revler lie?
The fool unadgell'd, for one Libel swells,
Where not his Wit, but Sawciness excels;
Whilst with foul words and Scurrils which he lets fly,
He quite defiles the Satyr's Dignity.

.....
Thou art a damn'd Boroski with thy Pen
As far from Satyr does thy Talent lye,
As from being cheerful, or good company.

.....
Good humour thou so awkwardly put'st on,
It sits like Koshish Clothes upon a Clown;

.....
But it would never any eyes delight,
To see the frisking frolics of a Cow;
And such another merry thing art Thou.
In Verse, thou hast a Knack, with words to chime,
And had'st a kind of Excellence in Rhime:

.....
Should all thy borrow'd plumes we from thee tear,
How truly poet Squash would'st thou appear!

.....
Thou plunder'st all, t'advance thy mighty Name,
Lock'st big, and triumph'st with thy borrow'd fame.
But art (while swelling thus thou think'st th'art
chief)

A servile Imitator and a Thief.

.....
How little owe we to your Native store,
Who all you write have heard or read before?
Except your Libels, and there's something new;
For none were e're so impudent as you." 1

The varied career of Dryden is enlarged upon by Shadwell. The changeableness of Dryden in politics and religion is the subject for just ridicule from Shadwell. The patronage of Annabel, wife of the Duke of Marmouth, is alluded to also. Relative to the subject at hand or "The Medal" of Dryden, Shadwell says:

1. Shadwell, Medal of John Bayes, passim, 1682 edition, London.

"Next, for thy Medal, Bayes, which does revile
The wisest Patriot of our drooping Isle,
Who Loyally did serve his Exil'd Prince,
And with the ablest Council blest him since."

Shaftesbury is extolled thruout, as is also the City of London.

To quote further:

"Go, Abject Bayes! and act thy slavish part;
Fawn on those Popish Knaves, whose knave thou art:
.....
Now farewell wretched mercenary Bayes,
.....
Farewell, abandon'd Rascal! only fit
To be abus'd by thy own scurrilous Wit.
Which thou would'st do, and for a Moderate Sum,
Answer thy Medal, and thy Absalom.
Thy piteous Hackney Pen shall never fright us,
.....
Pied thing! half Wit, half Fool! and for a Knave,
Few Men, than this, a better mixture have:
But thou canst add to that, Coward and Slave."

Not only is Dryden satirized, but the Papists as a class are mocked. Shadwell has the biting vituperation of a Dryden which he exemplifies in this poem "The Medal of John Bayes."

This poem is a personal satire on Dryden, with use made of the direct method.

Dryden lost no time in retorting in the form of "Mac-Flecknoe" (1682) in which Thomas Shadwell is rebuked. Not only in "Mac-Flecknoe" but also in Part II of "Absalom and Achitophel" (Nov. 1682) did Dryden allude to Shadwell. Little did Shadwell realize the punishment that was forthcoming from this "Prince of Poets" who

"Supplieth the want of Wit and Sense,
With most malicious Lies and Impudence." 1

1. Medal of John Bayes, p. 7.

appeared
 "Mac-Flecknoe" October 4, 1682, shortly after the publication of Shadwell's poem "The Medal of John Bayes." This poem of Dryden is directed against Shadwell, between whom there had been breeding a bitter conflict for a long period of time. "Mac-Flecknoe" must be allowed to be one of the keenest satires in the English language.

"The first edition was published not by Tonson, but by D. Green, and was entitled "Mac-Flecknoe, or a Satire on the True blue Protestant Poet, T.S.; by the author of 'Absalom and Achitophel.'" It consisted only of one sheet and a half, and was sold for twopence. The satire was too personal, and too poignant, to fail in attracting immediate attention and accordingly the poem was quickly sold off. It was not republished until it appeared in Tonson's first Miscellany, in 1684, with a few slight alterations, intended either to point^{to} particular verses, or to correct errors of the press, or pen.² ^"

The significance of the title "Mac-Flecknoe" as applied to Shadwell, is realized when we are told that "Richard Flecknoe was an Irish Roman Catholic priest who was so noted as a miserable writer of doggerel, that his name had become almost proverbial. Dryden represents Shadwell as 'Mac-Flecknoe' or the son of Flecknoe and successor on the throne of Dulness. Shadwell was more mortified by Dryden's representing him as an Irishman than by real

1. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. 10, p. 431.
2. ibid. p. 433.

severity of the satire."¹ "The purpose and scope of 'Mac-Flecknoe' was strangely misconstrued by the object of it and by our poet's editors. Cibber, or whoever wrote Dryden's Life in the collection bearing his name, supposes that Flecknoe, who died in 1678, had actually succeeded our author in the office of Poet-Laureate. Derrick, though he corrects this error, has fallen into another, in which he is followed by Dr. Johnson, who considers 'Mac-Flecknoe' as written in express ridicule of Shadwell's inauguration as court poet."²

Dryden's "Mac-Flecknoe" inspired Pope in writing his poem, "The Dunciad." There is one essential difference between the two poems, and that is, that in "Mac-Flecknoe" Dryden centralizes his satire in Shadwell, the Prince of Dullards, while Pope satirizes a group of writers in "The Dunciad."

"Mac-Flecknoe" is simply a personal satire upon Shadwell, treated allegorically or indirectly, and written in rimed couplet. In the second part of "Absalom and Achitophel" the final blow was aimed at Shadwell who had not, as yet, recovered from the humiliation into which "Mac-Flecknoe" had thrust him. It has been mentioned in connection with Andrew Marvell that Marvell's "Flecknoe" which first appeared in 1681 may have suggested Dryden's poem to him.

"The Hind and the Panther" (1687) by Dryden, is considered as one of his four important satirical poems. "It is a semi-satirical fable."³ "The Hind" represents the Church of Rome, and "the Panther" represents the Church of England. The various other

1. Life of Dryden by Rev. Richard Hooper, Aldine edition, vol. 1, p. LV.

2. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. 10, p. 434.

3. Previte-Orton, Political Satire in English Poetry, p. 102.

religious sects are not ignored, but they form an environment for the two leading characters; namely, "the Hind" and "the Panther." The **Bear** represents the Independents; the Wild Boar, the Anabaptists; the Hare, the Quakers; the Wolf, the Presbyterians; the Pigeons, the Protestant clergy who choose a Buzzard (Bishop Burnet) as King; and the Doves are the Catholic priests.

In this satiric fable, Dryden defends the Church of Rome in its conflict with the Church of England. It is strange that the author of *Religio Laici* (1682), a poem in defence of the Church of England, should have written "The Hind and the Panther" which is the reverse of his former production, and the time of Charles II ^{yet at} religious beliefs were subordinated to political platforms. It was the fashion to change one's religious nature over-night in order the next day to receive a state position. Altho Dryden, we grant, was vacillating, yet he was no more so than many Englishman of the days of Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II, James II and William III.

At the time Dryden wrote this poem, he was unaware of a change of mind in the person of James II. At the beginning of the reign of James II, this monarch considered himself a dictator whom the English Parliament would meekly obey. He was soon obliged to use diplomatic stratagem to attain his end. "It is a well-known point of history that, in order to procure as many friends as possible to the repeal of the Test Act and penal laws against the Catholics, James extended indulgence to the Puritans and sectarian Nonconformists, - the ancient enemies of his person, his family, and monarchical establishments in general. Dryden obviously was not in this court secret, the purpose of which was to unite those congregations

whom he has described under the parable of bloody bears, boars, wolves, foxes, etc., in a common interest with the Hind, against the exclusive privilege of the Panther and her subjects.¹

As is expected, the publication of this poem in defence of Catholicism, in which he expresses his reasons for his sudden flight from Protestantism to Catholicism, caused a flood of retorts. "The Hind and the Panther Transpos'd to the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse" written in 1687 by Prior and Montagu, was the principal reply to Dryden's poem, altho there were other minor poems whose authors wrote anonymously.²

"The Hind and the Panther" is a political, historical, and ecclesiastical allegory. It consists of three parts. The first part contains general description and character of the religious sects. In the second part, the general arguments of the controversy between the two churches is agitated, and the third part contains a discussion of their temporal interests. From the fact that it is an allegory the indirect method is applied and argument serves as an effective feature of the poem. It is almost needless to state that the rime couplet prevails. This satire may be considered as a Beast-fable and its history as traced thru the classical writers, the French writers and the English writers will be only suggested at this time, for an entire thesis may be written on this one form of verse.

