

POLITICAL SATIRE IN THE NOVELS OF THE
MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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PREFACE

This study has been pursued in an effort to ascertain the amount and influence of political satire in the eighteenth century. For the happy choice of this subject, as well as the final accomplishment of the results, I am greatly indebted to Dr. L. M. Ellison. It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge my appreciation in this manner. To be instructed by him has been an intellectual privilege; his kindness and assistance have added pleasure to this privilege. The cooperation received from my other English instructors and the Library staff has been of great assistance to me in the completion of this work. Nor do I intend to overlook the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the assistance of my family which has made it possible for me to enjoy the opportunity of these past two years.

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POLITICAL SATIRE IN THE NOVELS OF THE
MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Chapter I

Mid-eighteenth Century Conditions that Gave Rise to Political Satire

Political satire reached its culmination in English literature in the mid-decades of the eighteenth century. From the beginning of the century irony and satire were firmly entrenched in all literary forms. At the close of the seventeenth century there existed a heavily censored, governmental issue called The Gazette; in the early decades of the eighteenth century there appeared a periodical free from censorship and produced by the middle classes. Satire was a dominant characteristic of this new literary form. Defoe in The Review was the first to use this method to satirize his enemies. He was a Dissenter, and in his article, The Shortest Way with Dissenters, he used irony so skilfully that at first the article was believed to favor the English Church. When his true meaning was understood, he was fined and imprisoned. Just a little later Swift lashed out with satire that was the essence of bitterness. By many he is considered the greatest English satirist. In this early part of the eighteenth century the censorship of the press, which had been rigorously enforced earlier, was gradually relaxed, and then ceased entirely. Addison and Steele used a mild type of satire in their periodicals. They ridiculed manners

and social customs in a humorous manner, with no touch of the bitterness of Swift. They were among the first to use the periodical to attack political abuses, and it is in their works that we find the seed of political satire that flowered in the mid-eighteenth century. In poetry, too, there was the same polished, intellectual wit. Pope, the dominant figure in the poetry of the age, as well as the minor poets, frequently used satire.

The drama, however, was the main vehicle for political satire until the Licensing Act of 1737 put an end to its attacks on the government. By this act all plays had to be censored by the Lord Chamberlain, who suppressed such as in any way offended the existing government. The passage of the law was precipitated by two plays of Henry Fielding directed against the corruptions of the Walpole administration: Pasquin, a Dramatick Satire on the Times; being a Rehearsal of Two Plays, A Comedy Call'd Election, and a Tragedy Call'd the Life and Death of Common Sense, and a sequel, The Historical Register for the Year 1736. A play, The Golden Rump, purchased by Walpole from Gifford, manager of Goodman's Fields, was also directly used in getting the law passed. This practically ended the dramatic career of Fielding. His next attempt at winning a livelihood was in novel-writing. Is it any wonder that he should have expressed his resentment against the machinery that put an end to his success as a dramatist in this new form? So, when we scan the fiction of the first few decades of the eighteenth century and see it infused with satire, we natu-

¹ Austin Dobson, Fielding (English Men of Letters Series), pp. 34-54.

rally expect to find this same quality reflected in the new type of prose fiction which matured at about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Indeed, we do find the novel filled with satire, on social conditions, on manners, on types of personality, and on political corruption. The objective of this study is to discover the political satire of this period. Starting with the publication, in 1740, of the first real English novel, Pamela, and continuing to the publication of Humphrey Clinker and the death of its author, in 1771, a careful perusal of the novels has disclosed a vast amount of political satire. During this period four great English novelists produced their works: Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, and Smollett. This present study lies principally in their writings, but, in some instances, it extends to the minor novelists of the period as well.

The thorough comprehension of all that is embraced in such a study calls for a survey of the political history of England during this thirty years. Two kings were on the throne, George II and his grand-son, George III. They were the second and the third kings of the Hanoverian line established at the death of Anne when George I became king as the nearest Protestant descendant. The first George was thoroughly German, not even speaking the English language; the second, a young man with a family of his own at his father's coronation, was also very German but gradually became more Anglicized. It was not until the time of George III that England again had a king who was English in sentiment and ambition. Owing to the foreign handicap of these first

two kings there developed an office in England to fill the need of an understanding and controlling hand at the helm of the government. This officer became known as the Prime Minister of England. So important did this office become that the history of this period is not one of the various kings and their accomplishments, but one of the Prime Ministers of the period. Therefore, it is from this angle that we must approach the political survey.

Sir Robert Walpole was the first to make himself Prime Minister of England. George I was interested solely in Hanover and was totally uninterested in England except for financial reasons. George II was equally interested in Hanover. Walpole rose to influence under the first king because he was a financial genius and could keep the king supplied with money on his frequent absences to the continent. In 1727, while on a visit to Hanover, George I died. His son, while still the Crown Prince, had bitterly opposed Walpole, and it was only through the influence of Queen Wilhelmina Caroline, whose esteem had been carefully cultivated by Walpole, that the statesman was able to maintain the power that he had secured for himself. The affair of the "South Sea Bubble" brought Walpole strongly to the front, and for twenty years he never let go. At the height of the investments in this enterprise he warned the people of the results and prophesied the end. Therefore, when it came, he was called upon to restore national credit and confidence.

Steadily Sir Robert Walpole strengthened his control, while opposition to him likewise grew steadily. "Incessant warfare

against the ministry was conducted by Chesterfield in The Fog,² William Pulteney and Lord Bolingbroke in The Craftsman, Bolingbroke also in The Occasional Writer,² and Chesterfield in Common Sense.^{2 3} He was attacked for his policies of administration, of finance, of foreign diplomacy, and for his personal conduct. They unanimously proclaimed him "a monster of corruption with a vast fortune drawn from the life of the nation".⁴ Naturally such outcries found their way into the new prose fiction of the period. Walpole's son, Horatio, Lord Hervey, and Bishop Hoadley were the Minister's principal pamphleteers, defending his actions and praising his accomplishments. England at this period was experiencing many evils; corruption and bribery held sway in politics; religious difficulties were caused by Dissenters and Catholics over The Test and Corporation Acts; prison conditions were in a dreadful state, with starvation and torture at their height. Walpole's chief interest was in the economic growth of the country; so he introduced a liberal commercial policy. Land taxes were lowered, tariffs readjusted, and export duties removed from manufactured goods. All these changes culminated in a tremendous wave of prosperity for English commerce.

Walpole's personal characteristics did much to create unfavorable sentiments concerning him. His insistence on ministerial subordination to the Head Minister caused many to desert his ranks for the opposition; for instance, Lord Bolingbroke, who had

² Leading periodicals of The Eighteenth Century.

³ I. S. Leadam, Political History of England, p. 336.

⁴ I. S. Leadam, Political History of England, p. 336.

been his staunch supporter, became a violent opponent. Walpole's opposition to the desire of Crown Prince Frederick to marry incensed the Prince and many of his admirers. This friction resulted in the rise of two factions; one headed by Frederick, the other by George II and his First Minister. The Crown Prince appeared at all court functions, but "the king never seemed to see or know he was in the room; the Queen, although she gave him her hand on all public occasions, never gave him a word in public or private"⁵. Meanwhile the Prince was married to the Princess of Saxe-Gotha, and the birth of their first child away from the royal palace still farther widened the breach in the King's family. Queen Caroline died in 1737, losing for Walpole his greatest friend.

At about this same time storm clouds were gathering with Spain, and the Minister, resisting war to the last, was eventually forced to it. Then followed the expedition to Carthage with its disastrous failure, which furnished an excellent target for Smollett's stinging satire in Peregrine Pickle. Immediately following this the Emperor Charles VI of Austria died, leaving as his successor to the throne a woman, Maria Theresa. Frederick II of Prussia invaded Silesia, and England was faced with a dilemma, -
⁶
 a Spanish war was in progress and the "pragmatic sanction" guaranteed assistance to Austria. George II, as Elector of Hanover, was summonsed to a council by Maria Theresa, and he left for the continent despite the objections of his Chief Minister. Here he negotiated a treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Hanover, which,

⁵ I. S. Leadam, Political History of England, p. 357-

⁶ "Family Agreement".

combined with the unsuccessful expedition to Carthegena, was the final blow to Walpole's power. Seeing his doom, he had himself created the Earl of Orford and resigned as Minister, in 1742. Pulteney was now offered the leadership by George II, but Cartaret was also a powerful influence. Minor party members stirred up sentiment against the retired Minister, and an investigation followed. The results cleared Walpole and produced a new wave of favor for him and against Pulteney, who was consequently retired in favor of Cartaret.

A period now followed in which there was a constant change of Ministry. No individual was strong enough long to withstand the opposition. Cartaret, the Earl of Granville, who was now much addicted to drink, was charged with inefficiency by Hardwicke, and he surrendered the leadership to Harrington. Newcastle was one of the leading figures of this ministry. He was much ridiculed by Walpole and proved incapable at a crisis, but his political influence through patronage was enormous. During this period England was forced into the war of the Spanish Succession by violation of Hanover's neutrality. As usual in time of war with France, there was a Jacobite rebellion, in 1744. England's small but valiant army was on the continent under command of the nation's favorite officer, the Duke of Cumberland, second son of George II. Five thousand Scots led by Charles Edward, marched to Derby, at the very doors of London. Cumberland was hastily recalled, and defeated the Highlanders at Culloden Moor. It was following this that the Duke of Cumberland stained a good military reputation by his cruelties to the Scotch and earned the title of "Billy, the Butcher".

The period following the War of the Austrian Succession, 1748 to 1756, corresponds roughly to the rule of the Pelhams, a coalition of two brothers, Newcastle and Pelham. England slumbered while preparations for war were being made in India, America, and France.

No man of force had been able to raise himself to Prime Minister since Walpole's fall. There was a man, however, capable of this powerful leadership, but owing to the fact that he insisted on his own ideals and principles in preference to those of a party, and because he was heartily despised by George II, he was retained in minor roles for years. This man was William Pitt, Senior. In 1731, Pitt had first been heard of when he was given a commission in Cobham's regiment of horse. Under Cobham's influence Pitt succeeded his elder brother as a member of Parliament in 1734. His first speech in the House attracted widespread attention. It was made in 1736 concerning the marriage of the Crown Prince, and the extravagance of his compliments, which satirized the attitude of George II toward his eldest son, won for him the king's enmity. From this date the King opposed him at every turn and only bowed to his leadership when all other resources had failed. Walpole used his influence against Pitt, and he was dismissed. The Crown Prince made him groom of the bedchamber, forming a stronger alliance between them. Constantly he declaimed against Walpole's policy and absolutism. Through all the Cabinet organizations from 1742 to 1748 the King firmly rejected any office for Pitt. Finally he consented to the Pelham's request, and Pitt was sent to an office in Ireland, but

within three months, on account of the death of Winnington, he succeeded to office of the Paymaster of the Forces. Pitt now unblushingly stood for measures that he had formerly opposed. The Unembarrassed Countenance was a ballad satirizing his conversion.

Fox now held the coveted position of Secretary of War. He had one decided advantage over Pitt, physical strength and no infirmities. The Seven Years War with France was being fought in America, India, and on the Continent. The Duke of Cumberland was sent to the Continent, but accomplished only his own downfall. First, he disregarded the advice of his officers and fortified his army at the Weser instead of the Rhine. The French under Marshal d'Estres easily defeated his inferior forces, and he was compelled to retreat. Pursued by the enemy, he was finally cornered between two rivers and the sea, where he capitulated with his whole army in exchange for personal freedom. His Royal Highness shortly returned to England where he found himself so unpopular that he resigned all military employment.

Meanwhile no Minister was yet powerful enough to maintain his government for any length of time. Newcastle and Fox formed a coalition which was eagerly opposed by Pitt and his personal friend Legge. Loudly Chatham proclaimed that he was the only man who could save England from France. The Ministry, at this time, received requests for assistance from the Governor of Minorca. When help was finally sent under Admiral Byng, it was inadequate, with a commander of no ability. To appease public opinion over the failure of this expedition, Byng was brought

home, convicted of not doing his utmost in line of duty, and executed. This gave the Ministry only a short respite, as the public demand for Pitt forced him into office in 1756 against all efforts of the King to the contrary. He immediately secured the passage of a measure providing for adequate supplies to carry on the defence of Hanover, and the King's animosity lessened somewhat. An alliance was immediately formed between Frederick II and Pitt, and the war was pushed forward under the able management of these two great men. There was still friction in the cabinet, as the Whig party wanted complete control, and "Pitt would not sacrifice his own opinions to those of the party". Newcastle still catered to the King, and disagreement between them and Pitt over the number of forces needed on the continent led to the dismissal of Pitt and Legge. For several months there was no organized government, but constant popular demand forced George to recall Pitt. This was a decided victory for the people. "The Great Commoner", as Pitt was called, was personally disagreeable to the King, was without aristocratic backing, yet the people could force him into office by the unanimous voice of the masses. Now firmly entrenched in office, his ideas were rapidly put into effect. Soon disaster and disgrace were of the past, and glory and honor rose for Great Britain.

Practically all of Pitt's plans were successful. Abercrombie and Amherst were sent to America, where they captured Fort Du Quesne, which was renamed Fort Pitt. Their ambition was to con-

⁷ Robert Bisset, The Reign of George III, p. 115.

quer Canada but inclement weather delayed their work. Later, Brigadier-General Wolfe was sent against Quebec, with Townshend second in command. By skillful manoeuvring on the part of Wolfe Quebec was captured for England. Wolfe lost his life during the battle, and Townshend assumed command. The capitulation of Montreal followed in a short time; thus was Canada won for the British. So with Pitt at the helm of affairs a series of successful projects was accomplished. Likewise in the continental war certain successes marked this period; a foothold was established in Africa; Robert Clive established British supremacy in India. Such were the conditions of affairs when George II, at the age of seventy-seven, died suddenly on October 25th, 1760.

George III now succeeded to the throne. He was the grandson of his predecessor, and a youth at this date. He had been carefully reared in retirement from all companionship save that of his mother and her friend John Stuart, Earl of Bute. This cloistered life made him morally virtuous, genial of disposition, but incapable of judging character. When this young man came to the throne, he was determined to break the Whig power and to enforce his no-party policy on the Cabinet. Gradually his favorites replaced Whig members. The Earl of Bute and the King's brother, Edward, were his first appointments. Legge was dismissed and Holdensse resigned, but Pitt was still nominally the Head. While pretending to seek peace with England, France allied herself with Spain, a combination of the two houses of Bourbon. Pitt saw the imminent danger in this combination and recommended immediate offensive action against Spain. When this suggestion was voted down by all except Lord Temple, his brother-in-law, the Prime

Minister offered his resignation. The public raised a loud cry against its acceptance, and in order to stop this clamor, Pitt was given a pension of 3000ls. per year to extend to the third generation. In just a few short months all England saw that Pitt had been correct, and the new Ministry was forced to do what he had recommended earlier.

The King, who showed every favor possible to his favorite, immediately made Bute head of the new government. While he was a good man and a valuable citizen, Bute was not a successful nor experienced politician. A Scotchman by birth, he filled many lucrative positions with his fellow-countrymen, especially members of his own family. This caused a great wave of feeling against him with the majority of the English people. A few months following his organization of administration, Spain and France invaded Portugal in an attempt to force her into alliance with them. England had to go to the assistance of the Portuguese in order to turn back the invading forces.

France now saw that her lack of finances, combined with her failures, necessitated peace; so the Peace of Paris was soon concluded. The outcry against this treaty was instantaneous, as England did not acquire what her successes entitled her to have. Bute was accused of having the Scotch weakness for the French, and received all blame for the treaty. In the adjustment of finances following the war Bute still further alienated himself from the people. He levied excises such as had caused the downfall of Walpole. "In pamphlets and periodical publications and in all public meetings in the city of London, which were entirely

directed by the Opposition, this act was represented as part of the rapacity of Scotchmen, and for establishing arbitrary power." ⁸
 He immediately retired from office.

The Honorable George Grenville, a brother of Lord Temple, headed the succeeding Ministry, which immediately faced a serious crisis. John Wilkes, member of Parliament from Aylesbury, had for some time attacked Bute and all Scotchmen in a publication known as The North Briton. At this juncture, an abuse of the Sovereign appeared in what is known as No. 45. Parliament, instead of ignoring the scurrilous attack, made such an issue of it that for years there was a controversy over it; Wilkes became a public hero, and the existing ministry was discredited. The Adventures of a Guinea, by Charles Johnstone, satirizes this affair, and we will look into it in more detail a little later. Bute, who was supposed to influence the King in all matters, still received the blame for all unpleasant occurrences.

Grenville was a man of clear understanding, parliamentary experience, extensive knowledge of law, finances, and commerce. His desire to improve the financial condition of England without burdening the country led to a suggestion that proved a calamity for Great Britain. He introduced a plan whereby stamp duties should be levied on certain imports and exports in America, in order that that country might help bear the burden of the war fought in her defence. The outcry from America caused the bill to be dropped temporarily, but when it was renewed and enforced,

⁸ Robert Bisset, The Reign of George III, p. 203.

a year or so later, it culminated in America's War for independence.

Early in 1765, George III had a serious illness which greatly alarmed the country, as his heir was only three years old, and the prospect of so long a minority was dreaded by the nation. When George recovered a little later, he insisted on forming a council of regency, who would be ready to serve in case anything should happen to him. Some time after this the regency was called upon to serve but not for his son; it was during a period of his own incapacity due to mental illness. Opposition grew so strong against Grenville that he was forced out, and Rockingham, combined with the Duke of Cumberland formed the next ministry. This ministry was of short duration, as Cumberland, its main strength, died within a short time. Pitt was again solicited to organize the government, but he refused on account of ill-health.

The Duke of Grafton headed the new Ministry. He was a staunch supporter of Pitt, but broke away from his policies while the Commoner was ill and absent from affairs. A revival of the Wilkes affair and the enforcement of taxation in America discomfited the Ministry. In 1770, the attacks of Pitt, who was now somewhat restored to health, and the satire of The Letters of Junius led Grafton to resign. At this critical time the Lord North Ministry was formed. Disturbances were now common in America; Russia and Turkey were having trouble; Spain and England were in dispute; the corrupt borough system in England was brought to light in the Shoreham case. Defamation on political subjects was never more licentious than at this particular time.

Pitt, the Public hero for the last twenty years, now became Lord Chatham, which greatly lessened his popularity.

So with the entrance of North's ministry, the death of the novelist, Smollett, and the loss of Pitt as the great leader of the Commons, we will leave our historical review and turn to the satirical matter. Three dominant figures became the object of satire in these thirty years: Walpole, Pitt, and Bute. Each of these will be taken up in detail.

