PURITAN SERMON STRUCTURE, CLASSICAL SATIRE AND JOSEPH HALL'S ENGLISH FORMAL VERSE SATIRE

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Joseph Hall's *Virgidemiarum* consists of two parts. The first part, the *Toothlesse Satyrs*, contains satires which have a structure similar to that of the Puritan sermon: the text, the explanation or illustration of the text, the speaker's viewpoint, and the conclusion or message. Hall incorporated many techniques of his Latin and English predecessors into these satires. The second part, the *Byting Satyres*, contains a sequence of satires based on a modified theme from Juvenal. The sermon structure is further modified to form a developing sequence. A strong earnest moralizing is present throughout the satires. The precepts of Calvinism thread the entire *Virgidemiarum*.

PREFACE

> Reader,—The divines of the old heathens were their moral philosophers. These received the acts of an inbred law in the Sinai of nature; and delivered them, with many expositions, to the multitude. These were the overseers of manners, correctors of vices, directors of lives, doctors of virtue, which yet taught their people the body of their natural divinity not after one manner: while some spent themselves in deep discourses of human felicity, and the way to it in common; others thought best to apply the general precepts of goodness or decency to particular conditions and persons: a third sort, in a mean course betwixt the two other, and compounded of them both, bestowed their time in drawing out the true lineaments of every virtue and vice, so lively, that who saw the medals might know the face . . . whereby the ruder multitude might, even by their sense, learn to know virtue, and discern what to detest . . . . It is no shame for us to learn wit of heathens; neither is it material in whose school we take out a good lesson: yea, it is more shame not to follow their good than not to lead them better. As one therefore, that, in worthy examples, holds imitation better than invention, I have trod in their paths, but with an higher and wider step . . . if thou shalt hence abjure those vices which before thou thoughtest not ill-favoured, or . . . shalt hence find, where thou hast any little touch of these evils, to clear thyself, or where any defect in these graces to supply it; neither of us shall need to repent of our labour.[1]

The above quotation is from Joseph Hall's introduction to his _Characters of Virtues and Vices_ (1608). But the _Characters_ were not the first writings in which Hall had adapted the work of the classical authors for "wider

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[1]Joseph Hall, _The Works of The Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D.D._, ed. Philip Wynter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1863), VI, 89-90.

purpose." Nine years earlier he had adapted the work of the Latin moralists—the Stoic satirists—to Christian purposes. At that time he had been a young, ardent Calvinist in training for the clergy, and he believed that it was his duty to help towards the moral reformation of England, if not as a preacher then as a teacher. He called his satires the Virgidemiarum, a Latin word which, in the nominative Virgidemia, means "a bundle of rods." It had been used by the early satirist, Varro, to imply a beating. Hall used it in the genitive case governed by the words "Sixe Bookes." The satires are therefore a bundle of rods—an Elizabethan master's birch. It is intended to scourge the wicked, for it is the scourge of the goddess of righteous indignation, Nemesis:

> . . . angry Nemesis,
> Whose scourge doth follow all that done amiss:
> That scourge I beare, albe in ruder fist,
> And wound, and strike, and pardon whom she list.
>
> Prologue to Book II, 9-12

Such interpretations of heathen deities in Christian themes had been made by the Church all through the middle ages. Scourges had Biblical connotations: Christ had used one to chase the moneylenders from the Temple (John 2:15). Scourges had been a form of Christian penance in medieval times. Hall intended to humble, by means of his "rods," those who believed they had

no sins to repent.

In my first chapter I shall discuss Hall's Calvinistic background. In Chapter II I will show the Calvinistic attitude which threads Hall's Toothlesse Satyrs and note the manner in which he blended Christian and classical elements. In Chapter III I will show the continuation of this Calvinistic attitude now blended with an evolved satiric form. Through his experiments, Hall produced a variety of Christian-classical blends of satire. His successors needed only to choose the blend which suited their own needs and abilities.

Hall was an earnest Puritan and a talented scholar. He saw that his knowledge of the classical authors could be used for the greater glory of God and he believed that his duty was to use his talent (Matthew 25:15-30) to do so. One of the results of this belief was the Virgidemiarum.

The writer would like to take this opportunity to thank her thesis director, Dr. David McKeen, for his expert guidance and kindly interest, which is greatly appreciated.

List of abbreviations and changes:

In this paper, the standard form of notation as used for the Latin satires has been used throughout for all satires: upper case Roman numerals indicate the book, small Roman numerals indicate the satire, and Arabic numerals indicate the line.

The old form "ſ" has been changed to modern "s", and "VV" has been changed to "W".

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CHAPTER I

THE FORCES BEHIND HALL'S VIRGIDEMIARUM

English formal verse satire was produced by many forces: the renaissance interest in the Latin satirists, the popularity of the pamphleteers, and the existence of a body of English literature which contained satiric episodes. However, I believe that the literary form which became known as English formal verse satire received its impetus from Calvinism and was a serious attempt to reform some of the abuses of sixteenth century England.

Worcester notes that "formal satire" is difficult to define because the term has been applied indiscriminately.[1] By the term English formal verse satire I mean the type of satire which, in retrospect, is seen to originate with Joseph Hall. Usually each of these satires has one topic, although occasionally a satire may be written to include a series of related topics. The lines are witty, often ironic, and frequently with the sense compressed into few words. They are rhymed in decasyllabic couplets. Each satire has two parts. The first part consists of a negative section which is a long condemnation or illustration of abuses, and the second part consists of a short moralizing positive

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[1]David Worcester, The Art of Satire (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960), pp. 160-61.

section. Occasionally this positive comment is only implied through the ironic nature of the negative section, as in Hall's II.iv where the recommendation that physicians should only use their knowledge to make fortunes is obviously ironic. English formal verse satire should have a strong sense of moral purpose, an earnest desire for social reform. It is frequently written incorporating ancient models. Hall's satires frequently paraphrase classical works, Dryden structures Absalom and Achitophel on a biblical tale, Pope re-works the myth of Chaos into The Dunciad.

Joseph Hall was a twenty-three-year-old strict Calvinist when he wrote the Toothlesse Satyrs of the Virgidemiarum. He opened his Prologue with:

> I First aduenture, with fool-hardie might
> To tread the steps of perilous despight:
> I first aduenture: follow me who list,
> And be the second English Satyrist.
>
> Prologue to I, lines 1-4[2]

There had been writers of English satiric verse before Hall, and he knew this well. He mentions "angry Skeltons breath-lesse rimes" in VI.i. 76. The work of the two men differs, however, because Hall never attacks personal enemies, whereas Skelton frequently does. In the

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[2]Joseph Hall, The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: The University Press, 1949), p. 11. All quotations from the Virgidemiarum will be from this volume.

Poems against Garnesche Skelton attacks his rival by criticizing his person and his poetry,[3] and although Colyn Clout attacks the general neglect of duties by the higher clergy, the poem mentions several items which are a personal attack on Cardinal Wolsey.[4] In addition, Skelton did not use decasyllabic couplets for these works, and he often mixes various topics in one satiric poem.

In 1595 Thomas Lodge wrote A Fig for Momus, a chapbook of epistles and satiric poems. Lodge's satiric poems are didactic and contain no flashes of wit. There is little evidence of the compression of much meaning into each decasyllabic couplet. In addition, the satiric poems alternate with the epistles and do not form an extended work of satire.[5]

Surrey had written satiric verses in the manner of Martial and Horace, but his style is euphonic and ornate. Surrey used decasyllabics, but rhymed them alternately, abab.[6] It can therefore be said that Hall set his own rules

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[3]John Skelton, The Poetical Works of John Skelton, ed. Rev. A. Dyce (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1965), I, 116-31.

[4]Ibid., pp. 347-48, lines 944-70 which note the tapestry depicting wanton mythological scenes which was owned by Wolsey at Hampton Court. For this resemblance to Wolsey's personal effects, and for additional allusions to Wolsey see I.A. Gordon, John Skelton, Poet Laureate (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1943), p. 153 ff.

[5]Thomas Lodge, The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, ed. E.K. Gosse (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), III. The pagination of this edition is not sequential. Each work begins afresh on page 1.

[6]Henry Howard, The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, ed. Frederick Morgan Padelford (rev. ed.; Seattle: University

for English formal verse satire, and as this formal satire became the style followed by later satirists, Hall may be called the originator of the genre.

However, the opening lines of Hall, "follow me who list,/And be the second English Satyrist" is a challenge, a call for more critics of English social faults. The more faults that could be shown, the more self-satisfaction could be erased, the more humility could be achieved. If Calvin could aspire to make Geneva the City of the Saints, then English reformers could attempt to remake England, and it was the duty of every Calvinist to do his part towards the betterment of his countrymen.

Joseph Hall was born in 1574 in Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, where his father held office under Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, a great Puritan sympathizer. Puritanism is a difficult term to define, as Christopher Hill notes.[7] For the average Elizabethan practitioner, Puritanism was a spirit, an urgent determination to promote the ends of the kingdom of God. Allen French writes that a Puritan was "a man so dedicated to his religion or moral principles that to their practice he will subordinate

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of Washington Press, Oct. 1928), p. 93 "Epigram to Radcliffe" is a satiric poem in the manner of Martial.

[7]Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: Secker and Warburg, 1964), pp. 13-29.

everything else."[8] In Hall's time several Puritan reforming groups were being organized, such as the Presbyterians and the Disciplinarians. They all derived their impetus from Calvinism. The leaders were dedicated men who worked to strengthen the membership in their Church, who struggled to reform England. In Hall's boyhood they were a left-wing section of the Church of England, dedicated to the reform of abuses and excesses inside and outside of the Church. Their ideal was the creation, through the inculcation of individual piety, of a community of saints on earth. They urged a strong program of high conduct in conjunction with extensive daily devotional practices, and laid great emphasis on man's daily spiritual progress.

Hall's mother was a gentle pious woman who was greatly influenced by the noted Calvinist-Puritan, Anthony Gilby,[9] vicar of Ashby from 1564 to 1583. In his earlier days Anthony Gilby had been very active in the early Puritan movement. During the reign of Mary Tudor he had left England and stayed in Frankfurt with John Knox in 1554 to 1555.[10] He had actually led the group of Marian Exiles in

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[8]Allen French, Charles I and the Puritan Upheaval (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955), p. 236.

[9]Joseph Hall, The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D.D., ed. Philip Wynter (10 vols.; Oxford: at the University Press, 1863), I, xxi. For Anthony Gilby's sympathies see J.W. Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (London: Methuen, 1928), pp. 211-12.

[10]M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism ("Phoenix Books"; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 125-26.

Frankfurt during part of 1555.[11] In November 1555 Gilby, together with Knox and others, had set out the major outlines of the platform of the future Puritan party.[12] Gilby had written a tract entitled A Brief Treatice of Election and Reprobation . . . which was printed in Geneva in 1556 and which helped to establish the doctrine of Predestination as central to English Calvinism. Gilby had also played a "premier role in the translation of the Genevan Bible."[13] After returning to England and settling in Ashby, he had written an outstanding controversial work A Pleasaunt Dialogue betweene a Souldier of Barwicke and an English Chaplaine, a spirited tract on the Elizabethan Vestiarian Controversy.[14] Walzer notes that when the Marian Exiles returned to England they found "no socially based reform movement in which they might participate,"[15] and so they began efforts towards social reform themselves. Gilby was well placed to begin reforms, for he was vicar of Ashby and therefore could direct his congregation, and he also supervised the grammar school which Lord Huntingdon had established in 1567,[16] and which

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[11] Ibid., p. 130. See also Anthony Gilby in DNB.

[12] Ibid., p. 139.

[13] Christina Halloway Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), pp. 161-62.

[14] Knappen, pp. 200-202.

[15] Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 117.

[16] Hall, ed. Davenport, p. xv.

Hall attended from 1581 to 1589. At least three students of Ashby Grammar School became noted Calvinists: Hall, Gilby's own son Nathaniel, and William Bradshaw of Mayflower fame,[17] who was born three years earlier than Hall, and who won recognition as the author of English Puritanisme, published in 1605.

In 1588, Hall's last year at Ashby Grammar School, John Brinsley became schoolmaster.[18] Brinsley, a strict Puritan, married Hall's sister Barbara.[19] Brinsley taught his pupils to transcribe the sermons they heard, directing them to take down the text, set out doctrines, point out the proofs, then the reasons, and finally to give the "uses," the applications of the sermons.[20] The existence of such notes of sermons, listing abuses and illustrations, provides some insight into the sources of Hall's numerous illustrations for each of the abuses he presents in his satires.

The religious training achieved through the analysis of sermons was only part of the curriculum at Ashby Grammar School. Brinsley was a well-known rhetorician, and he taught the subject thoroughly. He would assign a topic for discussion and advise his students to collect information from all sources, then to adorn the various themes by stating the

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[17] Edmund S. Morgan, Visible Saints (New York: New York University Press, 1963), pp. 64-65; Knappen p. 331.

[18] W. Fraser Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932), pp. 68-69.

[19] Ibid., p. 32.

[20] Ibid., p. 33.

causes, effects, contraries, similitudes and examples, then to apply reason to prove the point at issue, and finally to present the objections and absurdities to be considered.[21] Hall's satires show that Hall continued to gather materials from all sources, for he borrows and paraphrases lines from many of the major classical authors, as well as from his popular contemporaries. Hall's final appeal to reason is also noticeable in the satires. Brinsley was Hall's schoolmaster for only one year, but his influence was probably fairly large due to his inclusion in the Hall family.

The Puritans regarded rhetoric "less as an achievement of the classical world than as a device employed by God in dictating the Holy Scriptures, and therefore worthy of grave consideration."[22] Although the language of Puritan preaching was alleged to be plain, rhetoric was used to stimulate the audience.[23] Puritan preachers knew that dialectic alone could prove points, but it often did not stir the congregation. A good orator, using rhetoric, could teach, delight and persuade his audience.[24] Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique was a popular volume when Hall was a boy. Wilson

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[21] Ibid., p. 73.

[22] Ibid., p. 91.

[23] Ibid., pp. 77-79.

[24] Thomas Wilson, The Arte of Rhetorique, 1553, ed. Robert Hood Bowers (Gainesville, Florida: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1962), p. 14.

was "a militant Protestant",[25] a lawyer who discussed rhetoric for legal application, but he noted that his book would be equally useful for preachers.[26] Success in oratory rested on three points, wrote Wilson: "in apt teachyng the hearers, what the matter is, next in gettyng them to geue good eare, and thirdly in winnyng their fauour."[27] The audience's favour is sought by the use of emotionally charged words and allusions, and Wilson presents illustrations of these. Such rhetorical devices were used by Puritan preachers to stir their congregations to reforming zeal. Hall must have studied rhetoric assiduously for he gained the Lectureship of Rhetoric at the Puritan Emmanuel College, Cambridge, became a highly successful preacher,[28] and used his knowledge of rhetoric in the

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[25] Ibid., p. ix.

[26] Ibid., pp. 127-28.

[27] Ibid., p. 122.

[28] Hall's sermons were heard by Prince Henry, who engaged Hall as a private chaplain, Hall, ed. Wynter, I, xxxiv. Hall preached at least three times at Paul's Cross, viz May 1, 1608; April 14, 1609; and March 24, 1613; see Millar MacLure, The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958) pp. 229, 230 and 234 respectively. Upon his death, the rector of Heigham, near Norwich, during the funeral sermon, called Hall the foremost rhetorician in the English tongue: "He understood many tongues; and in the rhetoric of his own he was second to none that lived in his time." See the funeral sermon by John Whitefoot in Wynter, I, lxxiii.

Virgidemiarum to elicit scorn and laughter—excellent deterrents when skilfully directed at disliked actions. By castigating the moral looseness around him by means of satire, Hall really used formal satire as an extension of the sermon. He follows the example of St. Paul, who wrote that all means might be used in order to save some (1. Cor. 9:22). Witty satires might be read by the university men, the men who read the works of the pamphleteers, the men who were often difficult to reach with the conventional sermon—if one judges by Marlowe, Nashe, Greene and Lyly. In his attempt to reach the educated man, Hall borrowed material from the pamphleteers and adopted some of their literary mannerisms designed "for an audience of young men about town, men with a tincture of classical learning and a considerable familiarity with contemporary Italian and Italianate literature."[29] A good rhetorician must always be mindful of his audience and present his work in a fashion acceptable to them. Hall was also mindful of St. Paul's comment to the worldly Corinthians "where *is* the wise? . . . . hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." (I. Cor. 1:20-21) Hall's satires were directed at the worldly wise of his generation.

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[29]Herbert J.C. Grierson, *Rhetoric and English Composition* (2nd. ed.; Edinburgh, Tweeddale Court: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1945), p. 17.

He subordinated his learning to the Puritan cause and used his wide knowledge of the Latin satirists for their moralizing qualities. It is because of Hall's concentration on the moralizing aspects of the Latin satirists and not on their flippancy that Hall has become associated with the condemning Juvenal rather than the lighthearted Horace or Martial.

From the above information it can be seen that Hall was a renaissance man influenced by the deep piety of his mother, the Puritanism of his vicars, and the Puritan schoolmasters at Ashby Grammar School.[30] He had always been destined for the clergy,[31] and at the age of fifteen was sent to Emmanuel College where Anthony Gilby's son Nathaniel became his tutor.[32] Emmanuel was the Puritan training school

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[30]The Puritan clergymen during Hall's youth were Anthony Gilby, who was vicar in 1574 and held the post until 1583 when he retired and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Thomas Widdowes. Widdowes died in 1593 and was succeeded by Arthur Hildersam, who had been lecturer at Ashby from Sept. 14, 1587 to 1590, but suspended by the high commission for excessive puritanism. See Arthur Hildersam in the DNB. Hall's first schoolmaster at Ashby was George Ainsworth (see William Bradshaw in the DNB), who was succeeded in 1588 by John Brinsley. Dr. Levi Fox, in a personal communication dated July 28, 1967, supported the conclusion that a strong Puritan influence existed at Ashby Grammar School in Hall's time.

[31]Wynter, I, xxi and xxvii.

[32]*Ibid*., xxiii.

for the ministry and is thought to have been influenced by the Institute of Geneva.[33] The academicians had adopted those educational views of Calvin "which emphasized the unification of humanism and religious instruction to a greater degree than other contemporary educators."[34] Hall was still at Emmanuel when he wrote the Virgidemiarum, still in a strong Puritan environment. It is time to examine this Puritan-Calvinism more closely.

Protestantism was a reform movement which advocated a return to the model of the True Church shown in Scripture. It rejected Papal prerogative, and regarded much of Roman Catholicism as superstition. The Church of England insisted upon regular church attendance and prayer and exacted severe penalties upon abstainers. Puritan-Calvinism, however, fostered a militant spirit by requiring "not only a pitch of piety, but a pitch of activism and involvement."[35] Puritan clergymen were very industrious and preached several times a week.[36] In addition, regular Bible Study sessions were held on Tuesdays and Thursdays,[37] for great reliance was placed on

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[33] Frederick Eby, Early Protestant Educators (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1931), pp. 252-53.

[34] Ibid., p. 253

[35] Walzer, p. 223.

[36] Hall preached three times a week at Halsted (also known as Halstead, or Hawstead), Suffolk and later at Waltham, Essex, see Wynter, I, xxxv.

[37] Knappen, p. 254 and pp. 287-88; William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (Morningside Heights, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 53.

the Bible, which was considered the only source of infallible truth.[38] Private prayers were said by each Puritan at intervals throughout the day, family prayers were said at least twice daily, and in addition, groups of Puritan believers would meet regularly for prayers in private homes.[39]

Puritan preachers used highly imaginative prose with the traditional medieval conventions of the popular preachers,[40] alleging a plain style suitable for the instruction of rich and poor alike, prizing a homely, familiar speech.[41] Hall uses a puritan plainness for his satires whenever he stresses his point, and his language is plain whenever he identifies evils, because he wants to be sure that they will be recognized. In his "Post-script" he notes that his plainness might be misunderstood:

> . . . concerning the manner, where in perhaps too much stouping to the lowe reach of the vulgar, I shalbe thought not to haue any whit kindly raught my ancient Roman predecessors, . . .

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[38]Knappen, p. 61. John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans. H. Beveridge (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957), I, 7. For the tremendous faith placed in the infallibility of the Scripture see the defense of Puritan Henry Barrowe before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, dated July 18, 1588, in An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, 1588-1590, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), pp. 40-48.

[39]Knappen, pp. 287-88.

[40]Haller, pp. 129-30. Haller states that this is a reaction from Anglicanism.

[41]Ibid., p. 184.

This is, however, an admission to its plainness. Hall then gives his triple defense: (a) Latin cadences are discordant; (b) work that is too difficult in thought or expression will not be understood, for few men will bother to work out the meaning; and (c)

> . . . the end of this paines was a Satyre, but the end of my Satyre a further good, which whether I attaine or no I know not, but let me be plaine, with hope of profit, rather than purposely obscure onely for a bare names sake.

On these three points, some Calvinistic precedent had been set already. On the subject of discordance it may be noted that the Genevan psalter was sung to "the more sober . . . contemporary ballad music,"[42] and Sternhold's metrical paraphrases of the Bible were in the common meter of the English ballad,[43] because Calvinist ministers knew that easy flowing meters did not tend to detract attention from the words. Hall had adopted his clerical role before ordination and used formal satire as an extension of preaching, but in common with the Puritan ministers he did not want any detraction from his lesson either. Hall next presents his reason for a plain style: to enable as many people as possible to understand him. It is the reason presented by contemporary Puritan ministers. If few understand, the

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[42]Knappen, p. 431.

