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Study in the development of English satire in the sixteenth century

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A Study in the Development of English Satire in the Sixteenth Century

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May 1, 1956

Preface

In the literary tradition of sixteenth-century England, a new mode of expression arose with the development of formal satire. The pattern branched off into two directions: that which followed the Piers Plowman tradition in the mid 1500's and that which followed the classical models of Horace and Juvenal in the last decade of the century. The latter phase led so inevitably to repercussions among literary and political circles that public authorities had to intervene to stop the flow of libelous satiric literature. Due to the controversial nature of the classical phase, it is this tradition which I shall concentrate on.

The purpose of the study is to trace the change in subject-matter and to compare and contrast the different techniques used by the satirists of the period. The chief figures in the study are Thomas Wyatt, the Earl of Surrey, Spenser, Joseph Hall, John Marston, John Donne, and Benjamin Jonson. Since what came to be called formal satire did not exist in England until after 1590, the term "satire" will be understood to mean in this project any work in prose or verse whose primary purpose is the delineation of an evil condition which should be corrected or punished. This evil condition may exist in the individual, in a social group, or in the society as a whole.

Special attention is called to the chapter on satire found in Hallett Smith's Elizabethan Poetry which has served

as a basic reference in the study. Extreme thanks is also to be paid Lr. Richard C. Harrier who has served as tutor and critic in the project, for without his guidance such an undertaking would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER I - THE VITALITY OF TUDOR SOCIETY: THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF RENAISSANCE HUMANISM IN ENGLAND

In English society of the sixteenth century, a new single thread of order asserted itself in an atmosphere of nationalism, religious reform, and literary activity. The historian accredits this surge to the national interest aroused by geographical discovery and political prosperity in the reign of the Tudors which culminated in the glorious age of Elizabeth. The social-psychologist might claim the break-down of medieval scholasticism as the source of an expanding Renaissance mind. In the same manner, the cleric could point to the Protestant movement which grew in popularity throughout the continent as a factor in England's development. No single point of view can give a satisfactory explanation of the change, however, for the century was a composite of social, political, religious features which in turn gave rise to a vigorous and fresh form of literary expression.

The story of England's transition from medievalism to modernity is not a picture of radical reforms or abrupt change. The Middle Ages did not suddenly disappear in 1485 with the ascension of Henry VII to the throne of England. Rather, the decline of old ideas

and the substitution of more practical ones was a gradual process. To be sure the adaptation was effected by the remarkable line of Tudor rulers who reigned from 1485 to 1603, but even more important was the fact that English society was ready for change. They had learned the meaning of suffering through the long period of the War of Roses and had seen political intrigue at its worst in the cut-throat methods of Richard III. Although Shakespeare's immortal characterization of this unscrupulous king might have been exaggerated, the trail of blood which followed him to the throne was an accurate indicator of his villainous crimes. When Henry VII defeated the broken and deserted Richard in the Battle of Bosworth Field, the War of the Roses had come to an end, and the people of England were ready to accept the responsibilities of peace.

The discovery of America served as a catalyst to the history of the modern world, for it opened up new roads to adventure in the sea routes across the Atlantic. Monopolies were no longer restricted to the countries of the Hanseatic League, and the emphasis of power was shifted from the continent to coastal regions of western Europe. Spain and Portugal were the first to lead the way, but in the end it was England that profited most from its fortunate geographical location. But geography was only a small factor. That country which could best adapt itself to the new demands of unity and order would outdistance lesser rivals in the matter of expansion so

long as it maintained a strong national state. This factor was foremost in the mind of Henry so it was a wise decision to resist the temptation of foreign discovery until the power of England had been channeled toward domestic security.

Domestic order could be obtained through several means. First of all, Henry set about strengthening the power of the crown. He was aware that his claim to the throne was based more on the Battle of Bosworth than on hereditary claims, so his first move was to summon a meeting of Parliment. In November of 1485, an Act of Succession was passed to clearly establish Henry's claim to the throne. Next, he married Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, who was the most direct descendant of royal blood. The birth of Arthur and Henry in 1486 and 1491 seemed to assure the future of the Tudor dynasty, and Henry could turn to the problem of popular support.

One of the greatest sources of dissension was the nobility which had climbed to overpowering heights in the wars of the Roses. Their might had been used to oppose royal authority, to molest the middle and lower classes, and to wage private wars at their discretion. There were various clusters of aristocrats grouped in the far corners of England who felt that the distance between their strongholds and London would protect them from the reach of the crown. When Henry acted against them, he gained the approval of the middle and lower

classes and quelled a source of potential friction. The nobles were forced to take an oath which prevented the lower classes from being used against the crown. The Court of Star Chamber was revived as one of the most significant judicial reforms of the period, for it could try the cases of offenders who were too powerful to be punished by common-law courts. Another practice of collecting forced benevolences from the noblemen was begun to strengthen the royal treasury. This phenomenon known as "Morton's fork" demanded contributions from the nobility in order to win the approval of the king, the assumption being that the noblemen who lived luxuriously could certainly afford to do so, and those who lived poorly were saving for that purpose. Thus with a little bit of double-edged psychology, Henry was able to bend the nobility to a point of submission.

With the decline of the old English aristocracy, the rising middle class was allowed more freedom of action and expression. As dukedoms died out, Henry began more and more to turn toward the middle class for competant and reliable assistants. Thus, in a time when national unity was of ultimate importance, the strength of the crown was increased by the loyal members who served, not because of title, but because of royal appointment. The local gentry began to obtain positions of high esteem in the judicial system of the countryside. The Yeomen of the Guard, which served as the bodyguard of the crown, was appointed from middle class

ranks and for the first time in over a century the King, Parliament, and people were working together in harmony.

Results of national harmony and prosperity were to be seen in the increase of commerce and business. With new trade routes opened across the Atlantic, there was no longer any need for the system of tight controls which the Hanseatic League and Italian traders had exercised over the continent. Business was on the rise in all the new nation-states which were developing in Europe and the demands of English commerce became greater. Henry blocked the priority of the Hanseatic League by trade agreements with Denmark and Riga which opened up the area of the Baltic to English vessels. To assure reciprocal rights, no country was allowed to trade with England unless the same priveleges were granted to Englishmen in foreign ports. Later treaties of great importance to the wool industry were made with Flanders and Venice so that gradually the power of England was being asserted through commercial expansion. The same may be said of the cloth industry, which had become strong during the political upheaval of the fifteenth century, and with more commercial privileges, the exports of England increased. Parallel with commercial expansion was the beginning of England's navy and merchant marine. More ships were built for trading purposes, and the Navigation Act of 1485

strengthened the possibility of self-sufficiency in trade.

The reign of Henry VII was not without its share of intrigue. There were, for example, plots formed by disgruntled Yorkists to regain possession of the throne of England. In the first plot, Lambert Simnel posed as the Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence and nephew of Edward IV. The real Warwick had disappeared soon after the Battle of Bosworth and his whereabouts had been unknown for some time. The imposter was captured, however, in the battle of Stoke and made a scullion in the royal kitchen for his role in the uprising. In a second plot, Perkin Warbeck masqueraded as Richard, Duke of York, the younger son of Edward V. It had long been rumored that the real Richard had been murdered in the Tower of London by his uncle, Richard III, but the speculation had never been proved. Were Richard still alive, he held a stronger claim to the throne than Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, or the Earl of Warwick. This plot ended in failure in the battle of Taunton and the imposter was thrown into prison. In 1498, Warbeck escaped but was hastily recaptured and executed. At the same time, Henry ordered the execution of the real Earl of Warwick who had been his prisoner for over a decade without the knowledge of the people of England. Both cases indicated that the resolute King would dispose of any enemy who

threatened his right to the throne.

An Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance between Catherine of Aragon and Henry's elder son was to be a later source of friction in the reign of Henry VIII, although at the time it was a convenient way to gain recognition of the Tudor dynasty by foreign powers. Another important marriage was planned between Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret, and James IV of Scotland. Out of this union came the descendent, James VI of Scotland, who became the first Stuart to reign after Elizabeth's death as James I of England. Henry VII had, therefore, managed to fulfill his ambition to unite the nation-state under the Tudor dynasty. The continuation of that unity was left up to the second son of Elizabeth and Henry in the person of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII ascended the throne of England in 1509 at the age of eighteen. By this time, Renaissance humanism, which had become a tradition on the continent, had spread across the channel and had become fused with the ideals and ideas of the people of England. As Goldwin Smith explains:

> Continental humanism had a long tradition that stressed training in religion and virtue, in letters and education, and in good works. Throughout the English intellectual revival of the sixteenth century there ran a constant emphasis upon the classical and humanistic ideal of civic responsibility and morality, and upon the importance of training men for the good life and for public service. The men of the Renaissance in Europe or England were not merely neo-pagans, or immoral capitalists. In many ways the "typical" Renaissance

> man had more in common with the Middle Ages than with the twentieth century. To the Renaissance humanist the teachings of Greece and Rome were not very distant from the Christian creeds of the medieval age. The Christian humanists tried to reconcile as far as possible the teachings of Christianity and those of pagan classicism. Could Christian education be humanized? [1]

These questions were the ones which faced the youthful King, and he was to learn that a resolution could only be obtained through a redefinition of Christian humanism to meet the circumstances peculiar to the crown and to the society of England.

Much could be said of the personality of Henry VIII. First, of all, he had grown up in the atmosphere of this new spirit of humanism and exemplified the virtues of the Renaissance ideal. He was generous and friendly and had an unusual store of intellect and natural ability which prepared him for his role of kingship. At the same time he was skilled in the arts and an accomplished athelete. Symbolically, he represented the Renaissance ethic of unity, for the blood of the York and Lancastrian families was merged in his person. The versatility of the young King attracted a number of scholars and poets to his court. Foremost of the scholars were Sir Thomas More and John Colet, while Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey dominated the field of poetry. The popularity of Henry was given freely throughout court and popular circles

[1] Goldwin Smith, A History of England (New York, 1949), pp. 200 ff.

alike and he strengthened his cause by the removal of debts which had been unjustly forced upon a number of subjects during his father's reign.

The first part of Henry's reign was spent in an intricate and extravagant participation in European diplomacy and rivalry with France and the Hapsburg powers. Up to this time, England had not asserted herself as a sovereign power in European affairs since she had been concentrating on domestic security. But security at home seemed assured and the status of England had risen to such proportions that rival European powers now vied for her support. The year before Henry VIII was crowned, France, Spain, the Hapsburgs, and the Pope had joined forces to attack Venice. Venice had already declined in commercial activity with the new crossroad of the Atlantic, and thus found herself in a defenseless position against the combined forces of the League of Cambrai. After the defeat of the Venetians, the Italian forces turned against France and formed the new Holy League, which England was invited to join.

The invitation was accepted by Henry because here was an opportunity to test the power of England and the crown as well as to please his wife (Catherine of Aragon), his father-in-law (Ferdinand VII of Spain), and the Pope. The Holy League managed to force the French out of Italy, but England's participation had been negligible. Henry, therefore, led an army into

ing proportions. At the same time, there had been an undercurrent of Reformation forces at work in England which had not come so far to the surface as to be rival to Catholicism. The occasion which ignited these sparks came with the question of Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon.

There were any number of factors in the marriage with Catherine that antagonized the King. First of all, the marriage had been arranged by Henry VII for his elder son, Arthur, who died five months after accepting Catherine as his wife. The alliance was still very ~~much~~ desirable between England and Spain, so Prince Henry was betrothed to his sister-in-law when he was twelve years old. The marriage itself did not take place until six years later after Henry was crowned king, and Henry VIII became the second husband of Catherine. Secondly, Catherine had borne Henry four sons and a daughter, all of whom had died soon after birth. In 1515 Mary had been born to the royal pair, but a woman had never held the throne of England and Henry was still desirous of a male heir to preserve the Tudor dynasty. The presence of Anne Boleyn as an attendant to the Queen and rival for the King's affection was possibly a third factor which encouraged Henry to seek a new wife. By 1527 Henry had decided to request the dissolution of his marriage to Catherine after having been persuaded that the marriage to his

France in 1513 but after two victories, the other members of the league deserted him and made peace with the enemy. England was forced to give up the war, but not without heavy concessions to France. Her participation in such an unglorious episode had been expensive and had ignited the traditional feud between England and Scotland. One valuable thing had been learned from this costly lesson: Henry could not afford to trust the other crown heads of Europe who used him so mercilessly. But while he could not trust them, at the same time he could not resist the offer to get back at France. In a second costly conflict, Henry joined forces with Spain against Francis I and again suffered the humiliation of political manipulation. To begin with, England was opposed to the war. The two expeditions which England went on accomplished very little, and the real victory was achieved two years later by Spanish forces. When Spain refused to split the spoils, Henry was forced to admit defeat, only this time he had a convenient minister, in the person of Wolsey, to take the blame. The extravagant investments of these two wars had finally taught Henry that external controversies were to be avoided. Thus he turned to the more important problems of state that had arisen during his absence.

Throughout Germany and the countries of Nothern Europe, the Protestant movement had spread to convinc-

brother's widow was invalid. The authority to rule on the marriage issue was that of the Pope's, but a decision was complicated by other factors. The Pope was the prisoner of the Emperor Charles V, the nephew of Henry's wife, and so the request could not be accomodated by Clement at this time. The question was further complicated by the fact that Henry was theologically orthodox and had no desire to break from Rome. He had previously earned the title of "Defender of the Faith" by writing a book against Luther in which he defended the Catholic religion. But public opinion had been aroused and Henry had studied the issue from every angle.

To compensate for his awkward position, Pope Clement VII arranged for the case to be tried in England under Cardinal Wolsey and the Italian Cardinal Campeggio. Before a decision was reached, the case was recalled to Rome since Catherine could expect no justice in England. Under the pressure of the emperor's forces which surrounded Rome, Clement could grant no annulment for Henry. Wolsey had tried desperately to persuade Clement otherwise because he knew that Henry would not be denied. When the Papal court failed to meet Henry's request, Wolsey was the first to suffer public ridicule which resulted in his fall. Here was the end of the minister who had served Henry faithfully during the years of the

wars with France. Even more important, with Wolsey's resignation of his post at Winchester came the last stand of the medieval church in England during Henry's reign.

The events which followed came in somewhat rapid succession. In 1529 Henry called for a meeting of Parliament to find out if public opinion would support the royal demands made to the Pope. Their answer came in a series of attacks against the church, the clergy, and ecclesiastical law. In 1532 several acts were passed granting Henry control of the clergy and the laws of the church. Around the same time, Thomas Cranmer, long a supporter of Henry's pleas for divorce, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. In the following year, Henry married Anne Boleyn and Cranmer publicly announced that the King's marriage to Catherine had never been valid. The English Ambassador was recalled from Rome and the entire ecclesiastical policy placed into the hands of Henry by the Act of Supremacy passed in 1534. The King became head of the Church of England, thus uniting for the first time, the political and religious structures of English society. The Reformation impulses which had gotten out of hand in other countries were thus controlled and directed by the nation-state. It was carried-through by the King after consultation with Parliament and the support which Henry got from public opinion indicated the

rising nationalism which had emerged throughout the Tudor reign. The break with Catholic doctrine was to come several years later in the form of moderate compromise.

There followed an economic revolution peculiar only to England at this time. Monasteries were dissolved and church lands not only increased the royal income, but served to equip England with strong ships and more fortified coasts. The lands were gradually sold off to the propertied classes, which was an influential factor in the rise of the gentry as an important class in English society. But even more important, the economy was being expanded by a combined productivity from commerce, industry, and agriculture.

Henry succeeded in making a great impression on the people of England in synthesizing Renaissance ideals of hierarchy and order into the affairs of the state. Before his death he had incorporated a Welsh government into that of England's, and had attempted to annex Scotland to the crown. The church in England still respected and participated in the rituals of Catholicism, and Henry maintained a firm hand in their execution. But the private exploits of the King throughout his succesive marriages indicated that the split from Rome was complete. English tempers recognized the rituals of the Church as a matter of royal respect and authority which only

the firm hand of Henry could keep under control. When he died in 1547, the tempo of the Reformation changed rapidly.

Henry was succeeded by Edward VI, the son of his third wife. Both Mary, the child of the first wife, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, had been mentioned in the royal will as inheritors of the crown only in the case of Edward's death. The brief years of Edward's reign were years of intrigue, for the nine-year old King was no match for the scheming ministers around him. Foremost of these was Somerset, Edward's uncle, who had been appointed lord protector of the crown. Edward gave Somerset full authority over the regency council, but Somerset was a weak statesman. Under the Act of Uniformity, an English Book of Common Prayer was ordered for use in all the churches of England, thus pointing toward a fundamental nationalism in religion. The new services were more congregational in that individualism was emphasized rather than the role of the priest. There were reactions against the form that religion was taking in the fringe areas of the country. The Catholic peasantry revolted in the western sector of England, but the coastal towns were firmly Protestant in view and the revolt was checked. In the meantime, the Protestant ministers around the court of the young King continued the expropriation of church

lands and a more important economic crisis was arising. The coinage had been debased, exploitation of land and enclosure movements had gronw out of proportion, and the prices of commodities were rising all over the European market. These problems were still unresolved when Edward died of tuberculosis in 1553.

The greatest threat to the progress made by the Tudor monarchs came with the reign of Mary (1553-1558). In the will left by Edward, the throne was bequeathed to Lady Jane Gray thus ignoring the final stipulation of Henry's request. An angered Mary issued a call to arms to all her adherents and her forces increased in opposition to the dangerously powerful Duke of Northumberland. Mary's protest succeeded and she became Queen at the age of thirty-seven.

Her early life after the separation of Henry and her mother, Catherine of Aragon, had been years of humiliation and perental neglect. She had maintained the religion of her mother and with her arrival to the throne of England, devout Catholicism was restored as the national religion. Mary must have been embittered by her earlier experiences, but at the same time she was sincere in her devotion to and support of the Roman religion. The members of Parliament, however, were of a different opinion and they supported the Queen only as far as restoring

religion to what it had been at the death of Henry VIII. Mary, of course, ultimately sought after a reconciliation with Rome, but the ecclesiastical lands were still in the hands of the laity.

The marriage of Mary to Philip II of Spain created more problems for the people of England. In the first place, England was drawn into the system of Spanish alliances which all independent-minded citizens saw as a threat to national security. Secondly, Philip excluded English merchants from Spanish-Portugese ports in America and Africa, thereby cutting down a sizeable portion of commerce. In the third place, England was drawn into another war with France which resulted in the loss of Calais, the last link with the medieval battle of Crecy. Even more important, Mary had resorted to the practice of religious persecution to speed up a return to Catholicism. The attempt back-fired, however, because with the burning of Thomas Cranmer in 1556, the Protestant forces had found a martyr for the cause of the popular religion. After a series of revolts, famines, and plagues, the unfortunate queen was asked by Parliament to resign in 1558. Mary died less than two weeks after Elizabeth had been named successor, and with her death came the dissolution of Catholic hopes.

Elizabeth inherited the throne in an atmosphere

of dissension and probable civil war because her two predecessors had managed to upset the popularity of the Tudors which Henry VIII had worked unscrupulously to maintain. England was exceptionally fortunate, therefore, to get a monarch so singularly adapted for regal leadership at this time, and the wisdom of the Queen was to be reflected in the startling productivity of the period. From the very beginning of her reign, she worked diligently to obtain able and trustworthy ministers in the same manner that her grandfather had patterned before her. Foremost of these was William Cecil, who remained top advisor to the Queen for the majority of her reign. As for the problem of religion Elizabeth re-established the independent Church of England and returned to the second prayer book issued during the reign of Edward. The Anglican compromise maintained the medieval organization of the church with its hierarchy of appointed officials, but the Catholic rituals were abandoned or merged with Protestant rites. The compromise was effective in its operation and in its execution, but the forces of the counter-Reformation were not to be denied. Opposition came from two groups; from Catholic forces who resented the new Act of Supremacy and from Puritan forces who demanded further Protestant reforms. For the remainder of her reign, the controversy was to continue as a source of public attack, but the

return to uniformity had been made.

In matters of foreign policy, Elizabeth recognized independence and free expression for the people of England. Philip II of Spain persisted in his attempt to influence England back towards Catholicism, but Elizabeth calmly remained aloof without insulting his friendship. Support sent to the Netherlands, to Protestant forces in France, and to the rebelling Dutch helped to bring the struggle with Spain to a head, and with the destruction of the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, England was beginning to prove her military might as the true mistress of the seas. Elizabeth had shown an interest and support in the activities of her seamen ever since the early days of her reign. Under the leadership of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, shipbuilding and seamanship had reached a peak, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada was symbolic of the growing forces which were to make England a world power.

