COLLABORATION IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE FROM 1860 TO 1890

A Thesis Presented for the Degree of Master of Arts

By

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Approved by:

Percy S. Adams
This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Percy Guy Adams, whose counsel was a comfort in times of adversity and an inspiration in the days of progress.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The neo-classic period in Europe marked the sociological conversion from a regressive attitude toward life to an intense interest in reality in all its aspects. During the middle ages man took little interest in the world about him. He considered himself the central figure in the universe. He lived only for the salvation of his soul, regarding his existence on earth and all worldly matters as transitory and of secondary importance.¹


This attitude was reflected in the social structure of medieval civilization. Civil states were loosely organized and subject to constant change. Territorial boundaries were vague and of little interest. The strongest authority of the world was not the temporal but the spiritual one. Cities and feudal estates grew out of the needs of the populace, with consideration for those needs placed above artistic requirements.²


Man's spiritual preoccupation was also seen in art
and literature. In the cathedrals of Europe the pointed spires, the upturned faces of the saints on the stained glass windows all indicate the direction in which men's thoughts were turned. The fact that many of the most important edifices took several generations for completion showed that men did not consider the world the beginning and end of life.

Ecclesiastical literature dominated the thought of the period, and subsequent literary forms grew out of it, either directly or indirectly. The drama began with the mystery plays of the church, becoming more secular with the advent of the Renaissance. Folk and epic poetry, with its imaginary figures and its disregard for accuracy of space and time, though it did not always reflect the influence of the church, still showed an indifference to reality.

During the growth of the Renaissance when interest in the classics first arose, the outward forms of classical works were accepted uncritically and blindly imitated. However, the objectives of the ancients, based upon the principles of nature, were at first overlooked. As a result, the Renaissance, in spite of the classical tenets of order and propriety, was a period of indiscriminate verbosity, profuse imagery and uncontrolled diffusion. Shakespeare in England and Rabelais in France outdid themselves in creating new words and in devising a thousand different ways of expressing 2.
ideas. Classic form was only an external trapping of Renaissance humanism, and was at times completely subordinated to it.

Neo-classicism grew out of the obvious need for a curb upon this diversification in literature, which, in the hands of lesser men than Shakespeare and Rabelais, was expanding to the point of anarchy and causing literature to lose its meaning and relationship to life. It was grafted upon English culture, and discarded as soon as it had served its purpose. It was a veneer covering the fancifully creative spirit of the British; whereas in France and Italy it constituted an inherent part of civilization.

With the development of the neo-classic period, the essential qualities of classicism were better understood. Although the understanding of classic concepts deepened with the beginning of the eighteenth century, so did the qualities leading to the ultimate decline of the movement. This understanding was limited to a chosen few, and there were many poor writers who considered classic form an end in itself. It was due to this group that neo-classicism reached its decline.

Literary collaboration was a manifestation of man's awakened interest in the world about him, and it grew as the result of many influences. Subconsciously, collaboration was a refuge from the loneliness caused by the discoveries.
of Copernicus, which took away from man his belief that he was the object of sole importance in the universe. From the center of existence that he had been in the middle ages, he became a purposeless atom of no significance in himself alone. His reaction was a surge of gregariousness and an allegiance to the tenets of classicism, which put a meaning into life, a meaning that had been taken away by science. In the concept of nature held by the ancients, the entire universe was an ordered system comprising everything from the stars to the insects. The acceptance of this view allowed the existence of a divine intelligence, and since man could conceive of no intelligence other than one with human attributes, he was thus enabled to regain a remote identification with a deistic god. The belief in the unity of the social structure and the divine intelligence governing it

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took the place of the belief in the unity of the celestial hierarchy governed by a more personal deity. By adopting a preoccupation with his fellow man, he found temporal roots

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to replace the spiritual ones he had lost. Instead of
trying to save his soul by devotion to God, he sought to lose his soul by merging it with the multitude.

This subconscious factor and other more conscious ones, augmented each other. Ecclesiastical integration gave way to civil integration. Countries changed from collections of scattered feudal domains to centrally organized monarchies, thus leading the way toward nationalism, but cultural influences also stemmed from the royal and ducal courts of Europe. The monarchs of the period had only recently succeeded in wresting power from the feudal lords, and in their eagerness to maintain and increase it, they discouraged any cultural development away from their spheres.

In France, Louis XIV proclaimed his sovereignty by establishing a palace and court to which he drew all the desirable elements of society within his reach. Those nobles who stayed away from the court, preferring their own chateaux, incurred either his displeasure or his indifference.

In England at the court of Charles II and subsequent monarchs, it became apparent there too that if a man were ambitious it was imperative that he stay in contact with the court, not only to promote but to protect his interests.

Russia, through the coercion of Peter the Great, followed the example of the more enlightened courts of Europe.
Conscious of the backward state of Russian civilization, Peter took steps to correct this situation. By means of one edict after another, he brought to his court the refinement of dress and manners prevalent in Europe. He further increased Russia's contact with the European countries by appointing courtiers to travel abroad, writing of their experiences along the way. These accounts were brought back and circulated throughout the court for the edification of the others.\(^5\)


What Peter established and grafted upon Russian civilization by force remained intact until the fall of the Romanoff's at the close of World War I. The reign of Catherine II strengthened the influence of the Russian court, particularly since she herself found time for many literary activities aside from her duties as a monarch. However, neo-classicism was never more than a veneer covering the true literary spirit of Russia, which did not realize an awakening until the nineteenth century.

Although there were no outstanding monarchs in Spain during the neo-classic period, nevertheless the Spanish court followed the precedents set by others. This was the beginning of the period of political disintegration for 6.
Spain, while the other countries were becoming stronger and more unified. Spain had passed her golden age, both in literature and in political power. Her colonies reached so far that they were gradually eluding her grasp. As she was becoming politically senile, so also was she slow to grasp the neo-classic principles permeating Europe. Spain's viceregal courts in Peru and Mexico also became centers of literary activity for their respective countries.  

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In Prussia, Frederick the Great divided his time between the development of his court and the military grandeur of his kingdom. He was the most cultivated of the Germanic rulers as well as the most powerful one, and it was largely through his patronage that neo-classicism pervaded the German principalities.

Colonial literature in America was not touched by neoclassicism until the Revolutionary period. This is chiefly due to the fact that the educated men in America were more preoccupied with religious than with secular matters. However, as a colonial aristocracy replaced the bourgeois foundations of American education, interest grew in the literary precepts dominating Europe.

In the rarified atmosphere of the courts, the concept
of man as the center of the universe changed to that of the
gentleman as the pivot of existence. The belief in an order-
ed system of society, with each individual in his proper
niche, placed the aristocrat at the top of the human pyramid.  


Here he remained, and as long as his system was intact,
nothing could dislodge him.

Because his place in the social hierarchy was secure
and was not dependent upon character or merit, the gentle-
man of the period was often brutal, treacherous and barbaric
beneath his suave exterior. The undercurrent of grossness
and brutality, hidden under the surface of elegant diction
and at times rising to full view, is a characteristic of
neo-classic literature. Numerous examples of this are seen
in satire. Pope's *Moral Essay* "On the Characters of Women"
is devoid of chivalry or gallantry. Swift in his *Gulliver's
Travels* is brutally realistic in the more satirical passages
of the book. John Trumbull in "The Progress of Dulness"
drags the heroine through the mire of derision along with
his two male victims. The privileges of the aristocrat
exacted no obligations or responsibilities from him, other
than those of an aesthetic character.

To further his ambitions the courtier was obliged to
ingratiate himself with those in power and undermine his
rivals by any mechanism within his resources. The days of
distinction through military prowess were gone, and the day
of distinction through achievement was yet to come. The
shift from the direct to the indirect road to preferment
stimulated the development of the arts, and amateur pro-
iciency at court flourished.

In England George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, with
the help of some others, wrote his play, The Rehearsal.
The motive for writing this play was to further one of the
Duke's many intrigues, in this case his grudge against
Dryden. The Earl of Rochester, Sir George Etheridge,
Edmund Waller, Sir Charles Sedley and others reflected con-
temporary court life in their poems.

In France, Louis XIV joined the dancers in the court
ballets, and a few generations later Marie Antoinette and
her friends acted in many plays. They would even have pro-
duced Beaumarchais' insidiously revolutionary play, The
Marriage of Figaro, had it not been for the intervention
of Louis XVI. Even so, they eventually over- rode his ob-
jections.8

8 Stephan Zweig, Marie Antoinette, translated by Eden and

In Russia, Catherine II contributed frequently to the
Russian periodical, "All Sorts". She also wrote the drafts
for many plays that were finished and produced by others. She joined with Princess Dashkov to write a history of Russia, and in her youth she collaborated on the *Nakaz*, a political treatise.  

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Bruckner, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-97.

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The spirit of play and sociability permeating life at court made literature another medium for the exchange of ideas. This was augmented by the fact that literature was considered an avocation. There was little competition for distinction, particularly within the strata of the financially overprivileged. Self-expression was more important than personal eminence.

Those courtiers who were secure in their positions wrote for their own amusement and gratification. Those with unfulfilled ambitions wrote to please others. In both cases the attainment of greatness was far from their thoughts or from actuality. The courts served the interest of literary development through their patronage, their intense but mediocre activity and their adoption of the neo-classic traditions, which in the more capable hands of men with humble origins, such as Swift, Pope, Molière and Racine, resulted in works of genius.

