

JUVENALIAN SATIRE  
ROCHESTER TO JOHNSON

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Graduate Faculty of the Department of English  
University of Houston

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

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by  
Carol Weaver  
August, 1973

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## FORWARD

Dr. Irving Rothman's seminars on the eighteenth century, his ideals of scholarship, and his perceptions concerning the proper critical questions have inspired this thesis.

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The importance of Juvenalian satire in the period 1679-1750 is indicated by the critical commentary which frequently ranks it above Horatian satire and by some of the best satires of the period which may be described as Juvenalian. This satire is chiefly characterized by its moral teachings, its sublime eloquence, its pessimism, and its passionate indignation.

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, A Satyr against Mankind (1679), expresses pessimism about the human condition with no hope of reforming mankind. John Oldham, Satyrs upon the Jesuits (1681), launches a violent attack lacking irony and humor making it suspect as satire. Jonathan Swift, "A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms" (1726), bitterly attacks man in a tone of Horatian reasonableness. Alexander Pope, Epilogue to the Satires (1738), discards Horatian satire for Juvenalian as the only medium strong enough to express his indignation. Samuel Johnson's The Vanity of Human Wishes (1749) is eloquent, moral, and dispassionate, perhaps as much tragic sermon as Juvenalian satire.

In Swift and Pope the Horatian surface tone of wit and good humor balance the content of Juvenalian indignation. This fusion creates the dynamic vitality and tension of suppressed rage in the best satire of the age.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The identification of satire with Horace is implicit in the neoclassical revival in England in the early eighteenth century when this period is called the Augustan Age. Horatian satire was appreciated as the most effective literary kind in which to influence the reader. However, the best satire of the age often contradicts this ideal. Gilbert Highet has stated that the writers of the age "claimed to prefer the politer, suaver Horace; but in practice they found Juvenal hard to forget and impossible to ignore. His influence on satire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is at least as strong as Horace's."<sup>1</sup> John Bullitt recognizes this paradox: "In actual practice, the English genius for satire in both poetry and prose, from Dryden through Swift and Pope to the later eighteenth century, is perhaps closer to Juvenal: it probes more deeply than does mere good-humoured raillery."<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this thesis is to discuss 1) the critical concepts of Juvenalian satire as understood during the period from 1679 to 1750, 2) the characteristics of Juvenalian satire utilized by major satirists, and 3) the importance of Juvenalian satire to the period.

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> John Marshall Bullitt, Jonathan Swift and the Anatomy of Satire (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 18.

The first part summarizes the development of the key elements in Juvenalian satire and examines critical statements of the period on satire and on Juvenal and Horace for information on the characteristics of Juvenalian satire. The second part discusses the Juvenalian elements in several significant works as illustrations of this literary kind in practice.

Categorical minds have delighted in dividing the realm of satire in numerous ways. Dryden distinguishes between Varronian or Menippean satire and the verse satire of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal.<sup>3</sup> The former is composed of either mixed forms of verse or of prose and verse. The classical precedent for Menippean satire is meager and based mainly on Petronius' Satyricon. Dryden calls his own satires Varronian although the few fragments remaining are insufficient to determine the characteristics of the type. Since

<sup>3</sup>A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, in Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (1900; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), II, 64. In a variation of this division showing the durability of the classical precedent, a modern critic, M. H. Abrams, A Glossary of Literary Terms, 3rd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 153-55, divides satire into the formal satire of Horace and Juvenal and the indirect satire of which Menippean is a type. He points out that any narrative or literary form may provide the basis for indirect satire. He makes the distinction between formal satire where the satiric voice speaks directly either to the reader or to an adversarius and indirect satire where the characters make their point by appearing ridiculous.

Dryden's satires do not fit the structure of multiple verse forms or of verse and prose associated with the type, he may have been influenced by Quintilian's description of Varro as the most learned Roman of all. Since this division is based on verse form and the Menippean type did not have a significant classical development, its influence atrophied, and the influence of Horace and Juvenal became dominant.

Discussion of satire in the eighteenth century revolves around the eponymous Roman satirists: "The debate about the respective merits of Horace and Juvenal was a specialized form of the argument about the whole nature and status of satire."<sup>4</sup> These modes of satire describe two types of satire reflecting two different concepts of mankind with two different beliefs about evil.<sup>5</sup> Horatian satire intends to tell the truth laughing. This satire is the product of an optimist who portrays folly and evil with the hope that men who have committed these errors, if they only understood better, would mend their ways. He views man as basically good with the potential of being cured of his mistakes. By pointing out the truth he will effect an improvement. Juvenalian satire is more pessimistic about

<sup>4</sup>Ian Jack, Augustan Satire: Intention and Idiom in English Poetry, 1660-1750 (London: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 104.

<sup>5</sup>Gilbert Highet, The Anatomy of Satire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 234-35, 237.



man's evil nature. This satire considers evil deeply rooted in man and society with little if any hope of its being exorcised. He laughs with scorn in order to punish rather than to heal. His motivation is perhaps one of tragic purgation or catharsis rather than instruction for moral improvement, a result of his passionate indignation. These two modes form the two poles between which satirists vary. Rarely of course, is a work purely at one extreme or the other.

Robert C. Elliott has warned that "satire is notoriously a slippery term, designating as it does, a form of art and a spirit, a purpose and a tone."<sup>6</sup> There are few examples of the Roman verse genre in English although Donne experimented with it, and Pope in his Imitations of Horace and Johnson in London and the Vanity of Human Wishes produced admirable examples. In English the classical form has usually faded into the background allowing the satiric spirit, purpose, and tone to be grafted onto other forms. This spirit, purpose, and tone can be discussed in terms of Juvenalian or Horatian satire, distinctions clearly understood during the neoclassical age. The verse form is therefore not characteristic of all of the works to be discussed in this paper, and the term "satire" will be used in a broad sense to describe works in which Horatian

<sup>6</sup>Robert C. Elliott, The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. viii.

or Juvenalian elements of spirit, purpose and tone dominate.

An important distinction must be made between the direct influence of Juvenal as explored by J. B. Emperor and the mode of literature characterized as Juvenalian.<sup>7</sup> An essay such as "Tatler 121", by Addison which takes a quotation from Juvenal as its headnote is still essentially not Juvenalian; whereas Swift's The Legion Club has no direct connection with Juvenal yet is Juvenalian in tone and purpose.

Usually modern critics dismiss Juvenal with a passing reference that he is more important than normally supposed. For instance, James Sutherland, in English Satire, comments briefly that there is more Juvenal in Pope than is commonly admitted.<sup>8</sup> In spite of occasional instances of discussion of Juvenalian satire such as that in Thomas Barry Gilmore's dissertation, "The Reaction to Satire in England from 1693 to 1761," there has been no concerted attempt to define this type in terms of eighteenth century theory and practice.<sup>9</sup> Yet Hight points out that "much of what Juvenal says is permanently true and has been admired through many changing

<sup>7</sup>"The Juvenalian and Persian Element in English Literature from the Restoration to Dr. Johnson," Diss. Cornell 1932.

<sup>8</sup>English Satire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 63.

<sup>9</sup>"The Reaction to Satire in England from 1693 to 1761," Diss. Univ. of Illinois 1964.

centuries. But when his poems are read in an age like that which produced them they acquire a double energy, an intenser truth. So throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he was one of the most important, most widely read, most influential, best understood classical poets."<sup>10</sup>

Thus since the Roman formal verse satire and the direct influence of Juvenal do not provide the basis for this discussion of Juvenalian satire, other elements of tone and technique do provide the delimiting criteria. These are based on the Juvenal as understood by the period, not as he is currently being reinterpreted by modern critics. Basic to this type of satire is a seriousness of purpose on the part of the author which results in an attempt to elevate the traditionally low level of satire to a status equivalent to that of epic and tragedy. The poet considers his role as sacred and as the last bastion against evil since other powers in society such as government and church have become corrupt. He is concerned with human morals not manners. The style used to express these ideas varies from epic majesty with an element of the sublime, through a parody of the epic, to the use of slang and obscenities. Throughout this range, however, the language is forceful and strong rather than gentle or

<sup>10</sup>Highet, Juvenal, pp. 213-14.

delicate. This leads critics to characterize the satire as one of indignation and rage. The bitter, sardonic irony reflects the cosmic irony of the human condition. Repulsive obscenity is used as the only anecdote strong enough to match the entrenched evil effecting change through shock. Above all the satirist betrays his passionate indignation. Essentially it is a literature not of epic praise but of heroic blame.

During this period satire of Juvenalian purpose and subject usually appears under the guise of Horatian good humor and reasonableness; the proverbial wolf in sheep's clothing. A Modest Proposal is an excellent example of Juvenalian satire; yet word by word, sentence by sentence, it moves forward in the tone of sensible logic and moderation associated with Horace.

## II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRITICAL IDEA OF JUVENALIAN SATIRE

### A. CLASSICAL AND CONTINENTAL SOURCES

The Augustan age may be seen as the culmination of a long tradition of classical literary concepts concerning the didactic and moral function of poetry. Since these elements are the very soul of satire, it is worth briefly tracing their classical and Renaissance backgrounds. In addition the Renaissance concept of satire described by such men as Scaliger, Dacier, and Heinsius established the dichotomy between Horace and Juvenal and provided the source for subsequent English discussions.

O. B. Hardison states that "the idea that poetry should teach is the most universal of critical theories."<sup>1</sup> The combination of delight and instruction persists throughout classical and English literary theory until the end of the eighteenth century. The didactic half of this combination was based on the Platonic ideal of παιδεία or education wherein man should work toward his own development within the community in creating an ideal state. Literature was to contribute to this advancement by providing the noble inspiration of heroic example. Platonic theory insists that poetry serve society by teaching morality and ethics.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1962), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Hardison, Enduring Monument, p. 25.

Plato was wary of poetry because of the emotions it could arouse. In spite of his banning Homer from the ideal state he is conscious of the efficacy of two types of poetry, "hymns to the gods and praises of famous men" (Republic X.607), in influencing the young to emulate noble actions (Protagoras 11.325-26). Here the function of poetry is limited to the moral, didactic element.

Aristotle de-emphasizes the didactic purpose of poetry by focusing on the elements that make poetry pleasing, and he does not suggest that literature teach ethics as a primary goal.<sup>3</sup> He divides poetry into two groups based on the poet's character establishing a decorum between style and subject: "Poetry then diverged in the directions of the natural dispositions of the poets. Writers of greater dignity imitated the noble actions of noble heroes; the less dignified sort of writers imitated the actions of inferior men, at first writing invectives as the former writers wrote hymns and encomia."<sup>4</sup>

Renaissance commentators used this passage as a basis for dividing genres into two general categories based on praise and blame.<sup>5</sup> Thus in the first category are found

<sup>3</sup>Aristotle's Poetics, trans. Leon Golden and com. O. B. Hardison, Jr. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>Aristotle's Poetics, IV, 11. 27-39, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>Hardison, Enduring Monument, p. 28.

hymns and panegyrics, heroic poetry, epic, and tragedy while in the latter fall invective, comic epic, satire, and comedy. The first group is concerned with men idealized for the purpose of providing examples to be followed. The second group portrays men worse than the norm as examples of vice to be avoided. Consistent with this division Hardison in The Enduring Monument is concerned with the Renaissance theory of the poetry of praise, while satire is classified as the poetry of blame. The association of comedy with satire due to the common element of denigration is a logical consequence of this division: "The concept of comedy and satire as forms of rebuke--hence allied to the rhetorical technique of blame--is a natural one and is evident from Aristophanes (Acharnians, 644-45) through Lucilius (frag. 1030-34), to Horace (Satires, I,x; II,i), and Juvenal (first satire)."<sup>6</sup>

Satire did not exist as an independent genre until it was codified by the Romans, but the satirical element was present in Greek comedy. Aristotle classifies the poetry of invective iambics because of the appropriate meter and describes it as the meter originally used for men to "satirize each other." Comedy is divided into the Old Comedy typified

<sup>6</sup> Hardison, Enduring Monument, p. 29.

by Aristophanes with bitter invective against living persons and the New Comedy of Menander which ridiculed the folly of fictitious characters. The parallel between Aristophanes and Juvenal, Menander and Horace suggests that this dichotomy is a natural one and not determined solely by tradition.

In addition to Aristotle the second dominating influence on Renaissance and neoclassical criticism is that of Horace.<sup>7</sup> The Ars Poetica and the three satires (I.4, I.10, II.1) concerned with literature are the sources of several critical concepts which endured through the Renaissance and into English neoclassicism. Later critics returned to these works along with the Poetics as a basis for statements, both valid and invalid, about the essential nature of literature. Horace is responsible for the importance of three concepts concerning satire. First he adopts the traditional distinction between major and minor genres.<sup>8</sup> Along with Aristotle he saw a natural affinity between great subjects and the great style of drama and epic. Satire is relegated to the category of minor genres. This is based on a decorum or appropriateness

<sup>7</sup>Marvin T. Herrick, The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555 (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1946), p.1.

<sup>8</sup>C. O. Brink, Horace on Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 176-77, 214, 217, 220, 229.



of a style for certain contents, emotions, or characters. The next concept is the idea that satire demands perfection in technique. He condemns Lucilius, his predecessor in satire, for lacking smooth versification in spite of the nobility of his thoughts. The harshness of his lines need not, indeed should not, be characteristic of satire. The Renaissance in England overlooked this point because of the erroneous belief that satire developed from the Greek Satyr play and accepted harshness as a characteristic of satire, but by the Restoration, the clarification of the etymology of the word "satire" gave credence to Horace's statement. Horace's third principle is the great importance of the moral and didactic function of poetry, in general, and satire, in particular. In addition to aesthetic purpose poetry must also have a moral effect; it must instruct as well as delight. Satire is concerned with society and fulfills a function in society beyond that of pleasing.

Juvenal counters the relegation of satire to secondary status saying in the First Satire that epic poetry may have been successful in an age of heroes, but in an age as degenerate as his only satire could fulfill the moral purpose of literature. In the past literature of praise and heroism could inspire men to be noble, but now they were so corrupt that only the most vehement attack might affect them. He

further elevates its dignity with a style that approaches the majestic. At times it is heroic; at times mock-heroic, serious, or ironic. The neoclassicists understood his power and sought to imitate it, although modern critics have frequently forgotten this in favor of his invectives and obscenities.

Since Juvenal left few critical statements on satire, it would appear that the criticism of Horace and Aristotle influenced subsequent critics, while the satire of Horace and Juvenal influenced subsequent satirists resulting in two divergent traditions concerning the position of satire as a genre. This division has connotations concerning the function of literature and its various genres which lead to the distinctions between Horatian and Juvenalian satire.

The Italian Renaissance critics emphasized the utilitarian function of poetry most strongly which led to a high appreciation of satire, although it was usually considered a low genre. The sixteenth century critics finally reduced Aristotle and Horace to rules, but lacking sufficient sources for minor genres such as satire they turned to the works themselves.<sup>9</sup> This led to increasing interest in practical criticism at the expense of theoretical. New formulations

<sup>9</sup>Bernard Weinberg, Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961), II, 807.

and descriptions of satire resulted.

Three concepts recur throughout the Cinquecento which have bearing on the tradition of Juvenalian satire: (1) the didactic purpose of satire, (2) the relation of this genre to the others, and (3) the stylistic attributes of satire which tend to favor Juvenal. The emphasis placed on the moral purpose of poetry which led to a high appreciation of satire appears in numerous works during the period. Lodovico Dolce (1559), Origine della satira, a preface to his translation of Horace, emphasizes its moral purpose.<sup>10</sup> Francesco Sansovino's Discorso in materia della satira (1560) describes satire as a favored genre, since the purpose of poetry is to separate men from vice and since satire effects this result. The most extreme view is expressed by Francesco Patrizi, De institutione reipublicae (1494), who approved of satire because of its high moral purpose while condemning other genres.

Julius Caesar Scaliger, Poetice (1561), produces perhaps the most extensive and systematic examination of poetry during the period.<sup>11</sup> He distinguishes between genres according to the subject, specifically the rank of the characters,

<sup>10</sup>Weinberg, I, 143.

<sup>11</sup>Weinberg, II, 745.

and ranked the genres within this hierarchy based on order of excellence: "The most excellent kinds of poetry are hymns and paeans; next rank songs (mele), odes, and scholia, which are sung in the praise of brave men. The epic, in which are both heroes and lesser men, comes third, and then follows tragedy along with comedy. Comedy, however, will receive a fourth place by itself. Thereafter come satires, exodia, interludes, jests, nuptial songs, elegies, monodies, incantations, and epigrams."<sup>12</sup> Scaliger perceives that his system led to un-Aristotelian precepts such as his emphasis on poetry as rhetoric. The function of poetry is to persuade men to lead virtuous lives, an emphasis on the didactic nature to an extent well beyond Horace and certainly not in harmony with Aristotle. He compares the Old Comedy of Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis to Roman satire finding that the Greek should provide the usage and theory for the Roman.<sup>13</sup> Juvenal is defended against criticism that he is harsh and rash; satire is defended against the criticism that it mocks and teases rather than reprehends and rebukes. Scaliger justifies the use of low and obscene materials provided the

<sup>12</sup>Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics, trans. Frederick Morgan Padelford, Yale Studies in English, No. 26 (New York: Henry Holt, 1905), p. 20.

<sup>13</sup>Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics, pp. 42-43.

treatment is conducive to moral improvement.<sup>14</sup> Ugliness is permitted because pleasure could be derived from the skill in its representation. By selecting Aristophanes as the Greek precedent for Roman satire, by emphasizing the moral purpose of literature, and by allowing a broad range of materials in satire, Scaliger enhances the reputation of Juvenalian satire.

Opinion varies among the Italians concerning the relative position of satire. Dolce traces the origin of tragedy and comedy to satire thereby aligning it with both genres. Sansovino places it at the low end of the scale in contrast with epic and tragedy. Nicola Colonio (1587) classifies it as one of the four main genres along with epic, tragedy, and comedy.<sup>15</sup> While no commentator places it at the top of the scale, its position is variable.

The moral theme is reiterated by Girolamo Zoppio (1589), who describes satire in Juvenalian terms as "aiming to castigate an individual or a group, in order to bring about correction, and it does so by direct, biting, insulting accusations."<sup>16</sup> Bellisario Bulgarini furthers the Juvenalian

<sup>14</sup>Weinberg, II, 748.

<sup>15</sup>Weinberg, I, 221.

<sup>16</sup>Weinberg, II, 898.

emphasis by distinguishing satire which raises indignation from comedy which raises laughter.<sup>17</sup> The Horatian tradition had its adherents such as Sansovino who describes satire as low in style and subject, imitating nature directly and without adornment, and using the language of prose. It is "simple, sharp, witty, and direct." Therefore while there is agreement on the moral nature of satire, the division of forces concerning the importance of the genre and the style in which it should be written falls along the line of Horace versus Juvenal.

Boileau is representative of the continuation of the Renaissance tradition in France. In his expanded imitation of the Ars Poetica he writes of Juvenal, "Ses ouvrages, tout pleins d'affreuses vérités,/ Etincellent pourtant de sublimes beautés./ . . . / Ses écrits pleins de feu partout brillent aux yeux."<sup>18</sup> Boileau is impressed by the sublime eloquence of Juvenal.

<sup>17</sup>Weinberg, II, 599.

<sup>18</sup>(His work, filled with frightening truths, shines everywhere with sublime beauty; his writings, full of fire yet brilliant to the eyes.) Nicolas Boileau, Oeuvres de Boileau-Despréaux, ed. Octave Blondel (Paris: Collection Des Grands Classiques Français et Étrangers, 1908), pp. 164-65.

As Dryden has pointed out, each critic, editor, and imitator commits himself to one of the Romans at the expense of the other thus identifying his concept of satire.<sup>19</sup> Casaubon alone and almost perversely preferred Persius, whom he translated with great skill and insight.<sup>20</sup> Scaliger calls Juvenal the best of the satirists and, like Rigaltius, condemns Horace. Heinsius, Vossius, and Dacier prefer Horace. These preferences indicate that in spite of the importance of the Ars Poetica to Renaissance literary theory the satire of Juvenal was equally important as that of Horace.

<sup>19</sup>A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, in Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (1900; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), II, 68.

<sup>20</sup>Dryden, II, 69.