The age of Elizabeth was an age of productivity both at home and abroad. Commerce and industry provided wealth which expanded both the needs and desires of the populace. At the same time, the Elizabethan age was an age of extremes, for with an increase in wealth came an increase in poverty. Throughout the Tudor age much was written concerning the economic problems of the day-- the enclosure

movement, the wealth of the propertied classes, the need for legislation establishing charity for the impoverished people. One fact to be recognized, however, is that poverty had existed in England throughout the feudalistic period of the Middle Ages, but the Renaissance mind was at last becoming cognizant of the need of humanitarian reforms. The advance of medicine and natural science was still outside of the universities.

The literature of the age reflected the Renaissance ethic in its concern for order, unity, and harmony. In academic and lay cirlces alike, the uniformity that Elizabeth established became the rule rather than the exception. The expanding mind was, however, a mind which emphasized freedom and creativity so that it was not peculiar that the literature of the sixteenth century should take on novel forms of expression. Satire was one such form in that it provided a tool through which the evil conditions of society could be corrected or punished. The progressive development from somewhat unsophisticated methods indicated the emergence of Renaissance intellect from the restrictions of medieval scholasticism. In the remaining chapters I shall attempt to show how the transition was perfected in the classical strain of satire which developed in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER II - FROM CLASSICAL MODELS TO EXPERIMENTAL VERSE: THE BEGINNINGS OF A NATIVE TRADITION IN ENGLISH SATIRE

In the preceding chapter, it was established that the citizen of sixteenth-century England was becoming very much aware of his role in the order of society. The unity established by the Tudor dynasty was based on the mutual relationship between king and subject, between the voice of authority and popular consensus. With the rise of nationalism, the foundation of the state was secure when all units of society worked together with the coordinated units of centralized government. Thus the citizen of England developed a kind of patriotic pride in his responsibilities to the crown. At the same time, however, political and religious hypocrisy were to be found in the social structure of English society. Social classes were still very distinctly divided in terms of wealth or position, and favoritism from the crown was to be expected. To be sure it was easier for the rising middle class to assert its authority in politics and business than ever before, but society had not advanced so far as to minimize lower class poverty and inferiority. Exploitation in politics and economics became a

subject of dissension among court and popular circles alike, for those who had royal favor were in a better position to take advantage of others.

It is not peculiar then that the substance of sixteenth-century literature adapt a tone of nationalism and social concern. Subject-matter became centered around social grievances, whether those grievances concerned individuals, groups, or institutions of society. With a growing emphasis on state-centered activity, the English conscience became more interested in improving the present rather than depending on the artifacts of the past. In this respect, the effects of Renaissance humanism in England differed from those of the continent; the rebirth of classical knowledge was secondary to the expanding interest in man's role in public affairs. Since, in this instance, public affairs centered around the crown, the first note of criticism in the classical tradition was struck within courtly circles.

Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542) was well qualified for this task since he had been one of the literary favorites of Henry VIII. He had had the advantage of court life and had rendered public service to the crown in a number of appointed posts. His diplomatic career had sent him on various missions through France, Italy, and Spain, and his personal experiences and travels augmented his knowledge of

foreign language, literature, and customs. The private life of the poet was as interesting and varied as his public career. In 1532, he was deputy for his father at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, a task which twentieth-century critics seem to feel was performed with mixed emotions. The probability of Anne's being the mistress of Wyatt has never been clearly established, but it is known that the poet and new Queen had been friends since childhood.[2] Muir's theory[3] is that since Wyatt and his wife had been separated, Catholic forces around the court were glad of the opportunity to gather scandal against the Queen. When Wyatt was imprisoned shortly after the fall of Anne, coincidental circumstances again linked the names of Wyatt and Anne together, but the very fact that Wyatt was able to regain royal approval tended to indicate that public speculation had been wrong. In 1537, Wyatt was appointed Ambassador to Spain where he discharged his duties with efficiency and diplomacy. The task was made more difficult, however, because of the Emperor's disapproval of Henry's divorce. The arrival of Edmund Bonner added to these trials

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[2] For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between Wyatt and Anne, see Richard C. Harrier's article, "Notes on Wyatt and Anne Boleyn", _The Journal of English and Germanic Philosophy_, LIII (October, 1954), 581-584.

[3] _Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt_, ed. Kenneth Muir (Cambridge, 1949), p. x.

since Bonner had felt slighted by the King's appointment, but any accusations against Wyatt's reputation were dismissed by his patron, Thomas Cromwell.

When Wyatt returned to the family estate in 1539, his father had died and many of his friends at court had been dismissed. The general change-over became more evident to him in the following year when Cromwell was executed. For the occasion of his patron's death, Wyatt adapted a Petrarchan sonnet to express his grief, and the remainder of poems composed during this period were poems of lament at the loss of associates. In 1541, the most crushing blow fell when Wyatt was arrested and all his possessions confiscated. His accusor was his former enemy, Bonner, who accused him of crimes ranging from treason to immorality. Wyatt skillfully presented his own defense and received a full pardon, but the legal blasphemies performed by the Bishop of London were not easy to forget. It was during this period that he composed his three satires.

The satires of Wyatt confirm Hallett Smith's statement that, "satire not only concerns itself with the way men live, it is prompted by attitudes which are themselves part of that living",[4] for his satires grew out of personal experiences and

[4] Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry(Cambridge,1952), p. 194.

observations of life around him. These satires, which take the form of nondramatic presentations, exemplified a part of the classical phase of formal satire which emerged during this period. Adherents to this tradition defined satire as "a tarte and carpyng kynd of verse. An instruemnt to pynche the prankers of men"[5], and from Horatian and Italian models could be found examples adaptable to English life of the times.

The first satire, addressed to his friend, John Pointz, draws from the model of Alamanni in presenting two social types - the cunning courtier and the innocent citizen. In attacking the men of law and the judicial system of England, Wyatt relates to his old friend his reasons for having withdrawn from public life. These men of "justice" are personal enemies whom Wyatt looks upon with contempt, for the power loaned them by fortune has inflated them to a state of vanity.

> It is not for becawse I skorne or moke
> The power of them to whome fortune
> Hath lent charge over us, of Right,
> To strike them stroke:
> But true it is that I have allwais ment
> Lesse to estime them then the common sort,
> Of outward thinges that juge in their intent,
> Without regard what dothe inwarde resort.

True to the classical tradition, love of fame is reduced to the theme of honor in the following passage,

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[5] M.C. Randolph, Thomas Drant's Definition of Satire", _Notes and Queries_, CLXXX (1941), 416-418.

which suggests a feminine personification:

> I grawnt sumtime that of glorye the fyar
> Dothe touche my hart: me lyst not to report
> Blame by honour to desyar.

In addition to the traditional themes already suggested, there are three others which Wyatt uses very effectively in keeping with his classical model. First of all, he refers to Venus and Bacchus, the goddess of Love and the god of Wine, who represent excess rather than moderation. Secondly, he uses the symbol of the wolf to represent the court in opposition to the lambs of public society. In the third place, the device of the catalogue is inserted, only this time not in reference to the Olympian gods, but in reference to the base qualities of courtiers who are gods of the office, the state, and the mind. The latter thematic device embraces some of the most biting statements of the poem:

> I cannot crowche nor knelle to do so grete a wrong,
> To worship them, lyke gode on earthe alone,
> That ar as wollffes thes sely lambes among.
> ...I cannot speke and loke lyke a saynct,
> Vse wiles for witt and make decyt a pleasure,
> And call crafft counsell, for profett stylle to paint.
> I cannot wrest the law to fill the coffer
> With innocent blode to fede my selly fat,
> And doo most hurt where most help I offer,
> ...I am not he such eloquence to boste,
> To make the crow singing as the swane,
> Nor call the lyon of cowarde bestes the moste
> That cannot take a mows as the cat can.

In turning to the tone of the satire, it is interesting to note the difference between the classical

attitude of satire and Wyatt's personal attitude. Wyatt's satire is characterized by a conversational tone which is similar to that of the classics, but in this instance the level of satire remains personal and somewhat subdued. Wyatt obtains a quiet sort of humor through his use of symbols and imagery, but the laughter is qualified by a sense of finality and remorse. What Wyatt seems to be doing is calmly re-evaluating his life in terms of the hypocrisies which he has seen displayed by other public servants. The repetition of "I cannot" indicates a sense of humility and distress, for the attitude of devotion and honor is not to be found in English courts. In the final lines of the poem, we get a recapitulation of his diplomatic career which is reminiscent of Ulysses upon his return:

> I ame not now in Ffraunce to judge the wyne,
> With saffry sauce the delicates to fele;
> Nor yet in Spaigne where oon must him inclyne
> Rather then to be, outwardly to seme.
> I meddill not with wittes that be so fyne,
> Nor Fflaunders chiere letteth not my sight to deme
> Of black and white, nor taketh my wit awaye
> With bestlynes, they beeste do so esteme;
> Nor I ame not where Christe is geven in pray
> For mony, poison and traison at Rome,
> A commune practice vsed nyght and daie:
> But here I ame in Kent and Christendome
> Emong the muses where I rede and ryme;
> Where if thou list, my Poynz, for to come,
> Thou shalt be judge how I do spend my tyme.

The tone is, therefore, that of classic restraint, for although Wyatt has a healthy disdain for his past experiences, he realizes what a comforting release

freedom can be. Rather than destroy that allusion, the tone remains quiet and conversational instead of being sharp or caustic.

The second satire, "My mothers maydes", draws from the fable of the Town and Country Mouse found in Horace (Satires II,6). In satirizing town and country life, Wyatt presents two social types or classes - the man of welath and the man of poverty - both of whom are opposed by the enemies of the state or social institutions. In the adaptation of Horace, this story becomes a skillful quip at those who have become slaves of fortune. A closer examination will indicate that Wyatt is by no means confined to his source; the classic mould is both enlarged upon and altered to fit English society.

Although both accounts are thematically the same, there are several points of obvious departure from the original. In Horace, the city mouse visits his friend in the country, and being disturbed by the crude resources of hospitality, invites him to return to his palace in the city. While feasting upon a sumptuous meal, the mice are attacked by dogs, whereupon the country mouse rushes home saying, "No use have I for such a life, and so farewell: my wood and hole, secure from alarms, will solace me with homely vetch."

In Wyatt's satire, the country mouse - plagued by flood, famine, and poverty - goes to the city to gain security at her sister's home. Despite the fact that no invitation was extended, she is treated to a wonderful meal which is interrupted by the intrusion of one enemy cat. The country mouse, in her haste to get away, is caught, so instead of her moralizing at the end, the monologue returns to the poet.

Both accounts are effective when seen in terms of the society they are mocking; at the same time, both are typical of their respective traditions. For example, during Horace's time, it would have been a social disgrace to have had a relative living away from the seat of government; thus the two "mice" were only friends. It was likewise not an unusual feature to have master and servant brought together, though the two classes as a social phenomenon were sharply divided into an almost caste-like system. In the England of Wyatt's time, the extreme classes of society were being challenged by the rise of the middle class. Even the impoverished were anxious to better themselves since with money they could rise in status. Such were the sentiments of the country mouse when she went to the city in search of a better fortune.

A closer analysis of Wyatt's presentation of the two social types will serve to indicate the

the effectiveness of his mockery. For example, contrast in the following, the way in which the rich man appears to be, as opposed to the way he really is in the second passage:

> "My sister' (quoth she) 'hath a lyving good,
> And hens from me she dwelleth not a mile.
> In cold and storme she lieth warme and dry
> In bed of downe; the dyrt doesth not defile
> Her tender fote. She laboureth not as I.
> Richely she fedeth and at the richeman's cost,
> And for her meet she nydes not crave nor cry.
> By se, by land, of delicates the moost
> Her Cater skes and spareth for ne perell...
>
> And to the dore now is she come by stelth,
> And with her foote anon she scrapeth full fast.
> Th'othre for fere durst not well scarse appere,
> Of every noyse so was the wretche agast.

Nevertheless, Wyatt handles the presentation of the country mouse with sympathy and care as he outlines in detail every complaint of her miserable state, but notice that even from the beginning her state of misfortune is only what she thinks it to be:

> She thought her self endured to much pain,
> The stormy blastes her cave so sore did sowse,
> That when the forowse swymmed with the rain
> She must lye cold and white in sorry plighte;
> ...And when her store was stroyed with the flodd,
> Then wellawaye ! for she undone was clene.

The tone is a departure from the tone of the first satire, for in satire II Wyatt becomes less personal or serious. Instead there is a subtle type of laughter which emerges from the pathetic situation of the country mouse. In both the model from Horace and the Wyatt adaptation, the tone is ironic in the

sense that the peace of mind enjoyed by the poor mouse is more valuable than any other possession she could hope to attain. Thus, the irony is that neither the town mouse or the country mouse is content with what they have; both want what the other possesses, but as indicated in Wyatt's moral:

> O wretched myndes ! there is no gold that may
> Graunt that ye seke ! No warr, no peace, no striff,
> No, no all tho thy hed were howpt with gold.
> ...Ech kynd of lyff hath with hym his disease.
> Lyve in delight evyn as thy lust would
> And thou shalt fynde when lust doeth moost the please
> It irketh straite and by it self doth fade.

The conversational tone of satire I is maintained, but the personal remorse and sense of loss is changed to advice by way of implication. In the moral of the poem lies a message which could be given to a young man at the start of a career. This moral may be applied to the society of sixteenth-century England in general, for the theme is taken away from the subjective level of personal experience and extended to the more objective level of society. By achieving a different perspective, all classes of society are focused into view and the satire is much more effective in making fun of the whole, rather than of a part.

"A Spending Hand" is still another step over his two earlier satires because it attacks a feature of Tudor England which could not be overlooked in any of its literature. In the development of London

as a great town, the rise of the middle class as an indispensable part of the ecomony led to various means of fortune-hunting, which Wyatt here outlines in detail. The social types presented are the spendthrift, symbolized by the turning stone on which no moss will grow, and the honest man who

> ...trottes still vp and downe,
> And never restes, but runnyng day and nyght
> Ffrom Reaulme to Reaulme, from cite, strete and towne.

But notice here the skillful treatment of the two types. On the surface, Wyatt makes use of dialogue, and although the conversation comes from the narrator, he assumes certain questions which the addresse, Sir Francis Brian, shall ask upon receipt of the letter. But the irony of the situation is that the letter is in the process of being written. It is obvious, therefore, that the narrator is projecting himself into two roles - the role of active spokesman and the role of passive thinker. This means that while Wyatt has used all the artistic decorum he can master, he has remained just within the framework of the accepted genre in order to have a good laugh at the things he sees around him. Consequently, he gives some of the most caustic lines of satire to Bruin, who in response to the request for food, wine, and merriment states:

...For swyne so groyns
In stye and chaw the tordes molded on the ground,
And dryvell on perilles, the hed still in the maunger.
Then of the harp the Asse to here the sound.
So saches of dirt be filled vp in the cloyster
That servis for lesse then do this fatted swyne.
Tho I seme lene and dry withoute moyster,
Yet well I serve my prynce, my lord and thyn,
And let them lyve to fede the panche that list,
So I may fede to lyve both me and myn.

In a comparison between the Wyatt version and the Horatian model (Satires II, 5), it is first of all apparent to the reader that Horace criticizes social evils while Wyatt selects private or personal grievances as the source of his attack. Secondly, the dialogue is clearly carried out by two people in Horace, while in Wyatt the narrator assumes the role of an absent participant. In the third place, Horace's satire is a burlesque continuation of Odysseus's trip to the lower world and is, therefore, of a mock-heroic type. Wyatt, on the other hand, has no dramatic situation in his satire, thus remaining at the conversational level.

The themes of the traditional model may be briefly outlined in five steps. First, always give way to a rich man, although he may be lower of birth. Secondly, play up to old men; find out about their wills and defend them in all situations. Third, become friendly with sickly sons of rich men. Fourth, cater to their widows and, fifth, never hesitate to use one's family to attain profitable ends. The fourth

suggestion is an innovation which does not appear in Horace at all:

> The wedow may for all thy charge deburse.
> A ryvald skyn, stynking breth, what than?
>   A tothles mowth shall do thy lips no harme.
>   The Gold is good and tho she curse or ban,
> Yet where she list thou maist ly good and warme;
>   Let the old mule byte upon the bridall,
>   Whilst there do ly a swetter in thyn arme.

The tone of both the classical model and its adaptation is calm and ironical, and yet where an almost cold and ruthless or pagan attitude prevails in Horace, there is an indication of reform in Wyatt which can be deduced from the moral earnestness of the poem. Thus when Brian says

> Wouldest thou I should for any losse or gayne
> Chaunge that for gold that I have tan for best
>   Next godly thinges, to have an honest name?
>   Should I leve that, then take me for a best

The narrator disdainfully leaves Brian who is contented with a li e of honest poverty.

The three satires of Wyatt form a collective portrait of the poet's attitude toward society. In comparison to classical influences, there are several observations which come to mind. First of all, the metre is the terza rima which identifies the Italian source of Alamanni. The style is smooth and c ncise, similiar to the Horatian ease of expression, and suits the relative simplicity of the chosen metre. Secondly, the Wyatt satires are reflective in nature.

Even when narration is the mode of expression used, the narrative line is counterbalanced by a perceptive and thoughtful type of expression rather than mere story-telling. In contrast to the classical models, the style is more lucid than Latinized verse and is less restricted to the conventions of formal poetry. Whereas Horace disguises the permanent vices of society in the vices of the individual, Wyatt works, primarily, at the level of personal opposition which may or may not be extended to a more objective level of meaning. The humor in Wyatt is the subtle humor of classic restraint which is calm and yet powerful in its understatement. But the great merit of these satires, as Alden indicates[6], lies in their adaptation to the contemporary society familiar to Wyatt rather than in their relationship to classical models.

In the classical tradition, and perhaps closest to the satires of Wyatt, is the rebuke written by Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, to the citizens of London. Surrey had been another court favorite of Henry VIII and had distinguished himself in diplomatic service, but the argumentative and impulsive nature of the young poet had gotten him into trouble more than once. In 1542, for example, only

[6] Raymond MacDonald Alden, The Rise of Formal Satire in England (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 59.

a few short months after his election as a Knight of the Garter, he had gotten into a quarrel with John Leigh and challenged him. As a consequence, Surrey was ordered to the Fleet as a prisoner, where he was released several months later. In April, 1543, the Earl was summoned before the Privy Council and charged with two offenses: That of eating meat during Lent and having disturbed the peace by breaking several windows with a stone-bow. To the first charge he claimed a licence, but to the second charge he pleaded guilty and submitted himself to whatever punishment the court might decide. For a second time he was sent to the Fleet to serve out his sentence. It is interesting to note that in this trial, there were three other friends who had also been summoned to the Privy Council on the same charges - Thomas Wyatt, the son of the poet, Thomas Clere, and young Pickering. These three denied the charges until Clere confessed, but throughout their trial, Surrey had never pointed an accusing finger at his cohorts. This rare combination of temperament and honor was characteristic of the young man and was to be seen in his poetry.

Of the large number of Surrey's poems, there is one which primarily fits the generic name of satire. The satire was written during his second confinement in the Fleet and was certainly prompted by, if

not the direct result, of his imprisonment. The rebuke, which was later entitled "A Satire on London, the Modern Babylon", makes use of an allusion to the corrupt state of Biblical times which paralleled the contemporary society of Surrey's time. The satire itself arose out of a personal situation, and in many ways was a rationalization of the crimes the poet had committed. Despite the bitterness and antagonism which is displayed against his accusors, we may deduce much of Surrey's attitude toward the religious conventions that were being corrupted.

The satire is directed against two types. First of all there are the hypocritical citizens of London whose dissolute lives have much distressed the author in the past, as he states:

> What hope is left to redresse,
> By vnknowne meanes, it like me
> My hidden burden to expresse,
> Whereby yt might appere to the
> That secret synn hath secret spight.

Secondly, there are the clergymen who know futility of idle words and are content to sit idly by as religion becomes more and more contaminated with evil influences.

There are basic parallels between lines of the poem and Biblical passages which should be noted to understand the themes of the satire. For example, in lines 21 and 22, Surrey says:

> A fygure of the Lordes behest,
> Whose scourge for synn the Screptures shew.

The references to Jehovah's curse is found in

Isaiah 47:11

> Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolution shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know.

In lines 45 through 55, Surrey states a sentiment

which can be found in Revelation and in Jeremiah:

> But prowd people that dred no fall,
> Clothed with falshed and vnright
> Bred in the closures of thy wall,
> But wrested to wraths in fervent zeale,
> Thou hast to stief, my secret call.
> Endured hartes no warning feale.
> Oh shameless hore ! is dred then gone
> By such thy foes, as meant thy weale?
> Oh member of false Babylon !
> The shopp of craft ! the denne of ire!
> Thy dreadfull dome draws fast vpon.
> (Surrey, 45-55)

> And he cried mightly with a strong voice, saying, Babylone the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. ...And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying. Alas, alas that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the s a by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.
> And the voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee: and the sound of the millstone shall be heard no more at all in Thee.
> (Revelation 18:)

> Set up the standards upon the walls of Babylon, make the watch strong, set up the watchmen, prepare the ambushes: for the Lord hath both devised and done that which he spake against the inhabitants of Babylon.