The "Satire on the Dutch" has been left until the last, for it is of minor importance in comparison with the foregoing

1. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. 18, p. 87.

2. "The Hind in the Toil," 1688, "The New Atlantic," 1687.

satires by Dryden. This poem of forty-four lines is interwoven into the Prologue and Epilogue of the tragedy "Amboyna" which appeared in 1672. It was written to ridicule the Dutch people, and may be considered as a political satire in the direct method. "The verses are adapted to the comprehension of the vulgar, whom they were intended to inflame. Bold invective, and coarse raillery, supply the place of the wit and argument with which Dryden, when the time fitted, knew so well how to arm his satire."¹

With Dryden satire assumed a distinct individuality. In the verse-satire before Dryden and during the Age of Dryden there was no uniformity. Until Dryden there had been no capable versifier who could produce an effective form from such a heterogeneous mass of satiric doggerel. Dryden, as Byron did in a succeeding period, awoke to find himself famous after "Absalom and Achitophel" was published. He had spent until 1681 writing dramas which had brought him no great applause. Now at the age of fifty-one (if it is assumed that he was born in 1630) his reputation as the creator of English classical satire began. It is not as an originator that Dryden is worthy of a high place in English literature, but as the perfecter of the instruments which had been used by less clever poets than he. The rimed couplet was employed for the first time by Spenser and was used by all the writers of satiric verse. It was, for the most part handled crudely and awkwardly. Dryden revealed its effectiveness as an instrument for satire. The type of Juvenal was popular with preceding writers, but it was

1. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. 9, p. 69.

Dryden who most truly imitated Juvenal in character portrayal and in personal rebuke. Cleveland and his followers showed intense vigor and cleverness in the vituperation directed at personal enemies, but they lacked the finesse of Dryden. The dialog form had always been popular and was adopted by this master satirist. The mock-epic form was Juvenalian. The delightful, polished, polite tone of Horace was not as popular with the writers of this period of the dictatorship of Dryden, because the English people preferred the type of direct rebuke or the Juvenalian type. The mock-epic form was employed in "Hudibras," and in "The Elephant in the Moon" by Butler and was also employed by Boileau in "Le Lutrin," a poem which inspired Pope to write "The Rape of the Lock." Dryden did not use the mock-epic form, but he did use the epic mold in which he imitated Juvenal's satires. The dignity and compactness lacking in the preceding and contemporary English satiric verse exalted Dryden's epics. ~~The Lustre of the~~ ~~Harmonious farces of satires, was written by Dryden in the following poems,~~ ~~"Alexander's Weekly Dinner" and "Mac Flecknoe"~~ Dryden wrote poetical, ecclesiastical, and literary satire. In each type personal abuse abounds and the epic form prevails. Dryden favored the allegorical method which was not an innovation of the author, but an adaptation to his subject-matter. The fable or allegory had been a popular form for all verse-satire in England, but Dryden incorporated the Biblical allusion so cleverly that the fable as used by Dryden, is scarcely recognizable as the same form which was used by his predecessors. The "Beast Fable" was a particularly

pleasing method for satire, not only in early English satire, but in early French satire. Dryden not only imitated Juvenal's satires in verse, but he wrote a scholarly, tho partial, dissertation entitled Juvenal's Satires¹ in which he describes the derivation of the word, satire, and traces the development of verse-satire thru the classical satirists to the English satirists. This dissertation, on the whole is reliable, but his evident favoritism for Juvenal caused him to be unjust to Horace.

Dryden established a distinct political verse-satire in England. Before his time of writing satire there was no established form, - satire was heterogeneous. The artistic and effective use of rimed couplet; the epic dignity and compactness; the argumentative ability; the clever character portrayal; the subtle, well-aimed personal rebuke; the versatility; polish and rhythm, reveal the genius of Dryden as a satirist in verse.

Altho Dryden's influence was felt by many mediocre poetasters who tried to imitate him, yet probably no poet better showed his influence than Daniel Defoe, a contemporary of his who outlived him thirty-one years. It so happens that Defoe produced the two satires, which disclose the influence of Dryden, after Dryden's death. These satires, however, belong to the Age of Dryden rather than to the Age of Pope and will, therefore, be examined at this time.