B. THE TRADITION OF JUVENALIAN  
SATIRE IN ENGLAND BEFORE 1694

In addition to the increased appreciation of satire during the Renaissance the stage was set for a renewed interest in Juvenal in England by the first printing of a significantly improved text by Pithou in 1585, by Casaubon's clarification of the source of satire as Roman verse unrelated to Greek Satyr drama in 1605, and by the prestige of being praised by Scaliger as the best of the Latin satirists. This interest in Juvenalian satire in England becomes noticeable late in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The first Latin edition of Juvenal printed in England is that edited with commentary by Thomas Farnaby in 1612. The first imitation in English of one of the satires, the Tenth, is that of W. B. perhaps W. Barksted, 1617. And this century saw two translations of Juvenal prior to that of Dryden in 1693 (actually appearing in October 1692), Sir Robert Stapylton in 1660 and Barten Holyday in 1673. The latter was the earliest complete translation in English having been started in 1618.

The critical concept of Juvenalian satire remains quite consistent from its initial establishment in England, perhaps first stated by Alexander Barclay, 1509, through the eighteenth century. Throughout this period Juvenal and

<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 211.



Horace typified the two major types of satire, and a discussion of their works was always a discussion of the type of satire. Juvenal was traditionally preferred to Horace in the realm of satire on the basis of his superior eloquence and his more profound moralizing.<sup>2</sup> In a period where satire was considered the best didactic genre, his satire was allied to tragedy and epic sharing an heroic style at times and a subject of great vice. Satire was not explicitly elevated from its position as a low genre, but it tended to rise in the scale of genres when allied to tragedy and to fall when allied to comedy. As satire becomes increasingly important as a unique weapon against immorality, the interest in Juvenalian satire is strengthened. Juvenal was considered the more honest satirist while Horace's court position made his integrity suspect. His obscenity was tolerated and rarely mentioned. There is an increasing emphasis on Juvenal's ability to please and on his sublime style. The most marked change in interpretation is from the belief that satire should be rough and harsh to the

<sup>2</sup> This is in contradiction to critics such as Robert Eno Russell, "Dryden's Juvenal and Persius," Diss. Univ. of Calif. Davis 1967, p. 1, who states that "in the past Juvenal and Persius had been less favored than Horace, but now they received their due share of attention." Based on the evidence presented in this chapter I feel that Juvenal was at least as important as Horace if not more so in the seventeenth century.

attitude that it should be smooth and polished.

The tradition of Juvenal as an extraordinary teacher of morals was well established in England because his first utilization was by the clergy: Barclay, Skelton, Drant, and later Donne, Hall, and Marston.<sup>3</sup> Alexander Barclay in 1509 in the earliest known historical account of satire in England summarizes the recurring elements of satiric theory with surprising completeness: 1) individuals are identified by name in order to illustrate vice, 2) the purpose of satire is to correct behavior with a combination of rebuke and "mery speche," 3) the satirist does not attack the good man rather he praises him, 4) the satirist is selfless in his purpose of writing to extol wisdom and condemn vice without any thought of personal reward, and 5) the broad use of language was justified because of its noble rather than prurient intent.<sup>4</sup> Concerning Juvenal he writes: "The last and prynce of all was Juvenall whiche in his jocunde poemys comprehendyd al that was wryten most eloquent and

<sup>3</sup>Mary Claire Randolph, "The Neo-Classic Theory of Formal Verse Satire in England, 1700-1750," Diss. Univ. of North Carolina 1939, p.33.

<sup>4</sup>Alexander Barclay, "A prologue in prose shewynge to what intent this Boke was firste made, and who were the Auctours of it," Ship of Fools, ed. T. H. Jamieson (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1874), p. 7.

pleasant of all the poetis of that sorte afore his tyme," thus early establishing the prestige of Juvenal for subsequent English satirists.

John Skelton "boldly . . . barks" "at Juvynals request" in his acid attack on political corruption.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Drant, Archdeacon of Lewes, A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace Satyres, En-glyshed accordyng to the prescription of Saint Hierome . . . (London, 1566), sig. a.iiii, gives what is thought to be the first definition of satire in English:

A Satyre, is a tarte and carpying kynd of verse.  
An instrument to pynche the pranks of men;  
And for as much as pynchyng instruments do perse.  
Yclept it was full well a Satyre then.

. . . . .  
Satyre of writhled waspyshe Saturne may be namde  
The Satyryst must be a wasper in moode,  
Testie and wrothe with vice and hers, to see both blamde  
But courteous and frendly to the good.

. . . . .  
Lus[i]ll, (I wene) was parent of this nypppyng ryme:<sup>6</sup>  
. . . . .

It is curious that this definition is more descriptive of eighteenth century satire than that of Horace or Juvenal.

A "tarte and carpying," "nypppyng," verse written by a waspish satirist is neither the majestic, vulgar Juvenal nor the

<sup>5</sup>The Poetical Works of John Skelton, ed. Alexander Dyce (1843; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1965), II, 63-64.

<sup>6</sup>As quoted by Randolph, p. 35

suave, polite Horace but is a prophetic description of Pope. The similarity may in part be coincidence, but it suggests that England had an original satiric tradition established at this early age which could not be deflected by subsequent classical influence. The title of the book and its motto, Antidoti salutaris amaror, emphasize the cathartic effect of satire. Since this was written prior to Casaubon's clarification of the etymology of satire in 1605, Drant associates satire with Saturn, whose influence was one of gloom and pessimism and with the satyrs with connotations of roughness, rusticity, slyness, vulgarity, and wit. And finally Drant recognizes a similar purpose between satire and religion in attacking vice and heresy while praising good.

John Donne, John Marston, and Joseph Hall formed a group who consciously absorbed elements of theme and style from the Roman satirists. Of the group Joseph Hall was most influenced by Juvenal, and while calling himself the first English satirist, might justly be called the first Juvenalian satirist in English.

The influence of Roman verse satire especially that of Juvenal on Jonson's Cynthia's Revels and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida has been noted.<sup>7</sup> Jonson's classicism

<sup>7</sup>O. J. Campbell, Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida" (San Marino: Huntington Library Publications, 1938).

owes much to Juvenalian satire in its morality, acidity, and seriousness of purpose.<sup>8</sup> And one recalls that Hamlet is perhaps seen reading Juvenal's Tenth (II.ii.195f.).

In the period prior to Dryden's essay on satire in 1693 the concept of satire as harsh and obscure fades away. This roughness in meter and language and earthy descriptions of vice are due to the characteristics associated with the satyr play as well as a sense of decorum in using base language to attack base men. Satire was thought to have its roots in drama and was usually related to tragedy or occasionally to comedy. The idea of obscurity developed from Persius' compressed syntax and was reinforced by the satirist's need for protection.<sup>9</sup> In 1589 George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, describes the satirist as one who "intended to taxe the common abuses and vice of the people in rough and bitter speeches, and their invectives were called Satyres."<sup>10</sup> Joseph Hall in "A Defiance to Envie" alludes to the crude source of satire in the satyr

<sup>8</sup>Kathryn A. McEuen, "Jonson and Juvenal," RES, 21 (1945), p. 93

<sup>9</sup>Randolph, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup>The Arte of English Poesie, ed. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: University Press, 1936), p. 26.

play: "The ruder satire should go ragg'd and bare' / And show his rougher and his hairy hide."<sup>11</sup> Puttenham regards the satyr play as the parent of tragedy and comedy while Thomas Lodge, Defence of Poetry, 1579, makes tragedy the parent and satire the descendant.<sup>12</sup>

Milton in 1642 associates satire with tragedy and using the criteria of decorum concludes that the great vices of great personages are the proper target: "For a Satyr, as it was borne out of a Tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creepe unto every blinde Taphouse, that fears a Constable more then a Satyr."<sup>13</sup> Thomas Hobbes in 1650 contradicts Milton's view in classifying satire as the narrative counterpart to comedy differing only in that the poet narrates one while several persons narrate the other.<sup>14</sup> Mirth and laughter

<sup>11</sup>Satires, ed. Samuel Weller Singer (London: C. Whittingham, 1824), p. cii.

<sup>12</sup>Defence of Poetry, in Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. Gregory Smith (Oxford: University Press, 1904), I, 80.

<sup>13</sup>An Apology Against a Pamphlet Call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnus, in Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. J. E. Spingarn (1907; rpt. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1957), I, 205.

<sup>14</sup>Answer to Davenant's Preface to "Gondibert", in Spingarn, II, 55, 64.

are the property of this type and are not appropriate to great persons.

Sir William Alexander, Anacrisis, 1634, does not choose between Horace and Juvenal but appreciates "the deep Judgment and grave Sentences of Horace and Juvenal."<sup>15</sup> Other commentators usually support one side or the other.

The advocates for Juvenalian satire receive support from Thomas Farnaby in the dedication of the first Latin edition of Juvenal printed in England in 1615. He says, according to Thomas Blount, "That many preferr'd Juvenal's Satyres before all the Morals of Aristotle, nay, and that they thought them equal to those of Seneca and Epictetus. He likewise informs us, There are several Criticks, who give the precedence to Juvenal before Horace; esteeming the latter but as a slight, superficial Satyrist, who only laught from the teeth outwards; whereas Juvenal bit to the very bone, and did not often suffer his Prey to escape without strangling, and being put to Death."<sup>16</sup> Thus Horace is super-

<sup>15</sup>William Alexander, Anacrisis: or, A Censure of Some Poets Ancient and Modern, in Spingarn, I, 183.

<sup>16</sup>Quoted by Thomas Pope Blount, De Re Poetica (London: R. Everingham, 1694), p. 114.

ficial and Juvenal profound, his moral teachings stringent and wise, his style effective.

Another proponent of Juvenal is Henry Peacham, Of Poetry, 1622: "In his Satyres Horace is quicke, round, and pleasant; and as nothing so bitter, so not so good as Iuvenal. . . . Iuvenal of Satyrists is the best, for his Satyres are far better then those of Horace; and though he be sententious tart, yet is his phrase cleare and open."<sup>17</sup> He counters the Elizabethan tradition that satire is obscure, praising Juvenal for his clarity, but he associates the bitterness of the satyr play with Juvenal.<sup>18</sup>

This opinion of Juvenal continues throughout the seventeenth century after the ideas of harshness and obscurity have faded as evidenced by Thomas Shadwell, 1671, who finds Juvenal the best and wittiest: "If there be no wit required in the rendering Folly ridiculous or Vice odious, we must accuse Juvenal, the best Satyrist and wittiest Man of all the Latine Writers, for want of it."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup>"Of Poetrie," in Spingarn, I, 127.

<sup>18</sup>The two extant satyr plays are not bitter; this was a popular misconception. Alvin Kernan, The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1959), p. 62.

<sup>19</sup>"Preface to The Humorists, A Comedy," in Spingarn, II, 161.



John Sheffield and Thomas Sprat are partisans of Horatian satire. The latter in 1668 defends Horace as "the very Original of true Raillery, . . . the pleasant reproofs of a Gentleman from the severity of a School-master," by which he must be referring to Juvenal.<sup>20</sup> John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Mulgrave, in his Essay on Satire, 1675, discusses satire at length from an Horatian viewpoint. He emphasizes the superior didactic value of satire:

Satyre has always shin'd among the rest,  
And is the boldest Way, perhaps the best,  
To shew Men freely all their foulest Faults;  
To laugh at their vain Deeds, and vainer Thoughts.<sup>21</sup>

His preference is for the satire that rallies rather than rails:

Some did our Follies with just Sharpness blame;  
While others laugh'd and scorn'd us into Shame;  
But, of these two, the last succeeded best;  
As Men hit rightest, when they shoot in jest.  
(p. 114)

Good humored laughter which shames us is preferable to an attack which punishes us. A broad attack on thoroughly evil men requires little talent compared with the revelation of subtle imperfections in otherwise admirable persons.

<sup>20</sup>An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley: Written to Mr. M. Clifford, in Spingarn, II, 136.

<sup>21</sup>The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham (London: John Barber, 1723), pp. 114-15.

Against the grossest Follies they declaim,  
 Hard they pursue, but hunt ignoble Game.  
 Nothing is easier than such Blots to hit,  
 And but the Talent of a vulgar Wit.

. . . . .  
 But, with sharp Eyes those nicer Faults to find,  
 Which lie obscurely in the wisest Mind,  
 That little Speck, which all the rest will spoil;  
 To wash off this, would be a noble Toil.

(p. 115)

The best technique of satire described in the Essay on Poetry is that of Horace, not Juvenal:

. . . human frailty nicely to unfold,  
 Distinguishes a satyr from a scold.  
 Rage you must hide, and prejudice lay down;  
 A satyr's smile is sharper than his frown.<sup>22</sup>

He counters the tradition, established by the verse of Lucilius, that satire should be harsh in keeping with its subject:

Of chosen words some take not care enough,  
 And think they should be as the subject rough;  
 This poem must be more exactly made,  
 And sharpest thoughts in smoothest words convey'd.

Mulgrave is mostly concerned with the Horatian technique of subtle, good-natured raillery as a way of improving men by enlightening them concerning their faults. By implication his subject would be errors common to many men, not gross evils characteristic of a few men. And the verse of such satire should approximate the ideal of the age in smooth, decorous, cultivated lines. Lacking is any hint of Juvenal's

<sup>22</sup> John Sheffield, The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper, ed. Alexander Chalmers (1810; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), X, 92.

moral seriousness or pessimism, heroic purpose or sense of the sublime.

Robert Wolseley in Preface to Valentinian, 1685, condemns modern satire as degenerate, while defending its use of obscenity. Rather than being designed to raise the appetite, "the whole force of it is generally turn'd to restrain Appetite, and keep it within due Bounds, to reprove the unjust Designs and check the excesses of that lawlesse Tyrant."<sup>23</sup>

The most complete and perceptive discussion of satire during this period is Dryden's A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, 1693.<sup>24</sup> It synthesizes the Renaissance critical statements on the subject and propounds the traditional view of these two types of satire as well as projecting Dryden's image of an ideal satire.

Dryden's concept of satire predisposes his selection of Juvenal as the most pleasing satirist while taking instruction from Horace. His intuitive description is more appropriate for the satire of the next half century than for any previous satire. The age was not restrained by the limits

<sup>23</sup>"Preface to Valentinian, A Tragedy, as 'tis Altered by the Late Earl of Rochester," in Spingarn, III, 13.

<sup>24</sup>Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (1900; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), II, hereafter cited by page number in the text.

of classical genres in spite of their concern about the characteristics integral to each kind. Robert D. Hume points out that Dryden's own work was not circumscribed by traditional genres probably because of his intense interest in the heroic.<sup>25</sup> Dryden queries, "Why should we offer to confine free spirits to one form, when we cannot so much as confine our bodies to one fashion of apparel" (p. 102). A change in form is justified when it reflects the increased refinement of a later age. Thus the manners of Virgil's heroes are quite different from Homer's and justifiably so (p. 101). This argument which allows for the improvement of literary forms is based on the idea of progress of civilization and permits Dryden to enumerate the characteristics of the best satire for his age irrespective of classical models. Various elements find classical precedents for authority, but nowhere in antiquity do we find the complete pattern that Dryden describes.

According to Dryden the ideal satire must first have a structural unity of one theme, one subject, one vice and its corresponding virtue (p. 102). Within this framework it is possible to have secondary themes, but they should be

<sup>25</sup> Dryden's Criticism (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1970), p. 27.

subordinated to the main design: "It ought only to treat of one subject; to be confined to one particular theme; or at least, to one principally. If other vices occur in the management of the chief, they should only be transiently lashed, and not be insisted on, so as to make the design double" (p. 102). He praises the satires of Persius as the first to discover this unity necessary for a perfect satire. Juvenal as interpreted by Dryden follows this design in all satires excepting the first, and Boileau's example among moderns reinforces Dryden's contention (p. 103). The obvious criticism against unity of theme in defense of Horace concerns the etymology of satura which is associated with variety or mixture. Dryden interprets this to mean one subject treated in various ways (pp. 103-04).

Second, Dryden repeatedly emphasizes the importance of refined language in satire. "Beautiful turns of words and thoughts" are requisite to satire which should be delicat et bien tournée (pp. 108-09). His critical stance is based on the idea that a language is at first rude and then develops through art and instruction into a medium increasingly refined and suitable for literature. In part Horace surpasses Lucilius, and Juvenal surpasses Horace because of the improved condition of Latin. This sense of progress allows him to concede that Roman satire may be

excelled by English satire except for the English language, which is inferior to Latin as a literary medium (p. 25). However, English is improving, and the rough versification in Donne's poems is excused because of the comparative rudeness of the English of his age. Obscenity, obscurity, and forced metaphors criticized in Persius and lowness of style condemned in Horace are opposed to the clarity and dignity he advocates.

Dryden's third recommendation for the preferred type of satire concerns versification. The eight syllable Hudibrastic rhyme as chosen by Butler is condemned because "the shortness of his verse and the quick returns of rhyme, had debased the dignity of style" (p. 105). Further, while double rhyme is acceptable for burlesque it "is not so proper for manly satire; for it turns earnest too much to jest, and gives us a boyish kind of pleasure" (p. 105). He advocates the ten syllable heroic couplet. It is significant that his criteria is based on dignity of style. Boileau exemplifies this objective of satire written in a heroic style: "His subject is trivial, but his verse is noble" (p. 107). This approaches Dryden's ideal of "the most beautiful, and most noble kind of satire. Here is the majesty of the heroic, finely mixed with the venom of satire" (p. 108).

It is not surprising that Dryden classifies satire as a species of heroic poetry (p. 108). The age was well suited to satire, and the important literary figures attempted to elevate the position of satire by associating it with tragedy and heroic verse.<sup>26</sup> To Dryden heroic verse was appropriate for either satire or epic. Its use in satire was in substance Juvenalian although it contained elements of Horatian subtlety and irony. These characteristics of unified structure, dignified language, and heroic verse determine a preference for Juvenalian satire which is the foundation for Dryden's discussion of the Roman satirists.

His essay on the Original and Progress of Satire contains an extended comparison of Horace and Juvenal and is the preface to his translation of Juvenal and Persius. It is not surprising that he tips the balance in favor of Juvenal although it is contrary to his earlier preference for Horace's satires in the "Preface" to Sylvae, which "are incomparably beyond Juvenal's if to laugh and rally is to

<sup>26</sup> Dryden recognizes that certain genres have a special affinity for certain ages. The English had excelled the ancients in the tragedy of Shakespeare and the satire of his age while the classical epics of Homer and Virgil remained supreme, p. 26.

be preferred to railing and declaiming."<sup>27</sup> He acknowledges the temptation of prejudice: "I have spent some time on the translation of Juvenal and Persius; and it behoves me to be wary, lest, for that reason, I should be partial to them, or take a prejudice against Horace" (p. 69).

He weighs the merits of each satirist finding both make a valuable contribution. "I would willingly divide the palm betwixt them, upon the two heads of profit and delight, which are the two ends of poetry in general. . . . I am profited by both, I am pleased with both; but I owe more to Horace for my instruction, and more to Juvenal for my pleasure" (pp. 81-82). It must be noted in view of his subsequent discussion that "instruction" refers to both morality and poetic technique.

Dryden concedes that in general Horace is the better poet inclusive of his Odes and Epodes, but Juvenal is the better satirist (p. 79). Dryden is sensitive to Horace's skill: "Virgil himself must yield to him in the delicacy of his turns, his choice of words, and perhaps the purity of his Latin" (p. 79). Horace excels in subtlety and indirection: "He had found out the skill of Virgil, to hide his sentences; to give you the virtue of them, without

<sup>27</sup>Essays of John Dryden, I, 266.



showing them in their full extent" (p. 83). He describes Horace's method as one of gentle wit; he "laughs to shame all follies, and insinuates virtue rather by familiar examples that the severity of precepts" (p. 84).

Dryden appreciates Horace's successful rhetoric with its deceptive ease, always more difficult to imitate than simple invective: "How easy it is to call rogue and villain, and that wittily! But how hard to make a man appear a fool, a blockhead, or a knave, without using any of those opprobrious terms! . . . There is still a vast difference betwixt the slovenly butchering of a man, and the fineness of a stroke that separates the head from the body, and leaves it standing in its place" (pp. 92-93). Dryden was justifiably proud of the character of Zimri in Absalom and Achitophel:

A man so various, that he seem'd to be  
Not one, but all mankind's epitome:  
Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong;  
Was everything by starts, and nothing long;  
But, in the course of one revolving moon,  
Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon;

· · · · ·  
Railing and praising were his usual themes;  
And both (to shew his judgement) in extremes:  
So over-violent, or over-civil,  
That every man, with him, was God or Devil.  
In squand'ring wealth was his peculiar art.  
Nothing went unrewarded but desert.