O thou that dwellest upon many waters,
abundant in treasures, thine end is come,
and the measure of thy covetousness.
(Jeremiah 51: 12-13)

In lines 56 through 58, Surrey states:

Thy martyres blood, by sword and fyre,
In Heaven and earth, for justice call.
The Lord shall here their just desyre;
The flame of wrath shall on the fall.

This reference may be to the Protestant martyrs who died for their cause during the period of the Reformation, or to the Biblical martyrs in Jeremiah 51: 49-

As Babylon hath caused the slain of Israel to fall,
so at Babylon shall fall the slain of all the earth.

Lines 60 to 64 in Surrey may be compared to the judgement of Ezekiel 5: 12-17

With fayme and pest lamentable
Stricken shalbe thy lecheres all;
Thy proud towers and turrets hye,
Enmyes to God, beat stone from stone;
Thyne idolles burnt, that wrought iniquite.
(Surrey, 60-64)

A third of you shall die with the pestilence,
and with famine shall they be consumed in the
midst of thee: and a third part shall fall
by thy sword round about thee; and I will scatter a third part into all the winds, and I will
draw out swords after them.
(Ezekiel 5:;2)

It is significant to note that Surrey's attitude is based on a common Tudor attitude of God as an avenger. The tone of the satire, therefore, is somewhat bitter and caustic with no glimmer of reconciliation to the state which has offended him. This may be further evidenced in the statement which

Surrey makes in reference to his poem.

> Such was my indignation at the dissolute life within the city walls that fear of retribution could not keep me from forcibly rebuking it. Mere words, as the preachers well know, are of small avail, and so I resorted to this novel method of voicing my protests. My punishment of the city, under cover of the night, accords with your secret sins, and should teach you that justice seeks out every fault, and that no one is secure from it.[7]

The rebuke, it should be noted, is not against the courts but against the irate citizens whose sins stand out as religious evils. Thus Surrey sees Londoners as lechers, as men guided by envy, wrath, and greed who overlook their own sins in order to convict another. The towers which they have erected are towers of pride, of gluttony, of vice which once again lend themselves to the Biblical allusion of the tower of Babel.

In contrast to Wyatt, one notices, first of all, that Surrey exchanges classical illusions for Biblical ones. Perhaps the very device which he uses is ironic since one of the charges of which he was accused was the violation of a church code observed during Lent. Secondly, the humor of Surrey's poem is less serious or complex than that of Wyatt's satires. The satire is a simple statement of outraged honor which is defended through the medium of poetry. In no instance is there any indication of the humility

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[7] Frederick Morgan Padelford, The Poems of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey (Seattle, 1920), p. 191.

that one finds in Wyatt, but rather a tone of defiance and belligerence which is to be carried into the satires of the eighteenth century. In this respect, Surrey is closer to a later definition of satire in his lack of moral or ethical association. Although the satire arises from a purely personal expereince, Surrey remains separated from the situation of the poem and his attitude toward his subject-matter is like the condescending attitude of Lord Byron.

In the rise of satire in the sixteenth century as a formal mode of expression, perhaps no single figure contributed so much to the conventions of the classical tradition as Edmund Spenser. The eclogues of The Shepheards' Calender heralded a new type of art-form in the framework of the pastoral, with the fusion of classical, Biblical, historical, and contemporary allusions. In the first place, the pastoral was already a standard or conventional means of poetic expression, so the Elizabethan world was not troubled by the novelty of an unfamiliar form. Secondly, the emphasis on the good and simple life, which in general expressed the theme of the pastoral, could be accepted by an unlimited audience of divided sentiment, so that the scope of the pastoral was universal. The third advantage was that with an accepted mode of expression and a receptive audience at his disposal, Spenser could pose problems of

of current friction within the framework of allusion and avoid many of the set-backs which other more outspoken satirists had had to face.

It is important for modern scholars to see the advantages of Spenser's first work in terms of the tradition of which the Calender was a part. The most obvious point to be observed is that in the larger aspects of form and content, the Calender could be linked with both the classical and Renaissance creations of a dignified array of writers such as Virgil, Theocritus, Mantuan, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Marot. These writers had develdped the pastoral in the direction of personal allusion and allergorical satire on contemporary problems, and as Bradner clearly indicates:

> The normal expectation of readers in the sixteenth century was to look for applications to the real life of their own day under the cloak of simple shepherds and their songs.[8]

It was customary for writers to choose the pastoral for their maiden works, and in selecting this form Spenser could both disarm criticism and freely present his personal opinions about contemporary affairs.

Along the same lines, the Calender bears a close affinity to the frame story of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. As the annotations of the

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[8] Leicester Bradner, Edmund Spenser and the Faerie Queene (Chicago, 1948), p. 51.

mysterious E.K. indicate in the dedicatory epistle of the Calender, Chaucer was considered a definite part of the classical tradition among Spenser and his contemporaries.

> Vncouth, vnkiste, Sayde the olde famous Poete Chaucer: whom for his excellencie and wonderful skil in making, his scholler Lidgate, a worthy scholler of so excellent a maister, calleth Loadestarre of our Language: and whom our Colin Clout in his Aeglogue calleth Tityrus the God of shepeards, comparing hym to the worthines of the Roman Tityrus Virgile.

Points of comparison may be drawn by several means. In the first place, there are a number of tales put together by some device, which in this case is the calender itself. Secondly, within the story of various months is a fable similar to the fables of Aesop, a device which is to be found in Chaucer. Third, the shepherds in the moral eclogues are representatives who reflect the characters of real people in the contemporary England in similar fashion to the intent of Chaucer's pilgrims. Spenser is unique, however, in fusing these various devices into a style peculiar to himself.

This style is a combination of conventional devices and inventions of the poet. It echoes, first of all, the popular almanac of the French tradition known in England as The Kalendar of Shepherds. This Kalendar is also divided into twelve months with the appropriate signs of the zodiac for each month.

Secondly, it makes use of incidental fables not just as a means of disguised attack, but as a convenient means of telling a story neatly and well. The reader is immediately impressed by the pleasure which the narrator or artist derives from making use of a traditional device to underline his true intent. On the level of the allegory, Spenser has created an imaginary world to shadow the world of reality. In this world of the pastoral, the sheperds may be classified into several groups: the group of real people hidden under fictitious names, the more select group detectable to Spenser's immediate circle of friends, character types, and decorative figures who are used to fill out the pastoral photograph by way of comparison and contrast. These characters shall be treated in more detail in a later discussion of the individual eclogue in which they appear.

Two important contributions made by Spenser to this tradition are to be found in a consideration of the language and metre of the <u>Calender</u>. It had been customary for writers of pastorals to imitate Virgil in his use of the hexameter for all Latin poems. Writers attempting this in the vernacular would select a single metre to run throughout their eclogues. Spenser, however, broke the tradition of a single metre by using a variety of metres, not only in the narrative exhanges between the sheperds

but in their songs as well. Renaissance authors had likewise become accustomed to imitating the classicists in their use of ornate language about the simple shepherds they were presenting. Spenser tried to reconcile the problem of language to the characters he was portraying by making use of archaic words and dialect in his colloquialisms. These things present several reasons for the importance of The Shepherds' Calender in the literary tradition of England, but a further discussion of historical or biographical data is essential for our understanding of Spenser's true purpose in writing the Calender.

Spenser, at the time of the Calender's creation, was serving as secretary to John Young, master of Pembroke College, where the young poet had matriculated. Young became the bishop of Rochester in 1578, a position which undoubtedly sharpened the interests of the young writer, who had been exposed to religious and political problems throughout his life. He was then provided with a definite audience by his employer and his immediate circle of friends. The problem of religion had been a sore-spot for England for an entire generation, and Spenser had certainly not been spared the many conjectures which were arising over this situation. Evidence sheds light on the fact that he had been brought up in a Protestant family during his boyhood, and had attended a

Protestant school steeped in a tradition of liberal learning and free expostulation. He was aware of the repercussions in England over the claim of a Catholic queen to the throne in the person of Mary, and realized the precarious position England was in so long as Elizabeth's religious preferences remained an issue. Spenser's own religious views are hard to determine because although his background showed a leaning toward Presbyterianism, he served in the employ of a bishop, and was obviously influenced by Archbishop Grindal from the latter's constant appearance in the Calender. One might definitely say, however, that Spenser's attendance at Pembroke was important to the future writer, both from the point of interest in religious problems and from the friendships which he made, for it was probably here that the germ of the Calender was conceived. In a letter to Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's closest friend in college, the Calender was dated as completed by early spring of 1579. By October Spenser had left the bishop of Rochester and gone into the employ of the Earl of Leicester, a powerful young lord who was part of the inner circle of Elizabeth's friends.

The brilliant world of the Leicester circle marked an important turning point in the life of Spenser. For the first time he was to be exposed

to the world of the statesman and have an opportunity to learn about matters of foreign and domestic politics first hand. This impression was almost transferred to the *Calender* in the form of a dedication to Leicester, but the dedication was wisely shifted to Sir Philip Sidney, nephew of the Earl and a less controversial figure in the public sentiment. And so *The Shepherds' Calender* was published in December of 1579 at the brink of a career which could have been launched either in the direction of literature or politics.

This volume appeared annonymously with annotations by a mysterious E.K., whose identity has not been clearly established; but the conjecture of the editors of *The Spenser Variorum*[9] is that E.K. was Edward Kirke, a contemporary of Spenser during his college years. The first avidence bo support the existence of Kirke was presented by Malone in the early nineteenth century, and since that time modern scholars have tried to certify his identification as the true person presented in the original text. For purposed of this study, E.K. is important in terms of the insight which he had into Spenser's purpose behind the creation.

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[9] *The Spenser Variorum*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Osgood, et. al. (Baltimore, 1943), vol. 1 of the Minor Poems.

The *Calender* may be classified into three groups of eclogues - the plaintive eclogues, the moral eclogues, and the recreative eclogues. It is the middle group with which this study is concerned in terms of the development of the genre of satire associated with the Wyatt-Surrey tradition, and from an over-all observation, two points are significant in analyzing the moral eclogues as a unit. In the first place, three of the five eclogues are concnerned directly with the problem of religion. As I've already indicated, Spenser was very much aware of the religious problems of his times and seemed to be most sympathetic with the presbyterian system as opposed to the episcopalian type, which drew favor from the courtly circle. The very fact that this problem was undercut on the level of satire in the majority of his moral eclogues gives evidence that he felt religion to be in most drastic need of reform in contemporary England. As a second point of general observation, it is significant that Colin, the projection of Spenser as the pastoral poet, is absent from these eclogues with the exception of the October eclogue, in which he is referred to indirectly. By means of this intentional omission, Spenser was able to obtain an objective perspective over the tools of his satire, thereby avoiding the direct issue of personal prejudices.

"February", the first of the moral eclogues, may be examined as an allegory on youth and age. We are presented with two types of sheperds -Thenot, the wise, old sheperd and Cuddie, the young, discontented Herdsman's boy. The eclogue opens with an argument between the two sheperds over the fortune and misfortunes resulting from the cruel forces of nature in the winter season. Through the eyes of the experienced sheperd, the winter season is appreciated because it heralds the coming of a better season; but to the naive youth, winter can only mean the loss of sheep from the bitter cold, or suffering in general. There is a direct correlation between the cycle of nature and the cycle of man in which the seasons of the year are representative of stages in the life of man. Thus Thenot can take his fortunes as they come without complaint because he has been blessed with old age. Cuddie thinks, however, that this meek attitude results from the fact that old age and winter can get along better with each other, for the physical and mental forces of the old man are frosted like the chill snows of winter. In answer to this arrogance, Thenot tells the fable of the oak and the briar. The moral of the story is that the briar, which has been responsible for the felling of the oak, finds that when winter comes it has been dependent upon the

oak for protection against the stormy season. This is analogous to the storms of life in which the older, more experienced person is able to fare much better than the proud and inexperienced youth. However, notice that the moral has little or no effect on Cuddie who is too wrapped up in terms of present miseries to think in terms of future meaning.

On the level of satire, the fable of the oak and the briar may be interpreted in several ways. Higginson [10] interprets it as an allusion to the execution of Norfolk in 1572. The oak is Norfolk, the briar Burleigh, and the husbandman an allusion to Elizabeth. This interpretation tends to break down, however, as the briar's story is inconsistent with the success of Burleigh during his span of more than twenty years as Chancellor of Cambridge. Long's interpretation [11] is closer to the general pattern of the later eclogues, as the felling of the oak is seen in terms of a general practice among contemporary churchmen to raise funds. He finds a direct reference to the charge against Aylmer in 1579, represented by the briar, and extends the parallel to include Grindall, the oak and former patron of Aylmer. This interpretation, however,

[10] The Spenser Variorum, ed. Greenlaw, Osgood, et. al. Vol, I of the Minor Poems.

[11] Ibid., p. 254.

seems to be at odds with the month in which Spenser supposedly completed his work, so that instead of seeing the fable of the oak and the brair in terms of any particular incident, I would choose to interpret it as merely contrary points of view being aired through the theme of youth and age. These points of view may be in reference to the Anglican church, to domestic or foreign policy of Elizabeth's reign, or to general problems of life. It is the latter point which provides the broad range of interpretation in the pastoral, for the problem of what is important to the good life is central to this mode of expression. As the first in this series, the February eclogue presents the theme in an extremely simple and clear manner, with a general subject broad enough to cover the entire sweep of the eclogues to follow.

The theme of the May eclogue is similar to the theme of "February" in asking about the nature of the good life, but we are beginning to get down to the particulars of Spenser's religious satire as the two sides of the issue are presented. Hereford directs attention to the theme in the following manner:

> Spenser's attack upon Catholic tendencies rests wholly upon ethical and social grounds. It is that of the idealist, impressed by the more imperious demands for spirituality of life made by the teaching of the Reformation. These Spenser found most nerely fulfilled among the Calvinists or Puritans; and it is they not the Protestants at large, whom Piers, the exponent of Spenser's views represents.[12]

<u>Ibid</u>., p. 292.

In the eclogue, Palinod is the spokesman of revelry and mirth to be found in the traditional May Day theme. On the level of satire, he is representative of the orthodox Anglican clergy in his concern with the material things of the here and now. Piers, on the other hand, is much more concerned with the practical task of caring for his flock rather than neglecting them, and is representative of the Puritan minister, working out a scheme of salvation through good works. In his scheme of salvation, sheperds cannot live as laymen do, because they are representative of religious leaders; they must set themselves apart from any inheritances of the world other than those of Pan, the pastoral counterpart of Christ. Under the transparent disguise of Algrind, Grindal - the sequestrated Archbishop of Canterbury - is referred to as Piers's master in his defense of the Puritans.

The problem is again put forth in the fable of the fox and the kid, but notice that here the resolution is based on friendship, honor, and mutual respect. Palinode, for example, feels that reconciliation among the shepherds can only be achieved through tolerance and resignation; Piers feels that there can be no compromise with the sheperd "that does the right way forsake." The tale ends with a very ironic request from Palinode that another

Popish priest be allowed to tell the fable at one of his celebrations. In this treatment of the theme of sobriety and worldliness, the satire stands out against religious types like Palinode, who should be men of "elder wit", but instead are content to participate in the follies of an earthly existence. There is a more direct presentation of the subject-matter in this eclogue than is to be found in the preceding one, and as the series tends to be leading toward a climax, the style becomes more vigorous. Notice also that very similar to the pattern of the February eclogue, there is no resolution to the problem posed between the two sheperds except on the level of the fable.

In the July eclogue we find what I consider to be the central thematic climax of the moral eclogues, for the dispute is aired without the injection of a fable to point out the moral. The allegory is directed toward honoring the good shepherd, Thomalin, and discrediting the selfish, ambitious shepherd, represented by Morrell. The hill and the valley are used as symbols of pride and humility, respectively, and in the exchange Thomalin comes out the victor, based on the deliberate simplicity with which his character has been presented, rather than on the strength of his arguments. On the level of the topical satire, we are again faced with the two factions of the

church, aimed at the Anglican hierarchy, with Bishop Aylmer as Morrell. Thomalin is the thorough-going Puritan representing Thomas Wilcox, and the satire is directed at three primary things. In lines 171 to 174, the satire is aimed at the vestments of the Anglican church:

> Their weedes bene not so nighly wore,
> such simplesse mought them shend:
> They bene yclad in purple and pall,
> so hath theyr god them blist

In lines 175-176, the satire is directed at pride:

> They reigne and rulen ouer all,
> and lord it, as they list:

And in lines 179 through 182, the satire is aimed at the corruption of bishops.

> Theyr Pan theyr sheepe to them has sold,
> I saye as some haue seene.
> For Palinode (if thou must ken)
> yode late on Pilgrimage
> To Rome (if such be Rome)...

This eclogue is significant in presenting the Aristotelian concept of the golden mean approached by presenting the two extremes of the church existing in sixteenth century England. In the final myth about the fate of Algrin, we have the most direct allusion to Archbishop Grindal to be found in the moral eclogues. Grindal had been sequestrated by Elizabeth due to his obvious leanings toward the Puritan point of view, in pressing for a continued support of open discussion among the clergymen of England. Elizabeth was forced

to protect her views and remove Grindal from his position as Archbishop of Canterbury. This temporary move was extended until 1580, but at the time of the Calender's creation, Grindal was very much out of favor with the queen and had a sympathetic follower in Spenser. The allusion of the eagle in the final portion of the eclogue is directed toward Elizabeth, and the fate of Grindal is underlined in the fate of Algrind.

There are points of contrast to be made in the May eclogue as far as treatment of the religious problem is concerned. In the exchanges between the two sheperds, the allusions referred to by Thomalin are primarily Biblical allusions, whereas the allusions presented by Morrell are classical and somewhat artificial in the rustic motif of the pastoral. The reference to the sun which rises above the hill is symbolic of the fall of man because in striving to achieve God-head, man commits the basic sin of pride. Thomalin points up this situation in the lines:

> ...he that strives to touch the starres,
> oft stumbles at the strawe.

The hills are to be revered, but man must be content with his status as it really is and not attempt to rise above it. Thomalin is, therefore, like the Good Sheperd in his simplicity and humility of

character, while Morrell is the complex, artificial prototype of formality. The fable is unnecessary in the presentation of this eclogue because the moral is skillfully worked out by way of contrast. The speeches, attitudes, and characterization of Thomalin are consistent with the simple life to be grasped from the pastoral mode; the presentation of Morrell affects us in just the opposite manner.

I have suggested that this eclogue is the thematic climax of the moral eclogues for several reasons. In the first place, it stands logically in the center of the five eclogues and has repetitions of morals presented in the two eclogues which precede it, and overtones from the two eclogues which are to follow. We are reminded of the wolf in sheep's clothing of the May fable, and get a preview of Diggon Davie, the sheperd of the September eclogue. Secondly, the subject-matter is not smoothed over by benefit of a fable, but aired openly and deliberately through Biblical and classical allusions. In comparison to Wyatt and Surrey, one might argue that this is a step removed from their treatment of satire, but in the tradition of the pastoral, the moral is effectively pointed out without the Aesopic convention. Third, though there is no real reconciliation of the problem of the good life, Morrell seems

to have benefited from the discussion of Thomalin in the sense that his curiosity has been aroused. He is anxious to know the story of Algrin and admits the tragedy of his misfortune. The character of Morrell, however, does not change, due primarily to his lack of insight. He does not associate Algrin's plight with himself because he is too blinded by selfish ambition. The situation does form a sharp contrast to the condescending attitudes of Cuddie and Palinode in the first two moral eclogues, because Morrell se ms to have developed a degree of respect for the simple Thomalin whom he cannot convert to his ambitious notions. In the fourth place, the music-like quality of the verse is different from the coarse diction of the February and May eclogues. The rhyme scheme is similar to the ballad stanza and the lyric quality, which has been rough-hewn in the other eclogues, is more in keeping with the simple motif of the pastoral.

In the September eclogue we have an example of the shepherd who has sacrificed all and won nothing. Diggon Davie is disillusioned with the world, for in driving his sheep toward a foreign country, he had become aware of the corrupt features of a strange land which had sounded attractive because of its external appeal. In relating his travels to Hobbinol, he is presenting a satire on

the state of the Anglican church with its loose living and Popish prelates. We are faced with a picture of extreme corruption, whereas the other eclogues have presented a two-sided situation. The primary difference is that Diggon repents and is willing to face the world in search of the good Puritan life, for he has learned through a bitter experience that only the sheperd who is true to his sheep will gain salvation.

