The Satires of Edward Young

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I. The Tradition of Formal Satire
A definition of satire characteristic of the eighteenth century, the last period when satires as separate productions were still living forms of literature, is given by Dr. Johnson. "Satire," he says, "is a poem in which wickedness or folly is censured." This definition places English satire in direct line of descent from Latin satire because it assigns to it a meaning consonant with that attached to it by Horace and Juvenal. Johnson also recognised the word, satire, as originally a Latin word; he derived it from "satira," anciently "satura," and not from the Greek word meaning satyr. Dr. J. W. Duff says, "This confusion (between these two words) led in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the curious notion that the half-bestial woodland demons, the Satyrs, were endowed with a gift of censoriousness."\(^1\) The *New English Dictionary* gives this definition of satire: "in classical use a poem in which prevalent follies or vices are assailed with ridicule or with serious denunciation."\(^2\) But a general usage from the seventeenth century on has given sanction to a broader connotation: the speaking, as well as writing, of sarcasm, irony, ridicule, etc., in denouncing, exposing or deriding vice, folly, abuses or evils of every kind, until today the use is very broad. As Dr. Duff says, "(Satire), indeed, when it means the satiric spirit, occurs in all literature, including the Bible."\(^2\) Satire in this broader sense pervades English prose of the eighteenth century like Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, Pope's *Essay on Man*,

\(^1\) *Roman Satire* (Berkeley, 1936), pp. 3-4
\(^2\) *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4
Johnson's *Rasselas*, Voltaire's *Candide*, or Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels*, charged with his most bitter disgust for humanity. In the more gentle Horatian manner, Addison and Steele used their contributions to the *Spectator* to chastise, without malice, human weaknesses, so that the essay also became a vehicle for the satiric.

Nothing so clearly marks the eighteenth century as a period of classicism as does the field of verse satire. These works, taken by rote and rule from their Roman models, exemplify the spirit of the age of reason. In this correct era of form and style, couplets and poetic diction, such a form as verse satire naturally flourished.

It has been argued as to whether or not satire may be considered true poetry; to modern writers (starting with the Romantic school), the argument is fairly well settled. It is now considered that nearly any subject may be denominated poetic, and therefore satire may be called poetry.

Be that as it may, the opposite opinion has a good deal of support from historical and other angles. When a poet sets about to chastise his contemporaries he must lose the spirit of lofty poetic sensitivity whether he writes in verse or not. In the Dedication of Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, inscribed to the Reverend Edward Young, the distinction between the man of wit and sense and the true poet is pointed out. Warton says:

"I revere the memory of Pope, I respect and honour his abilities; but I do not think him at the head of his profession. In other words, in that species of poetry wherein Pope excelled, he is superior to all mankind; and I only say that this species of poetry is not the most excellent one of the art..."
For one person who can adequately relish and enjoy a work of imagination, twenty are to be found who can taste, and judge of, observations on familiar life, and the manners of the age . . . Are there so many cordial admirers of Spenser and Milton, as of Hudibras, if we strike out of the number of those supposed admirers those who appear such out of fashion, and not out of feeling? Swift's Rhapsody on Poetry is far more popular than Akenside's noble Ode to Lord Huntingdon. (Pope's) Epistles on the Character of Men and Women, and your sprightly Satires, my good friend, are more frequently perused and quoted than L'Allegro and Il Penseroso of Milton. Had you written only these Satires, you would, indeed, have gained the title of a man of wit, and a man of sense; but I am confident, would not insist on being denominated a poet merely on their account . . .

"I wish to impress on the reader, that a clear head, and acute understanding, are not sufficient, alone to make a poet; that the most solid observations on human life, expressed with the utmost elegance and brevity, are morality and not poetry . . .

"It is amazing this matter should ever have been mistaken, when Horace has taken particular and repeated pains to settle and adjust the opinion in question. He has more than once disclaimed all right and title to the name of poet on the score of his ethic and satiric pieces . . . Nothing can be more judicious than the method he prescribes, of trying whether any composition be essentially poetical or not; which is, to drop entirely the measures and numbers, and transpose and invert the order of the words; and in this unadorned manner to peruse the passage. If there be really in it a true poetical spirit, all your inversions and transpositions will not disguise and extinguish it; but it will retain its lustre, like a diamond unset, and thrown back into the rubbish of the mine."^3

It may then be considered that Joseph Warton, an eminent and respected author of the same period as Young and Pope, considered them to have something in common as men of wit and sense if not true poets and calls on Horace to substantiate him in emphasizing this distinction.

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The age was tolerant, even receptive, of moralizing and sermonizing, as is evidenced by the formidable mass of sermons, which were evidently considered normal reading matter for the edification, if not amusement, of the cultured citizen of eighteenth century England. These two and other considerations made formal satire extremely congenial to contemporary taste.

Both Young and Pope were disciples of Horace, and though Pope imitated him more closely in form, Young has caught more of the genial Horatian spirit. Though Pope frequently forgot Dryden's principle of seeming fair, his vituperations against definite persons never approaches the ferocity of Swift's disapproval, directed at humanity, which is like Juvenal instead of Horace.

Satire is motivated by three forces: 1. The driving force of public indignation, which compelled Swift to rage against the vileness of mankind. 2. The hate of personal injuries which motivated Pope to spleenetically attack his enemies. 3. The presumably detached love of virtue which creates Young's position as the amused observer railing with suave urbanity at the prevailing follies and vices. As I have mentioned the first type is more like Juvenal, while the last two may both be considered Horatian. The latter types are more abundantly found in the welter of eighteenth century satire, and surely the age of reason would have been more receptive to them than to ragings such as Swift's, which are necessarily over-exaggerated, sometimes fanatical, commonly less than reasonable.

The neo-classic formula of wit and judgment in perfect balance is particularly applicable to the art of satire. Mr. R. K. Root says:
"But if great satire needs an abundance of fertile wit, there must be present also an equal measure of compensating judgment, which shall give it artistic restraint. It must know not only when and where to strike, but how deep should be the thrust. It is no accident that formal satire, first brought to artistic perfection in Augustan Rome, should have chiefly flourished in periods when the classical tradition has been dominant. . . .

"The traditional form of Roman satire is the epistle or imaginary dialogue in verse. It is when the laughter of rebuke so expresses itself that it most completely deserves the name of ‘a satire.’ Such a poem is in the critic's mind when he speaks of 'formal satire.' The primitive Latin 'satura,' which was developed by Ennius and Lucilius and perfected by Horace and Juvenal seems to have been in its origin rudely dramatic, a comic interlude without a plot, something analogous to the dialogue of question and answer carried on by the end-men of an old-fashioned minstrel show, with pointed hints at conspicuous personages of the community."  

This tradition of a dramatic origin was preserved by Horace in about half his satires by the adoption of the form of the dialogue. Pope, who deliberately modeled his form after that of Horace, although calling his best satiric work an Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, actually made of it a dialogue between himself and his friend (in which, however, Pope monopolizes nearly all of the conversation, assuming the position of the righteous satirist in relation to his interlocutor, in this case Dr. Arbuthnot, who feeds him his lines).

Young's satires, likewise, are in this form of a one-sided dialogue, since each of the seven is dedicated to some personage who is addressed directly throughout the piece which is inscribed to him. Even though Pope and Young do not always use the dialogue proper, their style, and that of Horace, is always colloquial and familiar. Satire, though formal, is a realistic medium; it is concerned with the facts

of life instead of romantic fancies, and therefore lofty diction is not suitable, any more than are poetic flights of imagination. When it appears, as it occasionally does, in a romantic setting, it shatters at a stroke all romantic glamour. No better example of this could be mentioned than Don Quixote.

Horace called his satires sermones (discourses and conversations), and pitched their tone accordingly. They never rise into the higher regions of the grand manner. Neither in substance nor in style is there any marked difference between the collection of sermones and the equally colloquial epistolae. In the Fourth Satire of Book I translated by Conington, Horace says,

"First, be it understood, I make no claim To rank with those who bear a poet's name! 'Tis not enough to turn out lines complete, Each with its proper quantum of five feet; Colloquial verse a man may write like me, But (trust an author) 'tis not poetry. No! keep that name for genius, for a soul Of Heaven's own fire, for words that grandly roll!"\(^5\)

It is significant that the word satire is a Latin word while most of our literary labels—drama, epic, lyric, ode—are Greek. The closeness of the emulation of the Roman satires by the eighteenth century extends to the use of Latin-type names and Roman manners. It is amazing how easily the Roman behavior satirized fits into the picture of eighteenth century England. This is, indeed, proof that good satire is eternally true; and Horace's miserly Roman is the counterpart of the miserly Englishman of Pope and Young.

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\(^5\) Horace, trans. Conington (London, 1911), (Satires and Epistles), Book I, p. 35
II. Content of the Satires

A. Parts taken from Horace

B. Title of the satires, exact meaning of title, and implications of title

C. Specific persons singled out for praise and blame

D. Customs and institutions satirised

E. The satires on women
A. Parts taken from Horace
Horace did not seek reasons or driving motives for human foolishness, though he did outline types of "madness" in Satire III, Book II, speaking to Damasippus,¹ (later used by Swift in A Tale of a Tub); but he did show himself superior to his eighteenth century disciples in that he was more sympathetic to human folly; his outlook was always kindly, and his view was ever the large one. Indeed, at times he is like a forerunner of Shaftesbury in the idea that instinct teaches men how to act well (first two lines of the Epistle to Scarva, Epistle XVII, Book I)², and that nature and philosophy both separate the just from the unjust (Satire III, Book I).³

We are more inclined to believe Horace when he adopts the role of philosopher in retirement than we are Young or Swift or Pope; for his retirement to contemplate and learn the "harmony of life," as he put it, seems completely voluntary and real. To Horace, the detached sage is the only one who can know true peace—that is, any action must be right action for its own sake and not for temporal benefits; as long as temporal benefits are pursued peace is impossible—so Horace tried to detach himself from worldly concerns and life according to these simple and true philosophic precepts. Even he was not always completely successful, since he liked to build and valued the prestige of powerful friends. His apologies to Maecenas for not coming to Rome, (Epistle VII, Book I)⁴ and his independence when speaking of patronage, however, show that he was to a certain degree

¹ Horace, trans. Conington (London, 1911), (Satires and Epistles) p. 103
² Ibid., p. 221
³ Ibid., p. 31
⁴ Ibid., p. 187
free of worldly considerations; and certainly he valued personal
independence, as is shown in his parable of the horse (Epistle X, Book I)
who took man on his back to help vanquish his enemy the stag, and has
since been saddled and burdened.5

It is noteworthy how much from Horace has been utilized by
Young in The Universal Passion; those passages which are most Horatian
are usually among the best in the work, excluding the satires on women,
which are the best of all and are mostly original with the poet;
which shows what Young can do when he takes his own advice on original-
ity6 and puts his own personality into his efforts. It is also re-
markable how fresh the satires are in spite of being so mechanical;
a tribute to Young's ability at using the conventional forms to
achieve artistic interest (though he is generally conceded not to
have been the master of aphorism that Pope was). The Horatian, and
some original, passages are good from the standpoint of lasting
truths, while others, which satirize vices peculiar to the eighteenth
century, have a great deal of historical and human interest—and even
the follies most characteristic of the eighteenth century have their
modern counterparts.

From Horace, in Epistle II, Book I, we find the idea (util-
ized also by Pope in The Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot) that a vile encomium
is the worst of ridicule.7 In the satire inscribed to Dorset, Young
says:

"Of folly, vice, disease, men proud we see;
And (stranger still!) of blockheads' flattery:
Whose praise defames; as if a fool should mean
By spitting on your face, to make it clean."8

5 Ibid., p. 198
6 Conjectures on Original Composition
From Horace, (and also expressed by Pope) strangely enough for so typically an eighteenth century manifestation, is the passage on those who seek fame by building large mansions; often at the expense of their own complete ruin. Horace mentions this particular folly in Satire III, Book II—and is accused of indulging in it himself, as his own private form of madness, by Damasippus.

The building craze of the eighteenth century was caused by a variety of factors. Beverly Sprague Allen, in his book called Tides in English Taste says:

"It is not to be wondered at that when it was the fashion for many wealthy young men of rank to take the grand tour and to study architecture, the period became the age of the accomplished amateur, the gentleman-builder, and the man of taste. But however delightful as an amusement such a knowledge was to the person of means and leisure, it entailed the certain bodevilment of architecture when these would-be connoisseurs undertook either to give instructions to professional architects in their employ or to design their own buildings. It was just such men, fashionable amateurs ignorant of the practical aspects of architecture, who were likely to be hypnotized by abstract formulas and to accept uncritically the dogmas of Vitruvius and the Italians in regard to symmetry and proportion. Professional architects like Kent, Campbell, and Gibbs were sufficiently guilty in this respect . . .

"It is proof of the general interest in architecture and gardening in the eighteenth century that one of the principal diversions of the time was to make a tour, in the course of which, one visited as many houses and gardens as possible." 10

Professor Allen offers more striking proof in the case of Lord Lyttelton, who wrote in early life satirizing "the craze for

9 On cit., p. 119
building and gardening which seized those who, having been to Italy
set up as men of taste and tore down one house to put up another for
which they could not afford to pay," and later was compelled to borrow
money from his brothers and sell valuable property to pay for the
construction of an Italian style house.\(^\text{11}\)

It may then be considered that Horace satirized the original,
and Young the copies, in two great classical eras of intensive
architecture, which, in spite of contributing to culture and civilization,
had a foolish and wasteful side as well. The satirist, who was as
much a disciple of classicism as the builders he satirized, lost no
time in pointing out the foolish aspect.

In Horace's Epistle to Lollius, (Epistle XVIII, Book I)\(^\text{12}\)
the man of wealth gives some good advice to those who would vie with
him; saying that his wealth will bear the silly things he does.
Young restates this in the first satire:

"Men, overloaded with a large estate
May spell their treasure in a nice conceit:
The rich may be polite; but oh 'tis sad
To say you're curious, when we swear you're mad.
By your revenue, measure your expense,
And to your funds and acres join your sense."\(^\text{13}\)

This passage is an example of Young's didactic manner; he
pauses frequently to address the reader with his directions on how to
behave in life. This "how to" method is distinctly Roman and much
beloved (especially by the clergymen) in the eighteenth century's
more or less pedantic moralizing. At the end of the first satire,
Young is found repeating after Horace (Satire VI, Book II)\(^\text{14}\) the
vanities of the court, and the values of rural retirement; Young,

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 74
\(^{12}\) Horace, trans. Conington (London, 1911), (Satires and Epistles) p. 227
\(^{13}\) Works, p. 65
\(^{14}\) Op. Cit., p. 137
unlike Horace, seems to be more of a poseur in this role: it may be that he finally did come to prize his retreat; but he arrived there more by circumstance than by choice. In any case he earnestly praises the life of the solitary thinker in these elegant lines:

"Fools grin on fools, and stoic-like support
Without one sign, the pleasures of a court.
Courts can give nothing to the wise and good
But scorn of pomp, and love of solitude
High stations tumult, but not bliss create;
None think the great unhappy, but the great:
Fools gaze, and envy; envy darts a sting,
Which makes a swain as wretched as a king.
I envy none their pageantry and show;
I envy none the gilding of their wo,
Give me, indulgent gods! with mind serene,
And guiltless heart, to range the sylvan scene;
No splendid poverty, no smiling care,
No well-bred hate, or servile grandeur there:
There pleasing objects useful thoughts suggest;
The sense is ravished and the soul is blest;
On every thorn delightful wisdom grows;
In every rill, a sweet instruction flows."