As the amateur interest in literature and learning grew, the need for organization and a joining of like ideas grew.
was felt. This led to the founding of academies and literary societies in all the capitals of the world.

The Royal Society in England although it was more preoccupied with sciences than with literature, still constituted a unifying influence in all branches of English civilization. The trend in unification was furthered by Pope, who sought to find a middle path between Elizabethan verbosity and classic correctness; and by Dr. Johnson, whose dictionary was the first tabulated attempt to standardize the English language.

The Académie Francaise founded in 1634 by Richelieu and a circle of his friends was the result of the gradual development of an informal social group to a well organized one.  


In Italy the Academia della Arcadia, founded in 1690, was the organized embodiment of neo-classicism, and constituted one of the few unifying influences in a politically disunified country. It was also an escape from reality, as the strife and despotism in Italy made politics a dangerous subject for literature.  

In time the Arcadians became so shallow in their work that more individualistic thinkers revolted against them. Among these were Guiseppe Baretti, who was obliged to move to England, where he worked in the theatre for many years. Others were Pietro Verri and Cesare Beccaria. The Arcadians followed the pastoral tradition in their poetry, with its simplicity and classical terminology.\(^{12}\)

\(^{12}\) Ibid., pp. 296-298.

Spain and Portugal also had their literary groups, known generally as the Arcadians. In Portugal the Arcadia Ulyssiponense and the Nova Arcadia were founded to restore the classical precepts to literature.\(^ {13}\)


The superficiality of the age was furthered by the despotic governments, particularly in the Continental countries where they joined with religious absolutism to stifle any true intellectual development. Unimportant subjects were the only safe subjects for discussion. Only in England where there was a tradition of free thought, and in France where the gradually weakened monarchy loosened its hold upon authority, was there any depth of thought in literature.

The academies and literary societies, although their
members were more active in making compilations and editing each others' works than in actual collaboration, still created the atmosphere in which joint authorship flourished. Many of the members formed groups or pairs outside of these organizations in order to collaborate.

However, two similar social customs arose in France and England that furthered collaboration more than anything else. They were the growth of the coffee-house and club groups in England and the salons of the précieuses in France. Superficially the customs were different, but fundamentally they were the same.

In London, the coffee-houses and taverns gradually lost the transient quality of their clienteles. Certain coffee-houses began to attract the same groups, until by the reign of Queen Anne every professional, trade, political and literary group had its own coffee-house. Those who did not belong to the group at a certain house hesitated to go there, or if they did go, it was with a growing consciousness that they were intruders. 14


At the close of the eighteenth century the public taverns that had been most completely appropriated had been converted to private clubs, and many of them remain today. Countless groups formed themselves as small clubs at the
outset, meeting at various public taverns. Most of them were short-lived, breaking up when any serious disagreement arose among them.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15}
Ibid., pp. 18-20.

Every club had a central figure who dominated the group. Will's was the favorite haunt of Dryden and his contemporaries, and for generations afterward other literary groups met there. Special tables were reserved for three divisions: the Grave table for more serious discussions, the Witty table for the frivolous dandies, and the Rabble table for politicians. This division was an early indication of the development of the club system.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16}
Ibid.

Button's was a coffee-house frequented by Swift, who also formed his Scriblerus Club\textsuperscript{17} consisting of Arbuthnot, Pope, Gay and others. This group met at several public places.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{18}
Ibid., p. 20.

The chief rival of Button's, and a Whig stronghold, was Brookes'. The patrons here were Sheridan, Edmund Burke, 14.
David Garrick and Horace Walpole, one of Swift's most hated enemies.19

19 Ibid., p. 80.

The most famous of the dining clubs which arose was known simply as The Club. It was here that Dr. Johnson conducted some of the brilliant conversations noted by Boswell. Other members were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke and Oliver Goldsmith.20


In France the small social-literary groups formed, not in public coffee-houses, but in private homes. These groups were dominated by women. They were not always the most brilliant and distinguished members of the groups, as were the leaders of the clubs in England, but in their capacity as hostesses they made up in beauty and graciousness what they lacked in wit. Mme. de Rambouillet was the most renowned of the précieuses and also one of the first. She set the vogue for subsequent salons. These groups, both in England and France, many of them consisting of less than a dozen people, were small enough so that the members could learn from one another. If any individual embarked upon a literary effort, the others were sure to know. They would make suggestions, advise him, and in
many instances contribute a couplet or a paragraph to the body of the work.

Closely involved with the English clubs were the political parties, the Tories and the Whigs. All the literary groups, in addition to the purely political ones, leaned in the direction of one of the two parties, and the bulk of their literary efforts reflected their political views. This unity of feeling served to stimulate collaboration. The literature of the period nearly always bore analogies to contemporary life, and the use of satire was a favorite device for attacking those of opposite political views.

Partisanship in English literature dwindled with the close of the neo-classic period. At this juncture life had become so superficial that strength of purpose had disappeared. Political thought passed from the capable pens of Swift and Burke to those of the political theorists in France who preceded the Revolution. It was now too that America came into her political inheritance from England with the growing influence of Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton and others.

The periodicals were the most prevalent medium of expression, particularly in England and America. This form developed from the incidental news-letters and pamphlets circulated among the coffee-houses.

Countless periodicals arose in London during the
course of the years. Some existed only to further certain political views, while others treated with contemporary life in a didactic vein. Some came into being for the purpose of expressing one man's ideas, while others comprised the contributions of many. Some attained lasting fame, while others survived for only a few issues.

The "Review", published by Daniel Defoe, is an illustration of the periodical monopolized by one personality. Defoe's paper met with great success at the outset. However, his ideas became increasingly radical, as well as his way of expressing them. Eventually his articles not only roused the Tories to bring about his ruin, but alienated his allies, the Whigs. 21


The "Spectator" of Addison and Steele received contributions from many of the great writers of the age, and was the most universally respected. Benjamin Franklin in America made every effort to emulate the style of writing in the "Spectator". This periodical sought to impart to the rising middle classes the refinement of the aristocracy.

Instances of collaboration on individual articles in the periodicals were not frequent. George Colman the elder and Bonnell Thornton wrote each article of their "Connoisseur" jointly. 22 The "Letters from Cato" which appeared

in "The London Journal" were written by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Trenchard, with his insight into public affairs, furnished the subject matter for the "Letters". Gordon wrote them, after which he submitted them to Trenchard for revision and correction. 23

23 Fox Bourne, op. cit., pp. 110-111. It was in the "Letters from Cato" that one of the first warnings appeared against the subsequent "South Sea Bubbles".

In America, newspapers followed the examples set in England. The first paper was established in Boston by Benjamin Harris in 1686. He was a printer who had fled from London after some questionable business transactions. 24


Later the "Boston Gazette" of Samuel Adams played an important part in the political thought of the Revolution. 25

25 Ibid., p. 105.

Franklin, with his "Pennsylvania Gazette" and "Poor Richard's Almanack", was the most outstanding of the American journalists. He was interested in all phases of
life, but with the advent of the Revolutionary War he too
turned his attention to politics.

John Trumbull, while he was a student at Yale, made
many contributions to the "Connecticut Journal and New
Haven Post Boy" and to the "Connecticut Gazette".\textsuperscript{26} These
\textsuperscript{26}
\textit{Ibid.}, p. 96.

essays were written ostensibly in the style of Addison and
Steele, but underlying them was the satire later seen in
his "Progress of Dulness".

The periodicals, like the clubs and academies, fostered
the spirit of collaboration. The articles were comparatively
short and they comprised the ideas of every important man of
letters. This facilitated comparison, comments and repartee.
Again like the clubs, the contributors of each periodical
were brought and held together by a community of purpose.

The centralization of power made the respective courts
and capitals the cultural centers of each country. This
emphasized the urban rather than the rural character of
neo-classic civilization and literature. Even the country
estates of the period were extensions of city life. The
gregariousness of urban life became more concentrated than
ever before, since all the cultural elements of a single
country, together with the international contacts inevit-
able in a capital city, converged upon London, Paris,

19.
Madrid and other capitals throughout the world. The constant struggle to survive both financially and socially in these human whirlwinds left no time for solitude, introspection or peace of mind. This resulted in a preoccupation with the superficialities of life, which always demanded immediate attention. Collaboration was a natural expression of this gregariousness, reflecting it to the exclusion of the more subjective aspects of life.
CHAPTER II

Intellectual Characteristics of Collaboration

The political and philosophical background of the gatherings of the various groups, together with the atmosphere of intrigue and sophistication, precluded any display of emotion in collaborated literature. In a highly competitive society, no man can afford to reveal any vulnerability that such a display might reveal. At no time in history was he so liable to attack, not only from his enemies, but also from his friends, who might turn against him at any provocation. Dryden was engaged in lifelong warfare with Buckingham and his court factions. Pope and Addison were at one time close friends, but professional rivalry eventually separated them. Collaborated literature was therefore an expression of the intellect.