On the level of the satire, Diggon Davie is again representative of the cleric who has tended more and more toward the extreme formalities of the Anglican church, patterned on close order to the Roman Catholic church. The closer he gets to Rome, the more corrupt features he runs into and there is a bitter description of idleness, usury, and confiscation of church lands which exists in contemporary England. I am inclined to believe that Diggon might stand for Spenser himself, for Hobbinol is supposedly Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's closest friend at Pembroke, with whom he maintained a lasting correspondence. In this fashion, the trip to Rome is related in a manner similar to their exchanges in real conversation. Higginson tends to support this point of view in the following summary:

> Diggon utters most of the satire, without debate. He may represent Richard Greenhan, but he utters Spenser's own views. He had just returned to Cambridge or Saffron Walden from a disappointing errand in London. He first attacks (32-46) the traffic in livings and fines, the opression of the lower Puritan clergy, and ecclesi stical pride; then (80-101) the idleness, corruption, and ignorace of the accepted clergy; then (104-135) the corruption of bishops and the rapacity of the courtiers in preying upon the Church lands.[13]

The moral of the eclogue is pointed up through a story device similar to the fable, because the fable of the wolf in sheep's clothing is a part of the larger story of the good sheperd and his dog. The good sheperd is Roffy, a fictitious name for John Young, the Bishop of Rochester. The dog is symbolic of law and order, the wolf of corruption and disorder. The emblem of the eclogue is that plenty breeds evil rather than good, disorder rather than order. "September" had presented us with a scene of disgression toward one extreme in contrast to parallel points of opposition underlined up through the July eclogue. The second extreme is the case of the poet, the interpreter of the good life through the medium of poetry.

This theme is presented in the last of the moral eclogues, "October". Here Cuddie is seen as the dejected poet who has been discouraged by the lack of inspiration or acceptance by his society. Piers humorously advises that Cuddie begin to write about

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

heroic themes of nobles, kings, and knights whose armour rusts from lack of use; when these epic-type poems have been mastered, he may turn to a consideration of love poems and the more realistic themes which will someday make him famous. Cuddie's answer is that both patrons and worthy deeds are lacking in their society. The poet must rely on the source of inspiration to be found only in the Muse, except that his source of inspiration is gone. If Colin were not so sick with love, he could soar to the ends of the universe on the wings of poetry. The reference here is more personal than in any of the other eclogues, for this is the position of Spenser as he anticipates the response that the world will have to his "meager" presentations. Nothing could have been more modestly assumed, for the Calender established his reputation as a poet of great merit in the Elizabethan tradition. On a more extended level, there is a direct correlation between the minister and the poet since they are both shepherds in a sense. While one is concerned with spiritual edification and religion, the other is concerned with the edification of the intellect. Both are concerned with inspiring the soul, and in both instances there is a divine calling to leadership which transcends the average world. Thus the

poet is presented by Spenser as the literary counterpart of the clergyman, as he teaches people how to live an ethical, moral, and gratifying life through the medium of poetry. It is this affinity between the minister and the poet which makes "October" one of the moral eclogues, and the language and style of the verse is conversant with the standards of poetry contained therein. Beneath the satiric presentation of poetic themes there lies the classic ideal of Platonic beauty which is the ultimate truth sought after in the poet's song. This eclogue serves to illustrate the poetry of the pastoral, for in it we can see to what extent the poet can soar in his treatment of a subject close to him. As the final eclogue in the series, it is fitting that the opposition from religious problems be minimized, and that Colin reappear as the projection of Spenser.

In general, there are several practical ends to be obtained by Spenser in his satires. First of all, he attacks the abuses of the Anglican church. Secondly, he has an opportunity to defend Grindal and to compliment Young, his patron at the time of the _Calender's_ composition. Third, he celebrates his friendship with Harvey and the Leicester circle. Last of all, he presents his views on poets and poetry. With this vast assort-

ment of ends to be achieved through his eclogue, Spenser's humanism is reflected throughout, and the emblems are suggestive of a type of simplicity which should be adopted by English society.

The satiric genre which began to emerge during this period was similar to, but not dependent on, a classical strain of literature dating back to Horace. What Wyatt, Surrey, and Spenser did was to modernize the language into the vernacular, and to popularize a more native tradition that England could claim for itself. In some ways, the rise of satire paralleled the Reformation forces in England, for the protest that began on an individual level was to gain momentum during the reign of Elizabeth. As individual protest expanded to a larger portion of society, so the literary circle broadened from court to university groups, and satires were to become circulated among a larger number of popular readers.

CHAPTER III - THE EXPANSION OF ENGLISH SATIRE IN THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: THE LAST PHASE (1590-1601)

In the period of Henry VIII's reign, English satire had become a new tool of self-expression in the hands of Wyatt and Surrey. The form itself had not become standardized, for it was still a matter of experimental verse which reached a limited audience of court circles and associates of the writers. Spenser expanded the form in the framework of the pastoral, which had been a conventional pattern throughout the continent. At the same time, he raised the instrument of satire to a more universal level of application through which public grievances of the Elizabethan world could be expressed. The full potential of satiric verse crystallized during the last decade of the century in a number of literary wars which evolved from the pens of Joseph Hall, John Marston, John Donne, and Ben Jonson.

Emmanuel College in 1589 was reputed to be a hot-bed of Puritan discipline and strict religious training. As an ambitious youth, matriculating at a time when Cambridge excelled in academic learning, Hall was undoubtedly impressed, and at the same time dismayed, by the social and economic problems of

Elizabethan society which were brought to his attention. His career at Emmanuel was one of distinction, as he earned his B.A. in 1593, his M.A. in 1596, and was elected fellow of his college in 1595. These years at school were the most memorable years of his life, and in many ways the most important because it was during these years that many of his ideas and attitudes crystallized into an objective evaluation of contemporary life. It is important to remember that Emmanuel College was not intended to be a seat of humanistic training; it was intended to be a seminary established for the purpose of preparing men for the ministry. That the product of Hall's training was of humanistic nature was, therefore, ironic in a school where Calvinistic theology was the main subject of study.

This background is essential in a study of Hall's literary inclinations, for during this period of training, he published his Virgidemiarum. His fundamental attitudes reflected a combination of Puritan ethic and worldly pessimism which were impressed upon him in academic and family circles. This pessimistic view of the world was expressed in terms of vices and licentious evils of society which his mother had warned him against throughout his early youth. Her favorite themes were those which dealt with temptations, desertions, and

spiritual comforts; and for the remainder of his life, Hall was to remember "those passages of experimental divinity" learned at his mother's knee. This revelation Mrs. Hall had reserved for her son Joseph, to prepare him for his future calling in the service of the Church to which he had been dedicated since infancy.

These two influences were then to be reflected in Hall's works, and it was not illogical that the first note of pessimism be struck in the form of satire. What does impress the reader as unusual is the fact that at the age of twenty-three Hall had acquired a unique and objective comprehension of contemporary life and its problems and was able to criticize its limitations with the eye of a more mature man. In 1597 he published the first part of Virgidemiarum, which was followed by the second group of satires in 1598. These satires brought him into prominence in literary circles and caused such an academic stir that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London issued orders to the Stationer's Company forbidding the printing of satires. With this order came a list of books of satiric or erotic nature which were ordered to be collected and burned. With the exception of Hall's satires and Cudwode's Caltha Poetarum, which were reprieved, the books were burned on June 4, 1599.

As Davenport indicates:

> The reiteration of the old restrictions on books of English History and on plays shows that the censors were anxious on political grounds; ...but the wholesale forbidding of satires and epigrams indicates that the main object of the order was to stem the flood of libelous personalities and of disturbing comment on topical social problems. [14]

The censors did have cause for alarm, for there had evolved a type of rivalry among the literary of academic circles which took the form of open quarrels and disputes. Foremost of these were the Nashe-Harvey, Nashe-Greene controversies, which Hall must have viewed with more than casual interest, [15] but in my opinion it is futile to try to verify an allusion to specific writers in Virgidemiarum. Rather, Hall is presenting a standard-size glove with the challenge, "Let him who will wear it." It is true that in a closer analysis of the text, one might find references which allude to a more specific source, but in general the criticism is aimed at composite vices which were eminent in his contemporary world. It was received with interest among contemporary readers and was at once followed

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[14] The collected Poems of Joseph Hall, ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool, 1949), p. xxxvi.

[15] Davenport explains this at length in his chapter "Hall on Contemporary Writers", Ibid.

by imitations which became dangerous criticisms of contemporary political and social affairs. For matters of self-preservation, it was necessary for the censors to stop the flow of libelous material which bordered on scandal because the circle of dissension was extending from the world of the scholar to the world of the layman. How effectively the edict was applied is hard to determine since evidence of its success is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, the majority of books that were burned in 1599 are extant; but on the other hand, the Virgidemiarum was reprinted in 1602, while various books of satire and epigram appeared from other writers within the next decade. In general, the edict caused a temporary tremor in literary circles, but it does not appear that it was severely adhered to. Despite the fact that satire was later channeled into drama before the close of the theatres under the Puritan Parliament, this may partly explain why the spirit of satire failed to establish itself in the seventeenth century.

The appearance of Virgidemiarum in 1597 is important to modern critics for several other reasons. First of all, it established Hall's reputation as an austere critic of contemporary life. Secondly,

it brought Hall into a dispute with Marston which was to extend over a good deal of his public career. In the third place, there was a revival of interest in Hall's satire when Milton used Virgidemiarum as a weapon against the author in 1642.[16] Fourthly, it is an established fact that the publication of a reprint of Virgidemiarum in the early 1700's led to a rebirth of interest in Hall's satire. Pope read it with great interest and circulated it among his group of friends, and from this renaissance in the eighteenth century on has come a steady succession of editions which would indicate the delayed merit of his genius.

It would be futile for modern readers to try and verify or refute Hall's claim to be the first English satirist. It is my conjecture that the prologue to Book I is often misinterpreted through an overemphasis of the following passage:

> I First aduenture with fool-hardie might
> To tread the steps of perilous despight:
> I first aduenture: follow me who list,
> And be the second English Satyrist.

In the broader sense of the word satirist, Hall was not the first Englishman to write in the medium, and being the scholar that he was, this fact must have

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[16] Milton's discussion of Hall as an unread critic of "tooth-lesse" satire may be found in his "Apology for Smectymnuus."

been evident to him. On the other hand, Lodge's "A Fig for Momus" was only a small effort in the direction of satire and Donne's works were still in manuscript form. In a more specific context, Hall may be considered the first English satirist in the sense that he was the first to attempt a true Juvenalian mode of satire in English which met with success. There were points of the tradition not to be found in the Horatian models of Wyatt and Spenser, loaning themselves to a unique form of expression which one might classify as typically native. First of all, the subject of satiric attack is obscure. The specific identity of any person could not be altogether wrenched from the context of the satire. In the second place, the satirist recognizes the risks involved in tramping on such dangerous ground. This is obvious from Hall's "Defiance to Envy" and "Post-script to the Reader" which enclose the books of satire. Thirdly, the function of the satirist is to comment on moral and social evils; a satire is then a critique of contemporary life. These three characteristics of the Juvenalian tradition were fused into a type of expression which could be meaningful to an academic audience and yet understandable to the masses, and it was this dual appeal of the satires which made them meet with such controversial acceptance.

There are two attitudes or intentions of the author which I should like to underline in terms of the composition of the satires. It must be remembered, first of all, that Hall consciously and deliberately made it difficult for any contemporary reader to positively say that a certain writer was the object of satiric attack. At the same time, Hall delighted in his ability to paint so vivid a character-sketch, particularly when his audience was so anxious to attach labels to them. Those who suffered as a result of his pen were those who had the greatest guilt, and the thought that they were so willing to accept these challenges as directed to themselves must have been ironic and amusing for a young scholar making his first bid to claim. Secondly, Hall had no real intention of pursuing a literary career, for he had prepared himself for the ministry. The Virgidemiarum, with the exception of a Latin poem which Hall wanted to forget [17], represented his only effort in the satiric vein. It was therefore necessary that it contain all the grievances he could possibly voice within the realm of truth.

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[17] The Latin poem referred to is "Mundus alter et idem", a satire written in 1606 and published anonymously in 1608 without the knowledge of the author. This reprint was done in English translation and as Milton indicated, it was unworthy of a Christian. Hall never refers to this satire in any of his later works, for the picture presented in it is incongruous to the devout and saintly man Hall was.

Hall's novelty, it has been suggested, lay not only in the fact that his was a conscious attempt to imitate Juvenal and to find a style in English suitable for satire, but in his effort to emphasize literary and academic subjects. This latter point is evident in a closer analysis of Virgidemiarum, for out of six books of satire, almost half of them deal with subject-matter bordering on problems which concern literature or scholarly efforts. The title itself is the genitive form of a Latin word meaning "harvest of green rods to beat the offenders". It occurs in the form Hall uses it in a work by Plautus where the word also refers to blows. Mention should be made of the order in which the six books of Virgidemiarum appeared. The first three books were published as a unit of "tooth-lesse satire" and divided into three categories - literary, academic, and moral. The last three books were published the following year as a unit of "byting satire". This classification of the two sections Milton criticized in the 1640's, for to the critical eye of such a perfectionist, this distinction was contradictory. Satire was, by its very nature, biting in the sense that it criticized without reservation any and all evils of society. There could be no room for a smoothing over of these attitudes, for it would have been uncharacteristic

of the genre.

Milton's criticism of Hall's satires appears to me to be a point of verbal technicality, for in a close reading of Virgidemiarum it becomes more apparent what Hall really intended. His classification of the six books was a convenient manner, of indicating the tone of the satires rather than their nature. That Hall was aware of the distinction to be made between tone and definition is indicated by two factors. The first evidence may be found in Book V, satire iii:

> The Satyre should be like the Porcupine,
> That shoots sharpe quils out in each angry line,
> And wounds the blushing cheeke, and fiery eye,
> Of him that heares, and readeth guiltily.

This passage would indicate what I consider to be Hall's definition of satire. There are several passages which I should like to cite in terms of Hall's intended tone in the two sections of his satires. The first group of passages are taken from his "Defiance to Envy" which precedes the tooth-less satires:

> Witness ye Muses how I wilfull song
> These heddy rymes, withouten secon care:
> And wish't them worse, my guilty thoughts emong:
> The ruder Satyre should goe rag's and bare:
> And show his rougher and his hairy hide:
> Tho mine be smooth, and deckt in carelesse pride.
>
> Whether so me list me lonely thought to sing,
> Come dance ye nimble Dryads by my side:

> Ye gently wood-Nymphs come: & with you bring
> The willing Fauns that mought your musick guide,
> Come Nymphs & Fauns, that haunt those shadie Groues:
> While I report my fortunes or my loues.
>
> But now (ye Muses) sith your sacred hests
> Profaned are by each presuming tongue:
> In scornful rage I vow this silent rest,
> That neuer field nor groue shall here my song.
> Onely these refuse rimes I here mispend,
> To chide the world, that did my thoughts offend.

The second set of passages which indicate the tone of the satires is found in the Prologue to Book I:

> Enuie the margent holds, and Truth the line:
> Truth doth approue, but Enuy doth repine.
> For in this smoothing age who durst indite,
> Hath made his pen an hyred Parasite,
> To claw the back of him that beastly liues,
> And prank base men in proud Superlatiues. ...
> Goe daring Muse on with thy thanklesse taske,
> And doe the ugly face of vice unmaske:
> And if thou canst thine high flight remit,
> So as it mought a lowly Satyre fit,
> Let lowly Satyres rise aloft to thee:
> Truth be thy speed, and truth thy Patron bee.

Contrast this passage with the Prologue to the biting satires which ends with the following stanza:

> What euer eye shalt finde this hatefull scrole
> After the date of my deare Exequies,
> Ah pitty thou my playning Orphanes dole
> That faine would see the sunne before it dies:
> It dy'de before, now let it liue agian,
> Then let it die, and bide some famous bane.

The point I should like to make concerning Hall's distinction is that it was a deliberate classification to indicate the author's point of view as he intended it to be taken. Milton, on the other hand, reads this distinction as an ironic contradiction of the meaning of satire and in so doing, distorts the purpose of the two sections of Virgidemiarum.

In other words, Milton is falling into the trap which Hall had consciously placed to ensnare those who were guilty of the misdemeanors he attacked. This point is further illustrated in "A post-script to the Reader" which follows the final book of satire. I shall quote in part from this section in order to indicate the ambiguities which Hall was certainly aware of:

> It is not for euery one to rellish a true and naturall Satyre, being of it selfe besides the natiue and in-bred bitterness and tartness of particulers, both hard of conceipt, and harsh of stile, and therefore cannot be unpleasing both to the unskilfull, and ouer Musicall eare, the one being affected with onely a challow and easie matter, the other with a smooth and currant disposition: so that I foresee in the timely publication of these my concealed Satyres. One thinkes it misbeseeming of the Author, because a Poeme: another unlawfull in it selfe because a Satyre; a third harmfull to otheres for the sharpnesse: & a fourth unsatyrlike for the mildnesse: The learned too perpicious, being named with Iuuenall, Perius, and the other ancient Satyres; The unlearned, sauourlesse, because too obscure, and obscure because not under their reach. What a monster must he be that would please all?
> ...For my Satyres themselves, I see two obuious cawls to be answered. One concerning the matter; then which I confesse none can be more open to danger, to enuie sith falts loath nothing more than the light, and men loue nothing more than their faults...But why should vices be unblamed for feare of blame? and if thou maist spit upon a Toade unvenomed, why maist thou not speake of a vice without danger? ...The other concerning the manner, where in perhaps I am constrained thus farre of to imitate: ...First ...I dare boldly auouch that the English is not altogether so naturall to a Satyre as the Latin ...but to that which is common to it with all other common languages ...but I know not what a loathsome kinde of harshness and discordance it breadeth to any iudiciall eare. ...Let my second ground be ...

> that men rather choose carelessly to lease the sweete of the kernell, than to urge their teeth with breaking of the shell wherein it is wrapped: and therefore sith that which is unseexe is almost undone ...I would say nothing to be untalkt of, or speake with my mouth open that I may be understood. Thirdly the end of this paines was a Satyre, but the end of my Satyre a further good...
> ...The rest, to each mans censure which let be as fauourable, as so thanklesse a work can deserue or desire.

Having established the intention of the author, we may consider his choice of theme and subject-matter treated in the satires. Hall has conveniently classified his first half of Virgidemiarum into three types of satires - literary, academic, and moral. These areas overlap in several satires, but the classification is well made because it helps to focus attention on an area of Hall's writings which is virtually overlooked as a concrete criticism of literature existing in the sixteenth century. While references to literary topics appear in the later satires, the first eight satires of Book I are entirely devoted to the subject. There are several explanations which may be offered as reasons why students of Elizabethan literature fail to see the value of Hall's criticism. First of all, as a satirist Hall was concerned with the failures of contemporary literature rather than with its achievements. As a result, there appears to be a real omission of excellencies which would compensate for these

deficiencies, an omission which admirers of Elizabethan poetry would associate with an insensitive critic. His criticism is directed at weaknesses which are repugnant to classical taste of a more prosaic mind. Both of these observations are admirable in such a young critic, because they label a type of objective mind which would see things in perspective rather than in terms of immdeiate results. This detachment from current fashions and judgements is a point to be remembered in connection with Hall's value as a critic, for it must have been recognized by even the most hostile judges of his day as a quality which commanded respect.

In the first eight satires there are several types of poetry which Hall ridicules. These types are summarized in satire i into the following categories:

(1) love poetry of the lady and the knight (Chivalric conventions)
(2) pagan stories of the Orlando Furioso type
(3) love sonnets
(4) certain modes of contemporary tragedy
(5) poems and plays written for either the approval of a patron or for the comprehension of the "dumb ear" or "blind eye"

The satire ends on a note of dejection because there is no Muse to evoke a more native tradition in English literature. The idea of the deflowered Muse is emphasized in satire ii with the conventional love story turned into a theme of passion and lust. Satire

iii presents a parody on the stage conventions which contrasts the neo-classical theory of the orthodox tragic hero with the common stock from which Marlowe draws his heroes.[18] In satires iv and v the argument is continued with the idea that although rhymless tragic poetry is bad, rhymed heroic poetry is even worse. In satire v Marston was to see echoes from The Mirror for Magistrates, and Drayton and Daniel have been suggested for Gaveston and Rosamund. In satire vi we are presented with still another type of tragic poet, who tries to put Latin conversations into English. On this point, Hall follows the lead set by Nashe in condemning the attempts to mix the metre of Latin verse into English. In satire vii the love sonnets are ridiculed in terms of the courtly conventions exposed within them. The reference to the Calender may be Spenser's Sainting of Rosalind, Marston's Pigmalion's Image, or Drayton's Sheperd's Garland, but my conjecture is that the notion should be extended to a more general reference. Satire viii turns to the problem

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[18] There is an interesting suggestion in Kinlock's The Life and Works of Joseph Hall that the real reference is to Shakespeare as the foremost dramatist of the period. Evidence to support this idea is in the references to the tragedies of Marlowe and Kyd, who were both used as sources by Shakespeare. See pp. 170-171.

of religious poems, and in satire ix and satire i of Book II we are presented with a composite picture of the bad poet. The identity of Labeo has been the subject of much conjecture, but again the reference should be read on a general level of meaning.