Beggar'd by fools, whom still he found too late,  
He had his jest, and they had his estate.  
He laugh'd himself from court; then sought relief  
By forming parties, but could ne'er be chief;

· · · · ·

Thus, wicked but in will, of means bereft,  
 He left not faction, but of that was left.  
 (ll. 545-68)<sup>28</sup>

This description of Zimri personifies Dryden's appreciation of Horatian technique: "If I had railed, I might have suffered for it justly; but I managed my own work more happily, perhaps more dexterously. I avoided the mention of great crimes, and applied myself to the representing of blindsides, and little extravagancies" (p. 93). Dryden has utilized a subtle technique of satire wherein the irony is gained by hitting not above or below the target but off center. Thus Horace describes in Satire I.v, the Journey to Brundisium, the food and lodging while ignoring the important treaty negotiations that perpetrated the journey or the presence of public figures. Juvenal describes a meeting of Domitian's council to discuss the preparation of a fish for dinner while the empire crumbles. The irony is gained from what is not discussed, the serious faults, vices, or crimes. Thus Zimri is ridiculed as mercurial but is not indicted for major crimes. Zimri as an object of ridicule is reduced to an impotent buffoon rather than magnified as a monster of evil.

<sup>28</sup>The Poetical Works of Dryden, ed. George R. Noyes, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 116.

Dryden expresses the prevailing attitude toward Horace's subject matter. He is a moral instructor concerned mostly with the follies of man. Dryden defines follies as "those little vices, . . . the defects of human understanding, or, at most, the peccadillos of life, rather than the tragical vices, to which men are hurried by their unruly passions and exorbitant desires" (p. 83). He has broad applicability; he "gives the most various advices, and most applicable to all occasions which can occur to us in the course of our lives" (p. 82).

Although Dryden's praise for Horace is laudatory, he still prefers Juvenal: "Horace is the more copious and profitable in his instructions of human life; but . . . Juvenal is the more delightful author" (pp. 81-82). His preference is based on Juvenal's skill as a writer and is little concerned with his moral precepts. Dryden prefers the "more vigorous and masculine wit" of Juvenal to the faint and insipid wit of Horace: "The delight which Horace gives me is but languishing" (p. 84). Juvenal is himself indignant and arouses this feeling in the reader. Dryden seeks the sublime and the heroic in literature, and it is finally this element in Juvenal that determines his triumph over Horace. "His expressions are sonorous and more noble; his verse more numerous, and his words are suitable to his

thoughts, sublime and lofty . . . . Horace is always on the amble, Juvenal on the gallop." Horace wrote his satires in a plain conversational style which Dryden did not appreciate: "The low style of Horace is according to his subject, that is generally grovelling." "He minded only the clearness of his satire, and the cleanness of expression, without ascending to those heights to which his own vigour might have carried him" (p. 85).

He chooses to read the satire of Juvenal while preferring to learn from Horatian technique. Dryden has chosen art with an element of the sublime over instruction. Barclay's "most eloquent and pleasant" Juvenal of 1509 retains the ability to please Dryden in 1693. Dryden advocates a combination of Horatian subtlety and Juvenalian eloquence and indignation which becomes the characteristic hallmark of the Augustan satirists.

C. THE TRADITION OF JUVENALIAN SATIRE  
IN ENGLAND, 1694-1750

After Dryden, the debate continues with Juvenalian satire increasingly valued because of the sublime elements and their ability to affect the reader. This type of passionate indignation was the necessary tonic for an age that was becoming increasingly conscious of its social ills. Juvenalian satire was characterized more by high moral purpose encountering a particularly corrupt society than by scolding, bitter invective.

Sir Richard Blackmore divides satire into two types, one allied to tragedy and the other to comedy, and emphasizes its didactic purpose in the "Preface" to Prince Arthur, 1695: "Tragedy is design'd to Scare Men, Comedy to Laugh them out of their Vices. And 'tis very plain that Satyr is intended for the same End, The Promotion of Virtue and exposing of Vice; which it pursues by sharp Reproaches, vehement and bitter Invectives, or by a Courtly but not less cutting Raillery."<sup>1</sup> While Dryden associated satire with heroic poetry ideally, Blackmore relates it to either comedy or tragedy.

Richard Steele recognizes one important characteristic of the understanding of Juvenal during this period in that he did not write with undue bitterness or meanness. He was

<sup>1</sup>Prince Arthur: An Heroick Poem (London: Avensham and John Churchill, 1695), n. pag.

the supreme moralist above all who matched the extraordinarily evil reign of Domitian with profound and well justified criticism. Steele felt that good nature was necessary for effective satire, since the good man will be most indignant at the vices being attacked:

I concluded, however unaccountable the assertion might seem at first sight, that good-nature was an essential quality in a satirist, and that all the sentiments which are beautiful in this way of writing, must proceed from that quality in the author. Good-nature produces a disdain of all baseness, vice, and folly; which prompts them to express themselves with smartness against the errors of men, without bitterness toward their persons. . . . The ordinary subjects for satire are such as incite the greatest indignation in the best tempers, and consequently men of such a make are the best qualified for speaking of the offences in human life.<sup>2</sup>

Good nature is a term often used to describe Horace with the implicit idea that it is not characteristic of Juvenal. Not so, according to Steele who discerns this quality in both: "The men of the greatest character in this kind were Horace and Juvenal. There is not, that I remember, one ill-natured expression in all their writings, nor one sentence of severity, which does not apparently proceed from the contrary disposition."<sup>3</sup> Steele then proceeds to justify their respective styles as being the necessary and appropriate

<sup>2</sup>Richard Steele, "Tatler 242, October 26, 1710," The Tatler: Complete in One Volume (London: A. Wilson, 1814), pp. 428-29.

<sup>3</sup>Steele, p. 429.

response to their respective ages:

They lived in very different times. . . . Vices of a coarser sort could not come under his [Horace's] consideration, or enter into the palace of Augustus. Juvenal, on the other hand, lived under Domitian, in whose reign every thing that was great and noble was banished the habitations of the men in power. Therefore he attacks vice as it passes in triumph, not as it breaks into conversation. The fall of empire, contempt of glory, and a general degeneracy of manners, are before his eyes in all his writings. In the days of Augustus, to have talked like Juvenal had been madness; or in those of Domitian, like Horace. Morality and virtue are everywhere recommended in Horace, as became a man in a polite court, from the beauty, the propriety, the convenience of pursuing them. Vice and corruption are attacked by Juvenal in a style which denotes, he fears he shall not be heard without he calls to them in their own language, with a barefaced mention of the villainies and obscenities of his contemporaries.<sup>3</sup>

J. B. Emperor describes Steele's opinion of Juvenal as accurate: "The genial soul of Steele is, accordingly, not repelled by the austere qualities of Juvenal; he looks upon the Roman poet as a man whose naturally kindly nature had been exacerbated by the thronging evils of his time, remaining still wholesome and sound. And in this characteristic judgement of Juvenal one feels that Steele is essentially right."<sup>4</sup>

Joseph Trapp in Lectures on Poetry, 1742, first published in Latin in 1711, advocates Juvenalian satire as the most

<sup>4</sup>"The Juvenalian and Persian Element in English Literature from the Restoration to Dr. Johnson," Diss. Cornell 1932, pp. 247-48.

effective rhetorical approach:

Satire in general, is a Poem design'd to reprove the Vices and Follies of Mankind. It is twofold, either the jocose, as that of Horace; or the serious, like that of Juvenal. The former hidden, the latter open. That generally makes Sport with Vice, and exposes it to Ridicule: This probes it to the Bottom; and puts it to Torture: And so far is it from not deserving the Title of Satire, that, in my Opinion, it is the more noble Species of it; and the genteel Jokes of Horace, how ingenious soever, are less affecting than the poetic Rage, and commendable zeal of Juvenal.<sup>5</sup>

Trapp's concern is with the affective quality of satire, and he concludes that Juvenal's indignation is more successful in attacking vice than Horace's subtle wit: "They both agree in being pungent and cutting; yet are distinguished by very evident Marks: The one is pleasant and facetious; the other angry and austere: The one smiles; the other storms; The Foibles of Mankind are the Object of the one; greater Crimes, of the other: The former is always in the low Style; the latter generally in the Sublime: That abounds with Wit only; this adds to the Salt, Bitterness and Acrimony."<sup>6</sup> Trapp recognizes the sublime in Juvenal, an element associated with genius and increasingly appreciated at the expense of the rational moderation of Horace.

<sup>5</sup> Lectures on Poetry Read in the Schools of Natural Philosophy at Oxford (1742; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing, 1970), p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> Trapp, p. 232.



Dryden among others realized that his age excelled in satire while failing to equal the tragedies and epics of the past. Trapp, writing a few years later, repeats this judgment on satire but with an interesting qualification: "To come now to our own Times. There are few Kinds of Writing, in which the Moderns, of our own Country especially, are less exceeded than in this; I mean in that Species of it in which Juvenal writ: For the Horatian Satire is but little affected among Us."<sup>7</sup> He modifies his high opinion of contemporary satire by saying that the familiarity with current characters makes it more pleasing than ancient satire, not that it is necessarily better. Still to see the age as one of Juvenalian satire rather than Horatian is less surprising when one notes that his opinion is based on the works of Dryden, Rochester, and Oldham.

Trapp sees the two types of satire as being so different that characteristics of one should not be a valid basis for criticism of the other.<sup>8</sup> The difference between these two species is as great as that between comedy and tragedy. He advocates attacking the vice and not the man, the argument used against the practice of writing satire with the names of

<sup>7</sup>Trapp, p. 236.

<sup>8</sup>Trapp, pp. 229, 231, 233.

living personages unless the person is exceptionally monstrous.

Trapp's discussion of satire repeats in essence Dryden's opinions except that he fails to appreciate the didactic success of Horatian technique, he feels that the age writes Juvenalian satire, and he recognizes that the emotional content of Juvenal teaches a more memorable lesson than the subtle wit of Horace.

Addison's Latin treatise, Dissertatio de Insignioribus Romanorum Poetis echoes Steele in emphasizing the disparity between the different ages of Horace and Juvenal, which affected and justified their work accordingly.<sup>9</sup> Horace excells in ridiculing the follies of the court, while Juvenal castigates the most serious crimes imaginable. Addison divides the province of satire between them without advocating one over the other.

This impartiality is no longer evident when one considers Addison's essays. Caroline Goad describes Addison as the most Horatian satirist of the age, and it follows that he delimits the territory of satire in the Horatian way.<sup>10</sup> Satire is concerned with "reprehending those Vices which

<sup>9</sup>The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, ed. Richard Hurd, IV (London: G. Bell, 1912), 596-98.

<sup>10</sup>Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century, Yale Studies in English (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1918), p. 28.

are too trivial for the chastisement of the law, and too fantastical for the cognizance of the pulpit."<sup>11</sup> The purpose of satire, according to Addison's restrictive definition, is "to enter into the Passions of Mankind, and to correct those depraved sentiments that give Birth to all those little Extravagances which appear in their outward Dress and Behavior."<sup>12</sup> In theory and practice Addison stands at the opposite end of the spectrum from Juvenalian satire.

As Blackmore and Trapp had done, John Dennis in To Matthew Prior, Esq; Upon the Roman Satirists (1721) defines the comedy of Horace and the tragedy of Juvenal as different genres which cannot be compared. He summarizes the prevailing attitude, remarkably uniform, toward these two satirists: "Horace . . . endeavours to correct the Follies and Errors, and epidemick Vices of his Readers, which is the Business of Comedy. Juvenal attacks the pernicious outrageous Passions and the abominable monstrous Crimes . . . which is the Business of Tragedy. . . . Horace argues, insinuates, engages, rallies, smiles; Juvenal exclaims, apostrophizes, exaggerates, lashes, stabbs. There is in Horace almost every where an agreeable Mixture of good

<sup>11</sup>Addison, II, 296.

<sup>12</sup>Addison, II, 266.

Sense, and of true Pleasantry, so that he has every where the principal Qualities of an excellent Comick Poet. And there is almost every where in Juvenal, Anger, Indignation, Rage, Disdain, and the violent Emotions and vehement Style of Tragedy."<sup>13</sup> The style of each is determined by the type of moral lesson each intends to teach; one shares its purpose with comedy, the other with tragedy.

The Juvenalian satirists of the age profess their bravado in attacking vice. Pope's heroic stance is typical:

What? arm'd for Virtue when I point the Pen,  
 Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men  
 . . . . .  
 And I not strip the Gilding off a Knave,  
 Un-plac'd, un-pension'd, no Man's Heir, or Slave?  
 I will, or perish in the gen'rous Cause.<sup>14</sup>

Matthew Prior takes the opposite tack in expressing his reluctance to write satire for fear of its dangerous effect on his future: "Having the Prospect of some little Fortune to be made, and Friendship to be cultivated with the great Men, I did not launch much out into Satyr; which however agreeable for the present to the Writers or Incouragers of it does in time do neither of them good, considering

<sup>13</sup>The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943), II, 218-19.

<sup>14</sup>Imitations of Horace with An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot and the Epilogue to the Satires, ed. John Butt, 2nd. ed. London: Methuen, 1953), pp. 15-17.

the uncertainty of Fortune, and the various change of ministry."<sup>15</sup>

It follows that he disagrees with his contemporary Juvenalian satirists in using living men as examples of vices: "I think it is not civil to give any Living Instances while I am telling People they are in the Wrong."<sup>16</sup> Prior has imitated the first part of Juvenal's Seventh, an apt choice since it is unique for Juvenal in its kind words for an emperor in the hope that he will be a generous patron. Contrary to his expressed opinion he adapts the original using contemporary persons in a less than flattering light; he substitutes "Drudge Dryden" for Juvenal's two hack poets, Serramus and Saleius.<sup>17</sup> The relevance of Prior's position is his stance in opposition to the prevailing position of the satirist who strikes a Juvenalian pose of heroic isolation, the lone champion and defender of virtue and morality. Still, an author strongly influenced by Horace whose reputation rests on light pleasant verse could ignore neither the satires of Juvenal nor the position of the Juvenalian satirist

<sup>15</sup>The Literary Works of Matthew Prior, ed. H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), I, 583.

<sup>16</sup>Prior, I, 597.

<sup>17</sup>Prior, I, 32.

as the point from which to depart.<sup>18</sup>

Lewis Crusius in The Lives of the Roman Poets (1726) praises Juvenal as one who "added all the dignity of numbers to the wittiest and most biting Satire."<sup>19</sup> Crusius acknowledging his debt to Dacier and Dryden finds Juvenal the most pleasing and Horace the most instructive because of the broad applicability of his advice. Nowhere else does Juvenal find more enthusiastic support and praise for his style:

As to the most entertaining, it will be difficult to determine; the grave and serious will like the solemn indignation of Juvenal, and the gay and courtly, the witty smiles of HORACE; tho' perhaps HORACE never rises to Juvenal sublimity, who often hits upon the other's pleasantry and humour. The former is constantly diverting you, the latter strikes more home, and makes more lively impressions on your mind. Nor is it easier to say which is most instructive; HORACE ranges through a field, Juvenal considers one point more narrowly: The first insinuates all the necessary instructions for the conduct of life; the latter strongly enforces the observation of some great duty, and paints all the pleasure of complying with it, and the shame of neglecting it, in the strongest colours. One advises like a friend, the other commands as a master. Upon the whole it may be said, that Juvenal is most entertaining, because more eloquent, more moving, and more sublime; and HORACE most instructive, because he is more universal, more acquainted with the world, and his precepts more accommodated to the various stages of life.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Goad, p. 90

<sup>19</sup> Lewis Crusius, The Lives of the Roman Poets (1726; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing, 1971), I, xxxi.

<sup>20</sup> Crusius, I, 234-35.

Horace was somewhat more flexible in his morals than Juvenal. "HORACE was during a great part of his life a man of wit and pleasure, and wanted none of the accomplishments that go to the making of what the world calls a fine gentleman. Juvenal was a man of strict integrity and virtue, and therefore never spar'd vice when it came in his way; as not being afraid to be severe with a good conscience: Whilst the other durst not reprove that in others he was but too guilty of himself."<sup>21</sup> Crusius' praise of Horace is qualified by his courtly life: "And being a courtier himself, and a little loose in his morals, I mean the practice, it was an argument of discretion in him, to indulge his vein, rather in discrediting and exposing the fopperies and absurdities of the age, than scourging its vices, which were certainly great and numerous enough, tho' men had not yet triumph'd in such open and monstrous enormities as must dishonour any other reign but that of Nero and Domitian."<sup>22</sup>

Juvenal surpasses both Horace and Persius: "He is elegant and witty with Horace, grave and sublime with Persius, and to both their characters has added the pomp of his own eloquence, which makes him the most entertaining, as well as the clearest writer of the three. But in this he differs

<sup>21</sup>Crusius, I, 235.

<sup>22</sup>Crusius, I, 265, 232.

from Horace, that as he used a low, comic stile, JUVENAL raises his to the height of tragedy, as he says himself; which no satirist before him had yet attempted."<sup>23</sup> Again Juvenal's satire is allied to tragedy. Crusius accords Juvenal with having raised satire to the level of tragedy in recognizing his serious subject matter and his elevated language. Crusius finds Juvenal the most affective satirist and the most sublime. Crusius does not feel that Horace's low style should be emulated; rather, like the best modern Italian, French, and English Poets, Juvenal's magnificence of style should be imitated.

Such an avowed Horatian as Edward Young owes a large debt to Juvenal. Dr. Johnson's estimate of his position places him between the two which incidentally illustrates the impossibility of discussing types of satire without reference to Horace and Juvenal: "His species of satire is between those of Horace and of Juvenal; he has the gaiety of Horace without his laxity of numbers, and the morality of Juvenal with greater variation of images."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Crusius, II, 113.

<sup>24</sup>Samuel Johnson, "Edward Young," in Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (1905; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1967), III, 394.



Young himself expresses his preference for Horace, and, again, the interesting factor is the characteristic qualities he attributes to each:

Laughing satire bids the fairest for success: the world is too proud to be fond of a serious tutor; and when an author is in a passion, the laugh, generally, as in conversation, turns against him. This kind of satire only has any delicacy in it. Of this delicacy Horace is the best master: he appears in good humour while he censures; and therefore his censure has the more weight, as supposed to proceed from judgment, not from passion. Juvenal is ever in a passion: he has little valuable but his eloquence and morality: the last of which I have had in my eye; but rather for emulation, than imitation, through my whole work.<sup>25</sup>

Young expresses a preference for the laughing satire allied to comedy as the best teacher. Juvenal's strong emotions offend him showing his lack of interest in the sublime, affective quality of Juvenal's satire. Horatian satire gives the trustworthy impression of reasonable judgment which is preferable to passionate criticism.

Still Young appreciates the "eloquence and morality" of Juvenal to the extent that he is frequently influenced by Juvenal: "Young's Satires, then, though not Juvenalian in manner . . . have nevertheless a marked and substantial indebtedness to Juvenal."<sup>26</sup> As Emperor has pointed out,

<sup>25</sup>The Poetical Works of Edward Young (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), II, 56.

<sup>26</sup>Emperor, pp. 359, 350, 353.

Young avoids the virulent tone and as a result echoes Juvenal's thoughtful seriousness rather than his critical attack. He never attains the Juvenalian sublimity appreciated by Dryden although when his indignation was greatest he sought Juvenal to help him express it: "O Juvenal! for thy severer rage! / To lash the ranker follies of our age."<sup>27</sup> Satire VI from the Love of Fame, the Universal Passion, In Seven Characteristical Satires attacks women, a subject that was never broached in the period without reference to Juvenal's Sixth Satire. While this paper is avoiding a discussion of the direct influence of Juvenal by pointing out echoes of his satires in works of the period, the following passage illustrates several characteristics of the Juvenalian satire of the period:

Are there, among the females of our isle,  
Such faults, at which it is a fault to smile?  
There are. Vice, once by modest nature chain'd  
And legal ties, expatiates unrestrain'd;  
Without thin decency held up to view,  
Naked she stalks o'er law and gospel too.  
Our matrons lead such exemplary lives,  
Men sigh in vain for none, but for their wives;  
Who marry to be free, to range the more,  
And wed one man, to wanton with a score,  
Abroad too kind, at home 'tis steadfast hate,  
And one eternal tempest of debate.