In the second and fourth satires are found the perenially blooming individuals who, having no better claim to fame, are proud of their oddities. In Horace, this idea is expressed somewhat differently—Horace says, in Epistle XIX, Book I, that fools hoping to be known as wise men ape the defects of prominent wise men. The concept, however, is related, if not the same; in Satire II, Young says:

15 Works, pp. 66-67
16 Op. Cit., p. 233
"Wants of all kinds are made to fame a plea; 
One learns to live, another not to see;
Miss D_____, tottering, catches at your hand:
Was ever thing so pretty born to stand? . . . .
Morose is sunk with shame, when surprised
In linen clean, or peruke undisguised.
No sublunary chance his vestments fear;
Valued, like leopards, as their spots appear . . .
One day his wife (for who can wives reclaim?)
Levell'd her barb'rous needle at his fame:
But open force was vain; by night she went,
And while he slept, surprised the darling rent."

The last passage is a good example of the vividness Young managed to attain while following a pattern. The colloquialism of Horace is achieved quite well, and the "sprightliness" mentioned by Warton is well in evidence. This "liveliness" is one of the very best features of The Love of Fame and certainly exists for the reader of today as well as the reader of the eighteenth century. Consequently, Young's didacticism, and tendency to pedantry, is rendered quite readable.

In the third satire, inscribed to Dodington, we find that favorite with Horace, (Satires I and II, Book II) who has not disappeared in the twentieth century—the glutton:

"And eat their way to fame; with anxious thought
The salmon is refused, the turbot bought . . . .
Their various cares in one great point combine
The business of their lives, that is—to dine.
Half their precious day they give the feast;
And to a kind digestion spare the rest . . . .
These worthies of the palate guard with care
The sacred annals of their bills of fare."

17 Works, pp. 74, 76
18 Op. Cit., pp. 89, 91; 93, 205
19 Works, p. 80
An institution mentioned frequently by Horace, and of great interest to the eighteenth century, but one which has mercifully disappeared, is that of patronage. The modern version, however, exists plentifully enough in the numbers who fawn on the rich or powerful for favors. Pope is generally considered to be just about the first literary man who was able to live on earnings from the sale of his writings. This was less from any special abilities of Pope's than from the changing conditions of English life. Nevertheless, Pope valued his independence; and in his day patronage still flourished, and was of burning concern to all authors. Few could resist touching on a theme so close to their hearts and pocketbooks. The relationship of Horace to Maecenas seems to have been a nice combination of respect and independence on the part of Horace. He repeatedly mentions the pitfalls and evils of that situation, saying that too many favors from the lord will cause the recipient to follow a way of life he is unable to support financially or socially (Epistle VII, Book I)\(^\text{20}\), he warns of becoming servile (Epistle XVII, Book I)\(^\text{21}\), mentions the value of independence and simple living (Satire VI, Book II)\(^\text{22}\), yet speaks with reverence and affection of Maecenas (Satire III, Book I)\(^\text{23}\), and is proud of having won the favor of so great a man; he is full of directions on the best way to win and keep such favors without servility, such as those found in Epistle XVIII, Book I.\(^\text{24}\)

So the patron problem was solved by Horace and by Pope.

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\(^{21}\) *Ibid.*, p. 223
\(^{22}\) *Ibid.*, p. 137
\(^{23}\) *Ibid.*, p. 27
\(^{24}\) *Ibid.*, pp. 229-231
Young did not fare so well, and his observations on the subject are tinged with disappointment and bitterness; yet he does not want to risk losing any chances of patronage by mentioning names of any to whom his resentment might be directed. So he contents himself with satirising the general situation and continues writing specific panegyrics and dedications. The following passage from Satire IV, dedicated to Sir Spencer Compton, echoes Horace in describing the yoke of servitude which can result from the sale of ability for favors:

"Who'd be a crutch to prop a rotten peer;
Or living pendant dangling at his ear . . . .
Who'd be a glass with flattering grimace,
Still to reflect the temper of his face;
Or happy pen to stick upon his sleeve,
When my lord's gracious, and vouchsafes it leave
Or cushion, when his heaviness shall please
To loll, or thump it, for his better ease; . . . .
For blessings to the gods profoundly bow,
That can cry, chimney sweep, or drive a plough?
With terms like these, how mean the tribe that close!
Scarce meaner they, who terms like these, impose.
But what's the tribe most likely to comply?
The men of ink, or ancient authors\(^2^5\) lie;
The writing tribe, who shameless auctions hold
Of praise, by inch of candle to be sold."\(^2^6\)

In Satire III, from Horace, comes some good general advice on the painful situation of patronage (particularly from court circles), advice which Young most certainly did not use himself; it is, however, descriptive of Pope, who did practice what he

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\(^2^5\) Horace
\(^2^6\) Works, pp. 91, 92
"Be wise, Vincenna, and the court forsake;  
Our fortunes there, nor thou, nor I, shall make.  
Ev'n men of merit, ere their point they gain,  
In hardy service make a long campaign;  
Most manfully besiege their patron's gate,  
And oft repuls'd as oft attack the great  
With painful art, and application warm,  
And take, at last, some little place by storm;  
Enough to keep two shoes on Sunday clean,  
And starve upon discreetly, in Sheer Lane.  
Already this thy fortune can afford;  
Then starve without the favor of my lord.  
'Tis true, great fortunes some great men confer;  
But often, ev'n in doing right, they err!  
From caprice, not from choice, their favors come;  
They give, but think it toil to know to whom!  
The man that's nearest, yawning, they advance:  
'Tis inhumanity to give by chance.  
If merit sues, and greatness is so loth  
To break its downy trance, I pity both."
E. Title of the satires, exact meaning of title, and implications of title.
Young's satires first appeared in 1725; and met with a
good deal of success. According to the Cambridge Bibliography of
English Literature, the satires came out in the following order:

"The Universal Passion, Satire I, 1725;
The Universal Passion, Satire II, 1725;
The Universal Passion, Satire III, 1725;
The Universal Passion, Satire IV, 1725;
The Universal Passion, Satire the Last, 1726;
The Universal Passion, Satire V, 1727;
The Universal Passion, Satire VI, 1728;
The Love of Fame, the Universal Passion (in
Seven Characteristical Satires) - the second
edition corrected and alter'd, 1728; 1730; 1731;
Dublin, 1737 (1940); 1742; 1752; tr. French 1787."

The first edition was the seven separate parts of The
Universal Passion (1725-8); and Satire the Last, 1726, appears in
the second edition as Satire VII, when the title was expanded to
its permanent form.

The 1752 edition was the last one of his lifetime and is
listed as the fifth edition; which is positive proof that the satires
were a fairly popular publication; and in the first lines of his
Preface, added for the second edition of 1728, Young says that,
"These satires have been favorably received at home and abroad."

The success of the satires doubtless solidified his
position as a serious moralist having been written the year following
that in which he apparently took orders, 1724. Exactly at what date
he decided to reverse his own lines and abandon the classics for
scripture is not certain. It has been usual with his biographers

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2 Works, p. 54
to regard his appointment as Chaplain to the King in April of 1728 as the earliest landmark of his clerical career, and Shelley has found evidence that he was preaching sermons in 1727. However, R. E. Tickell has presented seventeen letters from Young to Thomas Tickell, which had hitherto remained undiscovered; and, in one of these, the date of ordination is quite definitely fixed as 1724.

Then too, Young's play, The Brothers, was withdrawn from the season of 1724, in which it was to appear. And this action was, doubtless, taken in deference to the character of his new occupation.

The satires, then, mark a turning point in Young's career; a point where he had turned from play-houses and worldliness to retirement and religion. The satires are definitely a product of the worldly period yet contain much of the orthodox moralizing and serious thought of the period of religious seclusion.

The permanent title of the satires as given in the edition of 1728, then, is The Love of Fame. The Universal Passion. In Seven Characteristical Satires. The thesis of the work is given in the title, and is stated at the beginning of Satire I following an interesting list of things which call for satire. He says:

"Tho' vain the strife, I'll strive my voice to raise, What will not men attempt for sacred praise?"

"Sacred praise" is the motive of the ostentatiously proud,

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3 Life and Letters of Edward Young (Boston, 1914), p. 94
4 Thomas Tickell and the Eighteenth Century Poets (London, 1931), p. 105
5 Works, p. 61.
the ostentatiously humble, the rich or the poor, the Whig or the Tory. All foolish or wicked behavior has its origin, Young maintained, in the desire for the attention, if not approval, of the world; thus he calls the love of notoriety the ruling force. No one is free of this vice he says in Satire I.

"The love of praise, however concealed by art, Reigns, more or less, and glows, in ev'ry heart: The proud, to gain it, toils on toils endure; The modest shun it, but to make it sure. O'er globes, and sceptres, now on thrones it swells; Now, trims the midnight lamp in college cells: 'Tis Tory, Whig; it plots, prays, preaches, pleads, Harangues in senates, squeaks in masquerades. Here to Steele's humor makes a bold pretence; There, bolder, aims at Pulteney's eloquence. It aids the dancer's heel, the writer's head, And heaps the plain with mountains of the dead; . . . . What is not proud? The pimp is proud to see So many like himself in high degree; The whore is proud her beauties are the dread Of peevish virtue, and the marriage bed . . . . Some go to church, proud humbly to repent, And come back much more guilty than they went: One way they look, another way they steer, Pray to the gods, but would have mortals hear . . . . Sick with the love of fame, what throngs pour in, Unpeople court, and leave the senate thin."

While the presumption of this single motive does give "unity" to the whole work (as he says in the Preface), it also necessitates a good bit of twisting to fit all men's follies to that single motive. Pope doubtless tried to avoid this discrepancy, for in his satires on the characters of men and women, he ascribed different "drives" to different types of persons. Young, however, did seek a psychological or inward reason for outward behavior, and

6 Edition of 1802 reads S____le; J. Mitford, (1906), has filled in Steele.
7 Edition of 1802 reads P____y's; J. Mitford, (1906), has filled in Pulteney.
8 Works, pp. 61, 63
may well have inspired Pope to his work along the same lines. (which was also primitive enough compared to modern scientific psychology). These ideas came to the eighteenth century through the earlier concept of the "humours." The humours contained the connotation of both good and evil—with the idea that an excess of a particular humour would throw a character out of balance. Edward N. Hooker, in his article, *Humour in the Age of Pope*, says that in the first half of the eighteenth century, the word, humour, was rapidly assuming its modern meaning and laughter was growing mild and tenderhearted. This, however, was not the satirist's point of view; and reading Swift, Pope and Young, it would appear that there was quite an unsympathetic reaction to humours. The satirists' objections were founded mostly on the grounds of reason; which they felt would dictate against one driving force or an excess of one humour. The satirist did not have much sympathy for human weaknesses; however Young, in his anticlimactic Satire VII, does make some last minute comments in which he reverses the theme of the first six satires, and says that the love of fame can lead to exemplary actions. Coming at the tail-end, these statements serve only to confuse the reader.

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9 *The Huntington Library Quarterly* (Los Angeles, 1948), Vol. XI, No. 4
C. Specific persons singled out for praise and blame.
Like Horace, and unlike Pope, Young selcom names specific personalities for chastisement, and even when he does so, he is not nearly so biting as Pope. He does not wish to employ the muse to castigate his enemies, as Pope does, nor to dwell on the animal in man, as Swift sometimes does. He never tries to wound as much as possible.

"What though wit tickles? Tickling is unsafe, If still 'tis painful while it makes us laugh. Who, for the poor renown of being smart, Would leave a sting within a brother's heart?"¹

While, however, he subscribed fully to the theory of "laughing satire" he does not always desist from naming specific personalities and realizes:

"How terrible it were to common sense To write a satire which gives none offence."²

Though the number of specific personalities singled out by him are few compared to his numerous composite types he does include some real persons. And though he praises most of the contemporaries mentioned, some do receive his satiric lash. In the choice of personalities to receive disfavor he does not show much originality, nor does he appear to be grinding his own ax; most of the ones so selected are more or less standard whipping boys—who have had the finger of general disapproval pointed at them for some time. However, many of these were quite powerful people, and he dared to chastise them in spite of his sagerness to secure favors. Still, the numbers mentioned

1 Works, p. 72
2 Works, p. 86
favorably in hopes of receiving benefit are far greater than those whom he dared to publicly admonish. Naturally, some of those chastised have their identity more or less concealed, either by the use of initials or complete blanks or even by being referred to only indirectly, with no names or initials mentioned. This concealment is more effective for posterity than it was at the time of the satire's release; and the initials and blanks of the early editions which have been partially filled in by later scholars are, as usual, not fully accurate.

How much was actually meant to be concealed by the common practice of using initials and blanks is not completely clear. It appears that such disguises were sometimes intended to be transparent, as evidenced by the fact that initials were used for favorable as well as unfavorable comments. The main reason for their use in unfavorable descriptions seems to be that for the victim to object would be an admission of guilt; and also that in case charges of slander be made against the author, he could take refuge in the ambiguities which most cases of initial-using could afford.

It is noteworthy that many of those to receive blame in Young's seven satires are included for the same purpose in Pope's satiric pieces; and it is to be remembered that the seven satires appeared before any of Pope's serious satires. Included for disapprobation by both Young and Pope are Blackmore, Defoe, Gildon, Heidegger, Clarke, Blunt, and Lintot.

In Satire I Young mentions Blackmore, a "wit" who was in his prime slightly before the publication of *The Love of Fame*; and
who was distinguished mainly for the quantity and not the quality of his efforts. In inscribing Satire I to the Duke of Dorset, Young says that should a Dorset patronize a poet, success should attend him though he be Blackmore:

"To poets sacred is a Dorset's name:
Their wonted passport through the gates of fame:
It bribes the partial reader into praise,
And throws a glory round the shelter'd lays:
The dazzled judgment fewer faults can see,
And gives applause to Blackmore, or to me, 4

Pope mentions Blackmore consistently throughout his satiric pieces; including the Dunciad, where he compares him to a braying ass, saying:

"But far o'er all, sonorous Blackmore's strain;
Walls, steeples, skies bray back to him again."

Another man of letters to receive the satiric disapproval of Pope, and quite possibly of Young, was Daniel Defoe. While Defoe did not deserve a place in the Dunciad, the wits of the day generally detested him for his insincere and turncoat political writings, which at that time received much greater notoriety than his fiction on which his present reputation rests. Defoe, in spite of his undercover journalistic activities, was misjudged at many phases of his career by his contemporaries. That Young included him is another example of Young's tendency toward using hackneyed subjects for censure. In Satire VI, referring to those who would seek fame by appearing

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3 1802 edition, purporting to be copy of last corrected edition, reads B——e - J. Mitford, (1906) has filled in Blackmore.
4 Works, p. 59
6 For example, the irony in The Shortest Way with the Dissenters went unperceived; and he was attacked by the liberals as well as the conservatives.
"singular and odd" and who take pride in having opinions which are in
reverse, he says that to such persons, "Arbuthnot is a fool and
___ a sage."