[43]*Ibid.*

lesson is almost wasted. Finally, the "further good," the "profit," is not monetary, for as Knappen writes, "The Puritan preoccupation with salvation gave him an original bias against trying to better his economic or social condition. The time available here below . . . must be spent . . . [looking to the] hereafter."[44] Therefore, the "further good" is to do God's work, which was Hall's responsibility as a Puritan, and the "profit" is the salvation of an individual informed of his errings. In fact, as Hall had always been destined for the clergy, he would have felt that his own salvation was in the balance, for as St. Paul wrote (1. Cor. 9:13-16):

> Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?
>
> Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel.
>
> But I have used none of these things: neither have I written these things, that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void.
>
> For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel !

That salvation could be achieved through the use of wit was not a new idea, for it had been in the minds of

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[44] Ibid., p. 403.

earlier Puritan writers. The acceptability of using wit for God's work had been stated in court eight years before the Virgidemiarum. On October 15, 1589, Henry Sharpe, a Northampton bookbinder, had been brought before the Lord Chancellor to give testimony against John Penry, who was suspected as the author of the satiric tracts written under the pseudonym of Martin Marprelate. The report reads:

> After that tyme upon some other occasion, this Examinate [Sharpe] asking Master PENRY whether this were a lawfull Course, that MARTYN had taken in the two said Bookes to jest in such sort, and to detect to the world such mens Infirmities. He answered that godly men had taken heretofore the like Course, as Master [THEODORE DE] BEZA in his Booke named . . . PASSAVANTIUS; the Author [PHILIP VAN MARNIX VAN SANT ALDEGONDE] of the Bee-Hive [of the Romish Church] [COCLIUS SECUNDUS CURIO, the writer of] PASQUINE in a traunce &c.[45]

Puritan Martin Marprelate (Job Throckmorton?) had written on the use of wit for reform:

> I sawe the cause of Christs gouernment and of the Bishops Antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the on[e] and against the other. I bethought mee therefore of a way whereby men might be drawne to do both perceiuing the humors of men in these times (especialy of those that are in any place) to be giuen to mirth. I tooke that course. I might lawfully do it. I for iesting is lawful by circumstances euen in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time place and persons vrged me thereunto. I neuer profaned the word in any iest.

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[45] Edward Arber, An Introductory Sketch . . . ,"The Deposition of Henry Sharpe, a bookbinder at Northampton, on the 15th October 1589," p.97.

> Other mirth I vsed as a couert wherin I would bring the truth into light. The Lord being the authour both of mirth and grauitie, is it not lawfull in it selfe for the trueth to vse eyther of these wayes when the circumstances do make it lawful? 46

The Puritan Anthony Gilby had written satiric tracts to prompt reform, and although Hall had been only eleven years old when Gilby died, it is probable that he had read them at Ashby, or at Emmanuel where he was the pupil of Gilby's son, Nathaniel. Even Wilson advocates a mixture of wit and religion in The Arte of Rhetorique, for

> assuredly nothyng is more nedefull, then to quicken these heauie loden wittes of ours, and muche to cherishe these our lompishe and vnweldie natures, for excepte menne finde delight, thei will not long abide: delight theim, and wynne them: werie theim, and you lose theim for euer. And that is the reason, that menne commonly tary the ende of a merie plaie, and cannot abide the halfe hearyng of a sower checkyng Sermon. Therefore, euen these auncient preachers, must now and then plaie the fooles in the pulpite, to serue the tickle eares of their fleetyng audience, or els thei are like some tymes to preache to the bare walles, for though the spirite bee apte, and our will prone, yet our fleshe is so heauie, and humours so ouerwhelme vs, that wee cannot without refreshyng, long abide to heare any one thyng. Thus we se, that to delight is nedefull, without the whiche, weightier matters will not be heard at all . . .47

This is the viewpoint of a militant Protestant lawyer.

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[46] Martin Marprelate [pseud.], Hay any Work for Cooper cited in Arber, p. 12.

[47] Bowers, pp. 15-16.

It is easy to see the reason that Hall used satire as the medium for his attacks on the educated members of society.

Mitchell actually notes the similarity of Hall's early sermons and the Virgidemiarum, stating that in both Hall draws upon the classics, the "Fathers, School and Rabbinical writers, [presenting] Hebrew and Greek quotations."[48] In both early sermons and satires Hall frequently begins with an aphorism and expands it. The descriptiones of Hall's sermons resemble the character sketches of the satires: Labeo the poor poet, the glutton, the proud man and such.[49] In common with many Elizabethan puritan preachers,[50] Hall's early sermons are lively, in fact Mitchell compares Hall's sermons with the pamphlets of Nashe.[51] Not unexpectedly, at least two of Hall's satires, II.i and IV.ii, borrow material from Nashe. Similar subjects in Hall's religious writings and satires are similarly illustrated, as his sermon The Fall of Pride (Sermon 20) which contains the image of lightning striking tall pines, and the "Defiance to Envy" which has a similar image.

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[48]Mitchell, p. 225 and 276. Another popular Puritan clergyman, Adams, also composed sermons in this manner, Ibid., p. 203.

[49]Ibid., pp. 213-20.

[50]Ibid., pp. 217-21.

[51]Ibid., p. 226.

Puritan sermons were written in simple language, but images and logic were used to identify evil and to exhort the congregation to exercise self-control. The preachers had to maintain the attention of their audience, and dramatic images helped them to do this. The function of the preachers was "to probe the conscience of the down-hearted sinner, to name and cure the malady of his soul, and then to send him out strengthened and emboldened for the continuance of his lifelong battle with the world and the devil."[52] These preachers undertook to be "physicians to the soul."[53] In both his sermons and satires Hall presented dramatic images of the evils of the world in order to prepare his audience for their lifelong battle.

The Puritans believed that it was not possible to "eliminate temptation and the tendency to sin, but it was possible and necessary to eradicate any inclination to enjoy or persist in wrongdoing."[54] Therefore, high

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[52]Haller, p. 27.

[53]*Ibid*., p. 33.

[54]Knappen, p. 343.

standards of conduct were taught as well as the idea that every person was responsible not only for his own misconduct, but for that of others.[55] It was this stressing of the responsibility of the layman that made Puritan churches "such efficient instruments for the inculcation of religious attitudes,"[56] states Knappen. It accounts for the zeal, the spirit which is the major distinguishing characteristic of the reforming movement. A good Puritan felt that he must do something towards reform.[57] First he had to look into his own life and reform himself, and then he had to encourage the reformation of others. The elect had to use "every available means for the infiltration of English life

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[55]Ibid., p. 344.

[56]Ibid., p. 92.

[57]J.B. Marsden, The History of the Early Puritans (3rd. ed.; London: Hamilton, Adam & Co., 1860), pp. 5-7.

and the conversion of authority to their point of view."[58] The grand object was "the regeneration of fallen man,"[59] and the more converts, the better. Thus every Puritan was responsible for his own crusade against abuse, and often discharged his pious duties in the face of scorn.[60] Hall had to avoid scorn, however, because it acts as a blockade against the introduction of learning. He therefore chose witty formal satire as the vehicle for his personal crusade, for few people scorn satire.

Many Elizabethans, shocked by the immorality around them, found that they had much in common with the early Stoics.[61] Christian and Stoic stressed austere moral conduct, self control, and indifference to worldly matters. Seneca and Epictetus became popular. Soon interest turned to other Stoic writers: Lucilius, Horace, Persius and Juvenal.[62] In

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[58]Alan Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 10.

[59]Ibid., p. 18.

[60]Marsden, p. 252.

[61]A. Caputi, John Marston, Satirist (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), Chapter III, "The Neo-Stoic"; Walzer, pp. 205-206, although this author uses "Spartan" in a similar sense; R. Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth Century Poetic (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), pp. 35-36.

[62]Information on the Stoic influence of these authors may be found in the following volumes: (1) Lucilius: in the Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica of Horace, trans. H.R. Fairclough (rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. xvi; (2) Horace: Ibid., p. xviii; (3) Persius: Persius and Juvenal, trans. G.G. Ramsay (rev. ed.; London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1957), p. xxxiii; (4) Juvenal: Ramsay, p. xxxiv.

1566 a Puritan clergyman, Thomas Drant, published the first translation of classical satires into English, A Medicinall Morall . . . Two Books of Horace's Satires, Englished. By 1585 classical satire was fashionable with Elizabethans,[63] with the result that the stylistic strictures placed on satire through the convention of poetic decorum became changed.[64] Satiric verses had previously been written in the "low style" of The Tunning of Elinour Rumming, but now the criteria for decorum was modified,[65] and satire could be written in the mean (middle) style which included rhetorical tropes and other embellishments. This mean style would be appreciated by the middle class who prided themselves on their classical studies— the same people who read the pamphleteers. Hall now had the ideal medium for his reproofs. As a Puritan he was responsible for the conduct of those around him, as a man always destined for the clergy, it would be his duty to show the sinners their errors. The Lord had set three types of people in His Church: apostles, prophets and teachers, and each of the elect must do his part (1 Cor. 12:28). Formal verse satire was the way.

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[63]A. Kernan, The Cankered Muse (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 39.

[64]N. Frye, The Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 227-37.

[65]Rosamond Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery ("Phoenix Books"; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 243-47.

Hall's mind was very serious when he wrote the <u>Toothlesse Satyrs</u>. The Puritan standard of conduct was very high,[66] and Emmanuel was very strict.[67] It was during this year that Hall, who notes that he never went to participate in a public disputation without praying,[68] gave up his lectureship in rhetoric to take up "those serious studies which might fit me for that high calling whereunto I was destined."[69] Yet Hall wrote his <u>Byting Satyres</u> after he had made this decision. Hall was not inconsistent. "God's call was in fact a command,"[70] notes Walzer, and to refuse was destruction. As an instrument of God, Hall had to act against the forces of Satan.[71] His first duty to God would be to convert souls. Preaching was the regular method, but Hall was not yet ordained.[72] He must be content to be one of those who taught. I. Morgan states that "to be able to use a sermon as a weapon in the spiritual warfare to pierce the hearts of men and win them from sin

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[66]Knappen, p. 349.

[67]<u>Hall</u>, ed. Wynter, p. xxiv.

[68]<u>Ibid</u>., pp. xxv-xxvi.

[69]<u>Ibid</u>., p. xxvi.

[70]Walzer, p. 166.

[71]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 169.

[72]Hill, p. 34, notes the stern prosecution of persons who preached without a license from the bishop.

to righteousness was to the Puritan mind a 'gift.'"[73] The work of reforming one section of the English public, one person, would be the testimony of a Puritan's faith.[74] Hall's work did not have to be a sermon, for the Bible did not specify the method. However, the Puritan Short Catechism of Thomas Cartwright stated the first step towards salvation was repentance:

> Q. Is ther no Remedie for mankynd agaynst euer-lasting deathe?
>
> A. Yes, for all such of of [sic] mankynd as growe ashamed of theyr corruptyons & synns And Repent, and beleeve the holly covenantes & promyses of almyghty god & gloreous gospelle of christ Jesus.[75]

There is no remedy for those who think they have no sins to repent.

Hall, an educated man, used satire to convey his message for reform, to point out the sins that needed to be repented. Satiric prose had been used to good effect by

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[73]Irvonwy Morgan, The Godly Preachers of the Elizabethan Church (London: Epsworth Press, 1965), p. 30.

[74]Walzer, p. 211.

[75]T. Cartwright, Cartwrightiana, eds. Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951), p. 172. Cartwright corresponded with Hildersam, see letter dated March 23, 1583/4, Ibid., pp. 109-15, so there was a direct link between Ashby and Cartwright.

Puritans before him. The Marprelate Controversy had been extremely popular. Hall's choice of formal verse satire must have been based on his own poetic ability, the knowledge that the high esteem accorded to verse would readily distinguish his earnest work from the frivolous prose satires of Nashe and others, and the growing academic interest in classical formal satire. Formal satire would appeal to the educated people, and Hall further catered to this audience by incorporating allusions to the Latin satirists. Arnold Stein notes that Hall quotes these authors as if from memory, modernizing the excerpts, varying the phrases[76] as he did later in his sermons. This was because Hall was not seeking the credit for being an excellent Latinist; he was using his learning only as an aid to his calling, for the greater glory of God, and not to augment his own reputation.

Hall decided to let the individual's conscience be the goad; shame and guilt led to reform and salvation, for Matthew 3:2 and 4:17 said "Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."[77] Hall's attitude is shown in his "Post-script to the Reader" where he states:

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[76]Arnold Stein, "Joseph Hall's Imitation of Juvenal," MLR, XLIII (1948), 317. The essay shows that Hall did not slavishly copy the Latin satirists but adapted their works to suit his own time.

[77]Shame and guilt were signs of faith and salvation to Calvin. See Beveridge, I, 510.

. . . if the iniurious Reader shall wrest to his owne spight, and disparraging of others, it is a short answere: Art thou guiltie? complaine not, thou art not wronged: art thou guiltles? complaine not, thou art not touched.

Hall's environment during his early years produced a conscientious young Calvinist. By means of the Virgidemiarum, Hall endeavoured to fulfill his obligation to his God--to teach the moral life. Several persons took up his challenge to be the second English formal satirist, including John Marston, the author of The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres and the Scourge of Villanie. Other satiric writers soon abounded. Neoclassicism became "a pretext, a subterfuge under cover of which poets . . . [could] feel free to write as insolently or dissolutely as they please[d]."[78] By 1599 the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the censors of the press, were obliged to forbid the printing of all satiric literature, and the works of Marston, Guilpin, Harvey, Nashe and others were burned.[79] Hall's satires were originally condemned with the others, but the censors later withdrew them from the list of condemned books, no doubt because the serious moral intent of the author was recognized.

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[78]John Peter, Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 146. He is actually discussing Guilpin.

[79]Bernard Harris, "Dissent and Satire," in Shakespeare in His Own Age, Shakespeare Survey No. 17, ed. A. Nicoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 135.

CHAPTER II

THE *TOOTHLESSE SATYRS*

The formal satirists who took up Hall's challenge certainly used neo-classicism as a cover for indecency. Marston, the best known of Hall's challengers, took up the lash in the satires of *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image and Certaine Satyres*, and *The Scourge of Villanie*. The language of Marston is coarse and frequently indecent, his style flamboyant. In *The Scourge of Villanie* he admitted that he derived enjoyment from the castigation of vices:

> Here ends my rage, though angry brow was bent,
> Yet I haue sung in sporting merriment.
>
> *The Scourge of Villanie* xi. 239-40[1]

Unlike Hall, Marston rarely explains the consequences of the evils he shows. Hall appeals to reason and refers to the Bible. Marston presents his images so realistically that one suspects that he delighted in shocking his audience. For example, in *The Scourge of Villanie* appears:

> O what drie braine melts not sharp mustard rime
> To purge the snottery of our slimy time?
>
> *The Scourge of Villanie* ii. 70-71

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[1] John Marston, *The Poems of John Marston*, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: at the University Press, 1961). All quotations of Marston's satires will be from this volume.

And later Marston presents the almost overwhelming reference:

> Of some Cynedian, or of Tacedore,
> Of Ruscus nastie lothsome brothell rime,
> That stincks like Aiax froth, or muck-pit slime.
>
> The Scourge of Villanie xi. 145-47

Marston delights in presenting gossip, as in his reference to the man who comes:

> From Lady Lilla. And is going straight
> To the Countesse of ( ) for she doth waite
> His comming. And will surely send her Coach . . .
>
> Certaine Satyres iii. 77-80

After the list of sexual vagaries presented in the third satire of The Scourge of Villanie, one gains the impression that Marston deliberately attempts to titillate the reader's worst thoughts, or at least he encourages evil speculation under the guise of condemnation. If the fear of public notice restrained any of Marston's pusillanimous readers from indulgence in their favorite vices, notoriety possibly encouraged an equal number of hardened sinners. If Marston claimed to be a reformer, he based his claim solely on the point that ridicule dissuades from vice and encourages virtue.[2] However, any earnest moral intent in Marston's satiric verse is difficult to find. In fact, John Peter notes that some

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[2] O.J. Campbell, Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida" (Alhambra, Calif.: C.F. Braun and Co., 1959), p. 12.

lines of shocking detail differ little from common smoking room stories.[3] Yet Marston imitates the satires of Hall. He uses the decasyllabic couplet, Latin references, wit, and the rhetoric suitable for the mean style, as Hall had done.

Hall wrote very little on sexual vagaries. Even when he did so, he wrote only a few lines to illustrate decadence. There is no catering to eroticism. There are no crude references to sex in the _Toothlesse Satyrs_, but in the more latinate _Byting Satyres_ Hall uses a reference to brothels to illustrate the decadence of the Roman Catholic Church:

> Or Louzy coules [monks] come smoking from the stewes,
> To rayse the Leud Rent to their Lord accrewes,
> (Who with ranke _Venice_ doth his pompe aduance
> By trading of ten thousand Curtizans). . .
>
> IV. vii. 27-30

The allusion is to the brothels, reportedly licensed by the Popes, which netted 40,000 ducats annually.[4] But Hall has also broached the Protestant disapproval of monastic celibacy. Celibacy is unnatural and results in the frequenting of bawdy

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[3]John Peter, _Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature_ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 171.

[4]Joseph Hall, _The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D.D._, ed. Philip Wynter (10 vols; Oxford: The University Press, 1863), "_Mundus alter et Idem_," X, 477-78 and footnote. This work is a prose satire on travel.

houses, Hall implies, but he presents no lewd details of the stews.

Like the Latin satirists, Marston alludes to one specific individual, but Hall uses a device of the sermons, the descriptio or illustration of the vice in question. By means of the descriptiones the preacher ensures that the congregation will recognize the attacked vice in all its forms. Book I of the Toothlesse Satyrs presents all the sins of the poet who does not use his talent for the greater glory of God. This sinner writes trash which wastes the time of God's people and thereby leads their thoughts astray. Hall calls these "Poeticall" satires, and devotes one satire to each type of literary abuse. Davenport notes that each of Hall's attacks can usually apply to at least two offenders.[5] This is a device of the pulpit. If one member of the congregation is attacked in a sermon, the rest of the congregation not only feels guiltless but might feel superior to the castigated member. However, if all the aspects of a particular sin are attacked, many people realize that they have been guilty in one or more ways. By not specifying the culprit, the preacher can prick the consciences of all the guilty members. In similar fashion, Hall never specifies the culprit but says in his "Post-script": "Art thou

[5]Joseph Hall, The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: at the University Press, 1949), pp. xli-lxi. All quotations of the Virgidemiarum will be from this volume.

guiltie? complaine not, thou art not wronged: art thou guiltles? complaine not, thou art not touched." Davenport notes that Hall could be alluding to either Daniel or Drayton in his satire on the erring sonneteer, and that Drayton apparently corrected many of his faults soon after the Virgidemiarum was printed. Davenport notes that Drayton

> published Ideas Mirrour in 1594, and he revised and augmented this collection of sonnets in Idea (1599) . . . . Drayton defended himself in the new sonnets 'To the Reader' and 'To the Criticke' . . . . Certainly Ideas Mirrour was open to Hall's attack.[6]

I believe that Hall did not restrict his attack to just Daniel and Drayton. He created an erring sonneteer with every fault that he could imagine. We do not know how many inferior poets improved their work, or stopped writing altogether, because of Hall's attack. By using the descriptiones, Hall avoids the sharp personal attacks of the Latin satirists. There is no viciousness in the Toothlesse Satyrs because the corrections are well-intentioned. This is the reason that Hall calls them "Toothlesse Satyrs."[7]

The moral tone of the Toothlesse Satyrs is often created by Hall's tendency to follow the outline of a Puritan sermon.[8] First he presents the proposition or text, then

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[6]Hall, ed. Davenport, pp. xlix-l.

[7]Davenport interprets "Toothlesse Satyrs" as "not dealing with grave evils in a grave manner," ibid., p. 159. This cannot be correct for the sins mentioned are damnable, and the sin of Book III, Pride, is the first deadly sin.

[8]W. Fraser Mitchell, in English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson (New York: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1932), p. 62, discusses the structure of early Puritan sermons.

he illustrates his subject, next he explains the subject or presents it in an everyday situation so that it is well understood, and finally he writes the conclusion, a definition, message or reasoning comment. This is a modification of the structure of the Puritan sermon. In his own sermons, Hall (a) begins with the text; (b) explains the text; (c) lists the categories of sin covered by the text; then (d) takes each category individually and discusses it with its own sub-text from the Bible or one of the Church Fathers, and frequently illustrates these sub-texts. Hall then (e) explains the official attitude towards the vices presented and (f) concludes with a message or warning. In the Toothlesse Satyrs, Books I and III, the first satire discusses the subject, which is the equivalent to parts (a) and (b) of the sermon. Each succeeding satire discusses one aspect of the vice, each satire having its own sub-text and illustration, as in part (d) of the sermon. Hall then explains the official attitude (his own) in each satire and ends with his message, that is, the equivalent of parts (e) and (f) of the sermons. Book II does not have an introductory satire, otherwise the satires follow the same sequence as the others: sub-text, expansion or illustration, comment and conclusion.

In Hall's attack on the wasteful pamphleteer, II.i, he emphasizes his opening theme by modified reiteration: "Then Labeo, or write little, or write none" (line 26); "For shame or better write, or Labeo write none" (line 54); "For

shame write cleanly Labeo, or write none" (line 64). Hall uses this technique in his sermons. In Sermon 10, The Best Bargain, the line repeatedly modified is "Buy the truth, and sell it not"; in Sermon 18, The Fashions of the World, the refrain is "Fashion not yourself like to this world"; and in Sermon 20, The Fall of Pride, Hall modifies "A man's pride shall bring him low, but honour shall uphold the humble."