Hall's points of literary criticism may be summarized in the following manner. His objections to religious poems and traditional themes of courtly or heroic conventions were two-fold. First of all the subjects of reverence were being treated as mere themes for a witty display of the poet's talent. Secondly, the poet was writing to please a more diversified audience rather than writing what he wanted to. Hall complained of contemporary tragedy for several reasons. In the first place, he saw a lack of the harmonious mixture of comic and serious elements perfectly achieved, and secondly he doubted the suitability of blank verse as a medium for tragic expression. This attitude was natural for a scholar and an academic trained in the Senecan tradition who saw the mode being cheapened in order to pandar to a more vulgar taste. His clear-headedness concerning the matter of classical metres and English prosody serves to indicate the independence of his judgement in not bowing to the popular influence of his own University.

Hall's section of "Academicall" satires extends the object of ridicule to the vices of various professions. In satire ii the professional people are attacked in their attempt to set themselves up as country squires -- a futile ambition which historians listed as characteristic of the day. This is followed by consecutive attacks on the lawyer, doctor, parson, squire, and astrologer, who each strive to make themselves better than they really are. The latter reference is a very interesting one, because Hall seems very much concerned over the superstitions of his age. In satire i of Book VI Hall returns to this attack on astrology in the following manner:

> Not one man tels a lye of all the yeare
> Except the Almanacke or the Chronicler.
> But not a man of all the damned crue
> For hills of Gold would swear the thing untrue.

The group of moral satires concern themselves with the manifestations of social changes which have made the society more corrupt and unstable. These manifestations are symptomatic of the larger problem of pride indicated by the specific reference to monuments (satire ii), lavish entertainment (satire iii), ostentatious display (satire iv), vanity (satire v), drunkenness (satire vi), and absurd dress (satire vii). Hall's attitude toward these social evils is one of disgust and alarm, but it is

interesting to note the tone of mockery which seems to prevail in this group. Hall is above the situations which he describes while still an integral part of each. His opening satire, written along the model of Juvenal, with its description of the Golden Age, would indicate that in contrast to contemporary society, Hall viewed the ancient world with a sort of reverence because that age was more orderly, refined, and less complex.

The second installment of satires referred to as "biting" would indicate a change in tone and in point of view. In these satires Hall turns from general vices to particular social and economic evils of contemporary society. He therefore turns to a more conventional attack on subjects which had been the source of satiric copy from the first appearance of Piers Plowman to the end of the sixteenth century. With the exception of satire vii of Book IV and satire i of Book VI, the entire group concerns itself with the problems resulting from the economic revolution of Elizabeth's reign. These problems are focused on a series of attacks concerning the commercial practices of the new business class (Book IV, satire ii, iii, vi; Book V, satires i, ii), the discontent of one's own estate (Book IV, satire vi; Book V, satire iv), the decline of "housekeeping" or manners (Book V, satire ii), and the practice of

usury and enclosure (Book IV, satire v; Book V, satire ii).

The two exceptional satires concern themselves with the problem of Labeo, the bad poet, and with the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. The basic irony of Hall's attitude is pin-pointed in Book VI, because the age is characterized as "righteous" and its vices are presented as virtues. This irony is missing in the eclogues of The Sheperds' Calendar and is more like the irony of Wyatt or Lord Byron in a later century.

The economic and social problems which existed during the Elizabethan period were points of much concern, and it was not unusual for Hall to turn to matters which would hit closer home in his final section of satires. While the "toothlesse satires" were directed to a limited audience of scholars, the "biting" satires could be aimed at, and understood by the common people, for in uncovering the problems of the economic revolution, Hall could voice the grievances of a much bewildered population. His ability to present an objective view of his society as it really existed, his vivid presentation of the character-sketch, his use of irony as a device of satire, and his constructive criticism of literary conventions reflect an intensive view of the Elizabethan age.

Hall's challenge to "follow me who list and be the second English satyrist" was answered very closely by the satires of John Marston who published his Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image and Certain Satires in May of 1598. At this time the second half of Virgidemiarum had been in print for only a few months and the appearance of Marston's first work was ironic for several reasons. First of all, it has been shown that both writers had circulated their work in manuscript form prior to publication, indicating that a close circle of friends and academics were familiar with the general inferences to be drawn from satiric copy of this sort. Secondly, Pygmalion was followed by the publication of Marston's Scourge of Villainy in September of the same year, so that an already-outraged literary public now had three controversial publications to hold up for criticism. For the first time, Hall and Marston were read together and viewed with more than mild enthusiasm, since much was to be deduced from the direct attack on Hall in a number of the Marston satires. To those who had received injury from the pen of Hall, Marston became a literary hero, and in contemporary England Hall had created many enemies. Others viewed the literary battle which ensued with great interest because the academic writer was on trial by the

urbane, self-made poet. The state of mind among cle ical, literary, and lay circles during the years of 1598-1599 may then be described as one of anxiety and tension, a situation which came to a head in the Hall-Marston controversy which ensued.

Mention has already been made of the act of censure issued by the Bishop of London in 1599, but there are several observations which must be made since it affected the works of Marston. Historically, we know that his satires were among these burned in June of the year, while the works of Hall and Robert Cudwode were reprieved. This fact raises the problem of what characteristics were evident in Marston's satires that would make them more the objects of censorship than the satires of Hall. Even among literary circles Marston's satires would not be revered as works of poetic merit, despite the fact that the references and context were familiar to a contemporary audience. This is the big problem which modern critics must try to resolve, because against all odds, Marston's satires have survived despite a great obscurity of meaning which time has produced. Bullen focused attention on this problem in the following manner:

> There is not much pleasure or profit to be derived from a perusal of Marston's satires. The author deliberately adopted an uncouth style of phraseology; his allusions are frequently quite unintelligible to modern readers, and

> even the wits of his contemporaries must have been sorely exercised. After a course of Marston's satires Persius is clear as crystal.[19]

Although I feel Bullen makes a valid observation in saying that Marston's satires impart little pleasure to a contemporary reader, I would not agree with the idea that little profit can be derived from a study of Marston's works. When evaluated in terms of the different points of view and attitudes toward satire which emerged from the century, Marston's works help to extend the sixteenth century theory of satire to embrace a negative point of view which was to be picked up by Donne and Jonson. In a sense we may say that Marston was deliberately unique in the outrageous quality of his satires, but in another respect, we may consider him a transitional satirist.

The difference in points of view between satirists like Marston and Hall may be evaluated in terms of the function of satire as conceived by each writer. The Horatian theory of satire, as explored in the fourth satire of Book I, provided a background which Renaissance satirists expanded in terms of a medicinal metaphor. This concept was picked up by Marston in his conception of the satirist as a "barber-surgeon", a phrase which Hallet Smith [20] uses to explain the following

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19 *The Works of John Marston*, ed. A.H. Bullen (London, 1887), I 381

20 Hallet Smith, *Elizabethan Poetry*, p. 219.

passage from the Source of Villainy:

> Infectious blood, yee goutie humours quake
> Whilst my sharp Razor doth incision make.
> (Satire v, 117-118)

Marston viewed satire as a tool which lanced the sores of the commonwealth. To be sure the healing process was long and painful, but to him it was certain. The key-word to be noted as characteristic of Marston's role is that of "scourge", for the satirist was seen in terms of the punisher of mankind. This was a typical contemporary attitude of the Elizabethan period as seen in Shakespeare's portrayal of Hamlet as the prototype of God's scourge and minister:

> ...For this same lord,
> I do repent; but Heaven hath pleas'd it so.
> To punish me with this and this with me
> That I must be their scourge and minister.
> I will bestow him, and will answer well
> The death I gave him. So again, good-night.
> I must be cruel, only to be kind.
> Thus bad begins and worse remains behind.
> (Hamlet: III, 4, 172-179)

Hall, on the other hand, used satire as a means of objecting to false standards of value rather than purging them. His attitude toward his subject-matter, and consequently toward his audience, was highly impersonal in the sense that he maintained a degree of detachment from his writings.

The problem of the function of satire and the role of the satirist raises a further question of

the attitude of the satirist toward his subject-matter. It has already been suggested that Hall's attitude of objectivity was characteristic of his writings, but in Marston's satires we find a mixture of contempt for the world, for the reader, and even for himself. This attitude the Elizabethan called "malcontent" and it was a state of mind reflected in a good deal of literature of the period.[21] The significant factor in this case was that Marston presented the problem of the malcontent as a writer rather than as a mere character in a play. This suggests that there was something in his very nature which made him do more than object to his world as a Hall would do. That essence of temperament I should like to define in terms of melancholy.

To the Renaissance humanist, melancholy had a special meaning. Sixteenth-century society accredited man's psychological differences to the existence of four humours - blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. These in turn were affected by the elements hot, cold, moist, and dry which constituted the four humours in various combinations. That man who had a c mfortable balance of each of the four humours in his system would be similar to

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[21] Both Bullen and Smith suggest Shakespearean examples in the characters of Hamlet and Jaques.

Shakespeare's portrayal of Brutus:

> This was the noblest Roman of them all.
> All the conspirators, save only he,
> Did that he did in envy of great Caesar;
> He only, in a general honest thought
> And common good to all, made one of them.
> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, "This was a man!"
> (Julius Caesar: V, 5, 68-75)

The one who had a predominence of blood was called sanguine; the one with a predominence of phlegm, phlegmatic; the one with a predominence of yellow bile, choleric. The melancholy scholar would be most likely to have a predominence of yellow bile in his system which manifested itself through various emotions - passion, jealousy. In the same manner, the melancholy man could be the most excellent satirist because his emotional, intellectual, and psychological bent led him toward a pessimistic view of the world. The implications to be deduced from this explanation are two-fold, as summarized in the following statement:

> The melancholy man, as a satirist, felt within himself the urges which he saw being gratified at large in his society, and his own impulses gave strength and vigor to the violent disgust which his malcontented disposition inspired in him.[22]

This was the manner in which Marston reacted to his society. The evils which were manifested in society were evils to be found within himself or within each

[22] Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 246.

individual, and the disgust which resulted became as much an attack on himself as on others. This explains in part the sudden shift in Marston's attack in the last section of Pygmalion. In "The Author in praise of his precedent Poem", Marston turns on himself in a momentary flash of self-evaluation:

> And therefore I use Popeling's discipline,
> Lay ope my faults to Mastigophoro's eyne;
> Censure myself, 'fore others me deride
> And scoff at me, as if I had denied
> Or thought my poem good, when that I see
> My lines are froth, my stanzas sapless be.

These moments of self-evaluation are very rare, however, and neither an audience of his contemporaries or modern readers could place very much value on the sincerity of the statement. These external characteristics are then to be reflected in Marston's satires. The role of the malcontent and the surgeon are grasped by the writer in reflecting his personal temperament within his works.

In the study of Marston's satirical writing, it is unnecessary to analyze Pygmalion because it does not really come under the genre of satire. It is important to recognize, however, that in its pornographic nature, it reflected the type of erotic mythological poetry in vogue at the turn of the century. These were remotely derived from Ovid and were in existence at the same time that the

satires of Donne, Hall, and Wyatt were in circulation. It was this type of indecent poetry which Hall used as a source of satiric copy, but satire for the Elizabethan was still seen in the shadow of the pastoral, the heroic, and the love poem. It was necessary for it to develop a step further in the dramatic presentation of a Ben Jonson before a contemporary audience could realize the development of a formal mode of satire.

Among the satires which were published with Pygmalion, "Reactio " stands out as a direct attack on Hall's first book of Virgidemiarum and the literary criticism contained therein. The third line immediately introduces the pines of Ida which were familiar in Hall's "Defiance to Envy" and in lines 33-34, a direct allusion is made to satire viii of Book I:

Marston
> Come, dance, ye stumbling satyre by my side,
> If he list once the Sion Muse deride.

Hall
> Hence ye profane: mell not with holy thing
> That Sion muse from Palestine brings.

In line 80 of the "Reactio", Marston makes first reference to the Daniel - Drayton allusion he had read into Virgidemiarum: i,v.

> What, shall not Rosamond or Gaveston
> Ope their sweet lips without detraction?[23]

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[23] Modern critics have been unable to confirm the reference which Marston read into Hall's satire, but the matter is discussed at length in Davenport's edition of The Collected Poems of Jospeh Hall (Liverpool, 1949), p. 168.

In the conclusion of the "Reactio" we are presented with an innovation which has not been seen in the satires of Wyatt, Surrey, Spenser, or Hall. From lines 131 until the end of the satire, Marston reworks entire passages and phrases from Hall's "Defiance of Envy" into his poem. At the conclusion, he makes a direct quip on the toothless satires, and his general attitude may be seen from a reproduction of the passage in its entirety.

> But come, fond braggart, crown thy brows with bay,
> Intrance thyself in thy sweet ecsatcy;
> Come, manumit thy plumy pinion,
> And scour the sword of elvish champion;
> Or else vouchsafe to breathe in wax-bound quill,
> And deign our longing ears with music fill;
> That thou mayet raise thy vile inglorious name.
> Summon the Nymphs and Dryades to bring
> Some rare invention, whilst thou dost sing
> So sweet that thou mayst shoulder from above
> The eagle fr m the stairs of friendly Jove,
> And lead sad Pluto captive with thy song,
> Gracing thyself, that art obscured so long.
> Come, somewhat say (but hang me when 'tis done)
> Worthy of brass and hoary marlbe stone;
> Speak, ye attentive swains, that heard him never,
> Will not his pastoral endure for ever?
> Speak, ye that never heard him ought but rail,
> Do not his poems bear a glorious sail?
> Hath not he strongly justled from above
> The eagle from the stairs of friendly Jove?
> May be, may be: tut! 'tis his modesty;
> He could, if that he would: nay, would if could, I s
> Who cannot rail, and with blasting breath,
> Scorch even the whitest lilies of the earth?
> Who cannot stumble in a stuttering style,
> And shallow heads with seeming shadows beguile?
> Cease, cease, at length to be malevolent
> To fairest blooms of virtues eminent;
> Strive not to soil the freshest hues on earth
> With thy malicious and upbraiding breath.
> Envy, let pines of Ida rest alone,
> For they will grow spite of thy thunder-stone;
> Strive not to nibble in their swelling grain

> With toothless gums of thy detracting brain;
> Eat not thy dam, but laugh and sport with me
> At stranger's follies with a merry glee.
> Let's not malign our kin. Then, satirist,
> I do salute thee with an open fist.

The following lines are taken from the Hall original with line references to his "Defiance to Envy".

> Would she but shade her tender Brows with Bay (line 31)
>
> And trance herself with that sweet Extasie (line 33)
>
> Or would we loose her plumy Pineon (line 37)
>
> Or scoure the rusted swords of Eluish knights (line 49)
>
> Would we but breathe within the wax-bound quill (line 79)
>
> Maybe she might in stately Stanzas frame (line 55)
>
> To raise her silent and inglorious name (line 57)
>
> Whether so me list my lonely thought to sing (line 97)
>
> The eagle from the stayre of friendly Jove (line 42)
>
> To lead sad Pluto captiue with my song,
> To grace the triumphs he obscur'd so long (lines 47-48)
>
> Worthy of Brasse, and hoary Marble stone (line 60)
>
> Speak ye attentiue swaynes that heard me late (line 105)

It has been suggested that Marston's bitterness and resentment against Hall stemmed from several factors. First of all, there was a passage in Hall which Marston probably read as a direct reference to Pygmalion.

> Enuie ye Muses, at your thriuing Mate,
> Cupid hath crowned a new Laureat:
> I saw his statue gayly turn'd greene,
> As if he had some second Phoebus beene.
> His statue trim'd with Venerean tree,
> And shrined faire within your sanctuarie.
> (Book I, satire v)

The significance of the passage lies in the fact that if Hall had Marston in mind, he must have read Pygmalion in manuscript form, because it was not in print before the publication of Virgidemiarum. Secondly, Marston claimed that Hall attached the following epigram to each copy of Pygmalion that was published:

> I ask'd Physicians what their cousel was
> For a mad dog, or for a mankind ass?
> They told me, though theyw ere confections' store
> Of poppy-seed and sovereign hellebore,
> The dog was best cured by cutting and kinsing,[24]
> The ass must be kindly whipped for winsing.
> Now then, S.K., I little pass
> Whether thou be a mad dog or a mankind ass.
> (Scourge of Villainy, satire x)

The third is a matter of personal conjecture, for there is a quality in Marston which suggests that he would have selected someone else as the brunt of his attack if Hall had not been so conveniently in the spotlight in 1598. Notice that in none of Marston's satires does he offer a real solution to the problems of society. The controversy with Hall is like a point-counterpoint relationship. Whatever statement Hall makes, Marston will tend to take the opposite point of view. [25]

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[24] Marston directs attention to the pun on the pen-name, Kinsayder, with which he signed the first publication of his satires.

[25] This idea is also supported by Hallet Smith, p. 243.

In the Scourge of Villainy, there is still another characteristic of the Marston satire which comes to light. The author seems to be obsessed with the problem of lust in every form. In satire ii, the world itself is enveloped in lust:

> I cannot hold, I cannot, I, endure
> To view a big-womb'd foggy cloud immure
> The radiant tresses of the quick'ning sun...
>   Ay me! hard world for satirists begin
> To set up shop, when no small petty sin
> Is left unpurged!

In satire iii, the subjects of Hall's satires are contrasted to the lecheries and bawdy actions of a corrupt age, while in the "Cynic Satire" he calls for "A man, a man, a kingdom for a man." The play on Shakespeare's Richard III may be read with little contradiction and a further implication of the Elizabethan attitude may be observed.

The problem of lechery had innumerable meanings to the society of sixteenth-century England. First of all, there was a great concern with the problem of the solidity of the state. From both classical and Biblical sources, there had been stressed the connection between personal inmortality and the collapse of the political unit. Secondly, the political concern focused attention on the problem of values in a society. If the standard of values was amiss, the political unity of the state was jeopardized. But even more important to the renaissance humanist, lechery had a personal - moral

meaning which was seen in terms of an introspective point of view, dependent on religion. The evils of society were the evils of the individual, and the relationship between the individual and God was all-important.

This digression focuses attention upon a characteristic which in one sense became a virtue of Marston's satires. For readers who are interested in the despair of a Hamlet, the cynicism of a Jaques, the blindness of an Othello, Marston may well be the forerunner of the attitude which dominated the late Elizabethan era. In still another sense, Marston points toward the insolence and the despair which underlies the comedies of Ben Jonson. This point is seen in the satire on "Humours":

> Sleep, grim Reproof; my jocund muse doth sing
> In other keys, to nimbler fingering.
> Dull-sprighted Melancholy, leave my brain-
> To hell, Cimmerian night! in libely vein
> I strive to paint, then hence all dark intent
> And sullen frowns! Come sporting Merriment,
> Cheek-dimpling Laughter, crown my very soul
> With jouisance, whilst mirthful jests control
> The gouty humours of these pride-swoll'n days
> Which I do long until my pen displays.

The structure of the <u>Scourge</u> is also interesting because of its similarities to the last three books of <u>Virgidemiarum</u>. The tone of the <u>Scourge</u> is a qualification of the irony which characterized Hall's satires because the tone is ambiguous. While at times the poet drops into lapses of despair, he

can just as easily slip in puns, "double-entendres", and humorous quips when the object of ridicule is understood by the reader. Perhaps part of the problem lies in the lack of communication which is another characteristic of the Marston satire. Marston is abrupt in his change of tone, violent in his shifting allusions, and quite difficult to follow, while Hall's satires are characterized by a unity of execution.

Behind each point of comparison and contrast between Hall and Marston lies something which seems to be intrinsic in each author's approach to the medium of satire.

> Marston differs from Hall in that his malcontent role was not, like Hall's satiric position, founded upon a Stoic doctrine. Marston does not have, like Hall, a set of values based upon academic life, upon ancient simplicity and decency, and upon a moral earnestness which wished to correct the faults visible in a changing society. Instead, the malcontent despised himself as much as he despised the objects of his satire. [26]

Although Marston was trained at the Inns Court, and Oxford, his style was more emotional than it was literary. His satires and Scourge may be seen, however, as two halves of a single poem in the same manner that Virgidemiarum is analyzed. Taken together they do help to indicate another phase of satire which emerged from the sixteenth-century period.

