

1975

## St George Tucker's "Vision of Selim": An Edited Text with Introduction and Critique

Angela H. Patmore  
*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [American Literature Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Patmore, Angela H., "St George Tucker's "Vision of Selim": An Edited Text with Introduction and Critique" (1975). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539624904.  
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-pk5w-3r15>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@wm.edu](mailto:scholarworks@wm.edu).

ST. GEORGE TUCKER'S "VISION OF SELIM":  
AN EDITED TEXT WITH INTRODUCTION  
AND CRITIQUE

---

A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department of English  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

---

by  
Angela H. Patmore  
1975

ProQuest Number: 10625387

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10625387

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

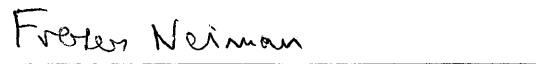
Master of Arts

---

Author

Approved, May 1975

  
Carl R. Dolmetsch

  
Fraser Neiman

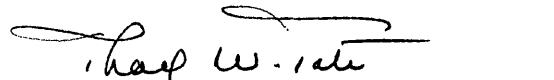
  
Thad W. Tate

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT . . . . .	iv
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	2
TEXT . . . . .	32
CRITIQUE . . . . .	41
NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION . . . . .	70
NOTES TO THE TEXT . . . . .	75
NOTES TO THE CRITIQUE . . . . .	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	84
VITA . . . . .	89

## ABSTRACT

In 1810, St. George Tucker resigned from the Virginia Court of appeals, determined never again to engage in any public business or office. His resolution lasted until 1813 when he came out of retirement to accept a federal judgeship. This two-year period of leisure and contemplation was productive of a series of Addisonian essays originally intended for publication in William Wirt's Old Bachelor series in The Richmond Enquirer. The purpose of this paper is to examine Tucker's change of plans with regard to these essays which resulted in his abortive "Hermit of the Mountain" project, and to present a critical edition of one of these essays, the twenty-first in his series, to which I have given the name, "Vision of Selim." This essay was chosen both as representative of Tucker's thinking at this time and as reflective of his receptiveness to new trends in literary thought in Virginia. Its theme is one which appears to have occupied Tucker's mind most particularly during his temporary retirement.

ST. GEORGE TUCKER'S "VISION OF SELIM":  
AN EDITED TEXT WITH INTRODUCTION  
AND CRITIQUE

## Introduction

St. George Tucker, the author of twenty extant manuscript essays, each headed by him "For the old Batchellor," from which "The Vision of Selim" is taken, was born June 29, 1752, at Port Royal, Bermuda, the son of Henry and Anne (Butterfield) Tucker. He came to Virginia in his late teens, enrolling at the College of William and Mary in 1772. After spending a year in general studies at the College he began studying law under George Wythe and, in the Spring of 1774, was examined and admitted to practise in the County courts of Virginia. One year later he was also admitted to the bar of the General Court of Virginia, but being unable to find a suitable position in Williamsburg he was obliged to return to his native Bermuda and bide his time in the lucrative shipping trade with his father and elder brother. He did so with a good grace, though by this time he had already imbibed what he later called "the strongest attachment to the American cause," and wished to return to Virginia at the earliest opportunity. <sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, in 1776, back he came to participate in the Revolutionary War, in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse and the Siege of Yorktown. In private life too he became an American. On September 23, 1778, following the example of such men as Washington and Jefferson, he "married well." His wife was Frances (Bland)



Randolph, the widow of John Randolph of Bizarre and Matoax, Chesterfield County. At the time of her marriage to Tucker, Frances Bland had three small sons: Richard, Theodorick, and John Randolph of Roanoke, and St. George was soon at the center of a very large and prosperous family, indulging himself in the role of an Enlightenment family educator. But by 1813 he was writing sadly to Richard Rush, "two sons are all that are now left me." <sup>2</sup> In 1787 Frances had died, leaving him, of all his children only two who would survive: the later famous Henry St. George (1780-1848) and Nathaniel Beverly (1784-1851). In 1791 Tucker remarried. His second wife was Lelia (Skipwith) Carter, member by marriage of another distinguished Virginian family and daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith. Again Tucker had chosen a young widow with small children, and again the marriage brought him more, but of all his second family only one daughter survived. This was Frances, the wife of John Coalter: "My last daughter," as Tucker called her. <sup>3</sup> Her death, in September, 1813, was to bring to an end the literary project with which this paper is concerned, and restore Tucker to the legal profession after an interval of meditative reclusion.

Tucker's professional career is familiar to most Virginia historians. In 1786 he had been one of the commissioners of the Annapolis convention; in 1788 he was made Judge of the General Court of Virginia, and in 1790 he succeeded George Wythe as Professor of Law and Police at the College of William and Mary. In 1803 he was advanced to the Supreme Court of Appeals in Virginia and he held this

In error  
 Frances Tucker  
 Coalter was  
 the eldest  
 of his children  
 by his first  
 wife, Frances  
 Bland Randolph.

R. Daniels  
 CWF  
 8/22/01

office for eight years. His biographer, Mary Haldane Coleman, records his intention at this time "thereafter never to engage in any public Business, or Office." <sup>4</sup> As we shall see, this was to be a brief literary retirement, productive of a series of essays originally entitled "For the old Batchellor." But Tucker was a man of considerable professional ability and legal acumen, reflected for example in his five-volume, annotated edition of Blackstone's Commentaries (1804), and his services were missed. No less a figure than John Adams commented, "I cannot approve of his inclination to retirement. Such accomplishments and such sentiments ought not to be out of the public sight." <sup>5</sup> And if prominent figures did not look approvingly on Tucker's reclusiveness, no more did his family; John Coalter, his son-in-law, sent him a note, asking him what he thought he was up to: ". . . I have been asked by many wise men of the Nation--what is Mr. Tucker about? The world awaits something from his pen . . . To all this I am obliged to confess that he is gardening, scraping his fruit trees, nursing his flowers etc." <sup>6</sup>

In 1813 Tucker came out of retirement. Shaken by the death of his "last daughter" Frances, he abandoned a series of essays which he had begun in August 1811 and collected through the fall of that year, left his reclusive contemplations, and returned to the legal profession. Overcoming personal grief, as well as fears about his failing memory, he accepted the appointment, offered by President James Madison, as Judge of the Federal District Court of Virginia, and occupied this office until near the end of his life. He died

on November 10, 1827, at the home of his son-in-law Joseph C. Cabell, in Nelson County, Virginia. <sup>7</sup>

Tucker's biography would be of purely historical interest were it not for the fact that he was a representative figure: a "well-rounded gentleman of Virginia." <sup>8</sup> Following in the tradition of William Byrd II, Franklin, Jefferson, and many another versatile American, Tucker and many of his Virginian contemporaries were models of the eighteenth-century philosophe. Lawyers who were also scientists, inventors, scholars, politicians, playwrights, and belle lettrists, such as William Wirt, Francis Walker Gilmer, Richard Henry Wilde, Will Crafts, Hugh Swinton Legare, and St. George Tucker's cousin George, were in the common mould. <sup>9</sup> These were the sort of men who were corresponding with one another, conversing with one another, and sending poetry and essays to one another in the Virginia of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Anyone attempting to provide a critical edition of a piece of Virginian literature of the period, however modest the example under review, is immediately faced with the problem of inadequate terminology. "Neoclassical," "Augustan," and "Enlightenment" are all, in their various ways, partly useful, and partly specious labels, because the Virginian writer of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was an emergent figure, susceptible to many different influences.

Something, certainly, of the neoclassical spirit prevailed in the environment of men like Tucker and William Wirt. In architecture,

particularly, the Virginian of the period was keenly interested in classical styles and models. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820), the father of the architectural Greek Revival, spent two and a half years in Virginia and did some of his best work there.<sup>10</sup> George Hadfield (ca. 1764-1826), the Washington architect, designed for George Washington Parke Custis, a Doric portico, modeled on the great temple at Paestum. The monumental "Bremo," whose chief architect, John Hartwell Cocke, numbered St. George Tucker and Thomas Jefferson among his consultants, took shape in Fluvanna County on the James, bristling with Tuscan porticoes and temple-like dependencies.<sup>11</sup> George Tucker, cousin of St. George, extolled the two thousand year old Graeco-Roman principle of utility in an essay on architecture, and portraiture "still strongly favored the neoclassic, with a preference for the statuesque and commemorative."<sup>12</sup> Everywhere were opportunities for the Virginian orator to embellish his political or legal rhetoric with hints from Demosthenes or Horace, to sign his essays and pamphlets "Diogenes" or "Mitis the Federalist," to cite the examples of classical Greece and Republican Rome in political debate, and even to view slavery in a classical perspective.<sup>13</sup>

In a sense, too, the Virginian was a "child of the Enlightenment." As Richard Beale Davis observes: "The eighteenth-century planter as child of the Enlightenment had faith in science as a form of reason, and a belief in the doctrine of a mechanistic universe governed by immutable laws as promulgated by Newton, in the inductive method of arriving at conclusions, and in the efficacy of

the scientific method as applied to human relations, including government . . . With all this went the optimism of the Enlightenment, the belief that progress might at least in part be achieved through science." <sup>14</sup> This ideology inspired the foundation in Virginia of many educational institutions, and fostered the spirit of scientific enquiry in which unexceptional mortals like St. George Tucker conducted experiments and invented machines. <sup>15</sup> But even with a "portmanteau" term like "Enlightenment," we must be wary of label-mongering. Davis has shown, for example, how les philosophes reached the Virginian, for the most part, "via Burke and Chatham and Godwin," and that, with the exception of Gilmer and Jefferson, "the average educated gentleman knew the English philosophers far better than he did the French." <sup>16</sup> Moreover, the Virginian as a religious animal was no simple Enlightenment deist, but a hybrid, witnessing "the clash of two opposing religious forces. On one hand was the outspoken evangelism of the Presbyterians and Baptists, and on the other, deism with its liberal appeal to reason and introspection." <sup>17</sup> Tucker was not unusual, in that he maintained a pew in Bruton Parish Church at the same time as he freely expressed deistic beliefs in his writings. <sup>18</sup> In a community in which Jeffersonian deists and conventionally devout Anglican "nouveau riche" lived side by side with Presbyterians and Baptists, it is hardly surprising that the Virginian of this period was heterodox in his beliefs. Richard Beale Davis observes that the coterie to which Tucker belonged exhibits a change from deism to a more emotional

fundamentalism. He points out that although French and English rationalism of the Enlightenment did remain in Virginia, it was in fact "combined with the more recent Scottish common sense and associationist philosophies which even the Presbyterians were inclined to accept and use," and that "by 1830 rationalism was relegated to a place considerably removed from religion." <sup>19</sup> So that, if the Virginian was a "child of the Enlightenment," he was surely one of the more restive members of the household.