Chapter II

Satirical Attacks on Walpole's Ministry

An understanding of the life and character of Sir Robert Walpole readily discloses qualities that invite satire. He was born in 1676, of parents who were economically successful, but essentially middle-class country people. He was the fifth of nineteen children, and the third son. He was a student in King's College, Cambridge, when the death of his two elder brothers made him heir to the estate; so he returned home. Here he lived a pleasant, easy life, drinking and enjoying sports with his father. In 1700, he married Miss Catherine Shorter, who was never thoroughly congenial with him, but brought him a considerable fortune. The same year his father passed away, and Sir Robert entered Parliament, where he remained for the next forty-odd years. For nearly twenty years after his entrance into political life little is known of his career, excepting the fact that he was a man of financial ability. After the explosion of the "South Sea Bubble", Walpole was very much respected as an economic genius, since he had predicted very accurately the actual outcome of these speculative ventures. George I grew to depend very much upon Walpole, but when this king died in 1727, it was confidently expected that Walpole would lose his office on account of the animosity of the new king. As Crown Prince, George II had

constantly quarreled with his father and had bitterly hated Walpole. The latter, however, had carefully cultivated the friendship of Queen Caroline, who greatly admired the Minister for his ability. For several days after the new King came to the throne, Walpole waited to be dismissed in favor of Compton, but this brief interval served to show George II that none of his friends were capable of holding the office; therefore he decided to retain Sir Robert. It was after this time that the Minister established himself with the absolute power that he attained.

For more than a decade now England enjoyed peace. Many difficulties arose, but Walpole managed to steer clear of war. In 1737, he lost his best friend, the Queen, and his own wife, for whom he had little affection. Shortly after his wife's death, he married Mary Skerrett, with whom he had lived several years. Their child was recognized by the King. After a year or so, England was forced into war with Spain, who refused to regard England's rights on the sea. Rather than carry on the war in the halfhearted manner in which he did, Walpole should have resigned, but inexplicably he held on to his place. Two other main events contributed to his removal by the King, in 1742, at the insistence of the people: one was the effort to levy excise taxes; the other, the controversy over the marriage of the Crown Prince. Just seven days after his removal from office, Walpole was made the Earl of Orford. For the next three years he was a power behind the scenes, as George II had learned to depend upon this man for all things. On March 18, 1745, the first Prime Minister of England died.

Walpole was a powerful leader, yet his name recalls none of the heroic qualities that usually distinguish great national leaders. Even his personal characteristics are not, on the whole, greatly to be admired. In early days a portly, handsome man, he later became corpulent and unwieldy. His facial expression was between a smile and a sneer. He was a gay and easy companion, with a temper even and hard to provoke. He never meddled in the affairs of others nor permitted them to meddle in his. In his work he was rapid and methodical, but always took plenty of time for pleasures. Fox-hunting was his favorite sport, and once a year he spent a month indulging in this pleasure. Drinking was with him, as with his age, a favorite pastime. In his marital relations he was very lax, often boasting of his own successes and apparently indifferent to the fidelity of his wife. Being of a very boisterous nature and given to coarse jokes, he often embarrassed his lady companions. He always boasted that "he could lay aside care with his clothes", and was a sound sleeper. His greatest vice was probably his greed for power, which he was willing to obtain by the most corrupt methods. It was a day of corruption and bribery, which accounts in some degree for this quality in Walpole. He could not brook a superior colleague; so he surrounded himself with mediocre men like Newcastle.

In his capacity of Minister Walpole accomplished many beneficial acts for the nation. He maintained peace, and established a colonial trade that greatly increased the nation's wealth. He secured the removal of a vast number of import and export duties, pointing the way for England's later policy of free-trade. The definite form and powers of the Cabinet were well established

under his leadership, and he was in reality the first modern Prime Minister. The times, however, were against such one-man power; so Walpole always vigorously denied any such implications. He was satirically called the "First Minister" in many periodicals. He twice rejected the suggestion of taxing the American colonies to increase England's income, saying that he had turned Old England against himself, and he would not do the same with New England. Most of his unsuccessful policies were inaugurated near his downfall. The excise, which he advocated, was an idea far in advance of his time, and a very practical one, which is growing more popular in our own times. His idea was to remove the custom duties on wine and tobacco but to tax the consumer. Such an outcry as this aroused has seldom been heard, and he was forced to withdraw his bill. Even after this he was almost mobbed by a frenzied crowd and his effigies were publicly burned. Another mistake in his rule was his attitude toward the Crown Prince. George II and his son were bitter enemies even as he and his own father had been. Walpole's closeness to the King led to an open rupture with the Crown Prince, and the Minister's opposition to the latter's marriage created many enemies for the administration. The one instance on record of Walpole's bribery is found in connection with his preventing a yearly settlement of a large sum of money upon the Crown Prince, who became one of the chief forces in driving Walpole out of office in 1742.

Sir Robert was always bitterly hated by all the Scotch on account of the Captain Proteus affair. His policy of carrying on the war with Spain after he had been forced into it, his usage

of patronage to keep his power, and his political corruption are all material for satire in the periodicals and prose fiction of his contemporaries.

The most vigorous satire directed against Walpole was Fielding's Jonathan Wild. As stated above, a long enmity between the two had been disclosed in the dramas of Fielding, which Walpole had securely muzzled with the Licensing Act of 1737. Following this Fielding turned to writing for periodicals. Soon his old animosity toward the Minister was shown by constant attacks in the Champion, particularly in those from November, 1739 to June, 1740. During this latter year a new literary form was achieved by Richardson's Pamela. This became the vehicle for Fielding's political satire of Walpole's administration. On April 4, 1741, there appeared in the Craftsman, An Apology for the Life of Shamela Andrews, by Conny Keyber. This was revised and republished in the Champion of November 3, 1741. The fictitious name signed to this burlesque of the first English novel, Pamela, was intended to connect the article with the pen of Colley Cibber, an old antagonist of Fielding, but it has since been almost definitely established that it was actually written by Fielding. This satirical work, his active connection with the Champion and the Gentleman's Magazine in the capacity of Opposition pamphleteer, and a second novel Joseph Andrews, all prepared the way for Jonathan Wild, which appeared in 1742.

The framework for the satire was the story of a thief named Jonathan Wild, who a few years earlier had become notorious through-

¹ Wilbur L. Cross, Henry Fielding, Vol. 1, p. 304.

out England. The story had been told by several writers, the best known redaction probably being Gay's Beggar's Opera. The hero is a thief at the head of a gang of thieves. He sends his men about to rob here and plunder there; then he proceeds to take by far the larger share of all the spoils. When anyone raises a cry against his treatment, he carefully puts him out of the way by informing against him and having him hanged. The story of the jeweler, Heartfree, takes up a large part of the novel and is original with Fielding. This sub-plot has nothing to do with the political satire, but seems rather to have been introduced to obscure the writer's meaning. It was, however, the direct cause of Wild's fate overtaking him. The treachery of one of his most trusted thieves, Fireblood, who was also intimate with Wild's wife Laetitia, resulted in the hanging of the hero. There is an intrigue in the novel between Miss Theodosia Snap, whose father is a constable, and the hero, Wild.

Fielding was very loud in disclaiming any personal intent in this work, but the very fact that his denial was so emphatic makes one doubt its truth. Throughout the entire story he constantly compares thieves and rogues with ministers, great men, and Prime Ministers, so that we can scarcely doubt that he is satirizing Walpole. In the original edition all of these names are in large letters, but in later editions many have ordinary spelling, showing that his revision of the work did away with some of its political significance. In his magazine articles in the Champion and the Gentleman's Magazine many terms are directed against Walpole which exactly conform to those in Jonathan Wild.

In the Champion for February 28th, 1739-40, Fielding maintains that he has carefully studied Prime-Ministry and "intends to teach the Art". The necessities, as he sees them, are "a very particular broad Grin, * * a Stare which surprises, * * * * Promises of all Sorts and Sizes, * * * * Slanders of the blackest Kind, * * * Squeezes of the Hand, Bows, and Invitations to Dinner, * * Bribery, * * * and the Art of Lie-Looking"². Many of these particulars are charged to Walpole in the satirical novel. In a later issue, discussing the derivation of certain names, he comments upon "Robert or Robin". He says there is "a Robert's Sauce composed of the most Repugnant Ingredients"³. He further states that Liar Robin was the "Head of a Gang of Thieves"³; and then proves that the word "robbery" is derived from "Robert". Such material can scarcely fail to point to the satire later produced by Fielding in the form of a novel.

An examination of Fielding's description of Wild immediately suggests that of Prime Minister Walpole.

Jonathan Wild had every qualification necessary to form a great man. As his most powerful and predominant passion was ambition, so nature had, with consummate propriety, adopted all his faculties to the attainment of those glorious ends to which his passion directed him. He was extremely ingenious in inventing designs, artful in contriving the means to accomplish his purposes, and resolute in executing them; for as the most exquisite cunning and most undaunted boldness qualified him for an undertaking, so was he not restrained by any of those weaknesses which disappoint the views of mean and vulgar souls, and which are comprehended in one general term of HONEST, a word derived from what the Greeks call an ass. He was entirely free from those low vices of modesty and good-nature, which, as he said, implied a total negation of human greatness, and were the only qualities which absolutely

² Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 316.

³ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 311.

rendered him incapable of making a considerable figure in the world. His lust was inferior only to his ambition; but, as for what simple people call love, he knew not what it was. His avarice was immense, but it was of the rapacious, not of the tenacious kind; his rapaciousness was indeed so violent that nothing ever contented him but the whole. * * * The character which he most valued himself upon, and which he principally honored in others, was that of hypocrisy. * * He held good-nature and modesty in the highest contempt, but constantly practiced the affectation of both and recommended this to others.⁴

In the foregoing passage the author chose Walpole's most prominent faults to incorporate in his description of Wild. Unscrupulous ambition, gross personal immorality, avarice, and corruption are all reflected in the description. A reference to the actual facial expression of Sir Robert is seen in the following: "He was greatly superior to all mankind in the steadfastness of his countenance."⁵ The accusation, so often flung at Walpole, of bribery is charged against Wild: "Nor must we omit the early indications which he gave of the sweetness of his temper; for though he was by no means terrified into compliance, yet might he, by a sugar-plum, be brought to your purpose; indeed, to say the truth, he was to be bribed to anything, which made many say he was certainly born to be a great man."⁶

In addition to the personal characteristics which readily identify Wild with Walpole, the author made the identity even closer. Walpole's father bore the same name, Robert; his grandfather was named Edward; so Wild's father was also Jonathan; his grandfather, Edward.

⁴ Jonathan Wild, pp. 287-288.

⁵ Ibid., p. 156.

⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

A fling at Walpole's loose matrimonial relations was taken by Fielding in his account of the relationship of Wild with the wanton Miss Laetitia Snap, and the decidedly loose character, Miss Straddle. In Miss Snap's affairs with several rivals he directly attacks Walpole's indifference to the fidelity and virtue of his own wife. In the original text of 1743 the name of "Sir John" was used in the quarrel scene between Jonathan and his wife. Lord Hervey is reputed to have been the favorite of Walpole's wife and the father of her son Horace. This accounts for the use of "Sir John" in the early editions, which Fielding changed to "Strongbow" in the edition of 1754.⁷ Miss Straddle suggests Maria Skerritt, who became Walpole's second wife after a notorious affair between the two. A direct attack on Walpole's immorality is seen in the following lines: "For he had that weakness of suffering himself to be enslaved by women, so naturally incident to men of heroic disposition; to say the truth, it may more properly be called a slavery to his appetites."⁸ In order the more surely to identify the implication in the satire on Walpole's marriage relations, Fielding makes a more direct attack in his reference to the connection of Fireblood and Wild, whose wife had been guilty of an intrigue with the former.

Another and nearer tie subsisted between our hero and this youth; an instance which may also serve to justify the strictest intercourse of love and acquaintance which so commonly subsist in modern history between the husband and the gallant, displaying the vast force of friendship contracted by this more honourable than legal alliance, which is thought to be at present one of the

⁷ Jonathan Wild, p. 172.

⁸ Ibid., p. 153.

strongest bonds of amity between great men, and the most reputable as well as easy way to their favor.⁹

The terms "prig" and "prigism", which are used frequently throughout the book, are said by Fielding to mean "thief" and "thievery", but on careful examination they appear to mean "Whig" and "Whigism". They have been interpreted by Baker to mean even jobbery, place-hunting, and bribery. Count La Ruse probably represents Southerland, who preceded Walpole as Minister. Bagshot was Wild's instructor in thievery, and history shows that Southerland was as corrupt in his political methods as his successor; hence, Fielding must refer to him as the instructor of the Prime Minister who became famous for his corruption.

Three passages in the novel have express political significance; one is the struggle in prison for party control between Jonathan and Roger Johnson (Book IV, Chapter III); another is the puppet-show (Book III, Chapter XI); and the third is the famous passage on employing hands (Book I, Chapter XIV). The prison scene presents a struggle between the two men, Wild and Johnson, for party control among their fellow prisoners. Wild ridicules Johnson's fine clothes and mighty airs, until he wins over a majority of the inmates as his followers. A physical encounter completes Wild's victory, and he becomes the acknowledged leader, taking Johnson's finery. Quite surprisingly, a few days

⁹ Jonathan Wild, p. 187.

¹⁰ Ernest A. Baker, The History of the English Novel, Vol. IV, p. 14.

later, he appears in the usurped clothing, which is ill-fitting on the new leader. Wells, in an article in the Publications of the Modern Language Association, suggests two interpretations of this satirical passage. Both necessitate a shift in character identity, which he says is not unusual in this type of satire.¹¹ One of these identifies Wild with Pulteney, who gained control of the Government after Walpole's downfall, and Johnson with Walpole; the other identifies Wild with Wilmington instead of Pulteney. There is a more natural explanation of this scene than either of these. The hanging of Wild at the close of the novel undoubtedly represents the downfall of Walpole; why should Fielding refer to this event earlier in the same work? It is more probable that this scene represents the rivalry between Walpole and Townshend for the ascendancy, and insinuates Walpole's common origin in the misfit of the coat, which Lord Townshend had worn. It is historically true that in his early career, Walpole worked harmoniously with Townshend, and shared honors equally with him. The nobleman, when he beheld Walpole surpassing him in affluence and influence, became one of his bitterest enemies. A reference which further proves the identity of these two occurs in a later passage where Fielding refers to an actual altercation between these two men, which ended in¹² drawn swords:

Though it must be acknowledged that two very great men, whose names will both be recorded in history, did in the latter

¹¹ Op. cit., Vol. 28, p. 2.

¹² Dictionary of National Biography, Art. Townshend.

times come forth themselves upon the stage, and did hack and hew and lay each other most cruelly open, to the diversion of the spectators, yet this must be mentioned rather as an example of avoidance than imitation.¹³

The second political passage, that on employing hands, directly attacks Walpole for his corruption and bribery. This passage sets forth the familiar saying "that nothing succeeds like success", and shows that Walpole is respected because he has corrupted and bribed himself into a powerful position:

The Mercantile part of the world, therefore, wisely use the terms employing hands, and justly prefer each other as they employ more or fewer; for this one merchant says that he is greater because he employs more hands. And now indeed the merchant should seem to challenge some character of greatness did we not necessarily come to a second division, viz., of those who employ hands for the use of the community in which they live, and of those who employ hands merely for their own use, without regard for the benefit of society. Of the former sort are the yeomen, the manufacturer, the merchant, and perhaps the gentleman. * * * The second part of this division, viz., those who employ hands for their own use, are generally distinguished into conquerors, absolute princes, statesmen, and prigs. Now all these differ from each other in greatness only - they employ more or fewer hands. * * * Now suppose a prig had as many tools as any prime minister ever had, would he not be as great as any prime minister whatsoever? Undoubtedly he would.¹⁴

This is a direct attack upon Walpole's party organization through bribery and place-hunting. After the soliloquy Wild decides that he needs only an organized gang to make himself as great as a Prime Minister; so he proceeds to organize one. This is one of the passages that plainly indicate Fielding's attack on Walpole's political organization.

The third passage compares the administration of government

13 Jonathan Wild, p. 190.

14 Jonathan Wild, pp. 70-71.

to a puppet show with its figures dancing to the will of one man; Walpole is like the master of the show:

The stage of the world differs from that in Drury Lane principally in this - that whereas, on the latter, the hero or chief figure is almost continually before your eyes, whilst under-actors are not seen above once in an evening; now, on the former, the hero or great man is always behind the curtain, and seldom or never appears or doth anything in his own person. He doth indeed, in this GRAND DRAMA, rather perform the part of prompter, and doth instruct the well-dressed figures, who are strutting in public on the stage, what to say and do. To say the truth, a puppet-show will illustrate our meaning better, where it is the master of the show (the great man) who dances and moves everything whether it be the king of Muscovy or whatever other potentate, alias puppet, which we behold on the stage; but he himself keeps wisely out of sight; for, should he once appear, the whole motion would be at an end. Not that one is ignorant of his being there, or supposes that the puppets are not mere sticks of wood, and he himself the sole mover; but as this (though every one knows it) doth not appear visibly, i.e. to their eyes, no one is ashamed of consenting to be imposed upon; of helping on the drama, by calling the several sticks or puppets by the names which the master hath allotted to them, and by assigning to each the character which the great man is pleased they shall move in, or rather in which he himself is pleased to move them.¹⁵

This is a direct accusation against Walpole of having made himself Prime Minister, which at that time was regarded with much disfavor. He also takes a slap at George II in his reference to the potentate or puppet. This satirizes the absolute power which Walpole had come to have even over the King.

Throughout the novel there are covert allusions to Walpole which can scarcely be mistaken. The religious doubts of the Minister, which amounted to atheism, are satirized in the following soliloquy of Wild: "If there be another world, it will go hard with me, that is certain. * * Pshaw! I am not such a fool as to be frightened. No, no, when a man's dead, there's an end

¹⁵ Jonathan Wild, p. 189.

16

of him." After Wild was placed in prison, he took to steady drink, which is a frequently heard accusation against Walpole. While it is true that he probably drank no more than many in his day, it was, nevertheless, a source of criticism for the Ministry. More than likely the use of the terms "castle" and "great castle" in speaking of Newgate were covert hits at Walpole's magnificent castle, which housed so unhappy and wretched a pair. He had just built this costly home, the lavishness of which caused much comment.