Emotion was considered a means to an end and not an end in itself, as it was to become during subsequent periods in the history of literature. In addition to this, emotion by its very nature can only be an individualistic expression. A group of people may be carried away by enthusiasm for an abstract idea such as patriotism, freedom or the rights of man. However, no two people can feel the same about such personal abstractions as solitude, love, and grief. Upon subjects like these each person has his own impressions,

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which he shares with no one. If he depicts them in writing at all, he does so alone. If there is no opportunity for doing so in his milieu, his emotions are turned to other outlets. Abstractions superseded emotion and sentiment in the neo-classic period. Any sentiment was in the form of conventional poses, as evidenced by the lovers of Pope's Pastorals. Their expressions of love are poetic; they are also inconsistent, shallow and unconvincing. In contrast to this, the personifications and allegory in Swift's of Gulliver's Travels and Arbuthnot's Law in a Bottomless Pit have more realism than any open professions of feeling. Emotion became submerged beneath political, philosophical and intellectual concepts, and seldom rose to the surface. It was only through these concepts that collaboration could exist. This was especially true in all prose forms. Here ideas are expressed directly, with the least regard for artistry. There was usually a purpose in the writing shared by the authors involved, and achieving this purpose stood before any artistic considerations. Any art employed was for the sake of winning this point, not for aesthetic gratification.

The purposive character of prose is seen in "The Case of the Hanover Forces in the Pay of Great Britain",\(^1\) an essay by Edmund Waller and Chesterfield revealing the

\(^1\) Third edition, revised and corrected. London, T. Cooper, 1743.
diplomatic intrigues leading to a policy of wasted expenditure adopted by England. The style of the essay is notable for its use of questions addressed to the reader concerning the problem, followed by convincing answers. This proved a most effective means of winning the reader to the cause. Everything in the essay has a bearing upon the purpose and motive involved in writing it. However, the effectiveness of the technique is almost lost by the long and ponderous sentences, which are difficult to follow and cause the reader to lose the train of thought.

Another example of persuasive literature is "Fabricius",\(^\text{2}\)

\(^{2}\) London, G. Wilkie, 1782.

a series of short letters written by Joseph Galloway and Lord Cornwallis, each of which was signed by the nom de plume, "Fabricius". These letters suggested various means by which the American colonies could be pacified and retained by the British Empire without resorting to further bloodshed. It is more effective as propaganda than the essay by Waller and Chesterfield, with its vivid descriptions of battles and military intrigues. The division of the work into a series of short letters also brought each idea within the full scope of the reader.

"The Art of Political Lying",\(^\text{3}\) an essay by Arbuthnot

\(^{3}\) New York, K. Tompkins, 1874.
and Swift, is an example of two wits combined for the purpose of satire. Swift's way of urging the wrong thing as though it were right is reminiscent of the sarcasm in his "Modest Proposal For Preventing the Children of the Poor from Being Burdensome". The analogy between lies and coins reflects Swift's active part in the coin controversy that raged between Ireland and Great Britain. Swift's final sarcasm comes in the last paragraph of the essay, where he asserts that the best way to refute a lie is not with the truth, but with another lie. The grim humor lurking throughout the essay is typical of the indirect emotional expression prevalent in neo-classicism.

This work is an illustration of neo-classic invention, which came the nearest to the modern concept of imagination. Such invention was limited to what seemed reasonable, natural, organic or bore a resemblance to truth. For this reason it was limited to new treatments of old forms and ideas, exemplified here in the inversion of ideals used in a didactic essay. The technique was quite prevalent in the prose satire of the period.

Similar to "The Art of Political Lying" but in a lighter vein, is "The Ocean of Ink", one of the articles that appeared in "The Connoisseur" of George Colman the elder.
and Bonnell Thornton. The whimsical setting of the essay,

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a dream, together with the personal pronouns used, does not give way to the fanciful creation one is led to expect. It later transpires that these mechanisms serve only as a backdrop for the satire on journalism that follows. Special objects of satire are pointed out, as well as many contemporary allusions. There is a didactic undercurrent in the article, consisting of warnings against the follies of journalism. The spirit of satire often moved writers to satirize themselves.

The dream setting is another illustration of neo-classic invention. It is noted, however, that the dream itself is concerned more with direct ideas than with the chimerical allegories one might find in another age.

The most artistic prose form, the novel, also reflects the restraint typical of neo-classicism. The joint contributions of facts and ideas rather than sensations, tended to fix additional boundaries, rather than to open new horizons of creation. The novels of neo-classicism, both those written in collaboration and those written singly, show the subservience of the individual to social and philosophical restrictions.

25.
"La Princesse de Cleves" by Mme. de la Fayette, Segrais and La Rochefoucauld,\(^6\) has both a setting and plot that are preoccupied with life at the French court. The characters, though they are given fictitious names, are easily identified with personages who lived at that time. Their lives are delineated with historic accuracy. Here again one sees the hesitancy to stray far from a resemblance to truth, even in an imaginative creation. Not even the plot diverges far from actual fact. The central problem in the story is the restraint and forbearance of the heroine in avoiding a disastrous love affair. The plot is developed at the expense of realistic character treatment, but psychological realism is not lacking in the situation itself.

"Zayde", another historical novel written by Mme. de la Fayette and assisted by Segrais,\(^7\) is used as a mechanism for the expression of various political and philosophical ideas. It is a drama in prose, with these ideas mingled in the dialogues and plot.

The most subtle and indirect medium of collaboration was the drama. In the portrayal of life men could not only
expound their views, but they also had the opportunity of doing so in such a way as to be understood and accepted by all the elements of society. Many availed themselves of this opportunity. There was hardly a man of letters who did not write at least one play, either by himself or with others; and there was hardly a play that did not have political or social implications.

An early example of a play with political undertones was *The Duke of Guise*, by Dryden and Nathaniel Lee. In this play The Duke of Guise was a close parallel to the Duke of Monmouth, who left England and returned in defiance of his father, Charles II. The duke in the play defied Henry II of France by returning to Paris after his banishment. Throughout the play the duke is represented as the hero, and all his actions are condoned. Added to this, the debate of the Council of Sixteen, with which the play opens, has some unfavorable analogies to Parliament. The play was suppressed for a considerable time, although Dryden himself denied emphatically the political significance of the work.  

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Dryden was the victim of considerable satire; most 27.
notable *The Rehearsal*, written by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Martin Clifford, Samuel Butler, Edmund Waller and Thomas Sprat.  

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London, A. Murray and Sons, 1868.

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The entire play takes place backstage at the theatre with Bayes (Dryden) the playwright explaining to his friends the meaning and significance of his new play, which is in the process of production. He expounds all the dramatic theories known to be Dryden's, but here they are made to appear ineffectual and ridiculous. Dryden's heroic plays in particular are satirized. The ridicule is made complete when first the actresses and then his friends drift away, leaving Bayes to expound by himself. Dryden avenged himself on the ringleader of this group of dramatists with his passages on Buckingham in "Absalom and Achitophel".  

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Il. 549-551.

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A further satire of Dryden's work in the same vein as *The Rehearsal* is found in the play, *The Hind and the Panther* by Matthew Prior and Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax.  

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*The Hind and the Panther Transvers'd to the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse* (London, Printed for W. Davis, 1687).

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Here the same characters are used, with Bayes representing Dryden. The discussion is not about a play, but about a
poem concerning a country mouse and a city mouse. The country mouse takes the place of the hind in Dryden's poem, "The Hind and the Panther", while the city mouse represents his panther. The city mouse is spotted like Dryden's panther to signify the anarchy of many churches instead of the one Catholic faith. The ridicule in the play by Prior and Halifax is in the human qualities given the mice, and Bayes' ambitious designs for two animals of such low degree. Poetry and dialogue are interspersed in the play, with the dialogue explaining (or ridiculing) Bayes' poetry. In the preface to the play, the authors state that the story of the mice is no more ridiculous and improbable than that of Dryden's "The Hind and the Panther", and that the ideas in Dryden's poem are worthy of animals.

The Indian Queen by Dryden and Sir Robert Howard


also reflects contemporary political affairs with its theme of treason, again referring to the incident of the Duke of Monmouth.

The Spartan Dame by Thomas Southerne and John Staf-

ford was written in its original form by Southerne.

The Spartan Dame: A tragedy by Southerne (London: Printed for W. Chetwood at Cato's-Head, in Russell-Street, Convent-Garden; and T. Jauncy at the Angel without Temple-Bar, 1719), Preface.

29.
However, there were political implications in it which prohibited its performance, and so Southerne reluctantly altered it to its present state. In its final form the play is shorn of political significance.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., Preface.

Even in works that had no purpose other than to entertain, implied reflections on contemporary life were seen. 

\textbf{Alfred: A Masque} was originally written by James Thomson and David Mallet by command of the Prince of Wales, and was later revised for the theatre.\textsuperscript{15} In reciting the vicissitudes of King Alfred's career, his ultimate triumph over the invading enemy is associated with the sea power of Britain, extolled in the following lines of Thomson:

\begin{quote}
"His race shall long, in times to come, 
So heaven ordains, thy sceptre weild, 
Rever'd abroad, belov'd at home, 
And be, at once, thy sword and shield, 
Rule, Britannia, rule the waves; 
Britons never will be slaves."  
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{15} Found in David Mallet, \textit{The Works of David Mallet, Esq.}, (London, Printed for A. Miller in the Strand, 1759), III, BE.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 69.

These lines, together with the plot of the play, show the growing pride in the British navy, and the defiance felt against rival powers, particularly France.

A satire having sociological implications is seen in 30.
The Camp by Richard Tickell and Sheridan. 17 Here all phases

of military life are seen and exploited, not only within
the framework of the plot, but in the minutest details.
There is the usual band of townspeople intent on swindling
the soldiers; the camp followers and cantinieres, including
one who dressed as a man and enlisted; spies with their
intrigues; and above all the cumbersome routine of army
regulations.