What of his literary tastes? Richard Beale Davis uses the term "Augustan" to describe them and observes that this label has been traditionally, and for the most part correctly, applied. <sup>20</sup> Carl Dolmetsch speaks of St. George Tucker as "characteristically Augustan in his predilections." <sup>21</sup> D. G. Harvey, discussing one of Tucker's essays on patriotism, observes that it follows "the high public style of the English Augustans," and so on. <sup>22</sup> Here again, however, the label may be misleading if we suppose "Augustan" to refer narrowly to the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), or if we fail to make a distinction between the Tory Anglicans who wrote pessimistic satire and believed in a degenerating universe, and the Whig deists who wrote ironic essays on the extravagance of female dress and the manners of the Bath visitors, and believed in the perfectibility of man and the optimism of the Enlightenment. "Augustan," as used discriminatingly by F. R. Leavis, Maynard Mack, and James Sutherland to refer to a code of manners, of social prerogatives and politesse, to reason, order, and gentlemanly deportment, is a useful term to

characterize our Virginian. <sup>23</sup> But even then one must be careful not to oversimplify by referring dismissively to a cultural lag, and transatlantic borrowings, if we are to get a complete picture.

Mary Beth Wentworth argues that the eighteenth century was "retarded" in its progress across the Atlantic and suggests that it reached its peak in America very late, during the third decade of the nineteenth century, even while Romanticism evolved in Europe. <sup>24</sup>

And according to Richard Beale Davis, much historical criticism of nineteenth-century Virginia seems based on the assumption that

Augustanism "lingered" in America for much longer than it did in England. He quotes the traditional view as expressed by Vernon L.

Parrington in The Romantic Revolution in America: ". . . The literary renaissance of Virginia began in the late twenties when the English Romantic movement reached the quiet plantations. Till then the

Virginia mind had lingered pleasantly in the twilight of the liberal eighteenth century, following ways of thought it had learned of

revolutionary France, and writing with a leisurely finish it had learned of Augustan England." <sup>25</sup> Davis adds, "One can find little quarrel with the fundamental tenets of this statement," and "most

commentators of the period" have accepted without qualification the legend that "In Virginia, as in all the South, the first quarter of the nineteenth century was a literary interregnum, a negative period in which country gentlemen looked back with complacent satisfaction

on Pope and Addison." So, at least, runs the legend. "For these planters the world of letters was completely and finally populated.

Not only did they never dream of future Transcendentalism or Poeian aestheticism; they were equally unconscious of the Lake and Cockney schools. To be sure, Jefferson had shown some political and philosophical leanings which were one day to be labelled romantic, but even he seemed unaware of literary significances in the trend of thought he advocated. The Old Dominion was asleep in Augustan austerity." <sup>26</sup> Although this traditional opinion may be fundamentally correct, still there are certain important qualifications to be made. The Virginian gentleman may have been Augustan, but he was certainly not asleep. He was susceptible, for example, to the influence of Scott and Burns and also Byron a good decade before 1830. And the familiar essay itself, so typical of English Augustanism, was developed by the Virginian into a uniquely unfamiliar essay. As Davis observes: " . . . These Virginians use the essay, and use it frequently, for the same purposes for which the Tatler and the Spectator used it, but the reverie of Rousseau and the whimsy of Sterne have given it a vocabulary and tone not entirely Augustan. . . . In other words, the Virginia mind in that first quarter of the century had not always 'lingered.' In some respects it had moved forward, quietly, toward the ways of thinking and writing which were to dominate the century." <sup>27</sup>

The roots of romanticism had already taken hold, shipped across the Atlantic, along with vast quantities of Ossian and Tristram Shandy, from the very beginning of the Romantic age. William Wirt, for example, read Ossian, Gray, Hervey, Beattie, Burns, and Young, rather than the customary eighteenth-century Augustans, because he



enjoyed the gothic, the graveyard poets, the new sensibility, the whimsy and antirationality of Sterne, and the heroes of Scott, and considered "well-written works of the imagination" embraced the widest circle of readers and bade "fairest to flourish in never-fading bloom." <sup>28</sup> On August 7, 1811 he asked Tucker to write something on Scott for his Old Bachelor series in the Richmond Enquirer, but Tucker declined. In 1815 he expressed the opinion that Byron and Scott had a much wider readership than Hamilton, Madison, and "political works." <sup>29</sup> Consequently, although the familiar essay remained popular in Virginia until well into the nineteenth century, its formula was tempered by imaginative and romantic interest.

William Wirt's series, Letters of a British Spy, although ostensibly very like the Augustan Spectator, contains a nostalgia, a harking back to the golden times of pre-Revolutionary Virginia, which is both sentimental and, according to more than one reputable critic, romantic. <sup>30</sup> In short, more like Goldsmith's Citizen of the World essays.

His biography of Patrick Henry presents that Revolutionary figure as a full-blown romantic hero, giving him a kind of Wordsworthian glamour which disgusted Jefferson and had little to do with historical accuracy. <sup>31</sup> Tucker, in his essay on the true patriot, shares this tendency for presenting heroized figures to the reader as an incitement to virtue, and "Farmer" Dickinson, Alexander Hamilton, and Franklin, as well as the redoubtable Patrick Henry, become suitably glorified. <sup>32</sup> His library contains several popular biographies of a romantic or mythologizing kind, and the prevalence of this kind of

literature in Virginia during the period with which we are concerned has, according to William Robert Taylor, contributed to what is now called the Legend of the Old South. <sup>33</sup>

The formula of the periodical essay as Addison and Steele had presented it, despite its flourish and optimism, and despite its conviviality with the reader and its tendency to further the reader's most idealistic conceptions of himself and his community, eventually outstayed its welcome in Virginia--perhaps, more than any other reason, because of its didactic explicitness. More imaginative free-play was needed, and inspirations to discipline which could no longer "be rendered so interestingly in didactic form." <sup>34</sup> Wirt himself turned his attention to Patrick Henry and produced "a splendid novel," <sup>35</sup> Edgar Allan Poe submitted his Al Aaraaf manuscripts for Wirt's editorial consideration, and the periodical essay wound o'er the lea.

By this time the magazine was beginning to displace the newspaper as a literary medium, and Virginia had no important literary magazine until the Southern Literary Messenger was established in 1834, the year in which Wirt died. The Addisonian essay had given way to new literary types for which Wirt and his friends would not perhaps have greatly cared. Possibly there was something in the belief often expressed in the essays of Wirt and his friends that the Old Dominion was in a state of decline. At any rate, the liberalism so marked among Virginians of the Revolutionary period and still discernible even in the Old Bachelor was giving way to a conservatism based upon the preservation of the status quo. Ante-bellum Virginia was still to produce some notable writers, but their work was to be in poetry and fiction rather than in the essay; and most of it was to be written in the new Romantic manner. . . . <sup>36</sup>

St. George Tucker's twenty-odd essays, preserved in Earl Gregg Swem Library at the College of William and Mary, and originally

intended for publication in the previously mentioned Old Bachelor series, belong to this Virginian tradition of familiar essay-writing, <sup>37</sup> so characteristic of the turn of the nineteenth century. In many respects his essays are explicitly didactic, and imitative of the kind of "personified abstract" technique favored by the Augustans, which capitalized vices and virtues and set them moving about in dramatic narratives that are often turgid and unimaginative. But one essay, the oriental "Vision of Selim," departs from this tradition, and is somewhat more reflective of the changes that were taking place in Virginian literature at the time. To borrow the phrase from Wirt's letter to Jefferson about biography-writing, it deals with ideas "which cannot be rendered so interestingly in didactic form." <sup>38</sup>

It is the culmination of a group of three essays on the subject of religion, death, and afterlife (numbered 19, 20, and 21 in Tucker's manuscript collection) which, taken together with the details of Tucker's biography at this time--the fatal illness of his "last daughter," and Tucker's own premature retirement and reclusiveness--may be supposed to give us the greatest insight into the man himself.

How did the essays come to be written?