The maxims to gain greatness that are laid down in the concluding chapters of the book might well be those that Walpole followed in attaining his position: One ought never to do greater mischief than necessary. Sacrifice all with equal readiness to one's interest. Never trust a person whom you have deceived. Never tell more than necessary to a tool. Shun poverty, and ally yourself with the rich. Maintain gravity of aspect and affect wisdom. Never reward anyone equally with his merit. Many are undone by not going deeply enough into roguery. Men proclaim virtues in order to profit by them. The closing paragraph is a final personal thrust at Walpole:

Indeed while greatness consists in power, pride, insolence, and doing mischief to mankind - to speak out - while a great man and a great rogue are synonymous terms, so long shall Wild stand unrivaled on the pinnacle of GREATNESS." 17

Another novel of the eighteenth century which contains much political satire is The Devil on Crutches in England, by "an unknown gentleman of Oxford". This book was obviously written in

16 Jonathan Wild, p. 129.

17 Jonathan Wild, p. 294.

imitation of Le Sage's work, The Devil on Crutches. Eugenio, a well-dressed student from Oxford, was sauntering in the moonlight in London when he was accosted by a well-dressed person who announced that he had been searching for the student. He confided that he was Asmodeus sent to England to oversee suicides and gamblers, as a punishment from the Devil for having appeared in Le Sage's work. He volunteered to take Eugenio to see the sights of London. In this method many of the vices of the English people are represented.

The main political satire appears late in the book, and is presented as "The History of a Senator". Vallius, the noble minister, is certainly Chatham; while "the wickedest Minister in Europe" is just as surely Walpole. The latter was at the helm of government when Vallius entered Parliament. The wicked Minister undertook to bribe Vallius to support a certain issue. Vallius refused, and the Minister realized that he had betrayed himself to an enemy. He cursed his favorite maxim: "that every man has his price". Immediately he summonsed his henchman, Playdeep, who informed him that Vallius was fond of gambling. He was sent out to ruin financially the Noble Senator. The first night Vallius lost £2000, and on the same night heard that his country home had been destroyed by fire. The Wicked Minister sent a second offer to Vallius, but was again refused. Playdeep eventually secured Vallius' name to a bond for a large sum, which he offered to cancel if the Senator would merely remain away from Parliament the following day when a certain matter was to be voted upon. His persuasion merely determined Vallius to appear at any

cost, and he spoke in answer to the Minister in so skilful a manner that the bill was defeated and the Minister himself won over to see its faults. The matter referred to here is undoubtedly Walpole's attempt to secure the passage of his favorite bill, the excise tax. A description of this contest in Parliament follows:

Vallius stood up, and in an Oration that would have done Honour to the Greatest Orator that Greece and Rome ever produced, so manifestly proved the evil Tendency of the Most Wicked of Projects, and the unavoidable Destruction in which it would involve the Liberties and Trade of the Kingdom, that there was not a man present, the Minister himself not excepted, but was convinced of the Danger of its passing into a Law.¹⁸

Soon after this Vallius won his money back from Playdeep, resolving never again to lose over a certain amount at a sitting, a resolution which he kept. In praise of this noble Senator the writer concluded: "He is now you see gradually descending into the Grave, after having served his country faithfully in the capacity of a Senator for a Great Number of years; untainted by Corruption, unbiased by Offers, he has lived and will die a steady Assertor of the Rights and Liberties of his Country."¹⁹

This work appeared in 1759, when the public adulation of Pitt was at its height. He had been the first Minister to break away from the practice of bribery and corruption; so the short satire carries telling force. It assails Walpole on his weakest points, - bribery, corruption, and his effort to carry his point

¹⁸ Op. cit., p. 164.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 166.

in any manner. The bill referred to is undoubtedly the excise tax bill. Pitt actually opposed this, and Walpole did give up the idea of its becoming a law when he saw what opposition it aroused.

Political Satire is conspicuous in the novels of Smollett, but that directed against Walpole is principally in Smollett's earliest work, and has to do with the expedition sent to Carthegena. Roderick Random, which was published in 1748, has as its hero an orphan Scotch youth, who experienced many vicissitudes of life previous to the time he was assaulted by a press gang and put on board The Thunder, a man-of-war destined for the West Indies. From that point we have a repulsive but accurate account of naval conditions during the expedition to Carthegena, to which the author was an eye-witness. Men were treated brutally by their commanders, who were usually incapable men holding their positions through influence rather than qualification. At St. Helens, Roderick's ship joined another "under Sir C----n-r O-le." ²⁰ Soon a fierce tempest arose, and the sick and dying were forced ²¹ into service by a cowardly, heartless commander. When they finally reached Jamaica, a second fleet joined them. Both remained inactive for over a month, when they pushed on to the location where the French fleet was expected. Here they found out that it had sailed for Europe after informing Carthegena the exact strength ²² of the English forces. Still they loitered about before sailing

²⁰ Sir Chaloner Ogle.

²¹ Chapter XXVIII.

²² Chapter XXXI.

to Carthegena, where they again dropped anchor for a period of ten days of inactivity. "I ascribe this delay to the generosity of our chiefs, who scorn to take any advantage that fortune might give them over an enemy", says Smollett. ²³ "At the end of this ten-day period some of the marines were sent on shore immediately beneath the walls and fortifications of the city, to accustom the soldiers to fire who were not as yet much used to discipline. * * This expedient, again, has furnished matter of censure against the Ministry, for sending a few raw recruits on such an important enterprise, while so many veteran troops lay inactive at home." ²⁴ So the siege of Carthegena was mismanaged for fifteen days, those in command at constant quarrels with one another. An epidemic of fever which broke out among the sailors forced them to raise ²⁵ siege and return to Jamaica. In speaking of one of the generals Smollett satirizes Walpole's system of giving and taking away according to his own pleasure and purpose:

The general * * owed his promotion more to interest than his capacity, and now the eyes of the ministry are opened, his friends dead or become inconsiderable, he is struck off the list, and obliged to put up with a yearly pension. ²⁶

Thus, was Sir Robert Walpole a target for Satire in the eighteenth century. Many abuses and institutional conditions were attacked in the novels of this period, but they will occupy our attention in a later chapter. The first Prime Minister of

²³ Op. cit., p. 95.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 95.

²⁵ A force that had been 30,000 men was reduced to 3,200.

²⁶ Roderick Random, p. 138.

England drew upon himself, much of both personal and political satire. As will be shown in subsequent chapters, all the great Prime Ministers who followed him likewise became objects of the most bitter satirical attacks.

Chapter III

Satirical Attacks on the Newcastle-Pitt Ministry

William Pitt, afterwards the first Earl of Chatham, was the second great Prime Minister of England. Like Walpole he rose from the ranks to this high position, but unlike the earlier Minister he was greatly beloved by the English people. Whereas Walpole had stood for corruption and bribery, Pitt stood for honesty and straightforwardness; Walpole was the favorite of two succeeding Kings and maintained his power by catering to their desires, but Pitt achieved his success in spite of the opposition of the King and through the adulation of the public. The question immediately arises, "How can the satirist find an opening for his attack in such an heroic character?" Inexplicable as it may seem, at least one novelist of this century saw fit to hurl bitter invective against this public hero. In The Adventures of an Atom, by Tobias George Smollett, eighteenth-century political satire reaches the acme of bitterness.

In order to understand the motives for such an attack, some attention must be given to the life of the author. Smollett was a native of Scotland. Although much of his early life is obscure, his second novel, Roderick Random, is in part autobiographical. He pictures his youth, undoubtedly in an exaggerated manner, as one of hardship, owing to his grandfather's indifferent attitude.

After an education for the medical profession, Smollett set out for London to seek a literary career. In his pocket he carried a play, The Regicide, which became the cause of his second quarrel with the world. This work, which was boyish and commonplace, was refused by all to whom it was offered, and the author never forgave those who rejected his first literary attempt. Following this failure he endured many hardships, until he finally achieved success in his novels. After he had published three successful novels, he became connected with The Briton, a periodical founded by Bute to protect his administration from the attacks of The North Briton. In this capacity Smollett accomplished little, but his enmity with the world was again aroused as a result of his quarrel in this periodical with Admiral Knowles, which cost him a fine of one hundred pounds and three months imprisonment. As Bute's pamphleteer he had been hired to strike at the opposition, which included Pitt. When Bute discontinued his periodical a few months later, the fighting Scotchman was aroused to action, and he cried out against all the politicians of his age in this lashing satire, The Adventures of an Atom. A rather fitting description of this work is given by his biographer as follows:

Except in certain parts of Swift, there is nothing, at least in the production of any writers of a high rank, to surpass the mere animal nastiness of this satire. From first to last Smollett rings the changes on the words dirt, sores, filth, evacuations up and down, till he produces an intolerable feeling of disgust, not at the things and persons he meant to deride, but at himself. Then, too, the satire is too indiscriminate. Not only are George II, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Newcastle bespattered with nastiness, but the same treatment is meted out to Anson, Mansfield, and, above all, to Pitt.¹

¹ David Hannay, The Life of Smollett, p. 151.

Preceding the Ministry of Pitt, a period of fifteen years had elapsed since the fall of Walpole. During this time England was torn by internal and external strife. Ministers had risen and fallen; none was powerful enough to maintain the leadership for any length of time. Eventually a coalition government was formed, including both the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt as heads. With this administration our satire deals. The story is presumably related by an atom, who has the power of seeing past, present, and future.

Smollett conceals the intent of his satire behind fictitious names. England is called the island of Japan, and Japanese-appearing names are used for the characters. Under this conceit the author relates the main historical events of England between 1754 and 1765. The Japanese (English) people are described as most changeable and insincere, priding themselves upon their constitution. He adds that "they are very clamorous about the words liberty and property; yet in fact the only liberty they enjoy is to get drunk whenever they please, to revile the government, and quarrel with one another". Scotland and Ireland, represented as parts of the Kingdom, are called respectively by the names of Ximia and Xicoco.

This kingdom had formerly been ruled by kings with absolute power, known as "dairos", but a new foreign dynasty had lately been placed on the throne. The first of this line of kings was

² These inserted brackets are explanatory information, unless otherwise noted.

³ Tobias George Smollett, The Adventures of an Atom, p. 475. (All page references are to works of Smollett, edited by George Routledge and Sons, Limited, New York.)

Bupo (George I). Under his rule the Ministers had secured great power, since his native land, Yesso (Hanover), always retained his chief interest. The rule of this King preceded our history by some years, and so is of slight interest here.

The second King of this dynasty, Got-hama-baba (George II), who was reigning when the story opens, occupies a most prominent part in this satire. This King is described as having inherited an atom from a goose, and his whole manner and conversation bore marks of this fact. "He was rapacious, shallow, hot-headed, and perverse; in point of understanding, just sufficient to appear in public without a slaving bib; imbued with no knowledge, and warmed with no affection. * * * His heart was meanly selfish, and his disposition altogether unprincipled."⁴

The third King of this foreign line, Gio-Gio (George III), came to the throne in the latter part of the period covered by this history. As a Prince he was sequestered from all companionship, under the influence of his mother and her friend, Yak-Strot (Bute). The latter so dominated this King that he rose to first place in the Kingdom, and caused the overthrow of our hero, Tay-cho (Pitt).

This foreign dynasty introduced a new religion to the Island, which eventually impoverished the entire Kingdom. This was known as the worship of Fakku-basi, or the White Horse (The Hanoverian Policy). The New Religion was founded by these Kings on account of their love for their previous home. All who rose to favor

⁴ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 476.

under these rulers were required to learn and believe the following credo:

I believe in the white horse, that he descended from heaven, and sojourned in Jeddo (Germany), which is the land of promise. I believe in Bupo (George I) his apostle, who first declared to the children of Nippon (Britain) the glad tidings of the gospel of Faku-basi. I believe that the white horse was begot by a black mule, and brought forth by a green dragon; that he eats gold as provender, and discharges diamonds as dung; that the Japanese are ordained and predestined to furnish him with food, and the people of Jeddo (Germany) to clear away his litter. I believe that the Island of Nippon is joined to the continent of Jeddo, and that whoever thinks otherwise shall be damned to all eternity. I believe that the smallest portion of matter may be practically divided ad infinitum; that equal quantities taken from equal quantities, an unequal quantity will remain; that two and two make seven; that the sun rules the night, the stars the day; and the moon is made of green cheese. Finally, I believe that a man cannot be saved without devoting his goods and his chattels, his children, relations, and friends, his senses and ideas, his soul and his body, to the religion of the white horse, as it is prescribed in the ritual of Faku-basi.⁵

The land which was the object of this worship was known as Yesso (Hanover). It was a paltry farm in Jeddo (Germany), where the first King, Bupo (George II), had ruled before coming to Japan. These foreign Kings preferred this country to all the palaces of Meaco (London). Even after they inherited the vast lands and wealth of Japan, their chief use of it was to preserve intact this unfruitful, barren farm, which was so far distant. As a result, a great war was waged with many European dynasties, vast sums of money were spent, and numerous Japanese lives were lost, merely to satisfy the whim of these Rulers to preserve intact this farm of Yesso.

In order to assist the reader in some knowledge of the names employed by Smollett in this novel, the following glossary, with

⁵ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 484.

the translation of the Japanese names, has been inserted:

Geographical Locations

1. China	- France	10. Ostrog	- Austria
2. Corea	- Spain	11. Qua-Chu	- Guadalupe
3. Fatsissio	- America	12. Quib-Quab	- Quebec
4. Fla-Sao	- Plassey (India)	13. Terra Australia	- Africa
5. Japan	- England	14. Thin-Quoll	- Martinique
6. Jeddo	- Germany	15. Tzin-Khall	- Senegal
7. Matao	- Minorca	16. Xicoco	- Ireland
8. Meaco	- London	17. Ximia	- Scotland
9. Nippon	- Britain	18. Yesso	- Hanover

Titles

1. Buponian Creed	- - - - -	Hanoverian Policy
2. Cuboy	- - - - -	Minister
3. Dairo	- - - - -	King
4. Fakku-basi	- - - - -	Hanoverian Policy
5. Legion	- - - - -	Public Opinion
6. Quo	- - - - -	Nobleman

Personalities

1. Bihn-go	- - - - -	Adm. Byng
2. Bok-kokh	- - - - -	Peacock
3. Brut-an-tiffi	- - - - -	Frederick II
4. Bupo	- - - - -	George I
5. Fas-Khan	- - - - -	Boscowan
6. Fi-de-ta-da	- - - - -	Lord Blakeney
7. Fika-kaka	- - - - -	Newcastle
8. Foksi-roku	- - - - -	Fox
9. Gio-Gio	- - - - -	George III
10. Got-hama-baba	- - - - -	George II
11. Gotto-mio	- - - - -	Duke of Bedford
12. Hel-y-otte	- - - - -	Sir John Elliott
13. He-rhumm	- - - - -	Sir John Moore
14. Hob-nob	- - - - -	Adm. Hopson
15. Holib-bib	- - - - -	General Bligh
16. Ka-liff	- - - - -	Clive
17. Moria-tanti	- - - - -	Sir John Mordaunt
18. Mura-clami	- - - - -	Chas. Murry
		Lord Mansfield
19. Nin-kom-poo-po	- - - - -	Lord Geo. Anson
20. Nob-od-i	- - - - -	Barrington
21. Or-bas	- - - - -	Osborn
22. Phall-Khan	- - - - -	Adm. Hooke
23. Quamba-cun-dono	- - - - -	Duke of Cumberland
24. Sel-uon	- - - - -	Adm. Knowles
25. Soc-San-Sin-o	- - - - -	Geo. Grenville
26. Sti-phi-rum-poo	- - - - -	Earl of Hardwicke
27. Tartar Princess	- - - - -	Maria Theresa
28. Thum-Khumm	- - - - -	Cumming
29. Yaf-frai	- - - - -	Amherst
30. Ya-loff	- - - - -	Wolfe
31. Yak-Strot	- - - - -	Bute

Owing to the inability of Got-hama-baba (George II) to speak the Japanese language, his Prime Minister secured great power. In return for this the King asked only for the privilege of "kicking the breeches of his Cuboy (Minister)". He was fortunate in finding one who would patiently endure this. This Minister had a changling soul, "which had passed successfully through the bodies of an ass, a dotteril, an Apple-woman, and a cow-boy" into the "cuboy" (Minister). This person's parents had provided him with an ample education, but his Genius rejected all cultivation, and he was lacking in all pride. This cuboy, of noble lineage and vast estates, was known as Fika-kaka. As a youth he had played with the King, and this resulted in his becoming Prime Minister. "He was a statesman without capacity or the smallest tincture of human learning; a secretary who could not write; a financier who did not understand the multiplication table; and a treasurer of a vast empire who never could balance accounts with his own butler." The most outstanding characteristic of this Minister was his inability to be sincere, but he pleased the King in his cringing, subservient attitude. The Prime Minister headed a Cabinet which the Atom characterizes as follows: "It consisted of mobs of sauntering, strolling, vagrant,

⁶ Thomas Pelham-Halles, Duke of Newcastle, was born of distinguished ancestry on both maternal and paternal sides. He became a political force during Walpole's administration because of his vast wealth. When he was made Prime Minister, in 1754, he was unable to maintain his leadership on account of his weak, vacillating disposition. A coalition with Pitt gave him nominal power, although the real power rested with Pitt. He was ignorant of even ordinary things and in no sense of the word learned. Dictionary of National Biography.

⁷ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 447.

and ridiculous politicians. Their schemes were absurd, and their deliberations like the sketches of anarchy. All was bellowing, bleating, braying, grinning, grumbling, confusion, and uproar. It was more like a dream of chaos than a picture of human life.⁸

There were, in all, twenty-eight members of this cabinet, but some few were so important that individual sketches of them are drawn. One of the ablest of these Ministers was Sti-phi-⁹rum-poo (the first Earl of Hardwicke), who had raised himself from the plebeian ranks to the dignity of quo (nobleman), and to a share in the King's confidence. Although very slow to learn, he had studied law until he knew it thoroughly. He was made a justice, and was a man unbiased in his decisions. In his early political career he wrote speeches for the King; afterwards raised to a Cabinet position he held a large place in "the pedestrian favors" of George II. He is probably best known by his connection with the trials of the Scotch, following the rebellion of 1745.

The commander of the navy in this Cabinet was Nin-kom-poo-¹⁰po (Anson). He had been bred to the service of the sea and had been favored by fortune. His rise to this honorable position was the result of capturing a large Corean (Spanish) treasure. This

⁸ Adventures of an Atom, p. 483.

⁹ Philip Yorke, the first Earl of Hardwicke, rose to nobility from the ranks of the commons. He was educated in the Middle Temple and rose to the place of first lawyer in England, a Lord Chief Justice. At the accession of George II, he wrote the coronation address. He had charge of the Privy Seal during Newcastle's administration. Dictionary of National Biography.