[26] Ibid., p. 252.

One of the most perplexing minds of the period is illustrated in the satires of John Donne. The complexity arises from any one of several factors. First of all, as Miss Ramsay indicates in her French dissertation, Les doctrines médiévales chez Donne, Donne had undoubtedly inherited the sacramental ethic of the medieval church with its concept of the flesh and the spirit and its veneration of the Virgin Mary. This is evident in the constant recurrence of cryptic themes in "The First and Second Anniversaries", the "La Carona" sequence, and the Holy Sonnets, for Donne somehow seems obsessed with the idea of his own inadequacy and unworthiness so far as the idea of a merciful and gracious God is concerned. Secondly, there is a note of religious scepticism about institutions and dogma in his early poetry which is not completely eradicated by his later life in the service of the church. The transition in Donne the man does not take place so clearly in his poetry, which leaves a somewhat disturbing gap between the artist and his work. Third, the very nature of Donne's metaphysics is a contradiction of any and all standards of medieval scholasticism which the term would imply. For an ethic based on the intellect, the discordant union of the dialectic experience and sensuous thought which Eliot labels "sensibility" would have been antagonistic

to the medieval ethic of unity. And yet the eighteenth century ironically bestowed the term "metaphysical" upon works employing a more involved conceit than scholasticism; paradox, hyperbole, and tension were used to achieve a certain effect. In other words, Donne's objective was to intellectualize rather than to philosophize through the medium of poetry. The ambiguity of the term "metaphysical" is explained in the following observation by T.S. Eliot:

> In his whole temper indeed, Donne is the antithesis of the schol stic, of the mystic and of the philosophical system maker. The encyclopedic ambitions of the schoolmen were directed always toward unification: a "summa" was the end to be attained, and every branch of the whole. In Donne there is a manifest fissure between thought and sensibility, a chasm which was not the way of medieval poetry. But perhaps one reason why Donne has appealed so powerfully to the present time is that there is in his poetry hardly any attempt at organization; rather a puzzled and humorous shuffling of the pieces; and we are inclined to read our own more conscious awareness of the apparent irrelevance and unrelatedness of things into the mind of Donne.[27]

Eliot's distinction between Donne's poetry and the poetry of the schoolmen is enlightening, but I would disagree about the organization, or as Eliot puts it, the lack of organization in Donne's works. Donne's mind works in a logical progression from

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[27] T.S. Eliot, "Donne in Our Time", A Garland for John Donne (Cambridge, 1931), p. 8 .

thesis to antithesis, from proposition to conclusion; and the patterns of imagery which he uses are carried to their furthest point in order to clarify the situation or statement of the poem. To see this structure as a "shuffling of the pieces" is then to miss the entire point of the conceit which Donne employs.

From these observations, we may particularize in order to resolve the problem of donne's complexity. There are, first of all, biographical explanations which would support the problem of religious scepticism in the mind of the poet. Donne came from a prosperous Roman Catholic family. Following the lead of his uncles, Donne's earliest training was obtained from Jesuit teachers until his entrance to Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1584. At the age of seventeen he entered Cambridge and pursued his studies with the same intensity which he had displayed at Oxford. From neither university did he obtain a degree, however; and I would suggest that the reason for this lay in the fact that Donne could not take the Anglican oath required by each institution at graduation. This clash between religious principles was one that Donne could not completely forget, for in the very core of his background and early training lay a denial of England's standards of religion as established by Elizabeth. This period, through

Donne's marriage in 1601, was a very productive one for poetry, for by that time he had composed the bulk of his verse which was later classified as Songs and Sonnets, Elegies, Satyres, Epigrams, and the unfinished epistle called "Metempsychosis: The Progresse of the Soul". These early works in turn indicate the inner working of the poet's mind as he wrestled with the problem of what to believe. This we find also in the Verse Letters of the Lincoln's Inn period, but it is difficult to determine when he broke with the family faith. One may assume that by the mid '90's the break was almost complete, but it would be wrong to suppose that he was ready to accept the Anglican faith in its stead. As Charles M. Coffin states:

> The studious independence which was releasing him from the old ties did not easily let him establish new ones, and, as he goes on to say, "I used no inordinate hast, nor precipitation, in binding my conscience to any locall religion."[28]

The poetry of this period reflects the cynical Jack Donne of the town, and illustrates the argumentative nature which comes to light in the satires.

There is still another explanation which must be made before an interpretation of Donne's works can be undertaken, for the same complications which

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[28] The Complete Poems and Selected Prose of John Donne, ed. Coffin and Dempsey (New York, 1952) p. xxiii.

arise from his poetry are to be found in the writings designated as "Satyres." The problem grows out of the clash between medieval aesthetic and the Renaissance rejection as Donne proposed it. The fundamental basis of medieval life and culture was unity -- unity of religious belief, unity of intellectual pursuit, unity of aesthetic endeavor. This concept of unity was inherited by the Middle Ages from a long line of Christian thinkers and intensified by St. Augustine and St. Thomas. Dante preserved the Thomistic æsthetic for the Middle Ages, and as Ralph Adams Cram specifies, the essence of this aesthetic was to be found in the "sacramental idealism" of the period. What the Middle Ages did for Christianity was to inject the doctrine of grace into the pagan stream of Hellenism.[29] The entire pattern of medieval reverence may be evaluated in terms of the Virgin Mary, for the doctrine of the church and the unity which Catholicism embraced crystalized in the elevation of womanhood to a sacramental ideal.

The synthesis of the natural and the supernatural, the spiritual and the material which a Dante or a St. Thomas could believe in was impossible for Donne, for of that synthesis he retained what

[29] For a more complete discussion, see Michael F. Moloney's John Donne, His Flight from Medievalism (Urbana, 1944), p. 85.

Moloney calls "a negative phase". His explanation of Donne's reaction against medievalism is that

> It was the peculiar tragedy of Donne to be born at a time when the medieval synthesis of flesh and spirit had indeed not been entirely forgotten, but when its validity had been seriously challenged by the new-yet-old way of thinking in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Donne could never forget the memory of that serene peace which the scholastic thinkers he knew so well had concluded between the apparently disparate elements with which the artist must work, but he chose to embrace the new aesthetic creed - the naturalism of the Renaissance.[30]

Criticism concerning Donne's acceptance or rejection of this medieval aesthetic follows diverse lines of argument. Miss Ramsay, for example, develops the idea that Donne accepted the Thomistic synthesis and was the true medieval poet cast in the medieval mould. Moloney, on the other hand, argues that Donne rejected the medieval synthesis as seen in his lack of idealism which had been characteristic of the Middle Ages.[31] I would agree that it is on the matter of artistic motivation that Donne rejected medieval unity for Renaissance naturalism.

Renaissance man was a schizoid personality belonging to two worlds at the same time. In the

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[30] Ibid., p. 106.

[31] For a more detailed explanation of these two points of view, see Chapter IV of Moloney's thesis.

aesthetics of Donne was to be found that same division between the world of things and the world of ideas. Aristotle would have called the two worlds matter and form; Christian theology would have designated the body and the soul. But in the vocabulary of the Renaissance the flesh and the spirit were of primary concern, and this obsession was carried into the poetry of Donne. This dichotomy of pagan and Christian, ancient and modern, unity and diversity is at the heart of Donne's paradox leading to a tension or antagonism in his verse. There is a spirit of scepticism juxtaposed with a compulsory wit which is climaxed in the sensuous recapitulation of the experience. After Donne, there is a dissociation of sensibility influenced by Milton and Dryden which is characteristic of a later period.

Donne's role within the Renaissance framework may then be seen from two aspects. Looking from the Middle Ages, Donne may be seen as a transitional figure between the Elizabethan and Neo-Classic age of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Looking from the twentieth century back toward the Renaissance, Donne may be considered the first modern poet. In this respect, he differs from a Marston in the sense that he leads to something new which becomes peculiar to himself. He not only

bridges a literary gap in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but contributes intangibly to both periods without losing the distinctive features of his art. These elements are then to be found in the satires of Donne: the questioning, probing nature of an intense intellect, the sensitivity of a man very much aware of his society and of himself, and the paradoxical problems which presented themselves to the man and to the poet.

There are five such poems which bear the title "Satyres", and of the five, three survive in manuscript bearing the date 1593. Sir Herbert Grierson, however, has convincingly argued that the manuscript terminal date of the satires is incorrect and that their creation was somewhere in the period of 1593 through 1597.[32] This theory is interesting in a comparative study of Hall and Marston, for it indicates that Virgidemiarum, The Scourge of Villainy, and Donne's "Satyres" were possibly written around the same time, although none of Donne's poems was published until long after his death. These three writers bear an interesting relationship to each other, for not only were their satires created in the initial

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[32] The Poems of John Donne, ed. H.J.C. Grierson (2 vols, Oxford, 1912), II, 110 ff.

stage of their literary careers, but each became Divines after a period of cynicism, scepticism, and despair.

Satire I is an attack on the "fondly motley humorist" who flatters the ostentations figures of London. It is significant to note that although the affectations of dress are used as the central metaphor of the poem, the object of the satire is the fool who accepts these superficial atandards at face value. In other words, Donne does not attempt to reform the ludicrous habits of dress which prevail in England, but rather to hold up to ridicule the man who has become obsessed with a particular humour. The theme which tends to unite the images ofthe poem is the simplicity of virtue which is worked out through the conceit of a dressing metaphor:

> Why should's thou (that dost not onely approve,
> But in rancke itchie lust, desire, and love
> The nakednesse and barenesse to enjoy,
> Of thy plumpe muddy whore, or prostitute boy)
> Hate vertue, though she be naked and bare?
> At birth, and death, our bodies naked are;
> And till our Soules be unapparrelled
> Of bodies, they from blisse are banished.
> Mans first blest state was naked, when by sinne
> Hee lost that, yet hee was cloath'd but in beasts ski
> And in this course attire, which I now weare,
> With God, and with the Muses I conferre.

This metaphor is similar to that used in Elegy XIX. In the ethic of sensual love, nakedness is a symbol of lechery, while in the Platonic philosophy, the naked body is a symbol of the soul. The "course attire" of the last two lines of the quoted passage

may refer to man's fallen state, or to the medium of satire which Donne uses to expose the weaknesses of man's "muddy vesture of decay".

The structure of the satire is somewhat amorphous although one might detect three points of division in the poem. The opening lines (1-12) set up a dramatic situation in which the poet protests against an invitation from the "humorist" to go for a walk. Donne develops irony and paradox in this passage through two means. First of all, his use of the phrase "standing woodden chest" juxtaposes the image of a bookcase with that of a coffin. Secondly, the "gathering Chronicles" - the Divines, the Philosopher, and the Statesman - are positive representatives of God, nature, and man, while the "giddie fantastique Poets" are baffled as they attempt to reconcile the three. The second part of the poem falls into two sections: a petition to the "humorist" not to desert the company of the poet, and a colloquy to the "humorist" on the nature of man. In the petition, the Captain "with forty dead mens pay", the "briske perfum'd piert Courtier", and the "velvet Justice" are held up to ridicule as representatives of the types who will lure the "humorist" away from his companion. In the legal metaphor of this section, it is interesting to notice how skillfully Donne uses the marriage

vow to unite the actions of the "humorist":

> Wilt thou grin or fawne on him, or prepare
> A speech to Court his beautious sonne and hiere!
> For better or for worse take mee, or leave mee:
> To take and leave mee is adultery.

In the colloquy, the legal metaphor is exchanged for a clothing metaphor and the theme of the satire stated in terms of nakedness. In this section the irony of the poem is extended by several means. First of all, there are puns on the religious rites of the church which recall Feste's remark in Twelfth Night, "Man is a giddy thing."

> But since thou like a contrite penitent,
> Charitably warn'd of thy sinnes, dost repent
> These vanities, and giddinesse, loe
> I shut my chamber doore, and come, lets goe.

Secondly, the clothing metaphor is reduced to the "black feathers" and musk-colour hose" of the following passage:

> But sooner may a cheape whore, who hath beene
> Worne by as many severall men in sinne,
> As are black feathers, or musk-colour hose,
> Name her childs right true father, 'mongst
> all those...

This passage is an extension of the first clothing metaphor, for if vertue is seen in terms of nakedness, sin is clothed in the same manner that the whore in the preceding passage is.

The third division of the poem comes in line 67 when the poet and "humorist" are out in the streets of London. The break comes not only as a

result of change of situation but from change of tone. The tone which has dominated the poem up to this passage has been conversational, but it now becomes narrative as the speaker (the poet) relates the incidents which occur. The poet becomes more and more cynical as they meet silken painted fools and "many-coloured peackocks" until the final affair of the poem:

> At last his Love he in a windowe spies,
> And like light dew exhal'd, he flings from mee
> Violently ravish'd to his lechery.
> Many were there, he could command no more;
> Hee quarrell'd, fought, bled; and turn'd out of dore
> Directly came to mee hanging his head,
> And constantly a while must keepe his bed.

The moral of the satire is embraced in the final couplet and made effective through understatement. There is a cynical type of laughter (which is also to be found in the couplets of Byron) as the predictions of the speaker have come true.

The second satire attacks the fashionable conventions of poetry prostituted by the poets of the age, and then moves on to subject-matter similar to that of the <u>Piers Plowman tradition</u> -- social hypocrisy as practiced by the parasitic lawyers of the period. The form of this satire is like Donne's Verse Letters, since it is addressed to a person of great respect. In the opening lines (1-10), the state of poetry is compared to that of Roman Catholicism in that, though both breed disharmony, their state is "poore, disarm'd, ...not

worth hate." The comparison of the two is then extended to particular instances of literary blasphemy:

a. dramatic poetry

b. love poetry

c. poetry written to attract patronage

d. poetry written because it is the thing to do

e. plagiarism in poetry

The poets who must copy from men **of** true wit are by far the worst of the lot

> For if one eate my meate, though it be knowne
> The meate was mine, th'excrement is his owne.

The religious metaphor functions thematically in uniting the subjects of poetry and law:

> But these do mee no harme, nor they which use
> To out-swive Dildoes, and out-usure Jewes;
> To out-drinke the sea, to out-sweare the Letanie;
> Who with sinnes all kindes as familiar bee
> As Confessors; and for whose sinfull sake,
> Schoolemen new tenements in hell must make;
> Whose strange sinnes, Canonists could hardly tell
> In which Commandments large receit they dwell.

It has been seen in other parts of the thesis that criticism of poetry was popular subject-matter for the satirist of the 1590's, and it is singificant that Hall, Marston, and Donne should incorporate literary criticism into poetry which attacked social evils. In Donne's satire, the procedure is slightly different, however; the criticism of poetry is not to be separated from social satire. Rather, one leads into the other, for having reduced fashionable verse to an absurdity, Donne attacks the lawyer

"which was (alas) of late/ But a scarce Poet."
The literary foibles of the bad poet are satires in themselves, while the more serious crimes of lawyers must be punished.

The crimes which are perpetrated by law and justice embrace social evils ridiculed by the conventional satires of both the Horatian and Piers Plowman traditions. Notice how skillfully Donne interweaves the two themes of poetry and law with religious imagery in the following passage:

> When sicke with Poetrie, and possest with Muse
> Thou wast, and mad, I hop'd: but men which chuse
> Law practise for mere gaine, bold soule, repute
> Worse than imbrothel'd strumpets prostitute.
> Now like an owlelike watchman, hee must walke
> His hand still at a bill, now he must talke
> Idly, like prisoners, which whole months will sweare
> That onely suretiship hath brought them there...
> Bastardy abounds not in Kings title, nor
> Symonie and Sodomy in Chruchmen lives,
> As these things do in him; by these he thrives.
> Shortly (as the sea) hee will compasse all our land..
> Satan will not joy at their sinnes, as hee.

These crimes are basically economic grievances as seen in the illegal acquisition of land and the roguery attached to outwitting heirs. The "spred woods" are now enclosed, and the symbols of a bygone age are eradicated by the knavery and cunning of social parasites.

The str cture of the poem is more unified than that of satire I from several aspects. First of all, the conversational tone established at the beginning prevails throughout the remainder of the poem.

Secondly, the two objects of attack are unified by the use of religious imagery. Third, the irony is heightened by reducing poetry to an absurdity and using the attack on law and lawyers as an extension of an already outrageous situation.

Satire III is unquestionably the most famous of the Donne satires. This fact is ironic in itself, because the poem is not really a satire in the ordinary tradition; it is rather a verse epistle which treats the problem of finding the true religion. It is essential for any scholar of Donne to distinguish between satire as a generic term and elements of satire which are characteristic of some poems. In Satire III, the message of the verse essay is successfully achieved through the satiric handling of those who attempt to find the true religion through narrow means. The message itself is not, however, subject-matter which traditional satire embraces, and cannot be called a satire in the same sense that Virgidemiarum is. Hypothetically, the classification is correct in the sense that the poem undercuts a serious social problem through overtones which are characteristic of the satiric mode.

The dramatic situation of the poem is posed in a series of questions to the Soul in the open-

ing passage:

> Is not our Mistresse faire Religion,
> As worthy of all our Soules devotion,
> As vertue was to the first blinded age?

This problem is central in the religious development of Donne's ethic, for it presents the crucial issues which the poet tried to resolve in his personal life. Basically, the assumption which Donne makes is that the same courage which expressed itself in war and exploration should be devoted to the most important ventures of all -- the search for a true and positive faith. This Elizabethan courage he has seen illustrated in the aid sent to the mutinous Dutch under the leadership of Zwingli, in the brave adventures of the Northern discoveries, and in the "fiery oven" of the Spanish Armada. But this sort of courage is like Hamlet's "courage of straw" if it becomes passive in the face of man's greatest struggle.

From these assumptions, Donne makes several challenges to Elizabethan society. The first of these, "Know thy foes", sets up a pattern of allusions common to the Renaissance in the exploration of the flesh and the spirit. The foes of mankind are the Devil, the world, and the flesh - all of which have to do with the physical-material aspirations which should be foremost in the minds

of man. Unfortunately, some seek true religion among narrow sectarian lines - in Catholicism, in Calvinism, in Anglicanism, in Agnosticism - while others tolerate all religions instead of affirming a positive faith or searching for the one true religion. In this instance:

> ...Carelesse Phrygius doth abhorre
> All, because all cannot be good, as one
> Knowing some women whores, dares marry none.

It is important to note the prevalence of sexual imagery in the poem, which is somewhat startling for the subject-matter under discussion. In satirizing those who search for true religion along narrow lines, Donne undercuts the moral aspirations of his society with a picture of lust and lechery in the English gallant. First of all, religion is presented in the opening lines of the poem as a Mistress, and in similar fashion the world's self "Dost love a withered and worne strumpet." The man who seeks religion at Rome is in love with his Mistress because she has existed for so long, while the man at Geneva loves the "plaine, simple, sullen, yong, contemptuous, yet unhansome" religion of the Calvinists. The sexual imagery is extended in the characterization of Graius, Phrygius, and Graccus - each of whom represent different points of view of English ethic:

> Graius stayes still at home here, and because
> Some preachers, vile ambitious bauds, and lawes
> Still new like fashions, bid him thinke that shee
> Which dwells with us, is only perfect, hee
> Imbraceth her, whom his Godfathers will
> Tender to him, being tender, as Wards still
> Take such wives as their Guardian offer, or
> Pay, valewes. Carelesse Phrygius doth abhorre
> All, because all cannot be good, as one
> Knowing some women whores, dares marry none.
> Graccus loves all as one, and thinks that so
> As women do in divers countries goe
> In divers habits, yet are still one kinde,
> So doth, so is Religion;

These personifications of hypocrisy pose the problem of truth and falsity which is climaxed in the invocation to truth passage:

> ...though truth and falsehood bee
> Neare twins, yet truth a little elder is...
> ...On a huge hill,
> Cragged and steep, Truth stands, and hee that will
> Reach her, about must, and about must goe;
> And what the hills suddennes resiste, winne so;
> Yet strive so, that before age, deaths twilight,
> Thy Soule rest, for none can worke in the night.

This passage is extremely interesting because of the contrast which may be made to the July eclogue of The Sheperd's Calender. Spenser uses the hill as a symbol of falsity or pride, while the valley represents truth or humility. The satire is directed against the hierarchy, ritual, and vestments of the Anglican Church and the Sun is used as a symbol of man's depravity. Donne inverts the image of the hill to represent Truth and the scene is left in darkness of night, which is symbolic of death.