The Wirt circle, as it has come to be called, comprised several other Virginian celebrities as well-known as St. George Tucker and his cousin, George. There were the Carr brothers, Frank and Dabney, Francis and Peachy Gilmer, Richard E. Parker, Dr. Louis Girardin, Major David Watson, and Robert Walsh, Jr., among others. <sup>39</sup> Together they formed a coterie, corresponding and conversing with each other

and exchanging literary criticism and creative writing in a variety of fields. St. George Tucker himself was a poet and critic of some repute in the locality, and those submitting their works to him at the time included Theodorick Bland, Nancy Cocke, William Munford, William Wirt himself, Judith Lomax, John McClurg, Margaret Lowther Page, and several more Virginians.<sup>40</sup> The circle had its literary vehicles, for Wirt was a close acquaintance of Thomas Ritchie, the owner and publisher of the newspaper, The Richmond Enquirer, and Tucker himself knew Mathew Carey, the Philadelphia editor of an important magazine, The American Museum, to which he contributed and for which he may at some time have supervised and submitted works or perhaps even acted in an advisory editorial capacity.<sup>41</sup> There is also internal evidence to suggest Tucker's authorship of items signed "S. G." in a magazine called The Visitor during this period (August, 1810) as well as some hitherto unidentified contributions to the Rainbow, and the Portfolio.<sup>42</sup>

Out of the rapport between the circle and its literary organs grew a considerable quantity of poetry, several series of essays and other writings submitted in the interest of moral improvement and good taste. William Wirt, upon whose shoulders the job of editorship seems most often to have fallen, was responsible for the already-mentioned series, The Letters of the British Spy, first published in August and September of 1803 in Samuel Pleasant, Jr.'s Virginia Argus, appearing in book form with the same title that year.<sup>43</sup> By 1832 this had run through ten editions and was still

to December 24, 1811.<sup>47</sup> These essays were reprinted, together with five from manuscript sources, in book form by the Enquirer Press in 1814 (a copy of which is in Tucker's personal library in the Tucker-Coleman Collection) and were republished in Baltimore in 1818. Not all of the essays are attributed to Wirt, though he seems to have done the spadework for the series, including the creation of a setting in which the essays could be exhibited, pseudonymously, in the form of letters addressed to Doctor Cecil or "the Old Bachelor." The Advertisement in Tucker's personal copy of the 1814 edition explains the intentions of the series:

The following essays were the amusement of a few short intervals of leisure; and were given to The Enquirer with the hope of their amusing, also, his country reader. Their author never calculated on their taking the form of a book; and wrote, therefore, with a rapidity and carelessness, excusable only in the ephemera of a news-paper. . . . But the author's hours of leisure becoming more and more rare, as well as shorter, he was forced to leave the essays which are published on that topic in a very crude and mutilated state, and to suspend, at least for a time, if not to abandon, altogether, the whole project. . . . It is much to be lamented that this pleasing and popular mode of conveying instruction is not more courted in this country. We have many who have both time and talents for such compositions . . . .<sup>48</sup>

Wirt's idealistic temperament, piqued by the imperfections of newspaper "ephemera" and his own editorial shortcomings, led him eventually to abandon the new scheme himself and to surrender to someone else the responsibility for it. His disclaimer may well have influenced his friend Tucker in this question of editorial responsibility, as we shall see. For the present, however, Wirt followed up his Advertisement with a Horatian epigram and then "Doctor Cecil"

launched into an introduction of himself, by way of providing a feasible context for the essays. Number One begins, "Alas! it is true; I can no longer hide the melancholy fact, even from myself; I am indeed, an Old Bachelor. Yet let not the confession deprive me of a single reader . . . ." In this anecdotal way, and with a "masculine and utilitarian style of expression,"<sup>49</sup> Dr. Cecil installed himself at the helm of what we would now call a "column." Of all the series in which Wirt became involved, this was to prove the most important: the Old Bachelor has been called "the high watermark of the familiar essay in the early nineteenth century in Virginia and in some respects in the whole nation."<sup>50</sup>

From the extant correspondence between Wirt and Tucker we know that the folder of essay manuscripts Tucker entitled "For the old Batchellor [ sic ]," now in the Tucker-Coleman Collection of Earl Gregg Swem library, were originally intended for publication in Wirt's series in the Enquirer. From annotations in Tucker's personal copy of the collected Old Bachelor (1814) edition, it would appear that Essay no. 27--a letter from "Susannah Thankful," following on a letter from "Diogenes" to "Old Squaretoes,"--was from Tucker's pen. Although Anne McCorkle's thesis concludes that nothing of Tucker's was ever actually printed in the Enquirer, St. George's annotations in his own copy of The Old Bachelor seem significant.<sup>51</sup> They include, in ink inside the back cover:

Diogenes. 172 No 27

in what would appear to be Tucker's handwriting, accompanied by

ST. GEORGE TUCKER'S "VISION OF SELIM":  
AN EDITED TEXT WITH INTRODUCTION  
AND CRITIQUE

---

A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department of English  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

---

by  
Angela H. Patmore

1975

identifications of the pseudonyms "Sidney," "Herbert," and "Alfred" as Tazewell, R. B. Taylor, and Judge R. E. Parker, and, at the end of the essay in question, Tucker's annotation "+"--which, from a perusal of his marginalia elsewhere, it seems he only used to mark details of personal significance.

The correspondence between Wirt and Tucker regarding the Old Bachelor reveals a great deal, not only about the series itself, but also about the personalities of the two men involved in its editorial vicissitudes. Moreover, taken in conjunction with one other important item among the Tucker-Coleman papers,<sup>52</sup> this correspondence reveals a plan whereby Tucker himself decided eventually to take over Wirt's editorial duties, and redirect the Old Bachelor series according to a scheme of his own, to be called "Nuga: The Hermit of the Mountain." As no previous editorial thesis on Tucker's so-called Old Bachelor essays has touched upon this subject, I have made it one of the central concerns of this paper.

The extant exchanges between Wirt and Tucker regarding the essays begin on August 7, 1811, when Wirt acknowledged receipt of some "elegant communications for the O. B." and replied:

They shall have a place, except the last letter from Mitis the Federalist; which they will all think too true a joke to be a joke at all . . . . The allegory on memory is beautiful. On the subject of artificial aids to memory, however . . . C. will give you the materials of a very good communication. . . . In your first communication you salute me by the name of "Old Squaretoes" . . . it will be necessary to change the address, because a number has already appeared from a correspondent who assumes that as his real name. . . . Ritchie says that he will not bind more than thirty numbers in the first volume which is to come out by the winter. He has



already five and twenty in hand, and I have two or three others prepared for him: so that you see I am bespeaking materials for the second volume, as it becomes a good provider to do. I shall be not a little proud to be bound up with you in the same volume and I cannot help flattering myself that we may be of some service in the country. 53

Here at the outset Wirt, acting in the role of solicitous editor, immediately reveals his inordinate hopes of "serving the country" which were to betray him into apathy two years after the series' inception, when it became clear that the "O. B." would not bring back the Jeffersonian Age to Virginia. Tucker, for his part, promised much as a contributor to Wirt's latest scheme. On August 8, 1811, despite his being greatly "ashamed of being so far over-rated" in Wirt's "partial Estimation," he enclosed not only a "substitute" for the "Mitis" letter, but also a communication on "Zelotes" and another allegory--this time on "Contentment." 54 In reply to a suggestion of Wirt's that he "correct" or "improve" previously-published numbers of the series (an interesting indication of Wirt's editorial intentions as the plan progressed), Tucker was somewhat bashful, but his contributions nonetheless reveal his abundant enthusiasm for the series. They became more copious as he went along.

<sup>6</sup>A postscript to this same letter is interesting also. "N. B." he wrote, "Do not let Ritchie know whom the numbers sent you were written by." The publisher of the Enquirer was apparently not one of Tucker's friends.

Despite the influx of Tucker's contributions, however, none of them was actually finding its way into print, apart from the

already-mentioned Diogenes-Susannah Thankful letters (No. 27).

Unpublished but undaunted, St. George continued to bombard Wirt with his productions. On August 12, 1811 he sent in at least three more items, one containing "a discovery" he had made, another on a subject "I feel much at heart," and still another "allegory, on Liberty and Faction." Of the latter he observed, "I am afraid you will be sick of Allegories, and of Liberty and Faction too. Reject what you disapprove, without ceremony. I write currente Calamo, & keep no copy. You must therefore be guarded against repetition, for I know not what I have written." <sup>55</sup> He added, "I am afraid you will begin to think me a troublesome correspondent," and promised his editor, "You need but say the word, and I will immediately lay down my pen." Wirt meanwhile, unwilling to actually "say the word," began to drop hints about Tucker's teeming brain. On August 19 he wrote somewhat tendentiously of St. George's contributions being "salt to my dough--but like salt I must scatter them thinly among my own flat, unleavened mass." <sup>56</sup> One of the problems, so far as Wirt's tact was concerned, was that Tucker had recently submitted an essay "On Patriotism" (number 9 in Tucker's manuscripts) which contained lengthy and unacknowledged portions of Lord Bolingbroke's Letter on that subject, published in 1736. Wirt replied impeccably that the original was more familiar than Tucker supposed, and requested that he "avow the quotation by inverted commas, and superadd your own remarks: as it is, I am afraid the reviewers will crack their whips at us." <sup>57</sup>