1. British Poets by Anderson, vol. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

DEFOE.

Daniel Defoe (1661-1731), best known as a writer of novels and especially "Robinson Crusoe," composed a great satirical poem entitled "The True-born Englishman" (1701), which was provoked by the poem "The Foreigners"¹ published in 1700 and written by T - n. "The Foreigners" is written in rimed couplet and has an allegorical setting. A review of the poem which occasioned Defoe's reply follows. The people of Israel - England - are called upon to support James II and to leave William III, who has recently been called over to England to replace James II whose rule was a failure. The Gibeonites are the party of William III, while the Jewish nobles are those affiliated with James II, who is in exile. A call to the English people to dethrone William III and to restore James II is evident in these lines from "The Foreigners."

"No more, no more your Antient Honours own.
By slavish Gibeonites you are outdone:
Or else your antient courage reassume,
And to assert your honours once presume;
From off their heads your ravish'd laurels tear,
And let them know what Jewish nobles are."²

An abuse of Holland and her people is noticeable in these references:

"A country lies due east from Judah's shoar,
Where stormy winds and noisy billows roar;
A land much differing from all other soils,
Fore'd from the sea and buttress'd up with piles.
No marble quarry's bind the springy ground,

1. Pub. in Poems on Affairs of State, 1703, vol. 2.
2. ibid., p. 6.

But loads of sand and cockle shells are found.
 Its natives void of honesty and grace,
 A Boorish, rude, and an inhumane race.
 From nature's excrement their life is drawn,
 Are born in bogs and nourished up from spawn." 1

This was the nature of the poem which aroused Defoe to write
 "The True-born Englishman" in 1701.

2
 In Defoe's explanatory preface he says that he does not
 think this poem, "The True-born Englishman", is a satire upon the
 English nation in which he tells them that "they are derived from
 all nations under heaven - that is, from several nations. Nor is
 this poem meant to undervalue the original of the English, for we
 see no reason to like them the worse, being the relics of
 Danes, Saxons, and Normans than we should have done if they had
 remained Britons; that is, than if they had been all Welshmen.

"But the intent of the satire is pointed at the vanity of
 those who talk of their antiquity and value themselves upon their
 pedigree, their ancient families and on being true-born; whereas
 it is impossible we should be true-born, and if we could, should
 have lost by the bargain." 3

When Defoe makes the following statement he presumably
 has in mind "The Foreigners" and others of a similar nature:
 "When I see the town full of lampoons and invectives against
 Dutchmen, only because they are foreigners, and the King reproach-
 ed and insulted, by insolent pedants and ballad-making poets,

1. Poems on Affairs of State, 1703 edition, vol. 2, p. 3.
2. Earlier Life and the Chief Earlier Works of Defoe,
 London, 1889. Edited by H. Morley.
3. Explanatory Preface to "The True-born Englishman",
 London, 1889, pp. 177-178.

for employing foreigners, and for being a foreigner himself, I confess myself moved by it to remind our nation of their own original, thereby to let them see what a banter is put upon ourselves in it, since speaking of Englishmen aborigine, we are really foreigners ourselves.¹

"Methinks an Englishman, who is so proud of being called a good fellow, should be civil; and it cannot be denied that we are in many cases, and particularly to strangers, the churlishest people alive.

"As to vices, who can dispute our intemperance, while an honest drunken fellow is a character in a man's praise. All our reformatations are banter, and will be so till our magistrates and gentry reform themselves by way of example. Then and not till then, they may be expected to punish others without blushing.

"As to our own ingratitude, I desire to be understood of that particular people who, pretending to be Protestants, have all along endeavored to reduce the liberties and religion of this nation into the hands of King James and his Popish Powers; together with such who enjoy the peace and protection of the present government, and yet abuse and affront the King, who procured it, and openly profess their uneasiness under him. These, by whatsoever names or titles they are dignified or distinguished, are the people aimed at, nor do I disown but that it is so much the temper of an Englishman to abuse his benefactor that I could be glad to see it rectified."²

1. Explanatory Preface to "True-born Englishman" London, 1889, Morley, p. 178.

2. ibid., pp. 182, 183.

With this background we are now prepared for the mere immediate discussion of "The True-born Englishman."² The poem is divided into Introduction, Part I, Part II, and Conclusion. Part II is subdivided into the song of Britannia and the speech in praise of William III.