In the Dunciad (Book I), Pope refers to Defoe as descended
from, and bearing the family resemblance to, a long line of dullards:

"She saw with joy, the line immortal run,
Each sire, impressed and glaring at his son . . .
She saw old Prynne in restless Daniel's shine
And Busdon eke out Blackmore's endless line."

In Satire VII, the fulsome panegyric to Walpole, Young men-
tions Gildon, another author to be named first by Young and later by
Pope. Here Young weakens his argument against the love of fame,
saying that it can produce good as well as bad; however, in the
case of Gildon, he continues, the effect was bad:

"Ambition, hence exerts a doubtful force,
Of blots and beauties, an alternate source;
Hence Gildon rails, that raven of the wit
Who thrives upon the carcasses of wit."

In the Dunciad (Book I), Gildon is described as at rest
amongst the dullards:

"He sleeps among the dull of ancient days;
Safe, where no critics damn, no duns molest,
Where wretched Withers, Ward, and Gildon rest."

The following note on Gildon is affixed by Pope:

"Charles Gildon, a writer of criticisms and libels
of the last age, bred at St. Omer's with the Jesuits;

7 Works, p. 90
8 Defoe has been filled in by some later scholars, though possibly
Norton Defoe was intended. Norton was Daniel's son and received
the lash in the Dunciad for the authorship of the Flying Post (a
scandalous newspaper of political partisanship). It is also pos-
sible that neither of the Defoes was meant.
9 The Goddess of the Empire of Dunness
10 Daniel Defoe
11 On. cit., p. 130
12 Charles Gildon
13 Works, p. 137
14 On. cit., p. 137
but renouncing popery, he published Blount's books against the divinity of Christ, the Oracles of Reason, etc. He signalized himself as a critic, having written some very bad plays; abused Mr. Pope very scandalously in an anonymous pamphlet of the Life of Mr. Wycherley printed by Curll; in another called the New Rehearsal, printed in 1714; in a third, entitled The Complete Art of English Poetry in two volumes; and others.15

Blackmore, Defoe, and Gildon, then, are three literary men condemned by Young and Pope. They are nearly lost in the sea of names used by Pope, but in Young's satires they stand out because there are few others. None of the three are particularly original examples, since all had a bad press before The Universal Passion.

Pope was more original in the choice of some of his subjects for blame, but Young, with perhaps one notable exception,16 usually contents himself with standard fools—and, indeed this policy is in keeping with his general opposition to personal satire. In the Preface he says, "I am not conscious of the least malevolence to any particular person through all the characters; though some persons may be so foolish as to engross a general application to themselves."17

In the edition of 1728, Young has another statement concerning his disapproval of mentioning names—and in this statement paradoxically he gives the initials of two persons who he feels are guilty of mentioning names to the point of slander. Evidently they are authors of weeklies, wherein were printed attacks against various

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16 Swift
17 Works, p. 54
persons.

"In more than civil war, while patriots storm; While Genius is but cold, their passion warm;
While publick good aloft in pomp, they yield,
And private interest skulks behind the shield;
While M___t and W____rs rise in weekly might,
Make presses groan, lead senators to fight,
Exalt our coffee with lampoons and treat
The pamper'd mob with ministers of state;
"White Ate hot from hell makes heroes shrink;" 18
Cry ravock, and lets loose the dogs of ink;
Nor rank, nor sex, escapes the general frown
But ladies are rip't up, and cits knockt down;
Tremendous force! where even the victor bleeds,
And he deserves our pity, that succeeds."

This passage was omitted by Young in his revised edition
for a number of possible reasons: first, because it weakened the
panegyric to Queen Caroline, which is immediately preceding, and by
the removal of the passage quoted, Caroline's encomium then came
at the very end of the satire, as a sort of grand finale; second,
because of the inconsistency in disapproving of the practice of
using names in the same passage where initials are used; and thirdly
because those meant by the initials may for some reason or another
have proved inadvisable subjects. By W____ns, Young probably meant
William Wilkins, 20 a publisher of periodicals who was also attacked
by Pope in Book II of the Dunciad.

Not exactly a literary man in the poetic sense, but an
author of a certain type of the freethinker, Dr. Samuel Clarke, who
displeased both Young and Pope. Though Pope's religious views may

18 Shakespeare
19 The Love of Fame (London, 1728), pp. 156-157
20 William Wilkins - a staunch Whig and printer of The Whitehall
    other periodicals in which "anonymous stuff" appeared.
be considered as slightly deistical,\textsuperscript{21} compared to the orthodoxy of Swift and Young, he was still in the Catholic Church, and he spoke out against atheists, dissenters, etc.

In Satire IV, Young, raising his voice in the character of the serious moralist he had recently become, condemns unorthodox religious doctrine:

"While the sun shines, Blunt talks with wondrous force; But thunder mars small beer, and weak discourse . . . . Health chiefly keeps an atheist in the dark; A fever argues better than a Clarke.\textsuperscript{22}

Though it appears to modern readers that a very heated battle raged between the conservatives, freethinkers, dissenters, Quakers, latitudinarians, atheists, etc.; in actuality these apparently separate types of beliefs were not always distinguishable in the eighteenth century, either from the lack of desire or inability to make the distinctions. The word, "atheist," could be used when "deist" was intended; and a claimant to orthodoxy could hold deistical views and support them in an orthodox Christian manner. Pope seems to have done this. In the \textit{Dunciad}, Dr. Clarke is referred to in this passage:

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{The Essay on Man} tries to approach religion in the light of nature. Pope was influenced by Bolingbroke, an ardent deist.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Works}, p. 88
"See skulking Truth to her old Cavern fled,
Mountains of Casuistry heap'd o'er her head!
Philosophy that lean'd on Heav'n before,
Shrinks to her second cause, and is no more.
Physic Of Metaphysic begs defence,
And Metaphysic calls for aid on Sense!
See Hysteria to Mathematics fly!
In vain! They gape, turn giddy, rave and die.
Religion blushing veils her sacred fires,
And unawares Morality expires."

It is notable that Pope, Young, and Swift, the three leading literary men of the time, should all have denounced unorthodox religious views. Naturally, they were echoed by the lesser lights, particularly amongst the literary clergy, and consequently any liberal theologians were apt to take quite a beating from the literature of the day. Swift too, disapproved of Dr. Clarke, though not in verse satire.

Louis Landa, in his Introduction to Swift's Sermons, says:

"On the Trinity, which is Swift's most elaborate statement on Christian doctrine, exhibits clearly the orthodoxy and conventionality of his religious views. The immediate background of the sermon is the controversy which occurred in the last decade of the seventeenth century when Anglican divines, in answer to the exponents of an anti-Trinitarian viewpoint, published elaborate explanations of the Trinity and quarrelled among themselves as

The following notes are affixed to the above passages by Warburton: "A sort of men (who make human Reason the adequate measure of all Truth) having pretended that whatsoever is not fully comprehended by it is contrary to it; . . . . . and attempted to shew that the mysteries of Religion may be mathematically demonstrated . . . . ." V. (1743) . . . . Warburton's note is directed against such philosophers as Descartes, Leibnitz, and Samuel Clarke who "attempted to show that the mysteries of religion may be mathematically demonstrated."—Butts
to what constituted an orthodox view. The controversy continued with no less violence after the turn of the century, raging with particular bitterness around Dr. Samuel Clarke, whose The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity (1712), denounced, and condemned by the Lower House of Convocation, called forth many answers from divines.

"Of these controversialists Swift heartily disapproved... An exposition of the Trinity, or of any of the Christian mysteries..., contributes nothing to piety and is more likely to perplex the minds of sober Christians." 24

As to who Blunt 25 mentioned by Young is, it is not so clear, but obviously he is the same Blunt found in The Manners of the Age, a book of thirteen verse satires, written by an anonymous satirist who revered and imitated Young. 26 In these satires Blunt is mentioned frequently; for example:

"Bound by no gospel, by no church enslav'd,
Without his friends, too generous to be sav'd!
For what in heaven could their learn'd pupils do,
if Blunt and Tind... were not happy too?" 27

In Epistle II of the Moral Essays, Pope, too, includes a Blunt; but the note affixed by Pope does not give clear indication that he is the same Blunt, who was a propagator of unorthodox religious doctrine.

Besides the five persons just mentioned there are some who received the lash of Pope and Young for faults other than poor writing or wrong opinions. Among these is Bernard lintot, the bookseller. Pope, in Book II of the Dunciad, ranks him with the unsavory Edmund Curll (surprisingly Young, unlike most other satirists, does not

25 Possibly the Blount (mentioned on p. 24, see below, as the author of the Oracles of Reason.
27 London, 1733, p. 150, p. 159
mention Curll). Pope's passage on the bookseller's race is vilely obscene, though the obscenity is directed more at Curll than Lintot. Characteristically, Young's passage on Lintot is much milder.

The Dunciad and The Love of Fame both include John Heidegger in virtue of his scandalous masquerades; though Pope had more objections to the man than his masquerades, while Young objected more to the masquerades than the man; which illustrates briefly the position of each satirist.

There remains only one other well-known personality to be satirized by both authors, and it is doubtful whether either really intended to satirize him. He is the Duke of Chandos, a great builder in the age of the building mania; which was satirized by Young and Pope. Chandos was a friend of Pope's, and Pope denied that he meant him as Timon whom in Epistle IV he says:

"At Timon's villa let us pass a day,
Where all cry out, 'What sums are thrown away!'"

Shelley, in his biography of Young, says that Young "pilloried" Chandos for his passion for building. Actually Young did no such thing; instead, he said that a fool who wished to build would try, unsuccessfully, to imitate Chandos:

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28 Heidegger, a native of Switzerland come to England in 1708, and by his address became the leader of fashion and manager of the opera house by which he made £5000 a year.

"In cost and grandeur, Chandos[^30] he'll outdo.^[^31]

In the same passage Young praises Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington[^32] for the perfection of his taste, and Pope too eulogized the "taste" of Burlington, dedicating Epistle IV, On the Use of Riches, to him[^33].

The prevailing passion for collecting statuary is satirized by Young in Satire I, but the foremost collectors are not so stigmatized as are those who would copy them (Shelley to the contrary).[^33]

"In smaller compass lies Pygmalion's fame;
Not domes but antique statues are his flame;
Not Fontaine's[^34] self more parian charms has known;
Nor is good Pembroke[^35] more in love with stone."[^36]

Young speaks of Pembroke again in Satire IV as, "Pembroke[^37] in years the long lov'd arts admire."[^38] Pembroke is also mentioned by Pope in Epistle IV as a connoisseur of statuary whom those knowing nothing of statuary tried to emulate.

In Satire IV Young curiously departs from his usual custom of lashing the vice and chastises the leading exponent of the folly, which here, is the collecting of trifles:

[^31]: Works, p. 64
[^32]: 1802 edition reads B__ton; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Burlington.
[^33]: The actual infallibility of Burlington's taste has been seriously questioned by some later authorities including Beverly Sprague Allen, Tides in English Taste.
[^34]: 1802 edition reads F____ne; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Fontaine. Sir Andrew Fountain, an antiquarian.
[^35]: 1802 edition reads P__ke; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Pembroke. Henry Herbert, ninth Earl of Pembroke, the architect earl.
[^36]: Works, p. 65
[^37]: 1802 edition reads P__ke; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Pembroke.
[^38]: Works, p. 93
"But what in oddness can be more sublime
Than Sloane39 the foremost toyman of his time?
His nice ambition lies in curious fancies,
His daughter's portion a rich shell enhances,
How his eyes languish! how his thoughts adore
That painted coat, which Joseph never wore!
1Was ever year unblest as this? he'll cry,
1It has not brought us one new butterfly!"40

Pope, strangely enough, lets Sloane go by; and merely
presents him in Epistle IV as an authority on butterflies whom
others, less learned, would emulate. It is rare, indeed, to find
Young lashing and Pope praising the same individual.

They had a common high opinion (as did everyone else) of
the following nobility: James Earl Stanhope,41 Henry "Boyle" Lord
Carleton,42 Philip Earl of Chesterfield,43 The Duke of Argyle,44
William Pulteney,45 Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough,46 and
Richard Lumley, Earl Scarborough.47

Since all of these personages were publicly praised by

39 1802 edition reads S____; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in
Sloane. Sir Hans Sloane, Physician to Queen Anne and George II.
40 Works, pp. 90-91
41 James Earl Stanhope, a nobleman of courage, spirit, and learning.
General in Spain and Secretary of State.
42 Henry Boyle Lord Carleton - A great statesman of dignity, wisdom,
and modesty; at one time Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord of the
Treasury, Secretary of State, and President of the Council.
43 Philip Earl of Chesterfield, a great statesman and wit—famous for
his letters to his son.
44 John Campbell, second Duke of Argyle, a great statesman, defended
the Hanoverian succession; an eloquent orator.
45 William Pulteney, afterward Earl of Bath, a famous orator.
46 Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, who in 1705 took Barcelona
and in the winter following, with only 280 horse and 900 foot, en-
terprised and accomplished the conquest of Valencia.
47 Richard Lumley, second Earl of Scarborough, Master of the Horse to
George II, a man of politeness and gallantry.
Pope and others, it cannot be said that they were induced by Young in the hopes of securing favors from them, their families, or their descendants. They were, like most of those he rebuked, standard models. To the list should be added the names of two well-known and esteemed ladies, included by Young and Pope: Harvey and Queensberry.49

In Satire I, Young, calling on Pope to raise his voice in satire, lists by name some authors, dead by that time, whom he admired; all are also specifically praised by Pope (with the exception of Dorset to whose relative the Satire is dedicated and Addison with whom Pope had strained relations).

"Why slumbers Pope, who leads the tuneful train, Nor hears that virtue, which he loves, complain? Donne,50 Dorset,51 Dryden, Rochester52 are dead, And guilt's chief foe, in Addison, is fled."53

Two contemporary authors praised by Young and also Pope were the beloved Dr. Arbuthnot and Congreve, the playwright. Isaac Newton is praised with qualifications by Young, the qualifications coming from religious qualms, and unqualifiedly by Pope.

As opposed to the two pirates, Curll and Lintot, Jacob Tonson, the bookseller whom Warton refers to as "an honor to the

48 1802 edition reads H____y; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Harvey. A famous court beauty.
49 1802 edition reads Q____ay; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Queensberry. The Duchess of Queensberry, patroness of Gay, renowned for her beauty and wit.
50 Dr. John Donne, a very celebrated poet and divine of his day. Dryden says of him that "he was the greatest wit if not the greatest poet of our nation." He was one of the first English satirists.
51 The Duke of Dorset—Dryden's patron.
52 John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester—famous for his wit and extravagance.
53 Works, p. 60
profession," is spoken of with respect by both Pope and Young.

So much for the standard objects of praise and blame who were utilized by Pope as well as Young. It is true that Young was seeking favors, while Pope flaunted his independence; so it is not strange that Young is found flattering four notables who were more deserving of the blame they received from Pope than the praise they received from Young. These four are: King George, Prime Minister Walpole, Queen Caroline, and her favorite Bubb Dodington (who was afterward created Lord Melcomb).