Satire of a more personal nature is seen in many plays
of the period. In such plays, attacks, some of them most
subtle, are made upon social customs, professions, and types
of characters.

A Bold Stroke for a Wife by Susanna Centlivre and John
Mottley, 18 is a very original satire upon the various types
of men charged jointly with the guardianship of a young
lady. Each of these characters unfolds as the lady's
suitor applies to them for her hand. They are all so dif-
ferent in their ideals that it is only by a series of
clever hoaxes that he wins their unanimous consent.

The question of guardianship over young women was also
31.
treated in *The Clandestine Marriage* by Garrick and George Colman the elder. In addition the play attacks the marriage of convenience, showing its incompatibility with reality. The young ladies in the play are reminiscent of characters in the Elizabethan play, *Eastward Ho*. The one with the brightest matrimonial prospects is vain and superficial, while the modest, industrious one has no social ambitions. In both plays the happy ending comes to the more deserving of the two, while the other suffers the humiliation she deserves.

The old and jealous husband is the theme of *Three Hours after Marriage* by John Gay, Arbuthnot and Pope. As the play progresses, the investigations of the groom serve to confirm his worst suspicions about the character of his bride. However, the satire does not stop here. Also under fire is the doctor’s sister, who spends her time writing bad plays and assuming the pretensions of a précieuse; the medical profession as evidenced by the doctor’s obscure medical phraeology; and the contemporary drama itself, exemplified in the sister’s creations.

In the above plays, as in the novels, the neo-classic principle of universality is evident. These works all
contrive to show how a person of a certain type would act on occasion according to the law of probability or necessity. The over-watchful guardians, the restless heroines, the jealous husband, and the scheming lovers not only had their counterparts in contemporary life, but there was evidence of them in every period of literature then known to civilization. Originality of character and originality of plot were equally limited. The effort to make characters universal was augmented by the tendency to make them abstract personifications.

Men joined together not only to write plays, but also to translate foreign ones and adapt them to the British stage. The plays of Calderon, Molière, Kotzebue and others became familiar to the British through these adaptations. Similar activities took place in France, although here the Italian and Spanish plays took precedence over the English ones.

The spirit of collaboration was also seen in the development of music. The opera found its beginnings in Italy and traveled through France to England. As a result, many of the plays were set to music, and writers also composed the librettos for musical works. Handel was inspired to put several famous poems to music, including "Where're You Walk", taken from Pope's Summer Pastoral and "Rule Britannia", Thomson's poem in Alfred: A Masque. There was also a spirit of collaboration seen to a lesser degree between drama and art.
Hogarth's prints of London life, for instance, served as the inspiration for many plays.

In collaborated poetry the intellectual predominance is also noted. In every instance it consists of rhymed prose. Here again is shown the effect of men working together and activated by intellect, not emotion. Collaborated poetry was used chiefly as a channel for satire, and the mock epic became the model for most poetic efforts. The conciseness with which ideas can be expressed in poetry made it a particularly facile medium for aphorisms, epigrams, adages and similitudes. These intellectual manifestations are particularly evident in Pope's "Moral Essays", the fundamental philosophy of which was supplied by Bolingbroke. Pope transposed the ideas of Bolingbroke into verse. 21


"The Political Greenhouse" by Richard Alsop, Lemuel Hopkins and Theodore Dwight is another example of rhymed prose. 22 The entire poem is in couplets, showing a unity

22 Hartford, Hudson, and Goodwin, 1799.

not often found in collaborated poetry. The poem proceeds to describe first one then another menace to American tranquillity, both at home and abroad. No imagery or
artistry is apparent. Not only that, but the poem loses its meaning as the many contemporary allusions become more obscure.

The poetry of "The Echo" by the Connecticut Wits has more artistry than has "The Political Greenhouse". This is perhaps due to the fact that the ideas involved are expressed in the introductory prose passages. Even here, however, sensations and feeling are submerged beneath satire.

"The Arnarchiad", although it is more artistic than "The Echo" and "The Political Greenhouse", is still predominantly an intellectual work, with its many personifications in the mock-epic tradition. As in other poems, the poetic conventions are a means to an end. Even such passages as:

"Beyond the realms where stygian horrors dwell And floods sulphureous whelm the vales of hell; Where Naiad furies, yelling as they lays, In fiery eddies roll the turbid wave."

are used to heighten intellectual, not emotional effects. There was a tendency among the American poets of this
period to introduce certain new elements into their works, partly motivated by national pride and partly as an expression of American life. It is noted, for instance, that in "The Echo" and "The Political Greenhouse" the Connecticut Wits have to a large extent turned their backs upon classical allusions and substituted American ones. Indians take the place of nymphs and satyrs; Mt. Olympus is supplanted by the hills of Vermont.


graduation exercises at Princeton, begins with an open denunciation of classical allusions. The only hint of such allusions in the subsequent stanzas is in the names of the three characters in the dialogue (Leander, Acasio and Eugenio), which are reminiscent of the neo-classic pastorals. The form of the dialogue is also a departure from the usual neo-classic precepts. Each of the stanzas represents a speech of one of the three characters, who speak alternately. These stanzas are of varying lengths. Although the lines are written in iambic pentameter throughout the poem, there is no rhyme.
It may be assumed that the individual stanzas of the poem were written entirely by either Brackenridge or Freneau. There is perfect unity in the form of the poem, and the ideas develop coherently and in a well-organized fashion from beginning to end. In this unity and coherence the poem conforms to the literary concepts of the period despite the superficial innovations. Here again, however, the lack of feeling is evident. The eulogy of America with which the poem is concerned is an abstract, impersonal theme, calling for no stronger sentiments than pride, exaltation and patriotism.

The essential literary characteristics of neo-classicism conspired with the sociological factors involved to make collaborated works an intellectual expression. Satire became the most prevalent channel for emotion. Because of this, feeling expressed in satire was more realistic than when it was expressed for itself alone. Sentiment, idealism or any factor that could not be explained rationally, was regarded either with shame or suspicion by the people of the period. Dryden in his "Religio Laici" tried to explain faith in terms of reason. Pope in his "Essay on Man" was successful in eliminating man's self-importance by use of reason, but did not give him anything to replace it. The intellectual predominance was heightened by collaboration, where the participants subordinated personal considerations to a common purpose in writing.
Collaboration was advantageous because the critical spirit in which these works were undertaken promoted an awareness of literary principles. On the other hand, with their restricting influences they constituted the first step toward decadence.
CHAPTER III
Assets of Collaboration

Although collaborated works in themselves have not been outstanding, it is significant to note that every important literary figure in every country at this period collaborated upon at least one work. It has already been seen that Dryden, Swift and Pope joined in the writing of various plays and essays. Calderon in Spain collaborated in nearly a dozen of his plays. Goethe in Germany, Franklin in America and Voltaire in France also joined in this trend. There were evidences of it too in Latin America, and there are doubtless many works which have been lost in obscurity for good reason.

In addition to actual collaborations and instances where plays were translated and adapted by groups of men, in which case no creative effort was involved, the social groups mentioned in Chapter I were the clearing house for ideas. Today people write from their own inspiration, gathering their material from observation, research or experience. This is a situation that has evolved gradually since the neo-classic period. However, conditions were quite different at that time. Groups of men relied chiefly upon each other and upon classical research for their material. Even though there might be no collaboration on a work, it often originated and developed through the advice of others than the actual author. What inspiration and experience have been in other periods,
including the present age, semi-social groups constituted in the neo-classic period. The solitude needed for inspiration was lacking, and the only experience of any significance was obtained through the groups themselves, either directly or indirectly.

An example of the way in which ideas were exchanged is seen among the Connecticut Wits. Their joint work, "The Echo", consisted of news items that they collected and sent from one member to another. Each member selected a prose article and wrote some poetry satirizing it. These poetic "echoes", as they grew and circulated, afforded the opportunity for both participation and observation.  

Cf. note 23 in Chapter II.

Many of the greatest writers of the time were content to contribute to the works of lesser men, either for gain or as a gesture of good will. Often too they began works which they turned over to others for completion. It was not important to them that their names were not mentioned as the authors. Individual distinction was subordinated to the work at hand. Dryden had a standard fee for writing the prologues and epilogues of plays, and it may be assumed that he did not examine too closely the merit of the plays with which he associated himself in this way. Others made similar fragmentary contributions for pay, but there were

"John Dryden", DNB, XVI, 66.

40.
many more who regarded this as another channel for self-expression, particularly when it gave them the opportunity of advancing some favorite political or philosophical view.

Incidental participation is illustrated by Dryden's association with Cleomenes. He started the play but apparently lost interest in it or was forced to abandon it for some reason. He therefore turned it over to Thomas Southerne, in whom he evidently had great confidence. It was Southerne who revised and completed it for the stage.

\[3\]

"Thomas Southerne", DNB, LIII.

The Maid's Last Prayer by Thomas Southerne contains a poem written for the occasion by Congreve. Colonel sackville also contributed songs to several of Southerne's plays, among them The Disappointment.\[4\]

\[4\]

Ibid.

"The Connoisseur" of Bonnell Thornton and George Colman attained a unity not often found in collaboration. Nevertheless they occasionally welcomed contributions to their articles from William Cowper and Robert Lloyd.

\[5\]

"Bonnell Thornton", DNB, LVI, 298.