The poem ends with a nature metaphor in which the plant which has broken from its roots perishes

in the rage of the sea. In like fashion, souls perish who choose to follow man's power rather than God's turth. This metaphor is most unusual for Donne, because for the most part he lacks the aesthetic romanticism of a Spenser. It is a metaphor which is commonly used in reference to religion, however, and is most appropriate for the overall meaning of the poem. Hallet Smith summarizes the meaning of the satire in a most precise manner.

> The effect of the third satire lies in this extended conceit, that the love of God is visible in English society only as one of several kinds of "lecherous humours." The most famous passage, in which Truth stands on a huge hill, craggy and steep, is not satirical at all, but hortatory. Donne was actually exhorting himself, as he continued to do even after taking Anglican orders in 1615, to find the true church.[33]

The fourth and fifth satires are, in my opinion, the least satisfying, but they do serve to point up the manner in which Donne handles traditional themes. In Satire IV, for example, there is a more obvious classical model than is to be found in the other satires. The poem is based on Horace's encounter with the bore (Satires I, 9) who makes a nuisance of himself in order to make the acquaintance of of Maecenas. Donne adapts this story to contemporary court life in England amd presents a sordid picture of the gossip and informer who hangs

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[33] Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 255.

on a court visitor and makes him buy his freedom. The bore, in this case, is a fantastic combination of peculiar dress and affected language who succeeds in attaching himself to the curious spectator like a parasite. He is the typical busy-body who knows everyone's affairs and makes a living from selling information to those who would profit from it. The spectator's answer to one of the bore's questions is an instance of the comical play of Biblical illusions which are interspersed throughout the satire:

> ...If you'had liv'd, Sir,
> Time enough to have been Interpreter
> To Babells bricklayers, sure the Tower had stood.

In another instance the same paradox is illustrated in the double meaning of the following comment:

> ...So I (foole) found,
> Crossing hurt mee,

Donne makes use of mythology, but again, he puts it in terms of contemporary society:

> I more amus'd than Circes prisoner, when
> They felt themselves turne beasts, felte my
> Selfe then Becomming Traytor, and mee thought I saw
> One of our Giant Statues ope his jaw
> To sucke me in; for hearing him, I found
> That as burnt venome Leachers do grow sound
> By giving others their soares, I might growe
> Guilty, and he free.

And so the visitor pays the ransom of a crown (again the double meaning of the words) in order to be rid of the pest.

The second half of the satire is devoted to a moral which is told through use of a dream mechanism. In an imagined trip to hell, the poet sees all types which are to be found in court invading the region of the underworld, including the parasite:

> But here comes Glorious that will plague them both,
> Who, in the other extreme, only doth
> Call a rough carelessness, good fashion,
> Whose cloak his spurres teare; whom he spits on
> He cares not, His ill words doe no harme
> To him; he rusheth in, as if arme, arme,
> He meant to crie; and though his face be as ill
> As theirs which in old hangings whip Christ, still
> He strives to looke worse, he keeps all in awe.

The moral which Donne conveys is that the satirist cannot cure all the sins of court life through the medium of satire. We have our first indication of the limitations of satire as Donne conceived it to be and perhaps a recognition on the part of the poet that he is destined for a greater type of poetic effort:

> ...Preachers which are
> Sons of Wit and Arts, you can, then dare,
> Drowne the sinnes of this place, for, for mee
> Which am but a scarce brooke, it enough shall bee
> To wash the staines away; Although I yet
> With Maechabees modestie, the knowne merit
> Of my worke lessen; yet some wise man shall,
> I hope, esteeme my writs Canonicall.

There are qualities in this particular satire which one is to see used by the Augustan wits of the eighteenth century. One point to be considered is the structure of the poem. One half is concerned with satirizing a type of person while the other half moralizes on the evils which result from his action.

Spenser uses this same sort of device in the emblems which follow the moral eclogues, but one is to find this more clearly in the satires of Swift. Another thing to be pointed out is the tone of the poem. Although the subject-matter is of a serious nature, there is a sort of nervous mockery which comes through the ironic and paradoxical situations of the poem. The tone itself is somewhat ambiguous, however, because despite the puns, play on words, and doubles entendres of the satire, there is an undertone of despair which is not to be found in the earlier satires. The cynical John Donne of the town becomes the reflective and somewhat depressed thinker of a later period.

In Satire V, the attack is again directed against corruption and hypocrisy in the courts of law, but Donne sets up a conditional clause and makes the following assumptions about the nature of man:

If all things be in all...

1. Then man is a world-

2. All men are dust-

If these things are true, then Suitors are even worse, for they allow men to prey on them knowingly. In an age of corruption and an absence of values, the officers of the court are allowed to adulterate law, while those who could drive them out of power complacently sit by and watch. The central metaphor

is expressed in the opening assumption of the poem:

> Then man is a world; in which, Officers
> Are the vast ravishing seas; and Suitors,
> Springs; now full, now shallow, now drye; which, to
> Prove the world a man, in which officers
> Are the devouring stomacke, and Suitors
> The excrements, which they voyd.

What Donne recognizes as lacking in his society is the same imaginative, religious fervor which expressed itself through martyrdom. Instead, the law is the established recorder of man's destiny and man is left cowardly accepting this power of fate.

Satire V, like the fourth satire, is rich with Biblical allusions that create an over-all tone of seriousness and despair on the part of the poet. In one portion, for example, man is seen as the gardener who should weed out the sins of his age. In another passage, one is reminded of the chaff in Psalm I. As Smith indicates:

> He was too impressed, philosophically and imaginatively, with the degeneration of the world to make much of an art of satirizing it.[34]

What is important about the satires of Donne is that through them, the early bitterness and antagonism against the world began to be reconciled to more intrinsic values which the wiser poet could believe. In a sense, Donne was able to put behind him the aristocrats and associates of the Lincoln's Inn

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[34] Ibid., p. 226.

period by working out his philosophy in these groups of experimental poems. I base this judgement on two facts. First of all, the satires were not published until the poet's death in 1631, which would imply that only a limited audience of associates and friends read them. Secondly, the very fact that qualities of his later poetry were developing from the machinery of satire would indicate that Donne was dissatisfied with this as a medium of expression. The point is still to be made that Donne was in his strongest satiric element when he could take a traditional theme and expand it to fit contemporary English society, no matter how small the group satirized might have been.

From the five Donne satires, we may deduce several characteristics which distinguish them from the satiric art of an earlier period. First of all, the satires are predominantly concerned with the hypocrisy of court life as it manifests itself in ridiculous manners, ostentatious dress, distorted values. In subject matter, Donne is closer to a Shakespeare or a Jonson, for these are the same sources of satiric copy which they used at the base of their comedies. Donne shows very little interest in subjects which were common to Renaissance art; his lack of response to nature poetry, to the pastoral mode, to the tradition fostered by Spenser

and Wyatt. In his satires, as well as the rest of his poetry in general, Donne achieved a "peculiar blend of passion and thought" which makes his poetry triumph by virtue of its limitations. In treatment Donne's satires depict a sort of restless energy which produces tension and strain in his verse. He is not concerned with poetry as a form of communication between poet and reader, but as the recreation of an intellectual-emotional experience of which the poet is an inextricable part. The poet in this case is always Donne himself, and it is that peculiar quality of intellectualizing and objectifying a personal experience which gives Donne his distinctive qualities.

While Donne is not the typical poet of either the sixteenth or seventeenth century, he represents the quantitative product of modernity. What he retained of medieval influences he retained in only a negative phase,[35] and his satires point toward the subtlety and irony of the eighteenth century wits. To the epoch in which he was born, however, Donne does belong because of his affinity to the moral obtuseness and intellectual intensity which characterized his age. Qualitatively, Donne's poetry as a whole transcends any specific period

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[35] M.F. Moloney, John Donne, p. 170.

of literature and should be seen as a crest which has not been equalled by succeeding generations. This crest is part of the Renaissance reaction against ANTIQUITY that points toward a reformation in literature as well as in moral-aesthetic beliefs. This phenomenon Moloney explains in the following manner:

> Whatever else it may be, modern civilization is essentially a protestant, not an affirmative, development. It arises out of the decline and the decay, but even more than this, out of the denial of much that Medievalism stood for.[36]

In the same manner, Donne's poetry was a negative statement of this reaction. Pope could try in a later period to regularize and improve Donne's satires, but in so doing there was a destruction of satiric ingenuity and integrity which characterized the poetry of his predecessor.

Satire, for Donne, is a characteristic of much of his early poetry as well as a generic name. In addition to the five satires which have already been analysed, one could cite "Loves Alchymie", and "The Flea", and "The Baite" as illustrations of the cynical conceit of the early period. Still another satire, in prose, entitled "Ignatius" illustrates the classical notion of what satire should be -- anonymous, affected, and fictional --

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[36] Ibid., p. 70.

but it does not remain a firm pattern of irony throughout. In most of the five poems designated as Satyres, irony is achieved through paradox and hyperbole although with varying degrees of success. Satire III is the most outstanding by virtue of its execution and content as well as from its consistent imagery patterns of sexual allusions.

In the non-dramatic verse medium, Donne stands out with Hall and Marston as one of the most important satirists of the period. It is somewhat ironic that the lives of these three men took such a similar pattern. Their satires were written in a period of questioning, of cynicism, of neophyte experiences in an age of scepticism and doubt. Each accepted the vows of the church and became clergymen only after they came to grips with themselves. The same exposure of excess and artificiality which Donne had detested in his non-dramatic verse was to be carried into the theatre by Ben Jonson with his comical satires. Hallet Smith makes a valid contrast between the lyricism of Donne and Jonson in the following statement:

> In the split experienced by lyric poetry in the early seventeenth century between the tendencies represented in general by Jonson and those represented by Donne, there is not so much a repudiation of the Elizabethan manner as there is an extension of its latent

> possibilities. Because of the close relationship between music and poetry in the Elizabethan period, Jonson was able to find a quantitative element in English and make his best lyrics classical wihtout pedantry and without violence to the nature of English. The happy blending of classical restraint and form with a native earthiness and freshness sometimes to be found in Jonson are the result of the Elizabethan experiments and successes we have been considering.
>
> The lyrics of Donne, on the other hand, owe not so much to music though the poet seems to have considered them songs, as they do to the rhythm of speech. On the stage, "spoken verse had freed itself from the tyranny of metre over rhythm" and Donne's break with the Elizabethan tradition was in building his stanzas from a speech rhythm. What he gained in force and intensity was worth it, considering the comparable vigor of Donne's mind, but the verses of the lesser Metaphysical poets show that it was not a method for everyone.[37]

In this manner, the prodigy of medieval ethic and Renaissance radicalism held up his society to the test of scientific exploration and reduced it to a Mistress whom he never learned to love. Therein lies his greatness, for without the romantic pulsation of a Spenser, the brain waves of the dialectic experience were transfered to the image which Donne intended to etch, thereby intensifying and intellectualizing it. The focus which Donne managed to produce was that of a kaleidoscope, for the design of his best satires and poems was unexpected, abrupt, and yet flawlessly manipulated into a mosaic of literary art.

[37] Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 289.

While non-dramatic satire reached a high point in Donne's verse, the audience of sixteenth-century England was also being exposed to a new type of art-form in the theatre. The mature-tragedies of Shakespeare were still unwritten, but the popular audience was quite familiar with the assortment of comedies which had been created by this genius. When the Bishop of London issued orders for the suppression of satires in 1599, it was logical, perhaps inevitable, that drama be the next experimental medium for satiric expression. The potential which had been realized through the efforts of Hall and Marston was too far advanced to be totally suppressed by censorship, for the wave of criticism had expanded from court, to university, to popular circles. Men of letters feared public disfavor (and at the same time felt resentment) should they openly violate the court order, so that the possibilities of satire in drama were most appealing. It is questionable, however, that these possibilities would have been realized to such a degree, without the single-efforts of a young artist by the name of Ben Jonson.

Jonson was born in 1572, after the family fortune acquired during the reign of Henry VIII had collapsed in the trying days of Mary. Jonson's father had accepted the reform doctrines of the church established under Edward and had undoubtedly

suffered when the Catholic queen attempted to restore the church of England to Papistry. He had, nevertheless, remained "a grave minster of the gospel" through the early days of Elizabeth, despite the fact that the family fortunes had dwindled into obscurity. His death preceded the birth of his son, Benjamin, by only a few short months and within two years his widow had remarried a master-bricklayer of Westminster. Little is know of Ben's step-father except that he was a hard-working craftsman who tried zealously to encourage his son to follow his trade. Ben's early training would, therefore, have ended with his early training at St. Martin's Church had it not been for an unknown benefactor who sent him to Westminster.

This benefactor has been identified with John Camden [38], who was then second master of the school, although evidence to support this theory is not completely satisfactory. The important thing, however, is that someone recognized Ben's potentials when he was still quite young, and was willing to support the boy through a more formal preparation than would have been available from the narrow means of the Jonson family. Ben did not distinguish himself as a scholar while at

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[38] Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson (4 vols., Oxford, 1925), I,3.

Westminster, but his sincere devotion for his master continued until the death of Camden. Westminster had certainly stimulated the young man toward literature and learning, however, for the practice of daily readings was to be continued for a good deal of his mature years.

After Westminster, Ben was put into his step-father's trade instead of being allowed to pursue his studies further in one of the other Universities. The experience was totally distasteful for the young man, and after a short period of time, he left the craft to volunteer for military service abroad. After a year or so in the Flemish uprising, Ben returned to England to pick up the studies which had been neglected for some time. His studies must have been limited, however, for he had broken his family ties, and had taken a wife without any visible means of financial support. It was not until 1597 that Jonson reappeared in the employ of Henslowe, and could pursue his literary bent through drama.

His first appearance along these lines was not in the role of playwright, however. Rather, his first public appearance was that of an actor in one of the smaller traveling companies of 1597. What he lacked in natural acting ability he made up for in his enthusiasm for the theatre, but

fortunately Henslowe discovered that the young man had a real talent at writing. Jonson's first employment as playwright is believed to have been gotten from a former experience. Thomas Nashe had left the Isle of Dogs in fragmentary form because the bent of the play had grown out of proportion to his original idea. Other players who had read the fragment were not inclined to give up such a bawdy picture of contemporary society; so Jonson was employed to complete the satiric comedy. The completed play was performed in July of 1597 and met with disapproval from the Privy Council. Part of the cast was apprehended and imprisoned for their participation in such a scandalous and seditious play, and among them was Ben Jonson. Their release came in October of the same year, but the experience was to prove uncomfortable for Jonson in the Stage Quarrel which culminated within the next three years. Henslowe never referred to this experience of his new playwright, and Jonson was to prove himself a good literary investment in the years to follow.

In 1598, the first of his humour plays was performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Company. A few days after the opening of Everyman in his Humour, Jonson quarreled with Gabriel Spencer, a young actor of Henslowe's Company who had been imprisoned

with him in 1579. The quarrel ended at Hoxton Field, where Jonson killed his opponent in an open duel which he had maintained to be an act of honor. The courts felt otherwise, and Jonson was arrested and convicted of manslaughter. In his second experience with the law, Jonson just managed to save his life by claiming right of clergy. With his release, all of his personal goods were confiscated, and the Tyburn brand put on his thumb.[39] It is interesting to note, however, that this episode with the law did not destroy the reputation which had been established with Every Man in his Humour. Jonson left prison to face a popular world who proclaimed him the author of one of the best genuine comedies yet produced in England. By the next year, The Case Is Altered had been added to his former success, and an important relationship between

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[39] During the Elizabethan age, the practice of branding a prisoner with the initial of the jail was a mere formality, depending upon the disposition of the jailor. In Jonson's case, the prison staff must have favored him more than his examiners, because no mention of a brand on Jonson's person has been indicated in subsequent reports. For a further discussion, see John Palmer's Ben Jonson (New York, 1934), p. 19.

Jonson and the Children of the Chapel established.[40] In 1600, an elaborate sequel to Every Man in His Humour was performed at the Globe Theatre by Chamberlain's Company. It was the appearance of Every Man out of his Humour which brought the Stage Quarrel out into the open, although the first of the humour plays had set up a reaction among a small circle of writers as early as 1598.

The basis of the Stage Quarrel, or Poetomachia as it is often called, is hard to determine. In the literary battle which lasted from 1599 to 1601, the primary opponents were Jonson and John Marston, but it is hard to point definitely to any one factor as the original source of the dispute. Jonson had begun his literary career with a declaration that all comedy should be true to

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[40] The Children of the Chapel was a troupe of child actors who won recognition on the stage of Shakespeare's time. Their popularity is indicated in the following passage from Hamlet: II,2.

Rosencrantz- ...but there is, sir an aery of little eyases, that cry out on the top of the question, and are most tyrannically clapp'd for't. These are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages -- so they call them -- that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goosequills and dare scarce come thither.

Hamlet- What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escorted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players, -- as it is (most like), if their means are no letter -- their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession?

life, and at the same time, expose the fopperies and follies of human existence in whatever form the artist so desired. To this foundation he added another qualification; the true poet should not only paint a vivid portrait of contemporary society, but should also cleanse and refine the world through his medium. Unlike Marston, Jonson saw the satirist as one who not only scourged the world of its sins, but ministered to it and acted as its prophet. Jonson, in other words, added another dimension to the portrayal of the satirist which also qualified the role of the malcontent as a writer of satire. In his sincerity and dedication, none were to escape the critical eye on Jonson. At the same time, however, there was no indication of personal malice in his original attacks. There was, rather, an unshakeable dedication to a moral cause which Jonson took as his literary code.

Unfortunately, Marston was not to react to a code which undercut personal integrity in the same manner than Jonson intended it to be taken. The problem was complicated more by the fact that Marston had started out as an open admirer of Jonson. In his revival of Histriomastix in 1599, Marston remodeled the scholastic pedant Chrisoganus to fit the pattern of Jonson's invective. The

intention might have been one of flattery, but to Jonson and his contemporaries it read more like ridicule. Jonson found the occasion for vengeance in Every Man out of his Humour by robing the fantastic Clove in the pedantic phrases of Marston's vocabulary. The young man was undoubtedly stung by the implications that were drawn from Clove's portrayal, and struck back in the same year with the portrayal of Brabant senior in Jack Drum's Entertainment. In the meantime, Jonson's Cynthia's Revels was being prepared for production, and once more he was to be favored by the Children of the Chapel. The rivalry between companies of actors was now at its peak, and the employment of the Chapel boys meant dissolution of Jonson's popularity with Chamberlain's Company. This was small cause for alarm, however, in light of the rivalry between Jonson and Marston, and the former rose to the occasion in his portrayal of Hedon, "the light voluptuous reveller". In Cynthia's Revels, he also struck out against Marston's newly acquired ally in the person of Dekker. The characterization of Anaides, the foul-mouthed comrade of Hedon, was more than enough to sting the vanity of Marston and his friend. It was rumored that the two planned an elaborate revenge in the production of a new play, so Jonson, set out

to work again and in fifteen weeks produced his most direct attack against Marston in The Poetaster. Marston's What You Will preceded Jonson's production by only a brief time, but Jonson's play met with simultaneous sparks of approval by an anxious audience. It was in this play that Jonson formally and severely nailed down his victim with a blow of finality. The production of Poetaster marked Jonson's final appearance as a writer of comedy, for from this time on the playwright turned to tragedy. What had been begun in his humour plays ended with a solemn bow and an apology to the audience for having thought he could become a success in the comic medium. At this point, an England that had been set back on its heels, responded with overwhelming approval for a writer whom it had viewed with disdain through the early years of his drama. This in brief outlines the Stage Quarrel which usurped the original energies of Ben Jonson in his bid for fame. A more complete portrayal of the man and his work will indicate the contributions he made to the development of satire at the end of the sixteenth century.

In the comedy of humours, Jonson borrowed a term which was most familiar to the Elizabethan audience and restored it to its medieval frame of reference. The physiology of the four humours,

corresponding with the four elements (moist, dry, hot, cold), had been used before by Shakespeare, but the underlying theory of comedy expressed in the idea of balance and proportion between the humours had not been explored to such proportions on the English stage until Jonson. The same basis of humours had inspired the works of Molière in France, but Londoners were unfamiliar with the potentialities of humour characters in their traditional comedies. As Jonson conceived of his characters, the possibilities of exploring the physiological bent of their natures was more important than the imitation of a single, complete line of action. Thus the Aristotelian standard for drama was over-ruled by the determination of Jonson, and in its stead was placed a series of walking humours abstracted from all levels of society, who performed their absurdities within the frame of a play. It is incorrect, however, to conclude that because Jonson's focus was external, his characters were mere sketches of symbolic figures. His characters were representatives of larger types, but at the same time, they were true-to-life figures who lived and performed as a result of their humours. Jonson took advantage of a poetic licence to exaggerate their incongruities, but he was

careful enough to detail their reactions in as accurate a stream as a craftsman could manage. Palmer indicates Jonson's conception of humour characters in the following manner:

> His characters were taken from real life, but, once they entered his comedies, they must leave behind them all their human inconsistencies and run true to form. Henceforth, they were in the hands of a master logician who would present them as studies in special types of behavior.[41]

The audience observing one of Jonson's plays was then unconcerned about his lack of a concise plot structure. Jonson's plots were ingenious, to be sure, but in their complicated assortment, they managed to keep the actors coming and going which is all Jonson intended them to do.