Although the "Patriotism" essay was indeed revised, Tucker continued to scan his copy of the Enquirer without finding anything of his own among the published pieces. To add to his disappointment, No. 24 of the Old Bachelor even contained an attack on "borrowed lights"--one of Dr. Cecil's good-natured critical satires. Tucker was a little stung. On August 23, 1811 he wrote to "Dr. Cecil" Wirt, with spelling suitably affected by the incident, that "although taken literally and altogether, it ought not to wound a friend, but had I seen it in manuscript I might possibly have advised some changes and omissions. . . ." 58 This was the first time, in all his letters to Wirt, that Tucker had shown any signs of responding to his friend's early request to "drop me any hints for correction that might occur to you," as Wirt had said when he asked for Tucker's help in editing the file of Enquirer printings. In the same communication Tucker enclosed his latest contribution for the "O. B."--"an allegorical account of avarice"--without any of his usual disclaimers, adding simply, "If you approve, run it. If not reject it." Tucker's coyness had disappeared along, perhaps, with his hopes of ever seeing his Old Bachelor contributions printed. Why none of his essays (other than No. 27) were actually accepted is a matter for conjecture. Anne McCorkle has shown that Wirt must have received Tucker's Letters 1-4 by August 7, 1811 (copy of 1 extant among his manuscripts, 2, 3, and 4 missing), 5 and 6 by August 19 (first draft of 5 extant, 6 missing), and 7-11 by August 25 (7 and 8 extant, first draft of 9 extant, 10 and 11 not extant though 10 is

referred to in Tucker's essay No. 12).<sup>59</sup> Essays 12-27 are in the Tucker manuscript collection, bound together in sequence, No. 28 is accompanied by a draft, and one other additional essay lies in the folder. From this evidence she deduces that Wirt received eleven of Tucker's essays by August 25, 1811, the first contribution arriving shortly before August 7. On August 6, 1811, the Enquirer printed the Old Bachelor No. XXIII. On the next day, Wirt wrote to Tucker, telling him that twenty-five essays were already with Ritchie, and that another two or three had been prepared to send him. She surmises that by August 7, 1811, the following had occurred: a) the Old Bachelor nos. 1-23 had appeared in the Enquirer, b) nos. 24-25 had been sent to Ritchie, and c) nos. 26, 27, and possibly 28 were ready to be sent to Ritchie. Even if we assume that Wirt had written only an additional two numbers (26 and 27) we must logically conclude that Tucker's contributions would have had to appear in the Enquirer between numbers 28 and 33. She concludes, "Neither the extant manuscripts nor the seven essays Wirt mentions specifically appear in print in these numbers. Moreover, the identities of the authors of nos. 28-33 have been satisfactorily established."<sup>60</sup> Number 27, as has been mentioned earlier, was in fact printed, although Miss McCorkle concludes that nothing of Tucker's appeared at all. The book edition of the series was delayed three years, and Ritchie's estimate that it would "come out by winter" while he busied himself binding up the second volume, may well have thrown out any possible editorial time-scheme. More than likely Wirt originally intended to include

Tucker in the second volume, as promised in their correspondence, or perhaps some private feud between Tucker and Ritchie, hinted at in Tucker's postscript, or the suggestions of plagiarism already mentioned, had prejudiced his choice concerning Tucker's work. But whatever the reason, Tucker's "blue packet"<sup>61</sup> --the blue folder of butter paper containing Tucker's items "For the old Batchellor"-- began to collect the dust.

By this time, Wirt himself had begun to despair of the Old Bachelor (as was his custom with such projects) partly, perhaps, because of "the little effect such things produce,"<sup>62</sup> and partly because he was busy with other writing, his professional work and his biography of Patrick Henry. Tucker, on the other hand, was conspicuously unemployed, determined "never to engage in any public Business" again and, according to John Coalter, pruning his fruit trees.

A year later, after a nine-month hiatus in the "Old Bachelor" publications in the Enquirer, Tucker correctly assumed that the Series had been discontinued and wrote to Wirt requesting the return of his unpublished manuscripts. On August 22, 1812 Wirt replied, from Warm Springs (Virginia) where he was holidaying, "I received your favor relative to the return of the manuscripts prepared for the O. B., at this place," and added that, even if he were in Richmond where the manuscripts were kept, he would be unwilling to return them, since he had not altogether relinquished the idea of "continuing the essays under that title."<sup>63</sup> Court business, he

explained, had kept him from his editorial work, but he had not given up all hopes as yet, and only if Tucker should "insist on it" would he "part from them with reluctance." Wirt's somewhat capricious resistance in the face of Tucker's initiative must have left Tucker somewhat confused. He replied that he thought the series had been discontinued and "upon that presumption alone my request was made." However, he added firmly, "If it be your intention to favor your Country with a continuation of those essays from your pen, which have given so much pleasure, I shall deem it an honor to march under your banners as a volunteer. But whenever you come to a contrary resolution, I must request the return of the essays in question, as I have no copy of any of them." <sup>64</sup> This was September 11, 1812, and Tucker waited for a year before repeating his request for the unpublished manuscripts--a year of frustration, perhaps, while the "Old Bachelor" continued silent. Finally, on September 12, 1813, Tucker took matters into his own hands. Asking Wirt to send him back his own Old Bachelor numbers two through eleven, he added:

I have a very particular reason for this request. The O. B. has been silent for more than eighteen months. I have serious thoughts of proposing to you to let me kill him, with a paralytic [ sic ] stroke next winter, and to revive and continue the publication under the title of the Hermit of the Mountain, whom I propose to make his legatee, as far as his papers go. If you would join me in this project, in the mind I am in at present, we might carry it on in concert under this new title, until we should furnish at least a couple of volumes. All the numbers which you contribute, and all that I have written with a view to the old Batchellor, might be offered as papers found in his Escritoire, etc. etc. When we meet again we will talk over this subject more at large. <sup>65</sup>

Wirt replied (from his country place, "Montevideo") on October 10,

1813, that he would, with pleasure, contribute what he could to the scheme, "tho' I fear it will be but little," and promised that when he was next in Richmond he would "make a thorough search from Dan to Beersheba, for our stray flocks--and hope to be able to drive them to their stalls before hard weather sets in." <sup>66</sup> So far as we know, Wirt did not contribute anything to Tucker's new project, and of the numbers Tucker had already written, only two were returned to Tucker's folder: the fifth, entitled "The History of Contentment: An Allegory," and the ninth, the essay "On Patriotism," which Tucker had recast. Of these two, the first was "Written over again and altered--Aug. 9th (1811)," and the second was a rejected draft.

Evidently, Tucker did not wait until "next winter" to begin his new project, because on September 12, 1813, he began a notebook, still extant among his papers, entitled Nuga: The Hermit of the Mountain. <sup>67</sup> Apparently undiscovered by previous thesis editors, this notebook and the plan which it contains were seemingly intended to divert Tucker's mind from anxiety over his "last daughter's" illness. Frances' death, recorded on page 18, coincides with the breaking-off of Tucker's modest series of essays in the book. These essays, two complete and the fragmented beginning of a third, are clearly intended to form a frame or introduction for a larger series, in much the same way as the initial numbers of the Old Bachelor itself.

The first number in the Hermit of the Mountain series, interestingly enough, is accompanied by the annotation:

Memo. N Diogenes - O. B. No. 27 printed Dec. 17, 1811.

--the Old Bachelor essay of special interest to Tucker, who was here reminding himself to retrieve his own item from Wirt's series in the event of The Old Bachelor's not appearing in book form (the series was never, in fact, "bound up" by Ritchie until 1814). The Hermit's first number is a reflective essay and discusses solitude, retirement and contemplation, and old age as the period which should "prepare us to meet that awful change which all must undergo, and which at this period of our lives cannot be very remote." These thoughts of death, retirement, and solitude are relevant biographically because this was a time of apparent retirement for Tucker himself, when he thought he was facing the twilight of his life. But the same themes were relevant socially also. Retirement and contemplative withdrawal--Frost's "momentary stay against confusion"--were perhaps needful in an age which Tucker characterized as one of local profligacy and violence, political factionalism and war.

Literature will often seem to have a symbiotic relationship with society, because art provides needful resolutions, artificial though they might be, to the irreconcilable tensions of life. The riotous age of Tucker's Virginia produced large quantities of rational and reflective literature of which the familiar essay genre is an example, and in his choice of the title "Hermit of the Mountain," Tucker was responding to a vogue. Hermits of one kind or another were popular personae of the period (and have been popular



in almost every age since Vergil's AEclogues and Shakespeare's Jacques) because of their authority as contemplative figures, detached from the material world. They were a favorite neoclassical motif, in particular, because as one critic has pointed out "Before he can long for the peace and goodness of retirement, the poet must have turbulence and evil to retire from, and no age has offered in its practice so plain and emphatic a challenge to the critic of society and civilization as was offered by the Neoclassical Age." 68

① "Hermit" poems, some of them by emergent Romantics, were popular in American periodicals: the reader may care to examine one of those printed in the American Museum in 1790, by Beattie, for example. Popular fiction, such as the Thousand and One Nights, inspired many renditions of the "Hermit" theme, and St. George's cousin, George Tucker, who produced an essay-series called Thoughts of a Hermit in 1822, was among the many to try out the genre. The American Museum's "Batchelor [ sic ]" touched on the subject of hermits, in a rather humorous series of exchanges about the Bachelor, "apprehensive" that he would "shortly quit this vain and forlorn state of celibacy." The Bachelor replies to the taunts of one correspondent that "A man as hearty and ruddy as I am cannot, with any propriety, be called old. Old philosopher, old hermit, old conjuror, old married man, may be expressions proper enough, but I insist upon it, the epithet should never be applied to a bachelor." 69

② Tucker's own first Hermit number continues in a contemplative vein: the heart, says the Hermit, "is attracted toward a future state

of existence, where hopes, which can never be deemed visionary, may be indulged by the virtuous and the upright." This thought is the theme (directly or indirectly) of Tucker's three religious essays numbered 19, 20, and 21 in the collection "For the old Batchellor," one of which is discussed later. In the meantime the reader is invited to examine the subsequent pages from the Hermit essays numbered one through three in the Tucker-Coleman Collection. On the evidence of their contents I would suggest (to repeat my thesis) that the so-called "old Batchellor" essays in the Tucker-Coleman Collection were assembled by Tucker at first with a view to publication in Wirt's Old Bachelor and, when this scheme was defunct, with a view to publication in a new volume entitled The Hermit of the Mountain, to be directed under the editorship of St. George himself. I would suggest that the change in his intentions took place around September 1813; that this was the reason for his request to Wirt to "forward" the "stray flocks," and that the way in which the "old Batchellor" manuscripts are assembled in Tucker's folder may (though somewhat tentatively) substantiate this.