. . . . .  
Is there whom you detest, and seek his life?  
Trust no soul with the secret--but his wife.  
Wives wonder that their conduct I condemn,  
And ask, what kindred is a spouse to them?<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>Young, II, 126.

Young's inclinations toward the Horatian mode are subordinate to the Juvenalian when he wishes to attack vice with indignation and outrage. This attitude is based not on an acceptance of man's evil nature but on a feeling that the age is degenerate and vice is rampant. Past ages were not necessarily idyllic, but vice was restrained and virtue appreciated. The total corruption of the present age is evidenced by the fact that the formerly sacrosanct regions of law and church have become corrupt. Still this passage is pallid when compared with Juvenal's shocking realism.

Anthony Collins in A Discourse Concerning Ridicule and Irony in Writing (1729) defends satire as the "most pious method of writing in behalf of Orthodoxy."<sup>28</sup> Further, "Books of Satire, Wit, Humour, Ridicule, Drollery, and Irony, are the most read and applauded of all Books, in all Ages, Languages, and Countries."<sup>29</sup> Because books of this nature please most and have the greatest effect on the reader, they are the most successful in defending virtue and attacking vice. To place satire in such a significant position increases the dignity and importance of the genre.

A significant statement of the prevailing attitude

<sup>28</sup> A Discourse Concerning Ridicule and Irony in Writing (1729; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing, 1971), p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Collins, p. 19.

toward satire around 1730 is that of Walter Harte, An Essay on Satire: Particularly on the Dunciad, written in defence of the Dunciad. Horace is described in familiar terms:

See Horace next, in each reflection nice,  
Learn'd, but not vain, the Foe of Fools not Vice.  
Each page instructs, each Sentiment prevails,  
All shines alike, he rallies, but n'er rails:  
With courtly ease conceals a Master's art,  
And least-expected steals upon the heart.<sup>30</sup>

Juvenal is also praised:

The next in Satire felt a nobler rage, [than Petronius]  
What honest Heart could bear Domitian's age?  
See his strong Sense, and Numbers masculine!  
His Soul is Kindled, and he kindles mine:  
Scornful of Vice, and fearless of Offence,  
He flows a Torrent of impetuous Sense.<sup>31</sup>

Dryden is clearly on his mind when he speaks of Juvenal's masculine wit and says "his spleen is raised and he raises mine" (p. 84). Horace teaches by instructing and affects the reasoning faculty; Juvenal moves the passions and teaches through the emotions. The Horace who gracefully rallies against follies and the Juvenal who sublimely rages against vice remain remarkably consistent.

Most important Harte's defense of Pope is based on the nobility of satire. As Juvenal had done, Dryden tried to

<sup>30</sup> An Essay on Satire: Particularly on the Dunciad, Augustan Reprint Society, No. 132 (1730; rpt. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Univ. of Calif., 1968), pp. 15-16.

<sup>31</sup> Harte, p. 17.

do, and Pope after him, Harte ascribes epic qualities to satire. The purpose of satire is

T'Exalt the Soul, or make the Heart sincere,  
 To arm our lives with honesty severe,  
 To shake the wretch beyond the reach of Law,  
 . . . . .  
 Old Satire rose from Probity of mind,  
 The noblest Ethicks to reform mankind.  
 As Cynthia's Orb excels the gems of night:  
 So Epic Satire shines distinctly bright.<sup>32</sup>

Dryden's satire as a type of heroic poetry is influential upon the epic satire described here which elevates the soul and reforms mankind with ethical precepts.

In discussing language the heroic is preferred.

The Language next: from hence new pleasure springs,  
 For Styles are dignify'd, as well as Things.  
 Tho' Sense subsists, distinct from phrase or sound,  
 Yet Gravity conveys a surer wound.<sup>33</sup>

Harte's defense of Pope is based on a preference for the Juvenalian elements of 1) satire elevated to the position of the most profound moral teachings, 2) epic qualities of satire which aid it in its heroic purpose, and 3) movement of emotions as a more effective method of instruction than movement of intellect.

Edward Manwaring (1737) continues the debate: "If the Diction of Satyr abhors all translatitious Terms, as contrary

<sup>32</sup>Harte, p. 5-6.

<sup>33</sup>Harte, p. 11.

to the Idea of Truth and Simplicity, and the Form of Satire is sportive and jesting Horace is the only Person who has followed this Form, and pursued this Diction; for, as Vossius observes Juvenal's Diction is Epic, and the Form of his Satyr often tragical. Juvenal, 'tis true, treats of many sublime and grave Subjects, as of divine Providence, a future Judgment, of the Duty of Parents to Children, and of Children to Parents."<sup>34</sup> Still he cannot forgive Juvenal for his obscenities as Crucius has done: "He abounds with horrible Impurities not fit to be read by any Christian, or revealed to human Knowledge. This makes him justly taxed for teaching those Vices he undertakes to correct." Crucius, while disapproving, feels that such a corrupt age could only be stung by extremely pointed weapons.

Corbyn Morris (1744) continues the tradition of high esteem accorded Juvenal. This is in contrast to Thomas Barry Gilmore, Jr., who feels that supporters of Juvenal

<sup>34</sup>An Historical and Critical Account of the Eminent Classical Authors in Poetry and History (1737; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing, 1971), pp. 112-13. It is perhaps unfair to compare the works of such various eighteenth century authors without some qualifications about their work. Crucius was a perceptive critic of the classics who sought to transmit his enthusiasm to the reader. Although the literary quality as well as the critical judgment is below the best of the age, the work merits respect. That of Manwaring very briefly summarizes the lives and works of classical authors in an inaccurate and prosaic manner.

declined after 1728.<sup>35</sup> Morris describes satire as a "generous free Indignation" while claiming that Horace's compositions are usually raillery or ridicule rather than true satire whose purpose is to attack vice.<sup>36</sup>

John Brown in an Essay on Satire: Occasioned by the Death of Mr. Pope (1744) treats the importance of choosing the verse appropriate to the theme. A folly should be treated with free and simple expression, courtly affectation with mild vigor, and vice with indignant rage:

Then warmer numbers glow thro' SATIRE'S page,  
And all her smiles are darken'd into rage:  
On eagle-wing she gains Parnassus' height,  
Not lofty EPIC soars a nobler flight:  
Then keener indignation fires her eye;  
Then flash her lightnings, and her thunders fly;  
Wide and more wide her flaming bolts are hurl'd,  
Till all her wrath involves the guilty World.<sup>37</sup>

This type of satire matches the most profound indignation to the most serious corruption. Again satire is elevated to heroic heights.

Juvenal could be criticized for excessive severity, but no one doubted that this rage was justified. Joseph

<sup>35</sup>"The Reaction to Satire in England from 1693 to 1761," Diss. Univ. of Illinois 1964, p. 21.

<sup>36</sup>An Essay towards Fixing the True Standards of Wit, Humor, Raillery, Satire, and Ridicule (1744; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing, 1970), pp. 50-52.

<sup>37</sup>John Brown, An Essay on Satire: Occasioned by the Death of Mr. Pope, in The Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Joseph Warton, new ed. (London: Richard Priestley, 1822), III, 319.

Spence in Polymetis (1755), who takes the exceptional position of preferring Horace's satires to his lyric poetry, criticizes Juvenal for his extreme anger and then excuses him for that because of the degeneracy of the age, his ethical seriousness, and the pleasure his verse gives:

He has scarce anything of the gentility of Horace: yet he is not without humour; and exceeds all the satirists in severity. To say the truth, he slashes too much like an angry executioner: but the depravity of the times, and the vices then in fashion, may often excuse some degree of rage in him. . . . However his satires have a great deal of spirit in them: and shew a strong hatred of vice, with some very fine and high sentiments of virtue. They are indeed so animated, that I do not know any poem of this age, which one can read with near so much pleasure as his satires.<sup>38</sup>

The extraordinary respect accorded Juvenal continues throughout the eighteenth century as illustrated by William Cowper in a letter to Reverend John Newton, 1784, quoted below.

Modern critics have questioned the sincerity of Juvenal, and at least one critic, Thomas E. Maresca, feels the need to emphasize the sincerity of Horace in the eighteenth century, countering the modern tendency to read these authors for their aesthetic value rather than their morality.<sup>39</sup> It

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Spence, Polymetis: or an Enquiry Concerning the Agreement Between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Ancient Artists (1755; rpt. New York: Garland Publishing, 1971), pp. 34-35.

<sup>39</sup> Pope's Horatian Poems (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1966), p. 12.



is important to determine the sincerity and authority of Juvenal's morality to the period. William Cowper draws a comparison of the two and comments upon the greater sincerity of Juvenal:

Juvenal, I remember, introduces one of his Satires with the observation, that there were some in his day who had the hardiness to laugh at the stories of Tartarus, and Styx, and Charon, and of the frogs that croak upon the banks of Lethe, giving his reader at the same time cause to suspect that he was himself one of that profane number. Horace, on the other hand, declares in sober sadness that he would not for all the world get into a boat with a man who had divulged the Eleusinian mysteries. Yet we know that these mysteries, whatever they might be, were altogether as unworthy to be esteemed divine as the mythology of the vulgar. How then must we determine: If Horace were a good and orthodox heathen, how came Juvenal to be such an ungracious libertine in principle, as to ridicule the doctrines which the other held as sacred? Their opportunities of information, and their mental advantages, were equal. I feel myself rather inclined to believe, that Juvenal's avowed infidelity was sincere, and that Horace was no better than a canting hypocritical professor.<sup>40</sup>

While this statement is quite late for the period intended in this paper, it suggests the unquestioned position of Juvenalian satire from the Renaissance on.

While Juvenal does not use profane language, the graphic realism of his images is most effective. While he scorns vice, he dwells on it at such length that the question of decorum arises. It is to the credit of the sophistication of the age

<sup>40</sup>The Correspondence of William Cowper, ed. Thomas Wright (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1904), II, 222-23.

as well as the Renaissance tradition that this is rarely mentioned. Occasionally his excesses are mentioned, but when the retiring religious moralist Cowper appreciated Juvenal's sincerity, Hight is proved correct in saying that he was among the best understood classical authors of the age.

Thus it is not surprising that when the more perceptive minds of the Augustan age became increasingly aware of the hypocrisy of their society, they turned to Juvenalian satire to express their indignation. The irony of the increasing realization of the tremendous gulf between the real and the ideal, the expectations of man as a rational being and the experience of a corrupt society, resulted in a fury which found expression in the medium which was felt to be most appropriate for moral indignation.

In England prior to 1750 Juvenal's satire was appreciated over that of Horace by such critics as Barclay, Farnaby, Peacham, Shadwell, Dryden, Trapp, Crusius, and Morris. Horace found support in Sheffield, Sprat, Addison, and Young. The Elizabethan roughness and obscurity associated with satire gave way to clarity and polish. Juvenal retained his position of authority as a satirist, but the emphasis changed from the teacher of morality important to the Renaissance to the sublimely eloquent mover of passions corresponding

with an increasing interest in the emotional effect of literature and the aesthetic appreciation of the sublime. The eighteenth century at its best borrowed the Horatian tone of reasonable good humor and used it to coat satire that was essentially Juvenalian in its underlying seriousness and concern with gross vice and corruption, resulting in a controlled tone of extreme indignation. Imagine Sir Roger de Coverley discussing cannibalism and the result is A Modest Proposal.

### III. UTILIZATION OF JUVENALIAN SATIRE 1679-1749

#### A. JOHN WILMOT, EARL OF ROCHESTER: SATYR AGAINST MANKIND

The Satyr Against Mankind, 1679, owes its basic structure to the Roman formal verse satire, its subject to Boileau's eighth satire, and its philosophy primarily to Hobbes.<sup>1</sup> The result is a profile of Juvenalian satire in both content and style with its pessimistic concept of man and its passionate tone of condemnation.

The title used occasionally A Satyr Against Reason and Mankind indicates the two objects of attack.<sup>2</sup> First the satirist is criticizing a specific kind of reason, that which is inductive or logical and used for speculative or supernatural thought. Natural reason which is guided by instinct, used to restrain passion, and limited to thoughts which govern action is considered right reason. Man, the second object of attack, misuses reason and becomes the victim of deception and fear. As such, he is inferior to beasts who are motivated by love and hunger and use their natural weapons to fulfill these desires. Therein lies the paradox, as Rochester describes

<sup>1</sup>Howard Erskine-Hill, "Rochester: Augustan or Explorer," in Renaissance and Modern Essays Presented to Vivian de Sola Pinto in Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday, ed. G. R. Hibbard (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 52, has noted that it does share one unusual characteristic with Boileau in that neither is social or political satire.

<sup>2</sup>David M. Vieth, Attribution in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester's Poems of 1680, Yale Studies in English, 153 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1963), p. 372-73.

the poem, that man is conventionally considered superior to beasts because of his faculty of reason while in this work he is considered inferior to beasts because of the corruption of his reason.<sup>3</sup>

The satire begins in a conversational tone with the suggestion that, given a choice, the narrator would rather be a dog, monkey, or bear than a ridiculous rational man. A tone of sarcasm, humor, and irony is immediately established:

Were I (who to my cost already am  
One of those strange, prodigious creatures, man)  
A spirit free to choose, for my own share,  
What case of flesh and blood I pleased to wear,  
I'd be a dog, a monkey, or a bear.<sup>4</sup>  
(ll. 1-5)

The paradox of the entire poem begins here with the reversal of the conventional pattern of man's superiority to animals.

The second paragraph states the cause for the satirist's attack on man as his misuse of reason resulting in his self-deception. The informal mode of the first paragraph alters to a climax of serious and majestic indignation, a contrast typical of Juvenalian satire:

<sup>3</sup>Edward Stone, "Swift and the Horses: Misanthropy or Comedy?" *MLQ*, 10 (1949), 370, points out that the essence of theriophily is paradox.

<sup>4</sup>The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, ed. David M. Vieth (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968), p. 94, hereafter lines from this poem will be cited in the text by line number.

Reason, an ignis fatuus in the mind,  
 Which, leaving light of nature, sense behind,  
 Pathless and dangerous wandering ways it takes  
 Through error's fenny bogs and thorny brakes;  
 Whilst the misguided follower climbs with pain  
 Mountains of whimses, heaped in his own brain;  
 Stumbling from thought to thought, falls headlong down  
 Into doubt's boundless sea, where, like to drown,  
 Books bear him up awhile, and make him try  
 To swim with bladders of philosophy;  
 In hopes still to o'ertake th'escaping light,  
 The vapor dances in his dazzling sight  
 Till, spent, it leaves him to eternal night.  
 Then old age and experience, hand in hand,  
 Lead him to death, and make him understand,  
 After a search so painful and so long,  
 That all his life he has been in the wrong.  
 Huddled in dirt the reasoning engine lies,  
 Who was so proud, so witty, and so wise.  
 (ll. 8-30)

Man is pictured as a lost traveler misled by the mirage of reason through moors, mountains, and sea whose death is a negation of the illusion that life is a reasoned existence. Man is deceived by reason until old age and experience lead him to an understanding of the error of reason. The desolate landscape, the denigration of books as bladders of philosophy, and the final posture of man huddled in dirt offer an expression of intense negation.

A rhetorical technique used with great subtlety by Pope is that of an adversarius who reflects the opinion of conventional wisdom. Rochester employs a cleric who repeats familiar truisms about reason as the primary characteristic which makes man superior to beast:

Reason, by whose aspiring influence  
 We take a flight beyond material sense,  
 Dive into mysteries, then soaring pierce  
 The flaming limits of the universe,  
 Search heaven and hell, find out what's acted there,  
 And give the world true grounds of hope and fear.  
 (ll. 66-71)

The truth sought in the last line is undercut by the preceding line which indicates that existence in heaven and hell is acted, not lived, and therefore deceptive and false.

The satirist counters this traditional view with an ironic twist on the cleric's image of man's mind as a soaring bird. He reduces the image to one of man as a mite to further degrade his self-importance, a product of his reason:

This supernatural gift, that makes a mite  
 Think he's the image of the infinite,  
 Comparing his short life, void of all rest,  
 To the eternal and the ever blest;  
 . . . . .  
 Borne on whose wings, each heavy sot can pierce  
 The limits of the boundless universe;  
 So charming ointments make an old witch fly  
 And bear a crippled carcass through the sky.  
 (ll. 76-87)

The beast image previously used to show man's inferiority to normal beasts such as dogs, monkeys, and bears here makes man the equal of minute beasts such as mites or grotesque ones such as the heavy sot or crippled witch. The insignificance of a mite preaching, the stupidity of a

heavy sot flying, and the absurdity of a crippled carcass of an old witch also in flight are juxtaposed in an effective and humorous condemnation of the nobility of man's reason soaring above the material world.<sup>5</sup> Rochester's mordant humor is not the courtly good humor of Horace, but the daring, grotesque wit of Juvenal. Much of the success of this passage is due to the concreteness of the images, a quality recognized by David M. Vieth as significant in Restoration satire in reaction to late metaphysical poetry.<sup>6</sup>

Rochester uses situational irony in the paradoxical theme of man's inferiority to beast in conflict with man's assumed superiority to beast. David M. Vieth has identified a unique "Rochesterian irony" as the intersection "of several conflicting levels or planes of experience".<sup>7</sup> The irony between conventional attitudes and the satirist's

<sup>5</sup>Vivian de Sola Pinto, Enthusiast in Wit: A Portrait of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester, 1647-1680 (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 155, finds this passage an outstanding example of Rochester at his best: "Nowhere is the peculiar quality of Rochester's genius better illustrated than in the lines that compare the 'thinking Fools' borne upon the wings of reason to the old Witch's 'Crippled Carkass' flying by means of the 'charming Oyntments'." It is an image that combines humour with grotesque pictorial effect in a way that has rarely been paralleled in English poetry."

<sup>6</sup>Vieth, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup>The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, p. xxxv.



attack creates tension in such lines as "His wisdom did his happiness destroy" (l. 33). The irony becomes more subtle and complex when the cleric in repeating traditional views reveals the author's disagreement with these views by the single word "acted." Further, there is a verbal irony gained from the use of several words in differing senses in various parts of the poem. The cleric seeks knowledge beyond empirical knowledge in order to have "true grounds of hope and fear" (l. 71). Later the satirist attacks fear as man's prime motivation (l. 140). Other words such as "reason" and "sense" are used with both a positive and a negative meaning. Another verbal irony is found in the punning epigram about the clerics "who hunt good livings, but abhor good lives" (l. 200).

Rochester's pessimism is determined by his attacks on various accepted beliefs concerning human nature and religion and by his refusal to allow any exceptions to his condemnation. Religion is based on speculative reason which takes "a flight beyond material sense" (l. 69). Reason leads to man's self-aggrandizement in feeling that he is the center of the universe; yet when seen in perspective, he is no more important than a mite: "'tis this very reason I despise: / This supernatural gift, that makes a mite / Think he's the image of the infinite" (ll. 75-77).

Man wastes his efforts in theological speculation: "This busy, puzzling stirrer-up of doubt / That frames deep mysteries, then finds 'em out" (ll. 80-81). Religious institutions are madhouses of foolish thinking: "filling with frantic crowds of thinking fools / Those reverend bedlams, colleges and schools" (ll. 82-83). The description of a clergyman completes the argument against the reasoning of religion. Since the clergy fail to reflect any moral benefit from their close contact with religion, the religion itself is suspect. One exception would cause him to denounce his paradox:

Is there a churchman who on God relies;  
 Whose life, his faith and doctrine justifies?  
 . . . . .  
 But a meek, humble man of honest sense,  
 Who, preaching peace, does practice continence;  
 (ll. 191-213)

This is not possible according to the satirist who sees the cleric as

one blown up with vain prelatie pride,  
 Who, for reproof of sins, does man deride;  
 Whose envious heart makes preaching a pretense,  
 With his obstreperous, saucy eloquence.  
 To chide at kings, and rail at men of sense;  
 None of that sensual tribe whose talents lie  
 In avarice, pride, sloth, and gluttony;  
 Who hunt good livings, but abhor good lives;  
 Whose lust exalted to that height arrives  
 They act adultery with their own wives,  
 And ere a score of years completed be,  
 Can from the lofty pulpit proudly see  
 Half a large parish their own progeny;  
 (ll. 193-205)

Rochester illustrates the idea of a good man but pessimistically conceives it as an impossible absurdity. If such a person could possibly exist, then "man differs more from man, than man from beast" (l. 221).