¹⁰ Lord George Anson became famous for his famous round-the-world trip resulting in the capture of vast Spanish treasure, which was paraded through the streets of London in thirty-six wagons. From 1751 until Bute's administration, he was the first Lord of the Admiralty. Dictionary of National Biography.

success was widely acclaimed, as shown in the following: "I cannot help being amused at the folly of you silly mortals, when I recollect the transports of the people at the return of this fortunate officer, with a paltry mass of silver, parading in covered wagons, escorted by his crew in arms. The whole city of Meaco (London) resounded with acclamation; and Nin-kom-poo-po was extolled as the greatest hero that ever the empire of Japan had produced." ¹¹ After the King promoted him to the Cabinet, he formed an alliance with Sti-phi-rum-poo (Hardwicke), which gave him complete command of the sea forces. He was of a frigid disposition, which was equalled only by his insolence to his equals, and his contempt toward his superiors.

The next important member of the Cabinet was Foksi-roku ¹² (Fox), a man greatly superior to the others in the science of politics. He was bold, subtle, insinuating, ambitious, and indefatigable. From the cradle he had been an adventurer. The Atom describes him in the following manner: "A latitudinarian in principle, a libertine in morals, without the advantages of birth, fortune, character, or interest; - by his own natural sagacity, a close attention to the follies and foibles of mankind, a projecting spirit, an invincible assurance, and an obstinacy of perseverance; proof against all shocks of disappointment and

¹¹ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 481.

¹² Henry Fox was born a Commoner but was raised to title of Baron Holland. He gambled away a family fortune and became dependent on his own resources. Hated on all sides because he was devoid of principle and contemptuous of the good opinion of his fellow-men, he cared more to accumulate wealth than to obtain power. As Paymaster of the Forces, a position held for many years, he amassed a huge fortune. Dictionary of National Biography.

repulse; he forced himself as it were into the scale of preferment; and being found equally capable and compliant, rose to the high offices of trust and profit, detested by the people, as one of the most desperate tools of a wicked administration, and
 13
 odious to his colleagues."

There was in the Cabinet a disgruntled faction headed by
 14
 Quamba-Cun-dono (the Duke of Cumberland). As a great Quo (nobleman) and relative of the King, he enjoyed supreme command of the army. As Commander in suppressing the Rebellion of '45, he was so cruel in the treatment of the Scotch that he earned the nickname, "the Butcher". Associated with this factional leader was
 15
 Gotto-mio (the Duke of Bedford), at this time Viceroy of Xicoco (Ireland). Had his temper been slightly more tractable, he could have rivaled the cuboy. Because of certain personal traits, he was heartily despised by all people, and he had been sent to Ireland to mortify his arrogance. As Administrator in this country he was arbitrary and cruel.

13 The Adventures of an Atom, p. 481.

14 William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, was the third son of George II. Although trained for the navy, he changed on account of personal taste to the army. Until he displayed his streak of cruelty in suppressing the Scotch rebellion, he had been the Nation's favorite Commander. He completed his disfavor with the English people by a disgraceful surrender of his army to the French in the Seven Years War. In politics he opposed Newcastle and allied himself to the Duke of Bedford. Dictionary of National Biography.

15 John Russel, fourth Duke of Bedford, roused the King's displeasure by his pride, violent temper, and arrogance. In consequence he was sent to Ireland as Viceroy. His methods of government in that country created hatred among its inhabitants. Later in history he became Prime Minister. Dictionary of National Biography.

The one who presided over the Cabinet was Soo-San-Sin-o
 16
 (Greenville). He was the shrewdest politician of them all.

However, having risen from the ranks, he was constantly afraid of losing his prestige, and consequently swam with the tide of politics. He was high in favor with the King.

In the year of Foggien one hundred and fifty-four (1754), while these ministers were at the helm of the Government, the tranquility of Japan was disturbed by Chinese (French) adventurers in Fatsissio (America). This country was known to the Ministers as being an island, but they differed as to its location; Flka-kaka (Newcastle) supposed it adjoined the coast of Corea (Spain), but Foksi-roku (Fox) informed them that it was a vast distance from any continent. The cabinet, under advice from Nin-com-poo-po (Anson) and Sti-phi-rum-poo (Hardwicke) decided to wage a naval warfare. The former was sent in charge of the expedition, but instead of blocking up the enemy's harbors, he sent a strong squadron to cruise in the open sea, in the most tempestuous season of the year. In this manner he hoped to waylay the enemy's fleet, but he failed in his design, as the Chinese (French) changed their usual route by one degree. However, the Admiral continued to cruise in the open seas, until his ships were all scattered by storms and the crew cut in half by distempers.

A second disaster for the administration occurred in connection with the activities in America. The Japanese (English)

¹⁶ George Grenville rose to highest place in Parliament through his own abilities. He was a Lord of the Admiralty and Treasurer of the Navy under Newcastle. Dictionary of National Biography.

forces sent to relieve that colony were placed under the command
¹⁷
 of Koan (Braddock), an unknown officer who obtained the command
 because no man of ability wanted it. When he arrived in America,
 he allowed his troops and himself to be decoyed into the middle
 of a wood, where they were slaughtered by an unseen enemy. As
 soon as the news of these disasters reached Japan, the council
 was thrown into a great commotion, excepting the cold-hearted
 Nin-kom-poo-po (Anson). The attitude of the dairo (King) is
 admirably expressed in the following passage: "The dairo conso-
 led himself by observing that his troops made a very soldierly
 appearance as they lay on the field in their new clothing, smart
 caps, and clean buskins; and that the enemy allowed they had
¹⁸
 never seen beards and whiskers in better order."

Fast on the heels of these American disasters came news of
 a prospective invasion of Matao (Minorca) by the Chinese (French).
 This island was a possession of the Japanese off the coast of
 Corea (Spain). Repeated information of this intended invasion
 came to the ears of the Ministers, but no action was taken. They
 seemed to be in a deep sleep, but a loud clamor from the people
 awakened them to action. A fleet was hastily fitted out to carry
 reinforcements to the island. Admiral Bihn-go (Byng), a man who
 had never signalized himself by any act of valor, was chosen for
 its commander. Nob-od-1 (Barrington) gave orders for Bihn-go to
 receive additional forces at Gibraltar, but the order was so con-

¹⁷ cf. George Brandon, History of the United States of America, Vol. II, pp. 419-426.

¹⁸ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 485.

fused that no one could interpret it; so no reinforcements were given, and Bihn-go proceeded to the island with his small force. When he arrived off the coast of Matao (Minorca), he made no effort to succour Pi-de-ta-da (General Lord Blakeney), governor of the island. After engaging in a slight sea-battle with the Chinese, he returned to Japan. This disgrace raised such a fury among the people that the Ministry almost sunk. To prevent such a catastrophe Foksi-roku (Fox) suggested that a human sacrifice be made to appease the public. Fika-kaka (Newcastle) broke out in a sweat of fear at this suggestion, but grew quiet when he learned that not he but Bihn-go was meant. Whereupon, this officer was arrested, and agents were sent among the people to scatter propaganda to his detriment. Thus was the anger of the people diverted from the Ministry. The treatment of Bihn-go follows in detail:

Bihn-go underwent a public trial, was unanimously found guilty and unanimously declared innocent; by the same mouth condemned to death, and recommended to mercy; but mercy was incompatible with the designs of the Ad-----¹⁹. The unfortunate Bihn-go was crucified for cowardice, and bore his fate with heroic courage. His behaviour at his death was so inconsistent with the crime for which he was doomed to die, that the emissaries of the cuboy were fain to propagate a report, that Bihn-go had bribed a person to represent him at his execution and be crucified in his stead.²⁰

It is interesting to note that a contemporary novelist satirizes the treatment of Admiral Byng in a very similar manner.

¹⁹ Administration.

²⁰ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 488.

Charles Johnstone, in The Adventures of a Guinea, pictures Byng as receiving public orders to the effect that he is to relieve Minorca, and private instructions from the Ministers to the contrary effect. After a public outcry, he was arrested and tried, but was never alarmed as to the outcome, as his superiors constantly fed him with promises of a pardon. His bravery at the hour of his execution is similarly praised by Johnstone. The following passage discloses his attitude towards this unfortunate affair: "The Administration * * * was obliged to give him up, as a sin offering, to the rage of the people; as protecting or²¹ pardoning him would have implied a participation of his guilt."

At about this same time a second European occurrence alarmed the Japanese people. Frederick II, King of Prussia, had long desired to annex the favorite farm of Yesso to his dominions. The King of Japan in order to prevent this disaster, had suggested that Japan pay a huge subsidy to this King, but a howl from the people prevented his carrying this point. Whereupon Brutantiffi (Frederick II) withdrew the protection of his forces, and his enemy the Chinese (French) seized this opportunity to invade Yesso (Hanover). The King of Japan bawled and bellowed, presenting his Ministers with cuffs and kicks.

Meanwhile the growing popularity of a young Japanese called Taycho (Pitt, Senior) reached its apex. This man was distinguished for his loud voice, an unabashed countenance, a fluency of abuse, and an intrepidity of opposition to the measures of the

²¹ Charles Johnstone, Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea, p. 46.

cuboy. His power of oratory is described as follows:

"Orator Taycho's eloquence was admirably suited to his audience: he roared, and he brayed, and he bellowed against the M-----r;²² he threw out personal sarcasms against the daire himself. He inveighed against his partial attachment to the land of Yesso, which he had more than once manifested to the detriment of Japan; he inflamed the national prejudice against foreigners; and he professed an inviolable zeal for the commons of Japan, he became the first demagogue of the Empire.²³

Thus Smollett introduces the beloved hero of England. Never once in this work does he admit anything courageous or heroic concerning this character. He even goes so far as to say that every success against the enemy which this leader accomplished, was merely the result of good luck and not of excellent judgment.

The popularity of this young Japanese grew by leaps and bounds. To offset this the Minister sent Mura-clami (Murray, Earl of Mansfield) among the people. This person also had a silvery voice, keen penetration, a command of words, and an art of smoothing and wheedling. However, he was void of any principles and was heartily despised by the Japanese people. Mura-clami (Murry) made no progress in his efforts with the mob; so the cuboy decided to make friends with Taycho.

Taycho likewise was anxious for a Cabinet position; so he presented himself to the cuboy (Minister), to whom he guaranteed the protection of Yesso, in return for a part in the government. Overjoyed at this, the Minister hastened to the King to request

²² Minister

²³ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 489.

a place for Taycho. George II refused to consider this, to him, disagreeable person, until he heard that he promised to save the farm. Immediately the Orator was permitted to sign the Buponian Creed (Hanoverian Policy) and embrace the religion of Fakku-basi. Taycho at once secured the subsidy for Brut-an-tiffi (Frederick II), which the Ministers had earlier failed to obtain. The result was not to turn the mob against him, as some hoped, but "the beast (public opinion), far from showing any signs of loathing, closed its eyes, opened its jaws, and as it swallowed its inglorious bond, wagged its tail in token of entire satisfaction."²⁴

Up to this time the public had despised Brut-an-tiffi (Frederick II). He had long been waging war against his neighbors in order to obtain more territory for himself. The Japanese had looked upon this war with disfavor. At once, under Taycho's influence, the popular attitude changed. They now began to regard Brut-an-tiffi as a great hero and the protector of the Japanese Island. They even accepted it as honorable, when he invaded Ostrog (Austria) and seized part of this territory.

Meanwhile the Tartar Princess (Maria Theresa) called an assembly, to which the dairo of Japan was summonsed as an elector of the farm of Yesso. Here he entered into an alliance to guarantee the neutrality of Yesso, with entire disregard for Japan. The Tartar Princess persuaded the Chinese (French), Mantchoux (Russians), and Serednea Tartars (Swedes) to join with her in opposition to Brut-an-tiffi. The Japanese threw in their lot with

²⁴ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 493.

Brut-an-tiffi for two reasons: one was the influence of Taycho, who declared the act was for the balance of power; the other was their ancient enmity with the Chinese. The latter had seized Yesso just as Taycho came into power.

Taycho managed to secure the full confidence of the daïro of Japan by his promise to recover the beloved farm. To do this he reenforced Brut-an-tiffi, and both Japanese money and Japanese soldiers began to flow into Jeddo (Germany). Almost immediately Brut-an-tiffi made important gains, which Taycho magnified to exhilarate the Japanese. While the people were puffed up by these gains, he secured whatever he desired from them in the way of managing this war. The people now willingly gave gold to Taycho to be sent to Brut-an-tiffi.

As a means of assisting Frederick, Taycho decided to send an armament against the coast of China (France). The commander of this fleet disembarked upon a desolate island, demolished an unfinished cottage, and brought away a few grapes. From here they proceeded to Sa-rouf (Rochefort), at the mouth of a navigable Chinese river. The second in command, Sel-uon (Knowles),²⁵ was sent to lay the fort in ashes, but succeeded only in grounding his vessel. His superiors grumbled and began to be troublesome,

²⁵ In 1757, the fleet under Admiral Hawke, with Knowles second in command, was sent against the French Coast. When they reached the island of Aix, at the mouth of the river Charante, they easily destroyed its half-completed fortress. When Knowles proceeded up the river against Rochefort, he grounded his boat. The expedition returned to England without accomplishing anything worthwhile for the vast expenditure incurred. Tobias Smollett, History of England, Vol. IV, pp. 88-92.

but a council of war was held whereby it was decided to return to Nippon (Britain). In contrast to the behaviour of the public at the failure of Bihn-go's (Byng's) expedition, it now merely brayed aloud, "Taycho forever!", and fell asleep.

Taycho, now in full charge of prosecuting the war, determined to harass the French in America in order to lessen their forces against Frederick in Europe. The general-in-chief in America (Lowdown) was recalled because he had not done what was impossible to do. Instead of sending out another on whose abilities he could depend, he allowed the direction of armaments to devolve upon the second in command, whose character he could not possibly know, as it was too obscure. The fruits of his sagacity soon appeared, as the new General, Abra-moria (James Abercrombie),²⁶ was ignominiously defeated.

The news of this loss was mitigated by another conquest. The corps of troops under Yof-frai (Amherst) and Ya-loff (Wolfe)²⁷ reduced a strong fortress in the neighborhood of Fatsissio (American). All praise was given to Taycho for this victory, while all blame for any defeat was placed on someone else. After this success these forces were sent overland to assist in the siege of a great city in an adjoining territory, which belonged to China. By sea Pitt sent another force to the city of Quib-quab (Quebec). His reasons for doing this were that fortune had

²⁶ James Abercrombie was left in command in America when General Lowdown was recalled to England. During this period he foolishly led 15,000 men in a bayonet attack on Fort Ticonderoga, by which act he lost 2,000 men. The National Encyclopaedia of American Biography.

²⁷ In 1758, Louisburg was captured by Amherst and Wolfe.

smiled long enough on the Chinese, and furthermore a failure could be blamed on someone else. The forces under Ya-loff (Wolfe) arrived safely, but inclement weather prevented the reenforcement by the land forces.

The city of Quib-quab (Quebec) was a well fortified one, on the banks of a high cliff. The prospects of capturing it seemed very unfavorable. After several unsuccessful attempts, Ya-loff (Wolfe) decided upon a stratagem that was successful. He secretly landed his forces and scaled the unfortified cliffs at the rear of the city, after which a decisive battle between the Chinese and Japanese conquered the city for Japan. During the battle the brave commander Ya-loff was killed, leaving Thon-syn (Townsend), a very valiant officer, in command. Shortly after this victory the Japanese captured Montreal, which gave the entire territory adjoining Fatsissioe (America) to the Japanese.

While these advantages were being won in America, the Japanese were succeeding in other vicinities as well. A Banyan²⁸ merchant of Meaco (London), named Thum-Khumm (Cumming), planned the capture of Tzin-Khall (Senegal) on the coast of Terra Australia (Africa). Taycho at first objected to his proposals, but finally agreed. After the place was captured, the public Idol received all the praise, and Thum-Khumm (Cumming), whose private fortune had been consumed in the enterprise, was left without recompense in spite of all the promises made to him.

²⁸ Thomas Cumming, who had long been engaged in private trade in Africa, suggested and carried out the plans for capturing this territory for England. Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Taycho, at this same time sent an expedition to Thin-quo²⁹ (Martinique), an island much desired by him. The name for the commander of this force, which was drawn by lottery, was Hob-nob (Admiral Hopson). This man was unknown to Taycho, but he considered this a good omen. When the armament arrived at its destination, they joined the forces of He-rhumm (Sir John Moore). After natives came with a white flag, Hob-nob remembered a dream of supposedly bad omen that he had had, and embarked at once, against the advice of the fleet commander. With difficulty the latter persuaded Hob-nob (Hopson) to attempt another island, qua-Chu (Guadalupe). The commander of the expedition sickened and died, but He-rhumm (Moore) and Rha-rin-tumm (Barrington) made a conquest of this island, which was more valuable than the one to which the expedition had been sent. At first this news angered Taycho, as he did not know where the island was nor how wealthy. Also, during this period Ka-liff (Clive) had won the great victory of Fla-sao (Plassey) during this period.

In addition to these great victories, there were several decisive naval battles where the Japanese captured much treasure. A Chinese expedition against the coast of Xicoco (Ireland) was intercepted and conquered by the young commander Hel-y-otte (Sir John Elliott).³⁰ Or-bas (Admiral Henry Osborn) captured a group

²⁹ Admiral Hopson was sent to Martinique, where he joined Sir John Moore's fleet. On the intelligence of a deserter from the enemy that the shore was mined, he promptly gave up the undertaking. The Gentleman's Magazine 1759, p. 286.

³⁰ John Elliott defeated and killed the notorious French privateer Thurot off the Isle of Man, on February 28, 1760. Bisset, History of George II, p. 131.

of the enemies ships; Fas-khan (Admiral Boscowan) defeated a second; a third was put to flight in three successive engagements near Kamschatka (India) by the Chief Bok-kolch (Peacock); their grand armament was put to flight by Phall-khan (Admiral Hawke). Full credit for all these victories was given to Taycho, although he did not know a one of these commanders. The only three that he had appointed, Moria-tante (Mordaunt), Hylib-bib (General Bligh), and Hob-nob (Admiral Hopson) had all been signal failures. Nevertheless the praises of Taycho were still sung for every victory.

At this crucial period the daire of Japan fell into a trance. Many attempts were made to rouse him; Taycho orated; the Fatzman (General referring to Cumberland) beat a drum; Fika-kaka (Newcastle) rattled the andirons. It was all to no avail, as Got-hama-baba, without hearing them, passed on in death. Immediately Taycho jumped on the back of the beast Legion (public opinion) and rode to Gio-gio (George III), his successor. This did not help Taycho, as this King had a favorite known as Yak-strot (Bute), who soon supplanted Taycho in office.

The political factions in Japan were two in number. The Shit-tilk-uns-heits (Tories) and the She-it-kums-hi-tils (Whigs). The first signifies "more fool than knave"; the latter, "more knave than fool". Both were equally rancorous, uncandid, and illiberal. Taycho had first appeared as a shit-tilk-uns-heit (Tory), and displayed his talent for scurrility to such an advantage that "an old hag"³¹ made him a present of 5,000 obans to revile

³¹ Sarah, the Duchess of Marlborough became very attached to Pitt and gave him a pension. Dictionary of National Biography.

the daïro as long as he lived. At her death the government sought his support; so he changed parties. Once again he returned to his first party, but changed back to the she-it-kums-hi-tils (Whigs), in which ranks he stayed while in office.