On internal evidence, first of all: letter 12, the Dream of Liliput, contains a narrator-introduction, of the type used at the beginning of Wirt's Old Bachelor series, in which we find an editor-like figure reading previous numbers of the O. B. Perhaps Tucker had in mind some editorial role (though this is admittedly very tenuous) as early as his twelfth number: of the extant manuscripts sixteen of the twenty-two essays are numbered in ink 12 through 27, each in the

top left-hand corner of the folio. Mary Beth Wentworth notes that essay thirteen (on avarice) is the last one which appears to have been folded and addressed to Wirt, with a postscript "seeking editorial advice."<sup>70</sup> The postscript refers to the suitability of this essay following on essay twelve. The "Avarice" production seems not to have been posted, but if it was, I would suggest that it was returned promptly by Wirt once the editorial considerations had been settled. At all events, Tucker was becoming more careful of his manuscripts, or perhaps, in view of their nonappearance in the Enquirer, increasingly reluctant to let these sole drafts out of his hands. By essays twenty-five and twenty-seven--the letters from a widow and from Susannah Trifle--it would appear that Wirt's editorial role had been taken over, since these numbers are accompanied by columnist's replies from Tucker's own pen. The problems raised by correspondent twenty-five, in fact, are answered not by "Dr. Cecil," but by "Z"--Tucker's own pseudonym.

The arrangement of the holograph manuscripts is as follows. The original folder contains two leaves and twenty folios, with writing recto and verso; sixteen of the twenty-two essays are numbered in ink 12-27. The initial numbers are neither sequentially numbered nor bound together, and include at least two rough drafts or cancelled copies ("On Patriotism" and "On Ignorance") of essays sent to Wirt, on miscellaneous paper. These loose essays are also numbered, but in graphite as opposed to ink, and in roman numerals, perhaps to distinguish them from the other numbering system, which is

in arabic numerals. Perhaps Tucker numbered them in this way with a view to reorganizing them as part of his later scheme. Essays twelve through fourteen are assembled more carefully, were apparently never mailed, and although they are no longer bound were originally included on the same string-binder paper as the remainder of the collection. Essays fifteen and following are bound together. Although all the essays retain the title "For the old Batchellor," we cannot be sure that they were all therefore designated for Wirt's series: as we have seen, Tucker intended to exploit the title according to the legatee scheme, presenting these manuscripts as papers of the "deceased" Dr. Cecil, now in possession of the "Hermit," St. George. This scheme, which may have been inspired by the preface to Mr. Pleasants in Letters of the British Spy (which was supposed to have been found in a bed-chamber "of a boardinghouse in a sea-town in Virginia,") lent cogency to the new series under Tucker's hand, and at the same time could be expected to capitalize on the popularity of the already-established Old Bachelor. 71

The following is one of those originally intended "For the old Batchellor" and, later, for the projected "Hermit of the Mountain" series, offered to the reader as an example both of Tucker's thinking as exhibited in his essays, and as evidence of the way in which an amateur early Virginian writer responded to the literary influences of his time. The holograph manuscript is tied into the series fifteen through twenty-seven. As with several of the essays, the folio appears to have dictated the length of the production, which ends in

somewhat cramped style at the bottom of side four. It is apparently the sole draft.

21. For the old Batchellor.

Sir,

Of the happiness of a future state we are as little capable of forming any adequate Ideas, as of the divine Author, & Bestower, of that happiness. <sup>1</sup> Even the Genius of Homer has faild him upon that subject. His Heroes in the Elysian Fields, <sup>2</sup> always appear to me to be repining, and as it were saying, "In the midst of Life, we are in Death". <sup>3</sup> --Christian divines have, generally, and probably, wisely, declined the attempt to set before the Eyes of their Audiences those Scenes of ineffable bliss, to which they invite, and exhort them to hope for. The reveries of Baron Swedenbourg, <sup>4</sup> if I remember rightly, are occasionally illuminated by some fanciful, and some rational, Ideas, on the subject, but I do not recollect them particularly enough to notice them further. It may seem then a very presumptuous attempt in one who has <sup>5</sup> noticed such miscarriages in others, to venture to pass over the same ground, where they have faild. Yet, <sup>6</sup> a rational mind, <sup>7</sup> I think, may be indulged in such Contemplations, on subjects far above its <sup>8</sup> reach, as may tend to strengthen, and confirm our <sup>9</sup> hopes, while they amuse and sweeten the rugged Journey of Life, which it still remains for us <sup>10</sup> to travel over. But instead of <sup>11</sup> venturing upon a theme so far above my powers, suffer me to invite your attention to an eastern Tale: the Vision of Selim, <sup>12</sup> the Son of Alraschid.

"Selim, the Son of the Sultan Haroon Alraschid, <sup>13</sup> or the Just, an Epithet which he acquired from the strict adherence to the precepts of Justice, which mark'd his whole administration, during a period of more than forty years, was the only Son of his beautiful Queen Selima, <sup>14</sup> the most amiable, and most beloved of his wives. <sup>15</sup> The good Genius Alhamran <sup>16</sup> adopted him at the moment of his birth, and attended him ever after, first under the figure and disguise of his nurse, and afterwards under that of a faithful Slave, and preceptor, whose name was Hali. <sup>17</sup> In that Character Alhamran instilled into his royal pupil the purest Ideas of the Divinity; <sup>18</sup> embued his mind with the justest precepts of morality; and taught him to hope for, and expect immortality, in another life, by the observance of benevolence, charity, Justice, and universal morality in this. His pupil listened to his precepts with avidity, and attention; but often expressed to his preceptor his incapacity to imagine <sup>19</sup> anything like the happiness <sup>20</sup> of a future state. / I know, said he, in what the pleasures of this world consist: the highest, as you have taught me, is that of doing good, by conferring Benefits on others: But how can this be done in another Life, where none can stand in need of the assistance of another? Where can Charity, where can Benevolence find objects, upon which to bestow their favors, which when bestowed, like seed sown in good ground, return a tenfold Harvest, to the Bestower?

Alhamran penetrated the inmost recesses of his pupils mind: he saw the impossibility of explaining to him what is incomprehensible, in the mortal state: --yet he resolved to fix his Attention, and his hopes

on a future state, in which alone happiness is to be found; he threw him into a deep Trance, in which he continued three days and nights, without motion, and without any other sign of Life, than respiration, and the continued pulsations of the heart, attended with frequent intermissions, as if the Angel of Death <sup>21</sup> were hovering over him, and waiting momentarily to receive his spirit. In the meantime he set before him this Vision. <sup>22</sup>

It appeared to the Son of Alraschid that he had obtained the permission of his royal father to traverse the regions of the Earth, from the imperial City of Ispakur, <sup>23</sup> the seat of his royal residence, to the remotest Corners of India, and Asia, attended only by the faithful Hali, who was to be his Conductor, and Instructor. They joined a Carravan that was going to Sarmacand, <sup>24</sup> and travell'd without Accident, till, towards noon of the eighth <sup>25</sup> day, they discovered one of those Typhons, or whirlwinds, which sweep the Desert, filling the Air with clouds of Sand, and overwhelming every living thing that is exposed to their fury. <sup>26</sup> Hali first discovered it, and giving notice of it to his master, they urged their Camels to their utmost speed, to avoid the destruction that threatened. Happily, they took a different course from the rest of the Carravan, which they saw envelopped by the Typhon, while their own Camels with difficulty avoided its rage. Blessed be Alla! said Selim, that thou, my faithful Hali, wast with me: Otherwise I had been swallowed up by the Typhon, and my body had become a prey to the Vultures of the Desert. They now continued their Journey through the Desert: they were without



provisions, for themselves, or for their Camels, and without water. The sun was in the northernmost sign, his Rays were intense, and the white sands of the desert reflected them with augmented heat. A dead calm had succeeded to the furious Typhon, and respiration became difficult, and obstructed, and thirst, vehement, and tormenting. Even their Camels oppress'd by excessive heat, and suffering from unusual thirst, were incapable of moving at their usual pace. They moved on slowly, not knowing whither, through loose, and burning sands, for the rest of the day; night brought no relief but the Absence of the Sun: the weary Camels, at their accustomed hour of repose, seem'd unwilling to move further.

Selim and his Companion dismounted, and threw themselves upon the still hot Sands, <sup>27</sup> as the only place of repose, their Camels kneeling near them. Hunger, thirst, <sup>28</sup> and weariness opprest them; sleep fled from their eyelids and they rolled in Agony, in the parching Sands. The next morning they mounted their Camels again; hunger, thirst, weariness, and intolerable Heat, were again the Companions of their Journey. Not a tree, not a shrub, not a blade of grass, interrupted the dreadful continuity of the burning Sands. Hunger, thirst, weariness, and Heat, continued at every step; let us, said Selim to his guide, dismount, and resign ourselves to our Destiny; I feel the Angel of Death hovering over me. Be of good Courage, said Hali; yonder I discover some objects in motion; probably they are either another Carravan, or a troop of those wild Arabs which frequent these deserts. Whilst he was yet speaking the last of

these conjectures was verified; the troop of arabs approach'd at full speed. / Selim, by the advice of Hali, alighted from his Camel, <sup>29</sup> and both of them prostrated themselves before the chief of the Arabs, as he approach'd. --We are thy suppliants said Hali; we are perishing with Thirst and hunger; generous Arab! we throw ourselves upon thy mercy, upon thy hospitality: Our Camels are yours, and we are henceforward your Slaves. Not so, said the Chief: never shall the Son of Albumasar, <sup>30</sup> refuse mercy to the suppliant, or food, to the hungry, or water, to the thirsty, traveller. So saying he directed his followers to bring water, and bread, for them; <sup>31</sup> Merciful Alla! said Selim, these surely are thy Ministers! But for thee, generous Son of Albumasar, the Son of Alraschid had fallen a prey to the Angel of Death. --Depart in peace, said the generous Arab! I am the Enemy of thy Father, but I will not stain my Sabre with the Blood of his Son, who hath demanded of me the Rights of Hospitality. So saying, he departed with his troop leaving Selim, & Hali to pursue their Journey through the Desert. Two days more were spent like the two former; Selim began again to despair, and to sink under fatigue, and hunger, and thirst; be of good Courage, said Hali, a second time! Methinks I espy, yonder, the tops of some shrubs which grow not far from a spring of water. They urg'd their weary Camels towards the place, and found some prickly shrubs, <sup>32</sup> which appeared to meander through the desert as far as <sup>33</sup> the eye could reach: let us suffer our Camels, said Hali, to recruit their exhausted strength among these shrubs, on which they can feed, while you &