The pessimistic tone, first indicated by the wit of the satirist who states his preference for being an animal rather than a man, becomes a tone of black negation in the image of man's futile life as a quest for the ignis fatuus of reason, ending in eternal night. Man is further degraded by being inferior to beast in that the beast acts in accordance with his needs of hunger or love while man motivated by fear destroys man for no useful purpose. Mankind is so depraved that any attempt at truth or honesty would result in self-destruction:

And Honesty's against all common sense:  
Men must be knaves, 'tis in their own defence.  
Wronged shall he live, insulted o'er, oppressed,  
Who dares be less a villain than the rest.  
(ll. 159-67)

Man is reduced to a disgusting, miserable creature without dignity in his failure. Human nature is corrupted without hope of redemption. Rochester accepts the Christian context of original sin without the Christian hope of salvation.

The purpose Rochester had in mind differs from the traditional idea that satirists strive to reform behavior,

reflecting an optimism that is more often associated with Horatian satire than Juvenalian, for in the Juvenalian the weight of intent is to expose vice and folly. The intention in the Satyr is a limited one of planting seeds of doubt in men's minds about the conventional world view. He wished to affect their reasoning rather than their behavior. Bishop Burnet noted that Rochester defended his satires by insisting that "there were some people who could not be kept in Order or admonished but in this way."<sup>8</sup> The traditional didactic purpose is acknowledged although the final effect is one of the author writing for the purpose of self-catharsis as well as transmitting doubt and skepticism to the reader. Such a negative attack is typical of Juvenalian satire and is not compatible with the writer who intends to improve or reform the world.

A determination of the strength of the author's indignation is essential in considering the poem as Juvenalian satire. Man is described as base with virtually no redeeming hope:

Which is the basest creature, man or beast?  
 Birds feed on birds, beasts on each other prey,  
 But savage man alone does man betray.  
 Pressed by necessity, they kill for food,

<sup>8</sup> John Harold Wilson, The Court Wits of the Restoration: An Introduction (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), p. 109.

Man undoes man to do himself no good.  
(11. 128-32)

The comparison between man and beast is made to man's dishonor. Even his better emotions of bravery, honor, wisdom, power, and glory are corrupted because they are the result of his fear and, thus, have their origin in impure motivation rather than moral idealism. Vivian de Sola Pinto in speaking of a longer passage of which this is a part describes it as "the result of profound moral agitation. It is the poetry of argument indeed, but its passionate vehemence is very different from the cool reasoning of the Religio Laici or the Essay on Man. Its place is rather beside the great things in Swift."<sup>9</sup> The epilogue begins:

All this with indignation have I hurled  
At the pretending part of the proud world,  
Who, swollen with selfish vanity, devise  
False freedoms, holy cheats, and formal lies  
Over their fellow slaves to tyrannize.  
(11. 174-78)

Unless one wishes to argue that these passages are artificial

<sup>9</sup> de Sola Pinto, p. 157. This passion is not recognized by Don Cameron Allen who claims that Rochester began his religious speculations with "amused contempt for man" and that the Satyr is his "sour hymn to self-important man," Doubt's Boundless Sea: Skepticism and Faith in the Renaissance (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), pp. 200-01. Incredibly C. F. Main, "The Right Vein of Rochester's Satyr," in Essays in Literary History Presented to J. Milton French, ed. Rudolph Kirk and C. F. Main (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1960), pp. 110, 95, describes the tone of the satirist as "weary rather than angry." He also misreads the theme of the satire as pride rather than reason.

and contrived, one must concede that the narrator is expressing a deeply felt misanthropic view of man.

While certain passages or words contain a heavy irony, the pervading tone of the poem is one of "powerful directness."<sup>10</sup> Thomas H. Fujimura recognizes the energy and violence in the Satyr which is so necessary for this type of satire: Rochester's "perspicacious grasp of man's state engenders a furious hate in his heart which finds vent in fierce ridicule. The saeva indignatio of the true satirist, but permeated with the irony and bitterness of Rochester, breathes its vitality through the Satyr Against Mankind."<sup>11</sup>

Rochester's Satyr has the following Juvenalian characteristics: 1) the scope of the subject is broad and significant, the state of mankind, rather than narrow and superficial themes such as a discussion of manners or a libelous attack on individuals; 2) the theme of the corruption of social institutions of power is developed by making the church and state focal points of attack; 3) the tone is negative, heavily sarcastic, and ironical; 5) the style rises from conversational informality to great dignity and

<sup>10</sup>Erskine-Hill, p. 57.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas H. Fujimura, "Rochester's Satyr against Mankind: An Analysis," SP, 55 (1958), 590.

seriousness; 6) the humor is acid and cuts deeply; 7) the purpose is limited to self-catharsis and planting doubt in the minds of a few men, rather than attempting to reform mankind; and above all 8) the passion is strongly felt for the poet expresses himself with savage indignation. In one sense he departs from Juvenal the moralist in attacking conventional morality and human understanding with the purpose of transmitting doubt and skepticism. Juvenal attacked departures from the standards of morality but did not question these standards in his world.

B. JOHN OLDHAM:  
SATYRS UPON THE JESUITS

John Oldham imitated both Horace and Juvenal and experimented with satires in both modes, but his reputation as a Juvenalian satirist is based primarily on the Satyrs upon the Jesuits written in 1679 and published in 1681. Ruth Nevo describes Oldham as casting "the vaultings of his satanic Jesuits into the mould of the period's Juvenalian railings--a superhyperbolic expression of outrage and execration."<sup>1</sup> Commemorative verses written after his death associate him with both Horace and Juvenal. Thomas Andrews in "On the Death of Mr. John Oldham" speaks of "Horace in sweetness, Juvenal in Rage."<sup>2</sup> Thomas Durfey in "On the Ensuing Poems of Mr. John Oldham and the Death of His Good Friend the Ingenious Author," claims that Oldham "Like Ovid, could the Ladies Hearts assail, / With Horace Sing, and lash with Juvenal." Robert Gould characterizes Oldham's satire as Juvenalian rather than Horatian in "To the Memory of Mr. Oldham": "In Short, who in that Field [satire] would Famous be, / Must think, and write like Juvenal and thee." Thomas Flatman was not describing a Horatian poet when he spoke of

<sup>1</sup>The Dial of Virtue: A Study of Poems on Affairs of State in the Seventeenth Century (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963), p. 184.

<sup>2</sup>Cooper R. Macklin, "The Satiric Technique of John Oldham's Satyrs upon the Jesuits," SP, 62 (1965), 79.



trembling at "the Lash of thy poetick Rage."<sup>3</sup> He emphasizes the moral didactic qualities of a Juvenalian satirist in referring to "thy reforming Pen" and "instructive Bards."

The Satyrs upon the Jesuits is composed of a "Prologue" which states the necessity of writing with the rage of moral indignation in such evil times; "Satire I.--Garnet's Ghost Addressing to the Jesuits Met in Private Cabal Just After the Murder of Godfrey," a dramatic narrative spoken by the ghost of a Jesuit involved in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 to the Popish Plot Jesuits of 1678; "Satire II," a statement by the poet directly attacking the evil of the Jesuits; "Satire III.--Loyola's Will," a dramatic monologue spoken by Loyola on his deathbed inciting the Jesuits to merciless conquest; and "Satire IV.--St. Ignatius's Image Brought in, Discovering the Rogueries of the Jesuits, and Ridiculous Superstition of the Church of Rome," a dramatic monologue by a wooden image of Loyola, who recites the superstitious abuses of the Jesuits. The first two satires are political satires and are concerned with inciting indignation against the Jesuits with a focus on the Popish Plot. This topicality gives them a sense of immediacy and urgency. The last two satires attempt to broaden the work as a whole into a religious satire concerned with the

<sup>3</sup> John Oldham, The Works of John Oldham together with his Remains (London: H. Hindmarsh, 1698), sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.

abuse of reason by the superstitions of religion. The Popish Plot is hardly mentioned.

The primary satirical technique used by Oldham is that of amplification. The Jesuits disparage themselves by listing evil deeds and are attacked by the poet in the same manner. The entire work gains its effect from its massive catalogue of evil. This gushing forth of images, intended to inflame the reader's prejudices, leaves the reader insensate; note that Loyola's image apologizes for not continuing his confession:

Should I tell all their countless knaveries,  
 Their cheats, and shams, and forgeries, and lies,  
 Their cringings, crossings, censings, sprinklings, chrisms,  
 Their conjurings, and spells, and exorcisms;  
 Their motley habits, maniples, and stoles,  
 Albs, ammits, rochets, chimers, hoods, and cowls,  
 . . . . .  
 That I at length should more voluminous grow,  
 Than Crabb, or Surius, lying Fox, or Stow.<sup>4</sup>

Oldham must have appreciated Horace's advice to poets in the Ars Poetica: "Through a false hope of reaching excellence, / Avoiding length, we often cramp our sense, / And mak't obscure," while ignoring the instruction, "Whatever precepts you pretend to give, / Be sure to lay them down both clear and brief" (Oldham's translation, pp. 145, 159).

<sup>4</sup>John Oldham, Poems of John Oldham, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1960), pp. 131-32. Hereafter references to this source will be cited by page in the text.

The complementary technique of exaggeration enhances the usage of amplification. The poet in "Satyr II" asks that he be attacked by some plague other than the Jesuits if mankind is to be punished for his sins:

May't please some milder vengeance to devise,  
 Plague, fire, sword, dearth, or anything but this,  
 Let it rain scalding showers of brimstone down,  
 To burn us, as of old the lustful town;  
 Let a new deluge overwhelm again,  
 And drown at once our land, our lives, our sin.  
 Thus gladly we'll compound, all this we'll pay,  
 To have this worst of illls removed away.  
 (p. 96)

These techniques of amplification and exaggeration express the magnitude of evil in the world represented by the Jesuits and illustrate Oldham's pessimistic view of the state of mankind.

Interest in the Satyrs is sustained by concrete images. Oldham is successful in finding words and phrases to express the vivid reality of evil. Some of his most memorable expressions result from the incongruous juxtaposition of oxymorons such as the "purple rag of Majesty," or virtue's "grim, holy face" (pp. 87, 99). Oldham uses gothic exaggeration in his description of Loyola on his deathbed preparing to read his will:

Like Delphic hag of old, by fiend possessed,  
 He swells; wild frenzy heaves his panting breast;  
 His bristling hairs stick up, his eyeballs glow,  
 And from his mouth long streaks of drivel flow;  
 (p. 104)

Some images gain their effect through repulsion such as Garnet's Ghost in speaking of the murdered Godfrey:

"Would he were here, yet warm, that we might drain / His reeking gore, and drink up every vein!" (p. 85). Many passages gain effect from profane description of which the following is typical with the Ghost in advising the Jesuits to take over England:

Spare not in churches kneeling priests at prayer,  
 Though interceding for you, slay even there;  
 Spare not young infants smiling at the breast,  
 Who from relenting fools their mercy wrest;  
 Rip teeming wombs, tear out the hated brood  
 From thence, and drown them in their mother's blood;  
 Pity not virgins, nor their tender cries,  
 Though prostrate at your feet with melting eyes  
 All drowned in tears; strike home, as 'twere in lust,  
 And force their begging hands to guide the thrust;  
 (p. 94)

The modern reader may find the passage bordering on the absurd rendering the ghost ridiculous rather than frightening. Still Oldham meant the evil threat represented by the ghost to be taken seriously. Contrary to his purpose the reader finds the attack itself, and not the subject of attack, ridiculous.

Oldham utilizes scatology to show the strength of his disgust in the reduction of the sacrament of transubstantiation to realistic absurdity:

Hey Jingo, Sirs! What's this? 'tis Bread you See;  
Presto begone! 'tis now a Deity.  
 Two Grains of Dough, with Cross, and stamp of Priest,  
 And five small words pronounc'd, make up their Christ.

To this they all fall down, this all adore,  
 And straight devour what they ador'd before.  
 Down goes the tiny Savior at a bit,  
 To be digested, and at length beshit.  
 From altar to close-stool or jakes preferr'd,  
 First wafer, next a god, and then a turd.<sup>5</sup>

The passage descends from magic, to cannibalism, and, finally, to crude scatology, effectively destroying the mystical power associated with communion.

Oldham occasionally uses an extended metaphor more reminiscent of his metaphysical predecessors than subsequent Juvenalian satirists.

Once I [St. Ignatius's Image] was common wood, a  
 shapeless log,  
 Thrown out a kennel post for every dog;  
 The workman, yet in doubt what course to take,  
 Whether I'd best a saint, or hog-trough make,  
 After debate resolved me for a saint,  
 And thus famed Loyola I represent:  
 And well I may resemble him, for he  
 As Stupid was, as much a block, as me.  
 (p. 123)

The parallels between the wood and the icon are explicitly drawn even to the point of comparing Loyola to a stupid block. There is no subtlety requiring the reader to appreciate similarities not fully described.

Dryden in To the Memory of Mr. Oldham recognizes the roughness of Oldham's satire in the Elizabethan tradition:

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Ronald James Lee, "The Satires of John Oldham: A Study of Rhetorical Modes in Restoration Verse Satire," Diss. Stanford 1967, p. 131. The latter part of this passage was expurgated from Dobrée's edition.

O early ripe! to thy abundant store  
 What could advancing age have added more?  
 It might (what nature never gives the young)  
 Have taught the numbers of thy native tongue.  
 But satire needs not those, and wit will shine  
 Thro' the harsh cadence of a rugged line.<sup>6</sup>

This awkwardness is found in the following couplet:

The blackest, ugliest, horriddest, damnest deed,  
 For which hell-flames, the schools a title need.  
 (p. 99)

To describe a deed so horrible that it is nameless and in need of a school title weakens the accretion of horror in the first line. Oldham, however, felt that such lack of poetic concern was permissible in satire: "And certainly no one that pretends to distinguish the several colours of poetry would expect that Juvenal, when he is lashing vice and villainy, should flow as smoothly as Ovid or Tibullus, when they are describing amours and gallantries, and have nothing to disturb and ruffle the evenness of their Style" (pp. 12-13). James Sutherland points out that since Oldham was capable of poetic smoothness in other poems such as his imitation of Horace, this must be the "result of a deliberate attempt to reproduce the powerful invective of Juvenal."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> John Dryden, The Poetical Works of Dryden, ed. George R. Noyes, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 175.

<sup>7</sup> James Sutherland, English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century, Vol. 6 of Oxford History of English Literature, ed. Bonamy Dobrée and Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 165.

Oldham employs several devices of versification to convey the force of his indignation--rhetorical questions, exclamatory phrases, curses, harsh rhyme, heavily accented lines, alliteration, and irregular scansion. A line such as "Plague, fire, sword, dearth, or anything but this" is heavily accented in spondaic feet in the first half, strengthening the usual iambic pentameter line. Imperfect rhyming is common--sent-quit-proselyte, these-days, died-freed, enjoy-popery. "Satyr I" begins with the curse, "By hell," asks ten rhetorical questions, and uses four exclamatory phrases in the first twenty-eight lines (p. 85). Alliteration is usually limited to two words per line but is prevalent throughout: proud-prince, Peter-pence, death-delivered; great-gallant; every-each, watchful-wary, close-council, Indies-endless, factors-first, and arts-allure are all from one paragraph (pp. 119-20). The effect of these techniques is one of roughness, the very opposite of Pope's polished couplet.

Oldham's use of irony is virtually limited to the inversion of Christian traditions in doctrine and language. He chooses not to attack Christianity, but to ridicule the Jesuit subversion of Christianity. Thus the blessing becomes a curse as when Loyola says, "If I may waste a prayer for your success, / Hell be your aid, and your high projects bless!" (p. 95). Garnet's Ghost praises the

sacrifice-murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey and desires to drink Godfrey's blood, which leads him to the idea of the sacrament of communion that binds the Christian church into one body, here binding the murderers into a treasonous cabal. The doctrine of transubstantiation is subverted when the ghost speaks of binding "our treason with a bleeding god" (p. 85), which offers an image of savage, hedonistic rites. The inversion develops from the sacrifice-murder, through sacrament-cannibalism, to transubstantiation-pagan rites. And the reader will make further associations such as that of Sir Godfrey with Christ since these are the two sacrifices adding another and for Oldham unusual dimension to the irony.

Oldham's technique is nearly devoid of subtlety, the depth of irony described above being quite rare. The prevailing tone is one of vituperative attack, and even the occasional attempts at ridicule are cumbersome. Loyola demands unfaltering allegiance from the Jesuits in spite of the absurdity of their leader's actions:

Whom he in anger excommunicates,  
For Friday meals, and abrogating sprats;  
Or in just indignation spurns to hell  
For jeering holy toe, and pantofle.  
(p. 107)

Loyola is in character in stressing blind obedience, but he drops out of character and is a spokesman for Oldham in



making his successor appear ridiculous. While exaggeration is essential to satire, this inconsistency undermines the portrayal of Loyola as a serious threatening evil. The tone of ridicule is unconvincing in comparison with the tone of scathing denunciation. One must disagree with Cooper R. Macklin who uses the word "ridicule" to describe the last two satires.<sup>8</sup> Weldon M. Williams recognizes "the satiric mode of ironic self-condemnation" in the third and fourth satires which I feel would appear more in Oldham's dramatic design rather than its execution.<sup>9</sup> Still the overriding effect is Juvenalian as Oldham understood it in the massing of invective in a declamatory style almost devoid of irony or humor. The result is a grandiose style that suffers from exaggeration. He sought the heroic in verse, but in using it as heroic blame without understanding the need for irony, he failed to produce satire of merit in this instance. Just as it is difficult to sustain effective panegyrics, it is difficult to write a sustained, frontal attack as effective literature.

Like Dryden and Rochester Oldham sought to raise satire to heroic stature: "Oldham, as much as Dryden, seems to

<sup>8</sup>Macklin, p. 89.

<sup>9</sup>"The Influence of Ben Jonson's *Cataline* upon John Oldham's *Satyr Upon the Jesuits*," *ELH*, 11 (1944), 50.

have regarded satire as an heroic type of poetry."<sup>10</sup> An essential element in this approach to satire is an emphasis on the important purpose of satire when other sources of moral instruction have failed:

But I whom spleen and manly rage inspire;  
 Brook no affront, at each offence take fire:  
 Born to chastise the vices of the age,  
 Which pulpits dare not, nor the very stage.  
 (p. 7)

This satirist is impersonal in his attack, showing that he is an impartial observer not seeking personal revenge, and the Satyrs contain no personal attacks on living men beyond those directly involved in the conspiracy. Oldham strikes a pose of the vir indignatus that Juvenal describes in his first satire. Macklin describes this pose as typical of Elizabethan rather than Restoration satire, but I contend that it is a prevailing characteristic of Juvenalian satire and is utilized by Pope, Swift, and Johnson as well as Oldham.<sup>11</sup>

The heroic scale is gained both through the magnitude of the subject and its treatment in cosmic terms. "Oldham contrives to make the supposed Jesuit plot an archetypal conspiracy, to be envied by Satan himself."<sup>12</sup> A conspiracy

<sup>10</sup>Weldon M. Williams, "The Genesis of John Oldham's Satyrs Upon the Jesuits," PMLA, 58 (1943), 963.

<sup>11</sup>Macklin, p. 78.

<sup>12</sup>Lee, p. 96.

which threatens the existence of the English nation and, indeed, the future of mankind and a religion which is the source of much of the world's evil are issues of great importance, and to attack them in the Horatian mode would be disproportionate.

The Jesuit ambitions are given magnitude by being associated with a vastness, an infinity.<sup>13</sup> As expected they are identified with hell and the devil. In the "Prologue" the author speaks of "the vile brood of Loyola and hell" (p. 84). In "Satyr I" the ghost speaks of an assassin committing regicide whose name will "stand sacred in the lists of hell and Rome" (p. 86). He speaks of his own role in the Gunpowder Plot as a

vast attempt, a glorious deed,  
Which durst the fates have suffered to succeed,  
Had rivalled hell's most proud exploit and boast,  
Even that, which would the king of fates deposed.  
(p. 87)

This technique of increasing the seriousness of the crime frightens the reader by magnifying his fear of such evil. It fails as satire of magnification or exaggeration, for it does not render its subject ridiculous by elevating it, as he might have done, to absurd Brobdignagian proportions. Indeed it is more reminiscent of Milton than a precursor of Swift. Juvenal's

<sup>13</sup>Macklin, p. 82.