Following Taycho's dismissal from office, which occurred because of his suggestion of declaring war on Spain, and because the King wished to make room for his favorite, he employed criers to advertise a sale of his personal effects. His alleged reason for doing this was that he was in dire financial distress, although it was well known that he was wealthy at this time. To appease the public Gio-Gio (George III) offered Taycho a pension, which he eagerly accepted. A short time later he was rewarded with the title of the Earl of Chatham. These last two events displeased the public, and the national hero fell into disfavor.

At this point The Adventures of an Atom takes up the ministry of Bute, which will be dealt with in the following chapter. Taycho passed out of the picture, except in an instance or two where he reappeared to harass the minister in office by his oratory for the Opposition. The attitude of Smollett towards Pitt discloses a small-mindedness on the part of Smollett, probably resulting from jealousy of Pitt's success. A check of the events in this work shows that the author accurately followed the historical occurrences of this period, but he left no person and no action free from his scathing sarcasm. His own description of Jan-ki-dtzin (Wilkes) might well be applied to himself: "Jan-ki-dtzin was counted the best marksman in Japan in the art and mystery of dirt-throwing. He possessed the art of making balls of filth,

32

which were famous for sticking and stinking."

In The Champion for May 8, 1740, the apparent source for Smollett's scurrilous work is disclosed. This essay appears under the division headed Literary Article, and calls attention to "a very odd Performance with a very odd Title, An Irregular Dissertation Occasioned by the Reading of Father Du Holde's Description of China. Although a careful examination of all available material failed to disclose either article referred to or any work by Du Holde, it evidently does refer to some work that has been lost. The other "Literary Articles" throughout The Champion criticize works which are familiar today. One treats of Hobbinol or Rural Games; a second discusses a Translation of Mr. De Voltaire's "Essay on the Age of Louis XIV"; a third presents a new criticism on Shakespeare. Thus, we must infer that the article on "An Irregular Dissertation", etc. is legitimate criticism. The vital point, however, is that either this article in The Champion or the original work itself suggested the novel to Smollett.

The close resemblance between the source and the satirical work is displayed by several passages. The article speaks of "The Tartars", a term used by Smollett in reference to the Hano-verians. The custom of kissing the Pope's toe is described as being supplanted among the Tartars with worshipping "the excrement of the Lama":

32 The Adventures of an Atom, p. 529.

33 The Champion, Vol. I, p. 251.

34 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 164.

35 A priest of the Mongolians.

Great Miracles are attributed to his Holy Dung. I think the Fancy very ingenious; and if ever an infallible Man should arise among us, in the Station of Prime Minister, I would recommend this method as a Test of Obsequiousness to his Measures; perhaps it would not be amiss, that the Right of Pre-emption of this precious Commodity should be vested in the two ³⁶, or Majority thereof, with the sole Privilege of retailing the same after serving themselves.³⁷

The same spirit of filthiness which pervades this passage is prominent in The Adventures of an Atom; the same connection is made between this filthiness and the man known as Prime Minister, which term itself implied insult in the eighteenth century, as there was no such position recognized in the English Cabinet.

A second passage describes the Chinese Gazette, which supposedly expressed the Emperor's inner thoughts: "It tells how for ten Dozens of Songs (so the Chinese call Lies) his Imperial Majesty did the Tuesday before bestow on the Posteriors of the Ch-----r of the Ex-----r, one dozen fatherly kicks, and half a hundred Bastinadoes on his Secretary of State for one unguarded Truth."³⁸ Smollett substitutes a "dairo of Japan" for the "Emperor of China", but permits him the same delight in "kicking the breeches of his cuboy (minister)."³⁹

This article, furthermore, describes the Gazetter, or private thoughts of the Emperor, as forming the political creed for

³⁶ Houses.

³⁷ The Champion, Vol. II, p. 194.

³⁸ These brackets are in original Passage.

³⁹ Chancellor of the Exchequer.

⁴⁰ The Champion, Vol. II, p. 194.

the Quid nunes, or Noblemen of China. Smollett used this suggestion in describing his credo of Fakku-basi, which refers to the Hanoverian policy of the new dynasty of Kings established by George I. Smollett also calls his nobleman by the title of quo, a Latin title similar to Quid nunes, when he had been employing entirely Japanese-appearing names. This proof, therefore, seems conclusive that Smollett was familiar with this subject matter in The Champion and incorporated it into his novel.

As additional proof that this Article influenced Smollett, it is necessary to note the authorship. This article is recognized by Cross as ⁴¹one by Fielding. Smollett always vehemently disclaimed any influence from this author, and even accused Fielding of taking his characters. To one familiar with the works of both, however, it is readily apparent that Smollett was greatly influenced by his older contemporary. A striking example of this influence is found in a satirical passage in The Adventures of an Atom, which parallels one in Jonathan Wild. Fielding, as cited in Chapter II, conceals bitter political ⁴²satire in his passage on the puppet-show. Smollett appropriates this device as follows:

Yak-strot (Bute), who understood mechanics, and had studied the art of puppet-playing, tried an experiment on the organs of cabal. * * The first exhibition of the new puppets was called topsy-turvy, a farce in which they overthrew all the paper-houses which their predecessors had built; but they performed their

⁴¹ See Cross, Fielding, Vol. I, pp. 250-257.

⁴² Op. cit., p. 28.

parts in such confusion, that Yak-Strot, interposing to keep order, received diverse contusions and severe kicks on the shins.⁴³

Fielding's use of the puppet show, as illustrating a Minister behind the scenes causing his subordinates to act on the stage, was in print in 1743; Smollett's use of a similar scene appeared in 1765. Hence, there can be little doubt that he was influenced by Fielding in this passage.

Smollett's disposition prohibited his acknowledgement of Fielding's influence. His jealous nature led him to refuse admiration for any one except himself. Since this quality of his temperament is well known, the actual facts must be disclosed by a careful study of the two authors. These facts plainly substantiate the statement that Fielding's work was a source for Smollett, and support the view that the article in The Champion was a source for The Adventures of an Atom.

⁴³ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 532.

Chapter IV

Satirical Attacks on Bute's Ministry

The Ministry of the Earl of Bute is not so well-known to modern readers as are those of Walpole and Pitt. Recent studies have produced much new material on this period; so in order to set forth the satire of this Ministry in a more comprehensible manner, it is necessary to give a detailed account of some of the historical events with which the reader would not ordinarily be familiar.

By 1760 the Newcastle-Pitt Ministry had secured for itself most of the authority of the government. The crown had been relegated to a position of ornamental impotence hardly, if at all, less insignificant than it is today. Pitt's popularity and ability in managing the war, together with Newcastle's use of the power of bribery, made the two a formidable pair as long as they should remain in coalition. During a period of more than three decades, two foreign kings had managed the power of the crown in such an indifferent manner that the great Whig families of England had secured absolute power. However, like any oligarchy, the Whigs were becoming divided, lazy, selfish, and self-confident. Several factions had developed within the party. Lord Chatham's friends were probably the most popular group. These men were reenforced by principles, which were lack-

ing in some of the others. Their interests lay in advantages of trade for London and the great ports. Pitt was their acknowledged leader, but his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, was the silent power behind this group. An important ally of this faction was Beckford, the Lord-Mayor of London. As an offshoot of this clique the brother of Lord Temple, George Grenville, together with Lord Halifax, headed a group of followers to whom little purpose or principle can be assigned. A more powerful and predatory faction was formed by the immensely wealthy Duke of Bedford. This group, known as "the Bloomsbury Gang", numbered among many others Lord Egremont, Lord Sandwich, and the brazen agent of corruption, Rigby.

Such were the political conditions when George the third came to the throne in 1760. A young man twenty-two years of age, imbued with the theories of the absolute power of kings, he was determined to win back the control of government, which the Cabinet had taken from his predecessors. He undertook to do this by forming a party of his own, similar to those of the Cabinet members. His main instrument in this attempt was John Stuart, the third Earl of Bute. Though handicapped as a Tory and a Scotchman, Bute shattered an almost irresistible coalition, bought the Parliament for the new King, and made him Master of England.

The Earl of Bute, who was the favorite of King George III, had early established his influence over the young King. This man was born in Parliament Square, Edinburgh, in 1713. At the age of twenty-three he inherited the title of Earl and the vast

estates of his father. In 1736, he married Lady Mary Montague, thereby greatly augmenting his estates and wealth. The following year he was elected a Scottish representative peer, but his activities in the English House of Lords were negligible. After the Rebellion of the Scots in 1745, he moved with his family to London. His introduction to Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of George III, an event of much consequence, was the result of an accident. In 1747, a shower after the races at Egham delayed the Prince's return to Cliefden, and Bute, who happened to be on the race-grounds, was summoned to the royal tent to join a group of whist until the weather cleared. He immediately became a great favorite of both the Prince and Princess, and was appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber in 1750. The death of the Crown Prince the following year increased rather than diminished the Earl's influence. When the Crown Prince established his household on reaching his majority, Bute had established firm influence over the new Crown Prince.

After the death of Prince Frederick, Bute became the constant companion and confidante of the Prince's thirteen-year-old son. He and the new Prince's mother imbued the youth with Bolingbroke's theory that a King should not only reign but govern. The constant association between the Earl and the Dowager-Princess gave rise to much scandal concerning them. Whether true or untrue, it remains a fact that he was a favored companion of hers until her death, which was long after public opinion had forced George III to break with his favorite.

When George III came to the throne, the only office that Bute was given at first was that of Groom of the Stoll. While actually he was not a member of the Cabinet in this position, he nevertheless was in actions the Prime Minister, as through him alone the King's intentions were made known. In a short time Legge was dismissed from office because of a personal quarrel with Bute, and Holdernessee was dismissed as Secretary of the Northern Division to make a Cabinet place for the King's favorite. This appointment was the first step in securing power for the crown, as it was obtained from Newcastle without consulting Pitt, and so resulted in the first rift in the powerful coalition. With this accomplished Bute rapidly replaced the existing Administration. Pitt angrily resigned, when his move to declare war against Spain was voted down. Then Newcastle was shut off from the funds necessary to carry on his bribery, and Bute was absolute Prime Minister.

Bute and the King had four great aims in view: to end the war, to break off connection with Frederick II of Germany, to break up the Whig oligarchy, and to make the King absolute in power. When he rid himself of Pitt and Newcastle, he was well on his way to the success of these purposes. Immediately he began negotiations toward peace, but the Franco-Spanish Alliance put an end to these temporarily, as the King and Bute were forced to declare war on Spain. This move, substantiating Pitt's stand, would have at once reestablished the old favorite, the Commoner, had he not meanwhile accepted a pension and title from the King. This move had disillusioned the public in its ideals

of Pitt. Ill health also prevented activity on his part; so the King and Bute were left in undisputed control.

Meanwhile the Tsarina of Russia died and was succeeded by Peter III, who greatly admired Frederick II. Consequently peace between Prussia and Russia was established. Bute seized this opportunity to declare that England was no longer bound to pay the subsidy to Frederick II, unless he would end the war. Naturally Frederick would not end the war just as he was having his greatest successes; so the Cabinet of England canceled its pledge of subsidy. Thus the break between England and Prussia was accomplished, and Bute was again ready to renew peace negotiations with France.

After Newcastle's resignation, which came as a result of the break with Frederick, Bute succeeded him as Lord of the Treasury. Sir Francis Dashwood, a notorious profligate and President of the infamous Medmenham Brotherhood, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. George Grenville succeeded Bute as Secretary of the Northern Division. Lord Henley remained Lord Chancellor; Lord Granville, President of the Council; the Duke of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal; and the Earl of Egremont, Secretary for the Southern Department. Expeditions, which Pitt had organized against the West Indies, were being carried out, but Bute was too impatient for peace to await the results. Unknown to the Cabinet he treated for peace for some months through Count de Viri, the Sardinian ambassador. When the time was ripe, the Duke of Bedford was sent to France to complete the overtures. When Bute became suspicious that George Grenville

was too weak to secure the passage of his treaty, he bribed Henry Fox to desert his party to become Leader of the House. Thus through the efforts of Bute, Bedford, and Fox the unpopular treaty of Paris was ratified. This Peace, instead of bringing the popularity which Bute sought, served to augment his unpopularity. All England felt that Bute's Scottish Jacobite tendencies had led him to favor France, as there was not a single clause in the treaty that did not deserve to be stronger on account of the English successes in the war.

Emboldened by the success of the peace ratification, Bute and Fox commenced a general prescription of Whigs. England had long prided herself that Cabinet changes never upset the administration of government in the lesser offices. At this time every office to the lowest one, which owed its appointment to the preceding Administration, was vacated to be filled with Bute's relatives and fellow-countrymen. The old hatred between the Scotch and English, which had been inflamed by the Rebellion of 1745, was rekindled. The Duke of Cumberland, who had lost his popularity on account of his severe treatment of the Scots after this Rebellion, speedily became again a public hero. Newspapers pointed out how "the Scotchman Mansfield was Chief Justice of England, how the Scotchman Loudon commanded the British forces in Portugal, how the Scots Sir Gilbert Elliot and James Oswald were at the Treasury Board, how the Scotchman Ramsay was Court Painter, and the Scotchman Adam, Court architect; how a crowd of obscure Scotchmen had obtained pensions or small preferments, paid for from the earnings of Englishmen.

Buckingham Palace was nicknamed Holyrood on account of the
 Scotchmen who entered it.¹ This was a period of intimidation
 and corruption compared with which the worst days of the
 Walpole administration appeared pure. Bribes of vast amounts
 were paid almost publicly at the pay office, where Fox had
 been established. It was afterwards acknowledged that frequent-
 ly £25,000 were expended in a single morning in purchasing votes.
 Thus through patronage and bribery Bute established the abso-
 lutism which the King desired.

Opposition to Bute, augmented by the public hatred of the
 Scotch favorite, soon culminated to cause his removal from
 office. Dashwood, under the influence of Bute, introduced
 and secured the passage of a cider excise. Almost daily, effigies
 of the Prime Minister, together with a petticoat to represent
 the Dowager Queen, were publicly burned. Bute now obtained
 from the Crown the Garter and the Rangership of Richmond park;
 then to the surprise of the nation, he resigned as Prime Minis-
 ter. Dashwood retired with him, receiving a sinecure and the
 title of Lord De Spencer. At the favorite's suggestion, George
 Grenville succeeded to the Head of the Ministry. Bute still
 remained the power behind the scenes, and all acts were attributed
 to him. Later, Grenville became annoyed at the Earl's interfer-
 ences, and Bute retired to the country but kept up a correspon-
 dence with the King. In 1765, all political contact between Bute

¹ Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth-Century,
 Vol. III, p. 220.

and George III terminated because of the public outcries against it. His last years, after the death of the Dowager Princess, were spent in loneliness and retirement.

One other political event, while it actually occurred after Bute's removal, is attributed to his management, and therefore must be considered in connection with his Ministry. This is the notorious Wilkes Affair. John Wilkes, the son of a wealthy distiller, was born in 1727. An early friendship formed with Thomas Potter, son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced Wilkes to a life of moral dissipation and elevated him to social circles far above his origin. Through this friendship he was introduced to Lord Temple, who became his patron and influenced him to enter Parliament to seek a political career. Very little of importance resulted from this, except the actual fact that he was a member of Parliament.

The group of friends which he formed through Potter's influence was notoriously immoral. Many of them were members of the well-known Medmenham Brotherhood, an eighteenth-century society famous for its debaucheries and blasphemous parodies on the ritual of the Catholic religion. Finally at some uncertain date Wilkes was admitted to their ranks as a member, although Charles Johnstone, in the Adventures of a Guinea, pictures him as the candidate who was not successful in obtaining this coveted honor. Sir Francis Dashwood was the President of this organization, and its temple of orgies was located on his estates. Supposedly it was organized by Dashwood after

he had been disgusted with the hypocrisy of the Roman Catholic religion, while he was on a visit to Rome. There were twelve libertines who composed its membership. Dashwood, Sir T. Stapleton, Potter, Wilkes, Lord Orford, Lord Sandwich, Lord March² are the positively identified members. Paul Whitehead, the poet, acted as secretary and steward for the society. Their worship was directed to the Goddess of love, whom the monks (members) called the Bona Dea, and their orgies were held in part of an abandoned church on Dashwood's estates. What little is known of their ritual is unprintable and perhaps impossible to discuss. The society broke up in 1763, as a result of a prank played by Wilkes. "He concealed a large baboon, dressed as a devil, in a box, and by means of a string released it when the half-mad Lord Orford was reciting a prayer to Satan. For a moment the revelers believed their prayers were answered; the terrified baboon leapt on the shoulders of the peer, who was incoherent with fear. It then escaped into the gardens, to frighten the villagers and incense them against the order."³ The Club never met after this occurrence.

In this licentious group Wilkes made friends with two poets, Churchill and Lloyd. The three, at the instigation of Lord Temple, organized a paper to attack Bute's administration.

² R. W. Postgate, That Devil Wilkes, p. 26.

³ Ibid., p. 28.

This paper, known as The North Briton, later produced one of the greatest legal controversies of England. Both Churchill and Wilkes were men well qualified boldly to carry on attacks on the government. The Prime Minister's partiality to his native land became their chief target. Churchill published a poem, The Prophecy of Famine, in 1763, which pictures Scotland as "a treeless, flowerless land formed from refuse of the universe and inhabited by the very bastards of creation; where Famine had fixed her chosen throne; where a scanty population, gaunt with hunger, and hideous with dirt and with the itch, spent their wretched days in brooding over the fallen fortunes of their native dynasty, and in watching with mingled envy and hatred the mighty nation that had subdued them. At last their greed and their hatred were alike gratified. What Force could not accomplish had been done by Fraud. The land flowing with milk and honey was thrown open to them. Already the most important places were at their disposal, and soon, through the influence of their great fellow-countryman, they would descend upon every centre of English power to divide, weaken, plunder, and betray."⁴

With less genius, but with even greater effect, Wilkes collected for his newspaper every detail that would inflame national hatred against Bute and the natives of Scotland. The paper, the name of which was selected as a satirical reply to

⁴ Leckey, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. III, p. 219.

that of the Briton, edited by Smollett in behalf of the government, first appeared on June 6th, 1762. Although each number was not completely devoted to satirizing the Scots, it seldom failed to deal some blow at them and the Jacobites. Entries like this occurred in its imaginary "Chronicle" of the future: "Some time since died Mr. John Bull, a very worthy, plain, honest old gentleman of Saxon descent. He was choked by inadvertently swallowing a thistle which he had placed by the way of ornament on top of his salad,"⁵ Lord Temple soon became alarmed at the audacity of Wilkes, who was the first to print names in full in his newspaper articles. His patron attempted to silence him, but Wilkes had found his field and would not be silenced. No one was spared by the bold satirist. Dr. Johnson was attacked for his acceptance of a pension after he had defined this word in his dictionary in the following manner: "A Pension is An allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country." Hogarth, the famous artist, was ridiculed because of his merit as a painter and his acceptance of the appointment as "serjeant-painter" to the King. Wilkes did, however, spare his fellow club members for some time, but eventually attacked Lord Sandwich and the Earl of March.