I will endeavour to discover the spring to which they lead. They dismounted, and entered the thicket; they had not walk'd far, when they were rous'd by the roaring of a monstrous Lion, who made towards them with savage fury, and now was preparing to spring upon Selim; when Hali stepping forward, with his Sabre gave him a blow over the forehead, which laid him prostrate at the feet of Selim. The monarch of the Beasts roar'd out his last breath at the moment. O holy Alla! cried Selim, what a deliverance hast thou again vouchsafed to give me! Surely Man is the object of thy providential Care! else, thrice, had I fallen a victim to the Angel of Death! They remounted their Camels, <sup>34</sup> and pursuing the winding course of the prickly shrubs, about Evening reach'd a valley, in which there was a spring of water. Here they found a Carravan, which was travelling towards Aracan <sup>35</sup> which is situated near the principal mouth of the Ganges. With this they resolved to join company, and having travelled an hundred and sixty days, and encountered numberless perils, and inconveniences, as well from the predatory Attacks of the wandering Arabs, as from the difficulties of the way, and the dangers to which they were every where exposed, they arrived at length at the place of their destination which was a Sea port on the Borders of the Indian Ocean. Here Selim, by the advice of Hali determin'd to embark for Ormus, <sup>36</sup> which stands near the Gulph of that name, and from thence to ascend the persian Gulph to Bossora, <sup>37</sup> from whence the Journey to Ispakur, the royal Residence of his father is but short. They took their passage accordingly on board a Felucca, <sup>38</sup> but before they

had reach'd the Island of Ceylon, they were boarded by a Malacca <sup>39</sup> pirate, and plundered of every thing valuable on board, and of a great part of their provisions for the voyage. This compelled them to return towards Madrass, <sup>40</sup> to obtain a new supply of provisions: by this delay the monsoons begun to decline, and finally changed, while they were yet in the midst of the Arabian Sea; here they experienced all the horrors of famine, their water, and provisions being both expended. In this extremity an European Merchant who was on board proposed that they should cast lots, which of them should be slain to satisfy the ravenous hunger of the remainder of the famish'd crew. <sup>41</sup>

The lot fell upon the faithful Hali! Selim in an Agony, offered himself in his Stead; Hali would not consent to it, and the European Merchant terminated the generous dispute, by a blow of his Sabre, which separated the head of Hali from his Body. Father of Mercy! said Selim, are these human beings! rather will I patiently wait the arrival of the Angel of Death, than prolong my Life by tasting of the blood of my Friend! While he yet spoke a black cloud rose suddenly, as from the midst of the Ocean, and thunder and lightning proclaim'd the approach of a Tornado. The Felucca was overwhelm'd by the blast; masts, yards, and sails were blown away in a moment, and the unwieldy hulk lay exposed to the fury of the waves. They beat over her repeatedly, and Selim found himself the only one of all on board, that had, as yet, escaped the fury <sup>42</sup> of the tempest. What would he not have given to have been blessed with the Company of his murdered friend! He sat down in despair, meditating on the

miserable scene around him, and expecting that every wave would bear him off. At length one more towering than all the rest, burst upon the vessel and shattered her in a thousand pieces. <sup>43</sup> Selim caught hold of one of them, and tried to support himself above the waves. In this manner he remain'd struggling, till overcome with weariness, and despair, <sup>44</sup> he let go his hold, and having sunk twice, was striving <sup>45</sup> with death, for one more gasp, <sup>46</sup> when suddenly he awoke from his Trance. His Father, the Sultan Alraschid, with his Mother, the beautiful Selima, were standing at his feet, their countenances exhibiting a mixture of sudden Joy, bursting through Tears of Sorrow; his faithful Hali was kneeling beside him, rubbing one of his feet, and his old and affectionate nurse, the other; his Sister Selima, <sup>47</sup> more beautiful than the morn, held his left hand, and the still more lovely Astarte, <sup>48</sup> the only Daughter of the grand Vizir of his Father, whom he had long passionately loved, held his right. He believed himself to be in the world of spirits, <sup>49</sup> and gazed upon them, alternately, with Emotions, which he had never before known. Wonder, Amazement, and Rapture, fill'd his Breast. At length, clasping the hand of Astarte, he prostrated himself at the Feet of his Father, and in an Ecstasy, <sup>50</sup> exclaim'd "O holy Alla! now I percieve the blessings, <sup>51</sup> which Hali taught me to expect, in this new Life; of which, 'till now, I could form no conception! Blessed, be the name of Alla, forever, and ever!"

How far this little Tale may convey to the rational mind some faint Idea of the extatic Emotions of a Soul which has just quitted

its mortal Mansion, and entered the portals of Immortality, is submitted to your better Judgement, and that of your Readers.

Z. 52

x  
#

## Critique

Essay 21, "The Vision of Selim," is best understood in relation to two essays which precede it in the collection: essay 19, in which the author contemplates the immensity of the universe and the insignificance of man; and essay 20, a dialogue between a sceptic and a believer. The theme of the first of these is a pessimistic appraisal of man's position in the chain of being, written by "one who feels himself but a worm in the sight of his Creator," and who looks "From world, to world, from Sun to Sun . . . . Through each remoter World; Till sight, and thought, their aid refuse, To utter darkness hurl'd [ sic ]." <sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that he "humbly hopes" for an afterlife, the dominant impression is of the hopelessness and meaninglessness of man's condition. Denouncing the optimism of the Enlightenment, he declares, "Vain pismire! Sooner mays't thou crawl from hence to the Dog-star, than thine imagination concieve [ sic ] the distance between thyself, and thy Creator!" A contemplation of "our own littleness" in relation to the stars becomes "a first step to Religion," but doubt and anxiety in Tucker's mind seem to overshadow all hopes for a future state which is the reward for that religion, and the whole passage has an interrogative tone, on the theme of "dare we to hope?" Tucker's previously published poem, "Hymn to the Creator," which is appended (perhaps as an afterthought),

ends not on an optimistic note, but in a plea for God's mercy:

"Turn not, O Lord! from me thy Face! But, --Let thy Mercy Shine!"

Essay 20, the dialogue "between a Sceptic, and a rational Believer," begins by defining Religion as the "contemplation of God, and his attributes," but, since these are themselves incomprehensible and since "the faculties of Man are too limited" for such perceptions, Tucker directs the dialogue away from this source of embarrassment to his "rational Believer" to another question: "Does the law of nature prescribe to us Religion as a Duty?"<sup>2</sup> The Believer replies that it does, basing his argument on the grounds that reason is a God-given faculty and man is therefore "bound to study the attributes of his Creator" with it. From this circular state of affairs Tucker delivers his Believer by focusing on practical considerations.

"What other advantages may we derive from Religion?" His Believer gives two answers: one, religion provides backing for social morality, and two, it gives us hope in adversity and enables us "even to view death itself with serenity, in the hope, and confidence, that it will conduct us to a happier, future state? [ sic ]."

Despite the telltale punctuation here and elsewhere, Tucker concludes the dialogue with the promise that these "Answers," as he calls them, "carry sufficient conviction to my own mind to induce a lively hope, that this transitory scene will not be the Be-all, and the End-all, of that divine spark, the Soul of Man." The essay does not end here, however, but with another thought: those who have abused the faculty of reason and failed to practice religion in life, could not



expect happiness in heaven (even if they could gain access to it) because "In the practice of Religion, and the moral virtues, alone, can we hope for such a preparation for a future state, as to be capable of enjoying it." To give Tucker his due, he fares no worse in this essay than anyone else of the period trying to compound a "Believer" with a thinker who is also "rational" in one entity (who by definition does not exist). Part of his difficulty, of course, is semantic: but we will return to this question in a moment.

Essay 21, being an imaginative rather than a deliberative production, as are the two previous ones, goes some way to resolving the difficulties which they raise, by abandoning rationality for the moment in favor of other faculties. The subject of the essay, the happiness of a future state, is a continuation of the thought in essay 20, that those who do not apply themselves to mental and moral discipline in life would be ill-fitted to enjoy an afterlife in which there was no place for self-indulgent pleasures; and the thought in essay 19, that "our own littleness" may be the first step to religion, but that it may also obscure us from God's view, and render meaningless our hopes for an afterlife in a heaven filled with angels and archangels from the dawn of creation. The "happiness of a future state," on which all religious hopes depend, has never been fully explained by divines, says Tucker, or by any major writer. Homer's Elysium, in point of fact, may seem full of long faces to the uninitiated observer. Swedenborg's reveries contain some more

illuminating details, but Tucker cannot recall precisely what they were. So that, in the same way as the idea of the Deity is beyond the reach of man's faculties, so too is heavenly bliss, "Yet, a rational mind, I think, may be indulged in such contemplations, on subjects far above its reach, as may tend to strengthen and confirm our hopes." Rather than explore the question further by rational enquiry and speculation, therefore, Tucker goes on to illustrate what he conceives to be the happiness of heaven in an imaginative way, by means of an Eastern tale. The point of it is, that happiness is not an "Idea" so much as an emotion: "this little tale may convey to the rational mind some faint Idea of the extatic Emotions of a Soul which has just quitted its mortal mansion."