The Introduction contains fifty-five lines, written in rimed couplet, which meter prevails thruout the poem. In this division of the satire, Defoe calls upon Satire to speak and tell why it is that England is so discontented and less happy in times of peace than in war. The Satire is begged to -

"Search, Satire, search: a deep incision make;

 'Tis pointed Truth must manage this dispute,
 And downright English, Englishmen confute.
 What thy just anger at the Nation's pride,

 To Englishmen their own beginning show,
 And ask them why they slight their neighbors so.
 Go back to elder times and ages past,
 And nations into long oblivion cast;
 To old Britannia's youthful days retire,
 And there for true-born Englishmen inquire.
 Britannia freely will disown the name,
 And hardly knows herself from whence they came.
 Wonders that they of all men should pretend
 To birth and blood, and for a name contend.

 Speak, Satire, for there's none like thee can tell."²

Then we approach Part I in which we find that Satire has been prevailed upon to speak. This portion begins thus:

1. Earlier Life and Chief Earlier Works of Defoe, London, 1889, p. 186.
 2. Introduction, p. 185.

"Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
 The Devil always builds a chapel there:
 And 'twill be found upon examination,
 The latter has the largest congregation:
 For ever since he first debauched the mind,
 He made a perfect conquest of mankind.

 The list of his viceregents and commanders,
 Outdoes your Caesars, or your Alexanders.

 They rule so politicly and so well,
 As if they were Lords Justices of Hell."¹

The inhabitants of Hell are named and are given an estate on Earth.

"Pride, the first peer, and president of Hell,
 To his share Spain, the largest province fell.
 "Last chose the torrid zone of Italy.
 "Drunkenness, the darling favourite of Hell,
 Chose Germany to rule;
 "Ungoverned Passion settled first in France.
 "The rest by Deputies he (Devil) rules as well
 And plants the distant colonies of Hell.
 "By Leal the Irish, and the Russ by Folly
 Fury the Dane, the Swede by Melancholy,
 By stupid Ignorance the Muscovite;
 The Chinese by a child of Hell called Wit.
 Wealth makes the Persian too effeminate,
 And Poverty the Tartars desperate;
 The Turks and Moors by Mah'met he subdues,
 And God has given him leave to rule the Jews.
 Rage rules the Portugese and Fraud the Scotch,
 Revenge the Pole and Avarice the Dutch." 2

When this arrangement was made, England was yet unpeopled.

"In gratitude, a devil of black renown,
 Possessed her very early for his own.
 An ugly, surly, sullen, selfish spirit,
 Who Satan's worse perfections does inherit;

 He made her first-born race to be so rude,
 And suffered her so oft to be subdued;

 While every nation that her powers reduced
 Their languages and manners introduced.
 From whose mixed relics our compounded breed
 By spurious generation does succeed,
 Making a race uncertain and uneven,
 Derived from all the nations under Heaven." 3

1. Part I, pp. 186-187
 2. Part I, pp. 187-188

3. Part I, p. 189.

Then a review of the various invaders of England is given and the conclusion is reached that -

"From this amphibious ill-born mob began
That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman." 1

William the Conqueror, the invading Norman, who called upon the Dutch to help him subdue England, gave lands that were not his own to every archer that he brought to England. Defoe thus describes these land possessors:

"The rascals thus enriched, he calls them lords.
"And here begins our ancient pedigree,
That so exalts our poor nobility.
.....
"A Turkish horse can show more history
To prove his well-descended family.
.....
"These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much.
.....
"And lest by length of time it be pretended.
The climate may this modern breed ha' mended,
Wise Providence, to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding care." 2

From the time of Henry VIII and good Queen Bess's reign there was a constant influx of foreigners whose offspring became Englishmen who objected to the "interloping Scots." Then Charles II "carefully re-peopled England with foreign courtiers and with foreign whores, and in time there is the true-born Englishman again.