Fourth Satire tells of a meeting of Domitian's cabinet called to discuss how to cook a giant turbot. In mock heroic style the irony between the important business of state and the absurd problem of how to cook a fish makes the Emperor appear foolish and stupid. Oldham fails to exploit the ironic possibilities inherent in his use of vignettes in which the Jesuits speak for themselves. Instead of allowing their actions to reveal their sins, they catalogue their evil crimes as such. He succeeds in elevating his satire above the trivial into the realm of great seriousness. What he loses in subtlety he gains in passionate disapproval of evil.

In the single extended analysis of Oldham's poetic technique, R. J. Lee describes Juvenalian satire as the rhetoric of the emotion exemplified by Oldham and Horatian satire as the rhetoric of the intellect exemplified by Rochester.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Oldham has received slight critical attention, and even this notice has centered around the sources for the Satyrs as instanced by Williams' articles. Critics who demur at Rochester's libertinism select Oldham, his contemporary who also lived a brief life, as the Restoration satirist ranking below Dryden. J. B. Emperor, "The Juvenalian and Persian Element in English Literature from the Restoration to Dr. Johnson," Diss. Cornell 1932, p. 162, in comparing Rochester and Oldham finds that the latter has "superior knowledge and soul-force" which gave his work "high artistic value and wide currency," an opinion that is difficult to agree with. The prevailing modern attitude is summed up by James Sutherland, p. 164: "There is admittedly much vigour in his crabbed youth; he moves with a kind of clumsy buoyancy, tumbling over his feet and talking all the while as he goes."

He concludes that Juvenalian satire was significant to the Restoration for its rhetorical technique of appealing to the emotions rather than for its moral seriousness. Oldham's "is the Juvenalian manner, defined not as Dryden erroneously understood it, as a manner befitting Juvenal's nobleness of soul and 'commonwealth genius,' but as a manner which adopts the grand style in order to amplify the emotional force of the satiric attack."<sup>15</sup> There is truth in the idea that Dryden was drawn to Juvenal's sublime style in spite of his traditional emphasis on Juvenal's moral teachings. Lee recognizes quite correctly that the degree to which satire

C. W. Previt -Orton, "Political and Ecclesiastical Satire," in Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (New York: Putnam's, 1912), VIII, 97, early established Oldham as Juvenalian for modern critics, thereby causing critics to concentrate on his Juvenalian Satyr Upon the Jesuits, best known because of its popularity in the Restoration, and to ignore works perhaps as good but in other modes. Williams downgrades the influence of Juvenal in favor of the English satiric tradition and Senecan drama by way of Jonson's Cataline. The oversimplification of his view is in a small way attacked by Chester H. Cable, "Oldham's Borrowing from Buchanan," MLN, 66 (1951), 523-527, which reasserts the influence of "Franciscanus" on "Satyr III" as Oldham had stated. Harold F. Brooks, A Bibliography of John Oldham, the Restoration Satirist, Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers, V, Pt. 1 (1936), established the canon of his work. As of 1967 Brooks was preparing a modern edition of Oldham. The only edition currently available is the Poems of John Oldham, ed. Bonamy Dobree, which is a photographic reproduction of the bowdlerized edition of Robert Bell (London, 1854). Only Macklin and Lee offer discussions of substance.

<sup>15</sup>Lee, p. 200.

is Juvenalian is directly proportional to the strength of emotion expressed. Yet in failing to recognize the fact that emotion can be intensified by irony and subtlety, so-called intellectual participation on the part of the reader, he falls into the error of opposing emotion to intellect. Lee casts doubt on his division of satiric types by his description of the Satyr Against Mankind which would be Horatian by his description but does not sound so:

"Rochester's brilliant characterizations of the errant ways of human reason . . . achieve almost a tragic seriousness through the effectiveness of the dramatic climaxes to which they ascend."<sup>16</sup> Indeed the very subject of Rochester's Satyr Against Mankind refutes Lee's definition; if one makes the common association of emotion with instincts and intellect with reason, man's stupidity is the consequence of his false reason; he should trust his natural instincts. The emotional strength of Satyr Against Mankind and Upon Nothingness must be classified as Juvenalian. The point is not the classification of poets and poetry into neat categories but the necessity for an analysis of poetry within its literary tradition.

That Oldham used the most passionate terms possible in

<sup>16</sup>Lee, pp. 167-68.

the Satyrs is not a subject of critical debate. Lee describes it as "perhaps the longest piece of sustained emotional rhetoric that we have in English."<sup>17</sup> Oldham's verse is outstanding for its direct forceful attack while Rochester's philosophy is negative perhaps to the point of nihilism. Rochester writes with subtlety and irony while the former writes with amplification and exaggeration. Oldham is successful in using concrete images and a topical subject. Rochester's satire suffers on the other hand from dealing in broad universals which lack a sense of urgency or immediacy. Oldham does not write in the language of indirection which requires greater intellectual participation by the reader, perhaps an essential element of literary satire. He writes a sermon or propaganda attacking religious evils for a large audience for the purpose of inciting hatred. Rochester's satire is written to clarify general precepts about man for an extremely small group of court intelligentsia. Yet, through seriousness of subject and their negative approach, both gain epic force and write in the Juvenalian mode.

There are numerous examples of the direct influence of Juvenal on Oldham in rhetorical technique, theme, and epigrammatic statement.<sup>18</sup> These, however, do not illustrate the Juvenalian

<sup>17</sup>Lee, p. 64.

<sup>18</sup>Emperor, pp. 134-156.

character of the Satyrs Upon the Jesuits. Six elements may be singled out which do identify the Satyrs as Juvenalian: 1) the attempt to elevate satire to heroic or epic proportions, 2) the responsibility of the poet to society as a selfless defender of morality, 3) the pessimistic view of the state of the world with evil lurking everywhere, 4) the use of profanity and shocking images as the only language commensurate with the evil under attack, 5) the seriousness of the subject with a corresponding intention of instructing rather than pleasing, and above all 6) a tone of violence, extreme passion, and anger which is based on an emotional appeal to the reader. The Satyrs Upon the Jesuits is indeed Juvenalian but is perhaps more sermon than satire.



C. JONATHAN SWIFT:  
A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE  
HOUGHNHNMS

John Bullitt considers Gulliver's Travels "the greatest example in any language of what Dryden had called, referring to the works of Juvenal, 'tragical satire'."<sup>1</sup> The climax of Swift's pessimistic satire occurs in Part IV, "A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms," which exemplifies ideals of eighteenth century satire in its fusion of heroic purpose and plain style. The themes of the human condition, man's bestial nature, and his sins of pride and self-delusion are presented in a plain, not eloquent, narrative that beguiles the reader with the persona of Gulliver in a tone of reasonable common sense. The Juvenalian content with its scope of profound meaning, its pessimism, and its controlled savage indignation is expressed in a style that, with the exception of a scatological element, is Horatian in technique.

The man who wrote ubi saeva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit as part of his epitaph intended to place himself in the satirical tradition of Juvenal, who wrote si natura negat, facit indignatio versum (Sat. I.79), "if nature denies the power, indignation would give birth to verses."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>John Bullitt, Jonathan Swift and the Anatomy of Satire: A Study of Satiric Technique (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1961), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Maurice Johnson, "Swift and the Greatest Epitaph in History," PMLA, 68 (1953), 820-21.

He had what may be called a Juvenalian view of life. Swift writes to Pope, 26 Nov. 1725, "Drown the World! I am not content with despising it, but would anger it if I could with safety."<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Pope, dated 1 June 1728, he states that "what I do is owing to perfect rage and resentment, and the mortifying sight of slavery, folly, and baseness about me, among which I am forced to live."<sup>4</sup> Echoes of Juvenal's Satire I are found in his description of the world as vice triumphant.

See how the gaping crowd admire  
The stupid blockhead and the liar!  
How long shall vice triumphant reign?  
How long shall mortals bend to gain?  
How long shall virtue hide her face,  
And leave her votaries in disgrace?  
Let indignation fire my strains,  
Another villain yet remains.<sup>5</sup>

The tragical view of life is a recurring theme in his correspondence, as in the letter of 7 Dec. 1727 to Mrs. Moore: "For Life is a Tragedy, wherein we sit as Spectators awhile, and then act our own Part in it."<sup>6</sup>

Swift's response to the absurd human condition is to

<sup>3</sup>The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), III, 117, hereafter cited as Correspondence.

<sup>4</sup>Correspondence, III, 289.

<sup>5</sup>The Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), III, 950, hereafter cited as Poems.

<sup>6</sup>Correspondence, III, 254.

treat it as ridiculous, to see the irony in human tragedy. In a letter to Pope he writes that "the common saying of life being a Farce is true in every sense but the most important one, for it is a ridiculous tragedy, which is the worst kind of composition."<sup>7</sup> Swift sees the ultimate irony of the tragedy of life and describes it a failure as a type of literature, no doubt lacking the unity or reason of tragedy, comedy, or epic. What other medium was left in which to write about life but amorphous, ironical satire.

Swift chose to suppress his indignation under a veneer of Horatian good humor in accordance with his rhetorical theories of effective satire. His attitude is reminiscent of Dryden when he says that "a taste for humour is certainly the best ingredient toward that kind of satire, which is most useful, and gives the least offence; which instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies, and vices, and is the character which gives Horace the preference to Juvenal."<sup>8</sup> The desire to lash and vex the world with a tone of good humor is described in "An Epistle to a Lady."

<sup>7</sup>20 April 1731, Correspondence, III, 456.

<sup>8</sup>"The Intelligencer Number 111," The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D. D., ed. Temple Scott (London: George Bell, 1902), IX, 318, hereafter cited as Works.

I, as all the Parish knows,  
 Hardly can be grave in Prose:  
 Still to lash, and lashing Smile,  
 Ill befits a lofty Stile,  
 From the Planet of my Birth,  
 I encounter Vice with Mirth.<sup>9</sup>

(11. 137-42)

He will attack vice with a smile which is unsuited to the heroic style.

Like the ever laughing Sage,  
 In a Jest I spend my Rage:  
 (Tho' it must be understood,  
 I would hang them if I cou'd.)

(11. 167-70)

The rage he feels which makes him wish to punish man is released through his satire. The line, "In a Jest I spend my Rage," would indicate that Swift felt satire to be self-cathartic. Yet in order to be effective as an influence upon his fellow man, he must employ Horatian laughter.

For, as  
 It is well observ'd by Horace,  
 Ridicule has greater Pow'r  
 To reform the World, than Sour.

.....  
 Thus, I find it by Experiment,  
 Scolding moves you less than Merriment,  
 I may storm and rage in vain;  
 It but stupefies your Brain.  
 But, with Raillery to nettle,  
 Set your Thoughts upon their Mettle:

.....  
 As my method of Reforming  
 Is by Laughing, not by Storming.

(11. 197-200, 207-12, 229-30)

<sup>9</sup>Poems, II, 634-35.

Swift understood that his anger, if unrestrained, would degenerate into invective and that it was best expressed under the guise of reasonable good humor.

The tension between Juvenalian passionate indignation and Horatian plain style reinforces the irony of his attack. The reader's reaction in perceiving the truth beyond the appearance is all the stronger for having been delayed. The plain reasonable conversational tone smoothly flows in a descriptive passage with the interjection of a shocking detail which indicates the underlying meaning. Gulliver uses this detail in describing the treatment of horses in England to his Houyhnhnm master to reinforce the cumulative irony:

I owned, that the Houyhnhnms among us, whom we called horses, were the most generous and comely animal we had, that they excelled in strength and swiftness; and when they belonged to persons of quality, employed in travelling, racing, and drawing chariots, they were treated with much kindness and care, till they fell into diseases, or became foundered in the feet; but then they were sold, and used to all kind of drudgery till they died; after which their skins were stripped and sold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. But the common race of horses had not so good fortune, being kept by farmers and carriers and other mean people, who put them to greater labour, and feed them worse. . . . Our horses were trained up from three or four years old to the several uses we intended them for; that if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were severely beaten while they were young, for any mischievous tricks; that the males, designed for the common use of riding or draught, were generally castrated about two years after their

birth, to take down their spirits, and make them more tame and gentle; that they were indeed sensible of rewards and punishments; but his Honour would please to consider, that they had not the least tincture of reason any more than the yahoos in this country.<sup>10</sup>

Man's cruelty to horses is evidence of his lack of reason; yet Gulliver mildly and naively ascribes this lack of reason to horses. The irony of his failure to perceive this fault is further proof of man's lack of reason while maintaining pride in his superiority as a reasoning animal, the theme of the fourth voyage. The irony becomes even more complicated when one reads the horses' fate as a metaphor for man. Men of wealth and power are treated well until they fall out of favor; while common men are always mistreated. The use of the first person modestly setting forth a relatively factual description, "I described, as well as I could," is undercut by the image of discarded carrion, severe beatings, and castration, images of Juvenalian satire.

The concept that satire carries a unique responsibility for moral instruction which magnifies its importance recurs in Swift: "Many great abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished. . . . I am apt to think,

<sup>10</sup> Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels, and Other Writings, ed. Louis A. Landa (Boston: Riverside Press, 1960), pp. 194-95, hereafter cited by page number in the text.

it was to supply such defects as these, that satire was first introduced into the world; whereby those whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of punishment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be upheld by the shame of having their crimes exposed to open view in the strongest colours, and themselves rendered odious to mankind."<sup>11</sup> Sermons and legal procedures were an inadequate stimulus in correcting man's behavior; one must move man's passions through his self-love and create a sense of shame. The artifice of satire was employed as Gulliver ironically claimed, "for the noblest end, to inform and instruct mankind" by making him "ashamed of his own vices" (pp. 235-36).

An author's aspirations about the breadth of his audience and the change his satire will effect is more limited in Juvenalian satire, and this is true of Swift in Gulliver's Travels. The impossibility of effecting reformation is the object of Swift's satire when Gulliver writes to his cousin Sympson:

Pray bring to your mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the motive of public good, that the yahoos were a species of animals utterly incapable of amendment by precepts or examples, and so it hath proved; for instead of seeing a full stop put

<sup>11</sup>"The Examiner Number 39," Works, IX, 253.

to all abuses and corruptions, at least in this little island, as I had reason to expect: behold, after above six months' warning, I cannot learn that my book hath produced one single effect according to mine intentions: I desired you would let me know by a letter, when party and faction were extinguished; judges learned and upright; pleaders honest and modest, with some tincture of common sense; and Smithfield blazing with pyramids of law-books; the young nobility's education entirely changed; the physicians banished; the female yahoos abounding in virtue, honour, truth and good sense; courts and levees of great ministers thoroughly weeded and swept; wit, merit and learning rewarded; all disgracers of the press in prose and verse condemned to eat nothing but their own cotton, and quench their thirst with their own ink.

(p. 4)

The blind Gulliver thought that publication of his memoirs would effect a change, but the perceiving Swift knew better. Swift did not expect man in his fallen state to emulate the example of the Houyhnhnms. Man can only seek moral improvement when he perceives his own true nature. Gulliver's discovery of the yahoo nature of man leads him to see man as a totally depraved yahoo without tincture of reason while he attempts to emulate the life of pure reason of the Houyhnhnms.<sup>12</sup> He fails to understand that man is not a yahoo and that he cannot attain a utopia of perfect reason.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Holt Monk, "The Pride of Lemuel Gulliver," Sewanee Review, 63 (1955), 65, stresses the importance of separating Gulliver's mistaken beliefs from Swift's in not accepting the Yahoos as Swift's actual image of man or the Houyhnhnms as his ideal image.

<sup>13</sup> Ernest Tuveson, "Swift: The Dean as Satirist," UTQ 22 (1953), 371-74, most clearly defines the subject of Swift's attack as illusory ideas.



Swift did not share the expectation of the Horatian satirist to reach a broad audience. He rather expected to communicate with a few like-minded friends in the Juvenalian manner. Swift asks, "whether I have not as good a title to laugh, as men have to be ridiculous, and to expose vice, as another hath to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a court, a ministry, or a senate; are they not amply paid by pensions, titles, and power, while I expect and desire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner."<sup>14</sup>

This reference to laughing satire which accords with his compliment to Horace is supported by Arbuthnot's reaction to the book in a letter to Swift: "Gulliver is a happy man that at his age can write such a merry work."<sup>15</sup> Several passages are memorable, even in the fourth voyage, for their comic effect.<sup>16</sup> Picture a white mare threading a needle with her pastern and hoof or an old steed of quality riding

<sup>14</sup>"The Intelligencer Number 111," Works, IX, 318.

<sup>15</sup>5 Nov. 1726, Correspondence, III, 179.

<sup>16</sup>Ricardo Quintana, Swift: An Introduction (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955), pp. 159-60, tentatively recognizes this humor: "There are moments when we have to ask ourselves whether our imaginary voyage is not becoming a parody of itself--whether, for instance, the Utopian elements are not slyly humorous." He prefers to emphasize the element of comedy throughout at the expense of tragedy.

in a sledge drawn by four yahoos (pp. 221, 187). The very civilized horses have the manners of our civilization. They are polite to their guest dining in the second or best room with multiple courses. The first room has a smooth clay floor and a rack and manger while the second room is more elegant, in what way is left to the reader's imagination (p. 185). The mental picture of horses in this social context is humorous and, if satirical, is certainly in an Horatian vein. Swift was not a primitivist in the natural-man-in-nature sense, and he felt that civilization in many ways improved man beyond the state of savages. The first pair of yahoos in the creation myth came from the sea and, perhaps civilization, and retreated to the mountains where they degenerated into savages (p. 219). The Houyhnhnms possessed many desirable characteristics, and there is no reason to believe that Swift was attacking them in the manner in which Orwell satirizes the pigs who begin to stand on two legs. Swift's criticism is directed toward Gulliver who failed to perceive the nature of man, ultimately believing that man was a yahoo while he himself could be a reasonable animal, animal rationale, by imitating the horses' talk and gait. One may conclude therefore that the humorous behavior of these horses was meant to be comic. It is mildly critical to the extent that he is satirizing man's aspirations for a

utopian life which is accompanied by the belief that naturally benevolent man might attain such a goal. By making them appear comical he reflects on man's naive hopes.

Because of the protracted emphasis on the yahoos and on man's yahoo nature, the prevailing effect of the fourth book is not one of comedy or Horatian satire in spite of the presence of these elements. Here the satire is vehement and acid, scatological and relentlessly negative. It is this element, integral not incidental to Swift's conclusions about human nature in Gulliver's Travels, that allows us to describe the "Voyage to the Houyhnhnms" as Juvenalian satire.

Man is not a yahoo, a point that Swift makes clear from the beginning and throughout the book. The yahoo differs from man in his repulsive hairiness, color, length of nails, lack of language, lack of capacity to reason, and lack of cleanliness (pp. 186, 195, 209). Only Gulliver sees man as a yahoo. In his conversations with his Houyhnhnm master he describes war, crime, lawyers, physicians, gluttony, greed, liquor, vanity of dress, ambition, power, and corrupt nobility as devoid of any redeeming or positive aspects of civilized man. Gulliver's realization that man is a savage beast, not a rational animal, is erroneous in that he accepts man as first one then the other, not a combination of the two. The Houyhnhnms gave him credit for only an appearance of reason

and, based on his description of man's yahoo nature in civilization, decided that he was a yahoo to be banished from their midst. Gulliver's perception of man bestial nature is incomplete because he fails to perceive that man is not entirely yahoo.