The device of the tale enables Tucker to present the reader with human emotions which he believes to be analogous to those felt in a state of heavenly bliss. Swedenborg, in fact, whose lifeless trances, lasting up to three days, resembled Selim's, describes awakening into the "World of Spirits" in similarly human terms, for he believed the dead to be sentient and physical beings, differing from those living only in their spiritual and bodily perfection. In the World of Spirits, for example, he describes the process of awakening from a three-day trance surrounded by angels, "some at a distance and two sitting near my head." <sup>3</sup> This he construes as the experience of a man awakening, on the third day, from the sleep of death. Swedenborg uses the term "rational" to describe his revelations, and says "A rational man may understand these truths because

he perceives their causal connexion and sees them in their logical sequence; but a man who is not rational will not understand them." 4

The mystic's use of the term, like Donne's or Milton's, has little to do with the modern meaning (as any reader of Heaven and Hell will

quickly perceive) but refers to the divine gift of reason illuminated

by faith. The Romantic definition of "imagination," in fact, comes much closer to the sense intended than what we now mean by the word

"rational." This shift of meaning may explain some of the difficulty

into which Tucker is led by his "rational Believer," for St. George

seems to waver, at times, between the old religious definition and

the modern secular one. His ambivalence on this subject, like his

allusion to the reveries of Swedenborg (a visionary, after all,

whose imagination rivalled that of William Blake) shows to what

extent an ordinary Virginian like Tucker had emerged from "the

twilight of the liberal eighteenth century" into the Romantic age.

The tale of Selim itself is simple enough, and requires little

critical exegesis. Selim has been educated in spiritual and moral

virtue by a just father and a "good Genius," Alhamran, later called

Hali. His tutor has taught him to hope for and expect an afterlife

of perfect happiness, in accordance with his virtuous life on earth,

but although Selim listens to the "precepts," he cannot "imagine" the

emotions that such perfect happiness would involve. From a logical

point of view, as Selim points out, heaven would seem a very frugal

place, devoid of areas in which to enjoy doing good. Hali wisely

abandons rational precepts, therefore, and concentrates on enlarging

his pupil's imagination. The vision he shows, perhaps intended by Tucker to be analogous to the journey of life, is reminiscent in some ways of Rasselas in its appeal. The culmination of a series of disasters, from which the hero is narrowly extricated, only to be exposed to further gloom, carries with it some of the pessimistic authority of "Ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope; who expect that age will perform the promises of youth, and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the morrow; attend to the history of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia."<sup>5</sup> The moment of Selim's death, however, belongs to a quite different mood, for Hali has timed it carefully to coincide with Selim's awakening from the trance. Selim consequently believes himself to be in the "World of Spirits," resurrected as from death and surrounded by angelic beings. That these "spirits" are those he loved in life is consistent with Swedenborg's revelations on the subject, for in the World of Spirits the newly resuscitated man meets his family and friends before he meets other members of the angelic community.<sup>6</sup> And this experience may "convey to the rational mind some faint idea of the extatic Emotions of a Soul which has just quitted its mortal Mansion," by analogy or, to borrow Swedenborg's phrase, by "the science of correspondences."<sup>7</sup>

In order to make a critical evaluation of Tucker's essay it will be necessary first to say something about his prose style, if only in order to offset certain obvious complaints. Tucker's prose

style is traditional: according to one editor it reaches its high-water mark in his ninth letter-essay ("On Patriotism"), "following in the high public style of the English Augustans." <sup>8</sup> So greatly did Tucker admire the "high public style" of Lord Bolingbroke, for example, that his own "Patriotism" essay contains large unavowed quotations from that writer's popular Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism (1736), and this in defiance of the canons of Hugh Blair, in Tucker's time the most respected authority on rhetoric, who considered Bolingbroke a stilted writer and his Letter greatly over-constructed. <sup>9</sup> Tucker's library reveals his predilection for other Augustan prose works, such as those of Addison and Steele, and Dr. Johnson, but in his emulation of Bolingbroke, perhaps, Tucker is most characteristically "Augustan." The effects which both Tucker and Bolingbroke sought to achieve in their prose, and the difficulties into which they were led, may be considered central to that literary discipline.

The Augustan sentence is apt to arouse the modern reader's hostility because it tends to blossom out into ramifications, tributaries, and clauses until the writer's original purport becomes obscure. The burden upon literary style of rationalism and empiricism, the belief that "Wit and fine writing doth not consist so much in advancing things that are new, as in giving things that are known an agreeable turn," <sup>10</sup> and the worship of reason, logic, and the rhetorical methods of induction and forensic argumentation by "facts," <sup>11</sup> were apt to make writing a very strenuous art. For a

start, they placed a great strain on the writer's control of his sentences. Each thesis would naturally give rise to an antithesis, each proposition would prompt reasonable qualification, and each hypothesis would require the production of empirical evidence. We could say of the Augustans as a whole, perhaps, that at their worst they were overly objective. A sentence in Addison or Steele or Johnson will often blossom into a paragraph or even a whole page by this process, which the reader may nonetheless conveniently follow. But a sentence in Tucker, or one of the lesser craftsmen of this "objective" prose, will sometimes grow into a hyphen-ridden, comma-besplattered passage which it is extremely difficult to follow.

Jeremy Bentham's Parliamentary Reform Catechism, or his Book of Fallacies might be ransacked for examples of long, almost pathological sentences which are symptomatic of this literary tradition in its decay: here was architected prose, and the effects of the neo-classical spirit of crystallization, of "frozen baroque," upon literature. <sup>12</sup> And, on a less serious level, here were the scrabble-players and the bricklayers of Augustan essay-writing.

Bolingbroke, for example:

It seems to me, that, in order to maintain the system of the world, at a certain point, far below that of ideal perfection, (for we are made capable of conceiving what we are incapable of attaining) but, however, sufficient, upon the whole, to constitute a state easy and happy, or at the worst, tolerable; I say, it seems to me, that the Author of Nature has thought fit to mingle, from time to time, among the societies of men, a few, and but a few, of those on whom he is graciously pleased to bestow a larger portion of the ethereal spirit, than is given, in the ordinary course of his government, to the sons of men. <sup>13</sup>

The voice of sanity, in this case that of Hugh Blair, commented on this passage from the Spirit of Patriotism: "A very bad sentence this; into which, by the help of a parenthesis, and other interjected circumstances, his lordship has contrived to thrust so many things, that he is forced to begin the construction again with the phrase I say." <sup>14</sup> Tucker remained undeterred. His reproduction of Bolingbroke's sentence contains many of the features which Hugh Blair had criticised, and much of the original brickwork: "It seems, that in order to maintain the moral world at a certain point, (far below that of ideal perfection) the Author of nature has thought fit to mingle, from time to time, among the societies of men, a few and but a few of those on whom he is graciously pleased to bestow a larger portion of the ethereal spirit, than is given in the ordinary course of his providence to the sons of men." <sup>15</sup> Essays 19 and 20 provide ample illustrations of this bricklaying style, some parts of which have already been quoted, and elsewhere in his "Patriotism" essay we find Tucker exploiting the Bolingbroke parenthesis-technique and splattering his prose with assorted punctuation like this:

They who go about to destroy, are animated from the first by Ambition, and Avarice, the love of power, and the love of money: they must be opposed, therefore, (or they will be opposed in vain,) by Talents, and fortitude, able to cope with ambition, avarice, and despair itself, and by a spirit able to cope with these passions, when fortified by the intrigues, or menaces, of external, as well as internal, enemies. <sup>16</sup>

Although the "Vision of Selim" as a whole is comparatively free from

such nuances of style, being a narrative rather than a discursive essay, the sentence beginning "Alhamran penetrated the inmost recesses of his pupil's mind," and one or two others may give the reader reasonable cause for complaint. <sup>17</sup> Such nuances and rhetorical acrobatics were evidently performed, not in spite of literary discipline so much as because of it. I hope the reader will therefore be tolerant of Tucker's stylistic fits and starts: they are merely the tip of an Augustan iceberg and I have not thought fit to alter punctuation, capitalization, eighteenth-century spelling or eighteenth-century solecisms in Tucker's essay (where appropriate I have simply written "sic") for fear of misrepresenting the process of his thought and the stylistic rules to which he and many of his circle adhered.

There are two other reasons for my offering the reader no adjustments or apologies for Tucker's prose (as some of my predecessors have done). One is that Tucker himself would not like to have seen his sentences bowdlerized. As he says elsewhere, "If the substance of what I write pleases me, I never stop to consider whether by the alteration of a sentence, or the substitution of one word for another, the Beauty of a passage might be improved. Though Criticism is defin'd by critics (or by some of them) to be an humane Art, in my opinion it is altogether a captious one, as it is generally exercis'd." <sup>18</sup> And the other is that, despite his many lapses, Tucker could write on occasions with all the dignity and power of Augustan prose at its best, and an oratorical mastery not inferior to



Jefferson's. At his best, Tucker could write like this:

Whilst we were offering up vows at the shrine of Liberty, and sacrificing hecatombs upon her alters; whilst we swore irreconcilable hostility to her enemies, and hurled defiance in their faces; whilst we adjured the God of Hosts to witness our resolution to live free, or die, and imprecated curses on their heads who refused to unite with us in establishing the empire of freedom; we were imposing upon our fellow man, who differ in complexion from us, a slavery, ten thousand times more cruel than the utmost extremity of those grievances and oppressions, of which we complained. 19

According to Hugh Blair's scale of classifications, Tucker's style in his "Selim" essay would be characterized by the term "neat," somewhere between the "plain" style of Jonathan Swift and the "elegant" style which only "first rate writers," such as Addison, Atterbury, Temple, Dryden, and Pope, achieved. 20 As Blair explained,

What is called a neat style comes next in order; and here we are got into the region of ornament; but that ornament, not of the highest or most sparkling kind. A writer of this character shows, that he does not despise the beauty of language. It is an object of his attention. But his attention is shown in the choice of words, and in a graceful collocation of them, rather than in any high efforts of imagination. . . . His figures, if he uses any, are short and correct, rather than bold and glowing. Such a style as this may be attained by a writer who has no great powers of fancy or genius; but industry merely, and careful attention to the rules of writing. 21