Each of the three books of the Toothlesse Satyrs has a controlling thesis. The first book attacks poets who have abused their talent, and by doing so lead others from God. The second book attacks the abuses in the professions. These satires are devoted to attacks upon people to whom God has given knowledge and money but who do not use these advantages wisely. The third book attacks pride.

Hall had to defend himself against a charge of pride. Did he not elevate himself above others when he criticized them? His defence is contained in his non-satirical poem, "His Defiance to Envy," in which Hall states that his work is so lowly that it is not worth honour or envy:

> But now such lowly Satyres here I sing,
> Not worth our Muse, not worth their enuying.
>
> "Defiance," lines 65-66

Hall disclaims honour for his verses by stating that his work consists only of rude "satyres." However, due to some Elizabethan confusion over the etymology of the word "satyre,"

Hall thereby claims lowliness for his persona, and in doing so robs of force any charges against him of pride.[9]

In the latter part of the sixteenth century the word "satyre" had been given a rather complex meaning blended from several sources. Four of these sources were given in a poem that prefixed the Puritan clergyman Thomas Drant's translation of Horace, published in 1566, entitled _A Medicinall Morall . . . Two Books of Horaces Satires, Englished_. This translation proved very popular and many persons, including Hall and Marston, incorporated all four meanings into their satires. Drant claimed the sources to be:

1. An Arabic term for glaive, or sharp cutting instrument.
2. The mythological woodland satyr (to the Elizabethan a creature half man and half goat, although to the Greeks who coined the word, just a shaggy unkempt man from the country).
3. Pertinent to Saturn, the god of a sullen melancholy disposition, or of mischief.
4. From the Latin _satura_, incorrectly thought to mean "full" or "satiated."[10]

In view of the above "sources" it can be seen that when Hall

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[9]Hall wrote a similar defense in his "Observations of Some Specialties of Divine Providence," Wynter, I, xix; this work he prefaced with the statement, "Not out of a vain affectation of my own glory, which I know how little it can avail me when I am gone hence, but out of a sincere desire to give glory to my God, whose wonderful providence I have noted in all my ways, have I recorded some remarkable passages of my forepast life."

[10]Peter reprints the poem on pp. 301-302.

speaks of "lowly Satyres" he refers to both his verses and his persona. Further proof of this mixed meaning occurs later in the poem where Hall notes that the satyr and the verses are smooth:

> The ruder <u>Satyre</u> should goe rag'd and bare:
> And show his rougher and his hairy hide:
> Tho mine be smooth, and deckt in carelesse pride.
>
> "Defiance," lines 76-78

(It should be noted that the pride here is not the deadly sin but "honest due.")

Hall ends this poem by stating his intentions:

> In scornfull rage I vow this silent rest,
> That neuer field nor groue shall here my song.
> Onely these refuse rimes I here mispend,
> To chide the world, that did my thoughts offend.
>
> "Defiance," lines 111-14

Rage was not a deadly sin if it were righteous rage. There was Biblical authority for this.[11] Christ showed righteous rage when He overturned the money-tables in the Temple (Matt. 21: 12-13). Hall in his "Authors Charge to his Satyres" addresses his lines:

> Ye luck-lesse Rymes, whom not vnkindly spight
> Begot long since of Trueth and holy Rage.
>
> "Authours Charge," lines 1-2

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[11] John F.H. New, <u>Anglican and Puritan</u> (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 26, notes that Puritans relied on the Scriptures as a guide to all their behaviour—at least theoretically.

"Holy Rage" must be righteous rage.

Hall's next introductory poem is in Latin, "De Suis Satyris," in which he puns on Sat irae and Satyra very wittily. This is followed by the Prologue which contains the challenge that inspired Marston, Donne, Guilpin and others.[12] Hall follows his challenge with some comments on Enuie and Truth:

> Enuie waits on my backe, Truth on my side:
> Enuie will be my Page, and Truth my Guide.
> Enuie the margent holds, and Truth the line:
> Truth doth approve, but Enuy doth repine.
>
> Prologue to I. 5-8

The "enuie" here is a grudging or malevolent feeling, the reaction one normally gets to reproofs. Coupled with the malevolent feelings is Truth, who is at Hall's side as a guide. This brings to mind a famous Biblical passage. When Saint Thomas the Doubter asked Christ the way to Heaven,

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[12]John Marston parodies Hall in The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres, particularly in the "Reactio" satire, so there is no doubt that Marston took up the challenge. Donne did not publish his own satires but circulated them privately among his friends. It is unlikely that Hall would have seen them at Emmanuel. Hall notes in his "Post-script" that he had no English models, and as Hall was a modest man who elsewhere in his works gives credit where it is due, there is no reason to doubt him. Donne's fourth satire post-dates Hall's Toothlesse Satyrs because line 114 mentions the Battle of Amiens, March 1597. The Toothlesse Satyrs were registered in March 1597. Donne was adventuring with the Earl of Essex in 1596-1597. He took part in the Cadiz expedition (the victory is noted in Hall's III.vii. 27) and the Islands Voyage. It is highly probable that Donne returned to England, read Hall's published satires and accepted Hall's challenge. All Guilpin's satires postdate those of Hall. Guilpin was a contemporary of Hall at Cambridge.

the Lord said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6). Truth is synonymous with Christ, who is the way to eternal life. Therefore, when Hall continues by noting that "damned vice is shrouded quite for shame/And crown'd with Virtues mead, immortall Name," (lines 13-14) he earnestly means damned—banished from the sight of God. Hall ends with an invocation to his Muse, "Truth be thy speed, and Truth thy Patron bee" (line 24). I believe that Hall, who was fond of the pun, chose this ending to take full advantage of the meaning of Patron: as protector, champion of a doctrine, and as a pattern, because it is in Christ's name that he hopes to do his part towards the reformation of England.

BOOK I

It is possible that the first satire of Persius suggested the topic of Hall's first book of satires. Persius attacked Attius Labeo, a poet who had written a poor translation of the Iliad. Hall, however, expands Persius's attack and incorporates the accepted theory of literary criticism of his day: that of Horace and Aristotle as interpreted by Scaliger and adopted by Sidney and Puttenham.[13]

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[13] J.E. Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), pp. 268-75, notes that Sidney's Defense of Poesy (1595) follows Scaliger's (1561) classification of poets. Puttenham's popular book of rhetoric (1589) follows Scaliger's systematic classification of classical poetic forms and subjects, and rhetorical figures, pp. 264-67. Spingarn notes that many of the "defenses and apologies" of literature at this time were prompted by Puritan attacks on literature, p. 257.

Hall expresses this theory with intelligence. A close look at these satires shows that the abuses mentioned are those commonly attacked by Puritans. Poor poetry detracts attention from more important activity--the preparation for eternal life. Poor poets fail their trust: to present virtuous action. The theory of literary criticism in the renaissance was based on the belief that poetry should conduce to morality.[14] Poetry should depict the essential truth of things, the Idea clothed in all its beauties.[15] Spenser had accomplished this in the _Faerie Queene_ (1590-1591) where he presents the ideals of Christianity in a beautiful allegory. Not surprisingly, Spenser is the only poet Hall approves in these "Poeticall satyrs":[16]

> But let no rebell _Satyre_ dare traduce
> Th' eternall _Legends_ of thy _Faery Muse_,
> Renowmed _Spencer_: whome no earthly wight
> Dares once to emulate, much lesse dares despight.

I.iv. 21-24

Hall alludes (I.i. 27-32) to the marriage of the Thames and the Medway in the _Faerie Queene_ (IV, xi, 8 _sqq_.). Spenser's theme is moral and Hall can find no fault. However, Spenser is exceptional, and Hall notes that many of his contemporaries deserve criticism. He will

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[14] _Ibid_., pp. 270-71.

[15] _Ibid_., p. 31.

[16] Milton, in his _Areopagitica_, also commended Spenser's _Faerie Queene_ because it presented essential truths. See John Milton, _Complete Poems and Major Prose_, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), pp. 728-29.

> . . . in carelesse rymes,
> Check the mis-ordred world, and lawlesse times.
>
> I.i. 23-24

In this poem Hall rejects for his mission all forms of poetry but satire.

In Hall's Characters of Virtues and Vices he includes the Character of the Penitent. He writes, "Sin hath no such enemy; God hath no such servant as he"[17] because the Penitent understands the nature of sin and his own errings. But before a man can be penitent, he must learn his faults. Hall sets out to illustrate the faults in his satires. He begins satire I.ii. with the text. He will discuss the muses:

> Whilome the sisters nine were Vestall maides,
> And held their Temple in the secret shades
> Of fayre Pernassus that two-headed hill,
> Whose auncient fame the Southern world did fill.
>
> I.ii. 1-4

Then he expands the text, painting the scene:

> And in the steed of their eternall flame,
> Was the coole streame, that took his endles name
> From out the fertile hoofe of winged steed:
> . . . .
> . . . till that of late,
> . . . .
> Some of the sisters in securer shades
> Defloured were . . .
>
> I.ii. 5-14

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[17]Wynter, VI, 103.

Hall then explains the significance. He presents the explanation of the situation, showing it to be detestable by using catachresis. Parnassus is now a stews; Pirene is "a poysoned head/Of cole-blacke puddle" (lines 20-21). The muses have become prostitutes to everyone's literary taste:

> Each bush, each banke, and each base Apple-squire,
> Can serue to sate their beastly lewd desire.
>
> I.ii. 35-36

The final couplet presents the "lesson"---the only conclusion that can be drawn. If the muses are now prostitutes, their spiritual children are bastards. The terse couplet adds force to the sense. The tone is one of righteous condemnation:

> Ye bastard Poets see your Pedegree,
> From common Trulls, and loathsome Brothelry.
>
> I.ii. 37-38

The intention was to shame the offending poets who catered to low-minded people and failed in their duty to raise thoughts to higher matters. Few renaissance critics would have approved of the inferior poetry that Hall criticized, but Hall felt that disapproval was not enough. He had to act and shame these poets. Wright notes that to the Puritan, books without moral instruction were the instruments

to seduce the young and to corrupt men.[18] Hall's combination of such morally corrupting poetry and prostitution is therefore highly appropriate. The Puritan must always "fight the good fight" (I. Tim. 6:12). He could not stand idly by and watch abuses.

Satire I.iii, an attack on the abuses of the stage, is also structured as a modified four-part sermon. The first twelve lines establish the text and expound it. The reader is told of the unhealthy section of town where someone is acting. Lines thirteen to fifty-two illustrate the evils of the stage. This is followed by four lines in which Hall explains the inevitable consequences, and finally there is the concluding couplet which presents the message.

Hall alludes to most of the reasons which provoked the Puritan's dislike of the stage. The drama corrupted youths and encouraged idleness.[19] Certainly the gallants spent much time and money at the theatres.[20] The public theatres, such as the Red Bull and the Fortune, were frequented by the poorer people and these audiences often became

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[18]Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 231 sqq.

[19]Ibid., p. 606; Knappen, Tudor Puritanism ("Phoenix Book"; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 440; New, p. 23; Allen French, Charles I and the Puritan Upheaval (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1955), p. 68; T.S. Graves, "Note on Puritanism and the Stage," Studies in Philology, XVIII (1921), 141-69.

[20]Wright, p. 610.

boisterous.[21] The sensationalism of such performances as Tamburlaine would prove too much for the people. Unable to control their emotions, they would begin to fight among themselves and perhaps destroy property.[22] Perhaps apprentices, stirred by the accounts of strange lands and adventure, would run away to sea. In addition, the stews were located near the theatres,[23] a dreadful enticement to weak-willed men after the performances.

Elizabethans worked six days a week, so for the majority, Sunday was the only day that they could attend the theatre, and they did so after morning Church. However, the Puritans felt strongly that the Sabbath should be kept holy—all day. Church service should occupy the morning; Bible study, prayers and good deeds should occupy the rest of the day. To profane the Sabbath with the presentation of plays was intolerable. The ardent Puritan, Philip Stubbes, wrote in 1583:

> . . . some spend the Sabbaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting of baudie Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of mis-rule . . . wherby the Lord God is dishonoured, his Sabbaoth violated, his woord neglected, his sacraments contemned, and his People meruelously corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes.[24]

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[21]Ibid., p. 612

[22]Ibid., p. 613

[23]Ibid., p. 610; F.N.L. Poynter, "Medicine and Public Health," Shakespeare in his Own Age, Shakespeare Survey No. 17, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), p. 164.

[24]Philip Stubbes, The Anatomy of Abuses in England, Shakspere's England, Series VI, Nos. 4, 6, and 12, ed.

Stubbes maintained that:

> . . . the true vse of the Sabbaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the Ceremonie of the day,) consisteth . . . in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacrements (as seales of his grace towards vs), rightly adminstred, in vsing publique and priuate prayer, in thanksgiuing to God for all his benefits, in singing godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes, and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man.[25]

Stubbes believed that plays "were ordeined by the Deuill" because at them "nothing but blasphemie, scurrilitie, and whordome [are] maintained."[26] It was at the playhouse that men learned swearing, blaspheming, lechering, murdering, rebelling, drinking,and other evils.[27]

To watch a play instead of doing God's work was idleness. According to Cartwright's Puritan catechism, idleness was contrary to the Eighth Commandment, "thou shalt not steal," which included "All Idelnes, or vnlawffull callynges, or excercyses ether of the body or mynd, & spendyng vpon them selves all y[t] they gayne."[28] Hall covers

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Frederick J. Furnivall, The New Shakespeare Society (London: N. Trubner & Co., 1877-1879), Part I, 137.

[25]Ibid., p. 140.

[26]Ibid., p. 142.

[27]Ibid., p. 145.

[28]Thomas Cartwright, Cartwrightiana, ed. Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951), p. 165.

most of these complaints in his satire.

Hall opens the satire with an image of unhealthy environment. The allusion to dunghills is understandable, for both theatres and city dunghills were located just outside the city walls.[29] In addition, to the Puritan mind, playhouses and disease (especially plague) were almost synonymous:

> With some Pot-fury rauisht from their wit,
> They sit and muse on some no-vulgar writ:
> As frozen Dung-hils in a winters morne,
> That voyd of vapours seemed all beforne,
> Soone as the Sun, sends out his piercing beames,
> Exhale out filthy smoke and stinking steames.
>
> I.iii. 1-6

In the eighth line Hall mentions the "raging wine," the drunkenness of the playwright whose "base drink-drowned spright" (line 13) has conjured up a shoddy make-believe world where "bloody Tyrants rage" (line 32). The audience therefore witnesses the evils of murder and rage.

Hall then turns his attack upon the clowns who "Are match't with monarchs, & with mighty kings" (line 40) in Senecan tragedies. There are two possible reasons for this complaint: the presence of clowns was a concession to the crowd and would detract from any moral lesson, and that

[29] Poynter, p. 161.

the clowns often improvised scurrilous remarks.[30]

Hall notes the evils immediately attendant upon a performance: the spectator feels guilty, rages (a deadly sin), and curses (breaks the Third Commandment), because he regrets the waste of money that he could have spent upon worthier matters:

> Now when they part and leaue the naked stage,
> Gins the bare hearer in a guiltie rage,
> To curse and ban, and blame his likerous eye,
> That thus hath lauisht his late halfe-peny.
>
> I.iii. 53-56

Hall concludes with a brisk lash at the dramatist who lowers the quality of his work in order to attract low-class audiences. He infers that poor people should not be enticed to such performances because they have better uses for their money and their time, and also that inferior work lowers the instructive value of the play for those who can afford to attend the performance. All the religious sects adopted the view that history contained examples of virtues to be followed and vices to be avoided.[31] Such historical tales should be transferred to the stage to make drama educational as well as pleasant. Hall therefore condemns

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[30]William Armstrong, "Actors and Theatres," Shakespeare in his Own Age, p. 194. Sidney also makes this complaint in his Defense of Poesy, The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: The University Press, 1923), p. 40.

[31]Wright, p. 298.

the "hoch-poch, [and] . . . vile Russettings" (line 39) in the plays.

Hall's next satire deplores the lies and carelessness in tragic poetry. His technique does not change. He uses the four-part structure: presents the text in the first four lines, follows this with an illustration of abuses, as the "farre-fetcht phraise" (line 10), and the "strange enchantments, fetcht from darksom vale" (line 12). The latter Hall would consider pure superstition. Such tales put nonsense into the heads of people and served no moral purpose. Unfortunately, as Wright notes, many persons believed such stories to be true.[32] Stubbes rebelled against such books, claiming that people corrupted themselves by reading them on the Sabbath.[33] Hall presents his viewpoint in lines 15-26. Poets do not have the right to put down everything they please, but must use judgment. He commends Spenser's Faerie Queene which presents moral truths and instructs in the Christian life.

It is in the next satire that Hall first alters his structural technique, although the alteration is minor. He combines the last two parts of his "sermon" so that the message is implicit in the comments. This has led to misinterpretation of his attack. It is true that Hall is

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[32]Ibid., p. 87, for an example of this gullibility.

[33]Furnivall, Part I, 137.

attacking those poets who write monotonous tragedies in which the hero's ghost narrates a sad tale, but his major complaint is the pagan triviality of the theme and the lack of instructive value. The ghost of each tale complains about

> . . . the guiltlesse fates aboue,
> Or fortune fraile, or vnrewarded loue.
> And when he hath parbrak'd his grieued minde,
> He sends him downe where earst he did him finde,
> Without one peny to pay Charons hire,
> That waiteth for the wandring ghosts retire.
>
> I.v. 7-12

Hall therefore believes that unrewarded love is an inadequate subject for tragedy. In addition, the ghost has no faith. His supplications are made to the audience, not to God, or even to his pagan god. He is not one of the elect. He has been improperly buried and is therefore ineligible to cross Acheron. He is merely presented, his problems told, he is banished and another ghost presented in his stead. Such tales without morals waste the reader's time.

Hall's next satire deplores the use of unnatural Latin metres for English poetry. The three-part structure is again used. In condemning such metres Hall uses his common sense and deviates from the opinion of most of his learned contemporaries, including Gabriel Harvey.[34] Hall

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[34]Nashe had attacked Latin metres in Strange Newes, The Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. Robert B. McKerrow (5 vols., corr. ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), I, 298-99; Persius had attacked Greek metres in Latin verse, see Juvenal and Persius, trans. G.G. Ramsay (rev. ed.; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1957), Persius i. 92-95 and footnote.

not only mocks his erring contemporaries, but implies that poets who misuse the English language in this manner do so to demonstrate their learning and ability. They are therefore guilty of the sin of intellectual pride. He endeavours to shame such authors:

> Another [poet] scorns the home-spun threed of rimes,
> Match'd with the loftie feet of elder times:
> Giue him the numbred verse that Virgil sung,
> And Virgil selfe shall speake the English tongue.
>
> I.vi. 1-4

To prove that there is nothing particularly clever in the use of unusual metres, Hall writes several lines in the metre that he is currently discussing. Thus, when he discusses dactyls, he writes dactylic couplets, and when he discusses spondees, he writes in spondaics. Finally he criticizes poor alliterations — by using poor alliterations — and ends with a curt rejection of strange latinate words, or perhaps of words invented to fit the metrical or alliterative scheme.

This satire is the first in which Hall demonstrates his sense of humour, but fortunately it is not the last. The next satire criticizes the sonneteer, and Hall's text opens on a note of amusement:

> Great is the folly of a feeble braine,
> Ore-ruld with loue, and tyrannous disdaine.
>
> I.vii. 1-2

Hall, as most Puritans, disapproved of intemperance in any-thing. "The wickedness of men and the external need for control and restraint are ever-present axioms of Calvinistic politics,"[35] states Walzer. The anguish of the sonneteer and the high-flown Petrarchian conceits seemed excessive to Hall, for he ridiculed them (lines 19-25), as did many of his contemporaries.[36] Hall notes the insignificance of the lovers' plaints:

> Careth the world, thou loue, thou liue, or die?
> Careth the world how fayre thy fayre one bee?
>
> I.vii. 15-16

and he teases the sonneteers -- the verses will only attract other men to the lady (lines 17-18). Then, in mock disgust, Hall concludes with the comment that if the sonneteer does not write sonnets, he will pour his intemperate emotions into a Cupid's calendar poem.

It is possible that Hall's dislike of the sonnet had deeper significance. It was an elaborate Italian verse form and some English Protestants distrusted all things Italian,

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[35]Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 30. See Hall's sermon The Fashions of the World, Wynter, V, 297, where Hall notes that inordinate love shows that "we love the world more than God."

[36]See As You Like It III.ii.; Rosamond Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery ("Phoenix Books"; Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1947), p. 420, note P.

consciously or subconsciously relating them to the Papacy and decadence.[37] The adoration of the ladylove in the sonnets would also seem decadent, compounding this impression. If Hall held this view, his disgust of the sonnet is understandable, and the connection of sonnet and ornate religious poetry in his next satire was inevitable:

> Now good Saint Peter weeps pure Helicon,
> And both the Maries make a Musicke mone:
> Yea and the Prophet of heauenly Lyre,
> Great Salomon, sings in the English Quire,
> And is become a newfound Sonetist.
>
> I.viii. 5-9

It seems probable that Hall had in mind the ornate Roman Catholic poems of Robert Southwell and his followers, and the young Puritan saw decadence in their elaborations. Hall appears profoundly shocked that these poets could sing of "the holy spouse of Christ:/Like as she were some light-skirts of the rest" (lines 10-11). This is surely sacrilege. To add to the decadent demeanour of these poets, they use "mightiest Ink-hornisms" (line 12), surely a sign of intellectual pride. Sacrilege and vainglory in religious poetry could only be a sign of insanity, for both sins led to eternal damnation. Hall therefore concludes the satire by linking the erring poets with Bethlehem lunatic asylum, better known as Bedlam:

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[37] A.L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1961), p. 480. Cf. Hall's couplet "An English Wolfe, and Irish Toad to see,/Were as a chast-man nurs'd in Italy." IV, iii. 78-79, and the unfavorable comparison with lewd Italian verses I, ix. 26-34.