The problem of the malcontent as a satirist, which Marston had proposed in his early satires, was further defined in Every Man out of his Humour. In this play, Jonson, presents three types of satirists who act from different temperaments. Asper, who is perhaps conceived as closest to a biographical portrait than the others, is a satirist who attacks all the vices of society out of dramatic necessity. His appearance comes at the beginning of the play, but in his short time on stage, he defines humour in the following

[41] John Palmer, Ben Jonson, p. 22.

critical passage of the play:

> Why, humour, as 'tis ens, we thus define it,
> To be a quality of air, or water,
> And in itself holds these two properties,
> Moisture and fluxure: as for demonstration,
> Pour water on this floor, 'twill wet and run:
> Likewise the air, forced through a horn or trumpet,
> Flows instantly away, and leaves behind
> A kind of dew; and hence we do conclude,
> That whatso'er hath fixture and humidity,
> As wanting power to contain itself,
> Is humour. Sin in every human body,
> The choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood,
> By reason that they flow continually,
> In some one part, and are not continent,
> Receive the name of humours. Now thus far
> It may by metaphor, apply itself
> Unto the general disposition:
> As when some one peculiar quality
> Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
> All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,
> In their confluctions, all to run one way,
> This may be truly said to be a humour.
> But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,
> The cable hat-band, or the three piled ruff,
> A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot
> On his French garters, should affect a humour!
> O, it is more than most ridiculous.

In the last five lines of the above passage, Jonson indicates through Asper that his conception of the humour character is not to be mistaken for ridicule directed at the affectations of dress or appearance alone. Asper sees himself, therefore, as the critic of society who is compelled by internal necessity to speak out against extortion, pride, and lust. Evil to him is too strong to be abated by man's conscience, but through God's minister these wrongs may be corrected.

Macilente, in contrast to Asper, works within the play itself, for he is the intriguer through

which the humours of the various characters are purged. Unlike Asper, Macilente has a private motive for satire -- a motive which stems from his envy. In this respect, Macilente is closest to the Elizabethan conception of the malcontent who criticizes society for some personal reason. His role is then that of the scourge and punisher of mankind which proves to be the undoing of characters like Fastidious Brisk and Sogliordo. Contrast, for example, Macilente's reactions to Sordido and Carlo Buffone, the former whom he envies, and the latter whom he hates:

> Macilente- Ha, ha, ha !
> Is not this good? Is it not pleasing this?
> Ha, ha, ha ! God pardon me! ha, ha!
> Is't possible that such a specious villain
> Should live, and not be plagued? ...Methinks, now, the hetic,
> Gout, leprousy, or some such loath'd disease
> Might light upon him; or that fire from heaven
> Might fall upon his barns ...Ay, 'tis true!
> Meantime he surfeits in prosperity,
> And thou, in envy of him, gnaw'st thyself:
> Peace, fool, get hence, and tell thy vexed spirit,
> Wealth in this age will scarcely look on merit.

> Macilente- 'Tis strange! of all the creatures I have seen
> I envy not this Buffone, for indeed
> Neither his fortunes nor his parts deserve it:
> But I do hate him, as I hate the devil,
> Or that brass-visaged monster Barbarism.
> O, 'tis an open-throated, black-mouth'd cur,
> That bites at all, but eats on those that feed him.
> A slave, that to your face will, serpent-like,
> Creep on the ground, as he would eat the dust,
> And to your back will turn the tail, and sting
> More deadly than the scorpion.

It is significant to note that Jonson does not condemn Macilente for the satiric bent in his nature. He does, howev r, point out that envy is an inappropriate source for satiric inspiration.

The third type of satirist is presented in the characterization of Carlo Buffone, a profund jester who is also the instrument of satiric attack against Sogliardo. His personality is indicated by the following character-sketch which precedes the play:

> Carlo Buffone, a public, scurrilous, and profane jester, that more swift than Circe, with absurd similies, will transform any person into deformity. A good feast-hound or banquet-beagle, that will scent you out a supper some three or four miles off, and swear to his patrons, damn him! he came in oars, when he was but wafted over in a sculler. A slave that hath an extraordinary gift in pleasing his palate, and will swill up more sack at a sitting than would make all the guard posset. His religion is railing, and his discourse ribaldry.

Buffone is the character whom Marston interpreted as a caricature of himself, and perhaps this portrait was intetional on Jonson's part. But at the same time, Buffone is extremely insensitive to the real evils of his society so that his role as satirist is incomplete and unsatisfactory,

Around these three central satirists evolves a net-work of characters -- the engrosser, the gallant, the uxurious man, the lecherous woman, the fantastic adventurer - who are each in their

own way purged of their humours. They are purged through the efforts of Macilente rather than Buffone, however, and a further qualification of the satirist's role may be deduced. In the three alternatives which Jonson has presented, neither Asper, Macilente, or Buffone are completely satisfactory. Asper is too detached from the real abuses of society to scourge them; Macilente acts out of envy; and Buffone has no standards of moral value by which to judge. Jonson's answer lies in a careful manipulation of the characters of Macilente and Asper who are played by the same actor in different disguise. In this manner, Jonson is able to fuse the two extremes into a composite picture of what the ideal satirist should be, and at the same time, indicate what happens when any one type remains separated from a world of values. It is from this play that we may deduce Jonson's conception of the role of the satirist and see the theory applied to a dramatic or comic situation. As Hallet Smith indicates,

> the most significant achievement of the play is its presentation of a complete examination of the grounds for, and the validity of, satire. It is in this sense, especially, that Jonson was writing a comedy, not filled with the romantic nonsense of cross-wooing among the dukes and duchesses, or with the immortal paradoxes of characters to be found in plays about Sir John Falstaff, but "thus neere, and familarly allied to the time."[42]

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[42] Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 256.

In the Poetaster this theory of staire is extended to a test situation in which the satirist is put on trial by the literary court of Virgil. The scene is placed in Rome and from the long list of distinguished characters (Ovid, Caesar, Virgil, Horace) may be seen another application of satire. By casting his play in a classical mould, Jonson is able to project the vices of contemporary society into the society of an ancient civilization in much the same manner that Spenser uses the pastoral. Horace then becomes the prototype of Jonson, for the early life of the real Horace might well have paralleled the plight of Jonson from a life of persecutions to public acceptance. And yet the characterization of Horace is unlike the original model or Ben Jonson. In The Poetaster, Horace lacks the perspective nature of his original, and at the same time falls short of the ready wit of Asper or Macilente. Perhaps the explanation for this portrait is that Jonson was attempting to tone down the sharp tooth of his satire to fit the urbanity of classical expression. Or perhaps the true explanation lies in the idea that a man's work is the real clue to his personality. In this case, what Horace lacks in personality, he more than adequately makes up for in his poetry.

Against the calm presentation of Horace is juxtaposed the characterizations of his principle enemies, Crispinus and Demetrius, who in this instance represent Marston and Dekker. Their portrayal becomes more direct in the trial scene of Act V in which Jonson indicates the literary crimes they have perpetrated and the false charges they have brought against his works:

> Rufus Laberius Crispinus, and Demetrius Fannius, hold up your hands. You are, before this time, jointly and severally indicated, and here presently to be arraigned upon the statute of calmny, or Lex Remmia, the one by the name of Rufus Laberius Crispinus, alias Cri- spinas, poetaster and plagiary; the other by the name of Demetrius Fannius, play-dresser and plagiary. That you (not having the fear of Phoebus, or his shafts, before your eyes) contrary to the peace of our liegue lord, Augustus Caesar, his crown and dignity, and against the form of a statue, in that case made and provided, have most ignorantly, foolishly, and more like yours-lves, maliciously, gone about to deprave, and culminate the person and writings of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, here present, poet, and priest to the Muses; and to that end have mutually conspired and plotted, at sundry times, as by several means, and in sundry places, for the better accomplishing your base and envious purpose; taxing him falsely, of self-love, arrogancy, impudence, railing, filching by translation, etc.

Jonson's aim in these characters certainly points to the Stage Quarrel which had been going on for three years, but underlying any personal motive of satire is the fact that Jonson was testing for the last time, his theory of satiric comedy, not so much as it applied to humour character, but as it applied to the standards of poetry. The problem

of the poet and the poetry of the age is focused upon in Envy's speech which precedes the prologue:

> ...Rome! Rome! O my vext soul,
> How might I force this to the present state?
> Are there no players here? no poet apes,
> That come with basilisk's eyes, whose forked tongues
> Are steeped in venom, as their hearts in gall?

The prologue picks up the theme of Envy without the bitter tone of sarcasm, and characterizes this as a dangerous age:

> If any muse why I salute the stage,
> An armed Prolgoue; know, 'tis a dangerous age:
> Wherein who writes, had need present his scenes
> Forty-fold proof against the conjuring means
> Of base detractors, and illeterate apes,
> That fill up rooms in fair and formal shapes.
> 'Gainst these, have we put on this forced defense:
> Wherefore the allegory and hid sense
> Is, that a well erected c nfidence
> Can fright their pirde, and laugh their folly hence.

In an apology to the reader which takes place in the epilogue, Jonson formally bows out of the comic genre to try his hand at Tragedy. More, important, however, is the fact that the true intent of the author is determined through his explanation of the sections of satire on law, the captain, and in the players. One might also observe [illegible] particular section of the allegory (Act III, scene i), Jonson makes use of a Horatian satire adapted by John Donne (satires I, 9).

In a broader sense, Jonson's contribution to the stage was in an extention or redefinition of comedy to embrace both the romantic elements

of Shakespeare's drama and the satiric elements of the Molière fashion. The fundamental difference between the two modes of comedy was more a difference in point of view, for where Shakespeare worked toward a scene of reconciliation, Molière and Jonson directed their comedies toward a scene of retribution. The appeal in both instances was more an appeal to the intellect rather than to the emotions, for in presenting the incongruities of human folly in humorous fashion, the Elizabethan audience could laugh at their errors, and at the same time learn a lesson through the plights of others.[43]

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[43] For a more detailed discussion of Elizabethan comedy, see E.W. Morris's, The Drama: Its Laws and Techniques, particularly the chapter entitled "The Nature and Source of Comic Effect."

CHAPTER IV - A GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION OF ENGLISH SATIRE

> The significant sources of satire are not literary or philosophical; they are social and economic. For the understanding of satire and response to it, we need not so much an aquaintance with models and conventions, or an understanding of the ideas and principals, as a knowledge of the social mileu from which the satire sprang. Literary theory may influence the style form of the writing, and ideas, stated directly or implied, may form a large part of its content, but the vitality of the work comes from its connection with actual human behavior. Satire not only concerns itself with the way men live, it is prompted by attitudes which are themselves part of that living. In some kinds of poetry the form may be the most important creative agent; in satire the form is secondary to the social concern which gives the work its impetus and motive power. Therefore, the most fruitful approach to Elizabethan satire is not from classical models or Renaissance theory but from the social and economic scene in sixteenth century England.[44]

Hallet Smith focuses attention on the social and economic implications which underlie the satire of any period. In the course of this study, it has been shown that the vigorous elements of Renaissance humanism advanced at a rapid pace during the reign of the Tudors. The focus on nationalism and patriotism was an influential factor in the development of England's political

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[44] Hallet Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 194.

unit into a strong world power during the period of exploration and discovery. At the same time, however, fluctuations in the standard of living brought about cases of extreme poverty, and the wealth which had been acquired by the medieval church passed over into the hands of the rising bourgeoisie.

Parallel with the sharp changes in England's economy were the problems which arose between church and state. Protestant forces in England and the rest of the continent could no longer be denied expression in the over-all scheme of èxistence because the question of foreign authorityin religious matters was contradictory to domestic unity. The qualification of a state religion begun during the reign of Henry VIII culminated in a form of moderate compromise with the establishment of the Anglican Church during Elizabeth's period. The royal prerogative in both matters of religion and economy could not be infallible, but at the same time it stimulated a sense of harmony and centralized organization from the crown head down to the common peasant.

Out of this background of unity in diversity arose a stream of literature through which grievances of society could be publicly voiced, whether those grievances were found in individuals, groups,

or institutions of society. The expression of satire came through various channels: through the flood of religious pamphlets which circulated among the lay people, through the verse letters of Wyatt and Surrey, through the pastoral motif of Spenser, through the literary quarrels which developed in the 1590's. The voice of the people was finally being expressed through representatives who could give an objective presentation of social evils, and as the century drew to a close the small voice in the wilderness had grown to a tumultuous shout.

The classical phase of English satire was begun during the age of Henry VIII with the works of Wyatt and Surrey who had both experienced life at the court and diplomatic service abroad. Wyatt borrowed elements from the Horatian satires of a bygone age in order to strike out against the public servants who had offended him. Surrey adapted influences of Italian works into the English vernacular, thus enriching the literary vocabulary of Englishmen and raising it to a level of a more natural and more native expression. The theory of satire which they prompted embraced both classical and Biblical allusions to disguise the undercurrent of anger which they felt against contemporary life. More important, however, is

the fact that in both instances satire arose from private or personal situations which had been distasteful to the poets. These situations could be applicable to experiences faced by others, but in Wyatt's case the satire was written as advice to others to profit by his mistakes. Surrey, on the other hand, seemed more concerned with justifying his mistakes to the society of England, and had little interest in teaching a lesson. It is my contention that the germ of satire as a weapon of ridicule and punishment was used more effectively by Surrey than Wyatt in this instance.

In The Shepherds' Calender of Spenser, private grievances were extended to a more general level of public grievances. The problems of religion, of youth and age, of the standards, of poetry were all explored in the framework of the pastoral, thus adding another dimension to the form which satire could take. The genre of the pastoral was more conventional to a sixteenth century audience of critics and Spenser made use of a closer frame of reference in his adaptation of Chaucerian elements. The device of emblems injected into the pastoral and the use of animal contentions linked Chaucerian elements to the Pleiades of medieval French literature. The exploration of

satire within a standardized pattern of the frame-story furthered the potentials of satiric expression from experimental verse to conventional form. Spenser's foremost contribution, however, was in raising satire from a limited frame of reference to a more general or objective presentation of society. At the same time, however, the artificial conventions of the pastoral proved to the satirist that satire co ld not be restricted by a standard form. The natural expression of satire was unnatural for the pastoral conventions of lofty diction and elevated verse.

A more natural expression of satire was to be found in the last decade of t he century in the non-dramatic and dramatic verse media of Hall, Marston, Donne, and Jonson. One might say that the last decade expressed a compromise point of view for satiric expression which embraced part of the classical conventions as well as the experimental verse of t he early '70',. At the same time, however, the rule of anonymity which had d minated the satirist of ancient times, passed into obscurity and satiric expression became more direct, more explosive, and more brutal. Hall ignited the spark with the publication of his Virgidemiarum, an extended work which w s divided into "toothless" and "biting" satires

to indicate a shift in tone from didactic satire to satire of ridicule. Hall's criticism of the literary conventions of his day was open to public attack, and the challenge was answered in the person of John Marston.

Marston presented the problem of the malcontent as a writer of satiric verse to public criticism. It seemed to be his special talent to oppose any and all men who might disagree with his arbitrary standards of literature. More important, however, was his conception of the satirist as the scourge or punisher of mankind, for to the Elizabethan audience, the problems of disease and lechery were familiar topics of literary expression. Shakespeare had extended the idea in his characterization of Hamlet as both the scourge and minister of mankind, for man was forced to act in a society of vice and corruption. Marston, however, was obsessed with the idea of man's licentious nature and conceived of himself as the barber-surgeon who would lance the sores of his society.

In the satires of Donne, which never saw publication until the death of the poet, satire reached a peak of poetic expression in the non-dramatic verse medium. The conversational tone and the element of irony were to add a note of mockery which the eighteenth century adapted into the satiric

mode. His satires were nevertheless toned down by a quiet note of scepticism against the religious institutions of his age. In the hand of the master craftsman, satire became an intellectual as well as emotional experience and the quiet precision of the artist was restored against a background of boisterous ridicule and scorn.

Ben Jonson explored the possibilities of satire in the genre of comedy and showed that the ridiculous nature of man's state could be presented in humourous fashion on the legitimate stage. By injecting elements of French theatre into the taste of contemporary Londoners, Jonson attempted to make a series of case-studies on the nature of man's temperament through the introduction of humour characters. His dedication to the theatre was misinterpreted, however, as an egotistical bid for fame, but throughout the three years of the Stage Quarrel, Jonson indicated the dauntless nature of a determined craftsman. His approach to satire was that of the psychologist who watched each reaction of his characters with calculated interest and magnified it to reach the vision of his unsuspecting audience.

Throughout this period, the classical strain of satire which developed pointed toward a new surge of literary expression which would finally

break the chains of medieval scholasticism, within the period of the 1590's, the separation was finally completed as the subject-matter moved from the confining conventions of heroic poetry to a more native expression of social disorder and human depravity. The humanistic approach toward social evils which the satirists adopted was to become part of the Renaissance code of contemporary England, and purge the literature of foreign elements which had chained the minds of Englishmen to outworn ideals of the Middle Ages. The new coat of armour donned by the late sixteenth-century was a coat of realism which revealed both the success and the failures of English society to live up to its ideals of domestic order and unity.

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A Study of the Development of English Satire in the Sixteenth Century

> The significant sources of satire are not literary or philosophical; they are social and economic. For the understanding of satire, and response to it, we need not so much an aquaintance with models and conventions, or an understanding of the ideas and principles, as a knowledge of the social mileu from which the satire sprang. Literary theory may influence the style and form of the writing, and ideas, stated directly or implied, may form a large part of its content, but the vitality of the work comes from its connection with actual human behavior. Satire not only concerns itself with the way men live, it is prompted by attitudes which are themselves part of that living. In some kinds of poetry the form may be the most important creative agent; in satire the form is secondary to the social concern which gives the work its impetus and motive power. Therefore, the most fruitful approach to Elizabethan satire is not from classical models or Renaissance theory but from the social and economic scene in sxteenth-century England.[1]

Hallett Smith focuses attention on the social and economic implications which underlie satire of any period. In the course of this study, it is shown that the vigorous elements of Renaissanee humanism advanced at a rapid pace during the reign of the Tudors. The focus on nationalism and patriotism was an influential factor in the development of England's political unit into a strong world power during the period of exploration and discovery. At the same time, however, an increase in the standard of living brought about cases of extreme poverty, and the wealth which had been acquired by the medieval church passed over into the hands of the rising bourgeoisie.

Parallel to the sharp changes in England's economy were the

[1] Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge, 1952), p. 192.

problems which arose between church and state. Protestant forces in England and the rest of the continent could no longer be denied expression in the over-all scheme of existence, because the question of foreign authority in religious matters was contradictory to the idea of demestic unity. The qualification of a state religion begun during the reign of Henry VIII culminated in a form of moderate compromise with the establishment of the Anglican Church of England during Elizabeth's reign. The royal prerogative in both matters of religion and economy could not be infallable, but at the same time, it could and did stimulate a sense of harmony and centralized organization from the crown head down to the common peasant.

Out of this background of unity in diversity arose a stream of literature through which grievances of society could be publicly voiced, whether those grievances were found in individuals, groups, or institutions of society. The expression of satire came through various channels: through the flood of religious pamphlets which circulated among the lay people, through the verse letters of Wyatt and Surrey, through the pastoral motif of Spenser, through the literary quarrels which developed in the 1590's. The voice of the people was finally being expressed through representatives who could give an objective presentation of social evils, and as the century drew to a close, the small voice in the wilderness had grown to a tumultuous shout.

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Surrey adapted influences of Italian works into the English vernacular, thus enriching the literary vocabulary of Englishmen, and raising it to a level of more natural and more native expression. The theory of satire which they prompted embraced both classical and Biblical allusions to disguise the undercurrent of anger which they felt against contemporary life. More important, however, is the fact that in both instances satire arose from private or personal situations which had been distasteful to the poets. These situations could be applicable to experiences faced by others, but in Wyatt's case the satire was written as advice to others to profit from his mistakes. Surrey, on the other hand, seemed more concerned with justifying his mistakes to the society of England, and had little interest in teaching a lesson. It is my contention that the germ of satire as the weapon of ridicule and punishment was used more effectively by Surrey than Wyatt in this instance.

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