Walpole and Dodington are each hopefully honored by the dedication of one of the satires, while George and Caroline, respectfully approached with less familiarity, are the subjects of the most humble adulation. Though both Pope and Young refer to George Augustus as Augustus, with themselves in the role of Horace, there is, indeed, wide difference in what is said about Augustus. At the end of Satire IV, Young says:

"Augustus! deeds! if that ambiguous name
Confounds my reader, and misguides his aim,
Such is the prince's worth of whom I speak,
The Roman would not blush at the mistake."\(^{55}\)

Pope's well-known Epistle to Augustus, by bitter and pointed sarcasm, turned the flattery of Horace to Augustus Caesar into a satire on George II. Augustus Caesar was a connoisseur of arts and literature, while George I and George II definitely were not. Pope also disliked

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\(^{54}\) Satire VII is dedicated to Walpole while Satire III is dedicated to Dodington.

\(^{55}\) Works, p. 95
the Georges and Walpole for allowing the British flag to be insulted by the Spaniards. It was not until 1739, two years after the Epistle to Augustus, that the much-demanded war was declared. In 1725, however, Young was, with perhaps some justice at that earlier date, defending Walpole and George I against warmongers. In Satire VII, he says:

"While I survey the blessings of our isle,  
Her arts triumphant in the royal smile,  
Her public wounds bound up, her credit high,  
Her commerce spreading sails in every sky,  
The pleasing scene recalls my theme again  
And shows the madness of ambitious men,  
Who, fond of bloodshed, draw the murd'ring sword . . . ."56

When speaking of "arts triumphant in the royal smile"57 Young's praise is unintentionally like Pope's irony. Also sounding remarkably like the irony of Pope are these lines to George:

"But when the welfare of mankind inspires,  
And death in view to dear-bought glory fires,  
Proud conquests then, then regal pomps delight;  
Then crowns, then triumphs, sparkle in his sight . . . .  
But, when these great heroic motives cease,  
His swelling soul subsides to native peace."58

Pope disliked Dodington for his subordination to Walpole and currying of Caroline's favor; but Young, doubtless in hopes that the Queen's favorite might advance him at court, duly accorded Dodington several encomiums.

Speaking much better for Young than his flattery of court personages is Young's praise of Cibber. Cibber was selected by Pope as the permanent hero of the Dunciad which appeared in 1743; (the

56 Works, p. 134
57 George I was on the throne in 1726 when this satire was written and could not even read English. Satire VI, written in 1728, praises George II, who ascended in 1727.
58 Works, p. 139
original King of Dulness in the Dunciad of 1728 was Theobald.\textsuperscript{59}
It had become the fashion to make fun of Cibber; but Young in Satire V \textsuperscript{60} mentions Cibber favorably and surely Cibber was not wholly deserving of all the abuse he received. The most notable difference between Young and Pope in their naming of definite persons for praise and blame is not, however, Young's support of Cibber, but his non-support of Swift, about which more will be said later. It is significant of Young's aversion to literary feuds and spiteful retaliations that Marcus remains anonymous, though Young says that he knows his identity. Evidently Young was a victim of the prevailing habit of writing abusive pamphlets and letters, anonymously, to and about persons of whom the writer disapproved. Young says:

"Since Marcus, doubtless, thinks himself a Wit,
To pay my compliments what place is so fit?
His most facetious letters came to hand,
Which my first Satire sweetly reprimand..."

I know thee now, both what thou art, and who;
No mask so good, but Marcus must shine through;
False names are vain, thy lines their author tell,
Thy best concealment had been writing well;...
Write on unheeded, and this maxim know;
The man who pardons, disappoints his foe.\textsuperscript{61}

Obviously, Young was much more given to satirizing composite types and customs than real persons, and the few here mentioned, are practically exhaustive. The seven satires in their castigation of prevailing follies provide a better panorama of eighteenth century life than a gallery of actual persons who behaved foolishly.

\textsuperscript{59} Lewis Theobald, who in his Shakespeare Restored, criticized Pope's Shakespeare.
\textsuperscript{60} Works, p. 102
\textsuperscript{61} Works, pp. 72-73
D. Customs and Institutions Satirized.
Some of the items satirized are not from Horace, and not in evidence today, at least in their eighteenth century forms; but are of lasting interest because of the glimpses of eighteenth century life revealed through them. Though such items are contemporary with Young—since they consist mostly of institutions, customs, and manners they are more readable today than the specifically personal passages in Pope. Amongst the mores criticized is the tulipomania; an amazing malady which swept eighteenth century England, its symptoms were the fanatical cultivation of tulips by nearly everyone.\(^1\) H. C. Shelley in his biography of Young speaks of the eighteenth century floral epidemic:

"To appreciate the first of these symbolically named, Florio, it is necessary to remember that the Tulipomania of the seventeenth century was still endemic in the first quarter of the eighteenth."\(^1\)

Hence Florio was a legitimate object for Young's satire:

"But Florio's fame, the product of a shower,
Grows in his garden, an illustrious flower!
Why teems the earth? Why melt the vernal skies?
Why shines the sun? To make Paul Black rise.
From morn to night has Florio gazing stood,
And wonder'd how the gods could be so good.
What shape! what hue! was ever nymph so fair!
He dotes! He dies! he too is rooted there.
0 solid bliss! which nothing can destroy,
Except a cat, bird, snail, or idle boy."\(^2\)

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1 The Life and Letters of Edward Young (Boston, 1914), p. 77
2 Works, p. 69
Following this passage, in the second satire, is one which is taken from Horace and elaborated by Swift; the idea being that most people have some form of "madness," it is only a question of degree and motive—Young phrases that thought in these words:

"We smile at Florists, we despise their joy, 
And think their hearts enamoured of a toy; 
But are those wiser whom we most admire, 
Survey with envy, and pursue with fire? 
What is he who sighs for wealth or fame or power? 
Another Florio doting on a flower— 
A short liv'd flower which has often sprung 
From sordid arts, as Florio's out of dung." 4

A peep into the age is supplied by the short lists Young gives of the customs and habits he feels should be satirized. The following list is found in Satire I:

"Instructive satire, true to virtue's cause! 
Thou shining supplement of public laws! ... 
When purchased follies, from each distant land; 
Like arts improve in Britain's skilful hand; 
When the law shows her teeth, but dares not bite; 
And south-sea treasures are not brought to light, 
When churchmen scripture for the classics quit, 
Polite apostates from God's grace to wit; 
When men grow great from their revenue spent 
And fly from Bailiffs into parliament; ... 
To chafe our spleen when themes like these increase 
Shall panegyric reign and censure cease? 
Shall poesy, like law turn wrong to right 
And dedications wash an Ethiope white, 
Set up each senseless wretch for nature's boast, 
On whom praise shines, as trophies on a post?" 5

The "purchas'd follies from each distant land," doubtless refers to the prevalent love of Italian Opera. For some reason or another that popular fancy of the uppercrust was frowned on by all

3 In a Tale of a Tub
4 Works, p. 70
5 Works, pp. 59-60
the satirists. It was often mentioned in connection with "poor, neglected Gay," who was almost a prevailing fashion, himself, having written an English opera, (though Gay's opera did quite well). The fondness for foreign music apparently carried the double stigma of assuming airs and of being unpatriotic. Young put in his contribution to the general scolding of Italy's musical efforts, and said:

"Italian music's sweet, because 'tis dear; Their vanity is tickled, not their ear; Their tastes would lessen if the prices fell, And Shakespeare's wretched stuff do quite as well; Away the disenchanted fair would throng, And own that English is their mother tongue."

"And south-sea treasures" refers to the floating of south-sea stocks immediately before that time. The south-sea investing of the era was mentioned by most of the authors and was often, perhaps, tinged with disappointment. In Satire II, Young says:

"Mean sons of earth who on a South Sea tide Of full success swarm into wealth and pride."

A related manifestation of the time, which Young and other satirists found useful for the satiric thrust is the bourgeois ascendancy. "If the citizen took to reading and politicking more than previously," Sherrard Vines says, "he would not always find himself flattered as much as a public with new potentialities might expect." Nearly as

6 Works, p. 84
7 Both Pope and Young had lost money in South Sea speculations.
8 Works, p. 64
9 Georgian Satirists (London, 1934), p. 20
much as the vices of the town (drinking, whoring, gambling, dancing) the cit is an everready target. Young clings to the idea that work doesn't exactly befit a gentleman, (and, obviously, the cit can never become one) nor does he approve of trade and intimate concern with money. He says: "As fond of five-pence as the veriest cit,"10 and again, "Cits who prefer a guinea to mankind."11

The author of The Manners of the Age goes further and depicts the cit as he was then thought of by the old guard—a dishonest churl who tried to impose himself above his station:

"In politics more jealous to excel,  
Who now projects and may next sessions spell,  
To these each realm obliged in time of need,  
Whom shops inspire, and learned counters breed!  
In dark deep counsels much more shining lights—  
Grocers and cooks, than George's Squires and Knights;  
Their country's fame ambitious to pursue,  
While one neglects his prunes and one his stew."12

Addison and Steele, in the Spectator papers, have numerous references to the "impudent" behavior of this new middle class who had enough and more than enough to support life comfortably.

Spectator number 278, 1711, by Steele, presents a young shopkeeper who is ostensibly writing to the Spectator hoping for an editorial against young women who will neglect their husbands' shops for Greek.

"My wife, at the beginning of our establishment, showed herself very assisting to me in my business as much as could lie in her way . . . but of late she has got acquainted with a schoolman . . . . He entertains her frequently in the shop with discourses of the beauties and excellence of that language . . . . Instead of using her usual diligence

10 Works, p. 123  
11 Works, p. 68  
12 London, 1733, p. 544
she now neglects the affairs of the house,
and is wholly taken up with her tutor in
learning scraps of Greek which she vents
upon all occasions.\textsuperscript{13}

So the bourgeois was not exactly encouraged in their efforts
at self-improvement. The passage quoted from \textit{The Manners of the Age},
on this subject bears witness that Thomas Hewcomb, while not exactly
leading the vanguard in advanced thinking, did turn out satiric
verses of nearly as "sprightly" a quality as those of his mentor,
Edward Young. He is much more vehement than Young in the fire and
brimstone school, and is more sincere, and much less intelligent than
Young in his denunciations. His ultra-conservative outlook makes
him a better source than Young for ferreting out contemporary
eighteenth century dogma; he is a repository for the accepted beliefs,
truisms, and dogmas of his day.

In spite of the still prevalent contempt for the cit, the
eighteenth century was becoming a little doubtful of the value of
ancestry. High birth was losing some of its entrenched significance
and it began to appear that great families, as well as tradesmen, could
produce knaves and fools. Young gave recognition to that advancing
realization in \textit{Satire I}:

\begin{quote}
"Aid me great Homer! With thy epic rules,
To take a catalogue of British fools . . .
Begin: who first the catalogue shall grace?
To quality belongs the highest place.
My lord comes forward; forward let him come!
Ye vulgar! At your peril give him room!"
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{The Works of Joseph Addison Embracing the Whole of the Spectator}
(New York, 1850), Vol. I p. 400
He stands for fame on his forefather's feet,  
By heraldry prov'd valiant or discreet.  
With what a decent pride he throws his eyes  
Above the man by three descents less wise! . . . .  
. . . . To virtue's humblest son let none prefer  
Vice, though descended from the conqueror.\(^{14}\)

It is noteworthy that immediately following these lines,  
Young hastens to soothe any possible listening titles, and to show  
that he isn't discriminating against lineage, by next satirizing the  
parvenu who (as previously mentioned) was present in England at  
that time from wealth quickly amassed in the increased Eastern  
trade and new South Sea exploitation. (Though the South Sea "bubble"  
lost as many fortunes as were made;.) Young declared:

"Titles are marks of honest men and wise  
The fool or knave that wears a title lies . . . .  
. . . . Dorset,\(^{15}\) let those who proudly boast a line,  
Like thee in worth hereditary shine,  
Vain as false greatness is, the muse must own  
We want not fools to buy that Bristol stone;  
Mean sons of earth who on a South Sea tide  
Of full success, swarm into wealth and pride;  
Knock with a purse of gold at Anstis\(^{16}\) gate  
And beg to be descended from the great.

"When men of infamy to grandeur soar  
They light a torch to show their shame the more."\(^{17}\)

Even those authors not so directly affected as Young and  
Pope could not refrain from taking literary notice of new forces which  
were completely changing English life. In his play, The Conscious  
Lovers, Steele shows Sealand, a tradesman, who returns newlyrich,  
from the Indies, to be a man of sense and honor, while Cimberton, a  
nobleman of ancient lineage is made a fool and coxcomb. So the

\(^{14}\) Works, pp. 63-64  
\(^{15}\) Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, son of Dryden's patron  
\(^{16}\) John Anstis, Garter King of Arms  
\(^{17}\) Works, p. 64
south-sea trade helped the bourgeois ascendancy.

Another list of interesting habits, which Young felt were to be condemned, are found at the beginning of Satire V, the first of the two satires devoted to women. These are the pursuits and customs of the ladies about which this poet found it necessary to object:

"Britannia's daughters, much more fair than nice,
Too fond of admiration lose their price;
Worn in the public eye, give cheap delight
To throngs and tarnish to the sated sight:
As unreserved, and beauteous as the sun,
Through every sign of vanity they run;
Assemblies, parks, coarse feasts in city halls,
Lectures and trials, plays, committees, balls,
Wells, bedlams, executions, Smithfield scenes
And fortune-tellers, caves and lions dens,
Taverns, exchanges, bridewells, 18 drawing rooms,
Installments, pillories, coronations, tombs,
Tumblers, and funerals, puppet shows, reviews,
Sales, races, rabbits (and stranger still, pews)." 19

The modern reader is apt to be more tolerant of most of these occupations, just as he is apt to be less tolerant of the didactic moralizing; particularly the fire and damnation type seasoning the work of eighteenth century writers, and most especially the voluminous work of those accustomed to sermonizing—the clergy, and it must be remembered the Reverend Edward Young is in the ranks of the clergy. Some of his typical eighteenth century preaching, yet in his own "lively" style, is aimed at the ladies, as is often the case.

18 House of correction
19 Works, p. 96
"Since Sundays have no balls, the well-dressed belle
Shines in the pew, but smiles to hear of hell;
And casts an eye of sweet disdain on all
Who listens less to Collins 20 than St. Paul.
Atheists have been but rare; since nature's birth,
Till now she-athiests ne'er appear'd on earth.
Ye men of deep researches, say whence springs
This daring character in timorous things?
Who start at feathers, from an insect fly
A match for nothing but the deity . . .
Atheists are few, most nymphs a Godhead own;
And nothing but his attributes dethrone,
From atheists far, they steadfastly believe
God is, and is Almighty to forgive . . .
Shall pleasures of a short duration chain
A lady's soul in everlasting pain?
Will the great author us poor worms destroy,
For now and then a sip of transient joy?
And they blaspheme who bolder schemes expose.
Devoutly thus, Jehovah they depose.
The pure! The just! and set up in his stead
A deity that's perfectly well-bred.
Dear Tillotson! 21 be sure the best of men,
Nor thought he, more, than thought great Origen. 22
Though once upon a time he misbehav'd;
Poor Satan, doubtless, be at length be sav'd
Let priests do something for their one in ten;
It is their trade; so far they're honest men.
Let them cant on, since they have got the knack,
And dress their notions, like themselves, in black;
Fright us with terrors of a world unknown,
From joys of this, to keep them all their own . . .
Thus pleads the devil's fair apologist,
And, pleading, safely enters on his list." 23

Like Swift and Pope, though Pope was Catholic, Young was
against freethinkers, dissenters, and atheists, with special attention
given by Young to "she-atheists," as the above passage attests.