> Ye Sion Muses shall by my deare will,
> For this your zeale, and far-admired skill,
> Be straight transported from Ierusalem,
> Vnto the holy house of Betleem.
>
> I.viii. 15-16

Davenport notes that Hall may be alluding here to the Roman Catholic legend of the Santa Casa of Loreto, originally the home of Christ's mother, which was transported by angels to Loreto in 1294. He notes that Our Lady of Loreto was considered by Roman Catholics to be helpful against madness.[38] If true, this would imply that Hall definitely attacked the Roman Catholic poetry of his time. Hall's own religious poems, some anthems and paraphrases of the psalms, are simple in style and language.

Hall returns to the four-part structure for his last satire of Book I, in which he criticizes obscene poetry:

> Rymed in rules of Stewish ribaldry,
> Teaching experimentall Baudery.
>
> I.ix. 9-10

Such poetry leads the thoughts of men to evil, because the vulgar eagerly read the obscenities depicted (lines 11-12). Indignantly Hall queries the source of inspiration:

> What if some Shordich furie should incite
> Some lust-stung letcher, must he needs indite
> The beastly rites of hyred Venerie,
> The whole worlds vniuersall baud to bee?
>
> I.ix. 21-24

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[38] Hall, ed. Davenport, p. 171.

Hall then compares contemporary writers of English erotic poetry unfavourably with those of the past and with those of decadent Italy (lines 26-34). He ends noting that such erotic tales are the work of the devil:

> Nay let the Diuell, and Saint Valentine,
> Be gossips to those ribald rymes of thine.
>
> I.ix. 35-36

There is probably an allusion here to Nashe's Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Devil and the answering pamphlets which included the word "Devil" in the title. Many of these pamphlets deteriorated into scurrilous language. Nashe's Choice of Valentines was obscene, and no doubt there were similar poems in circulation which Hall had in mind when he wrote this couplet. Hall therefore ends his first book with a blend of wit and honest condemnation.

BOOK II

By the time he had completed his first book of satires, Hall knew that he could control a blend of sermon and wit. His experiment with satire, however, had only just begun. In the second book of satires Hall presents the abuses of people who have the power to do good deeds, yet abuse this power.

The Latin satirists had criticized social evils, but neither Martial, Horace, Juvenal or Persius wrote satires as detailedly developed and integrated as Hall's "Academicall"

satires. Most of these satires have three distinct parts: the opening text or statement of the topic, the well-developed <u>descriptio</u>, and the concluding message or comment. In this book Hall's tone is more urbane, because he addresses highly educated people: the pamphleteers (who were the university wits), lawyers, physicians and clergymen. There is much word-play in the first satire in which Hall addresses the pamphleteer. Hall, mindful of his audience, greeted the wits on their own terms. In this satire he cleverly paraphrases the writings of Nashe, Harvey, Greene and possibly others in order to use their own material against them. Several items mentioned in this satire are reminiscent of Nashe's <u>Have with You to Saffron Walden</u> and of Gabriel Harvey's reply.[39] By using comments that would be recognized by his audience, Hall fostered that delightful sense of esoteric knowledge which appeals to the readers of satire.

The basis for Hall's first criticism was the waste of time, effort and paper in the scandalous pamphlet wars. The Puritans had put the presses to good use themselves. Haller notes that a "prodigous amount of material came from the pens and brains of Puritan preachers."[40] Printed sermons were

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[39]S.M. Salyer, "Hall's Satires and the Harvey-Nashe Controversy," <u>Studies in Philology</u>, XXV (1928), 149-70.

[40]William Haller, <u>The Rise of Puritanism</u> (Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 82.

popular at the time,[41] and it was not unusual for lecturers to sell their sermons to raise funds until they received a benefice.[42] Puritan John Dod, vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch after 1604, had his works printed on broadsides. Haller notes that extracts of Dod's works were so popular that they were stuck on cottage walls.[43] The Martin Marprelate tracts, which noted the abuses committed by the higher clergy of the Church of England, had proved very popular. In fact, the wide use of the press was a major reason that Puritanism reached the literate middle-class, the "merchants, lawyers and small landowners,"[44] and throve. Hall possibly admired the vigour and wit of the pamphlet wars, but he thought that the pamphlets were too voluminous and misdirected. They were frequently slanderous, and slander is a form of stealing because it robs a person of his good reputation.

The pamphlet wars wasted the time of authors and readers, time that could be better used doing God's work. Men will read witty literature — that was the reason that Hall had chosen satire as the medium for his attacks. However, God-given wit should be used to augment the glory of God, not to dispraise God's people. Stubbes wrote on these pamphlets:

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[41] Mitchell, p. 14; Haller, p.5.

[42] Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964), p.99 (poem).

[43] Haller, p. 59.

[44] Knappen, p. 353; Haller, p. 5.

Bookes & pamphlets of scurrilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyest and sagest bookes that be: for if it be a godly treatise, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it ! for no man (almost) though they make a floorish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is lesse) so much as once touch it. This maketh the Bible, the blessed Book of God, to be so little esteemed; That woorthie Booke of Martyrs, made by that famous Father & excellent Instrument in God his Church, Maister Iohn Fox, so little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be reuerenced; whilst other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are suffered to be printed. These prophane schedules, sacraligious libels, and hethnical pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wherof may vendicate to them selues no smal commendations at the hands of the deuil for inuenting the same) corrupt mens mindes, peruert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, suppresse vertue & erect vice . . . . But let the Inuentors, the licensors, the printers, & the sellers of these vaine toyes, and more then Hethnicall impieties, take heed; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt thorow these wicked bookes, shalbe powred vpon their heads at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.[45]

Hall names his pamphleteer Labeo and addresses him:

For shame write better Labeo, or write none,
Or better write, or Labeo write alone.

II.i. 1-2

That is, Labeo write better or not at all, or if you must write, do so for your own personal enjoyment because you are wasting the time of those who read your work. "Better" could mean for a worthwhile cause, without slander, and more concisely.

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[45] Furnivall, Part I, 185-86.

This concentration of meaning is an adaptation from Persius.[46] So is the blend of ideas and the abrupt dialogue which Hall presents in this satire. Yet no other satire of Hall parallels the structure of his sermons quite so closely. There are four parts to this satire, each separated from the others by a line which is a modification of the text quoted above. Hall uses this technique in several of his sermons. The descriptio ends with "Then Labeo, or write little, or write none" (line 26). This is followed by Hall's advice and a further illustration which ends with: "For shame or better write, or Labeo write none" (line 54). The conclusion ends with "For shame write cleanly Labeo, or write none."

Following the examples of Persius, Hall blends two ideas in the following couplet, punning on "can" as "able" and "knowing" ("ken"):

> Write they that can, tho they that cannot doe:
> But who knowes that, but they that doe not know?
>
> II.i. 7-8

That is, those who are able to write knowingly should do so,

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[46]Ramsay, p. xxx, notes: "Persius . . . is undoubtedly difficult; his mode of expressing himself is often peculiar and fantastic. There is a certain preciosity in his choice of phrases; he is sometimes crabbed and tortuous, and in his desire for compression he occasionally . . . seeks to obtain extra force by blending two ideas into one without giving full expression to either. He is often elliptical; his dialogue is abrupt and hard to follow." Attius Labeo is the poor poet attacked in Persius i.

though ignorant people do so; but who knows this fact but the people who are not able to write well themselves (i.e. the unfortunate readers). Hall illustrates his text by mockingly showing that the wasteful use of materials by the pamphleteers has caused a paper shortage and therefore an increase in price (lines 9-10). The shortage of quills caused by the pamphleteers has resulted in great distress among the tailors who used them for removing basting stitches (lines 11-12). This is followed with a little dialogue between Hall and the pamphleteer in the manner of Persius.[47] It is the failure to recognize this section as dialogue that has caused Hall's editors to find this passage unnecessarily difficult:

> . . . [Hall] Ther's so much labour lost.
> [Labeo] That's good, that's great: [Hall] Nay much is seldome well,
> Of what is bad, a littl's a great deale.
> [Labeo] Better is more: [Hall] but best is nought at all.
> Lesse is the next, and lesser criminall.
> Little and good, is greatest good saue one,
> Then Labeo, or write little, or write none.
>
> II.i. 20-26

That is, Hall remarks upon the wasted labour, but Labeo replies that the more labour results in more work and more

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[47]Note the abrupt dialogue between Persius and his friend. Ibid., pp. 316-19. The dialogue, or disputation, was a recognized rhetorical device. See Thomas Wilson, The Arte of Rhetorique 1553, ed. Robert Hood Bowers (Gamesville, Fla.: Scholars Facsimiles & Reprints, 1962), pp. 232-33. However, this abrupt dialogue in satire seems to have been suggested by Persius.

money. Hall notes that excess is seldom good and that a little of something bad is too much. Labeo repeats that the more pamphlets written, the more money he receives. Hall replies that none at all is best, little would be an improvement upon the present situation, and a little good light pamphleteering is second only to none at all. Hall therefore advises Labeo to write a little good work or none.

Hall suggests an alternative for the pamphleteer who cannot control his urge to write. The presentation of an alternative is unusual in classical satire, but it is typical of ecclesiastical psychology. "Ydlenes," as Stubbes wrote, "is the Mother of vice,"[48] so Hall recommends an alternative creative outlet:

> Read in each schoole, in euery margent coted [quoted],
> In euery Catalogue for an autour noted.
> Ther's happinesse well giuen, and well got.
>
> II.i. 31-33

Study is that mixture of pleasure with work which perfects the mind, the "honorable and divine part"[49] of man. The remainder of this satire illustrates the type of trivia which a writer should avoid. It ends with a direct address to Labeo:

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[48]Furnivall, Part I, 144.

[49]Hall, in a letter to Mr. Matthew Millward, Wynter, VI, 224.

> Both good things ill, and ill things well: all one?
> For shame write cleanly *Labeo*, or write none.
>
> II.i. 63-64

The compression of the couplet is adapted from the style of Persius, but the meaning appears to be that in Hall's *The First Century of Meditations and Vows* (1606): "The best things, ill used, become evils; and contrarily, the worst things, used well, prove good."[50] Hall's comment "for shame . . . *Labeo*" is a request for Labeo to take the first step towards regeneration. Labeo must become ashamed of his work. In this satire Hall has acknowledged the wit of the pamphleteers but condemned the waste of it.

Satire II.ii is a condemnation of the sensual life of the wealthy man contrasted with the life of the scholar. This satire is structured as an interchange of words between the squire and the scholar. The speech of the squire reveals his worldly attitude, his character. The scholar's answer (lines 55-66) is the moral conclusion.

The text is opened in the first fourteen lines in which Hall notes that long ago the wealthy respected learning and provided stately buildings for scholars, but now scholars are jeered. His advice to the scholar is to scorn the ignorant world:

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[50] Wynter, VII, 515, see Meditation 86.

> . . . scorne contempt it selfe, that doth incite
> Each single-sold squire to set you at so light.
>
> II.ii. 17-18

There is a pun here upon a cheaply-shoed squire and an uncouth one,[51] but in view of the moral at the end of the satire, there is probably also an allusion to the soul that the squire ignores.

Using a dramatic style in the manner of Persius and Juvenal, Hall intends lines 19-56 to be the words of the squire. The young "lordling" derides learning on the basis that there is no worthwhile gain after all the effort and expense. He has no interest in philosophy and chides the scholar:

> Long would it be, ere thou had'st purchase [advantage] bought
> Or wealthier wexen by such idle thought.
>
> II.ii. 55-56

These lines are intentionally ironic, for philosophy was considered the handmaiden of theology, and the advantage of learning is the augmentation of man's divine part.[52] The scholar answers that the man who values the things of this earth shall be rewarded with six feet of soil:

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[51]For another example of "single-soled" as "uncultivated" see Romeo and Juliet II.iv. 69.

[52]See Hall's letter to Mr. Matthew Millward, Wynter. VI, 224.

> Fond foole, six feete shall serue for all thy store:
> And he that cares for most, shall finde no more.
>
> II.ii. 57-58

Scholars value the "heauenly Muse" (line 60), not wealth or sensuality. The man who does not use that part of him which distinguishes humans from animals deserves the fate of an animal. Hall then alludes to Apuleius's Golden Ass and the Circe episode in the Odyssey:

> A laue-ear'd Asse with gold may trapped bee:
> Or if in pleasure: liue we as we may:
> Let swinish Grill delight in dunghill clay.
>
> II.ii. 64-65

The brutish man who chose to remain a hog under Circe's enchantment had been called Grylle by Spenser (Faerie Queene II. xii. 86-87). However, Gryllus is also mentioned by Calvin as the name for men without religion. Such men are brutes because it is the worship of God that makes men superior to other creatures. It is through religion that men gain immortality.[53] Grill, the worldling, gains only six feet of this world.

Hall takes Horace as a model for his next satire. He opens with a sharp question, "Who doubts?", uses a suave

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[53] John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans. H. Beveridge (2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957), I, 45.

tone and inserts analogies.[54] However, analogies are common devices in sermons. They serve to make a point vivid. Hall found that a blend of Horatian satire and sermon resulted in a graceful satire. This satire has three parts: the text, the illustrations, and the message. It opens with a pleasing allusion to the origin of the Ten Commandments blended with mention of the classical goddess of law and justice:

> Who doubts? the lawes fel down from heauens height
> Like to some gliding starre in winters night.
> _Themis_ the Scribe of God did long agone,
> Engraue them deepe in during Marble-stone,
> And cast them downe on this vnruly clay,
> That men might know to rule and to obey.
>
> II.iii. 1-6

Unfortunately, the age has deteriorated:

> But now their Characters depraued bin,
> By them that would make gaine of others sin.
>
> II.iii. 7-8

Lawyers now prey upon offended people who have been forced to resort to the law courts. The illustration of the text is presented as an analogy. Lawyers are like blowflies:

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[54]Horace, _Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica_, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961). All three characteristics are present in satire I.i. However, Hall addresses many people, not one person as Horace does.

So loathly flye that liues on galled wound,
And scabby festers inwardly vnsound,
Feedes fatter with that poysnous carrion,
Then they that haunt the heelthy lims alone.

II.iii. 11-14

Hall then turns to address his "congregation":

Wo to the weale where manie Lawiers bee,
For there is sure much store of maladie.

II.iii. 15-16

Thomas Wilson, the author of The Arte of Rhetorique, was a lawyer and can therefore be considered an authority on sixteenth century legal practices. He wrote:

Wherefore is the lawe profitable? Undoubtedly because no manne could hold his owne, if there were not an order to staie vs, and a Lawe to restrain vs. And I praie you who getteth the money? The lawyers no doubt. And were not lande sometymes cheaper bought, then got by the triall of a lawe? Do not men commonly for trifles fall out? Some for loppyng of a tree, spendes al that euer thei haue, another for a Go[o]se, that graseth vpon his ground, tries the lawe so hard, that he proues himself a Gander. Now when men bee so mad, is it not easie to gette money emong theim. Undoubtedly the lawyer neuer dieth a begger . . . he gaineth alwaies, aswell by encrease of lernyng as by storyng his purse with money, wheras the other get a warme sonne often tymes, and a flappe with a fore taile for al that euer thei haue spent . . . . There is not a word in the law, but it is a grote in ye lawiers purse.[55]

Stubbes complained bitterly of the wealth which the lawyers obtained by supporting the rich man's case rather than

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[55]Bowers, pp. 52-53.

the poor man's cause.[56] Such complaints were also delivered from the pulpit. Latimer had preached a sermon on the subject to Edward VI fifty years earlier.[57] Much of the expenditure for legal proceedings was paid to lawyers who discussed and decided which of the three courts should try the case. It was also paid for the accumulation of data about the persons involved in the case, data which did not necessarily have to be related to the offense concerned.[58] This data was necessary because a person's reputation was as important as the factors of the case. Poor people could not afford these discussions and searches and went bankrupt while trying to claim what was legally their own. Hall therefore gives new significance to the dream of Pharaoh which presaged famine (Gen. 41:1-20). He shows the lawyers as cannibalistic:

> T'was truely said, and truely was forseene,
> The fat kine are deuoured of the leane.
>
> II.iii. 17-18

Hall then notes bitterly that scholars go barefoot while lawyers (represented by Bartoll, professor of Civil Law at the University of Perugia[59]) ride on richly trapped

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[56]Furnivall, Part I, 117.

[57]Hugh Latimer, Seven Sermons before Edward VI, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1895), p. 38.

[58]Arthur Underhill, "Law," Shakespeare's England, ed. Sir Sidney Lee and C. Onions (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), I, 381-412; E.W. Ives, "The Law and the Lawyers," Shakespeare in his Own Age, pp. 73-86.

[59]Hall, ed. Davenport, p. 179.

horses scattering largesse (lines 19-22). He attacks the "Barbarismes" of the lawyers, that is, the corrupted mixture of Latin, French and English which they used in their practices:

> Since pedling Barbarismes gan be in request,
> Nor classicke tongues, nor learning found no rest.
>
> II.iii. 25-26

Hall then applies his text to life. He presents a realistic picture of the poor man who must both pay and thank the lawyer although he loses his suit—because his rival will pay the lawyer more:

> The crowching Client, with low-bended knee,
> And many Worships, and faire flatterie,
> Tels on his tale as smoothly as him list,
> But still the Lawiers eye squints on his fist:
> If that seeme lined with a larger fee,
> Doubt not the suite, the lawe is plaine for thee.
> Tho must he buy his vainer hope with price,
> Disclout his crownes, and thanke for his aduise.
>
> II.iii. 27-34

This warning was warranted. It is not "Horatian exaggeration." It was not unusual for Elizabethan lawyers to take fees from both parties involved in a legal suit.[60] Hall ends the satire-sermon with his message, presented as a parable:

> So haue I seene in a tempestuous stowre,
> Some breer-bush shewing shelter from the showre
> Vnto the hopefull sheepe, that faine would hide

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[60] Knappen, p. 409.

His fleecie coate from that same angry tide.
The ruth-lesse breere regardlesse of his plight,
Layes hold vpon the fleece he should acquite,
And takes aduantage of the carelesse pray,
That thought she in securer shelter lay.
The day is fayre, the sheepe would fare to feed:
The tyrant Brier holds fast his shelters meed,
And claymes it for the fee of his defence:
So robs the sheepe, in fauours faire pretence.

II.iii. 35-46

By equating the lawyers with the briars, Hall shows them to be outside the Christian flock. The lawyers are the thorns that have grown up in the city (Isa. 32:13) and which are destined to be burned in the fire (Isa. 33:12).

Hall was still experimenting with Horatian urbanity when he wrote his satire on mercenary physicians. It is a masterpiece of irony. He opens his text with:

Worthy were Galen to be weigh'd in Gold,
Whose helpe doth sweetest life & health vphold.

II.iv. 1-2

This figurative compliment is then taken literally and Hall notes that, despite this value, the physician works hard for little remuneration (lines 3-8). He then notes that even the horse-doctor looks for higher fees than the physician receives (line 16). Hall adopts the personal tone of Horace and confidentially sympathizes with the physician. The argument has that "brain-softening plausibility about it"[61]

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[61]Northrop Frye, The Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 224. Swift was also a reforming clergyman, of course.

which Frye notes in Swift's Modest Proposal: the work is unpleasant, the blame everpresent:

> Should I on each sicke pillow leane my brest,
> And grope the pulse of euerie mangie wrest:
> And spie out maruels in each Vrinall:
> And tumble vp the filths that from them fall,
> And giue a Dose for euery disease,
> In prescripts long, and tedious Recipes:
> All for so leane reward of Art and mee?
> No Hors-leach but will looke for larger fee.
> Meane while if chance some desp'rate patient die,
> Cum'n to the Period of his destinie:
> (As who can crosse the fatall resolution,
> In the decreed day of dissolution:)
> Whether ill tendment, or recurelesse paine,
> Procure his death; the neighbors straight complaine
> Th'vnskilfull leech murdred his patient,
> By poyson of some foule Ingredient.
> Here-on the vulgar may as soone be brought
> To Socrates-his poysoned Hemlock-drought,
> As to a wholsome Iulep, whose receat
> Might his diseases lingring force defeat.
> If nor a dramme of Triacle soueraigne,
> Or Aqua vitæ, or Sugar Candian,
> Nor Kitchin-cordials can it remedie,
> Certes his time is come, needs mought he die.
> Were I a leech, as who knowes what may bee,
> The liberall man should liue, and carle should die.
> The sickly Ladie, and the goutie Peere
> Still would I haunt, that loue their life so deere.
> Where life is deare who cares for coyned drosse?
> That spent, is counted gaine, and spared, losse.