"Thus from a mixture of all kinds began
That heterogeneous thing an Englishman.
.....
"Fate jumbled them together, God knows how;
Whatever they were, they're true-born English now.
.....
"A true-born Englishman's a contradiction,
In speech an irony, in fact a fiction.
.....
"Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes
Lords of mechanics, gentlemen of rakes:
Antiquity and birth are needless here;
'Tis impudence and money makes a peer." 3

1. Part I, p. 190.
2. Part I, pp. 190-191
3. Part I, pp. 194, 195, 197.

Part II begins by calling upon Satire to show the temper of the Englishman since the breeds described. Satire is willing and thus proceeds:

"The Pict has made 'em sour, the Dane morose;
False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse,
What honesty they have, the Saxons gave them,
And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them,
The climate makes them terrible and bold,
And English beef their courage does uphold.

.....
"In close intrigues their faculty's but weak,
For generally whate'er they know they speak.

.....
"The laboring poor, in spite of double pay,
Are saucy, mutinous and beggarly.

.....
"In English ale their dear enjoyment lies,
For which they'll starve themselves and families.

.....
"In their religion they are so uneven,
That each man goes his own by-way to Heaven.

.....
So shy of one another they are grown,
As if they strove to get to Heaven alone,
Rigid and sealous, positive and grave,
And ev'ry grace but Charity they have.
This makes them so ill-natured and uncivil,
That all men think an Englishman the devil." 1

These Englishmen are

"Seldom contented, often in the wrong,
Hard to be pleased at all, and never long." 2

A few somewhat disconnected quotations will give the tone of the rest of this satire:

"An Englishman ne'er wants his own good word.
His long discourses gen'rally appear
Prologued with his own won'drous character.

.....
An Englishman is gentlest in command,
Obedience is a stranger in the land.

.....
"Their governors they count such dangerous things,
That 'tis their custom to affront their Kings.

.....
"A discontented nation, and by far
Harder to rule in times of peace than war." 3

1. Part II, pp. 197, 198, 200.
2. Part II, p. 201.
3. Part II, pp. 201, 202, 203.

After the power of the clergy is traced in its varied career and the general temper of Englishmen is described, Defoe relates how William III was invited to take the throne of England and how, when he did come, the people deserted him and uttered scurrilous remarks concerning him. Satire is finally asked to be silent while Britannia sings in praise of William III. Then follows a fine speech by a would-be lord who is a typical so-called true-born Englishman.

The Conclusion is didactic. With the following couplet Defoe brings to a close this satire:

"Fame of families is all a cheat,
'Tis personal virtue only makes us great." 1

"The end of satire," said Defoe, "is reformation." 2

Few more direct class satires are found in the English literature than this satire on "The True-born Englishman." It is Juvenalian in tone, for he exposes the vices and the follies of the age in order to reform. Unlike Horace, who laughed at the follies merely to shame the offender, Juvenal contributes a remedy of virtues to cure the folly or the vice. Juvenal is more vigorous in his attack upon the corruptions in the state than is Horace. "The True-born Englishman" abounds in a wealth of illustrative details which is a characteristic feature of Juvenal's writings. The character portrayal of the Englishman in all his aspects is cleverly drawn and we are led to believe that Defoe is indebted to Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel" for his prototype for "The True-born Englishman," for both are written in rimes couplet, both have clever character portrayal, and both contain open denunciation and an abundance of illustrative details.

1. Conclusion, p. 118.

2. Preface to "True-born Englishman" p. 162.

As the direct influence of Dryden is revealed by Defoe in another of his verse-satires; namely, "A Hymn to the Pillory",¹ a discussion of the poem will follow.

The historical setting for the poem will be produced first, before entering upon the poem proper.

Defoe was charged with writing a "scandalous and seditious pamphlet" entitled "The Shortest Way with Dissenters." On February 25, 1703, the House of Commons ordered his pamphlet burned by the common hangman, then Defoe gave himself up to the authorities. He was indicted at the Old Bailey on February 24, 1703, and the trial was fixed for the following July. In the interval he wrote "A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman." It included the pamphlet for which at the session of the Old Bailey on July 7, 8, 9, he was sentenced to stand thrice in the pillory with a paper of his crime, to pay a fine of two hundred marks to the Queen, to find sureties of his good behavior for seven years, and to lie in prison until all be performed.