Young's imitator, the anonymous author of The Manners of the Age;

20 1802 edition reads S . . . ns; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Collins.
21 1802 edition reads T . . . n; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Tillotson.
22 Ancient theological writer
23 Works, p. 126
(identified as Rev. Thomas Newcomb) shares and elaborates Young's opinions and remarks on nearly everything, including his statements concerning the shortcomings of the ladies; i.e. female: atheists, scientists, scholars, prudes, slovenly, card-players, conversationalists etc. The first satire of Newcomb's book of thirteen verse satires is dedicated to the Reverend Edward Young, who is mentioned throughout as a paragon of wisdom, piety and virtue. In these satires specific names are mentioned more frequently than in those of Young; and among those chosen for rebuke are: Hobbes, Blunt, Toland, Tindal, Collins, Tillotson, and even Locke. All of whom were considered a bad influence, particularly on the ladies.

Both of these authors took a dim view of feminine scholarship, which provides indication of the eighteenth century woman advancing slowly, but en masse, into fields of learning, which had heretofore been considered mostly for men only. This encroachment on the part of the ladies was greatly aided by the popular and fashionable interest in science which had been set off by Newton. Young seems to have resented this:

"Some nymphs prefer astronomy to love:  
Elope from mortal man and range above . . . .  
She sees the planets in their turns advance,  
And scorns, Poitier, they sublunary dance!  
What vain experiments Sophronia tries!  
'Tis not in air-pumps the gay colonel dies,  
But though today this rage of science reigns,  
(0 fickle sex!) soon end her learned pains.  
Lo! pug, from Jupiter her heart has got,  
Turns out the stars, and Newton is a sot."

24 Thomas Newcomb was a friend of Young's and a writer; he sent his latest compositions to Young for approval.  
25 *Works*, p. 106
From this horrible example of female presumption Young turns to his ideal, one who embodies his theory that feminine intelligence should be based on intuition rather than learning:

"To _______ turn; she never took the height
Of Saturn, yet is ever in the right.
She strikes each point with native force of mind,
While puzzled learning blunders far behind, . . . ."26

Young's imitator develops this theme to the point of frowning on advancing science in the person of Newton himself. Such an attitude would have been unusual for that era if we are to believe Marjorie Nicolson, who in her book, Newton Demands the Muse, says:

"The Age of Newton was, after all, the greatest age of English satire, against which little proved sacred. Yet one of the most interesting facts which emerges from this study is that Newton was taken so seriously, even reverently—that he remained above and beyond satire. Philosophers and philosophical systems were the meat and drink of satirists; Descartes was damned with impunity; Hobbes had laid himself open to the attacks he received; Locke, revered by many, nevertheless might lead to laughter—except in so far as his theories were interpreted as Newtonian exposition. But the 'godlike Newton' remained somehow apart, beyond evil, beyond satire."27

It is true that most of the poets of the day showed great interest in the light and color discoveries of Newton, their poetry

26 Works, p. 106
27 Princeton, 1946, pp. 89-90
is pervaded with that new-found sensitivity, and many eulogised him. An opposition to Newton did develop, however, according to Miss Nicolson, beginning with Blake, who felt that science in analysing beauty, had destroyed it. Apart from what Miss Nicolson says, however, the age of Newton did contain some opposition to Newton and the new science, in the form of a certain apprehensiveness as to the piety of probing so deeply into the laws of the universe; and in the case of the Reverend Mr. Newcomb this uneasiness of the age took the form of real disapproval in the name of religious righteousness; and satire was used to express his condemnation:

"His spleen to quell Paulinius scarce has power
To hear his preacher idly waste an hour;
To modern truths opposing ancient dreams
And Hebrew plans to Britain's learned schemes;
Although perhaps the old one may be right,
He loves a faith more decent and polite
Favoring clean systems that are neat and new
And such as heaven and Moses never knew. . . .

Could he each Sunday touch each ravished ear
With Galileo's glass or Tycho's sphere
The warmest passion piety e'er felt,
Infused by Jones' satellite, Saturn's belt
His flock in tears to hear him talk an hour,
On the earth's motion and the magnate's power." 28

What Newcomb considered presumption on the part of the new scientists is proportionately magnified when young women dare to probe God's secrets:

28 The Manners of the Age (London, 1733), pp. 577-578
"Intent beneath, now view the learned fair, 
In scales with H_11_y poising light and air, 
Now fired with heavenly science bore above 
To mark the roads of Saturn and of Jove. 
Where planets roll—where constellations glow, 
Unmindful of her pies and paste below; 
No British wife in her opinion wise 
Who views her pantry, oftener than the skies; 
She cannot sew or knit, but can refine 
On Ticho’s scheme and Ptolemy, on thine; 
Old theories destroy and new create, 
Leaving the business of her house to fate."29

In the manner of Young, his admirer also supplies a con¬
trast, by also delineating the model wife:

"Who only dwells on earth nor fond of fame, 
Prefers a pullet’s to a planet’s name, 
Content, her thoughts in English to express, 
And without Horace both to talk and dress; 
Hoping her fame by virtue to increase, 
With looks to charm and piety to please; 
Who thinks a lady from her globes may part, 
And Tully of small use to raise a tart; 
From British cooks who does her knowledge seek, 
Mixing her spice—without one word of Greek."30

So the female scholar is scolded by Young and Newcomb. It
is not, however, the scholarly woman who receives his worst rage;
that is reserved for the female gambler. Young is as seriously
furious as he ever becomes when castigating the prevalent love of
gaming by the women; and indeed, the gaming tables and card games
caused many to be ruined or seriously impaired. It was truly a
vice of the age—yet one which will never completely disappear,

29 Ibid., p. 476
30 Ibid., p. 477
though its original impetus was probably in the days of the Restoration court. In his Preface Young said that this vice is so bad that it requires him to desert Horace for Juvenal;

"But though I comparatively condemn Juvenal, in part of the sixth satire (where the occasion most required it) I endeavored to touch on his manner; but was forced to quit it soon, as disagreeable to the writer and reader too." 31

And in Satire VI, we find the condemnation of that vice which prevailed amongst the women as well as the men:

"The love of gaming is the worst of ills; With ceaseless storms, the blacken'd soul it fills; Inveighs at heaven, neglects the ties of blood; Destroys the power and will of doing good; . . . .
Thus that divine one her soft nights employs!
Thus tunes her soul to tender nuptial joys!
And when the cruel morning calls to bed, And on her pillow lays her aching head, With the dear images her dreams are crowned, The die spins lovely, or the cards go round; Imaginary ruin charms her still;
Her happy lord is cuckold by spadille:
And if she's brought to bed, 'tis ten to one, He marks the forehead of her darling son.
. . . . Why that drawn sword? And whence that dismal cry? Why pale distraction thro' the family? See my lord threaten and my lady weep, And trembling servants from the tempest creep.
Why that gay son to distant regions sent? What fiend's that daughter's destin'd match prevent? Why the whole house in sudden ruin laid? O nothing, but last night my lady played." 32

This, then, is Young when he is as "angry" as he is capable of being, and still he does not approach the ferocity of Pope or

31 Works, p. 56
32 Works, p. 130-131
Swift; and he seems straining to be, even, as vehement as he is. Though Pope is not so furious as Young in his passage on card-playing, he was not seriously against such diversions—which Young, as a religious moralist, was more or less forced to deplore. A satire of that period was not complete without reference, with varying degrees of severity, to card-playing and other forms of gambling.

Besides cards, the fashionable eighteenth century ladies were addicted to tea-drinking, certainly more of a custom than a vice; but a custom which seems to imply, for the satirist, gossiping and affectation. The new interest in the East had caused an increase in tea-drinking starting in the early seventeenth century, reaching full flower in the eighteenth century. A discussion of tea—starting with the first known appearance of the word into England in 1598 is provided by Beverly Sprague Allen:

"The plant of the tea is first mentioned in 1598, but as a drink, tea was, even in 1660, such a novelty that Pepys on September 25, referred to it as follows: 'I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I had never drunk before! . . . ."

". . . . Tea-drinking is first recorded by the N. E. D.33 for the year 1756, but in his Tour Defoe had twenty years before used the word remarking that 'the increase of tea-drinking' was responsible for the number of 'earthenware houses' in Nottingham.

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33 New English Dictionary
In the Review (No. 43) Defoe complains, indeed, that the endeavor to meet the needs of the tea-drinking public has transformed the character of many London streets. . . . But Defoe's protest against this extravagance and ostentation was in vain. The travel books described tea; the merchants imported it; the silversmiths fashioned spoons for taking it with greater convenience; . . . . and the cabinet-makers contrived new pieces of furniture such as tea-stands and tea tables. . . . Johnson scorned the exaggerations of travel books and resisted the contemporary tendency to idealize China, but in his vast potations of tea he capitulated completely to the influence of the Orient. Very fittingly his historic tea-pot now reposes in the British Museum as the symbol of a national activity. 34

In Pope's only rococo satire, The Rape of the Lock, the tea table chatter is harmless, delicate, pretty and frivolous. Young takes a more clerical view, but still the habit emerges as extravagant and frivolous at worst. Young's comments were:

". . . . Here might I sing of Mimmia's mincing mien, And all the movements of the soft machine: How two red lips affected sephrys blow, To cool the Bohea, and inflame the beau: While one white finger and a thumb conspire To lift the cup and make the world admire. Tea! How I tremble at thy fatal stream! As Lethe, dreadful to the love of fame, What devastations on thy banks are seen! What shades of mighty names which once have been! A hetacomb of characters supplies Thy painted altar's daily sacrifice, H____, F______, and B____ aspersed by thee, decay, As grains of finest sugar melt away, And recommend thee more to mortal taste: Scandal's the sweet'ner of a female feast." 35

35 Works, p. 125
The Satires on Women
Though tea-drinking and scandal-mongering may have been, and still are, beloved by the fair sex, neither was solely the occupation of the women. Young does, however, give some excellent characterizations of the ladies; he takes the more or less bantering attitude toward them so commonly found in the authors of that time. Yet he seems to treat them more seriously and thus with more dignity than Addison, and his concern with keeping them out of learning is more professional attitude and less real enthusiasm than found in The Manners of the Age. His witty suavity is at its best when dealing with the feminine sex. In his Preface, he states his sentiments on how the subject should be treated,

"Boileau has joined both the Roman satirists with great success; but has too much of Juvenal in his very serious satire on woman, which should have been the gayest of them all. An excellent critic of our own commends Boileau's closeness, or as he calls it, pressness, particularly; whereas it appears to me that repetition is his fault, if any fault be imputed to him."3

His satiric portrayals of women contain the essence of true satire for as R. K. Root says,

"To be completely successful, the satiric portrait must be drawn with, at least the appearance of fairness . . . . One may exaggerate the faults, but one should not be blind to the victim's virtues. He must seem a victim deserving of your pains; you should not break a mere butterfly on the wheel of artistic satire. And the satirist should at least seem to be writing more in sorrow

1 Many of the foibles of the ladies satirized by Young may also be found in the Spectator (largely in the papers by Addison).
2 Horace and Juvenal
3 Works, p. 56
than in anger. If he loses his temper, the fine blade of satire does not cut clean; the weapon becomes a mere bludgeon, and the execution is, at best, a slovenly butchering—the malefactor has not 'died sweetly.'

In complete accord with this idea, Young commenced his satires on women, saying:

"The sex we honour, though their faults we blame, May thank their faults for such a fruitful theme."

In the middle of his scolding he stops to present his ideal type, proving that he has always before him this theory of satire. It is in keeping with such a theory that he admits the existence of the good and virtuous. Since the nature of satire calls for extreme exaggeration, his method of relieving the distorted perspective is by the insertion of praise for the good. As a result his laughter is not so bitter as Pope's and never approaches the unrelieved condemnation sometimes found in Swift. Thus, while railing at women, he suddenly says:

"Now what reward for all this grief and toil? But one; a female friend's endearing smile. How have I seen a gentle nymph draw nigh Peace in her air, persuasion in her eye; Victorious tenderness! it all o'ercame, Husbands look'd mild and savages grew tame."

Frequently the paragon follows the horrible example. So he depicts an "amorous grandmother."

5. Works, p. 96
6. Ibid., p. 99
"O how your beating breast a mistress warms,
Who looks through spectacles to see your charms!
Intent not on her own, but other's doom,
She plans new conquests and defrauds the tomb,
In vain the cock has summon'd sprites away;
She walks at noon, and blasts the bloom of day."7

Following this bit of somewhat unmerciful dissection, we see Portia:

"O how unlike her is the sacred age
Of prudent Portia! her gray hairs engage;
Whose thoughts are suited to her life's decline;
Virtue's the paint that can with wrinkles shine."8

After this passage the didactic spirit, which endeared him to his readers, comes upon him and he drops not only the guise of reforming by satire; but of teaching by example as well, and he flatly instructs, addressing directly to the ladies his advice on how to behave—advice which includes his firm opinion that women are best as creatures of nature without benefit of art or learning:

"Then please the best; and know for men of sense
Your strongest charms are native innocence;
Art on the mind, like paint upon the face,
Fright him, that's worth your love, from your embrace.
In simple manners all the secret lies;
Be kind and virtuous, and you'll be blest and wise.
Vain show and noise intoxicate the brain,
Begin with giddiness and end in pain."9

There is a richness of detail and an elegant terseness of characterization to be found in the satires on women, so necessary to the realism and informality demanded by the satiric style. The female sloven is painted realistically:

7 Ibid., pp. 111-112
8 Ibid., p. 112
9 Ibid., p. 113
"Go breakfast with Alicia, there you'll see . . .
. . . And should her steps, her nightgown is untied,
And what she has of headdress is aside . . .
For Harvey, the first wit she cannot be
Nor cruel Richmond, the first toast for thee.
Since full each other station of renown,
Who would not be the greatest treas in town."

The prissy old maid is briefly found out:

"Unmarried Abra puts on formal airs
Her cushions threadbare with her constant prayers."

The manish woman is derided:

"Thelestris triumphs in a manly mien;
Loud is her accent, and her phrase obscene,
In fare and open dealing, where's the shame?
What nature dares to give, she dares to name.
With Chinese painters modern toasts agree,
The point they aim at is deformity;
They throw their persons with a hoyden air
Across the room, and toss into the chair."

The false piety of the ladies receives its share of
disapproval:

"When ladies once are proud of praying well
Satan himself will ring the perish bell."