II.iv. 9-38

The greed of sixteenth century physicians, who treated the rich and neglected the poor, was an accepted fact.[62] A few decades before Hall wrote the Virgidemiarum, Parliament had passed two acts (34 & 35 Henry VIII. cap. 8) to enable

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[62] Wright, p. 586.

non-licensed persons to practice medicine if they had a knowledge of folk-medicine. This was to ensure that the poor might receive some sort of medical care.[63] The irony of this satire lies in the direct contradiction of the Code of Ethics of Hippocrates: "Whatsoever house I enter, there shall I go for the benefit of the sick . . ."[64] Ideally, the physician's interest should be in the promotion of health — not money. To the Puritan, ethics should be applied every minute of the day.[65] The unethical suggestion that Hall makes is therefore quite shocking. Christ healed both rich and poor; His example should be followed.

To ensure that his mockery would not be missed, Hall presents an ironic alternative. The physician could use his knowledge to find the Elixir of Life, worth many times its weight in gold:

> Or would coniure the *Chymick Mercurie*,
> Rise from his hors-dung bed, and vpwards flie:
> And with glas-stils, and sticks of *Iuniper*,
> Raise the *Black-spright* that burns not with the fire:
> And bring *Quintessence* of *Elixir* pale,
> Out of sublimed spirits minerall.
> Each poudred graine ransometh captiue Kings,
> Purchaseth Realmes, and life prolonged brings.

II.iv. 39-46

The mental leap from medicine to alchemy was not really far in Hall's century when physicians isolated and

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[63] *Ibid*, footnote 81.

[64] Hippocrates was studied, see Poynter p. 152; Marie Boas Hall, "Scientific Thought," *Shakespeare in his Own Age*, p. 148, notes the study of medical ethics.

[65] Knappen, p. 342.

compounded their own drugs. Two types of drugs were known, those of plant origin (Galenicals) and the "chymickals" advocated by Paracelsus. The preparation of the "chymickals," which consisted of the isolation of metals and their salts, was done with crude apparatus following carefully guarded secrets. Textbooks describing the methods of preparation did not appear until about 1610.[66] The best known of the "chymickals" were the salts of mercury,[67] the standard cure for the pox (syphilis). The apparatus used by the alchemist in his attempt to change lead to gold[68] probably resembled that used by the physician to sublime the salts of mercury from cinnabar into an "elixir of life" worth a fortune. Mercurous salts give a black precipitate with alkali hydroxides— a non-burning "black spright." However, alchemy suggested damnation[69] because the search for gold demonstrated an abnormal love for the precious metal. This was the worship of Mammon, and it contravened the Second Commandment. The non-burning "black spright" therefore takes on connotations of Hell. Thus, without blatant condemnations, Hall has castigated the educated sinner who has abused his God-given skill.

Hall uses a similar technique for his satire on

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[66]Marie Boas Hall, p. 149.

[67]Poynter, p. 164. It was used for this purpose until the beginning of this century.

[68]Wright, p. 593.

[69]*Ibid.*, p. 594.

ecclesiastical abuses, except he relaxes his control in the last couplet and hurls his condemnation at the transgressors. His major attack is on the practice of simony, but he alludes to other Puritan grievances as well. He opens his text with a question:

> Saw'st thou euer _Siquis_ patch'd on _Pauls_ Church dore,
> To seeke some vacant Vicarage before?
>
> II.v. 1-2

Hall then gives an illustration of a _Siquis_, a notice of a post vacancy, which requests an ideal clergyman of the Anglican Church:

> Who wants a Churchman, that can seruice sey,
> Read fast, and faire, his monthly Homiley?
> And wed, and bury, and make Christen-soules?
> Come to the leftside Alley of Saint _Poules_.
>
> II.v. 3-6

The Puritans believed that the pastor of a congregation should be able to preach. Literacy alone was insufficient for this post. Stubbes wrote:

> That whoso can but read onelie, and neither is able to interpret, preach, expound, nor explane the scriptures, nor yet to refell and conuince the aduersarie, nor to deliuer the true sense and meaning of the scriptures, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof.[70]

The Queen, realizing the power of the sermon to stir

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[70]Furnivall, Part II, 72.

congregations — particularly reforming congregations — had approved the Book of Homilies for general use. This was a book of twelve sermons authorized by the Queen because they contained no politically seditious material. One homily was read to the congregation each month, and at the end of the twelve-month period the series recommenced. The Puritans considered the homilies as inadequate for the spiritual needs of the congregation and demanded more educated preachers. Their demands can be illustrated by Marprelate's report of Penry's request for preachers for Wales:

> Iohn London [Bishop Aylmer] demaunded whether preaching was the onely meanes to saluation? Penrie answered that it was the onely ordinarie meanes although the Lorde was not so tyed vnto it but that hee could extraordinarily vse other meanes.[71]

The "other meanes" included the Marprelate tracts.

Despite the need for preachers, many trained ecclesiastical graduates of Cambridge sought posts. Craig R. Thompson notes that in 1597 — the year in which this satire was published — Cambridge claimed that there were 122 preachers in the college, "almost all unprovided for."[72] In the same year, the Diocese of Norwich alone contained eighty-

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[71]Martin Marprelate [pseud.], The Epistle, ed. Edward Arber (Archibald Constable & Co., 1895), p. 28.

[72]Craig R. Thompson, "Universities in Tudor England," Life and Letters in Tudor and Stuart England, ed. Louis B. Wright (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 364.

eight parishes where no monthly sermon was delivered.[73] The major cause was pluralism, and the multiple benefices were easily obtained by the practice of simony.[74]

In 1566 the left-wing parties of the Church had urged ecclesiastical reforms in matters of "simony, benefit of clergy, non-residence, leases of benefices, and pensions from them,"[75] notes Knappen. In 1581 the Puritans pressed anti-simony proceedings in the Commons, hoping to eradicate the evil by means of laws which stated that none should be ordained by a bishop alone but that a "dean and chapter or six learned preachers of the diocese must concur in the act."[76] But the practice of simony was still common. The Puritan bitterness towards simony is displayed by Martin Marprelate who wrote:

> I should report abroad that cleargie men come vnto their promotions by Simonie? haue not you giuen me iuste cause? I thinke Simonie be the bishops lacky. Tarleton tooke him not long since in Don Iohn [the Bishop] of Londons cellor.[77]

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[73]Rowse, p. 423.

[74]William Pierce, An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1909), pp. 99-111, explains the abuses of pluralism and non-residency.

[75]Knappen, p. 226.

[76]Ibid., p. 263.

[77]The Epistle, ed. Arber, p. 19.

Ironically, however, Hall not only confidentially recommends simony but makes it seem reasonable:

> Thou seruile Foole: why could'st thou not repaire
> To buy a Benefice at Steeple-Faire?
> There moughtest thou for but a slender price,
> Aduouson thee with some fat benefice:
> Or if thee list not wait for dead mens shoo'n,
> Nor pray ech-morn th'Incumbents daies were doone:
> A thousand Patrons thither ready bring,
> Their new-falne Churches to the Chaffering,
> Stake three yeares <u>Stipend</u>: no man asketh more:
> Go take possession of the Church-porch-doore:
> And ring the bels: lucke stroken in thy fist:
> The Parsonage is thine, or ere thou wist.
>
> II.v. 7-18

The practice of ringing the bell as the first act in a new benefice was frowned upon by Puritans. At this point in the satire Hall relaxes his verbal irony and lashes at the abuse, shattering his urbane suggestions with his invective:

> Saint <u>Fooles of Gotam</u> mought thy parish bee,
> For this thy base and seruile <u>Symonie</u>.
>
> II.v. 19-20

The sudden change in tone emphasizes the attack. The people of Gotham were proverbially foolish.

The four-line <u>Siquis</u> of II.v possibly suggested a new form to Hall, because the next satire is a mock <u>Siquis</u> for a personal chaplain. Such chaplains were employed by the wealthier families. The inspiration probably came from Martial, the Latin epigrammatist. "An epigram," writes Ker, ". . . was originally merely an inscription, such as is

put on a statue or a monument, a temple, or a triumphal arch. But in process of time it came to mean a short poem dealing with some person, thing, or incident which the writer thinks worthy of observation and record, and by which he seeks to attract attention in the same way as a passer-by would be attracted by an inscription on a physical object."[78] An epigram should be written in compressed, concise language, be highly finished, and be simple. It would be, in fact, much like the Siquis that Hall writes. That Hall should choose the epigrammatic form for satire is not unusual. In Hall's time an epigram "was considered simply a short satire, retaining some of the conciseness of an inscription and some of the ingenuity of a planned witticism."[79] Hall uses a form of irony similar to that of Martial. The "good conditions" advertized in line 4 all degrade the dignity of the chaplain: the chaplain must sleep ignobly on a temporary bed beneath the boy he must instruct, he must sit at the lower end of the table, he must never ask for a second helping of food, he must wait at the table, and he must always ask permission of the mother before chastising the child. All these indignities are followed by the final breaking blow:

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[78] Walter C.A. Ker, trans. Martial: Epigrams (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), I, vii.

[79] Campbell, p. 38.

All those obseru'd, he could contented bee,
To giue fiue markes, and winter liuery.

II.vi. 15-16

This was the salary of a common serving man at that time. Unfortunately for Hall, his satire did not appreciably raise the salary of regular chaplains. In 1601 he became chaplain to Sir Robert Drury. Sir Robert apparently suffered monetary problems at this time because Hall, now located in the rectory at Halsted, wrote that he was reduced to writing books in order to buy books.[80] He was finally obliged to leave the patronage of Sir Robert in order to provide adequately for his family.

The last satire of Book II, on astrology, is probably the most popular satire that Hall wrote. This satire appears to be an exercise in controlled writing, because Hall begins in a dignified manner and gradually changes his tone to burlesque. He commences with a grandiose:

In th'heauens vniuersall Alphabet,
All earthly things so surely are foreset,
That who can read those figures, may foreshew
What euer thing shall afterwards ensue.

II.vii. 1-4

The tone melts into amusement (lines 5-9), to scorn (lines 11-14), to ridicule (lines 15-26), and so to a burlesque of

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[80] Wynter, I, xxxiv.

an almanack in which Hall puns upon the names of the constellations and the Cambridge inns: the Ram, the Black Bull and the Blue Lion. He then commences an allegorical tale of carnal love.

This is Hall's most hilarious satire. It seems that he thought that ridicule was the only remedy for the wide-spread belief in astrology.[81] Stubbes attacked astrology by stating that it was ridiculous. He also noted that it was an attempt to look into the secrets of God.[82] Calvin denounced astrology as superstition, and called astrologers the false prophets of Matt. 22:24 and the deluded people of II. Thess. 2:9-10.[83] Pious Elizabethans suspected that astrologers were in league with the devil.[84] This belief may have prompted Hall's question:

> . . . Can his tell-troth Ephemerides
> Teach him the weathers state so long beforne:
> And not foretell him, nor his fatall horne,
> Nor his deaths-day, nor no such sad euent,
> Which he mought wisely labour to preuent?
>
> II.vii. 6-10

Lodge had just published Wits Miserie in which he had written, "This Diuel prefers an EPHIMERIDES before a Bible; and his

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81Wright, Middle Class Culture, pp. 168-69; Marie Boas Hall, p. 144.

82Furnivall, Part II, 60-66.

83Beveridge, I,9. Calvin did not use the English Bible. His citations correspond to our Matt. 24:24 and II Thess. 2:9-12.

84Wright, Middle Class Culture, p. 594.

PTOLOMEY and HALI before AMBROSE, golden CHRISOSTOME, or S. AUGUSTINE."[85] Thus, almanack readers looked for guidance in the stars, not in the Bible or in the works of the Church Fathers. To be able to distract the minds of people from the Bible, astrologers must truly be in league with the devil. Hall calls astrology a "damned mock-art" (line 11) devised by an old Chaldean woman (lines 15-16) and nourished by superstition. "Chaldean" would have evil connotations to Hall's readers, for the Chaldeans have evil reputations in the Bible.[86] The Puritans were bitter enemies of superstitions, whether inside or outside the Church.[87] Hall then notes two superstitions of his day, the practice of nail paring and gelding during periods considered favourable according to the position of the stars.

At this point Hall begins his burlesque of an ephemerides. He notes the various organs of the human

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[85]Thomas Lodge, The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, ed. E.K. Gosse (New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1963), IV, Wits Miserie, p. 17 (11). Each work in the volume has its own pagination.

[86]The hated armies in the Book of Jeremiah are Chaldean. It was Balthazar of the Chaldeans who saw the handwriting on the wall, Daniel 5:5.

[87]Knappen, p. 398; Wynter, VI, 109-110, where Hall notes the Character of the Vice of Superstition as "godless religion, devout impiety."; Hall also attacks superstition in his contemplation on the golden calf of Exodus 27 (Wynter, I, 123), and his contemplation on Ahab (Wynter, II, 66).

body which each of the twelve signs were claimed to control, and at the same time he puns upon the names of the Cambridge inns:

> In th'heauens _High-streete_ are but a dozen roomes,
> In which dwels all the world, past and to come:
> Twelue goodly _Innes_ they are, with twelue fayre signes,
> Euer well tended by our _Star-diuines_.
> Euery mans head Innes at the horned _Ramme_,
> The whiles the necke the _Black-buls_ guest became:
> Th'arms by good hap, meet at the wrastling twinns,
> Th'heart in the way at the _Blew-lion_ innes.
> The legs their lodging in _Aquarius_ got,
> That is _Bridge street_ of the heauen, I wot.
> The feete tooke vp the _Fish_ with teeth of gold:
> But who with _Scorpio_ log'd, may not be told.
> What office then doth the _Star-gazer_ beare?
> Or let him be the heauens _Ostelere_:
> Or _Tapsters_ some: or some be _Chamberlaines_.
>
> II.vii. 27-41

In order to make the horoscopes sound even more ridiculous, Hall then commences the allegorical tale of Demon. Demon is a follower of almanacks — and also of the Devil, if one judges by his name. In the allegory, Sagittarius becomes Cupid, Virgo the young woman, Gemini either the wedding month of June or a child,[88] and so forth. Demon falls in love, marries, becomes cuckolded, is abused, resorts to the law courts and ends with "the crab," venereal disease:

> _Demon_ my friend once liuer-sicke of loue,
> Thus learn'd I by the signes his griefe remoue.
> In the blinde _Archer_ first I saw the signe,
> When thou receiu'dst that wilfull wound of thine:
> And now in _Virgo_ is that cruel mayde,
> Which hath not yet with loue thy loue repaide.

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[88] Furnivall, Part II, 65.

But marke when once it comes to Gemini,
Straightway Fish-whole shall thy sicke liuer be.
But now (as th'angry Heauens seeme to threat)
Many hard fortunes, and disastres great:
If chance it come to wanton Capricorne,
And so into the Rams disgracefull horne,
Then learne thou of the vgly Scorpion,
To hate her for her foule abusion:
Thy refuge then the Ballance be of Right,
Which shall thee from thy broken bond acquite:
So with the Crab go backe whence thou began,
From thy first match: and liue a single man.

II.vii. 47-64

Hall's cynical attitude towards women was possibly prompted by that of the Latin satirists or the well-known misogynism of Dr. Chaderton, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.[89] However, the satire does illustrate the Puritan attitude towards divorce. The Puritans urged divorce on the grounds of adultery and desertion,[90] in fact, it was thought better to divorce an adulterous person than to forgive her. Hall wrote later in his life, "If you can so love your wife that you detest not her sin [of adultery], you are a better husband than a Christian."[91]

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[89]Samuel Hopkins, The Puritans, or the Church, Court and Parliament of England during the Reign of Edward VI and Elizabeth, (3 vols.; Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1861), I, 253. Chaderton took a personal interest in Hall, see Wynter, I, xxvi. In 1595 Hall had written a commendatory poem, "Hermae," upon the death of Chaderton's brother-in-law, William Whitaker, the well-known Calvinist.

[90]Walzer, pp. 195-96.

[91]Wynter, VI, 208.

BOOK III

It can be seen from the above discussion that in Book I Hall attacked erring poets because their works reached many people and they therefore possessed the means to lead many astray — or many to God. Book II stresses the abuses of persons that have been given power but misuse it, often to mislead others. The sinners include the popular pamphleteer, the moneyed squire, the lawyer, the physician, the clergyman who seeks multiple benefices, the unthoughtful employer, and the astrologer. In Book I Hall had experimented with the structure of the sermon and had incorporated it into his satires. In Book II he experimented with the literary devices used by the Latin satirists. In Book III Hall develops his descriptiones, in fact, his satiric portrait of Ruffio, III. vii, is really his first Character of a Vice.[92] In Book III Hall continues to experiment with the literary devices used by the classical satirists, but his attack is upon the first deadly sin — pride. This is a Christian sin. "The proud man both in a cursed emulation makes himself his own deity, and steals glory from God to set out himself."[93]

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[92]Mitchell notes that the moral descriptiones of the sermons evolved into the Characters, and states that Hall was the first to "naturalize" this classical sketch in England, p. 225. Hall published his Characters of Virtues and Vices in 1608.

[93]Wynter, The Fall of Pride, V, 319.

In his sermon, The Fall of Pride, Hall first presents the text: "A man's pride shall bring him low; but honour shall uphold the humble in spirit"(Proverb 29:23), and then he explains it. Next he states that there are five common forms of pride, those of "honour, riches, beauty, strength, knowledge."[94] Each of these forms of pride is then identified and illustrated. Hall uses a similar structure for his sermon, The Fashions of the World. He also uses a similar structure for his book of satires on pride: first there is a satire which notes the topic of the book, and then each form of pride is discussed individually, each in its own satire.

The book begins with a short prologue in which Hall once again notes that his verses are plain: "packe-staffe plaine . . ./Contrarie to the Roman ancients" (lines 4-5). He then opens the text with a satire on the deterioration of the age, which is due to pride. He compares the past with the present. The comparison of the Golden Age with the contemporary one was a favorite device of Juvenal, who looked fondly back to the austere life of early Rome.[95] However, the Elizabethan appreciation of Stoicism paralleled Juvenal's sentiments.

Walzer notes that in Puritan hands this "traditional society took on an unlikely Spartan hue."[96] This is the

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[94] Ibid., p. 316.

[95] Ramsay, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

[96] Walzer, p. 205.

view that Hall adopts to depict the days before the arrival of pride:

> Time was, and that was term'd the time of Gold,
> When world & time were yong, that now are old.
> (When quiet Saturne swaid the mace of lead,
> And Pride was yet vnborne, and yet vnbred.)
>
> III.i. 1-4

Hall then gives a delightful illustration of the happy days when men ate acorns, scaled trees for crabapples, searched for berries, haws and sloes, and licked the honeyed oakleaves when they desired sweetmeats (lines 6-17). Even the kings ate from crude platters and slept under the trees (line 29). In those days men ran unclad and unashamed (lines 32-33) over a countryside that was partly Eden, and partly classical (i.e. Virgil's Georgics). However, as soon as man began to farm the land, the search for "needlesse mettals" (line 39) commenced. Man had fallen:

> Then crept in Pride, and peeuish Couetise:
> And men grew greedy, discordous and nice.
> Now man, that earst Haile-fellow was with beast,
> Woxe on to weene himselfe a God at least.
>
> III.i. 42-45

The aspiration to godhood was Adam's sin, and cost him Eden. Hall sadly addresses his "congregation":

> O Nature: was the world ordain'd for nought,
> But fill mans maw, and feede mans idle thought.
>
> III.i. 56-57

Hall then contrasts the dress worn in Eden and that of his contemporaries (lines 62-71)[97] and ends with a sad farewell to the past.

Satire III.ii notes the fashion of ostentatious tombs. Such tombs are a waste of money which could be used for better purposes, such as charity. Ornate tombs are a sign that men try to augment their worth after death. The best memorial is good deeds, states Hall:

> Thy monument make thou thy liuing deeds,
> No other tombe then that, true vertue needs.
>
> III.ii. 13-14

Hall wrote a meditation on this subject in which he notes that memorials decay but a good name and commendable actions save the soul for eternity.[98] Good works were evidence of God's mercy and confirmed faith.[99] Tombs and their exaggerated epitaphs meant little to Him, except to show family pride. These tombs registered only the wealth of the family of the deceased and the ability of the tombmaker. Hall notes that if the dead man had not led a virtuous life it

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[97]Hall contrasted the dress of Eden in a sermon, The Character of Man, Wynter, V, 453; the Puritan Thomas Drant used the contrast on January 8, 1569/70 in his sermon on the vanity of dress, A. Kernan, The Cankered Muse (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 124; Stubbes used the contrast in The Anatomy of Abuses, ed. Furnivall, Part I, 36.

[98]Wynter, VII, 518, Meditation 95. The thought was popular, see Shakespeare's sonnet LV.

[99]Knappen, p. 394.

would be better to have him buried secretly so that he may be rapidly forgotten:

> Deseru'dst thou ill? well were thy name and thee
> Wert thou inditched in great secrecie,
> Where as no passenger might curse thy dust, . . .

III.ii. 19-21

The conclusion, Hall's lesson, is a sharp couplet punning on "engraved" and "grave":

> Thine ill desarts cannot be grau'd with thee,
> So long as on thy graue they engraued bee.

III.ii. 23-24

Hall illustrates another type of pride in his next satire. Here he notes the pride in offering a grand meal to someone in order to impress him. The theme was possibly suggested by Nashe's comments on the pride of the Italian in _Pierce Penilesse_.[100] This sinner extends invitations to feasts in order to augment his own impression, but these invitations are hollow:

> The courteous Citizen bad me to his feast,
> With hollow words, and ouerly request:
> Come, will ye dine with me this Holy day?
> I yeelded, tho he hop'd I would say _Nay_.