"There was an interval of three weeks between the sentence and Defoe's first standing in the pillory. He spent the time in finishing a pamphlet on "The Shortest Way to Peace and Union." This was published on July 29, at the same time with a satirical "Hymn to the Pillory." July 29 was also the day on which Defoe appeared first in the pillory, his place of exposure being, on that day, before the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. On the next

1. Same edition as "The True-born Englishman," p. 243.

day he was pilloried near the Conduit in Cheapside; and on July 31 at Temple Bar. Defoe's "Hymn" was largely sold among the crowd; scraps of its vigorous doggerel passed from lip to lip. Flower girls supplied their stores to the people to adorn the scaffold of Defoe. He had won the battle by his pluck and had transferred the disgrace of his pillory to those who had placed him in it.¹

With this summary of conditions the poem as a satire will be reviewed. The prevailing meter is iambic tetrameter and pentameter with rime in couplets. Defoe's contempt for the pillory is voiced very emphatically in these words:

"Hail hieroglyphic state machine,
Contrived to punish fancy in." 2

Defoe muses upon these real criminals who ought to be pilloried and are not. He then addresses the pillory:

"Great monster of the law, exalt thy head,
Appear no more in masquerade.
.....
"Set every vicious magistrate
Upon thy sumptuous chariot of the state;
"There let them all in triumph ride,
Their purple and their scarlet laid aside.
.....
"Next bring the lewder clergy there,
Who preach those sins down which they can't forbear;
.....
"Next bring some lawyers to thy bar,
By innuendo they might all stand there." 3

An allusion is made to Dr. Sherlock who as "The Weesils" by Thomas Brown describes, "damned his conscience to oblige his wife."

"They that in vast employment rob the state,
See them in thy embraces meet their fate.
.....
"Great pageant, change thy dirty scene,
For on thy steps some ladies may be seen." 4

1. Same edition of his previous mentioned works, Chap. 4, pp. 223-224.
2. P. 243.
3. Sp. 249, 250, 251.
4. P. 253

Then Defoe asks

"What need of satire to reform the town,
Or laws to keep our vices down?
Let them to thee dire homage pay,
This will reform us all the shortest way." 1

The pillory is further the object of his scorn:

"Thou like the devil dost appear
Blacker than really thou art by far." 2

With reference to his own position he requests the pillory to tell the bystanders why it is and who it is that stands on the pillory.

"Tell them it was because he was too bold,
And told those truths which should not have been told,
Extol the justice of the land,
Who punish what they will not understand.
.....
Tell them that this is his reward,
And worse is yet for him prepared,
Because his foolish virtue was so nice
As not to sell his friends, according to his
friends' advice.

"And thus he's an example made,
To make men of their honesty afraid,
That for the time to come they may
More willingly their friends betray;" 3

As is noted, this is a political satire on one of the unjust institutions of the times. It is Defoe's aim to satirize the follies and vices of the age, in order, if possible, to reform. We may justly say that both are Juvenalian with direct influence from Dryden's satires. "The True-born Englishman" exposes the follies of the Age while "A Hymn to the Pillory" exposes the vices of the Age.

The points of similarity between Dryden and Defoe may be said to be: the skillful use of the rimed couplet, the clever character portrayal, the effective direct rebuke, and the argumen-

1. P. 254
2. P. 255
3. Pp. 255, 256.

tative ability. The Juvenalian and Lucianic types of satire are found in both writers' works, with the exception of the mock-heroic tone of Juvenal which is used by neither. Defoe's poems also reveal the dignity of Dryden, but there is lacking the masterly intellect which permeates Dryden's satires.

The satirist who succeeded Dryden as dictator was Alexander Pope (1688-1744). Pope was indebted to Dryden for the archetypes, or at least for the suggestions of every kind of poetry that he wrote. The Age of Pope was marked by great brilliancy, but it will be discussed no further in this paper.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY.

It has been the purpose of this thesis to trace the form and method of satire in the poetry of the Age of Dryden. The study of the main contemporary writers of the Age has been completed and has included Oldham (1653-1683), Otway (1651-1685), Brown (1663-1704), D'Urfey (1653-1723), Sedley (1639-1701), Dorset (1638-1706), Rochester (1647-1680), Dryden (1631-1700), Shadwell (1642-1692), Settle (1648-1724), Defoe (1661-1731) and also anonymous satirical poems. The author has attempted to show that the verse-satire before Dryden was heterogeneous and that Dryden produced a satiric verse-form which has never been equalled in English literature.

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