Ever becoming bolder and bolder in the attacks on the government, he finally published a satirical introduction to Ben Jonson's incompleated play, The Fall of Mortimer. The infer-

⁵ Op. cit., July 17.

ence was plain. Roger Mortimer, favorite of the Queen, mother of Edward III, murdered the King and ruled England with his paramour for three years. Wilkes pointed out that Edward III "was held in the most absolute slavery to his mother and his minister, the first nobles of England were excluded from the King's Council and the minion disposed of all places of profit and trust". He concluded this attack with a wish that Bute should speedily complete the story of Roger Mortimer. As no government action followed this virulent libel, Wilkes assumed an even wider latitude; he wrote the famous Number 45. Pitt and Temple had encouraged him in this article, as Grenville had now become Prime Minister, but the initial speech from the King plainly indicated that Bute was still the power behind the Cabinet.

Number 45, contrary to many opinions, was not a direct attack on the King. Any personal insult to the sovereign was carefully avoided. He did, however, criticize the speech made by the King, but placed the blame for it on Bute and the Ministers. The government now determined to make an example of Wilkes, not merely because of this article, but because of all the articles which this climaxed. General warrants were issued, and forty-nine men were taken into custody on those warrants. Wilkes, the one aimed at, was the forty-ninth. Taken to the two Secretaries of State, he was sent by them to the Tower, where he was kept incommunicado for several days. However, he had powerful friends outside, who worked diligently for his

release. Before this was obtained, the Government sent agents who ransacked Wilkes' rooms and carried away all important papers. The case was brought to trial before Justice Pratt, who found that the Government had erred in its arrest of Wilkes, since he was a member of Parliament. The prisoner was immediately released and became the public hero among the lower classes. The Ministry was unsatisfied with the outcome and still determined to punish Wilkes in some manner. They probably would have failed had not Wilkes erred in his next move. Contrary to the advice of Lord Temple, he set up a printing press to reprint the famous article, Number 45. The Government ordered these papers burned, but execution of the orders was prevented by interference from the mob, who rallied to Wilkes' defence. Charges of blasphemy on the part of the author were next produced by the Government. This charge, of a more serious aspect, was based upon an immoral and sensual poem, The Essay on Woman. A fragmentary copy of this poem had been found among Wilkes' papers. The author has since been proven to be Potter, the man who introduced Wilkes to the Brotherhood of Medmenham, but Wilkes undoubtedly had annotated the copy which the Government had.

Meanwhile Wilkes had been forced to flee to France on account of a duel fought with Samuel Martin. While he was away, the trial came up before his enemy, Lord Mansfield. He was convicted, and sentence was reserved to be pronounced when he returned. The House of Commons voted him out of office; still he delayed his return. Whether this was for fear of his sentence

or on account of a love affair on the continent is uncertain. However, the fact remains that his continued absence was unfavorable to his reputation and popularity. Some time later Wilkes returned to England, and the old contest flamed anew. He secured reelection as a member of Parliament to represent the city of London. After securing his place in Parliament he presented himself, on the first day of the new term, to be sentenced by Lord Mansfield. Frightened by the mob of Wilkes' adherents who waited outside, the Justice astonished every one by announcing that Wilkes had not been arrested, and he could not pass sentence. Before Wilkes could arrange for his arrest and trial for outlawry, a skirmish took place between the guards and Wilkes' admirers, in which William Allen, an innocent bystander was slain. When judgment was finally passed on Wilkes, he escaped with a fine, which was paid by his admirers, and twenty-two months imprisonment, which he served in the King's Bench. This did not end the stormy political career of this fearless man, but his later deeds are beyond the scope of this study.

These are the voluminous incidents of the unpopular Ministry of Bute. At least two important novelists saw in them important subjects for satire. The latter part of The Adventures of an Atom, by Tobias George Smollett, satirizes this Administration, as it has been shown to have satirized the Newcastle-Pitt Ministry in the first part. The second novelist was Charles Johnstone, who also satirized the persons concerned in these events in his Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea.

In The Adventures of an Atom, the atom continues the satirical tale of historical events where we left it in the last Chapter, at the death of Got-hama-baba (George II) and the accession of Gio-Gio (George III). In spite of Taycho's (Pitt's) attempts to win the favor of the new King, he failed, and soon the King's favorite, Yak-strot (Bute), was admitted to a share in the Government. This, however was contrary to the wishes of the people, who hated all Ximians (Scotchmen), and the favorite was an Ximian. One of the maxims of government of the new cuboy (Minister) was the abolition of corruption, "the odour of which is necessary to annoint the wheels of government in Japan, as grease is to smear the axle-tree of a loaded wagon".⁶ He also introduced economy into the royal family, "shutting up one kitchen and selling the grates and saucepans, and persuading the daïro (King) to go on a diet."⁷ The royal palace of Meaco (London), which had formerly been a temple of mirth and pleasure, now became an object of ridicule. "A certain wag fixed up a ticket on the outward gate with this inscription; - "This tenement to let, the proprietor having left off house-keeping."⁸

While the beast legion (public opinion) howled over the dismissal of the public hero, Taycho (Pitt) sought to urge them on by employing public criers to dispose of his household goods. This led the daïro to offer him a pension, which he

⁶ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 518.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 520.

greedily accepted; thus was his popularity lost.

In the meanwhile, certain important events had occurred during Yak-strot's (Bute's) leadership. The Empress of Montchoux (Russia) died, and a weak Prince, who inherited the throne (Peter III), made peace with Brut-an-tiffi (Frederick II). Yak-strot was delighted with this, as he was very desirous of establishing peace. A declaration of war against Corea (Spain), however, delayed him in his purpose and failed to win him any popularity as he desired. Corea formed an alliance with China (France), and combined they sent forces to invade Fumma (Portugal). Le-yoh-ter (Loudoun), an ancient English general, was sent to assist the people of Fumma, and the enemy was repulsed. Three successful naval projects had also been accomplished. Thin-quo (Martinique) was captured; Kep-marl (Albermarle) was sent to Fan-yah (Havannah), where he captured a great Corean (Spanish) treasure, sufficient to pay the expenses of the war; Tra-rip (Draper) was sent to Lliman (Manilla), which capitulated and paid a large sum for ransom. All these successes failed to bring Yak-strot any popularity with the public.

One reason for his unpopularity was a grave mistake made at the outset of his administration. He chose as his associate in the Ministry the most unpopular man in Japan (England), Foksi-roku (Henry Fox). This colleague influenced him to deprive a great number of poor families of their means of sustenance. He removed from office all the petty officials who had received their offices from the former administration. These created just so many more mouths to cry out against the Minister's person

and administration. Not only did this new Minister rouse the common people against him, but he also aroused the hatred of the nobility. He purchased vast quantities of fine clothing and strutted his person before his colleagues.

He formed a scale of gesticulation in a great variety of divisions, comprehending the slightest inclination of the head, the front-nod, the side nod, the bow, the half, the semi-demi-bow, with the shuffle, the slide, the circular, semicircular, and quadrant sweep of the right foot. With equal care and precision did he model the economy of his looks into the divisions and sub-divisions of the full stare, the side glance, the pensive look, the pouting look, the gay look, the vacant look, and the stolid look. To these different expressions of the eye he suited the corresponding features of the nose and mouth; such as the wrinkled nose, the retorted nose, the sneer, the grin, the simper, and the smile. All these postures and gesticulations he practiced and distributed, according to the difference of rank and importance of the various individuals with whom he had communication.⁹

The sole delight of this Minister was in two or three obscure Ximian (Scotch) friends. His administration was greatly valuable to his own family and poor relations. He clothed their naked backs in the richest materials and fed their empty stomachs with the fat things of Japan. The Ximians flocked into Nippon (Britain) and swarmed the streets of Meaco (London). His partiality to his own clansmen resulted disastrously for the cuboy.

Meanwhile Taycho (Pitt) and Lob-kob (Temple) were not idle. They formed an alliance with the old cuboy, whom Yak-strot had replaced as Treasurer. Sti-phi-rum-poo (Hardwicke) and Nin-kom-poo-po (Anson) also joined them, as did the Fatzman (General, referring to the Duke of Cumberland), who became estranged from

⁹ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 525.

the daïro (King). To offset this opposition Yak-Strot strengthened himself with Gotto-mio (Bedford), who was universally envied for his vast wealth. At about this time Chief Magistrate Rhum-Kikh (Alderman William Beckford), an extremely wealthy but half-witted politician, self-conceited, head-strong, turbulent, and ambitious decided to align himself with the Opposition and disgrace the Ximian. He gave a banquet for the daïro and his bride, a Tartar Princess (Caroline of Anspach), to whom Yak-strot (Bute) had married Gio-Gio (George III). The daïro was received by the public with a profound silence; the new cuboy (Bute) was pelted and insulted; Taycho and Lob-kob (Temple) were joyously proclaimed by the braying of Legion (public).

Taycho and his followers tried to oust Yak-strot over the loss of the Japanese fishing grounds near America, but Phyll-Kholl (Colville) recaptured the lost grounds before they could accomplish their purpose. The negotiations for peace, which Yak-strot now presented, gave grounds for further attacks. Taycho pretended to be ill for several days to augment his appearance of patriotism when he attended the public assembly to speak against the treaty of peace. A description of his appearance follows:

He was carried thither on a kind of hand-barrow, wrapped up in flannel, with three woolen night-caps on his head, escorted by Legion (public), which yelled, and brayed, and whooped and halloed, with such vociferation, that every street of

¹⁰ William Beckford, alderman and twice Lord-Mayor of London, was a prominent politician during the eighteenth century. He had inherited a vast fortune from holdings in Jamaica. His banquets were renowned for their lavishness. Dictionary of National Biography.

Meaco (London) rang with hideous clamour. In this equipage did Taycho enter the assembly, where being held up by two adherents, he, after a prelude of groans to rouse the attention of his audience, began to declaim against the peace as inadequate, shameful, and disadvantageous; nay, he ventured to stigmatize every separate article.¹¹

In this manner did the great Taycho attempt to defeat the treaty, but all to no avail! Fodsi-roku (Fox) annointed the assembly with a precious salve that enabled them to ratify the peace.

Additional attacks on Yak-strot's Ministry were conducted by means of writings. Lob-kob (Temple) found two admirably calculated to execute his vengeance upon the Ximian favorite. One of them was Thur-chir (Churchill), a profligate bonza (clergyman), degraded by lewd life, and possessed of a great power in exciting the passions of the blatant beast (public) by means of rhymes. "These oracles not only commanded the passions, but even influenced the organs of the beast in such a manner, as to occasion an evacuation either upwards or downwards at the pleasure of the operator."¹² The second writer was Jan-ki-dtzin (Wilkes), who "possessed the art of making balls of filth, which were famous for sticking and stinking; and he threw them with such dexterity, that they seldom missed their aim".¹³ These two were employed to throw dirt at the administration, which in turn hired its mercenaries, and "a sharp contest and pelting match ensued". Yak-strot was self-confident enough

¹¹ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 529.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

to walk up to his enemies, and the result is described as follows:

Being arrived with-in dung-shot of Jan-ki-dtsin (Wilkes) he made a halt; and putting himself in the attitude of the idol Fo (The Catholic Church), with a simper on his countenance, seemed to invite the warrior to make a full discharge of his artillery. He did not long wait in suspense. The balls soon began to whiz about his ears; and a great number took effect upon his person. At length he received a shot upon his right temple, which brought him to the ground. * * * * Lihur-chir (Churchill) no sooner saw him prostrate, than, advancing with the monster, he began to repeat his rhymes, at which every mouth and every tail of Legion was opened and lifted; and such a torrent of filth squirted from these channels, that the unfortunate cuboy was quite overwhelmed. Nay, he must have actually suffocated where he lay, had not some of the daire's attendants interposed, and rescued him from the vengeance of the monster.¹⁴

In this last skirmish Gio-Gio was also defiled. Jan-ki-dtsin (Wilkes) was accordingly put into public stocks, but Legion released him by force at the insistence of Praff-patt-phoog (Charles Pratt) who seized this opportunity to become of first importance in the commonwealth. Yak-strot withdrew to his country estates in the northern part of the kingdom.

At this time Bute's Ximian (Scotch) friends decided to gain control of the government. They persuaded him to levy certain imposts upon the people (the cider tax), then they went directly to the King and demanded his removal because of these taxes. Gotto-mio (Lord Bedford) was the leader in this move, and he was backed up by Twitz-er (George Grenville), Zan-ti-fic (Lord Sandwich), and Toks (Tooke). To withstand this onslaught

¹⁴ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 530.

Yak-strot made overtures to Taycho, but his offers were inadequate for this demagogue. Finally the offer of Quanbuku (a dukedom) operated upon Taycho, who made peace with the Ximian under the following stipulations:

That no state measure should be taken without his express approbation; that his creature Praff-frog (Charles Pratt) should be ennobled and preferred to the most eminent place in the tribunals of Japan; and that all his friends and dependents should be provided for at the public expense, in such a manner as he himself should propose.¹⁵

It is interesting to note, in connection with this treaty, that Taycho's old ally Lob-kob (Lord Temple) was ignored. A breach had formed between the two. This new alliance resulted in a great shifting of positions. Fika-kaka (Newcastle) had the chair pulled from beneath him, and all the old associates were discarded by Taycho. Even Legion refused to swallow the title quo (nobleman) or the coalition with the hated Ximian. As soon as Taycho lost complete control of the beast, his enemies freely proclaimed him insane.

The death of Quamba-cum-dono (the Duke of Cumberland) now gave Yak-strot a new cause for worry. The cuboy decided that it was necessary to procure the prerogative for the dairo. Taycho supported this just as glibly as he had formerly opposed it. Praff-frog (Charles Pratt, Earl Camden) and Lley-not (The Duke of Grafton) joined Taycho in this effort. Mura-clami (Murray, Lord Mansfield), who was jealous of Praff-frog's (Pratt's) professional successes, valiantly opposed such a gain of power for

¹⁵ The Adventures of an Atom, p. 533.

the King, although he had formerly been a supporter of the royal prerogative.

At this point the King was forced to remove his favorite from office, but he remained cuboy in the background. Twitzer (George Grenville), who now held the helm of government, attempted to saddle the colony of Fatsissio (America) with a grievous tax. The colonies protested, and Legion brayed so loudly that he hastened to withdraw the tax. Gotto-mio (Bedford) succeeded to the helm of government, and he was determined to enforce this tax at all costs, even at the risk of war. The Fatsissians, who were Japan's greatest commercial asset, answered by a resolution to use no goods save their own. Fleets were equipped and troops were assembled in order to punish these ungrateful colonists. The Ximian was now ready to withdraw his attempts at government, even those behind the curtain attempts which he had continued after his own removal. He was at last convinced that he had no talents to govern. The atom leaves Yak-strot vainly casting his eyes about for someone to whom he could pass on the task of government, but no one was visible.

In such manner did Smollett see fit to picture the events of Bute's Ministry in The Adventures of an Atom. The second important satirical novel does not differ greatly in the point of view, but it does attack some points that Smollett did not attack and omits others that Smollett employed. Charles Johnstone's Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea was published shortly before Smollett's work. Little is known of the

author, as this was his only work, and it was published anonymously. Some have erroneously attributed it to Dr. Shebbeare, another satirist of the eighteenth century.

Johnstone's novel, Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea, was published anonymously and undated. It is generally conceded to have preceded Smollett's similar work by a few years. The author employs a gold piece, or guinea as it afterwards became, to relate the tale. This Chrysal, which means golden, was mined in South America, but finally reached the mint in England, where it became a beautiful new coin. The power of seeing into the future and of peering into the heart of its master are native endowments of the gold piece, as they were of Smollett's Atom. The adventures of Chrysal, as it passes from one master to the next, constitute the story of Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea. The tale is more interesting than Smollett's similar novel, as it is not confined entirely to satirical accounts of the political history of the period. Johnstone attacks many social, religious, and moral conditions, as well as some political abuses. However, it is to the satire of political events that this study is confined.

One of Bute's primary interests on acceding to power was to break off relations between England and Frederick II. Chrysal satirizes this attitude in the Prime Minister. The guinea has come into possession of the envoy sent to Frederick with the subsidy from England. Both Frederick's and Bute's attitudes are unfavorably drawn. The Prussian King is represen-

ted as vain, shallow, vacillating, and treacherous. When the subsidy arrived, he quarreled because it was no more than it had been the previous year. He added that France would pay him more, and he might change over. Many of the English people held Frederick in the same light. They suspected him of any sort of treachery. His arrogance, as well as a thrust at the position of the English King, George III, is disclosed in the following remark, attributed to the Prussian King with regard to the English: "Then let them prize my friendship properly another time; I am not obliged to support kings upon their thrones for nothing; I may invade as well as guard against in-¹⁶vasion. They shall know whom they dare offend." He adds further, "I will teach respect that is due to sovereignty. I am not king of England, curbed in my will, and limited in my powers; my subjects are my slaves; they dare not think of any law besides my pleasure."¹⁷ Frederick is represented as refusing to pay an English merchant for merchandise sent to the Prussian court; yet the Prussian King demands more and more money from the English to protect Hanover.

An unfair picture of Frederick's relation with his soldiers is drawn. History shows that although Frederick was absolute in his power, he was generous to, and well-liked by, his followers. In speaking of his soldiers he told the guinea that they would just have to starve unless the English sent a larger subsidy, since all of that he had just received was needed for his

¹⁶ Charles Johnstone, Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. II, p. 81.

¹⁷ Ibid.

court. In answer to this insistent demand for more subsidy the Guinea informed Frederick that "the people who might have taken such an answer are now out of power; and their successors are the very men who have always been against dealing with your highness, and may now take advantage of this breach of faith, for such I well know they call it, to throw off your alliance forever; for the people begin to see their own strength, and their governors to assert it properly, and show them that they want no foreign assistance." On this information, which, of course, refers to the change of Ministry from Pitt's to Bute's, Frederick decided to send a message which can be interpreted in several ways.