Just as the close association of writers constituted a source of material for each other, so actual collaboration in a work served the same purpose. The collaborator became
to the other the source, inspiration and critic. However, he fulfilled these functions only as he played a subordinate part. Where responsibility and participation were equal, conflicts arose that nullified the literary merits of a piece. The merit of a collaboration came when one author played a prominent part and his friend or friends were there to advise, supplement and criticize. In some instances a work was edited by another, but to such a small extent that nothing important was altered. At other times, the editing amounted to actual collaboration, though on the small scale mentioned above.

Swift played a secondary part in writing "The Art of Political Lying," his work serving as a supplement and also as a tacit form of advice. The essay was first conceived by Arbuthnot and sent to Swift for his approval. Swift in turn sent it to the printer, but first he made many alterations of his own, including the general sarcasm in the style.

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6 Cf. note 3 in Chapter II.

The Provoked Husband was a play initiated by Vanbrugh, who laid the foundation for the plot. It was completed after his death by Colley Cibber, whose facile dialogues and comic characters relieved the severity of what would otherwise have been an allegorical play. The characters, while they are

7 The British Theatre; or, A Collection of plays, Remarks by Mrs. Inchbald (London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster Row, 1808), pp. 82-6.
actually the personified qualities they were doubtless meant to be by Vanbrugh, are still made more realistic and convincing by Cibber's witticisms. The allegorical implications of the play are brought into sharp focus in the conversation between Lady Grace, representing virtue, and Lady Townley, who was the profligate wife of the play. In this dialogue they compare their divergent ideals and modes of living.

A new character appeared in the drama as a result of this play in the person of Mr. Manly. Heretofore the heroes of the drama of this period were either immoral and unscrupulous rakes with nothing to recommend them except a prepossessing appearance and personality, or they were merely personified virtues with nothing to make them outstanding as characters. Mr. Manly was witty, handsome, accomplished, and with all this he had a character above reproach. It may be conjectured that with Vanbrugh's original treatment he was the usual personified virtue, while Cibber gave him a veneer of sophistication without detracting from his character. Although Mr. Manly is unique he is not too convincing, and he did not set a precedent in the theatre. The play viewed as a whole is a satisfactory compromise between the didactic and the dramatic, with Vanbrugh supplying the former and Cibber the latter.

In the case of Alfred: A Masque, both David Mallet and James Thomson had an equal share in the original creation. However, it has survived to us in its dramatic form, and this adaptation from the poem was the work of Mallet alone. In
this dramatization Mallet was forced to curtail many lines of his own and those of Thomson, as well as to add much that was originally lacking. The fact that he retained many

8 Mallet, op. cit., B2

lines of Thomson's (considered more significant than his own) indicates that he considered them indispensable and a valuable addition to a play which might otherwise have been entirely his own.

In a world of growing social consciousness, literary groups brought the problems of life directly to the individual writer, thus providing a source of material for his work. When such material came to his attention, he either treated it in an original manner, or he merely copied what he saw. The difference was that which lay between greatness and mediocrity. Originality consisted not in creating new forms and material, but in the treatment of material that already existed. This accounted for the ease with which men borrowed from the works of others, instead of originating their own ideas.

A striking example of mediocrity and greatness combined in the same play is seen in The Duke of Guise by Dryden and Nathaniel Lee. The most significant scenes of the play, together with the most important aspects of the plot, belong to Dryden, although the bulk of the play was written by Lee. The debate of the Council of Sixteen, a political sketch,
and the scenes dealing with astrology, are Dryden's. He also wrote the whole of the fourth act, in which the parallel between Monmouth and Guise are shown. Lee's contribution to the play consists of an adaptation of speeches and scenes from The Massacre of Paris.

9 The Works of John Dryden, pp. 6-8.

Although the literary hierarchy comprising the clubs and academies might appear to have exerted a restricting influence upon the development of literature, there were circumstances which made their rule indispensable. Today the public to which most literature is addressed and which comprises all classes of society, registers its approval by the cash receipts to the publisher or the box office. It is a passive critical medium. Critical reviews, while they at times show an independence of mass judgment, at other times merely echo it. Their opinions become less independent as they coincide more and more with the views of an increasingly critical and discriminating public. In the neo-classic period, however, the lower and middle classes were a far cry from exerting a critical judgement on literature, particularly a literature which was artificial and based upon precepts known only to the learned. After a literary work was completed, it was not submitted for public approval as public approval is understood today. It was addressed to the small, educated group consisting of the court, the literary clubs and academies and the political clubs. Also included in these groups was the
theatre audience, which at that time was as limited and
discriminating as the clubs. Only the educated could pass
judgment, and in the social milieus before mentioned,
criticism became as important a pastime as writing itself,
and the two went hand in hand.

Not only was work criticized after it was completed,
but this criticism progressed with creation itself. Flaws
were corrected as they appeared. Ideas were supplied when
an unexpected vacuum appeared in the author's mind.
Compromises were made and new relationships were suggested.
Even when a work was presented to what constituted the public
at that time, there was still a possibility that it was not
in its final stage.

The small but growing group of men who were beginning to
make writing a vocation were also oblivious to general public
opinion. It was more important to them to please a patron or
to sway a particular section of society. Often too the
purpose of a work was not to please but to incense, not for
preservation by posterity, but for the purpose of winning
some controversy, after which it could be forgotten. Concern
for the masses and their tastes did not constitute a promi-
nent part of literary requirements.

After the criticism of the author's own group there were
criticisms from rival groups, enemies and acquaintances.
Sometimes these criticisms served to initiate new revisions,
and at other times they confirmed and strengthened the author
in his original convictions. Controversies helped to enunciate literary principles, particularly when personal elements were kept in the background. In cases where personal antipathies did run away with the authors, satire resulted, affording what little emotional outlet there was for an intellectual way of life.

An example of a debate over literary principles is shown when Dryden and Sir Robert Howard disagreed over the use of poetry in the drama. Dryden considered the French and Italian plays to be good and upheld the classical tenets prevalent in these countries. He maintained the supremacy of poetry in plays, and especially the heroic couplet.

Howard, on the other hand, believed that the continental drama was poor in proportion to the amount of restricting rules. He believed that poetry gave drama the appearance of being either premeditated by the characters or of having characters who were natural poets. In either case there was an illusion of stilted unreality. He not only attacked the use of verse and bemoaned the dramatic unities, but pointed out the superfluity of the prologue and epilogue. These, although they formed an integral part of Greek and Latin drama, had been reduced during the Restoration to dull formalities. In The Duke Of Lerma, Howard attempted to introduce a
variation in the prologue by changing it from the usual monologue to a dialogue between two of the actresses in the cast.

Ibid., p. 208.

Dryden won the debate over the question of poetry or prose in the drama when he and Howard collaborated in The Indian Queen, written in heroic couplets. However, his poetic abilities and Howard's attempts to attain reality created a conflict which destroyed the unity of the play. The poetry obscures the action, while the plot makes the verse seem weak and inapposite.

Ibid., pp. x-xi.

The plays by Dryden alone at least may claim superiority through their poetic beauty, even though they may at times lack dramatic merit. Howard, however, produced plays written in the rhyme of which he disapproved. Had he put his own more independent convictions into practice, the results might have been more favorable. Dryden's victory was again evidenced in Howard's The Duke of Lerma, written partly in verse and partly in blank verse. The result was chaotic, as might be expected.

While the controversy over the use of prose or poetry in drama has never been fully settled even up to the present time, the relative propriety of both prose and poetry in the...
drama was brought to the attention of those concerned, and
decisions were subsequently made in favor of both sides.

Another duel of wits that gained some notoriety arose
between Dryden and the Earl of Rochester, both of whom were
involved in a dispute over dramatic propriety. Rochester
took under his patronage a writer of insignificant stature
named Alkanah Settle. Settle attacked Dryden in various
articles and plays, all of which Dryden at first ignored. At
last, however, he did strike back with some very pointed
references in Part II of "Absalom and Achitophel". This
served as fuel for the fire to Settle, and with the assistance
of Sprat, Clifford and others he wrote "Absalom Senior, or
Achitophel Transpros'd". The conflict had enough personal
feeling involved to cloud judgment and make the participants
lose the perspective so important to neo-classic literature.
Settle's efforts in particular fell from satire to coarse

14

"Alkanah Settle", DNB, LI, 273.

A less virulent exchange of hostilities was begun by a
French traveler to England, Monsieur de Sorbière. On his re-
turn to France he wrote his "Relation d'un Voyage en Angle-
terre". Many took offense at its uncomplimentary allusions
to England, and soon afterward Thomas Sprat and John Evelyn
were moved to write their "Observations on Monsieur de
Sorbière's Voyage to England". The international proportions
to which such controversies could rise were again seen in Thomas Payne's "The Age of Man", written in reply to certain ideas expressed by Edmund Burke.

Aside from the active criticism supplied by members of the literary clubs, their second asset was the way in which they fostered the growth of social consciousness. The continuous reflection of literature upon life itself and vice versa created a self-consciousness among these groups, and consequently throughout the world. They became aware for the first time of their place in history, and evaluations began. This gave rise to such social thinkers as Burke, Wesley, Paine, Rousseau and Voltaire. They not only became critical of the works of each other, whereby standards of form and propriety were established and maintained, but they also became increasingly critical of themselves as a society.