Man's inability to understand human nature and his pride in his own reasoning capability are exemplified by Gulliver until the very end of the satire. He is unable to accept yahoo-man's pride although dishonorable professions are understandable: "I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pickpocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whoremonger, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like; this is all according to the due course of things: but when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience" (p. 239). The arrogance of this statement is, itself, ironical. Gulliver is ludicrous because of his misanthropy toward his family and fellow man; he spends four hours a day conversing with horses and prefers the company of his groom above all others because of his smell. The Houyhnhnms had many admirable qualities which were of no help to man until he understood himself as a being neither ruled by reason nor devoid of reason but capable of reason. In

another letter to Pope Swift writes: "I have got materials toward a treatise, proving the falsity of that definition animal rationale, and to show it would be only rationis capax. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy, though not in Timon's manner, the whole building of my Travels is erected."<sup>17</sup>

Man's delusions are portrayed through the base yahoos and the ideal Houyhnhnms, whose influence leads Gulliver to his final state of misanthropy. In the words of Samuel H. Monk, "The surface of the book is comic, but at its center is tragedy, transformed through style and tone into icy irony."<sup>18</sup> Swift's bitterness and final pessimism are a stringent contrast to the comical humor and modest conversational tone of the narrative. Much of the irony and tension is gained from this combination of an undeviating Horatian tone of reasonable good humor with the undercurrent of Juvenalian indignation. Swift's final irony is Gulliver's tone of reason, which masks his self-delusion and is the voice of unreasonable man.

<sup>17</sup>29 Sept. 1725, Correspondence, III, 103.

<sup>18</sup>Monk, p. 50.

D. ALEXANDER POPE:  
EPILOGUE TO THE SATIRES

Pope's Imitations of Horace (1733-1738) mark a transition in his philosophy which culminates in the two Juvenalian dialogues of the Epilogue to the Satires. He is often considered the most Horatian of the Augustans because of his polish, wit, and subtlety. For Caroline Goad "the keynote of what were the guiding principles of Pope's poetry is to be sought in Horace."<sup>1</sup> The influence of Horace on Pope's style predates the Imitations and is of paramount significance, for "the refined terseness of utterance . . . distinguishes their poetry above that of any other classical or English poet." The ideals of clarity and conciseness, variety and smoothness, had been completely absorbed by Pope by this time. "In the Imitations Pope employs an autobiographical element, raillery, a conversational tone, and ironical understatement making them Horatian in manner more than spirit.

Yet "Pope's 'Horatian' poems are often decidedly un-Horatian in manner. He found in Horace a wealth of satiric subjects and devices, but his 'imitation' is essentially a remaking of his models along lines that are often as Juvenalian as they are Horatian."<sup>2</sup> The Imitations show

<sup>1</sup> Caroline Goad, Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1918), p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas R. Edwards, Jr., This Dark Estate: A Reading of Pope (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1963), p. 78.

a transition to Juvenalian satire reflecting Pope's deepening pessimism and disillusionment which is complete by the time he writes the Epilogue to the Satires in 1738. An analysis of the Epilogue proves it to be a striking example of Juvenalian satire at the zenith of neo-classicism most often thought of as Augustan and, by inference, Horatian. The sinews of Juvenalian satire and the skin of Horatian satire combine to form a unique English genre at this time.

In spite of the indelible influence of Horace on Pope's style he specifically rejects Horace by the end of the Imitations. The first published title of the Epilogue, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight: A Dialogue Something like Horace, becomes ironical in that he no longer imitates Horace but attacks him and uses the dialogue form with an adversarius who defends him to prove the inadequacy of Horatian satire as a vehicle for the expression of anger and indignation. Horace's style is described by the Friend in the opening paragraph of Dialogue I doubtless as Pope understood him—the subtlety, the good humor, the understatement, and the concentration on follies rather than vices.

But Horace, Sir, was delicate, was nice;  
Bubo observes, he lash'd no sort of Vice:  
(ll. 11-12)

The Friend parodies the satire of understatement:

In Sappho touch the Failing of the Sex,  
 In rev'rend Bishops note some small Neglects,  
 And own, the Spaniard did a waggish thing,  
 Who cropt our Ears, and sent them to the King.  
 (11. 15-18)

Pope no longer pleases at court as Horace did:

His sly, polite, insinuating stile  
 Could please at Court, and make Augustus smile:  
 An artful Manager, that crept between  
 His Friend and Shame, and was a kind of Screen.  
 (11. 19-22)

Pope annotates the last line: "A metaphor peculiarly appropriated to a certain person in power,"<sup>3</sup> alluding to Robert Walpole who had opposed Parliamentary investigation of public frauds. The comparison between Walpole and Horace is based on their mutual role as court sycophants and is derogatory to both.

The transition from imitation of Horatian satire to its rejection can be traced from seeds of social concern in the first imitation through a deepening philosophical concern to a final disillusionment fully stated in the Epilogue. The Imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace, To Fortescue (1733), reflects Pope's tone of certainty and his optimism in the efficacy of satire to influence the

<sup>3</sup>Alexander Pope, Imitations of Horace with An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot and the Epilogue to the Satires, ed. John Butt (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1953), p. 300--hereafter cited as Imitations. Quotations from these poems appearing in the text are from this edition and are identified by line number within the text.



actions of men indignantly justifying the morality of his attack with unusual directness:

What? arm'd for Virtue when I point the Pen,  
 Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men,  
 . . . . .  
 And I not strip the Gilding off a Knave,  
 . . . . .  
 I will, or perish in the gen'rous Cause,  
 . . . . .  
 Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave  
 Shall walk the World, in credit, to his grave.  
 To VIRTUE ONLY and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND.  
 (11. 105-21)

The subject of this imitation is a justification of his satire:

In this impartial Glass, my Muse intends  
 Fair to expose myself, my Foes, my Friends;  
 Publish the present Age,  
 (11. 57-59)

There is no doubt in his mind that regardless of criticism

"What-e'er my Fate . . . I will Rhyme and Print" (11. 92, 100).

Still there is a significant difference between Pope and Horace in the first imitation in Pope's consciousness of social inequalities and the disparity between the real and the ideal. The failure of authority to fulfill its responsibility isolates the satirist as the sole source of truth:

"Can there be wanting to defend Her Cause, / Lights of the Church, or Guardians of the Laws?" (11. 109-10) The fallibility of the legal structure is inferred from his attack on those "who 'scape the Laws" (1. 118) as well as those who corrupt the law in its interpretation. This theme is a

departure from the source of the imitation, Satire II.i.

G. K. Hunter describes the resulting difference in their satire: "We can see that in fact another theory of satire has been fitted inside the skin of Horace's poem, a theory which depends far more on the sensibility of the individual author and is far more concerned with the gap between individual ideals and social realities than Horace ever was."<sup>4</sup> This divergence between the original and the imitation is indicative of Pope's deepening concern and final disillusionment with the state of civilization.

A letter to Swift in 1736 reveals this increasing interest in philosophical speculation at the expense of poetry: "But alas! the task is great, and non sum qualis eram! My understanding indeed, such as it is, is extended rather than diminish'd: I see things more in the whole, more consistent, and more clearly deduced from, and related to, each other. But what I gain on the side of philosophy, I lose on the side of poetry: the flowers are gone, when the fruits begin to ripen, and the fruits perhaps will never ripen perfectly. The climate . . . is but cold and uncertain; the

<sup>4</sup>G. K. Hunter, "The 'Romanticism' of Pope's Horace," Essays in Criticism, 10 (1960), 391.

winds rise, and the winter comes on."<sup>5</sup> This concern for philosophy is echoed in the beginning of Dialogue I, written in 1738:

Fr. Not twice a twelvemonth you appear in Print,  
And when it comes, the Court see nothing in't.  
You grow correct that once with Rapture writ,  
And are, besides, too Moral for a Wit.

And the Friend at the end of Dialogue II recommends that he return to the Essay on Man. Still, in the letter to Swift there is a confidence which gives way to confusion and doubt by 1738 in the last imitation:

So slow th' unprofitable Moments roll,  
That lock up all the Functions of my soul;  
That keep me from Myself; and still delay  
Life's instant business to a future day.

But when no Prelate's Lawn with Hair-shirt lin'd,  
Is half so incoherent as my Mind,  
When (each Opinion with the next at strife,  
One ebb and flow of follies all my Life)  
I plant, root up, I build, and then confound,  
Turn round to square, and square again to round.

(ll. 39-42, 165-70)

The disillusionment and pessimism are complete by the time of the Epilogue.

The theme of the universal corruption of man and the triumph of vice is evident in both dialogues. In Dialogue I vice as a characteristic of the powerful appears as queen

<sup>5</sup>The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956) IV, 3, hereafter cited as Correspondence.

foreshadowing Book IV of The Dunciad, 1741:

Her Birth, her Beauty, Crowds and Courts confess,  
 Chaste Matrons praise her, and grave Bishops bless,  
 In golden Chains the willing World she draws,  
 And hers the Gospel is, and hers the Laws:  
 Mounts the Tribunal, lifts her scarlet head,  
 And sees pale Virtue carted in her stead!  
 Lo! at the Wheels of her Triumphal Car,  
 Old England's Genius, rough with many a Scar,  
 Dragg'd in the Dust! his Arms hang idly round,  
 His Flag inverted trails along the ground!

· · · · ·  
 Hear her black Trumpet thro' the Land proclaim,  
 That "Not to be corrupted is the Shame."

· · · · ·  
 While Truth, Worth, Wisdom, daily they decry--  
 "Nothing is Sacred now but Villany."

(ll. 145-70)

Virtue is exhibited in a cart, the degrading punishment for prostitutes, while vice controls both church and state. The degradation of men of all ages and all professions is total. Numerous critics have written of the excellence of this passage. Joseph Warton in 1797 calls it "perhaps the noblest passage in all his works, without any exception whatever."<sup>6</sup> And more recently John Butt describes it as "one of the grandest passages of his later poetry."<sup>7</sup> The allusion is threefold to the Biblical whore of Babylon of Revelations

<sup>6</sup>James M. Osborn, "Pope, the Byzantine Empress, and Walpole's Whore," Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack, rev. ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968), p. 577.

<sup>7</sup>Imitations, p. xxxix.

(xvii.1,3,4), the Empress Theodora, and Molly Skerrett. Theodora, a prostitute, became the wife of Justinian; Molly Skerrett was Walpole's long time mistress and wife of three months.<sup>8</sup> The indirect allusion, the technique of Horace, is still present, but the passage is essentially Juvenalian. The Tatler No. 242 (1710) describes Juvenal as attacking "Vice as it passes by in Triumph, not [like Horace] as it breaks into Conversation. The Fall of Empire, Contempt of Glory, and a general Degeneracy of Manners, are before his Eyes in all his Writings."<sup>9</sup> Critics have recognized in this passage echoes of classical-Biblical prophecy, Homeric imagery, "a Dantesque quality of dreadful splendour and infernal exultation," and the "Spenserian quality of pictorial allegory."<sup>10</sup>

Dialogue II sustains this view of a depraved world. Pope's first speech states that "Vice with such Giant-strides comes on amain, / Invention strives to be before in vain;" (ll. 6-7). Defeat and pessimism pervade the conclusion of

<sup>8</sup>Osborn, pp. 578, 581.

<sup>9</sup>Richard Steele, "Tatler 242, October 26, 1710," The Tatler: Complete in One Volume (London: A. Wilson, 1814), p. 428.

<sup>10</sup>Reuben A. Brower, Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion (London: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 316-17.

this satire:

Yes, the last Pen for Freedom let me draw,  
 When Truth stands trembling on the edge of Law:  
 Here, Last of Britons! let your Names be read;  
 Are none, none living? let me praise the Dead,  
 And for that Cause which made your Fathers shine;  
 Fall, by the Votes of their degen'rate Line!  
 (ll. 248-53)

Pope adds this conclusion: "This was the last poem of the kind printed by our author, with a resolution to publish no more; but to enter thus, in the most plain and solemn manner he could, a sort of PROTEST against that insuperable corruption and depravity of manners, which he had been so unhappy as to live to see." One is reminded of the overwhelming corruptions of Rome that Juvenal describes in his third satire. The success of the all-powerful artful liar and sycophant leaves no place for honest Romans.

Vice may indeed triumph, but Pope maintains that his role of moral prosecutor is all the more valid. The overwhelming strength of the enemy makes his opposition sacred as almost the sole defender of the public weal. The satirist stands in heroic isolation. Pope indicates his initial purpose in writing satire in a letter to Dr. Arbuthnot, 2 Aug. 1734: "And in my low station, with no other power than this, I hope to deter, if not to reform."<sup>11</sup> He felt confident of

<sup>11</sup>Correspondence, III, 423.

its effectiveness on men as evidenced by another letter to Arbuthnot, 26 July 1734: "My greatest comfort, and encouragement to proceed, has been to see, that those who have no shame, and no fear, of any thing else, have appear'd touch'd by my Satires."<sup>12</sup> The role of the poet as a single voice of protest is sensed in the couplet of Dialogue I which concludes the description of vice reigning triumphant: "Yet may this verse (if such a verse remain) / Show there was one who held it in disdain" (ll. 171-72). Dialogue II offers a final plea for the hope that satire will effect change:

Yes, I am proud; I must be proud to see  
Men not afraid of God, afraid of me:  
Safe from the Bar, the Pulpit, and the Throne,  
Yet touch'd and sham'd by Ridicule alone.  
O sacred Weapon! left for Truth's defence,  
Sole Dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence!  
(ll. 208-13)

The corruption of the agents of church and state makes him the only effective agent to attack vice. As such, any reformation of vice would be his responsibility. Yet his own note appended to the end of this dialogue expresses his despair: "Could he have hoped to have amended any he had continued those attacks; but bad men were grown so shameless and so powerful, that Ridicule was become as unsafe as it was ineffectual. The Poem raised him, as he knew it would,

<sup>12</sup>Correspondence, III, 419.

some enemies; but he had reason to be satisfied with the approbation of good men, and the testimony of his own conscience." The didactic purpose of Horatian satire has faded in favor of communication with a few like-minded men and of a self-cathartic easing of conscience.

The Juvenalian technique of employing a vast range of rhetorical techniques is reflected in the variety of tones in the Epilogue. The epic impersonality and personification of verse such as

Not so, when diadem'd with Rays divine,  
Touch'd with the Flame that breaks from Virtue's Shrine.  
(Dia. II ll. 232-33)

alternate with quick conversational repartee of a topical nature:

P. Who starv'd a Sister, who forswore a Debt,  
I never nam'd---the Town's enquiring yet.  
The pois'ning Dame--Fr. You mean--P. I don't. Fr. You do.  
(Dia. II ll. 20-22)

The Friend has stated that satire should be above attack upon living individuals, and then betrays his argument in this dialogue when his curiosity overcomes his theory. Pope defends his personal attack as necessary to make the point effectively at the risk of seeming vindictive and being libellous. Starving a sister as an example of gossip adds an acid note to a discussion of satire betraying the strength of the author's disgust.



This indignation and disgust is illustrated in a Swiftian scatological attack on flattery:

Let Courtly Wits to Wits afford supply,  
 As Hog to Hog in Huts of Westphaly;  
 If one, thro' Nature's Bounty or his Lord's,  
 Has what the frugal, dirty soil affords,  
 From him the next receives it, thick or thin,  
 As pure a Mess almost as it came in;  
 . . . . .  
 From tail to mouth, they feed, and they carouse;  
 (Dia. II ll. 171-79)

To analyze Pope's style filled with allusions, parodies, and an infinite variety of ironies is beyond the scope of this paper, but the range of Juvenalian satire from direct heroic, through mock heroic, to the conversational or scatological is present. There is an underlying unity to all of these elements which adds force to the poet's passionate disgust.

Pope has elevated his satire as the last bastion of morality for his country and his people. His defense of satire is complete. Still in the Dunciad he can depict the depravity and chaos of his country where Dullness reigns, but on the subject of satire itself he has stated his case. His past work is defended; for the more deserving men are of attack, the more satire is justified, while recognizing that the powers of corruption have become so universal that further attack is futile. The frustration of his attempt to improve man by means of satire has led to his disillusionment concerning man's truth and virtue. Henceforth, Pope would withdraw

from writing satire for a broad audience and limit his communication to a few like-minded friends while contemplating philosophy.

The Epilogue to the Satires portrays the solitary and futile opposition of the satirist to a world of vice and corruption. The vision of the chaotic world opposed to a man of reason reaches a culmination in the Dialogues, which can only be followed by the reign of dullness in the Dunciad. The theme is too serious, the vision too profound to express with good humor, raillery, or clever wit. The basic assumption of Horace and, earlier, of Pope that Horatian satire can improve men by pointing out their errors and exhorting them to right reason becomes invalid. Peter Dixon concludes: "Throughout his Imitations Pope is continually pressing Horace towards greater moral outspokenness, and at last, in the Epilogue to the Satires, the passionate satirical manner owes more to Juvenal than to Horace, and more to Pope himself than to all his predecessors."<sup>13</sup>

William Warburton intuitively recognized the essential difference between Horace and Pope: "What Horace would only smile at, Mr. Pope would treat with the grave severity of

<sup>13</sup>Peter Dixon, The World of Pope's Satires: An Introduction to the Epistles and Imitations of Horace (London: Methuen, 1968), p. 13.

Persius: And what Mr. Pope would strike with the caustic lightning of Juvenal, Horace would content himself in turning into ridicule."<sup>13</sup> In the Epilogue to the Satires Pope's satire retains Horatian characteristics of wit, urbanity, and polish as well as Horace's complex uses of irony. Still the essential Juvenalian nature of these dialogues is betrayed by his extremely passionate disgust with immorality, his emphasis on the importance of the role of the satirist in society, his pessimism about the possibility of reforming man, his epical themes of vice and morality, and the breadth of technique from stately seriousness to mock seriousness, through conversational dialogue and scatological imagery. Pope sought to express an indignation that was too passionate for the restraint of Horatian satire.

E. SAMUEL JOHNSON:  
THE VANITY OF HUMAN WISHES

The various works discussed thus far show the utilization of Juvenalian satire in varying degrees. Johnson's The Vanity of Human Wishes is an example of a specific imitation of Juvenal. The tradition of imitation, "a method of translating looser than paraphrase, in which modern examples and illustrations are used for ancient, or domestick for foreign," developed during this period.<sup>1</sup> Oldham, Rochester, Swift, and Pope all practiced the art. Only Pope's Imitations of Horace and Johnson's Vanity equal their originals as significant works of art. Johnson's choice of Juvenal's Tenth Satire is appropriate in that it is Juvenal at his most eloquent, profound, and philosophical. Johnson must have appreciated Juvenal's skeptical view of man's worldly desires in selecting this work. Johnson recognized the eloquence of the original and, in emphasizing this trait, transforms Juvenal's contempt into a tragic pity for man. The satiric elements of irony and passionate indignation are minimal making the Vanity as much tragic sermon as Juvenalian satire.

Critical discussion of Johnson's Vanity usually centers on the dissimilarities between Juvenal's Satire X and Johnson's

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (London: W. Strahan, 1755).

imitation.<sup>2</sup> The outstanding difference between The Vanity of Human Wishes and Satire X is logically correlated with Johnson's statement about Dryden's translation of Juvenal: "The peculiarity of Juvenal is a mixture of gaiety and stateliness, of pointed sentences, and declamatory grandeur. His points have not been neglected; but his grandeur none of the band seemed to consider as necessary to be imitated."<sup>3</sup> Johnson balances this shortcoming with a poetic diction characterized by personification and abstraction. The opening sentence establishes a tone of stateliness and declamatory grandeur:

LET Observation with extensive View,  
Survey Mankind, from China to Peru;  
Remark each anxious Toil, each eager Strife,  
And watch the busy Scenes of Croud'd Life;  
Then say how Hope and Fear, Desire and Hate,  
O'erspread with Snares the clouded Maze of Fate,  
Where wav'ring Man, betray'd by vent'rous Pride,  
To tread the dreary Paths without a Guide;  
As treach'rous Phantoms in the Mist delude,  
Shuns fancied Ills, or chases airy Good.<sup>4</sup>  
(ll. 1-10)

<sup>2</sup>William Kupersmith, "Declamatory Grandeur: Johnson and Juvenal," Arion, 9 (1970), 67, is an exception to this tradition in that he recognizes that Johnson and Juvenal are essentially similar in style and content.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Johnson, "John Dryden," in Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (1905; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1967), I, 447.

<sup>4</sup>Samuel Johnson, The Vanity of Human Wishes, in Eighteenth Century English Literature, ed. Geoffrey Tillotson, Paul Fussell, Jr., and Marshall Waingrow (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969), p. 973, hereafter cited by line number within the text.