III.iii. 1-4

Hall then presents a little vignette in the manner of Horace. There is some very polite conversation during which Hall accepts the invitation for a later date. Rather than lose

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[100] McKerrow, I, 176.

prestige, the host presents a lavish feast of all meats and dainties. Hall describes the meal as "Cleopatricall" (line 27), thereby connecting the display of food with the woman that Elizabethans believed to have been most wanton, decadent and wasteful. But extravagance is a form of pride.[101] Stubbes writes on the subject of proud feasts:

> True hospitality consisteth not in many dishes, nor in sundry sorts of meats . . . but rather in giuing liberally to the poor and indigent members of Iesus Christe, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing, & such other necessaries wherof they stand in need.
>
> But such is their hospitality, that the poor haue the least part of it: you shal haue 20, 40, 60, yea a C li. spent in some one house in banqueting & festing, yet the poor shall haue litle or nothing . . .[102]

Stubbes identifies this sin of pride with that of gluttony— another deadly sin.[103] In addition, he believes that such voluptuous meals are unhealthy because they upset digestion.[104]

Cartwright, in his Short Catechism, places feasting under the Seventh Commandment, believing that it was conducive to adultery:

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[101]Wright, Middle Class Culture, p. 478.

[102]Furnivall, Part I, 104-105.

[103]Ibid., p. 104.

[104]Ibid., p. 106.

Q. What ells is forbydden here [by the Seventh Commandment]?

A. All the means & provocation to lustes as daynty meates & drynks & surffetynges & evill companions.[105]

Christ warned against surfeiting (Luke 21:34), noting that all earthly things passed away and no value should be placed on such matters. Hall concludes with his lesson:

> For whom he meanes to make an often guest,
> One dish shall serue, and welcomes make the rest.
>
> III.iii. 31-32

In Hall's Occasional Meditation No. 81, "Upon the sight of a full table at a feast," he presents his own opinion on voluptuous meals:

> What great variety is here of flesh, of fish; of both, of either; as if both nature and art did strive to pamper us! Yet methinks enough is better than all this. Excess is but a burden, as to the provider, so to the guest. It pities and grieves me to think what toil, what charge hath gone to the gathering of all these dainties together; what pain to so many poor creatures have been put to in dying for a needless sacrifice to the belly . . . . Give me the bread of sufficiency. Let me have no perpetual feast but a good conscience . . .[106]

Hall wrote a Character of the Vice of the Vainglorious.[107] The points that he mentions to illustrate

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[105]Peel _et al_, p. 165.

[106]Wynter, X, 159-60.

[107]_Ibid_., VI, 118-19.

this vice appear in his satire on Vainglory, III,iv, and in his satire on the augmentation of appearance, III.vii. Both satires handle the theme of self-exaltation, a form of pride; in fact, the advertising of one's own good deeds (satire III. iv) reappears in Hall's sermon on pride: "He thinks he is made of better clay than the common lump . . . he magnifies every act that falls from him."[108]

The vainglorious man sacrifices his worst animal to the Lord—and then advertizes his sacrifice (III.iv. 1-10). His need for glory has caused him to become a hypocrite.[109] Such a man will not donate a bell-rope to the Church but he must have his "great deed" engraved in the glass of the chancel, or noted in the inscription on his tomb (lines 15-18). Hall remarks acidly that the man who does few good deeds is no doubt obliged to point them out:

> For he that doth so few deseruing deeds,
> T'were sure his best sue for such larger meeds.
> Who would inglorious liue, inglorious die,
> And might eternize his names memory?
> And he that cannot brag of greater store,
> Must make his somewhat much, and little more.
>
> III.iv. 19-24

The mocking, sharp tone of the above passage is suggestive of that of Juvenal. Hall concluded with the comment that

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[108] Ibid., The Fall of Pride, V, 315.

[109] See also the sermon, The Hypocrite, ibid., p. 428. The sinner in the satire is the antithesis of Saul in the sermon.

even the mason cuts his glove in order to display a grand Bristol diamond, hoping that people will mistake him for a "burgesse" (III.iv. 25-30). Yet St. Paul wrote, "Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves" (Philippians 2:3). Proverb 29:23 warns that "a man's pride shall bring him low."[110] Christ Himself adopted the role of a servant in order to humble Himself (Philippians 2:5-8), yet man augments himself. Stubbes attacks those who have "pride of mouth,"[111] who boast or seek glory, who extol their own virtues and piety. Hall, in his Character of the Vice of the Vainglorious, notes that this sinner never gives alms but has the gift recorded, he never gives the smallest sum to the Church but has the deed written in the Church window, and he always flashes a diamond on his hand whenever he has undertaken to sell it. He is "a fool's wonder, and a wise man's fool."[112]

This Character of the Vice possesses the faults of Ruffio, the ruffian who augments his position in life by posing as an Italianate courtier. The Character claims to have "an honorable friend in the French court,"[113] while

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[110]This is the text of Hall's sermon, The Fall of Pride, ibid., pp. 313-25.

[111]Furnivall, Part I, 29.

[112]Wynter, VI, 119.

[113]Ibid., p. 118.

Ruffio does his hair in the dishevelled French manner pleasing to the French king.[114] Both Character and Ruffio dress as courtiers and pick their teeth although they have not eaten. Both augment their accomplishments. Ruffio wishes to appear a gallant adventurer, and so wears a hat similar to those confiscated by the English after the Battle of Cadiz:

> The Nuns of new-woon Cales his bonnet lent,
> In lieu of their so kinde a Conquerment.
> What neded he fetch that from farthest Spaine,
> His Grandame could haue lent with lesser paine?
> Tho he perhaps neuer past the English shore;
> Yet faine would counted be a Conquerour.
>
> III.vii. 27-32

Hall concludes with the popular story of the belly and its parts[115] to illustrate the fact that elaborate clothes, "the backs great pride" (line 66), are foolish vanities when the stomach must go hungry to pay for such extravagance. His advice is plain common sense. However, in his sermon, The Fashions of the World, Hall stresses the idea that fashions deform us in the sight of God.[116] In the satire he shows Ruffio as deformed by fashion:

> His linnen coller Labyrinthian-set,
> Whose thousand double turnes neuer met:
> His sleeues halfe hid with elbow-Pineonings,

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[114] Hall, Davenport, p. 191.

[115] Wilson uses this story, ed. Bowers, p. 222, attributing it to Menenius Agrippa. See also Coriolanus I.i. 90-136.

[116] Wynter, V, 298-99.

As if he ment to flye with linnen wings.
But when _I_ looke and cast mine eyes below,
What monster meets mine eyes in humane show?
So slender wast with such an Abbots loyne,
Did neuer sober nature sure conioyne:
Lik'st a strawne scar-crow in the new-sowne field,
Reard on some sticke, the tender corne to shield:
Or if that semblance sute not euery deale,
Like a broad shak-forke with a slender steale.

III.vii. 39-50

In his sermon, _The Fashions of the World_, Hall notes that the garments of salvation are the robes of righteousness: "My soul shall be joyful in my God, for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness. . . . Thus fashion not your back to the disguise of the world."[117] All Ruffio's finery will not impress God. Fashion not only causes the body to become misshapen in the sight of God, but fashion has become a god: "The world makes a god of itself, and would be serving any god but the true one."[118] Tracts against fashion were numerous in Hall's time. Stubbes attacked the "wearyng of Apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous, & precious than our state, callyng, or condition of lyfe requireth,"[119] and termed it vainglorious pride. This was the official Government

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[117]_Ibid_., p. 296.

[118]_Ibid_., pp. 297-98.

[119]Furnivall, Part I, 29.

attitude as expressed in the sumptuary laws, yet the upstart gentlemen continued to spend lavishly on clothing cut in the latest bizarre fashion.[120]

Ruffio is an early character of the vice of vainglory, yet he also appears in Hall's sermon, The Fashions of the World, where he is introduced after an attack upon gluttony. In the sermon, Hall notes that "from the pampered belly we pass to the proud back of the world."[121] This is interesting because in Book III the satire on Ruffio immediately follows the satire on Gullion, the glutton. Here Gullion demonstrates his extraordinary ability to imbibe by drinking Acheron dry. There is pride in this act—the pride in ability. There is also a certain pride in drunkenness, as noted in Isaiah 28:1-3 where it is written: "The crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under foot."

Satire II.vi is a burlesque of the glutton, for such pride in ability is ridiculous and must be treated as such. The satire is structured in the manner of a Horatian vignette, or perhaps it could be called a humorous parable, if such a rhetorical device may be claimed. Anecdotes were common elements in the sermons of the more popular preachers

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[120] Ibid., pp. 239-53.

[121] Wynter, V, 295.

who used them to maintain the attention of the audience.

Gullion drinks water, therefore Hall stresses gluttonous excess. He also stresses excess in the sermon, The Fashions of the World: "Surely gluttonous excess destroys that which should be the temple of the Holy Ghost."[122] He then extends the theme of the sermon to include drunkenness and quotes the words of St. Paul on those:

> whose belly is their God, whose end is damnation. O woful, woful condition of that damned glutton in the Gospel! O the flames of that delicious tongue which begged for a drop, but should in vain have been quenched with rivers, with oceans![123]

Neither is Gullion's thirst quenched with Acheron. Hall ends this satire with a witty pun on "health" as a bodily state and as a word in a toast:

> Drinke on drie soule, and pledge sir Gullian:
> Drinke to all healths, but drinke not to thine owne
> Desunt nonnulla.
>
> III.vi. 23-25

"Dry soul" was an epithet for drunkards, so Hall stressed common sense by noting that excessive alcohol will ruin the health. However, Gullion actually drank water, so the literal meaning of "soul" seems to be intended. That is, toast all healths, dry soul, but you do not drink to the health of your own soul. As Hall notes in The Fashions of

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[122]Wynter, V, 295.

[123]Ibid.

the World: "Their throat is an open sepulchre, Psalm 5:9. How many have buried all their grace in this tomb!"[124] Thus Gullion fills himself with Acheron, the river of sorrow, and is finally taken to Hell. It is the souls of the Gullions of the world that become nothing: desunt nonnulla.

Satire III.v attacks the vanity of personal appearance. It is a burlesque of the courtier who wears a wig because he is ashamed of the bald head that God has chosen to give him. The satire is a humorous parable, or Horatian vignette, in the style of the Gullion satire. The courtier is shown foolishly chasing his wind-blown locks down the street. As in the Gullion satire, there is a suggestion of a double meaning in the conclusion:

> Is't not sweete pride, when men their crownes must shade
> With that which ierks the hams of euery iade
> Or floor-strowd locks from of the Barbers sheares?
> But waxen crowns well gree with borowed haires.
>
> III.v. 25-28

Baldness and wigs do go together, but sweet pride will cost a golden crown in Heaven. The courtier will be left with only his waxen crown, but "wax melteth before the fire. So let the wicked perish at the presence of God" (Psalm 68:2).

In the concluding poem of the Toothlesse Satyrs, Hall states that another book of satires is being prepared and that these new satires are more forceful. The Byting

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[124] Ibid.

Satyres are more severe. Part of this severity is created by Hall's shorter allusions, each of which he tries to compress into a single couplet. Part of the new severity is Hall's more vigorous attack. His earnest wish to reform England remains unchanged.

CHAPTER III

THE BYTING SATYRES

One year elapsed between the registration of the *Toothlesse Satyrs* and that of the *Byting Satyres*. Hall had anticipated criticism of his brief, polished style and had already warned that more vigorous attacks were coming. He had ended the *Toothlesse Satyrs* with:

> Thus haue I writ in smother Cedar tree,
> So gentle Satyrs, pend so easily.
> Henceforth I write in crabbed oke-tree rinde:
> Search they that meane the secret meaning finde.
> Hold out ye guiltie, and ye galled hides,
> And meet my far-fetch'd stripes with waiting sides.
>
> Conclusion of All, lines 1-6

The "Post-script to the Reader" at the end of the *Byting Satyres* is Hall's explanation for his style, and shows that once more he expected much criticism. Yet his *Toothlesse Satyrs* proved very popular. A reprinting was undertaken in 1598 and again in 1602. The *Byting Satyres* were printed in 1598 and again the following year.

Satiric verses before the *Virgidemiarum* were translations of the classical authors, imitations of the classical authors, or satiric episodes incorporated into the structure of another genre — particularly the pastoral. Hall had developed a structure for his verse satires that was similar to that of the sermons. He had used the techniques of the preachers and the classical satirists: drama, allegory,

epigrammatic form, animal analogy, dialogue, compression, _double entendre_, character sketches, urbanity and mockery. Mingling with all was a vast tradition that stretched back to Chaucer. Hall had amalgamated the characteristics of his predecessors and had given England its own formal verse satire. His subject matter had been taken from sermon notes and from the works of other reformers, such as Philip Stubbes. Some details used for illustrative purposes had been taken from the works of the pamphleteers.

Hall's satires were challenged by Marston, who mimicked Hall. Marston also used the decasyllabic couplet, the glancing allusion, the vigorous attack. But Marston used scurrility in an effort to attract a wide audience—he wrote for his livelihood. Marston's allusions tend to be too abrupt and underdeveloped:

> What? ist not possible thy cause maintaine
> Before the dozen _Areopagites_?
> Come _Enagonian_, furnish him with slights.
> Tut, _Plutos_ wrath, _Proserpina_ can melt,
> So that thy sacrifice be freely felt.
> What cannot _Iuno_ force in bed with _Ioue_?
> Turne and returne a sentence with her loue.
> Thou art too duskie. Fie thou shallow Asse,
> Put on more eyes, and marke me as I passe.[1]
>
> _The Scourge of Villanie_ v. 31-39

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[1]John Marston, _The Poems of John Marston_, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961). All quotations of Marston will be from this volume. Marston's literary debt to Hall is discussed by Arnold Stein, "The Second English Satirist," _MLR_, XXXVIII (1943), 273-78.

Marston does not seem to comprehend Hall's moral intent, because in the "Reactio" satire he criticizes Hall's reproach (IV.iii[2]) to those who accumulate money by any means, enriching themselves by stealing, privateering, or by tricking ignorant natives. To Hall, this was the worship of Mammon and the total lack of brotherly love. Hall condemned it. Marston saw Hall's attack as directed against imperialism, as indeed, by logical extension it was:

> _Euge_! some gallant spirit, some resolued blood
> will hazard all to worke his Countries good
> And to enrich his soule, and raise his name
> will boldly saile vnto the rich _Guiane_.
> What then? must straight some shameles Satyrist
> with odious and opprobrius termes insist
> To blast so high resolu'd intention
> with a malignant vile detraction?
>
> _Certaine Satyres_ iv. 111-18

The difference between the outlook of the pious Hall and the professional writer is obvious here. Hall did not see the "gallant spirit" risking his life for the enrichment of his country and his soul, but for the enrichment of his pocket to the detriment of others. This was no "high resolve" to Hall. Marston adopts the conventional contemporary view, condoned by Elizabeth, that imperialism is justified because it improves the prospects of the conqueror. Marston's attitude shows that he was not a natural-born pastor who

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[2] Joseph Hall, _The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall_, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: at the University Press, 1949). All quotations of Hall's _Virgidemiarum_ will be from this volume.

was willing to defend the poor and the ignorant, as Hall apparently was.

Marston claimed that the author of the Virgidemiarum had affixed the following epigram to the last page of his Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres (1598):

> I Ask't Phisitions what their counsell was
> For a mad dogge, or for a mankind Asse?
> They told me though there were confections store
> Of Poppie-seede, and soueraigne Hellebore,
> The dog was best cured by cutting & kinsing,
> The Asse must be kindly whipped for winsing.
> Now then S.K. I little passe
> Whether thou be a mad dog, or a mankind Asse.
>
> The Scourge of Villanie, "Satyra Nova," x. 50-57

It is possible that this epigram was really affixed to Marston's reply to Hall's challenge, but we have only Marston's word for it. In the "Satyra Nova" Marston claimed that the epigram was affixed to every copy of the Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres which came to the stationers of Cambridge:

> An Epigram which the Author Vergidemiarum, caused to be pasted to the latter page of euery Pigmalion, that came to the Stationers of Cambridge.
>
> The Scourge of Villanie, "Satyra Nova," x. 47-49

Davenport, Hall's editor, has accepted Marston's statement and has suggested three explanations. However, I believe

that Hall had nothing to do with this epigram.[3] The style is not characteristic of Hall, who writes in polished lines which flow easily over the tongue. Now, the copies of the _Metamorphosis_ . . . which came into the Cambridge stationers must refer to printed copies. If we are to accept Marston's accusation, there are two possibilities involved here. Either Hall managed to see the _Metamorphosis_ . . . in manuscript, wrote the epigram, and had it printed and glued on to the _Metamorphosis_ . . . after it reached the stationers, or Hall read one of the first printed copies, wrote the epigram, and had it printed and glued on to all the copies remaining unsold at the stationers. If we take Marston's "euery _Pigmalion_" literally, we must accept the former possibility. However, it is unlikely that Hall obtained a copy of the _Metamorphosis_ . . . in manuscript. He did not belong to Marston's circle of friends. Also, Marston assumes that the

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[3]Davenport is forced to suggest a lost, unregistered "first edition" of _The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres_. He also identifies the epigram as Hall's by noting that the "quinsing" of Hall's IV.ii. 44 ". . . quinsing Plouers, or in winging Quales" is actually an error for the carving term "mincing plovers," and that this is similar to the term in Marston's epigram x. 57: "winsing." Yet the O.E.D. recognizes the word "quinsing" to mean cutting or carving, so Hall has committed no error; also, as "quinsing" was in general use, it is difficult to see how this proves Hall to be the author of the epigram, _Hall_, ed. Davenport, pp.xxviii-xxxiv. See also A. Davenport, "The Quarrel of the Satirists," _MLR_, XXXVII (1942), 123-30; Anthony Caputi, _John Marston, Satirist_ (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), pp. 35-36; Arnold Stein, "The Second English Satirist," pp. 273-78.

attack is on the erotic "Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image," not the "Certaine Satyres" which are in the same volume. The reason that Hall wasted time and money to attack this one erotic poem is not clear. There were many similar erotic poems on the market — Hall had attacked the authors of them in I.ii and I.ix, but he had not pasted epigrams onto these erotic works. Hall had limited funds, and the expense of printing the epigram would have deterred him. In addition, the physical defacement of another person's property is a rather impulsive act, yet Hall's governing characteristic — as shown in his writings — is self-control. Such a rash move on the part of the young Puritan intellectual seems unlikely. Hall's self-control is demonstrated by his reaction to Marston's charge of defacing the volumes of the _Metamorphosis . . ._ with this poem. He ignored it.

If Hall did not write the epigram, who did? It is possible that some teasing friend of Marston wrote it, punning on the pseudonym of Kinsayder used by the satirist. However, I suspect that Marston composed it himself hoping that the unknown author of the _Virgidemiarum_ would issue the expected denial. A new pamphlet war might then commence which would prove as popular and lucrative as the Harvey-Nashe controversy. But Marston misjudged the purpose of the author of the _Virgidemiarum_. Hall wrote primarily to reform England. To begin a scurrilous pamphlet war would contradict his own comments in satire II.i. Hall took the

only sensible attitude that he could under the circumstances: he ignored Marston. However, Marston's attack did promote the popularity of English formal verse satire. The year 1598 saw first Hall's Byting Satyres, then Marston's two books of satires, the Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres and The Scourge of Villaine, and finally Everard Guilpin's Skialetheia. More satires appeared in 1599. The decasyllabic couplet, glancing allusion, and sharp attack were evident in these satires, but most had much scurrility in them as well.

BOOK IV

In the year since the Toothlesse Satyrs, Hall had discovered that truly satire was a mirror in which a man saw everyone's face but his own. He notes in his first satire:

> Should I endure these [readers'] curses and dispight
> While no mans eare should glow at what I write?
> Labeo is whip't, and laughs mee in the face:
> Why? for I smite and hide the galled place.
> Gird but the Cynicks Helmet on his head,
> Cares hee for Talus, or his flayle of lead?
> Long as the craftie Cuttle lieth sure
> In the blacke Cloude of his thicke vomiture;
> Who list complaine of wronged faith or fame
> When hee may shift it to anothers name?
> Caluus can scratch his elbow, and can smile,
> That thrift-lesse Pontice bites his lip the while.
> Yet I intended in that selfe deuise,
> To checke the churle for his knowne couetise.
> Ech points his straight fore-finger to his friend, . . .
>
> IV.i. 35-49

Hall's end-stopped couplets are more frequent now.

They are more concise, polished. The pauses at the end of the couplet create a rhythm perhaps similar to that of marking time with a schoolmaster's birch. Hall is determined to make a stronger attack, and in IV.i he lashes out at many vices, not just one in particular. As he notes himself in his "Post-script," this satire is heavily based on Juvenal. He paraphrases the Latin satirist and uses Juvenalian characters, like Pontice.[4] Short statements and double meanings in the style of Persius are also present in the many concise couplets. Hall vows that he will be:

> More cruell than the crauon _Satyres_ Ghost,
> That bound dead-bones vnto a burning post,
> Or some more strait-lac'd Iuror of the rest,
> Impannel'd of an Holy-Fax inquest.
>
> IV.i. 15-18

The reference in the first couplet here is to the persona of Juvenal, who claimed to attack only the dead.[5] However, there is a suggestion that Hall also alludes to the satiric attacks of the anti-Martinists who wrote for Archbishop Whitgift. As usual, there are two possibilities

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[4]Arnold Stein, "Joseph Hall's Imitation of Juvenal," _MLR_, XLIII (1948), 315-22, notes that this satire is inferior to the rest of Hall's _Virgidemiarum_ because it closely imitates Juvenal. It was probably written as an exercise to prove to his critics that he could write a close imitation of Juvenal's style if he chose to do so (p. 321).