Their social awareness was emphasized by the way in which they recognized and exploited with their literary talents the villiany of the arch-criminal of the age, Jonathan Wild. Wild was the first to organize the purse-snatchers, house-breakers and other minor law-breakers of London. He offered them protection from the authorities in exchange for a percentage of their loot. He also restored stolen goods to their owners for a fee. He maintained a show of respectability, but turned over to the police any member of his
organization who fell under his displeasure. He forfeited because of his treachery and hypocrisy the popular sympathy usually accorded the criminal for his daring and supposed gallantry. Instead he incited a public odium that was unprecedented, and when the law at last found a means by which he could be convicted and hung, not a tear was shed amidst the general rejoicing.

16 "Jonathan Wild", DNB, LXI, 222-223.

After Wild's execution, the opposition to Robert Walpole's administration recognized an affinity of character in the two, and a flood of satirical literature pointing out this affinity resulted. Swift, with his usual keen perception, had noted the resemblance between Wild and Walpole even before Wild's death, but it was not generally recognized until afterward.


Both Fielding and Defoe wrote novels with Wild as the central character. Fielding was unmerciful in his satire, the form of his novel being the comic epic in prose. However, Defoe endowed Wild with the picaresque qualities seen in his Moll Flanders. None of Wild's vices as pictured by Defoe were so strong as to turn the reader against him. The

18 Ibid., pp. 94-95

51.
character of Peachum in *The Beggar's Opera* by Gay was also modeled after Wild. The growing criticism of the neo-classic period in its cultural and political aspects was led by the Scriblerus Club, Swift's circle of friends including Pope, Gay, Thomas Parnell, Dr. Arbuthnot and William Congreve. Their efforts, both individual and collaborated, were directed toward satirizing the civilization in which they found themselves.

One of their joint creations, which was only fragmentary and never reached publication, served as the inspiration for many subsequent works. This creation was Martin Scriblerus, a phantom pedant. He was the subject of a burlesque biography, the object of which was to ridicule false learning. The work was composed chiefly by Arbuthnot, who wrote the history of Martin's youth and education so wittily that Sterne borrowed from it for his history of *Tristram Shandy*. Pope derived many ideas for his *Dunciad* from Martin Scriblerus.

The most important contribution of Martin Scriblerus to literature was the inspiration he afforded Swift for his *Gulliver's Travels*. Martin, like Gulliver, made a series of voyages to foreign countries, in each of which he found the vices and foibles of civilization caricatured.
Civilization was further satirized by the Scriblerus Club in the "Essay Concerning the Origin of the Sciences". Here Pope, Arbuthnot and Parnell attempted to prove that all learning was derived from the monkeys in Ethiopia.

While collaborated works were not always perfect specimens of neo-classicism, still they served to strengthen and elucidate literary principles. The fact that a work begun by one was effectively completed by another with any semblance of unity showed that all shared the interest in these principles. This interest was strengthened by collaboration itself, because it brought together in a common purpose not only ideologies and theories, but also literary techniques.

By performing the above functions, the literary groups served as a medium of criticism that would otherwise have been lacking in a civilization where only the upper classes had a sufficient understanding of literature to constitute an intelligent public.

The segregation of the various social classes resulted in a restriction upon the scope of personal experiences available to a writer for his inspiration. His social life as well as his professional career centered around these
groups, and he derived his chief inspiration from this association. Here he not only obtained new ideas, but was able to forget his own literary difficulties by participating in the joint efforts through which he gained valuable experience. Such experience was increasingly valuable to him when he became the chief collaborator and the others advised and supplemented his work.
CHAPTER IV
Defects and Weaknesses of Collaboration

The literary groups constituted an admirable substitute for personal experience to a writer seeking material, and in their critical functions they helped to enunciate and clarify literary principles. However they also emphasized the defects of neo-classic literature. Collaboration was fraught with these defects, which accounted for much of the inferiority of joint authorship.

Originality of expression received the greatest blow from collaboration. Joint efforts were made with a special purpose in view, and it was understood that all collaborations would conform to that purpose. The individual could not deviate from it in any creative effort without meeting the opposition of another mind. There was always the question of whether the others would approve, and what their reactions would be. Originality was more feasible in the drama and the novel, but here again the presence of other collaborators served as a deterrent.

This lack of originality is especially evident where controversies were involved and poems and plays were hurled at the opposing factions like missiles.

"Absalom Senior; or Achitophel Transpos'd", the attack of Elkanah Settle, Thomas Sprat and Martin Clifford on
Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel", instead of having a different title, or a new method of satire, resembled a repetitious parrot, mocking what had been said before.

1 Cf. note 14 in Chapter III.

The Hind and the Panther by Matthew Prior and the Earl of Halifax, not only borrowed Dryden's title, but also borrowed the characters and setting of The Rehearsal. Satire in which the victim's or another's ideas are exploited is a far cry from the originality in Don Quixote or Gulliver's Travels.

The dearth of ideas in all contemporaneous literature is satirized in the play Three Hours After Marriage by John Gay, Pope and Arbuthnot. In this play, the dramatic efforts of doctor's sister are constantly ridiculed because of the fact that they are adaptations of other plays. Even the details of her dramas are borrowed or stolen.

The community of purpose in collaboration hampered freedom of expression because such freedom, like emotion, is by its nature an individualistic but indispensable element in good literature. It distinguishes literature from historical or scientific treatises. However, the necessity for the
direct expression of ideas precluded any artistry existing for its own sake alone. Only that which contributed to the structure of the work was selected. The superficial and extraneous were omitted.

The political allusions in "The Political Greenhouse" by the Connecticut Wits doubtless served their purpose at the time when the poem was written, but these same allusions are almost unrecognizable now. Any originality in the treatment of the poem would have survived in spite of these obscure allusions. Pope's "Rape of the Lock" is still a masterpiece, even though the family feud which motivated the work is almost forgotten. The artistry is independent of such allusions, and has rescued the poem from oblivion. Such artistry was not possible in a concerted effort where purpose was more important than aesthetic considerations.

Because of the hindrance that purpose constituted to originality, collaboration was more adaptable to academic than to creative efforts. The Encyclopaedists in France and the scientific writers throughout the world collaborated more successfully. In dealing with facts alone, collabora-

E.g., Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland collaborated in the scientific observations made during their travels throughout the world.

...
When two authors of unequal ability collaborated, not only was the inferior partner prohibited from sharing in any individuality of thought, but since in spite of this he still had a part in the work, his part was bound to detract from the general effect and produce a chaotic impression.

This discrepancy between the abilities of two authors is apparent in *The Hind and the Panther* of Prior and Montague.  

Cf. note 11 in Chapter II.

Certain more serious passages stand out as original, while others are merely a repetition of lines from *The Rehearsal*, such as the reference to "Armorillis, because she wears armour". Doubtless one of the collaborators, probably Halifax, was taxed for an original line and grasped at what seemed to be one in *The Rehearsal*. Such plagiarism served to lower the literary value of the play.

The combination of varying abilities is also seen in *The Rehearsal*. There is no plot, and what passes for a plot might well be called a dissertation in dramatic form. The only unification is in the satirical spirit throughout the play.

The association of many insignificant writers with others of equal or superior ability was often their only claim to distinction. They needed collaborators to supplement their deficiencies. They were so absorbed with the technicalities of neo-classicism that they never acquired the independence
and perspective required for outstanding work. Joined with men of equal ability they produced works of a consistent mediocrity, notable only for their conformity to literary precepts. When linked with those of superior ability they served as inferior supplements to what might without their efforts have been made into masterpieces. It was not possible for them to realize that the contemporary allusions in their poetry and plays would become meaningless with the passing years, and that unless their writings consisted of something more, they would be forgotten.

The Provoked Husband in the hands of Colley Cibber

alone would have resulted in another of his popular plays absorbed with the details of contemporary life. It was the contribution of Vanbrugh in the seriousness of the plot that gave it its distinction. Although Vanbrugh was not superior to Cibber in the techniques of writing plays, it was the critical view of life he presented in his plot that added perspective to the dramatic details supplied by Cibber.

Nathaniel Lee is remembered now as the collaborator with Dryden in the writing of two plays, Oedipus and The Duke of Guise. Richard Tickell, Thomas Sprat and Martin Clifford are known today only in their collaborated works. None of their individual efforts have made any lasting impression. Not only did collaboration hinder originality, but it supplanted it among those who were unable to perceive that
their capabilities were being undermined.

The many translations and adaptations of foreign plays and poems were another manifestation of mediocrity among all writers, but especially among collaborators. There was a difference between slavish copying and using a source in a new way, but there was little evidence of the latter seen in the collaborations.

Man's preoccupation with society destroyed his perspective, thus constituting another check upon individualism. He was so close to his environment that he could not evaluate it properly, unless he had exceptional ability. Those who did have such ability had a tendency to withdraw from society at intervals in their lives. They would at one time be engulfed in social activities, sometimes for a period of years. Then they would seek seclusion to evaluate and create from the experience gained. Some of the greatest writing resulted from these voluntary or involuntary exiles, such exiles being one of the factors that saved these works from the oblivion that was the fate of others. Still, only a person desiring such perspective would have sought seclusion.