It appears that Johnson's "declamatory grandeur" may occasionally surpass that of Juvenal. Juvenal's opening lines

Omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque  
Auroram et Gangem, pauci dinoscere possunt  
vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota  
erroris nebula.<sup>5</sup>

(11. 1-4)

have been translated

Search every land, from Cadiz to the dawn-streaked shores  
Of Ganges, and you'll find few men who can distinguish.  
A false from a worthwhile objective, or slash their way through  
The fogs of deception.<sup>6</sup>

(11. 1-4)

William Kupersmith points out that the transfer of relatively plain Latin hexameters to heroic couplets which utilize Augustan diction and classical allusion results in a grandeur that is perhaps un-Juvenalian.<sup>7</sup>

This is not to question Juvenal's use of elevated rhetoric for heroic or tragic effect as several modern critics are tempted to do. R. Selden agrees with D. E. Eicholz "in seeing that Juvenal is not dignified or even 'tragic' as has been believed by Renaissance critics, Dr. Johnson, and modern

<sup>5</sup>Decimus Junius Juvenalis, Juvenal and Persius, ed. and trans. G. G. Ramsay, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957), hereafter cited by line number within the text.

<sup>6</sup>Decimus Junius Juvenalis, The Sixteen Satires, trans. Peter Green (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 205, hereafter cited by line number within the text.

<sup>7</sup>Kupersmith, pp. 55-56.

critics like Ian Jack, Gilbert Highet, and J. W. Krutch."<sup>8</sup> Recently Kupersmith has countered this heresy: "Juvenal's great innovation was to use the grand or sublime style of epic and tragedy, 'grande Sophocleo carmen [bacchari] hiatu' (6.636), as he called it, for satiric purposes."<sup>9</sup> Although he occasionally utilizes mock heroic elements, his recognized intention was to employ an heroic style in accord with the profundity of his attack. Regardless of modern interpretations Johnson and commentators preceding him recognized Juvenal as the source of elevated, tragical satire.

Johnson maintains the tone of elevated poetry while Juvenal varies his style with humor and colloquial expressions. Juvenal destroys Sejanus's power by having his statues recast into "urceoli pelves sartago matellae" (1. 64), translated "jugs and basins, frying-pans, chamber-pots," a realistic degrading detail always avoided by Johnson.

By contrast Sejanus's counterpart in the Vanity, Cardinal Wolsey, becomes an Aristotelian tragic hero rising to great heights then falling because of a flaw in his own character, eliciting the cathartic response of pity and fear, and

<sup>8</sup>R. Selden, "Dr. Johnson and Juvenal: A Problem in Critical Method," Comparative Literature, 22 (1970), 293, and D. E. Eicholz, "The Art of Juvenal and his Tenth Satire," Greece and Rome, n. s. 3 (1956), 68.

<sup>9</sup>Kupersmith, p. 52.

finally comprehending his own error. His power is described as awesome:

In full-blown Dignity, see Wolsey stand,  
 Law in his Voice, and Fortune in his Hand:  
 To him the Church, the Realm, their Pow'rs consign,  
 Thro' him the Rays of regal Bounty shine,  
 Turn'd by his Nod the Stream of Honour flows,  
 His Smile alone Security bestows:  
 Still to new Heights his restless Wishes tow'r,  
 Claim leads to Claim, and Pow'r advances Pow'r;  
 Till Conquest unresisted ceas'd to please,  
 And Rights submitted, left him none to seize.  
 (11. 99-108)

The heroic picture of his extraordinary power over church and government, the source of bounty, honor, and security, justifies to a degree his unlimited ambition in spite of his ultimate downfall. Deserted, ill, grief-stricken, Wolsey's disgrace is described with compassion. One frown causes him to lose everything: his power, his wealth, his health.

At length his Sov'reign frowns--the Train of State  
 Mark the keen Glance, and watch the Sign to hate.  
 Where-e'er he turns he meets a Stranger's Eye,  
 His Suppliants scorn him, and his Followers fly;  
 At once is lost the Pride of awful State,  
 The golden Canopy, the glitt'ring Plate,  
 The regal Palace, the luxurious Board,  
 The liv'ried Army, and the menial Lord.  
 With Age, with Cares, with Maladies oppress'd,  
 He seeks the Refuge of Monastic Rest.  
 Grief aids Disease, remember'd Folly stings,  
 And his last Sighs reproach the Faith of Kings.  
 (11. 109-20)

Johnson does not make Wolsey despicable, and one almost feels that Johnson agrees with Wolsey in reproaching "the Faith



of Kings" in the sense that the capricious glance of the king was as responsible for his downfall as his own ambition. In support of the portrait of a tragic hero who brings about his own downfall Johnson continues:

Speak thou, whose Thoughts at humble Peace repine,  
 Shall Wolsey's Wealth, with Wolsey's End be thine?  
 Or liv'st thou now, with safer Pride content,  
 The wisest justice on the Banks of Trent?  
 For why did Wolsey near the steep of Fate,  
 On weak Foundations raise th' enormous Weight?  
 Why but to sink beneath Misfortune's Blow,  
 With louder Ruin to the Gulphs below?

(ll. 121-28)

Motivated by wrong desire, man is deserving of his defeat. Yet fate is not so inevitable as this, and Johnson's sympathetic balance between the glory of success and the disgrace of banishment makes the resolution ambiguous. The humble man does not risk the Cardinal's tragic ending, but the answer to the question, "Shall Wolsey's Wealth, with Wolsey's End be thine?" is equivocal because of the desirability of Wolsey's position of power, the pity for his fallen state, and the inconstancy of fate.

Johnson reinforces the idea that fate is not determined by man's actions but rather is left to chance when the man guided by reason may also receive the same misfortune:

Yet hope not Life from Grief or Danger free,  
 Nor think the Doom of Man revers'd for thee:

(ll. 155-56)

Even the old age of a virtuous man who has avoided scorn,

crime, and senility is not exempt: "Yet ev'n on this her Load Misfortune flings" (l. 299).

Juvenal's portrait of Sejanus does not emphasize his heinous crimes probably because his name automatically conjures an image of evil similar to the mention of Adolph Hitler today.<sup>10</sup> Contrary to Wolsey there is no majesty in his power and no pity for his disgusting end, the destruction of his statues and the dragging of his body on a hook through the streets in front of a jeering crowd, which is described in a tone of belittling sarcasm.

Johnson parallels Juvenal rather closely in dealing with the complex forces that determine fate. Like Wolsey Sejanus's ambition brings about his destruction; the greater the ambition, the greater distance the fall. Juvenal asks, "What should we ask for, what message leave on the knees of the Gods?" (l. 55). (Ergo supervacua aut quae perniciose petuntur propter quae fas est genua incutere deorum!) And he answers his own question,

Admit, then that Sejanus  
Had no idea what to pray for. His interminable pursuit  
Of excessive wealth and honours built up a towering  
Edifice, story by story, so that his final downfall  
Was that degree greater, the crash more catastrophic.  
(ll. 103-07)

<sup>10</sup> Sejanus's probable role is reconstructed in painstaking detail in Robin Seager's Tiberius (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1972), pp. 178-223.

(ergo quid optandum foret ignorasse fateris  
 Seianum; nam qui nimios optabat honores  
 et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat  
 excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset  
 casus et impulsae praeceps inmane ruinae.)  
 (ll. 103-07)

On the other hand, one possible cause of his downfall is external: "Some men are overthrown by the envy their great power / Arouses; it's that long and illustrious list of honours / That sinks them" (ll. 56-58) (quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum pagina) (ll. 56-58). Juvenal also recognizes that Sejanus might not have fallen, that fate is not inevitable:

If a little Etruscan luck  
 Had rubbed off on Sejanus, if the doddering Emperor  
 Had been struck down out of the blue, this identical rabble  
 Would now be proclaiming that carcass an equal successor  
 to Augustus.

(ll. 75-79)

idem populus, si Nortia Tusco  
 favisset, si oppressa foret segura senectus  
 principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora  
 Augustum.

(ll. 75-79)

The cause of Sejanus's destruction is ambiguous, possibly the consequence of his own character, or perhaps the result of external forces. And there is even the chance that there is no retribution at all. Although external forces are also responsible, Wolsey's fate is due to his own ambitions. Johnson makes this fate inevitable regardless of the justification.

The comparison between Johnson and Juvenal in treating unlimited ambition reveals that the former transforms the latter's scathing attack into a sympathetic portrait of a tragic hero. The irony, sarcasm, humor, earthy informality, and passionate disgust of Juvenal contrast with the dignity, detachment and pity of Johnson.

Johnson's use of irony is primarily a tragic irony of condition, a type of dramatic irony, or, as Edward A. Bloom suggests, the irony of station--the state of a man at his zenith contrasted with his fallen condition.<sup>11</sup> The basic structure of the poem is a sequence of ironic examples of men who have failed because of their own pride and ambition, the irrational determinations of other men, or the mere chance of fate. Irony is classified by the Oxford English Dictionary in two groups: the primary sense of irony, "a figure of speech in which the intended meaning is the opposite of that expressed by the words used," and a transferred or figurative sense, "a condition of affairs or events of a character opposite to what was, or might naturally be, expected; a contradictory outcome of events as if in mockery of the promise and fitness of things." This situational

<sup>11</sup>Edward A. Bloom, "The Vanity of Human Wishes: Reason's Images," Essays in Criticism 15 (1965), 182.

irony is aptly described by the second definition and is a type of cosmic irony where man's fate is incongruous with his virtue and can only be justified by Christian otherworldliness.<sup>12</sup> Johnson confirms this use of irony by allowing the blameless old man and the scholar, through no fault of their own, to be subject to grief. Juvenal also hints at this type of cosmic irony in that, while wrong desires contain hidden perils, one is not always a consequence of the other. Although Sejanus deserves and receives his downfall, he might have become emperor if Tiberius had died first.

Johnson's style is essentially direct and in its seriousness avoids verbal ironies which might have detracted from its dignity by seeming "witty" in the sense of a clever play on words. The couplet describing Wolsey's death ends with the ironical "Faith of Kings" mentioned above. The "keen Glance" of the sovereign perceives Wolsey's ambition

<sup>12</sup>There is no reason to believe that Johnson would have considered his usage a type of irony since irony as a descriptive term of the verbal type came into common usage in England early in the eighteenth century while the transferred definition is not evident until the end of the eighteenth century. Norman Knox, The Word Irony and its Context, 1500-1755 (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1961), pp. 24, 93, and D. C. Mueke, The Compass of Irony (London: Methuen & Co., 1969), p. 47. Johnson's Dictionary defines irony as "a mode of speech in which the meaning is contrary to the words." Regardless of the use of the literary term, the force of contrast between incongruities is ancient.

for power and brings about his downfall causing him to reproach the king's inconstant loyalty. In another sense "faith of kings" refers to his church, which was the source of his power, yet had failed to teach him the humility necessary to avert his final disaster. That he was aware of this omission and his earlier false ambitions is indicated by "remember'd Folly stings." Another verbal irony in the same passage is found in the word "Fortune." At the pinnacle of success he holds fortune in his hand in that he controls the fate of others, and he apparently has conquered his own fate. Yet finally fortune holds him in her hand. Irony in the Vanity is restricted to the cosmic irony of situation and a rare verbal irony. It is with justification that Mary Lascelles describes the passage on Wolsey as being "grave, compassionate, devoid of irony."<sup>13</sup>

The Vanity of Human Wishes sustains a tone of dispassionate dignity. The poet climbs upon a mountain in the opening in order to survey mankind and never descends in order to express strongly felt passion. The slender autobiographical reference is not strongly affective unless one reads into it what one knows about the poet's experience:

There mark what Ills the Scholar's Life assail,  
Toil, Envy, Want, the patron, and the Jail.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Lascelles, "Johnson and Juvenal," in New Light on Dr. Johnson, ed. Frederick W. Hilles (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1959), p. 49.

See Nations slowly wise, and meanly just,  
 To buried Merit raise the tardy Bust.  
 (ll. 159-62)

He speaks of a scholar and not a poet thus focusing away from himself. Toil is not in itself pitiable, and envy is the lot of many men. It is an excellent line of abstractions encompassing the hardships of a scholar's life, but it lacks, intentionally, the graphic details that betray Juvenal's anger.<sup>14</sup> This passage has no immediate equivalent in Satire X, but one is reminded of Juvenal's description of clients and patrons in Satire I. After following his patron all day, the clients follow him home again,

Hoping against hope for that dinner-invitation  
 Which never comes: worn out, they drift away to purchase  
 (Poor souls) their cabbage and kindling. But he  
 meanwhile will loll  
 Alone at his guestless meal, wolfing the choicest produce  
 Of sea and woodland. These fellows will gobble up  
 Whole legacies at one course, off fine big antique tables.  
 (ll. 133-38)

<sup>14</sup> To state that the Vanity is dispassionate is not a comment on Johnson's own strength of emotion. Mrs. Thrale states that upon reading the poem many years later Johnson "burst into a passion of tears." And a few critics support the idea that the Vanity is passionate. Frederick W. Hilles, "Johnson's Poetic Fire," in From Sensibility to Romanticism, ed. F. W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), p. 67, reasons that to Johnson's contemporaries The Vanity "was a powerful and moving poem." Alfred Noyes, Pageant of Letters (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1940), p. 98, comments on the conclusion of the poem: "It is customary almost to ignore Johnson as a poet, but, behind all the dignity and formality of those lines, there are tears hidden, pangs of mortal grief, and the passion of an immortal and unconquerable spirit, gazing through Life and Time and Death, into the depths of the Eternal."

votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae  
 spes homini; caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.  
 optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit  
 rex horum, vacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit.  
 nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus it tam  
 antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.  
 (ll. 133-38)

By contrast in The Vanity the use of personification and abstraction, the lack of pungent detail, the consistent employment of a high style, and the unrelenting decorum of treating gravely a serious subject contribute to the tone of detachment rather than passionate indignation.

A comparison of the concluding paragraphs of both Johnson and Juvenal indicate that whereas the false desires presented in the main body of the poems can lead to tragic disaster, there are limited hopes or desires that man can pray for. Juvenal includes a sound mind, a sound body, endurance of toil, obedient passions, a resigned will, virtue, and a lack of fear of death as leading to a life of peace. Johnson's list is quite similar: virtue, a healthy mind, obedient passions, a resigned will, a lack of fear of death, and with Christian overtones of love and faith. Juvenal's emphasis is on the individual as responsible for his fate; man creates fortune which has no real divinity, and he is capable of creating his own peace. He assumes that the gods know what is best for man and will provide for him; yet he reluctantly allows man to pray if he feels the need.



Johnson also emphasizes that God perceives the needs of man without prayers of false ambitions; yet man should pray in humility for the limited desires indicated above. Johnson's conclusion parallels Juvenal's rather closely with the addition of Christian elements of love and faith and a more positive emphasis on prayer. Both see man as controlling his own peace of mind and happiness if he approaches life with the proper humility and circumspect desires. Johnson's view of man's pride and ambition accords with Juvenal's, but his acceptance of a Christian answer is more positive than Juvenal's stoic resignation.<sup>15</sup> This answer to the human condition is sufficiently powerful to allow him to maintain a position of detachment. Juvenal, however, is reluctant to seek an answer beyond the human condition and retains his passionate disgust over the acts of man.

Lascelles recognizes in Johnson although not in Juvenal a tragic response to life in which there is a "sense of a

<sup>15</sup>Characteristic of critics who emphasize the breach between the Christian Johnson and the pagan Juvenal is Howard D. Weinbrot, The Formal Strain: Studies in Augustan Imitation and Satire (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 215: "In spite of certain clear similarities between the satires of Johnson and Juvenal, it is in their conclusions that they are furthest apart. Ultimately, Juvenal's poem is about how to be safe in a difficult world; Johnson's is about how to be virtuous." A comparison of texts fails to support such a conclusion as Kupersmith, p. 70, has stated, "One should notice that on the basis of the text of The Vanity of Human Wishes alone, it would be impossible to prove Johnson a Christian."

greatness" in the characters even in their downfall.<sup>16</sup> She sees the irony between desire and fulfillment, between predictable and unexpected events, as tragic irony: "This is not satiric irony, generated by a quarrel with life; it is tragic irony, learnt in the contemplation of life." She concludes that "the awe and pity with which Johnson contemplates the spectacle of human unfulfillment makes of The Vanity of Human Wishes a great tragic poem." While it is evident that the poem is of a tragic nature and that Juvenalian satire is considered tragical satire, this poem is questionable as satire. It contains the characteristic didactic element of attack while lacking the verbal irony or wit of satire. T. S. Eliot revised his early praise of Johnson first saying that Johnson was a pure satirist "nearer in spirit to the Latin" than Dryden or Pope. "For the satirist is in theory a stern moralist castigating the vices of his time or place; and Johnson has a better claim to this seriousness than either Pope or Dryden."<sup>17</sup> Later he concludes that Johnson lacked "a certain divine levity" which is necessary to satire.<sup>18</sup> Leopold Damrosch, Jr. argues that

<sup>16</sup>Lascelles, pp. 52-53, 55.

<sup>17</sup>Samuel Johnson, London, A Poem and The Vanity of Human Wishes, ed. T. S. Eliot (London: Etchells and Macdonald, 1930), p. 15.

<sup>18</sup>T. S. Eliot, On Poetry and Poets (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), p. 179.

satiric attack and tragic sympathy alternate and that the Vanity "is not only didactic, but actually homiletic."<sup>19</sup> While the poem is a tragical attack on man's vain ambitions, it does not contain the wit essential to satire.

The Vanity of Human Wishes is ostensibly Juvenalian in that Johnson must have been attracted to Juvenal because of the theme, because of the prevailing popularity of both satire and imitation, and because of the allusion to Juvenal as an epic moralist. Johnson, of course, creates his own poem and, while writing a magnificent work, alters the intrinsic characteristics of the original to a degree sufficient to create doubt concerning its nature as satire. He retains the cosmic or epic themes and the majestic language. Yet he lacks the range of language necessary to attack the subject from all sides; he lacks the humor and pervading irony, the wit of satire; and above all he fails to convey passionate indignation or anger. It is in itself ironical that the master moralist of the eighteenth century in his imitation of the most ethical work of Juvenal creates a masterpiece that is perhaps best described as something other than Juvenalian satire.

<sup>19</sup>Leopold Damrosch, Jr. Samuel Johnson and the Tragic Sense (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 152-53.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The period 1679-1750 appreciated Juvenalian satire for its high moral purpose and its moving indignation, an element of the sublime. The five authors considered in this paper all view the human condition with pessimism seeing man in his fallen state as basically corrupt. Rochester is unique in his negation of accepted religious and philosophical ideas; the others attack man's corruption of these ideas, not the ideas themselves. Recognition of the magnitude of immorality led these satirists to consider their role of prosecutor as sacred, elevating the importance of their satire to the level of epic or tragedy. Except for Johnson, these authors betray underlying elements of indignation, rage, and passionate disgust commensurate with the objects of attack.

The Juvenalian satirist has limited aspirations in that his writings would not convince mankind in large numbers but would communicate with a few like-minded men. His purpose often seems self-cathartic. Oldham and Johnson intended to influence a larger audience than Pope and Rochester. Swift expected to be widely read but with little chance of reformation.

The style varies from sublime eloquence to conversational plain style and often includes obscenity and scatology. The language is strong and forceful in order to combat a nefarious

enemy. Oldham's language remains forceful, vituperative, and profane throughout. Johnson is consistently dispassionate and eloquent. Rochester and Pope vary their tone from the conversational to the sublime. Swift uses a tone of reasonable good humor to conceal elements of violent disgust. Verbal irony is used as a reflection of the cosmic ironies of the human condition. Early and late in Oldham and Johnson there is little irony, while in Swift and Pope irony becomes infinitely complex. This lack of irony and strength of didacticism place Oldham and Johnson as much in the homiletic tradition as in the satiric.

In Swift and Pope Juvenalian satire reaches its aesthetic peak in its union with Horatian satire. The surface tone of wit and good humor balance the content of Juvenalian indignation. This fusion of elements from the two types of satire creates the dynamic vitality and tension of suppressed rage in the best satire in the age of satire.

While the Augustan Age by its very name implies that Horace was the dominant satiric influence, the evidence of critical commentary of the age indicates that Juvenal was equally important. The utilization of Juvenalian satire added moral seriousness, vitality, and sublime eloquence to the best satire of the age.

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