[5]_Juvenal and Persius_, trans. G.G. Ramsay (rev. ed.; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1957), Juvenal i. 170-71.

under fire, and one cannot be sure whether Hall attacks either or both. During this period, Non-conformists were treated inhumanly in the prisons and they often died before being brought to trial on a charge of heresy. Thus they were bones long before the burning post. This allusion is compounded by "Holy-Fax," a pun on "Halifax," the city noted for its law which permitted the beheading of a man, without assize or sessions, if he were caught about to steal, were caught stealing, or confessed to stealing.[6] However, as far as the Non-conformists were concerned, they were governed by "Halifax law." They were arrested without charge and confined for months. Non-conformist Henry Barrowe went to visit a friend in prison, "the gaoler admitted him; and although there was no writ against him, Barrowe never left prison till he journeyed to Tyburn"[7] and was hanged. The jurors who did try the more militant Non-conformists were indeed "straight-laced." The Non-conformist refused to wear the alb and chasuble in defiance of Elizabeth's directive, claiming them to be Popish vestments. However, as Elizabeth was head of the Church and the State, such denials were both heretical and treasonable. Elizabeth's authority was denied. No doubt, for the young Puritan satirist, these relentless jurors must have seemed "strait-laced" and unreasonable, and as much to be feared as the

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[6] Hall, ed. Davenport, p. 193.

[7] William Pierce, An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1909), p. 81.

Inquisition of Philip II.[8] Thus Hall's allusion is multiple. He could be referring to either religious persecution. He has adapted into English the glancing, double-meaninged allusion of Persius, and done so very well. His attack is now quite "biting," and he actually admits that his former leniency was foolish:

> Fond were that pitie, and that feare were sin,
> To spare wast leaues that so deserued bin.
> Those toothlesse Toyes that dropt out by mis-hap,
> Bee but as lightning to a thunder-clap.
>
> IV.i. 88-91

The birch-rod of the school-master now becomes the six-thonged "cat":

> . . . my sixe Cords beene of too loose a twine.
> Stay till my beard shall sweepe myne aged brest,
> Then shall I seeme an awfull Satyrist:
> While now my rimes relish of the Ferule still.
>
> IV.i. 167-70

With violent, short comments Hall denounces murder, adultery and prostitution in this introductory satire, imitating Juvenal in tone and manner. Yet as he does so, he compares his verses to those of Horace, because it was Horace who called his moralizing satires "sermones," talks.[9] I suspect

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[8] Ibid., pp. 76-77 and p. 123.

[9] Horace, Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica, trans. H.R. Fairclough (rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. xv.

a pun upon "semones" and "sermones":

> Go to then ye my sacred _Semones_,
> And please me more, the more ye do displease.
>
> IV.i. 80-81

As "_semones_" may also mean "sowers," there seems to be an allusion here to the parable of the sower and the seed (which is the word of God, Luke 8:5-15), especially as these "_semones_" are modified by "sacred." That Hall's satires are sermons is reinforced by the fact that he uses the structure of the sermons for them, and also by his vow to avoid any degeneration into gossip. Hall will maintain righteous indignation, and he states that he will leave the gossip for Labeo, the pamphleteer. Labeo may make money with it if he so wishes ("fall to Alchimie"[10]):

> Can I not touch some vpstart carpet-shield
> . . . .
> But straight _Sigalion_ nods and knits his browes,
> And winkes and waftes his warning hand for feare,
> And lisps some silent letters in my eare?
> Haue I not vow'd for shunning such debate
> (Pardon ye Satyres) to degenerate?
> And wading low in this plebeian lake
> That no salt waue shall froath vpon my backe,
> Let _Labeo_, or who else list for mee,
> Go loose his eares and fall to _Alchymie_.
>
> IV.iv. 1-15

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[10]The pamphleteers' so-called "distillation of gold from ink" seems to have been a popular metaphor. See Thomas Nashe, _The Works of Thomas Nashe_, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow (5 vols., corr. ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), I, 160.

Hall's determination to keep to his moral purpose is unabated. The individual satires of Books IV and V follow Hall's established structure: the text, the augmentation or illustration, his comments on the subject, and his message. However, now there is not merely the governing theme of a major vice for each book, but a continuing sequence of events attendant upon a particular evil. An outline will explain this more clearly.

The theme of Book IV is changes in social state, the relationship of money to these changes in this new commercial age, and the attendant evils which accompany these changes. The subject of each satire leads to the subject of the next. Much of the material seems to have been gathered from Juvenal viii and xiv, Stubbes's _Anatomy of Abuses_,[11] and Nashe's _Have with You to Saffron Walden_.[12] Book V is related to Book IV because it brings the sequence to its ultimate conclusion.

To understand the relationship of themes, a short recapitulation of Juvenal xiv. 107 _sqq_., may be helpful:

> All vices but one the young imitate of their own free will; avarice alone is enjoined on them against the grain. For that vice has a deceptive appearance and

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[11]Philip Stubbes, _The Anatomy of the Abuses in England_, _Shakspere's England_, Series VI, Nos. 4, 6, and 12, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, The New Shakespeare Society (London: N. Trubner & Co., 1877-1879), especially Part II.

[12]McKerrow, III, 3-139; the description of Lolio may be adapted from _Pierce Penilesse_, _ibid_., I, 160.

> semblance of virtue, being gloomy of mien, severe in face and garb. The miser is openly commended for his thrift, being deemed a saving man . . . . Thus the father deems the miser to be fortunate; and when he worships wealth, believing that no poor man was ever happy, he urges his sons to follow in the same path and to attach themselves to the same school. There are certain rudiments in vice; in these he imbues them from the beginning, compelling them to study its pettiest meannesses; after a while he instructs them in the unappeasable lust of money-getting. He pinches the bellies of his slaves with short rations, starving himself into the bargain; . . . . [Description of frugal fare: stale bread, leftover beans, a half-stinking sprat. The love for money becomes obsessive.] And so when one country house is not good enough for you, you buy a second; then you must extend your boundaries . . . . [But the possession of money breeds evils in those who wish to take it away.] It is here mostly that lies the cause of crime. No human passion has mingled more poison-bowls . . . than the fierce craving for unbounded wealth . . . . The wealth which you think should be hunted for over land and sea, your son will acquire by a shorter road . . . . You are yourself the cause and origin of your son's depravity.[13]

In renaissance English formal verse satire this becomes the story of Lolio, the lowly man who hoards money to send his son to university. The hoarding tendency is passed to the son, who practices enclosure. The Juvenalian satire becomes a sermon on the love of money, on how the sins of the father are visited upon his children. Hall shows the result of greed upon society. Such a social outlook is more Christian than classical—Hall's Calvinism is threaded through with the classical original. All men are responsible

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[13]Ramsay, pp. 273-81.

for their own actions and for the welfare of others. Wealth and power were given to some so that they might help the less fortunate[14] —not to make the poor more unfortunate, and certainly not to be misused for pleasure, dress and the excessive consumption of food. The covetousness of Lolio and his descendants leads to Hell. Anyone who indulges in avarice has a sick soul; that is, they must be insane.[15] It is the worship of Mammon. "Covetousness . . . is idolatry . . . [the] worshipping of images."[16]

Lolio and his family represent the "character" of the new rising families; Pontice represents the degenerating noble youth. All are described in detail. They become almost alive. Dramatic scenes occur in the manner of Juvenal or Horace — or the medieval sermons. As the major tale unfolds, Hall uses analogies and illustrations — often only a brief couplet in length — by means of which he effectively lashes a vice not integral to the major theme. In doing so Hall effectively attacks many vices that he could not have included had he retained the method used in the Toothlesse Satyrs of keeping to variants of one vice.

To be more precise, the tale opens with miserly Lolio wearing cheap outworn clothing and eating crusts and

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[14] M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism ("Phoenix Books"; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 404.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Joseph Hall, The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D.D., ed. Philip Wynter (10 vols.; Oxford: at the University Press, 1863), V, 141.

water gruel in order to save. Hall describes him vividly. He is the Character of Covetousness[17] who can rationalize his excessive hoarding. Hall does not let us sympathize with Lolio, for early in the satire he is connected with the usurers who lent money to poor women, at exorbitant rates, so that these women could purchase fish to sell on the streets. These women worked long hours but gained little for themselves by the time they had repaid the shilling, plus interest.

> Old drieueling Lolio drudges all he can,
> To make his eldest sonne a Gentleman.
> Who can despaire that sees another thriue,
> By lone of twelue-pence to an Oyster-wiue?
>
> IV.ii. 1-4

Lolio is a "good man" says Hall ironically (line 43):

> For else how should his sonne maintained bee,
> At Ins of Court or of the Chancerie.
>
> IV.ii. 53-54

The vice of hoarding has assumed the aspect of a virtue. In the meantime, the son appears to be accepted as a gentleman—particularly because he leaves his lodgings only at night-time! Unfortunately, when he becomes a gentleman, the son

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[17]Ibid., VI, 116-18. Details have been adapted from Juvenal, Nashe, Stubbes, and the sermons. For examples of the latter see G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (2nd. ed. rev.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), Chapters V, VI and VII, and the excerpts of the sermons of Bishop Babington (1588) in Furnivall, No. 4, 75-93.

becomes ashamed of old Lolio:

> Could neuer man worke thee a worser shame
> Then once to minge [remember] thy fathers odious name.
>
> IV.ii. 79-80

The son returns home but exhibits mannerisms which astound his father's tenants. Hall presents them in a few deft lines —an amusing vignette with analogies of fair performances:

> The Tenants wonder at their land-Lords Sonne,
> And blesse them at so sudden comming on,
> More then who vies his pence to view some tricke
> Of strange <u>Moroccoes</u> [trained horse] dumbe Arithmeticke,
> Or the young Elephant, or two-tayl'd steere,
> Or the rig'd Camell, or the Fidling Frere.
>
> IV.ii. 91-95

They admire the educated young man and return their own sons to school. This gives Hall the opportunity to note how the aggrandisement of Lolio's son upsets rural stability, and also the opportunity to satirize the hardships involved during training for the ministry. The poor man's son could obtain free university training if he were intelligent and studied for the ministry. Otherwise advanced training could not be obtained due to lack of funds:

> Fooles, they may feed with words & liue by ayre,
> That climbe to honour by the Pulpits stayre:
> Sit seauen yeares pining in an Anchores cheyre,
> To win some patched shreds of <u>Miniuere</u>,
> And seuen more plod at a Patrons tayle,
> To get a gelded Chappels cheaper sale.
>
> IV.ii. 101-106

"Gelded" chapels were those benefices in which a large proportion of the income was paid to the patron[18] —a practice heavily attacked by the Puritans. Although illegal, the practice was widespread.

The tenants ask legal advice of Lolio, now that his son is a lawyer, which raises Lolio's pride (line 109). However, as he has not been reared with the tenants, Lolio's son has no understanding of them or their problems. Hall presents a pivotal couplet before presenting his view:

> And well done _Lolio_, like a thriftie syre,
> T'were pitty but thy sonne should prooue a squire.
>
> IV.ii. 117-18

The son has seen the father gather money from every source, and now does the same. In fact, believing themselves superior to the tenants, all Lolio's descendants lose compassion, brotherly love:

> When pearch't aloft to perfect their estate
> They racke their rents vnto a treble rate;
> And hedge in all the neighbour common-lands,
> And clodge their slauish tenant with commaunds,
> Whiles they, poore soules, with feeling sighs complain
> And wish old _Lolio_ were aliue again.
>
> IV.ii. 125-30

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[18]Furnivall, Part II, 80-82.

Yet Lolio caused their plight, for he had set a poor example for his son to follow.

The son disowns Lolio and bribes the Herald to forge him a pedigree.[19] Finally he marries into a family of gentle blood. Hall's final comment is an ironic, compact allusion to the decay of the times.

At this point Hall alters the form that he had followed in the Toothlesse Satyrs. Instead of presenting a four-part satire on a variant of the last, satire IV.iii continues the theme. In satire IV.ii Lolio's son caused hardships to the people around him because he wanted to augment his station, and he went to the extent of bribing the Herald into forging an aristocratic genealogy. But what is a pedigree? Hall continues the tale in the next satire:

> What boots it Pontice, tho thou could'st discourse
> Of a long golden line of Ancestors?
> Or shew their painted faces gaylie drest,
> From euer since before the last conquest.
>
> IV.iii. 1-4

A man is judged according to his virtue, animals by pedigree. When Dives and Lazarus were judged, it was the beggar who was taken to Heaven (Luke 16:19-31). Dives was sent to Hell

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[19] A common practice. A.L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth (London: MacMillan & Co., 1961), p. 248, cites the case of Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King-of-Arms, who claimed descent from the Dethicks in Derbyshire although he was apparently of "obscure Dutch origin."

because he had not used his wealth to aid beggars such as Lazarus. Dives was born into money, and presumably fine pedigree, but failed to follow God's wishes. He is therefore less than Lazarus in the eyes of God.[20]

Pontice is now characterized. He is the antithesis of Lolio's son because he is the scion of a long line of aristocrats. He represents the type of young aristocrat who has become decadent. Hall notes that aristocratic ancestry matters little if one gambles away the future (lines 18-23), or loses one's money (and possibly virility, due to disease) with harlots (lines 26-27). Spent patrimonies result in desperate deeds, which include adventuring and alchemy:

> Ventrous _Fortunio_ his farme hath sold,
> And gads to _Guiane_ land to fish for gold,
> Meeting perhaps, if _Orenoque_ denye,
> Some stragling pinnace of _Polonian_ Rie.
> Then comes home floting with a silken sayle,
> That _Seuerne_ shaketh with his Canon-peale;
> Wiser _Raymundus_ in his closet pent,
> Laughs at such danger and aduenturement;
> When halfe his lands are spent in golden smoke,
> And now his second hopefull glasse is broke.
> But yet if haply his third fornace hold,
> Deuotheth all his pots and pans to gold; . . .
>
> IV.iii. 28-40

These are the lines attacked by Marston (quoted earlier). Hall condemns the wasteful young aristocrat, his denial of his duty to aid those less fortunate than himself,

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[20]Examples of this attitude abound in the sermons, see Owst, pp. 291-93. See also Eccles. 5:13-17.

this love of money which leads to privateering and other wild enterprises. Hall then advances to his structural third part and presents his own view, the directive:

> And were thy fathers gentle? that's their praise,
> No thanke to thee by whom their name decays;
> By vertue got they it, and valourous deed,
> Do thou so <u>Pontice</u>, and be honoured.
>
> IV.iii. 42-45

Hall then returns to his major theme: man's vices are propagated. They are analogous to animal traits. What appears in the parent, reappears in the child; fox begets fox, bear begets bear, fault begets fault:

> Yet certes if the Syre be ill inclin'd,
> His faults befal his sonnes by course of kind.
>
> IV.iii. 86-87

Hall then rapidly sketches two examples, each in its own end-stopped ironic couplet:

> <u>Scaurus</u> was couetous; his sonne not so,
> But not his pared nayle will hee forgoe:
> <u>Florian</u> the syre did women loue alife,
> And so his sonne doth too, all, but his wife.
>
> IV.iii. 88-91

Hall's conclusion, his message, is:

> Brag of thy Fathers faults, they are thine owne;
> Brag of his lands, if those be not forgone:
> Brag of thine owne good deeds, for they are thine,
> More than his life, or lands, or golden line.
>
> IV.iii. 92-95

Virtue is one's own. This message recalls Jeremiah 25:14, "And I will recompense them according to their deeds, and according to the work of their hands."

Having ended IV.iii commenting upon the faults of the ruling classes, Hall takes up the subject in the next satire and illustrates these faults. It can be seen that each satire is really a chapter in a larger tale. As the tale progresses, related abuses and excesses are alluded to by means of illustrations and analogies. Character sketches of different types of people are presented. Polished, concise couplets lash wittily. Hall has written the first book-length satire.

Satire IV.iv begins by linking Lolio's son of IV.ii, and Pontice of IV.iii, with a third erring young gentleman, Gallio:

> Can I not touch some vpstart carpet-shield
> Of Lolio's sonne, that neuer saw the field,
> Or taxe wild Pontice for his Luxuries,
> But straight they tell mee of Tiresias eyes?
> . . . .
> Onely, let Gallio giue me leaue a while
> To schoole him once . . .
>
> IV.iv. 1-17

Gallio is the bored, wealthy, decadent young gentleman who misuses his plentiful spare time. He overdresses, gallivants, quarrels, tells lies about his childhood, and sports. Hall contrasts him with Virginius, who was overly chaste in his youth only to become interested in

a bride in his old age. Neither man undertakes any responsibility. They both fail in the Christian life, and both spend much money for whims, though opposite purposes are served. The consequence of such selfish expenditures becomes the subject of IV.v. The greedy money-lovers appear, all anxious to take the gallants' money from them. A variety of sins is committed in order to obtain this money quickly and with little effort. Hall opens the satire wryly. Many people would like to bribe him so that these evils could be kept quiet:

> Would now that _Matho_ were the _Satyrist_,
> That some fat bribe might greaze him in the fist,
> For which he need not braule at any barre
> Nor kisse the booke to be a periurer.
>
> IV.v. 1-4

The carrion birds do not stray far from the dissipated gallants of the world:

> For thousands beene in euery gouernall,
> That liue by losse, and rise by others fall.
>
> IV.v. 19-20

For the first time Hall uses initials instead of the appropriate Latin nouns he usually employs as names, but his attitude is not that of a gossip but of a clergyman warning the congregation, presenting examples. Some gallants spend their lands on wasteful luxuries and end dying on foreign soil, paid soldiers (lines 23-27); others are forced to live

by shifts, cheating innocent landladies out of their money, disguising themselves as serving men in order to elude bailiffs (lines 31-38). Each sketch is rapid, yet sufficient. Some gallants end in the clutches of Tocullio, the usurer. Tocullio is developed in a manner similar to the Character of Covetousness. Tocullio's god is Mammon, and he reveres the cross (on coins) and angels (6s.8d.).[21] His character is sketched in brisk couplets:

> Tocullio was a welthie vsurer,
> Such store of incomes had he euery yeare,
> By Bushels was he wont to met his coyne
> As did the olde wife of Trimalcion.
> Could he doe more that finds an idle roome,
> For many hundreth thousands on a Toombe?
> Or who reares vp foure free-schooles in his age,
> Of his old pillage, and damn'd surplusage?
> Yet now he swore by that sweete Crosse he kist,
> (That siluer crosse, where hee had sacrific'd
> His coueting soule, by his desires owne doome,
> Daily to die the Diuels Martyrdome)
> His Angels were all flowne vp to their sky,
> And had forsooke his naked Tresurie:
> Farewell Astræa and her weights of gold,
> Vntill his lingring Calends once be told;
> Nought left behinde but wax & parchment scroles
> Like Lucians dreame that siluer turn'd to coles:
> Shouldst thou him credit, that nould credit thee?
> Yes and maiest sweare he swore the verity.

IV.v. 39-58

That is, Tocullio truly has no money because it is all in stocks and bonds. To him comes the "ding-thrift heire," caught as a fly in a web (lines 63-64), or a fish by an angler (lines 71-76). The usurer greets him in a friendly

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[21]This was apparently a common pun. See Pierce, p. 103.

way, "in smooth pretence,/To hide his rough intended violence" (lines 75-76). Hall adds to this an analogy in which he attacks cruel landlords as a secondary issue: "As he that vnder name of <u>Christmas</u> Cheere,/Can starue his Tenants all th'ensuing yeare" (lines 77-78). Hall advances to the third part of his regular structural form, the clergyman's viewpoint, address, or warning:

> Ah foole! For sooner shalt thou sell the rest [of your lands],
> Then stake ought for thy former Interest;
> When it shall grind thy grating gall for shame,
> To see the lands that beare thy Grandsires name,
> Become a dunghill peasants sommer-hall,
> Or lonely <u>Hermits</u> cage inhospitall.
>
> IV.v. 93-98

Usurers are incarnate fiends (line 103). Hall dramatises a scene concerning the nefarious practice of usurers who make loans partly with money and partly with unsaleable goods. Naturally, the borrower is unable to raise even the amount of the loan, and therefore loses his assets. Hall ends with the bitter comment:

> If <u>Mammon</u> selfe should euer liue with men,
> <u>Mammon</u> himselfe shalbe a Citizen.
>
> IV.v. 129-30

Like Juvenal, Hall knew only too well the root of the social problem. It rested within man himself, in his discontent. But Hall elaborates upon the social aspect much more than Juvenal. Discontent with one's present station

can produce honest endeavour, but a great many people seek dishonest means to advancement. As one's station can be advanced with money, the love of Mammon is fostered.

Both Hall and Stubbes attacked rackrents and excessive lease renewal fines as unchristian greed.[22] The rich owned the land in sacred trust. The rent situation became aggravated in years of famine when such fees could not be paid by the poor farmers. Hall, as many conscientious clergymen before him, defended the poor who suffered the immediate effects resulting from the landlords' discontent and greed. Hall's attitude is that of the Book of Ecclesiastes (subtitled "The Preacher"), where the augmentation of one's station is called a "vanity and a striving after wind" (Eccles. 2:17 and 2:26), where the teachable youth is worth more than the king (Eccles. 4:13), where a good name is valued (Eccles. 7:1), and all else found wanting (Eccles. 12:8). Hall's next satire therefore presents the conclusion to this series of satires on changing social orders. Why do men wish to change their estate?