Additional satire on Bute's management of the war is indicated in the account of the Jesuits' causing war with Spain and Portugal. The Guinea represents the war as the result of the ambition of the Order of Jesuits to establish a powerful kingdom of their own in Spanish America. For this reason it is necessary to weaken Spain by a war with England. In order to accomplish this, they must first remove the reigning rulers of Spain and Portugal, as the successors of these two rulers are supposedly under Jesuit influence. He adds, "that the former has already swallowed his death, though the process will be so slow as to escape suspicion, with the other such caution is not necessary, nor is there time for it; the arm is already lifted against him, for a stroke that will terrify the world." Of course this part

¹⁸ The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. II, p. 83.

¹⁹ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 125.

of the story is veiled satire against the political institutions of Spain, Portugal, France, and the German Empire, all of which were Catholic and ruled by the Vatican. Johnstone presents this war as one between the Catholics and the Protestants. Continuing the tale with regard to the ruler of Portugal, the Guinea accounts for the failure of Portugal to join the other Catholic countries in the fact that the Jesuit plan miscarried. An attempt to murder the ruling sovereign as he was returning from a clandestine love feast failed, and he was merely wounded, recovering in a short time. So Portugal threw in her lot with England, and the plans of the Jesuits failed.

Following this the Guinea has many adventures before he again reaches one of political significance. He eventually enters the possession of a man of fashion, who is going to a meeting of a certain society, which was composed of a number of persons of the first distinction, organized to burlesque established religion. Thus are we introduced to the infamous society of the Medmenham monks. This new master of the Guinea is Lord Orford, the grandson of Prime Minister Robert Walpole. He goes to the club for a particular purpose at this time. A vacancy in the membership permits the election of a new member. Two contestants for the place are Lord Orford and the notorious John Wilkes.

The Guinea's description of this organization becomes one of the few important sources of information concerning this mysterious and immoral group. A person of wealth, who is iden-

fied as Sir Francis Dashwood, had organized this brotherhood and built a monastery for their orgies, which is described as follows:

In the middle of a large lake upon his estate, there was an island, the natural beauties of whose situation had been heightened by every improvement of art. On this island he erected a building, exactly on the model of the monasteries which he had seen in other countries; and, to make the resemblance complete, there was not a vice that he had ever heard imputed to the inhabitants of them, for practicing which he did not make provision in his. The cellars were stored with the choicest wines; the larders with the delicacies of every climate; and the cells were fitted up for all the purposes of lasciviousness, for which proper objects were also provided. Thus far the ridicule, however criminal in itself, may seem to have been designed only against those societies of human institution; but it was beneath his genius to stop here. Nothing less would satisfy him than to attack the very essentials of the religion established by the laws of his country, and acknowledged by every serious person in it to be divine. For this pious purpose, when everything was prepared for their reception, his next care was to find a fraternity proper for the place.²⁰

The membership, which was held together by bonds of fear of discovery, was selected by the founder from his intimates. Many held important positions in the political administration of England. Consequently the utmost secrecy was preserved, as a knowledge of their baseness would have injured their political positions. The number of members corresponded to the number "first chosen to inculcate the religion which he designed to ridicule" - the Apostles. These members each assumed a name of one of the Original Twelve, and the organizer and president assumed the name of the "Divine Author" of religion. To

²⁰ The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. III, p. 69.

fill the ranks, in case of vacancies, an equal number was chosen to fill the next lower rank, and these probation officers attended the superiors in the celebration of their mysterious rites.

These rites were held in the Chapel of the monastery, and no one outside the membership was allowed to enter, "as the very decorations of it would, in a great measure, have betrayed their secrets; the ceiling being covered with emblems and devices too gross to require explanation to the meanest capacity; and the walls painted with portraits of those whose names and characters they assumed, represented in attitudes and actions horrible to the imagination."²¹ This shows into what degeneracy the nobility of that age had fallen. A biographer of one of the members of this society gives the following description of their meeting and the place where the meetings were held:

The worship was addressed to the goddess of love, whom the monks called Bona Dea; the 'communion cup' was curiously carved and shaped to remind the drinker of his ritual. Fay ce que voudras,²² Rabelais' motto for the Abbey of Thelème, was the motto engraved over the great gate; within a cave in the garden was a naked statue of Venus turning her back, pulling a thorn from her foot and inscribed with some misapplied verses of Virgil (Aen., VI, 540, 542, 543), and again a statue of Priapus with a relief on the pedestal of creatures coming out from Threphonius' cave, all melancholy except a cheerful cock and a laughing Carmelite; a singularly indecent picture (and in this connection singularity in indecency indicates a very great obscenity)²³ painted by Sir Francis himself, afterwards hung for years in the King's Arms in Old Palace Yard - it represented him in Franciscan habit kneeling before the haloed object of his adoration.²⁴

²¹ The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. III, p. 70.

²² Do what you please.

²³ Brackets are in original passage.

²⁴ R. W. Post, That Devil Wilkes, p. 27.

The new contestant, Lord Orford, who was the master at that time of the Guinea, was conveyed to the monastery in a boat. From thence the account given is a description of the scene that resulted in the breaking up of the club. After several hours of carousing, the members repaired to the Chapel to select the new member. When the candidate entered, he fell upon his knees and made "a profession of his principles nearly in the words, but with the most gross perversions of the sense, of the articles of faith of the religion established in this country". He asked for a position within the chancel rail, which was the location of the select twelve. The contestant opposing Lord Orford was John Wilkes. The eleven members knelt in prayer to see which of the two should be accepted, and Lord Orford was decided upon. The other candidate had come prepared for defeat, since he felt sure that the superior social position and wealth of Orford would obtain the place. While the brotherhood had feasted, he had hidden in a chest a great baboon, dressed as a devil. As the successful candidate prayed, the baboon was released. The wicked Lord Orford, thinking his prayers to Mammon had been answered, immediately began to disclaim all his supposed wickedness and loudly to claim that he was "but half a sinner". After this was discovered to be a trick, he had a hard time living down his weak moment of repentance. Next day the perpetrator of the deed was discovered and expelled from the minor membership, which he held. The affair, however,

²⁵ The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. III, p. 72.

aroused so much curiosity and indignation in the immediate neighborhood that the superior soon saw fit to dissolve the society and efface all traces of it. He turned the old meeting place into a pleasure-house, where he entertained his neighbors, and also built a church to convince the people of his regard to religion.

The next adventure of note that the Guinea had, was while in the possession of a poet, "the boldness and beauty of whose writings had for some time engaged the public attention in a particular manner, and made his numerous admirers tremble for his safety"²⁶. Thus the reader is introduced to the poet Churchill. The new master is described as brilliant, but middle class in his behavior and origin. He had made an unfortunate marriage, which turned him against the world and made him a satirist. In possession of the poet, the Guinea calls upon Wilkes, who is described as the poet's most intimate friend and the former competitor for the membership in the ignoble society. Wilkes announced to his friend that he had turned patriot and was spending his energy in attacks upon the Ministry. He made a proposition to the poet to join him in this project; the poet was to attack the private lives and morals of the individuals in the Ministry; the pamphleteer was to direct his satire against the policies of the Ministry. A fear of trouble from the government is unnecessary, as is proved by Wilkes' statement, "I have friends who are able and will defend the

²⁶ The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. III, p. 175.

law in me, while I keep within their sense." By this statement he, of course, refers to the influence of Pitt and Temple, the latter of these being the especial patron of Wilkes.

The Guinea passes next into the possession of Wilkes and goes with him to call on his patron, Lord Temple. The intuitive powers of the gold piece recognize this man as "one who had served his country and his king with fidelity and success". An intense desire to recover his former power, which others had wrested from him, led him to patronize the pamphleteer. When they arrived for the morning visit, the patron protested against the boldness of his protegee's most recent work, as in it he had ventured an attack upon the Sovereign. This, of course, refers to the famous, or infamous, Number 45, which Wilkes wrote with such disastrous results. The night following this visit to his patron, Wilkes was arrested for this same article. So bold was his attitude and so resentful the attitude of the common people on account of his arrest that the officials soon regretted this move. Within a few days his patron secured his liberty by "certain immunities annexed to a particular part of the legislature, to which he belonged"²⁷. Here the Guinea refers to the right held by members of the House of Commons whereby they were free from arrest. Wilkes became the public hero as a result of the persecution by the Government. However, he persisted in his satirical attacks on the Ministry, and the Ministers were more and more determined to avenge these attacks.

²⁷ The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. III, p. 205.

Charges of immorality were produced against him. One of his old friends and a fellow-member of the infamous society secured and read an immoral poem, supposedly by Wilkes, before the House of Lords. This statement is historically true; it was Lord Sandwich who appeared before the House and apparently enjoyed reading the vile Essay on Woman. When the time arrived for Wilkes' trial, he was in France and did not return. During his absence he was deprived of his seat in the legislative body, and consequently lost the immunities belonging to this office. His fate was not unusual, as "the tools of a statesman, however successful they may be, are always thrown aside with neglect, the moment they have done their work; but when they fail, however blamelessly, or run into any error, though only from excess of zeal, the weight of the neglect is made still heavier, by²⁸ heaping all the blame upon them".

The Guinea used his power to see into the future in order to ascertain the outcome of this present master's difficulties. He found that he finally succeeded in clearing himself of all charges and was even successful in obtaining financial remunerations from those who had first had him arrested. His patron, however, was deprived of all his wealth, power, and honor for merely appearing in his cause.

In such manner is Bute's Ministry satirized. The attacks are mainly against his attitude towards Frederick II, his intense desire for peace, his connection with the Wilkes affair,

²⁸ The Adventures of a Guinea, Vol. III, p. 211.

and his preference for his fellow countrymen. The pamphlets of this period are filled principally with attacks upon his Ministry, and the two novelists, Smollett and Johnstone, devoted a large portion of two novels to satirizing Bute's administration. The satire of the Wilkes affair assumed great importance on account of the magnitude of the issue involved and the length of time that it covered. The extreme unpopularity of the Scotch Minister made him excellent subject-matter for the satirist and created a demand for the novels. Thus the material directed against this Ministry is proportional to what would be expected by one acquainted with the political conditions.

Chapter V

Satirical Attacks on Miscellaneous Eighteenth-Century Political Abuses

A vast amount of the satire found in eighteenth-century novels was not directed against any one man or any certain Ministry, but was aimed at political abuses and institutional evils. Steadily, since the period of the Restoration, the common people had grown in strength and power. With this strength and power came constant demands for various social reforms, and a favored way to express these demands was in satirical attacks upon existing abuses. Parliament and the Cabinet had assumed most of the power that had formerly belonged to the King, but the country had gained little by exchanging an arbitrary King for a corrupt Parliament. There were many crying needs for reform. Gin-drinking and gambling had become national evils. Bribery and the place-system put power into the hands of a favored class. Laws and prison conditions were in dire need of changes. Judges and Justices who executed the corrupt laws were no better than the laws. Many eighteenth-century novels waged spirited satirical warfare upon these and similar abuses in politics and society.

Notorious among such was the corruption in Parliament and in Parliamentary elections. Some effort had been made to make

this National Assembly a representative body. Nevertheless many boroughs, where scarce so much as a sheepcot or a shepherd was to be found, sent as many representatives to the Assembly of lawmakers as a rich and populous county. Only a fraction of the number of members of Parliament were elected by considerable and independent constituencies. The enormous expenses connected with elections, where the polls might be kept open for forty days, kept seats almost exclusively in the hands of a few great families, while many small boroughs were owned by rich noblemen or openly offered for sale. By this means a Minister was often enabled to retain his corrupt majority in Parliament. Great sums of secret-service money were expended in direct bribery at election times, and places and pensions multiplied to such an extent that out of five hundred and fifty members in Parliament, under George II, no fewer than two hundred and fifty-seven held offices, pensions, and sinecures. The Septennial Act, passed during Walpole's regime, was an additional tool for strengthening the Minister's power. This act resulted in an instantaneous rise in the price of Parliamentary seats.

In addition to these conditions, certain privileges claimed by the House of Commons were added evils. The House claimed the right of imprisoning men to the end of the current session on its own authority, and such victims could neither be bailed nor released by the law courts. The members of the National Assembly, although for the most part men of wealth and property, enjoyed immunity from all actions of law and suits for debt. Thus they were enabled to set their creditors at defiance, and an immense

amount of fraud resulted. The jurisdiction which the House claimed over disputed elections was often scandalous in its results, since nearly every decision was rendered by party favor and not as a result of the merits of the case. The practice of censoring reports of Parliamentary proceedings, which was in effect throughout the first half of the century, was another abusive privilege claimed by this body. The right to publish debates was not obtained until the reign of George III, and the Wilkes affair was of much weight in bringing about this freedom of the press. The Gentleman's Magazine was among the first to publish Parliamentary debates, and it was rapidly followed by other periodicals. To escape punishment they printed the issues during recesses of Parliament and used only the first and last letters of a Minister's name. Wilkes was the first who presumed to print the full name of a Minister in these pamphlet attacks. As the censorship of the press on these satirical attacks was diminished, the boldness of the attacks was increased, and the mid-eighteenth-century novel cried out against these Parliamentary abuses.

Tobias George Smollett was probably the most vicious in his attacks on Parliamentary elections. In Peregrine Pickle he satirizes these corrupt practices. Peregrine, having lost a large part of his fortune, was advised by his patron to regain it through a political career. On the advice of this man, supposedly an influential politician, Pickle repaired to his country seat to prepare as a Candidate in the forth-coming election. Incidentally he lined his coat pockets with a great

deal of money - all that he had left. After spending this vast sum, he borrowed an additional amount, as he felt confident of his election. Nothing could have obstructed him, had not the noble peer who set up his competitor compromised the affair with those high up in the Administration by giving them two members in another place, provided Peregrine withdrew from the race. When his patron commanded him to withdraw, he refused. This was a useless move, as he was in the power of his patron on account of his notes for the borrowed money. Consequently he withdrew from the race and returned to London. In return for this his patron introduced him to a great Minister, who thanked Pickle for his service and promised to reward him. For several months this Minister kept Pickle dangling with promises and delays. Finally, tired out by this treatment, Peregrine wrote an attack on the Minister, for which he was imprisoned for a long period in the Fleet. So in this early novel Smollett satirizes practically all the abuses in connection with Parliamentary elections. Bribery, patronage, unjust imprisonment are vividly attacked by his vitriolic pen, and an accurate account of these abuses is recorded.

Again Smollett returned to this theme in Sir Launcelot Greaves. Two opposing candidates meet on election day; one, Sir Valentine Quickset, was qualified for the place by being a fox-hunter; Mr. Isaac Vanderpelt boasted only his wealth, made in trade, to support his claims. The speeches of these two men aptly illustrate Smollett's satire on Parliamentary elections. Mr. Quickset's claims were set forward as follows:

Gentlemen vreeholders of this here county, I shan't pretend to make a vine vlorishing speech - I'm a plain man as you all know. I hope I shall always speak my maind without veor or vavour, as the zaying is. 'Tis the way of the Quicksets - we are no upstarts, no voreigners, nor have we any Jewish blood in our veins; we have lived in this here neighborhood time out of mind, as you all know; and possess an estate of 5000 clear, which we spend at whoam, among you, in old English hospitality. All my vorevathers have been in Parliament, and I can prove that ne'er a one o 'um gave a zingle vote for the court since the Revolution. Vor my own peart, I value not the Ministry three skips of a louse, as the saying is - I ne'er knew but one Minister that was an honest man; and vor the rest, I care not if they were hanged as high as Haman, with a pox tu'un - I am, thank God, a vreeborn, true-hearted Englishman, and a loyal, thof unworthy son of the Church - vor all they have done vor H-----r,¹ I'd vain know what they have done vor the Church, with a vengeance - vor my own pearte, I hate all vorreigners, and vorreign measures, whereby this poor nation is broken - backed with a load of debt; and taxes rise so high that the poor cannot get bread. Gentlemen vreeholders of this county, I value no Minister a vig's end, d'ye see; if you will vavour me with your votes and interest, whereby I may be returned, I'll engage one-half my estate that I never cry yea to your shillings in the pound, but will cross the Ministry in everything.²

In opposition to Mr. Quickset's appeal, Mr. Vanderpelft advanced the claim that he had 4000 pounds in his pocket, which he had acquired by trade. This he intended to spend to the last farthing. He owned himself a faithful follower of George III, sincerely attached to the Protestant succession. These were his qualifications as a Parliament member. For additional satire of this scene Smollett presented Sir Launcelot, with his appeal for the ideal method of electing members. He reminded them that the privilege of election was a birthright won by their forefathers, and pictured the proper type to be elected. The uselessness of such individual attempts is emphasized by the outcome. Sir Launcelot

¹ Hanover.

² Sir Launcelot Greaves, p. 245.

found himself involved in a fight with the combined forces of the two opponents, and with difficulty he rescued himself by flight.

Partly in consequence of Parliamentary corruption and the great wealth gained through power, the tendency for constituents to divide into parties was greatly strengthened. At this period parties were new to politics, and were not considered a necessary element, as they now are held to be. The rise of the power of the common people had brought this about; before that time society had been divided into the two classes, nobility and commons. The growth in wealth of those below the nobility and the loss of power in the House of Lords tended to raise factions within the masses, which became known as Parties. Originally divided upon principles, these parties gradually grew into mere factions at enmity with one another and only slightly actuated by policies or principles. Some satire on party connections was noted in connection with Pitt and his changing principles (Supra, Chapter III); additional satire on these organizations is found in the novels of this period.

3

The chapter on Hats in Jonathan Wild gives Fielding's opinion on parties. Wild had collected his gang, composed of undone gamesters, ruined bailiffs, broken tradesmen, idle apprentices, attorney's clerks, and loose and disorderly youths. They were divided into two parties as follows:

³ Book II, Chapter VI.

As these persons wore different principles, i.e. hats, frequent dissensions grew among them. There were particularly two parties, viz., those who wore hats fiercely cocked, and those who preferred the nob or trencher hat. The former were called cavaliers and tory Tory ranter boys, etc.; the latter went by the several names of wags, roundheads, shakebags, old-nolls, and several others. Between these continued jars arose, insomuch that they grew in time to think there was something essential in their differences, and that their interests were incompatible with each other, whereas, in truth, the difference lay only in the fashion of their hats.⁴

In Smollett's Sir Launcelot Greaves there is a similar passage. Launcelot, being disturbed from his rest, looked out of the window to ascertain the cause. He beheld a cavalcade of persons, "mounted and distinguished by blue cockades". They were luxuriously dressed and carried a banner, which displayed in white letters the insignia, "Liberty and the landed interests". As they approached the market-place, they cried aloud, "No foreign connections! Old England forever!" In this manner Smollett pictures the arrival of the Tories on election day. The Whigs, in contrast, are on foot "with bunches of orange ribands" on their hats. They are accompanied by a band playing "God save Great George our King". This last crowd was accompanied by the mayor, recorder, and heads of the corporation. This detail shows the contemporary power of the Whigs, since they are accompanied by the officials of the city. The Whig preference for the Hanoverian dynasty is a notable contrast to the Tory desire to end the war and sever all foreign connections. An emphasis on the Whig partiality to the Protestant religion skilfully insinuates the Tory leaning toward Catholicism.