Pope retired to Twickenham when he wanted to be alone for serious work. When he became bored with his seclusion, his friends joined him there. Swift had long periods of exile in Ireland, chiefly because he was unable to obtain a suitable position in England. Although his stay in Ireland was not in accordance with his wishes, it may be conjectured
from a study of his character that had he not had his
banishment to Ireland, he would have sought seclusion else-
where. Ferney, Voltaire's chateau, often served as a re-
treat from court intrigues, while Rousseau fled to Switzer-
land where he could be free from political restraint.

At another period this tendency to withdraw from soci-
ety might have made recluses of these men, but what social
contacts they did have were so intense while they lasted
that they amply compensated for the exiles.

The preoccupation with society made people think in
terms of ideas, and not of the relationship of their ideas
with the work at hand. Each made his contribution to a work
thinking that it was analogous to the others, because
ostensibly it was. What he overlooked was the fact that
varying abilities would cause differences among the contri-
butions, even though they all might have the same motivation.

This short-sightedness was furthered by the forms and
conventions to which literature was subjected. Only speci-
fied forms of poetry could be employed for specific occa-
sions and subjects. Dramatic conventions prohibited cer-
tain actions and situations, particularly manifestations of
violence, on the stage. Phraseology too was limited in each
literary form and for each situation known. Among authors
who were deficient in a sense of independence at the outset,
none were found who would break any of these rules. Their
ability to abide by them was in many cases their only claim
to eminence. It remained for the more outstanding writers
to break smaller rules for the sake of fulfilling greater ones. These literary principles were supposedly based upon permanent laws of nature, first acknowledged by the ancients and then inherited by neo-classicism. However, as the interest in rules grew, these same rules multiplied. At last so many had accumulated that they had no resemblance to the laws first enunciated by the ancients.

As the rules became an end in themselves, the abstractions they personified became more important than experience. The discussion of these abstractions became the central topic of conversation at the clubs instead of personal experiences that might have been valuable sources of literature. Originality was possible only to one with daring enough to break some rule for the purpose of achieving a higher good or averting a greater evil. There are many brilliant examples of such deviations in neo-classic literature. The only difficulty is that in collaboration they cannot be shared any more than can feeling or other characteristics of individuality. Thus it is evident that when one compares individual works with collaborated ones strictly in accordance with literary merit, the individual ones are far superior. Oliver Goldsmith noted the inferiority of collaborated works when compared with individual ones when he said:

"It is past a doubt that they (Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot) wrote many things in conjunction, and Gay usually held the pen. And yet I do not remember any products, which were the
joint effort of this source (the Scriblerus Club) as doing it honour. There is something feeble and quaint in all their attempts, as if company repressed thought, and genius wanted solitude for its boldest and happiest exertions." 8


"The Art of Political Lying" by Arbuthnot and Swift, while it is a good example of collaborated prose, cannot compare with Swift's "Tale of a Tub". The Duke of Guise is quite inferior to Dryden's own play, Love for Love, or any of his poems.

The joint efforts of the Connecticut Wits also constitute a contrast to their individual works. Joel Barlow's "Hasty Pudding" has long survived "The Anarchiad" by the Connecticut Wits and his own epic poem, "The Columbiad", both written according to neo-classic tradition. "The Political Greenhouse", by Lemuel Hopkins, Theodore Dwight and Richard Alsop with its monotonous couplets is devoid of any interest when compared to John Trumbull's "M'Fingal", with its departures from a rigid set of rules.

The anonymity possible, both in collaboration and in individual works, tended to relieve men of any responsibility for what they wrote. Anonymity was especially feasible in collaboration, because at least one author was certain to be known, and when one was known people did not look farther. Not only were men content to take no credit
for a work in which they collaborated, but often too they insisted that their part be kept a secret. Occasionally the desire for secrecy was motivated by prudence, and at other times by a hesitancy to share in responsibility for an inferior work.

An example of anonymity for reasons of prudence is seen in The Camp. This play is supposedly by Sheridan and Richard Tickell. However, there is good reason to believe that Sheridan's collaborator was not Tickell, but Lieutenant General John Burgoyne. General Burgoyne, the author of The Maid of the Oaks; or, the Fête Champêtre and other plays, had been released from his capture by General Washington following his defeat at Saratoga. He returned to England, and at the time that The Camp was produced, was awaiting a Court of Enquiry as to his surrender. It would have been most inadvisable for General Burgoyne to have assisted in the writing of a military satire at this time. That a person of military experience had a part in writing the play is quite probable. Thus it may be assumed that he took some pains to conceal his identity.

It has been suggested that in order to preserve the secret Tickell, who had some concern with the management of the theatre, transcribed Burgoyne's draft of the play so that it was in his own handwriting before giving it to the
usual copyist. This would make credible the assumption that he, and not Burgoyne, was Sheridan's collaborator.

Burgoyne's part in writing the play is not suspected only because of its subject matter and the similarity between its style and that of Burgoyne's other plays. There are few touches in the play that are in Sheridan's best vein, which would seem to indicate that he took a minor part in the collaboration. It has also been pointed out that nowhere in the play are traces found of Tickell's usual style.

In this play, it would appear that Sheridan, who never publicly owned his part in it, hesitated to take responsibility for a work which did not come up to his usual standards. Burgoyne had a natural desire for secrecy in view of his circumstances, and Richard Tickell was happy to take undeserved credit for a play which was better than any he had written himself.

Another example of questionable authorship appeared in connection with Pope's translation of the "Iliad", in which he was assisted by Thomas Parnell. Pope showed a draft of "Thomas Parnell", DNB; XLIII; 351.
his translation to Addison before it was published. Addison expressed disapproval at various aspects of the translation, thus causing a rift in his relations with Pope. The same week that Pope's translation of Books I - IV appeared in print, there also appeared a translation of Book I of the "Iliad" by Thomas Tickell. It was believed at the time that Addison wrote the translation and persuaded Tickell to assume the authorship so that Addison would not appear openly as a competitor of Pope's. This made the barrier between Pope and Addison complete, and the true authorship of Tickell's supposed translation has not yet been fully determined.

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13 Bibliography of Pope, edited by Reginald Harvey Griffith (Austin, University of Texas, 1922), p. 37.

George Colman's part in The Clandestine Marriage by Garrick was kept a secret until after the publication of the play. Pope and Arbuthnot insisted that their participation in Three Hours After Marriage not be made public, but they could not prevent Gay from acknowledging the assistance of his two friends. These facts were made known in the prefaces when the plays were published.

In addition to mediocre or inferior authors who were willing to assume credit for works not their own at the request of the true authors themselves, there were also those who tried to usurp credit where they had no right to it.
Thomson had the most important part in writing *Alfred: A Masque* when it was first written. However, Mallet was the one who adapted it for the theatre. When the play was published, Mallet made every effort in the preface of the book to discount Thomson's part, saying that only a few lines of his remained. He also tried to assume credit for Thomson's poem, "Rule Britannia", which was included. He inserted a footnote with the poem saying that it had been slightly revised by Bolingbroke.

In the absence of laws to protect the innocent from such treachery, it flourished without any check. Authors who were able to evade responsibility for inferior work or for anonymous attacks upon enemies became increasingly unscrupulous. The ethical standards among writers reached depths unheard of before. Even those with a semblance of honor were forced to engage in this literary intrigue in order to protect themselves.

The evasion of responsibility in literature, particularly prevalent in collaboration, did its greatest harm in that men ceased to evaluate their own principles. Since they could say what they pleased without responsibility, changing from one side to another, they soon had no consistent convictions they could call their own. The dishonesty was heightened and opportunities for treachery increased by the possibilities for indirect attacks in the form of satires.
During the Restoration, the coffee-house groups were coherent enough so that they were comprised of men with analogous ideas. At the same time their groups were flexible enough so that there was always contact with men from other groups. However, as time passed, the groups changed from social gatherings to clubs with fixed memberships. Outsiders were not welcome. As the memberships became more fixed, the subjects of interest became fixed also, being limited among literary clubs to an obsession with rules and precepts. This gave rise to some excellent criticism, notably with Dr. Johnson and his group. However, among lesser men than Johnson the literary discussions became more sterile, rigid and removed from reality. In this they reflected the direction in which all neo-classicism moved. The trend was culminated by a complete revolt against neo-classic principles in art, music, architecture and literature.

In a society where the various classes were so segregated, the clubs served as an important medium of contact among men. They compensated to some extent for the isolated condition in which the upper classes found themselves. They also enabled people of one stratum to understand each other, even though they were not in a position to understand those of the middle and lower classes. Men who originally came from the middle classes soon acquired the personal attributes of the aristocrat after they had attained distinction in some field.
Although there were tendencies to use the lower classes as a subject for literature, it was not until the onset of the Romantic period with Wordsworth that other strata of society aside from the aristocracy became acknowledged as suitable subjects. While the actual contact with humble life was not as close as one may be led to expect by Wordsworth's poetry, still it constituted a sincere effort to depict reality.

The community of purpose in collaboration, which one might have expected would be an asset in its contribution toward unity, nevertheless constituted a drawback to originality and freedom of expression. One could not deviate from the purpose in view without meeting opposition, either open or implied.