It is not necessary to remark that most of these well-
defined types have not shown any signs of disappearing. They are as
alive today as when Young penned the lines. But it should be remarked
again that his terse style and neat aphorisms preceded Pope's (with,
of course, the exception of The Rape of the Lock).

10 1802 edition reads H____y; J. Mitford, (1906) has filled in Harvey.
11 1802 edition reads H____d; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Richmond.
12 Works, p. 121
13 Ibid., p. 116
14 Ibid., pp. 110,111
15 Ibid., p. 115
One of the very best passages in Satires V and VI is that concerning the well-known maliciousness of women regarding their own sex.

"'Daphnis,' says Cleo, 'has a charming eye; What pity 'tis her shoulder is awry! Aspasia's shape indeed—but then her air— The man has parts who finds destruction there. Almeria's wit has something that's divine; And wit's enough—how few in all things shine! Selina serves her friends, relieves the poor— Who was it said Selina's near threescore? At Lucia's match I from my soul rejoice; The world congratulates so wise a choice; His lordship's rent-roll is exceeding great— But mortgages will sap the best estate. In Shirley's form might cherubins appear; But then—she has a freckle on her ear.' Without a but, Hortensia she commends, The first of women, and the best of friends; Owns her in wit, fame, virtue bright; But how comes this to pass?—She died last night."

The coquette, a hardy species which has survived into the present day, is dealt with effectively:

"But like our heroes much more brave than wise She conquers for the triumph, not the prize." According to Young, the love of fame inspires (as it does all vice) female avarice, and the lines pertaining to this are as bitter as any found in the satires. Sempronia is the "horrible example" of woman's overwhelming desire for wealth and station.

"Sempronia lik'd her man and well she might; The youth in person and in parts was bright; Possessed of every virtue, grace and art; That claims just empire o'er the female heart; He met her passion, all her sighs return'd And in full rage of youthful ardor burned; Large was his possessions and beyond her own; Their bliss—the theme and envy of the town; The day was fix'd when with one acre more, In stepp'd, deform'd, debauch'd, diseas'd threescore."
III. Young's style

A. Use of the couplet

B. Use of the traditional forms to achieve epigrammatic smartness
A. Use of the couplet
Young's mastery of the neo-classical forms of the period is exemplified in his excellent couplets. His satires on women contain some of his most pleasing epigrams. The following is perhaps too severe, but nonetheless, is effective?

"Is there whom you detest and seek his life? Trust no soul with the secret—but his wife."¹

He disposes, neatly, of the ultra-finicky woman:

"Folks are so awkward, things so impolite! She's elegantly pained from morn to night."²

That the fear of appearing unfashionably prudish leads some into excesses, is the subject of a couplet:

"Amasia hates a prude and scarce restraint. What'er she is, she'll not appear a saint."³

The female predilection for wealth at any price is unmasked concisely:

"Lucia thinks happiness consists in state. She weds an idiot, but she eats in plate."⁴

In the satires other than V and VI, some satiric couplets on masculine failings rival those just mentioned. Men who would appear wise through a sober exterior receive a jolt:

"And be this truth, eternal ne'er forgot, Solemnity's a cover for a sot."⁵

¹ Works, p.126  
² Ibid., p. 119  
³ Ibid., p. 116  
⁴ Ibid., p. 117  
⁵ Ibid., p. 75
Another spurious wise man has his false front torn away in two lines:

"Unlearned men assume of books the care
As eunuchs are the guardians of the fair."6

Still another who would pass for a sage is hindered from doing so in a couplet:

"Some, for renown, on scraps of learning dote
And think they grow immortal as they quote."7

Advice to procrastinators is found in Satire II:

"While I a moment name, a moment's past;
I'm nearer death in this verse than the last;
What then is to be done? Be wise with speed;
A fool at forty is a fool indeed."8

A pointed jab at Parliament is found in Satire III:

"'Tis done! with loud applause the council rings!
Fix'd is the fate of whores and fiddle-strings!"9

Small men who, wishing to appear important, claim an intimacy with the great, are the subject of the following short scolding:

"Their front supplies what their ambition lacks;
They know a thousand lords, behind their backs."10

And on the same subject:

"And Harvey's eyes, unmercifully keen,
Have murder'd fops by whom she ne'er was seen."11

These examples live up quite well to the definition of the "heroic couplet," found in W. C. Brown's recent book, The Triumph of Form, quoted from Mark Van Doren.

This adaptation involved a number of characteristics,

6 Ibid., p. 71
7 Ibid., p. 62
8 Ibid., p. 77
9 Ibid., p. 85
10 Ibid., p. 81
11 1802 edition reads H____y's; J. Mitford (1906) has filled in Harvey's.
12 Works, p. 81
of which the end-stop was only one; the others were a conformation of sentence-structure to the metrical pattern, a tendency toward polysyllables within the line, a tendency towards emphatic words at the ends of lines, and a frequent use of balance with pronounced caesura. The end-stop, and the modification of sentence-structure . . . made for pointness if not for brevity, and provided in the couplet a ratiocinative unit which served admirably as the basis for declarative or argumentative poems. The polysyllables made for speed and flexibility, and encouraged a latinized, abstract vocabulary. The insistence upon important words for the closing of lines meant that the sense was not likely to trail off or be left hanging. And the use of balance promoted that air of spruce finality with which every reader of Augustan verse has long been familiar."

That Pope was the master of this form, there is not much debate; but various candidates have been offered for second place, among whom Young should be seriously considered.
B. Use of Traditional Forms to achieve epigrammatic smartness
Mr. Brown objects to Young as a satirist because "he deals too exclusively in extremes which tend to give his satires a mechanical unreality." That the seven satires are mechanical is a platitudinous remark, and could be applied to nearly any eighteenth century writer of couplets—but whether the extremes cause the mechanical effect is not so apparent. Satire is necessarily extreme, and it could not be said that the exaggerations of Pope or Swift were less extreme than those of Young. Mr. Brown, then, appears to condemn in Young the epigrams he praises in Pope, saying that Young is "overfond" of the epigrammatic couplet; and quotes Mitford who said that, "too often single couplets sparkle with a brilliancy and point that concentrates the allusion or image within their narrow bounds."

That Young's epigrams sparkle with brilliancy and point is one of the highest compliments that could be paid an eighteenth century poet, and helps to explain why Young's satires were so well received by the eighteenth century reading public. Dr. Johnson exhibited his faculty for getting at the heart of a matter when he commented on The Universal Passion, saying:

"It is said to be a series of epigrams; but, if it be, it is what the author intended: his endeavor was at the production of striking distichs and pointed sentences; and his distichs have the weight of solid sentiment, and his points the sharpness of resistless truth."  

1 Op. Cit., p. 126
2 Ibid., p. 122
Young's mastery of antithesis is evident from the following passages:

"As love of pleasure into pain betrays,  
So most grow infamous through love of praise."⁴

And speaking of the plight of women, for whom he has sympathy while he censures, he says:

"Life swarms with ills; the boldest are afraid;  
Where then is safety for a tender maid?  
Unfit for conflict, round beset with woes,  
And men, whom she least fears, her worst of foes!  
When kind, most cruel; and when oblig'd the most  
The least obliging; and by favours lost.  
Cruel by nature, they for kindness hate;  
And scorn you for those ills, themselves create."⁵

To modern romantic writers, the style of the eighteenth century has much to be criticized. Still, there is something to be said for the formal artistry of those writers and by their standards Young was, undoubtedly, a success. By any standards his satires are still fresh and readable, which is surely a tribute to his genius, while using set standards.

⁴ Works, p. 81  
⁵ Ibid., p. 113
IV. Young's relation to contemporary authors
(Swift, Pope, etc.)

A. His theory of satire and theirs

B. Influence of Young
A. His theory of satire and theirs
Both Young and Pope name Horace as their guide; and though the work of Young has not survived so well as that of Pope, he was an older man than Pope and gave to Pope a great deal more than he received from him. The two men were friends, and each mentions the other with praise in their satires, and other places. When Pope's *Dunciad* came out with its venomous denunciations of specific persons, Young supported Pope, and in his *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*, he openly declared his sympathy and agreement with Pope in his war on dulness and those who had attacked him. He says:

"Pope! if like mine, or Codrus', were thy style,
The blood of vipers had not stained thy file;
Merit less solid, less despite had bred;
They had not bit, and then they had not bled."  

He echoes the *Dunciad* (this same passage may be found in Horace) in the same epistle:

"His hammer this, and that his trowel quits,
And, wanting sense for tradesmen, serve for wits . . . .
What glorious motives urge our authors on,
Thus to undo, and thus to be undone?
One loses his estate, and down he sits,
To show (in vain!) he still retains his wits;
Another marries, and his dear proves keen;
He writes as an hypnotic for the spleen:
Some write, confined by physic; some, by debt;
Some, for 'tis Sunday; some, because 'tis wet;
Through private pique some do the public right,
And love their kind and country out of spite;
Another writes because his father writ,
And proves himself a bastard by his wit."  

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1 *Works*, pp. 307-308
In the Punctad, the sons of dulness chase the gaudy phantom of a poet which vanishes in their grasp, and here Young is mentioned with favor.

"And now the victor stretched his eager hand, Where the tall Nothing stood, or seemed to stand; A shapeless shade, it melted from his sight, Like forms in clouds, or visions of the night. To seize his papers, Curll, was next thy care; His papers light, fly diverse, tossed in air; Songs, sonnets, epigrams the winds uplift, And whisk 'em back to Evans, Young, and Swift."

In Satire I, Young calls on Pope:

"Why slumbers Pope, who leads the tuneful train, Nor hears that virtue, which he loves, complain?"

And Pope, in his jesting list of Testimonies of Authors (on Pope) made use of the above passage:

"Dr. Edward Young:

Wishing some check to the corruption and evil manners of the times calleth out upon our poet to undertake a task so worthy of his virtue: 'Why slumbers Pope, who leads the Muses' train, Nor hears that virtue, which he loves, complain?'"

As previously mentioned, Young is unlike Pope in that he deals mostly in generalities; he seldom names specific persons. Therefore, he appears in the detached role of the sophisticated sage—which it is true, is the attitude of Horace, yet Horace managed the difficult feat of appearing sincere and personally

4 Works, p. 60
5 Op. cit., p. 589
concerned at the same time. That Young did not have his whole 
personality behind his satires may be some reason why The Love of 
Fame did not survive the test of time too well. It may be said 
that Young, in imitating the Latin authors more closely than 
Pope or Swift, lost a good deal of their genuine seal.

If Young does not seem to be taking his satires too much 
to heart; since he could not achieve Horace’s sincere dignity, he 
appears unconcerned out of necessity, in order to assume his position 
as the slightly melancholy scholar in retirement, from whence he 
observer the world and its follies, a common figure who may be found 
brooding, more or less consistently, throughout English literature.

At times Young’s satires resemble the airy worldliness of 
The Rape of the Lock written before Pope became seriously venomous 
(and the only one of Pope’s satires written before those of Young). The Rape of the Lock contains less malice, and more detached urbanity 
than any other of Pope’s works, and this probably accounts for the 
resemblance between it and Young’s satires on women, which it may 
well have influenced. The following passage from Young is surely 
reminiscent of The Rape of the Lock:

"Alas, my heart! how languishingly fair 
Yon lady lolls! with what a tender air! . . . . 
Is her lord angry, or has Veny & chid? 
Dead is her father, or the mask forbid?"

If Young’s artistic integrity did not come up to that 
of Pope, and if he was not the master of concise aphorism that

6 Lapdog
7 Works, pp. 101-102
Pope was, yet Young excelled in that he was not so vindictive and petty, and in his satires on women, which are far superior to those of Pope.

Although Pope liked to classify himself amongst the Roman authors, he never really caught either the Horatian or the Juvenalian spirit; though he may have deceived himself that he was a satirist of the highest type; for he does not seem to perceive that his tongue is more acrid and his attacks more personal than theirs. His satires have lived mainly because, in spite of any personal pettiness, Pope was an artist, and as such, he builded better than he knew—that is, he unknowingly depicted eternal types.

Pope's satire is more closely related to Swift's in its vituperative tone, while Young's satires resemble Swift's in that follies, or at least foolish types, are chastised rather than the specific men who commit them; though the work of Swift and Young in this field is generally considered to be diametrically opposed, and in manner, this is quite true. Swift did not have as much admiration for Young as Pope had, mainly because of Young's somewhat tenacious, even hypocritical, placeseking: indeed, at times it almost appears that he penned panegyrics with one hand while a pen in his other hand deplored such practices. Since Young was not alone in this habit he seems to have been singled out for unfair condemnation on that score; for instance, Swift was quite satisfied with Gay, and why Gay should have been crowned a literary martyr for his failures at placeseking, while Young has been termed a literary leech for
the same thing, is not clear. The only answer can be that Gay's manner of mendicancy was more charming, and that Gay did not set up for a serious moralist as did Young. However, though Dean Swift casts stones at Young, he himself was not free of ambitious favor-hunting, and if he escaped Young's fate it was only because he gave up and retired to nurse his disappointments at an early age, while Young cherished hopes to the end of his long life. Evidence that the dual nature in Young did not delight the Dean, in spite of any shortcomings of his own along these lines, is supplied in Swift's poem, *On Reading Dr. Young's Satires Called the Universal Passion*.

"If there be Truth in what you sing,
Such Godlike Virtues in the King,
A Minister so filled with Zeal,
And Wisdom for the Common-Weal.
If he, who in the Chair presides,
So steadily the Senate guides
If Others, whom you make your Theme,
Are Seconds in this glorious Scheme;
If ev'ry Poor, whom you commend,
To worth and Learning is a Friend.
If this be Truth, as you attest,
What Land was ever half so blest?
The Traders now no longer cheat;
No Falsehood now among the Great.
Now, on the Bench fair Justice shines,
Her scale to neither side inclines;
Now Pride and Cruelty are flown,
And Mercy here exalts her Throne;
For such is good Example's Pow'r,
It does its Office ev'ry Hour,
Where Governors are good and wise;
Or else the truest Maxim lyest:
For this we know, all ancient Sages Decease, that *ad exemplum Regis*,
Thro' all the Realm his Virtues run,
Rip'ning, and kindling-like the Sun.
If this be true, then how much more,
When you have nam'd at least a Score,
Of Courtiers, each in their Degree
If possible, as good as He.