> I wote not how the world's degenerate,
> That men or know, or like not their estate.
>
> IV.vi. 1-2

The world has degenerated because men wish to change their estate. The cycle is completed, for Lolio had hoarded to change the estate of his family. Hall gives examples of

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[22]Hall in satire V.i; for Stubbes, see Furnivall, Part I, 116-17 and Part II, 31.

degeneracy: extravagance in dress, the hoarding of grain in times of plenty in order to profit in times of famine (when men should be charitable to their fellowmen), the miser, the ploughman who sells his team and goes to war for the spoils but sees only death, poets who prostitute their sacred art for money, and lads who run away to sea for excitement and find misery. Hall's conclusion to this satire is therefore his closing comment upon the entire tale. It is both Christian and Stoic:

> To know much, and to thinke we nothing know;
> Nothing to haue, yet thinke we haue enough,
> In skill to want, and wanting seeke for more,
> In weale nor want, nor wish for greater store;
> Enuye ye Monarchs with your proud excesse
> At our low Sayle, and our hye Happinesse.
>
> IV.vi. 84-89

This naval image is common.[23] The answer that Hall infers is that we must be content with the estate that God has chosen to give us. Happiness cannot be purchased, it is a state of mind. Excess is vanity, for "You lay up treasures for yourself in heaven while you make the poor your friends upon earth: . . . he which gives to the poor lends upon use to the Lord."[24]

Satire IV.vi ends this series on money and estates, yet the editors of Hall's works add another poem in which

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[23]See also "The Golden Mean" of Henry Howard, The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, ed. Frederick Morgan Padelford (rev. ed.; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1928), pp. 94-95.

[24]Wynter, V, 145. This is a comment in the sermon, The Righteous Mammon.

Roman Catholic practices are criticized:

> Who say's these Romish Pageants bene too hy
> To be the scorne of sportfull Poesy?
>
> IV.vii. 1-2

Davenport notes that "this satire was displaced in 1598 and 1599, where it was printed after VI.i,"[25] and he speculates on the reason for this displacement. Yet it seems obvious that this satire is displaced now. It is not thematically connected with Book IV. It was placed in Book VI in the original edition of 1598 apparently because it was received late by the printer.[26] Stylistically it seems to have been written last, too. My reconstruction of the situation is that Hall wrote this satire after the others and then decided to include it with the Byting Satyres. However, thematically it did not fit anywhere but at the end. A noted rhetorician, he would be fully aware that last statements receive the most attention. However, his mockery of Roman Catholic display, so similar to that of the High Anglican Church of Elizabeth, would brand the author as a Puritan and possibly hinder him from receiving a benefice. Believing that he had a calling to the ministry, Hall thought it wiser to place this satire in a less prominent position, and directed that it should be placed

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[25]Hall, ed. Davenport, p. 227.

[26]Ibid., p. lxvi.

centrally in the Byting Satyres, directly after the sequence of Book IV.

Not all protestants were as certain of their faith as the Calvinists. Many had conformed to Protestantism to escape the pressures placed upon Elizabethan Catholics. I believe that Hall felt that this satire would make such weak protestants aware of the "errors" of the Roman Catholic Church, and perhaps even convert some Catholics to Protestantism. It was therefore important for him to include this satire in his last volume of satires. To withdraw it because it destroyed a sequence would be intellectual pride. The best place for it was in the centre of the Byting Satyres where it would be seen but not stand out boldly antagonistic at the end. However, it arrived late at the printer's and was placed last. It appeared last again in the edition of 1599 apparently because the printer neglected to check the errata sheet of the 1598 edition while he was making Hall's latest corrections.[27] It became IV.vii in the 1602 edition. By this time Hall's interest in the satires had waned because he had been ordained and could preach. He was conscientiously attending to his congregation at Halsted, delivering three sermons a week, and trying hard to regain the soul of Sir Robert Drury, who had been led astray by an atheist named Lilly.[28]

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[27] Ibid., lxvi-lxvii. The "Additions" sheet of the 1598 edition is similar to that of the 1599 edition.

[28] Wynter, I, xxvii-xxviii.

The form of this satire resembles that of VI.i inasmuch as it contains a recapitulation. It notes Labeo of the Toothlesse Satyrs, Lolio of Book IV, and the "gamster shifts" and landlords' wrongs which occur primarily in Book V.

The influence of Zurich had strongly affected the Puritans. Now they worked to eliminate the traditional ecclesiastical practices of the Roman Catholic Church in matters of ceremony and ceremonial clothing. Such matters as the honouring of saints, confession, imagery and pageantry were not specified in the Bible but practices introduced by men, so the Puritans attacked them vigorously.[30] Hall notes that "Caesars throne is turn'd to Peters chayre"— that people worship the popes as they had the caesars, whom they once considered gods. Hall attacks nuns on the basis of their idleness (lines 25-26), and then notes the brothels licensed by the popes, the mendicant orders, shallow practices, the "shamelesse Legends" (line 64) and the Roman Catholic eucharistic ceremony in which wine is not offered to the congregation. The conclusion is a paraphrase of Juvenal. Should the Catholic

> . . . cry out on Codro's tedious Toomes,
> When his new rage would aske no narrower rooms?
>
> IV.vii. 73-74

Codro (Codrus) is the man in Juvenal iii who lived in poverty amid the wealth and ostentation of Rome. He owned only some "Greek books whose divine lays were being gnawed by unlettered

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[30] Knappen, p. 65 and p. 398.

mice,"[31] that is, they were unread. "Poor Codrus had nothing, it is true: but he lost that nothing, which was his all."[32] Destitute, noone offered him anything to eat or anywhere to go. Hall's conclusion is therefore appropriate. The poor Catholic sees the lavish display around him but is not offered even the eucharistic wine but only a thin wafer. Eucharistic wine symbolizes salvation to the Protestant, but the Catholic congregation does not receive it. Codrus's soul, which at the end is all that he owns, has nowhere to go, and although Codrus possesses a Bible, as a Catholic he does not read it and follow it as a Calvinist would.[33]

BOOK V

Book V follows the technique of Book IV, although there is no introductory satire. The introduction is incorporated into the first twenty-two lines of the first

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[31]Ramsay, Juvenal iii. 206-207, English p.47.

[32]*Ibid.*, iii. 208-209, English pp. 47-49.

[33]Pratt, the editor of *The Works of Joseph Hall* (10 vols.; London: C. Whittingham & Co., 1808), X, 354, notes that Hall's last couplet refers to Juvenal i. 1-6, and Wynter and Davenport follow him in this regard. However, Juvenal i. 1-6 refers to one Cordi (Cordus) and complains that he is bored. Not only is this a different name to the one used by Hall, but such a reference neither seems appropriate nor does it make a satisfactory conclusion. However, Juvenal iii. 203-11 refers to Codrus, small rooms, heavy Greek books and a cry for sustenance.

satire. The major theme is the neglect of landlords, their covetousness, and the effect upon society. It appears to be a continuation of the abuses of the gentlemen attacked in Book IV. These satires therefore complete the theme of Mammon, the gentry, and the resulting social evils. The satires form a loose sequence,[34] but they also are illustrative satires on a related subject.

Book IV had shown that the covetousness of the father was bred into the son, and it also noted that the changes in social status made possible by money had caused discontent and covetousness in others. In the sequence on this subject quoted from Juvenal xiv,[35] covetousness does not end with the son but appears also in those envious of the son's wealth.

Satire V.i broaches the evils of covetousness in the landlord: the rack rents,[36] and concealed lands on which trebled fines are now exacted to the ruin of the tenants. Yet the poor tenant must provide holiday gifts for his landlord in order to keep his favour--a vain hope, because the

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[34]This grouping seems not uncommon. In Part II of Stubbes's _Anatomy of Abuses_ there is a similar sequence: the greed of landlords, their wasteful ways of spending this money, the death of hospitality to the poor. Stubbes ends with an attack on Roman Catholicism.

[35]Pp. 105-106.

[36]See also Furnivall, Part II, 29-30; Hugh Latimer, _Seven Sermons before Edward VI_, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1895), pp. 38-39.

landlord will throw him off the land to starve if someone else offers more money for a renewal fine.[37] Even the clergy are covetous and rob church property.[38] The

> . . . ruined house where holy things were said,
> Whose free-stone wals the thatched roofe vpbraid,
> Whose shril Saints-bell hangs on his louerie,
> While the rest are damned to the Plumbery?
> Yet pure deuotion lets the steeple stand,
> And ydle battlements on eyther hand;
> Least that perhaps, were all those reliques gone,
> Furious his Sacriledge could not be knowne.
>
> V.i. 117-24

Structurally, this long satire differs from those which precede it. Hall presents each vignette of abuse complete with its sad consequence. The total lack of Christian compassion for the poor is shown. This is the implied "positive" section of the satire: all men are brothers, and we are responsible for each other. Hall takes up the theme again in V.ii to show false compassion with materialistic intent, and the lack of Christian charity to the poor:[39]

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[37]See also Furnivall, Part I, 119 and Part II, 28-33.

[38]Such sacrilege could be accomplished in at least two ways, either by confiscating church funds for personal use and letting church property fall into a state of dilapidation, or by selling "needless" church property. If the thatch mentioned in these lines replaces an original lead roof, there are several examples in the literature of such practices. See the stripping of lead from St. David's in Rowse, pp. 201-202; note also the accounts of dilapidation and spoilage in Pierce, pp. 100-104.

[39]Stubbes noted it too, see Furnivall, Part II, 41; this complaint was very old, see Owst, p. 312; and it was very widespread, because it found its way into the broadside ballad, see

Looke to the towred chymneis which should bee
The wind-pipes of good hospitalitie,
Through which it breatheth to the open ayre,
Betokening life and liberall welfaire,
Lo, there th'vnthankfull swallow takes her rest,
And fils the Tonuell with her circled nest,
Nor halfe that smoke from all his chymneies goes
Which one Tabacco-pipe driues through his nose;
So rawbone hunger scorns the mudded wals,
And gin's to reuell it in Lordly halls;
So the blacke Prince is broken loose againe
That saw no Sunne saue once . . .

V.ii. 67-78

Famine stalked the land, but although wealth had been given by God in order to help the poor, the poor starved. The years 1594-97 had been years of bad harvest. Poor people rapidly used up all their savings just to buy bread at terrible prices. In Newcastle alone, nine of the poor died of starvation in September 1597, sixteen the following month.[40] These were cases reported at the time that Hall was writing his Byting Satyres. Poor relief was instituted by Parliament in 1597, but how well such social legislation was handled in this period is open to conjecture. Hall bitterly decries the lack of compassion on the part of the landlords:

For shame ye gallants grow more hospitall
And turne your needlesse wardrop to your Hall.

V.ii. 103-104

"The Map of Mock Begger's Hall," The Common Muse, ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto and A.E. Rodway (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), pp. 100-102.

[40]Rowse, pp. 354-55.

Hall himself was noted for compassion and charity.[41] He writes that men who are forced to extend hospitality do so with bad grace, and he adapts Juvenal v for his purposes: Virro dines graciously while his client, Trebius, is fed with limited quantities of brown bread and given inferior ale made from oats. Hall ends on a note of pure sarcasm:

> What of all this? Is't not inough to say,
> I din'd at Virro his owne boord to day?
>
> V.iii. 149-50

Still on the theme of decadence due to the worship of Mammon, Hall contrasts the good landlords of the past with those of the present, much in the manner of Juvenal. The subject of V.iii is enclosure, which had been attacked by hundreds of clergymen before him.[42] With the poor dying of starvation around him, Hall could see that these unfortunate people fared better on their own acre where they could raise sufficient food for their families. Now, dispossessed of their land and unemployed, the poor were usually forced to turn to crime in order to obtain money for food. Hall acknowledges the right of men to fence in their own land

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41"He gave a weekly voluntary contribution of money to certain poor widows to his dying day, over and above his imposed rates, wherein he was never spared." Funeral sermon by the Rev. John Whitefoot, Wynter, I, lxxvii. Hall had been barred from his See since the Revolution, and denied his income, so it can be seen that this was a very generous gesture.

42Hall attacked it from the pulpit himself in his sermon The True Peacemaker, Wynter, V, 227.

against troublemakers, but he condemns enclosure with the command of a clergyman:

> Go to my thriftie Yeoman, and vpreare
> A brazen wall to fend[43] thy land from feare,
> Do so; and I shall praise thee all the while,
> So be, thou stake not vp the common stile;
> So be thou hedge in nought, but what's thine owne,
> So be thou pay what tithes thy neighbours done,
> So be thou let not lye in fallowed plaine,
> That which was wont yeeld Vsurie of graine.
> But when I see thy pitched stakes do stand
> On thy incroched peece of common land,
> Whiles thou discommonest thy neighbours keyne,
> And warn'st that none feed on thy field saue thine;
> Brag no more Scrobius of thy mudded bankes,
> Nor thy deepe ditches, nor three quickset rankes:
> Oh happy daies of olde Deucalion,
> When one was Land-lord of the world alone!
>
> V.iii. 62-77

Hall ends with the comment that people who enclose the petty lands of the tenant farmers are tyrants similar to Philip of Spain and the Cardinal Archduke, Albert of Austria ("the red Hat" of the "lowly Rhene," lines 86-87), who were attempting to "enclose" England with Spanish territory in 1596-97.

The last satire shows the wastefulness of the wealthy farmer's son. It is placed directly after a satire which depicts the hardships suffered by the poor in order to provide money for spendthrifts who cannot live within their means.[44]

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[43]"Shend" in the text. However, this verb does not make sense in this context. It is most probably an error resulting from the similarity of [illegible] and [illegible] i.e. ffend, not shend.

[44]Stubbes also presents his attack in this manner, see Furnivall, Part II, 31-33.

We are left to suspect that the selfish young man of V.iv will tax his tenants even more in an effort to raise his income.

This book of satires demonstrates Hall's further stylistic development. There is an increasing tendency towards polished concise couplets, each containing glancing allusions or analogies. For example, note the couplets containing analogies of modern decadence which themselves strike out at evils. The subject is enclosure, and Hall discusses the fact that the poor man's unfenced land will be enclosed despite the stone markers indicating ownership:

> Poore simple men! For what mought that auayle
> That my field might not fill my neighbours payle [fence]
> More than a pilled sticke can stand in stead,
> To barre Cynedo from his neighbours bed,
> More than the thred-bare Clients pouertie
> Debarres th'Atturney of his wonted fee?
>
> V.iii. 44-49

Hall has blended the urbanity of Horace with the dramatic attack of Juvenal and the sermons, the compression of Persius, the English decasyllabic couplet and the structure of the sermon. The blended satires have been developed in order to prick English consciences and thereby to begin the moral reformation of England.

BOOK VI

Satire VI.i is an ironic recantation:

> . . . Let me now repent mee of my rage,
> For writing _Satyres_ in so righteous age.
>
> VI.i. 21-22

Hall then proceeds to list many faults. Each fault is often contained in its own polished end-stopped couplet. As in Book V, the positive section follows each fault, either by direct comment or by ironic implication:

> . . . _Gellia_ wore a veluet Mastick-patch
> Vpon her temples when no tooth did ach,
> When _Beauty_ was her Reume I soone espide,
> Nor could her plaister cure her of her pride.
>
> VI.i. 115-18

Hall is punning here upon "rheum," using it to show beauty as a disease, and also noting the astringent effect that mastick had upon lymphatic exudates. A rheum was a flow of humour which caused mental or physical distress. Another neat play upon words appears in:

> Ere _Chrysalus_ had bar'd the common boxe,
> Which earst he pick't to store his priuate stocks;
> But now hath all with vantage paid againe;
> And locks and plates [strengthens] what doth behind remaine.
>
> VI.i. 77-80

Chrysalus is apparently a church deacon, because he bars (and bares) the alms box. The distribution of alms was managed by the deacons in Hall's time. However, whether the money that remains refers to that which he has returned, or that which he has stolen (or gained by his stolen money) is

ambiguous. Certainly Chrysalus is an expert on protection from thieves!

Glancing allusions and abrupt transitions are frequent. The vignette is sketched swiftly, dramatically:

> . . . when old gouty bed-rid Euclio
> To his officious factor fayre could show,
> His name in margent of some olde cast byll
> And say; Lo whom I named in my will:
> Whiles hee beleeues and looking for the share,
> Tendeth his cumbrous charge with busy care;
> For but a while; For now he sure will die,
> By his strange qualme of liberalitie:
> Great thanks he giues: but God him sheild & saue
> From euer gayning by his masters graue;
> Onely liue long, and he is well repaide,
> And weats his forced cheeks whiles thus he said,
> Some strong-smeld Onion shall stirre his eyes
> Rather than no salt teares shall then arise.
> So lookes he like a Marble toward rayne,
> And wrings and snites, and weeps, & wipes againe,
> Then turnes his backe and smiles & lookes askance,
> Seasoning againe his sowred countenance,
> Whiles yet he wearyes heauen with daily cryes,
> And backward Death with deuout sacrifice,
> That they would now his tedious ghost bereauen,
> And wishes well, that wish't no worse than heauen.
>
> VI.i. 89-110

Hall ends by comparing the hideous women loved by the sonnetteers and the Petrarchian conceits written about them. He finishes with a contemptuous comment on the resulting popularity of the lying poets:

> Who would not but wed Poets now a daies!
>
> VI.i. 305

As mentioned earlier, satire IV.vii was originally

placed last. It, too, lists abuses in polished, concise lines. This satire has several compact images and contains a recapitulation of earlier themes in the opening lines. However, it does not contain the witty double entendres of VI.i, each of which depicts an abuse and mocks it—the characteristic which marks the climax of Hall's development of English formal verse satire. Structurally, satire IV.vii has three parts: the text, the illustrations, and the conclusion, as do some of Hall's earlier satires. I believe that it should be returned to Book VI, perhaps as satire VI.i, so that the recantation becomes VI.ii.

The satires end with Hall's "A Post-script to the Reader" in which he maintains his earnest attempt to correct the vices around him:

> For my Satyres themselues, I see two obuious cauils to be answered. One concerning the matter; then which I confesse none can be more open to danger, to enuie, sith falts loath nothing more than the light, and men loue nothing more than their faults, and therefore what through the nature of the faults, and fault of the persons, it is impossible so violent an appeachment should be quietly brooked. But why should vices be vnblamed for feare of blame? and if thou maist spit vpon a Toade vnuenomed, why maist thou not speake of a vice without danger? Especially so warily as I haue indeauoured, who in the vnpartiall mention of so many vices, may safely professe to be altogether guiltlesse in my selfe to the intention of any guiltie person who might be blemished by the likelyhood of my conceiued application, therupon choosing rather to marre mine owne verse than anothers name: which notwithstanding if the iniurious Reader shall wrest to his owne spight, and disparraging of others, it is a short answere: Art thou guiltie? complaine not, thou art not wronged: art thou guiltles? complaine not, thou art not touched.
>
> "Post-script," lines 36-52

Hall was a practicing Puritan-Calvinist, and he believed that it was his duty to show England her faults. In the capacity of a teacher, with the Virgidemiarum as his birch-rod, he had fulfilled his obligation.

CONCLUSION

Hall's satires received much attention. The Toothlesse Satyrs were printed in 1597, 1598 and 1602; the Byting Satyres were printed in 1598 and 1599. Marston's Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres and the Scourge of Villanie both appeared in 1598. Marston imitates Hall and adds scurrility. Guilpin published Skialetheia in 1598 and praised Hall. Weever published his Epigrammes in 1599 and quoted Hall's I.i. 11-12. The whip that Hall claimed to bear reappeared in 1601 in W.I's The Whipping of the Satyre, which attacked Marston and Guilpin. This was answered by The Whipper of the Satyre his pennance in a white sheete; Or, The Beadles Confutation (? Guilpin). Nicholas Breton wrote No Whipping nor trippinge: but a kinde of friendly Snippinge in 1601.[1] The popularity of the satiric scourge continued for three decades, for in 1624 John Taylor wrote The Scourge of Basenesse.

Lengthy paraphrases of the Virgidemiarum appeared in The Parnassus Plays presented at Cambridge at the turn of the century. The satirical second play, The Returne from Pernassus, was sub-titled The Scourge for Simony. Marston became a playwright and helped to bring satire back to the stage. Satiric plays became popular. Finally, Milton

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[1]A. Davenport, ed. The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall (Liverpool: at the University Press, 1949), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; A. Davenport, "The Quarrel of the Satirists," MLR, XXXVII (1942), 123-30.

returned the Virgidemiarum to the attention of the public in 1641-1642 when he criticized Hall in the Animadversion . . . and An Apologie against . . . A Modest Confutation.

Hall had produced English formal verse satire by blending the Latin satires with English sermons and English literary techniques. The result was a dramatic style with glancing allusions, abrupt twists of thought, double meanings, character sketches, thematic presentation, attack and constructive comment —— all presented by means of concise polished decasyllabic couplets. In the process of evolving his final formal style he had given examples of the many blends and variations of satiric style that could be obtained by using the materials and mannerisms of earlier writers. It was as if he had placed the variations of colour on a satiric palette so that succeeding satiric artists could choose those variations which suited their own ability and wishes. Some of these satirists abused the new genre, incorporating scurrility, others developed it. But English formal verse satire had its beginning in the austere halls of the Puritan Emmanuel College when an earnest young man, always destined for the clergy, resolved to fulfill his obligation to his God. He must do his part to reform England, and he used his talents and knowledge to the best of his ability in order to do so. Hall's choice of satire was appropriate. The earliest recorded satirist was Archilochus, who claimed to be divinely inspired by Demeter. The inspiration for Hall's satires came from the Calvinist God.

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