The preoccupation with society occasioned by these groups also hindered the perspective and independence necessary for great literature. Unless one made a special effort to obtain it, the solitude for concentrated effort was not available to the members of literary groups. Those who could not find solitude reflected in their works the superficiality of everyday life to the exclusion of more significant factors. They were encouraged in their lack of originality by the precepts of neo-classic literature, which condoned it in the form of adaptations and other aspects of plagiarism.
CHAPTER V
Conclusion

The growth of nationalism had reached a well developed stage throughout Europe by the middle of the seventeenth century. Politically, each country became a well organized entity with all power and influence centering around the monarch. It was the victory of the monarch over the feudal nobles in the struggle for supreme power that hastened the advent of national consciousness. This victory was won and held by such despots as Louis XIV, Frederick the Great, Charles II, Peter the Great and Catherine II. They sought each in his own way to increase the power and prestige of their respective countries. However, despite the solicitude evinced by these rulers for the welfare of their people, they ruled by divine right, allowing no one to interfere with their authority.

In order to secure his hold over his country, the benevolent despot gathered about him at his court all the nobles of the land, together with all the men of talent and ability. His patronage became more sought than that of the nobles. In this he stripped them not only of their power but also of their influence. The personification of the benevolent despot in the seventeenth century was Louis XIV who, when his regency terminated, seized the reins of government from his astonished ministers and never relinquished them. He used guile as well as force in making Versailles the cultural center
of France. None could compete with him in the privileges and financial compensations he offered to those who could serve or amuse him. Louis had his counterpart, with various modifications, in every court in Europe, as well as in the colonial and viceregal courts of North and South America.

The competition for his favor spread from poets, artists and musicians to the nobles themselves, who recognized his favor as their only means of survival and advancement. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, one of the most powerful nobles in England, learned to his cost that one might not defy the power of royalty. This competition was one involving wit, guile and social adeptness. Character and achievement were held at a discount, particularly among those who did not possess it.

The result of the centralization of power in the monarch was that the activity, both political and cultural, became concentrated in the capital city of each country. Men of letters as well as the others found little to interest them elsewhere, and they reflected in their writing the gregariousness of which they were a part. This same element influenced their writing, causing it to become intermingled with their correspondence and conversation. At this period in history a writer attached as much importance to his correspondence as he did to his work, and the two were almost interchangeable.

The centralization of activity among the nobles at the
royal courts was followed by a similar one among poets, dramatists and other men of letters. Those with congenial views met at the various coffee-houses, to exchange ideas and discourse upon literature. At first the groups were casual and prompted by sociability. As time progressed they developed into clubs with fixed memberships. The character of the clubs also changed from a social to a professional one. While the atmosphere of a social gathering was maintained, the true reason for the meetings was to exchange the ideas out of which collaboration grew.

Ramifications of the literary clubs were seen in the founding of literary societies and academies. Their influence was also evident in the countless periodicals that arose as a result of their efforts. Some periodicals flourished for a short time and died, while others survived to attain international eminence. The societies, academies and periodicals, like the clubs, provided the atmosphere and the incentive for collaboration. Ideas encountered jointly were developed jointly.

The outstanding characteristic of collaborated works was the predominance of reason and intellect over feeling and sentiment, both in the form and subject matter. This predominance was occasioned first by the tenets of neo-classicism. Unity of form, propriety of phræseology and subject matter, the expression of the commonplace rather than the unique, the preoccupation with men and his everyday life,
all required for their representation a careful and thoughtful effort. Such an effort precluded the impetuous outpourings typical of the Romantic period.

The community of purpose in collaboration also contributed to the intellectual characteristic. Ideas that were discovered and developed jointly existed for a purpose, and all things were subordinated to that purpose. Such ideas usually came to a group as the result of some discussion. An example is the character, Martin Scriblerus, who was created out of the scorn of Swift and his friends for contemporary education. Once Martin had made his appearance, his career too was motivated by the joint conceptions of the group.

Works existing for a purpose and not for aesthetic considerations are exemplified in the collaborated plays of the period. Some are fraught with contemporary political implications. Others are obvious satires upon manners, customs and types of characters. Those satirizing customs and characters deal with them as generalities. None of the characters or situations are exceptional.

It is only among works composed individually that one finds what expression of the unique there was in neo-classic literature, and even here the tendency is not to present situations and characters that are unusual, but to depict more subjectively the situations and characters most commonly encountered in life. Dryden's play, All For Love, shows the con-
flict between love and duty. In a collaborated play, such a theme might be subservient to a more objective plot. Tartuffe and Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme by Molière both have for their central plots the revelation of character. The intrigues typical of a collaborated play are only secondary here, and exist for the purpose of revealing Tartuffe as a hypocrite and Monsieur Jourdain as a nouveau riche. Subjectivity reaches its extremes in Andromache by Racine. In this play of unrequited love the only evidence of neo-classic rationality is the intricate deadlock in which the characters find themselves. These works were possible where an author worked alone, but not in collaboration, where the expression of sentiment was discouraged.

Poetry, which one might have expected would be an aesthetic medium, also bore the imprint of classic rationality. It was chiefly rhymed prose, with the exception of some of the poems of the precursors of Romanticism. The majority of poetry was preoccupied with satire and filled with contemporary allusions.

Community of purpose, together with the principles of neo-classicism, suppressed feeling and sentiment. However, there was an additional reason why emotion was absent in collaborations. By its very nature, it cannot be shared, except in the case of such abstractions as patriotism or other forms of mass exultation.

One of the most important aspects of collaboration was
its critical function. Literature in the neo-classic period was not addressed to the public at large, but to the small group of learned men comprising the court, clubs, political parties, theatre audiences and periodical staffs. The artificiality of the literary principles then prevalent precluded an understanding of literature by the uneducated. This limited the reading public to the above groups, and their intense activity compensated for the smallness of their numbers. They not only read, but they also offered criticisms and suggestions. Some of these took the form of other literary works replying to or refuting something that had already been written. It was inevitable that such literary replies should be largely collaborated, since they were usually motivated by ideas in which more than one had a share. The ensuing controversies over literary principles helped to enunciate them, and facilitated candid evaluations. The more bitter these controversies were, the more they helped to clarify the involved principles, although the works themselves were apt to suffer.

In instances where there was little or no conflict between collaborators, and one took a more prominent part than the other, the resulting works were likely to have more merit. This was particularly true when the author was aided and supplemented by one of superior ability.

The personal as well as the professional lives of the writers were bound up in their respective groups. Everything
of importance that happened to them bore some relationship to these cliques. Political maneuvers and personal intrigues were formulated at the club meetings. Most of these men were extremely conscious of their superior aptitudes. They preferred not to associate too closely with those who might not be a match for them mentally. Many of them would not accept an invitation unless the guest list was satisfactory in this respect. They doubtless felt that they had very little time to accomplish all that they wished, and did not want to waste a moment that could be spent more profitably. For this reason they rarely formed attachments outside of their immediate milieus. Collaboration, involving the interchange of ideas throughout these groups, was an important source of material for their work, and supplemented their meagre and limited scope of experience. Under the circumstances there were few other sources on which they could rely.

In an age when professional pride was at its height, collaboration afforded many men of genius an opportunity to experiment with new techniques and ideas beneath the cloak of partial or complete anonymity. As minor collaborators they took part in many works that they did not openly acknowledge. Collaboration also gave them relaxation from their more exacting efforts.

In their preoccupation with their own circles and the life of the city, the men of letters were provincial in their own way. They saw nothing outside of their immediate

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environment. Only those who deliberately sought solitude were able to attain the perspective required to view society critically. This provincialism was heightened by collaboration, where community of purpose conspired with the rational characteristic of collaborated literature to bring all ideas within specified bounds. Deviation was failure to conform.

Collaboration, in addition to hindering perspective, was also a blow to individuality and freedom of expression. It served as a check upon any new concepts. One could not introduce an idea without the approval of the others. The more original an idea was and the more it deviated from the general purpose of the work, the less likely was it to be accepted. Because of this, men of exceptional ability reserved such individuality for their own works, and contented themselves in collaboration with their more casual efforts. Among men of inferior ability, there was no sense of lack in this respect. Conformity with superficial requirements was the most they ever achieved.

In addition to being the chief clearing house for ideas, the clubs, together with their joint literary efforts, contributed to the survival of neo-classicism an element that also made possible in an indirect way some brilliant individual works.

Collaboration was the only means, in a way of life which made a cult of perfection, of expressing the imperfect. This cult was so prevalent that writers had a dread of
making mistakes. Such perfection was incompatible with human deficiencies. To achieve this perfection it was inevitable that many mistakes should be made along the road. Some never reached the end of the road, and their careers were composed of one literary mishap after another, either singly or in collaboration.

However, the most outstanding men of the period profited by these opportunities in collaboration. They could make mistakes and either share responsibility or evade it entirely. It was only through these mistakes that they could approach the perfection they sought. Pope denied his part in *Three Hours After Marriage*, but did not fail to acknowledge his "Moral Essays". Swift amused himself by editing the essays of Arbuthnot, and the experience was turned to good account in *Gulliver's Travels*. Dryden experimented in *The Duke of Guise* and *The Indian Queen* with the relative values of poetry and prose in the drama, and employed his discoveries in his own plays.

The writers of the period were unusually prolific, and it was impossible for them to always maintain the standards of perfection demanded. Collaboration was a channel for much excess activity of an inferior nature that would otherwise have found its way into more serious effort. The lack of unity, general laxity, violations of propriety, mediocrity, fragmentary participation and unorthodox experiments of the collaborations constituted the only release that men had
from their rigid literary principles. Here they could forget professional pride and personal considerations for the sake of the work at hand. By losing themselves in such activities they often discovered many valuable ideas.
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