Or take it in a different View;
I ask, if what you say be true.
If you allow, the present Age
Deserves your Satires keenest Rage;
If that same Universal Passion
With ev'ry Vice hath fill'd the Nation;
If Virtue dares not venture down,
But just a Step below the Crown:
If Clergymen, to shew their Wit,
Prize Classics more than Sacred Writ:
If Bankrupts, when they are undone,
Into the Senate House can run,
And sell their Votes at such a rate,
As will retrieve a lost Estate:
If Law be such a partial Whore
To spare the Rich, and plague the Poor;
If these be of all Crimes the Worst,
What Land was ever half so curst?"8

In the same vein, he remarks in his satiric poem, On

Poetry, a Rhapsody:

"Harmonius Cibber entertains
The Court with annual Birthday Strains;
Whence Gay was banished in Disgrace,
Whence Pope will never show his Face;
Where Ye____ must torture his Invention
To flatter Knaves, or lose his Pension."9

In spite of themselves, perhaps, Young's detractors were
forced to accord him some respect, and Swift, in the same poem,
ranks him more favorably with Pope and Gay, both of whom he admired
and liked (especially Pope):

"Say, Foet, in what other Nation,
Shone ever such a Constellation.
Attend ye Popes, and Youngs, and Gays,
And tune your Harps, and strow your Bays."10

10 Ibid., p. 656
It is significant that with one given to mentioning names in praise rather than blame, Swift's name is omitted completely from The Love of Fame and in a later work by Young, (The Conjectures on Original Composition, 1759) Gulliver is criticized. Swift's anger was too fierce, and too intent on humanity's sordidness for Young's taste. In the Preface, Young states his disapproval of such a manner of writing, and though Swift is not mentioned by name, he was, quite possibly, in Young's mind as he wrote:

"There are some prose satirists of the greatest delicacy and wit; the last of which can never, or should never, succeed without the former. An author without it, betrays too great a contempt for mankind, and opinion of himself, which are bad advocates for reputation and success. What a difference is there between the merit, if not the wit, of Cervantes and Rabelais? The last has a particular art of throwing a great deal of genius and learning into frolic and jest; but the genius and scholar is all you can admire; you want the gentleman to converse with in him; he is like a criminal who receives his life for some services; you commend, but you pardon too. Indecency offends our pride, as men; and our unaffected taste, as judges of composition; nature has wisely formed us with an aversion to it; . . . . Such writers encourage vice and folly, which they pretend to combat, by setting them on an equal foot with better things; and while they labor to bring everything into contempt, how can they expect their own parts should escape? Some French writers particularly are guilty of this in matters of the last consequence; and some of our own. They that are for lessening the true dignity of mankind, are not sure of being successful, but with regard to one individual in it."[1]

[1] Works, p. 57-58
Swift not only accused Young of flattery, but is also supposed to have accused him of not being "angry" or else "merry" enough in his satires; an accusation which seems to come naturally enough from one who sometimes felt that any amount of vileness and indecency was appropriate when expressing scorn for the race of man. Young had no desire to rage so furiously; instead he wished to imitate the gentle voice of Horace, one which is in sympathy with the frailties of mankind while it chastises them; and is not indiscriminately condemning.

Though he did not actually attain the simple sincerity of Horace in his Preface to The Love of Fame, Young expresses such an opinion on the functions and methods of satire:

"No man can converse much in the world, but, at what he meets with, he must be insensible, or grieve, or be angry, or smile. Some passion (if we are not impassive) must be moved; for the general conduct of mankind is by no means a thing indifferent to a reasonable and virtuous man. Now to smile at it, and turn it into ridicule, I think most eligible, as it hurts ourselves least and gives vice and folly the greatest offence; and for this reason; because what men aim at by them, is, generally, public opinion and esteem . . . .

"Laughing at the misconduct of the world, will in a great measure ease us of any more disagreeable passion about it. One passion is more effectually driven out by another, than by reason; whatever some may teach.

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

At the end of Satire IV, in the edition of 1728, there is a passage, omitted in the corrected edition, in which, while admitting the values of Boileau and Juvenal, Young makes a claim for his own originality:

"Immortal Juvenal and thou of France\(^\text{13}\)
In your famed field my Satire dare advance
But cuts herself a track to you unknown,
Nor crops your laurels, but would raise her own;
A bold adventure! but a safe one too,
For though surpast, I am surpast by YOU.\(^\text{14}\)

The last couplet was probably more rhetorical modesty than anything else; Young doubtless believed that his type of satire was better than the personal satire begun by Dryden or the furious social satire written first by Juvenal and later by Swift.

Swift and Young, then, were at opposite poles concerning the way in which satire should be written. Young preserves the "gentleman" attitude at all times; while Swift so often plunges into, and dwells on, man's capacity for sordidness with an inordinate

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12 Works, p. 55-56
13 Boileau
14 The Love of Fame (London, 1728), p. 157. This passage was omitted from the corrected edition possibly because the claim to originality conflicted with statements found in the Preface and Satire I, to the effect that Young followed Horace. Another reason for this omission may have been the weakening effect on the panegyric to Queen Caroline which immediately preceded; these lines followed twenty lines which were also omitted, see above p. 24-25.
amount of dwelling on biological functions. Swift becomes furious at times, and Young never does.

In spite of this, however, they had a good deal in common so far as basic opinions were concerned. Both were Anglican divines, and both steadfastly adhered to the "party line." They refused to see merit in any unorthodox ideas, no matter how well expressed; for example, both Young and Swift censured a very worthy and intelligent philosophical and theological author of the deistical school, named Anthony Collins. In Satire VI, Young says:

"Since Sundays have no balls, the well-dressed belle
Shines in the pew, but smiles to hear of hell;
And casts an eye of sweet disdain on all,
Who listens less to Collins\textsuperscript{15} than St. Paul."\textsuperscript{16}

Collins has been called "the father of English freethought;"\textsuperscript{17} and engaged in argument with another freethinker, already mentioned as censured by Young, Pope and Swift, Dr. Samuel Clarke,\textsuperscript{18} on the subtleties of liberty and necessity.

Swift and Young were against Clarke and Collins because both Swift and Young thought that reason had no right to be heard upon religion. Pope is not so definite on this subject, having slightly deistical views himself; he does not mention Collins, though he is

\textsuperscript{15} 1802 edition reads O\textsuperscript{_____ns}; J. Mitford (1906), has filled in Collins.
\textsuperscript{16} Works, p. 127
\textsuperscript{17} A Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Human Liberty - Anthony Collins (Reprinted with Preface and annotations by G. W. Foote) (London 1890), Introduction p. V
\textsuperscript{18} See above, p. 23
opposed to those who (like Clarke) would mathematically "demonstrate" the natural immortality and immateriality of the soul.\textsuperscript{19}

Swift satirized Collins in a production of 1713, entitled \textit{Mr. Collins Discourse of Freethinking. Put into Plain English by Way of Abstract for the Use of the Poor, by a Friend of the Author}. This paper is a very witty satire in which Swift, in the guise of a Whig friend of Collins, elucidates on the thoughts of Collins to the utter devastation of Collins' arguments. The following note is affixed by Swift:

"The chief strain of Collins' 'Discourse' is an eulogy upon the necessity and advantage of Freethinking; in which it is more than insinuated that the advocates of revealed religion are enemies to the progress of enlightened inquiry. This insidious position is ridiculed in the following parody."\textsuperscript{20}

An example of Swift's excellent parodying on those who would reason on religion is contained in the following passages:

"Now the Bible ... is the most difficult book in the world to be understood; it requires a thorough knowledge in natural, civil, ecclesiastical, history, law, husbandry, sailing, physics, pharmacy, mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, and everything else that can be named ... .

"The Bible says the Jews were a nation favoured by God; but I who am a freethinker, say, that cannot be, because the Jews lived in a corner of the earth and freethinking makes it clear that those who live in corners cannot be favourites of God."\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{19} Clarke contended against Collins that the doctrine of necessity was opposed to religion and morality. Collins also disapproved of Clarke's "demonstrations."


\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., pp. 171-173
Temple Scott, the editor of this edition of Swift's works, speaks of Collins as an attacker of Christianity and a proponent of "hateful and ridiculous atheism." However, J. H. Wheeler in his Introduction to a Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Human Liberty says:

"According to Collins the way to demonstrate the non-existence of God would be to demonstrate the freedom of the will—the very thing he is opposing . . . there is less reason for denying his sincere Deism than in the case of Voltaire."

Another liberal to receive blame by Young and Swift is Archbishop Tillotson, who was not included for defamation by Pope and who was greatly admired by many authors. In Satire VI, Young continuing to satirize the impiety of ladies, says that a lady might say,

"Dear Tillotson! be sure, the best of men,
Nor thought he more than thought great Origen.
Though once upon a time he misbehav'd,
Poor Satan! doubtless he'll at last be sav'd."

This last passage sounds remarkably like Swift's treatise satirizing Collins, for Tillotson is mentioned following the satiric list of ancient authorities who must have been freethinkers, amongst whom is Origen. Swift says,

"Origen, who was the first Christian that had any learning has left a noble testimony for his free-thinking; for a general council has determined him to be damned; which plainly shews he was a freethinker and no saint; for people were only sainted because of their want of learning and excess of zeal . . . . But Archbishop Tittloson is the person whom all English freethinkers own as their head; and his virtue is indisputable for this manifest reason;"

22 Ibid., p. 165
24 Works, p. 128
25 Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Plutarch, Cato, Cicero, Solomon, etc.
that Dr. Hickes, a priest, calls him an atheist; says that he caused several to turn atheists, and to ridicule the priesthood and learning."^{26}

Swift went rather far in insinuating that Tillotson might be called an atheist, and it does appear that in upholding narrow doctrines, Swift was an impediment to progressive thought. However, many of the subtleties argued about were unimportant; and as far as the free-will vs. predestination argument, it appears useless to argue.

If, then, Swift and Young were opposed in manner of style and method of thinking yet they were in agreement on controversial issues; and it is possible that in spite of Young's disapproval of Swift's indelicacy, Swift may well have influenced Young in his thinking on religious matters.

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B. Influence of Young
It is difficult to say how much influence Young had on Pope, or anyone else, but it is quite possible that he had something to do with Pope's attempt at finding a ruling passion for the follies of mankind. Many of the types and institutions found in Pope's satires are in The Universal Passion, but some were probably so obvious as to have demanded inclusion in any satiric piece of that time, and then too, some were taken from Horace by both Young and Pope; however, there are, doubtless, some types found in the seven satires and also in the satiric pieces of Pope which were taken from, or inspired by, Young.

Since Young did not follow the personal portrait satire of Dryden, nor the impassioned social satire of Swift, his deleted claim to originality had some basis in fact. W. Thomas in his book Le Poète, Edward Young says:

"... Il s'agissait d'attirer par une ironie fine et delicate un public habitue tant en vers qu'en prose au polemiques les plus violentes, et l'auteur lui devait bien quelque explications au sujet de sa methode nouvelle. Ces explications, il les fournît, après avoir vu le succes de ses premiers poemes...

"Il supplée à l'absence de malignite par le charme du style, et le jeu d'une ironie plus fin."

Young's theory of kindly satire was echoed by many lesser eighteenth century verse satirists; as was his theory that all the vices and follies of all men could be attributed to one

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1 Such as the tulipomania, the building craze, patronage, the foibles of women, etc.
2 See above, p. 69
3 Paris, 1901, pp. 244-245
4 Taken from Horace.
ruling passion—namely, the love of fame. Among the lesser versifiers who were influenced by Young was Thomas Newcomb, who anonymously wrote *The Manners of the Age*, and the anonymous author of *A Dish of Chocolate for the Times*.

The latter is a short satire dedicated to Young and includes Young's statements about the love of fame. The unknown author says:

"So strangely fond Mankind are grown of Fame,  
They'd e'en be thought vicious to gain a Name;  
To live obscure is all the ill they fear,  
So choose Damnation to be laughed at here . . . .  
Why, what makes some Men guzzle, do ye think?  
Not that they love, but would be said to drink."

Enough of Young's passages have already been quoted to show the resemblance of the above passage to many by Young.

In *The Manners of the Age* both theories, 'that of kindly satire as well as the motivating power of fame', are echoed. In Satire X we find:

"The thirst for fame, the growth of every soil  
For which the proud contend and modest toil  
Inspires the bold and captivates the fair,  
Reigns in the prelate's stall and preator's chair,  
By turns the hero and the hermit sways  
Now boldly fights, and now demurely prays."

In the last satire of *The Manners of the Age* which is a summary of the author's ideas on what the purpose and method of satire should be, the resemblance to Young is nearly a translation. Young said:

5 (Anon.) *Dublin, 1754* (Addressed to the Reverend Edward Young, LLD) pp. 4-5
6 Thomas Newcomb (London, 1733), p. 466
"What though wit tickles? Tickling is unsafe
If still 'tis painful while it makes us laugh
Who for the poor renown of being smart
Would leave a sting in a brother's heart?
Parts may be prais'd, good nature is ador'd.
Then draw your wit as seldom as your sword;
And never on the weak; or you'll appear
As there no hero, no great genius here.
As in smooth oil the razor best is what
So wit is by politeness sharpest set.
Their want of edge from their offence is seen
Both pain us least when exquisitely keen.
The fame men give is for the joy they find;
Dull is the jester, when the joke's unkind."

And with great similarity to Young we read in the last
catire of The Manners of the Age.

"Wit, to which all advance the same pretence,
Is the strong off-spring of exalted sense:
Fancy and genius o'er its birth preside
And kind good nature always is its guide . . . .
With venom tinctured, such is still its fate,
For five that will applaud it, fifty hate;
Like the drawn sword, which all with terror view,
'Tis bright indeed, but then 'tis killing too:
Which does its point to all alike extend,
Nor in the thrust discovers foe from friend;
Falsehood from truth, the vilest from the best,
Victims alike, if they assist the jest . . . .
Of sacred wit would'st thou the glory claim,
More than thy own, regard another's fame;
Be fond to praise and cautious to offend,
Nor in the sprightly lose the upright friend.
'Tis tyranny, not wit, that throws the dart,
Where poison rankles round the guiltless heart."8

Newcomb also joins Young in his religious views by falling
with a hearty will on Blunt, Clarke, Collins and Tillotson; and
indeed, he devotes much more space than does Young to upholding

7 Works, p. 72
the orthodox theologians and upbraiding the unorthodox theologians. However, the thirteen satires of *The Manners of the Age* are for the most part an elaboration of the subjects already selected by Young for satire in *The Love of Fame*. 
V. Evaluation of Young's Satires

A. Position of Young and the satires in Young's day

B. Decline of the reputation of Young and of the satires
A. Position of Young and the satires in Young's day
If Young is not ranked with Pope today; in their own age he was, after Pope, esteemed the foremost of satirists in verse, and his seven satires ranked second only to those of Pope. The contemporaries of these poets were not so wrong, and Young's substantial merits seem to have been rather unjustly neglected by posterity.

Dr. Johnson in his Lives of the English Poets, 1779, dealt kindly with Young on the whole saying that:

"The Universal Passion is indeed a very great performance . . . .

"His characters are often selected with discernment, and drawn with nicety; his illustrations were often happy, and his reflections often just. His species of satire is between those of Horace and Juvenal; and he has the gaiety of Horace without his laxity of numbers, and the morality of Juvenal with greater variation of images. He plays, indeed, only on the surface of life; he never penetrates the recesses of the mind, and therefore the whole power of his poetry is exhausted by a single perusal; his conceits please only when they surprise . . . . His versification is his own; neither his blank nor his rhyming lines have any resemblance to those of former writers; he picks up no hemistichs; he copies no favorite expressions; he seems to have laid up no stores of thought or diction, but to owe all to the fortuitous suggestions of the present moment. Yet I have reason to believe that, when once he had formed a new design, he then laboured it with very patient industry; and that he composed with great labour, and frequent revisions.

"His verses are formed by no certain model; he is no more like himself in his different productions than he is like others. He seems never to have studied prosody, nor to have had any directions but from his own ear. But with all
his defects, he was a man of genius and a poet."