⁴ Jonathan Wild, p. 106.

A large part of the novel, Sir Launcelot Greaves, is given over to an attack upon Smollett's enemy, Dr. John Shebbear, who is satirized in the character of Ferret. This novel, published in 1760-1761, displays the influence upon Smollett of the pamphleteering of this period. Being Scotch the author was heartily in sympathy with Bute and became one of his political pamphleteers. He attacks all the principles of the Whig Oligarchy in his satirical representation of Ferret; also he displays his own Tory sympathies in the principles of Sir Launcelot Greaves.

Another eighteenth-century novelist who saw fit to attack the party system was Henry Brooke. In The Fool of Quality he declares that "whether or not the government were committed to the One, the Few, or the Many, the parties entrusted have generally proved traitors; and deputed power has almost perpetually been seized upon as property".⁵ The constitution of England, according to Brooke, is all that has saved her, and the existence of parties is proof of liberty, though not partaking or communicating any portion of its benefits, as "rank weeds are proof of a hot and luxurious soil, though they are the detestable consequence of the one and the other".⁶

Salus Populi - Public Safety - security to the persons and properties of the people, he adds, constitute the essential whole of England's polity.

In addition to the foregoing evils there was a crying need for reform in the English judicial and prison systems. Crime

⁵ Op. cit., p. 265.

⁶ Ibid., p. 265.

was rampant in the early part of this century and organized gangs of criminals existed. Something, though not much, had been done to secure maintenance of order, but there was still much to be done. The city of London was ill-lighted and ill-guarded. The extreme prevalence of drunkenness added to the amount of crime. The city watchmen and constables were usually inefficient; they were found more frequently in beer-shops than on the streets, and were often themselves a serious danger to the public. The Magistrates throughout England were not only notoriously ignorant, but were also what was termed "trading-justices". They were more favorable to affluence than to innocence. The district justices were more often appointed by interest than by qualifications. The punishments meted out were often atrocious and atrociously executed, but they fell chiefly on minor offenders. Capital punishment was the sentence for robbery and many lesser offences. Rewards were offered for "peaching", and this gave rise to an evil of trafficking in men's lives. Innocent persons were decoyed into robbery that they might be betrayed to the Government for a paltry reward. The existence of a certain district where debtors were free from molestation made these districts citadels for the worst criminals.

Henry Fielding, in his position of Bow-Street Magistrate, did much to reform many of these evils. His work as a novelist had made him familiar with the need for reforms. In Jonathan Wild, though it is allegorically a picture of Walpole's Ministry, Fielding recorded the history of an actual criminal, who organized his gang of thieves in the early decades of the

the eighteenth century. This notorious villain made his living by the thievery of his band, but he never hesitated to surrender them to the law for execution if he wanted them out of his way. An example of his method of procedure with one of his men, who refused to commit murder at his command, follows:

Marybone was immediately entered by Wild in his black-book, and was presently after impeached and executed as a fellow on whom his leader could not place sufficient dependence; thus falling, as many rogues do, a sacrifice not to roguery, but to his conscience.⁷

In addition to his organized gang of thieves Wild established an office where the stolen goods could be regained by the owner "for merely paying full value of it".

In the novels of this period there are two outstanding instances of satire on the inefficiency of magistrates. One is in Fielding's Amelia; the other is in Smollett's Sir Launce-
lot Greaves. Both of these authors had experiences with justice that made each thoroughly efficient in presenting this satire. A man named Peter Gordon, whom Smollett befriended in a financial way, proved himself ungrateful and dishonest. To get rid of this debt, he went to the debtor's prison, whence he sent contumacious messages to his benefactor, who was helpless as far as the law was concerned. This being the case, Smollett took the matter into his own hands and gave the man a much deserved thrashing. A quack lawyer took charge of the case, sued Smollett, and won a judgment of assault. The result was that Smollett was forced to pay the court costs of the

⁷ Op. cit., p. 151.

case and became eternally embittered against lawyers. A second instance of this man's experience with the law was his imprisonment in the King's Bench, as a result of his attacks on Admiral Knowles in The Critical Review.

As a result of these experiences Smollett lashes out with satire on the ignorance and corruption of country magistrates in his novel, Sir Launcelot Greaves. After Ferret's arrest, Sir Launcelot accompanied him to the magistrate. Ferret managed to free himself by turning evidence against the knight as a molester of peace. Sir Launcelot, much to his own astonishment, found himself a prisoner, although he could not ascertain the charge. During his incarceration he learned the sad stories of each of the inmates. Most of them were unjustly imprisoned, but the most flagrant injustice was the case of the Widow Oakley. Her son's sweetheart had inadvertently given offence to Miss Gobble, the Magistrate's daughter. In consequence of this the son had been pressed for a soldier and, according to rumor, was killed in action. The sweetheart had pined away into "a consumption". The mother, unable to manage her farm, had been arrested for debt by Justice Gobble and was now mad with worry and grief.

Upon investigation Sir Launcelot ascertained the facts concerning Justice Gobble. His father had been a tailor in London, and he had been an apprentice journeyman. On the death of his master he married the rich widow, and having picked up a few law terms about the city, they decided to move to the country to live genteelly. A certain peer, who was indebted to this

man, had cancelled his obligation by inserting his name in the commission. In the execution of his office this justice had committed thousands of crimes, and his wife constantly urged him on to more. Launcelot obtained a lawyer, who demanded the commitment warrant from the justice, but in this instance Justice Gobble was caught red-handed. He had no such warrant and sought to pacify the prisoner with his release. A sample of Gobble's wisdom is shown in his speech to Launcelot:

The laws of this land has provided - I says as how provision is made by the laws of this here land, in reverence to dilinguems and manefactors, whereby the king's peace is upholden by we magistrates, who represents his majesty's person better than e'er a contagious nation under the sun; but howsomever, that there king's peace, and this here magistrate's authority, cannot be adequably and identically upheld, if so be as how criminals escape unpunished. Now friend, you must be confidentialious in your own mind, as you are a notorious criminal, who have trespassed against the laws on divers occasions and importunities; if I had a mind to exercise the rigour of the law, according to the authority wherewith I am wested, you and your companions in iniquity would be sewerly punished by the statue; but we magistrates has a power to litigate the sewerity of justice, and I am contented that you should be mercifully dealt withal, and even dismissed.⁸

Sir Launcelot obtained vengeance on one constable, which was a projection of the secret desire of Smollett. He forced him out of office and made him sign a paper never to hold an office at any future date. Also, he secured justice for the innocent victims, and demanded their release. In this manner did Smollett vent his feelings concerning the ignorance and corruption of English magistrates.

Henry Fielding was just as well qualified to satirize the

⁸ Op. cit., p. 254.

injustices of the prison system as was Smollett. He had served for some years as magistrate and had seen the great need of change in the English system. In his novel, Amelia, he voices his opinion of these conditions. The entire book is composed of Mr. Booth's and his wife's, Amelia's, efforts to stay out, or get out, of the debtor's prison. When Booth is out of prison, Fielding satirizes the various tactics used to arrest a person; when he is in prison, he satirizes the conditions extant in English prisons. The most telling satire, however, is that aimed at Justice Thrasher. In his description the author emphasizes the imperfections in his magisterial capacity. Many persons believed that this position required some knowledge of the law, and since the law was comprehended in many volumes of statutes, a magistrate was naturally expected to read some of them. Justice Thrasher, however, was never known to read one syllable of matter. He depended solely upon his own inclinations. "The Justice was never indifferent to a cause but when he could get nothing on either side." Some examples of his decisions are set forth by presenting several prisoners for trial. One, a very bloody, badly-beaten man, was charged with assault by a man who had a few scratches. In spite of the testimony offered, Thrasher convicted the prisoner because his tongue betrayed him to be Irish. A second prisoner was a young woman arrested for being on the streets at night. Although she testified and offered to prove that she was a maid-servant on an errand to secure the services of a mid-wife for her mistress, she was committed to Bridewell for a month as a street-

walker. Booth himself was the next prisoner before Thrasher. He had been arrested for beating a nightwatchman. "The shattered remains of a broken lantern, which had long been preserved for the sake of its testimony, was produced to corroborate the evidence."⁹ Booth had really interferred to help some men attacked by marauders, but by this he had been made the victim of a conspiracy by the watchman; so he was sentenced to prison.

While Booth was in prison, he saw many unjustly imprisoned persons, just as Sir Launcelot had. The most flagrant injustice was the case of a young girl and her aged father. Both had been committed for the girl's stealing a loaf of bread, which the father helped to eat. This case was one of felony; so they could not be bailed. Among the other abuses in this, as in all eighteenth-century prisons, the greatest was probably the treatment meted out to prisoners who were unable to pay their jailers for food or services, while those able to pay received every courtesy. Fielding was very bitter in his attacks upon these evil conditions, and he left little unsaid in satirizing them.

Additional satire on these abuses is found in The Adventures of a Guinea. When the constable arrested a woman who ran a house of ill-repute, she purchased her release by paying the justice a certain sum of money that he demanded.¹⁰ Johnstone in this novel also attacked the evil of informing. One of the

⁹ Amelia, p. 10.

¹⁰ Op. cit., Vol. I, Chap. XXVIII.

justice's tools relates the following to his master:

I, and two or three more of our people, having nothing to do, shammed a quarrel, in which a gentleman, who was coming by, lost his hat. It was a large hat, with a very broad gold lace, such as your foreigners wear; it was I that shoved off the hat, and seeing a shabby, idle-looking young fellow standing by, without one, I took it up, and, asking him if it was his, reached it to him, and saw him make off with it directly. Now, if this is not plain robbery, I do not know what it is! A fellow runs away with a gentleman's hat, who advertises it, with a reward for taking the thief, whom he will prosecute! Now I have found the fellow's haunts, for indeed I dogged him, and will have himself whenever you please, and can clinch the prosecution, by swearing that I saw him carry off the hat.¹¹

The justice had the man charged for stealing the hat, as he thought "the affair had a good look".¹¹

Satire of this period attacks individual laws, as well as the entire prison system. The one which provoked the bitterest satire was Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, passed in 1753. Previous to this time, the Canon law had been in force in England. Under this provision all that was necessary for a legal marriage was the consent of both parties, followed by cohabitation. Stamped licenses were provided for under this law, but this clause was never enforced. Atrocious abuses had arisen under such an arrangement. A multitude of clergymen, usually prisoners for debt and mostly men of notoriously infamous lives, made it their business to celebrate clandestine marriages in or near the Fleet. These Fleet marriages had become a disgraceful scandal to England. Almost every tavern had a Fleet clergyman in its pay, and agents openly solicited marriages or pseudo-

¹¹ Op. cit., pp. 137-138.

marriages. Many clandestine ceremonies, performed for wealthy inexperienced heirs under the influence of drink, resulted in life-long tragedy. The marriage of Henry Fox to the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, and of the seventeen-year-old poet Churchill, are notorious instances of these abuses.

Parliament resolved to put an end to this condition. Twelve judges were appointed to draft a new law, but the result of their efforts was so imperfect that Lord Hardwicke, at that time Lord Chancellor, undertook to revise it. This bill readily passed the House of Lords, but was strenuously opposed in the House of Commons, Henry Fox and Charles Townsend leading the Opposition. Eventually passed as a law, this Act provided that with the exception of Quakers and Jews, no marriage should be valid in England, unless performed by the Anglican Clergy in robes; the ceremony could be performed after banns were published for three successive Sundays in the parish church, or by issuance of a license with the consent of parents or guardians. All marriages that did not conform to this law were void, and those who performed the ceremony were subject to deportation.

Hardwicke's law, while actually a great step in the reformation of an existing evil, instantly provoked much satire. Such arguments as the following were advanced against it: that the nobility were enabled by it to secure all the greatest heiresses, as parents or guardians were always anxious to form an alliance with the upper classes; that the resultant close inter-marrying would produce great degeneracy; that immorality would be vastly increased through illicit unions, formed by

wards forbidden to marry by law. These accusations compose a two volume novel, The Marriage Act, by John Shebbeare. This novel was published anonymously in 1754. The story is developed through several channels. James Barton, a wealthy London merchant, had two daughters, Mary or "Miss Molly", and Eliza. The eldest daughter following the desire of her parents, married Lord Sapplin, and ended by eloping with her husband's manservant because of the Lord's indifference and neglect. The final outcome of her dissipated life was entrance as a nun into a French convent. The second daughter, Eliza, wished to marry her father's clerk, Billy Worthy, but this being forbidden, she ran away. In the outcome, by way of proving that young people know best how to make happy matches, Billy Worthy inherited a baronetcy, married Eliza, and they reared a family happy in the union of their perfect love.

Along with this main story Shebbeare introduced numerous short narratives to satirize the effects of this marriage law. A traveler in a coach told the story of a guardian who sold his ward in marriage for half of her estate. Her husband, a notorious profligate, inflicted her with disease, which soon resulted in her death. Another story told is that of the valiant clergyman, who performed a clandestine marriage because he was in dire need of funds for his sick wife. In consequence he was imprisoned and deported, but the man who had hired him, Captain Stem, received no punishment under the law. A longer and even more harrowing story was the one of the twin brothers. The elder twin, a noble, fine fellow, was persuaded by his deformed and malicious

brother to marry clandestinely. After the marriage they lived happily and had two children. All appeared well-contented, as the parents had been reconciled to the match. Many years later the wicked brother carried out his plans. The grandparents and parents of the children died. Then the wicked brother invoked the evil marriage law for his purpose. He declared it no marriage, since it had been performed without consent; put the youthful heirs of his brother out, as they were bastards under the law; and took possession of the estates and title. Thus in his lengthy novel, Dr. Shebbeare satirized the marriage law of Hardwicke. He fails to see any good qualities in this Act, but points out all its flaws.

Thus in the larger portion of eighteenth century novels there is a manifest inclination for some sort of satire, personal, political, social, or religious. That the evils and corruptions warranted such attacks can scarcely be doubted, since most of the abuses that were attacked have been reformed. Four eminent novelists of this century, Smollett, Fielding, Johnstone, and Shebbeare used their pens to attack these evils. Notable satirical passages from their works present an accurate account of prevailing political conditions that urgently cried for reformation. Some of these changes have been accomplished, but others still remain to be made, and satirical writers of today still hurl invectives against such abuses.

Chapter VI
Effects of Political Satire in the
Eighteenth-Century Novels

As a result, at least in part, of the political satire in eighteenth-century prose fiction, some interesting and important changes have come about. These satirical attacks must have certainly contributed to permanent and far-reaching consequences. The two outstanding results that were brought about by the bitter invectives of these novelists are reformation in the political and social conditions that were the objects of satire, and the elevation given to the new form of prose fiction.

In the early part of the eighteenth century there developed an impetus toward humanitarianism which was the seed of democracy. The periodicals of this period took up the fight for freedom of the press. In this fight there was a constant demand for justice for the common man. Old political organizations and abusive laws were attacked in a vehement manner. This battle was carried on by Fielding when he changed from pamphleteer to novelist. Soon many other novelists were satirizing governmental and ministerial abuses. Gradually,

within the same century, reformation started in answer to these insistent demands. Since that time the demands have continued, and the changes that have come about in political organization are known to all.

Today there is little resemblance between the modern orderly prison systems and those presented in the satirical attacks of Fielding and Smollett. Conditions are sanitary within the prisons. The government also recognizes the necessity of an effort to reclaim criminals by mental and moral cultivation of the prisoners. Laws have been so changed as to recognize man's rights. Capital punishment has been done away with entirely in many instances, and where it is retained, it is inflicted only for major crimes. Reformation of this nature would have been a glorious achievement, had it been the only result of these satirical attacks.

Hand-in-hand with the improvement in prison conditions in England have gone the elevation and purification of her judicial system. Today English jurists are renowned for their wisdom and incorruptibility - a notable improvement over Justice Gobble and Justice Thrasher. Many other nations today envy this characteristic of English Courts, and many are remodeling their own systems to conform with that existing in Great Britain.

While it remains a fact that the administration of government still is corrupt, present day conditions, at

the worst, are vastly better than those of eighteenth-century England. Seats in Parliament are no longer sold, but incumbents are honestly elected. Bribery, formerly a recognized tool of government, is now frowned upon and is severely punishable by law. Satirists of today are still attacking what corruption remains in political life, and judging by the results up to date, the future will see many additional reforms in governments.

The second result of these satirical attacks, and to the student of literature the most important, is the resultant influence of this satire in the development of the novel. The new type of prose fiction, which reached its final form in Fielding and Smollett, undoubtedly was greatly influenced by, and owes much to, the political satire found in these early works. In the eighteenth century, novels were scorned by many, as is often the case with some new mode or form. Many of the early works were a reflection of the immoral times, and in consequence were classed as unfit to be read. The very fact that the novels which are included in this study saw fit to take up serious and worthwhile issues was a great impetus toward making the political novel a permanent type of fiction. A comparison of the novels that have stood the test of time, those of Smollett, Fielding, Richardson, and Sterne, with the list of eighteenth-century novels given in Colman's play, Miss Polly Honeycomb, is a conclusive proof that a sincere, noble theme makes a

novel enduring, provided it is at all well-handled.

This inclination of the novel to teach or preach became an out-standing element of all early works. Those of Samuel Richardson, while free of political satire, are written to teach by a noble example. Sterne's work, Tristram Shandy, was written with a conscious effort at wit, and it is debatable whether or not this work may be truly called a novel. At any rate, it lies outside the scope of this study. The greater number of mid-eighteenth-century novels have been found to contain political satire. These satirical attacks were both personal and impersonal. The three great Prime Ministers were satirized in these novels. Fielding, a contemporary of Walpole, devoted a complete novel, Jonathan Wild, to an attack on his personal and political enemy. Smollett, embittered by life and political disappointments, launched bitter invectives against both Pitt and Bute in his Adventures of an Atom. In these and other works of these two novelists is found much satire of miscellaneous social abuses. The sincerity of their purpose and loftiness of their aim undoubtedly contributed to the enduring quality of their work. Three minor eighteenth-century novelists were inspired by the same dignity of purpose, and the works of Johnstone, Shebbeare, and "the unknown Gentleman from Oxford" have withstood the test of time. Thus these eighteenth-century novelists did much to advance both the reformation of society

and the development of the novel. Consequently the political satire of the eighteenth-century has been an enduring influence, and the works of these men are classics of English literature.

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