Boswell in his Life of Johnson records a visit which Dr. Johnson felt it worthwhile to make to the home of the aged Dr. Young, a visit which was more of a pilgrimage to a shrine than anything else, and shows that adverse criticism of Young, at that time, was practically iconoclastic.

At an earlier date, 1742, a now obscure author identified as O. Sedgwick, in a book called The Universal Masquerade or The World Turned Inside Out, gives Young admission to the Court of Fame on the strength of his satires saying:

"The author of The Universal Passion, methought deliver'd his credentials to one of the four attendants which pleas'd with his Youth, she eagerly carry'd up to the Throne. Fame, on Receipt of it, smiled, but without delivering it out of her hand, spoke to the Author the most gracious words following: 'Here is a fair Foundation,' said the lady directing her voice to the Author, 'and I will order your Pretensions to be entered. To say more at present, in my Opinion, might forestal your Merit. Proceed, therefore, and persevere, and I will take care to reserve for you first Chair among the best poets of modern Extraction.' Not one in the Whole Assembly but was pleas'd, and I could not but take Notice, that, tho' he was neither receiv'd nor dismiss'd, Phantasia rose up and resign'd her own Seat to him which he accepted with a world of Modesty, tho with a Reluctance that was overru'd."

In 1783 Young was ranked with Milton and Thomson in a book called The Beauties of Milton, Thomson and Young; a work

2 (London, 1742), pp. 217-218
done anonymously, and dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Rutland.3

In the Preface the author says:

"Though the number of books upon the plan of this volume is now pretty extensive, yet the sublime display of genius in Milton, Thomson and Young were such a temptation, that I could not do a greater service to the rising youth of both sexes, than by making a selection as would improve the Morals, raise the opinion of English Literature: ..."

"Many are the admirers of Milton, Thomson and Young, and a number have never tasted the sublime beauties of the first and last of these Poets; ... and those readers I hint at will not give themselves time to mow down the weeds for a view of the incomparable flowers.

"The cheek of Indignation may be crimsoned by my asserting that there are weeds to be found in the writings of Milton and Young, but that shall give me very little anxiety."4

The potent influence of Young in his era is demonstrated by the number of dedications to him, the verses to him, and mention made of him in poetry and prose of the time. Some of the dedications include Warton’s Essay on Pong, 1756; the first Satire of The Manners of the Age, 1733; A Dish of Chocolate for the Times, and probably others. The following eulogizing verses to Young are listed by Johnson: To Dr. Young by Warton; To a Lady With the Last Day, by T. Tristam, and To the Author on his Last Day and Universal Passion, by J. Bancks.5

3 The dedication is signed with the initials W. H.
4 (London, 1783), p. iii-iv
5 In the Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose of J. Bancks, Vol. I (London, 1739). The poem is called To Dr. Young on Reading Some of His Works.
The last poem was written in 1736; and says:

"Shall Newton's system be admir'd
When Time and Motion are expir'd
Shall souls be curious to explore
Who rul'd an orb that is no more?
Or shall they quote the pictur'd age
From Pope's and thy corrective page,
When vice and virtuo lose their name
In deathless joy, or endless shame?
While wears away the grand machine,
The works of Genius shall be seen
Beyond, what laurels can there be
For Homer, Horace, Pope or three?"
B. Decline of the reputation of Young and the satires
John Bancks, in 1736, painted a rosier picture of Young's future reputation than was actually to be realized. C. W. Moulton's *Library of Literary Criticism* affords excellent opportunity to notice how Young's reputation fell decade after decade following his death, with some detractors starting during his lifetime, though the Night Thoughts have held up much better than any of his other works, including the satires. Moulton lists the following comments:

"Young's satires were in better reputation when published than they stand at present. He seems fonder of dazzling than pleasing; of raising our admiration for his wit than our dislike for the follies he ridicules."¹

In 1804, an essay by Nathan Drake gave the following criticism of the satires:

"The chief fault of the satires of Young appear to have arisen from a too great partiality to antithesis and epigrammatic point; occasionally used; they give weight and terseness to sentiment; but when profusely lavished, offend both the judgment and the ear. The poet likewise, instead of faithfully copying from human life, has too often had recourse to the sources of a fertile imagination; hence his pictures, though vividly and richly coloured, are defective in that truth of representation which can along impart to them a due degree of moral influence."²

So Drake in 1804 accused Young of too much epigram, too much imaginative exaggeration and not enough realism. He sounds, indeed, like a father of the opinions of W. C. Brown³ concerning

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¹ Buffalo, 1902, Vol. I, p. 491
² Ibid., p. 491
³ See above p. 59
Young's satires.

That Young's satires have not survived too well may be ascribed to a variety of causes. The hardness and hypocrisy of his place-seeking was being criticized early, for example by Croft, 1779, in his Letter to Dr. Johnson on Young found in Johnson's Lives of the English Poets.

The criticism of his character and therefore his work reached a zenith in 1857 in George Eliot's essay on Young entitled Worldliness and Other Worldliness in which she rather devastatingly makes Young out to be the worst of hypocrites—one who praised unworldliness and seclusion while striving for a life of worldliness and court society. However, George Eliot was not the cause of the death of the satires; though she may have served to push them still further into obscurity. They had lost most of their popularity by 1857; though she managed to deal quite a blow to the Night Thoughts.

Even George Eliot had to admit that he had outbursts of genius in the Night Thoughts, and that his satires contain neatly finished personifications of characteristic vices. In straining to detract from Young, George Eliot said that Young's satires were imitated from those of Pope. While this statement does strengthen her argument, it is a chronological impossibility.

That Young lacked the genuine enthusiasm of Swift and Pope, and the sincerity of Horace, has already been mentioned as reason for
the decay of his satires. In imitating Horace he became more mechanical than did Pope; and then, too, his theory of satire precluded his working himself into a passion. The role of the philosophical onlooker is often an artificial one; and the "superficiality" mentioned by Dr. Johnson may be some reason why they lacked the inner strength to survive.

To posterity Young's satires were eclipsed by those of Pope. It is unfair that Pope should wholly supplant Young though of the two he was the greater artist. Young provides a better picture of eighteenth century life than does Pope without the mass of contemporary names or allusions which, having little or no significance today, render Pope rather unreadable.

Like George Eliot, Mr. Brown, the most recent commentator on Young, 1948, is also under the impression that Young copied Pope, saying:

"In fact this adherence to the Pope formula, is a source of weakness, . . . . he adheres so closely that he misses a more important axiom of Pope's to 'snatch a grace beyond the reach of art.'"\(^4\)

It is extremely difficult to understand why so much emphasis is placed on Young's imitation of Pope's satires. It is true that The Rape of the Lock may have had some influence on the seven satires, but the seven satires had a far greater influence on the rest of Pope's satiric pieces.

\(^4\) Os. cit., p. 125
The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature gives the following dates for Pope's satiric productions:

- **The Rape of the Lock** (in 2 Cantos) 1713
- **The Dunciad** (a part) 1727
- **The Dunclad** (3 books) 1728
- **The New Dunclad** (Variorum) 1729
- **Epistle to Burlington** 1731
- **Epistle to Bathurst** 1733
- **First Satire of Second Book of Horace** 1733
- **Bristle to Cobham** 1734
- **Bristle to Dr. Arbuthnot** 1735
- **Characters of Women** 1735

The Cambridge Bibliography lists the other satiric pieces; but since they are all later than the last one mentioned (1735) it is useless to pursue them here. However, it is obvious that, by a comparison with the dates of Young's satires, it can be proved once and for all that Young did not imitate Pope; since except for *The Rape of the Lock* and a small section of the *Dunciad*, none of Pope's satires were out until after the second edition of Young's satires (1728). Young's two satires written after 1726 are those on women, and it would be equally ridiculous to say that Young's satires on women are modeled after the *Dunciad*. Nevertheless, this erroneous conception may have had its share in killing *The Love of Fame*.

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5 (New York, 1941), Vol. II, p. 299
6 See above p.16
Mr. Brown ends his discussion on Young by fixing him in position as definitely second-rate, "compared to Johnson, Churchill, and even Gay." Then he very absurdly clinches his argument on Young's inferiority by quoting from Young a passage which was obviously intended as politeness or rhetorical modesty, but which Brown feels is proof that Young was second-rate because he thought so himself. The passage is that already quoted from Satire I, "Why slumbers Pope, etc." Mr. Brown may as well have mentioned the passage where Young likens himself to Blackmore, as a show of modesty.

Though at least included for comment by Mr. Brown, a modern scholar, Young's works, with the possible exception of parts from the Night Thoughts, have fairly well disappeared from current bookshelves. However, The Night Thoughts, The Last Day, The Love of Fame, The Essay on Original Composition, and The Two Epistles to Mr. Pope are worthwhile pieces of literature, which have not survived according to their value.

The seven satires are valuable if for no other reason than for their lively images of eighteenth century life. They are completely of their own age in style, form, and subject matter which may, paradoxically, be partial reason for their demise.

7 See above p. 62
Appendix
APPENDIX

Textual Changes in Young's Satires Found Between the Second Edition of 1728 and the Edition of 1802, Which Purports to be "Revised and Corrected by Himself." (1752 was the last edition Young had a hand in; the 1802 edition copies it).

Preface

1. 1728 reads,

"Ethics Heathen and Christian, and the Scriptures themselves are, in a great measure a satire on the weakness, and iniquity of men; and some part of that sacred satire is in verse too."

1802 omits sacred —(Mitford follows 1802)

Satire I

None.

Satire II

1. 1728 reads,

"If not to some peculiar end assign'd,
Study's the specious trifling of the mind."

1802 has changed assign'd to design'd.

2. 1728 reads:

"In Time he'll learn to use not waste his sense
Nor make a frailty of an excellence.
His Brisk attack on blockheads we should prize,
Were not his jest as flippant with the wise."

1802 omits underlined couplet.

3. 1728 reads:

"Yet subtle wights so blind are mortal men," etc.

1802 has changed yet to these.

4. Edition of 1728 reads:

"Whene'er by seeming chance he throws his eye
On mirrors flushing with his Tyrian dye."

1802 reads mirrors that reflect his, etc.
Satire III

1. 1728 reads: (on critics)
   "The very best ambitiously advise,
   Half to serve you, and half to pass for wise
   None are at leisure others to reward;
   They scarce will damn, but out of self-regard."

   1802 has omitted the underlined couplet.

2. 1728 reads: (on Italian opera)
   "While tradesmen starve these Philomels are gay;
   For generous lords had rather give than pay
   Lavish land! for sound at such expense?
   But then she saves it in her bill for sense
   Musick I passionately love 'tis plain,
   Since for its sake such dramas I disdain.
   On Opera, like a Pillory, may be said
   To nail our ears down, but expose our head."

   1802 has omitted the lines underlined.

3. 1728 reads:
   "If maids the quite-exhausted town denies
   An hundred head of cuckolds must suffice."

   1802 has changed must to may.

4. 1728 reads:
   "And that thy ministry may never fail,"

   1802 has changed ministry to minister.

5. 1728 reads:
   "And, since from life I take the draughts you see,
   If men dislike them, do they censure me?
   On then my muse! and fools and knaves expose,
   And, since thou censt not make a friend, make foes."

   1802 has omitted the underlined couplet. Probably omitted as
too severe for his stated theory of "gentle" satire.

Satire IV

1. 1728 reads:
   "Since the great plague that swept as many more"

   1802 has changed the to that (to correspond with preceding sentence)
Satire IV (Cont'd)

2. 1728 reads:

"Till some God whispers in his tingling ear."

1802 has changed God to good.

3. 1728 reads:

"Will H____t pardon, if I dare commend
 _t with zeal a patron and a friend?
 A____le2 true, wit is studious to restore
 And D____l3 smiles, if Phoebus smiled before,
 P____ka4 in years, the long-lov'd arts admires,
 And Henrietta like a must inspires."

1802 has omitted the underlined couplet.

4. 1728 reads:

"That fame is wealth, fantastic poets cry,
 That wealth is fame, another Clan reply

1802 has changed Clan to can

5. 1728 reads:

"To deathless fame he loudly pleads his right—
 Just is his title, for I will not fight.

1802 has changed I to ha.

Satire V

1. 1728 reads:

"And tickets cure beyond the doctor's bill"

1802 has changed bill to pill.

2. 1728 reads:

"That all her art scarce makes her please the less."

1802 has changed the to us.

1 H____t probably omitted because he was deemed an inadvisable subject for commendation by 1752
2 Argle
3 Dorset
4 Pembroke
3. 1728 reads:
   "And painted Arts deprav'd allurement chuse."
   1802 has changed "allurement" to "allurements."

4. 1728 reads:
   "Which chock our passage our career control,
   And wound the firmest temper of the soul."
   1802 has changed "the" to "our."

5. 1728 reads:
   "In glittering scenes, o'er her own head severe;
   In crowds collected; and in courts, sincere;"
   1802 has changed "severe" to "sincere" (in the first line); and "sincere" to "severe" in the second line. (To avoid conflict with the next line which begins "Sincere, and warm" etc.)

6. 1728 reads:
   "What Angels would these be, who thus excell"
   1802 has changed "these" to "those."

7. 1728 reads:
   "The young and gay declining Abra flies"
   1802 has changed "Abra" to "Appia" (to avoid conflict with Abra used afterward).

8. 1728 reads:
   "With Indian painters modern toasts agree,
   The point they aim at is deformity."
   1802 has changed "Indian" to "Chinese."

9. 1728 reads:
   "The gentle movement, and slow-measur'd pace,
   For which her lovers dy'd; her parents pay'd
   Are Indecorums with the modern maid."
   1802 had changed "pay'd" to "pray'd."
Satire V (Cont'd)

10. 1728 reads:

"Virtue's the paint that can make wrinkles shine"

1802 has changed make to with.

Satire VI

1. 1728 reads:

"Her foes their honest execrations pour; Her lovers only should detest her more. Thrice happy they! who think I boldly feign, And startle at a mistress of my brain."

1802 has omitted the underlined couplet. Probably omitted because it appeared to be too specific a reference.

2. 1728 reads:

"She tries her thousand arts but none succeed."

1802 has changed her to a.

3. 1728 reads:

"A hotacomb of characters supplies"

1802 has changed A to An.

4. 1728 reads:

"Can cards alone your glowing fancy seize; Must Cupid learn to punt 'ere he can please When your enamour'd of a lift or cast, What can the preacher more, to make us chaste? Can fame like a réplique, the soul entrance? And what is virtue to the lucky chance?"

1802 has omitted the underlined couplet.

5. 1728 reads:

"Or like snuffs sunk in sockets, blazes higher."

1802 has changed snuffs to snuff.
Satire VI (Cont'd)

6. 1728 edition contains twenty lines at the end of Satire VI which have been omitted from the 1802 edition. These lines have been quoted separately in the text. See pages 24, 25, and 69.

Satire VII

1. 1728 reads:

"As if a letter'd dunce had said "'tis right,"
And imprimatur usher'd it to light.
To glorious deeds this passion fires the mind;
And closer draws the ties of human kind,
Confirms society; since what we prize
As our chief blessing, must from others rise."

1802 has omitted lines underlined.
Bibliography
Bibliography