Tucker refrains, on the whole, from figurative or metaphoric language. Such tropes as he uses are not of the "bold and glowing" kind, but acquired or "absorbed" figures: the "rugged Journey of Life," for example, or the "monarch of the beasts." Personification is used sparingly, although both the "typhon" and the tempest exhibit "rage." The dialogue contains some exclamatio and other florid expressions of a pseudo-oriental kind, but nothing to suggest "any high efforts of

imagination." The sentence structure is "periodique" rather than "coupe": "The style periodique is where the sentences are composed of several members linked together, and hanging one upon another; so that the sense of the whole is not brought out till the close. This is the most pompous, musical and oratorical manner of composing." <sup>22</sup> Blair illustrates with an allusion to William Temple and comments, "Cicero abounds with sentences constructed after this manner." <sup>23</sup> It contrasts with the "style coupe," where "the sense is formed into short independent propositions, each complete within itself." Tucker's longer sentences build by a process of accretion: the ones beginning "Yet, a rational mind . . . ." and "Alhamran penetrated the inmost recesses . . . ." are good examples, abounding in what Blair calls, "the music of the period." <sup>24</sup> In the actual structuring of his sentences, at least, Tucker does permit himself the occasional flourish. The opening of the essay contains an inversion (a rhetorical liberty, according to Blair, more admissible in the ancient languages <sup>25</sup> ), and he occasionally omits the relative (a device scarcely allowable in serious writing, in Blair's opinion <sup>26</sup> ) and makes use of ellipsis, omitting, for example, "as we are" from the opening sentence, and "which" from the sentence beginning "Christian divines . . . ." The chief rhetorical embellishment of the essay is the use of repetitio and the "mounting" or "heaping" figure. The phrase, "hunger, thirst and weariness" is repeated and augmented in order to build the narrative's momentum, and "not a tree, not a shrub, not a blade of grass . . . ." exploits

the same technique. The crescendo of the narrative as a whole, however, is not well controlled, despite Tucker's imaginative efforts with Selim's "last gasp" and the sentence beginning, "At length one [ wave ] more towering than all the rest . . . ." In moments of dramatic significance, such as the appearance of the lion and the beheading of Hali, St. George's rhetorical powers seem to desert him altogether, and he lapses into dryness and frigidity.

Although Tucker's prose style may be purely traditional, however, the content of his "Vision of Selim" essay seems also to foreshadow some later literary developments. Of all the essays in the collection, this seems to me the one which best reflects the transitional tastes of the Virginian belle-lettrist discussed in the Introduction.

Written in the mood of Tucker's speculations in his "Hermit of the Mountain" notebook of 1813, it concerns a frame of mind "attracted towards a future state of existence, where hopes, which can never be deemed visionary, may be indulged by the virtuous and the upright." <sup>27</sup> This sentence bespeaks much of the Virginian's position in literary thought: at the crossroads between the rational and objective world of "the virtuous and the upright," and the "visionary" world of the Romantic imagination. While Tucker's essay may be only a modest and derivative example of the Eastern tale (which I shall discuss later), its significance in the context of Tucker's other productions is considerable, because St. George was, by instinct and discipline, no literary trailblazer, despite his pioneering work in such other

fields as civil rights and jurisprudence. In this one essay he appears to have "indulged" his fancy as well as his rationality: it is the product of an essentially rational mind coming to terms with imaginative speculations. For, as Tucker puts it, "a rational mind, I think, may be indulged in such Contemplations. . . ."

The American imagination, it seems fair to say, was for a long time kept underground by the disciplines of Puritanism, which frowned upon romance, and then by the strictures of rationalism and empiricism. Arguably, the colonist did not permit himself to have an "imagination" in the Romantic sense, and showed little plasticity of consciousness and little or less mere fictive inventiveness in his writings. The American Dream, in fact, seems to have been anything but a dream; for the colonist evidently kept his eyes open and wrote his geographical records, his ethical essays, his occasional and funereal pieces, his political diatribes, and his diary, and then presumably went to bed. There were no imaginative romps, no Shakespearean "revels." In fact, dramatic fiction was a form of pretense loosely associated with the Father of Lies. To tell a "romance" was to romance, or lie, and would not have been considered particularly useful to literature. An oversimplification, perhaps, but a useful oversimplification.

Tucker's tale is a romance, an adventure story. Only its frame <sup>is</sup> is changed, to protect the innocent--the rational mind, blamelessly indulging in speculations about heaven. It is not a good adventure story: the suspense is a little uneven and fairy tale-like. He is

a long way from the swinging pendulum of a Poe perhaps, but at least he can be seen to be heading in that imaginative direction. The reader is captured, like Selim in the tale, not by "precepts" but by an imaginative experience. He is empathetically involved in the hero's "extatic Emotions."

The genealogy of the "Vision of Selim" is interesting in relation to what has already been said about the Virginian's emergence from Augustanism. In one direction, Tucker's essay shows no signs of this "emergence" at all. His library contains volumes VII and VIII of The Spectator, both of which I have examined for annotations in Tucker's hand. These have a particular bearing on the "Vision of Selim." Inside the back covers, Tucker lists several memos, one of which has to do with the "Immortality of the Soul." In relation to this pages 251-255 are noted, and then page 255 (no. 537) is in turn annotated in the margin with references to other volumes, thus:

+Vol. 3: pa. 182.

+Vol. 5: pa. 259.

The references are in each case to passages where the questions of immortality and afterlife are raised. In volume VIII (1714) Tucker's annotations are more meticulous. Essays 565, 571, 580, 590, 600, and 635 all have cross-references marked, with memos beside such passages as the following, from no. 600 (p. 188):

. . . There cannot be a stronger argument that God has designed us for a state of future happiness, and for that heaven which he has revealed to us, than that he has thus naturally qualified the soul for it, and made it a being capable of much bliss. He would never have made such faculties in vain, and

have endued us with powers that were not to be exerted on such objects as are suited to them. It is very manifest, by the inward frame and constitution of our minds, that he has adapted them to an infinite variety of pleasures and gratifications, which are not to be met with in this life.

Spectator no. 580 is annotated beside a discussion of paradise (or Heaven) and includes a reference to Homer's treatment of this phenomenon, just as "Selim's Vision" does. In the passage, questions are raised as to how far it is possible for the imagination to conceive of heaven. Spectator no. 565 begins by referring to David, contemplating the heavens and the ubiquity of God; no. 571 begins with an epigram from Lucan translated "what seek we beyond heaven?"; no. 590 discusses eternity, and no. 635 seems to have been singled out by Tucker as a particular favorite, for he writes underneath:

It must be so! --Plato, thou reasonest well!!! Addison's Tragedy of Cato.

The passage which inspired this praise runs as follows:

The other, and ultimate end of man, is the enjoyment of God, beyond which he cannot form a wish. Dim at best are the conceptions we have of the Supreme Being . . . . Doubtless there is some more perfect way of conversing with heavenly things . . . . This method of communication, we call intellectual vision, as somewhat analogous to the sense of feeling, which is the medium of our acquaintance with the visible world. . . . Thus employed in finding out his works, and contemplating their Author, how shall I fall prostrate, and adoring, my body swallowed up in the immensity of matter, my mind in the infinitude of his perfections!

In another direction, Tucker's essay does show signs of "emergence" in its genealogy. The "Eastern Tale" or oriental romance had gained tremendous popularity in England and France during the very period when neoclassicism was supposed to have been at its height.

One critic has produced considerable evidence to suggest that it was part of a counter-culture, or cross-current in taste, called "chinoiserie" or "orientalism." According to B. Sprague Allen,

Eastern art introduced an element of humor, playfulness, and waywardness, moreover, into surroundings of which the dominant note was dignity, stateliness, formality and order. In a seventeenth-century room an Oriental cabinet of vermilion lacquer asymmetrically decorated offset and relieved the rigidity of a typical chair of the Restoration and reign of William and Mary. Such a chair was straight-backed, pronounced in its axial design, and conspicuous for the discipline of its numerous short baroque scrolls. If we could forget that the architecture of Inigo Jones, Wren, Palladio, and their followers was supreme, it would be easy to overestimate the influence of Oriental art as a disintegrating force undermining the traditions of classicism; nevertheless this art was, no doubt, from the outset of its vogue a potential danger to classicism; indirectly it called into question its standards and by implication challenged its authority. It was an enemy in the camp even during the seventeenth century. At first objects of Oriental art were regarded merely as curiosities, but as their popularity increased, orthodox classicists viewed the situation with growing alarm, took up the challenge, and sounded warnings that in the middle of the eighteenth century became frequent and vigorous. The barbarian was at the gates! The temple of classic antiquity must be defended! One is reminded in a way of Voltaire calling upon the world to take arms against Shakespeare. 28

Allen traces the genealogy of "chinoiserie" to its origins among the travel books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the mid-eighteenth century, partly thanks to the journalism of the East India Company entrepreneurs, travellogues (and especially those with an Eastern tint) had a firm hold on the imagination. Thomas Astley issued, in 1745-1747, A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels . . . in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and in 1762 Samuel Derrick produced A Collection of Travels . . . Through Tartary, China, Turkey, Persia and the East Indies. There were eulogies upon alien civilizations: the Abbe Raynal celebrated China as a Rousseauian

kingdom of nature and perfect equality. The classicists, in their turn, fought back. Shaftesbury, for one, deplored the indiscriminate lust for travel books stuffed with extravagancies and marvels, which seemed to him to grub at the roots of the Graeco-Roman culture. Dr. Johnson, having read the French version of Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia, made an exception to his usual distaste for such travel books "full of romantic absurdities and incredible fictions,"<sup>29</sup> and translated and abridged the work in 1735--as a prelude, perhaps, to Rasselas. His preface homes in on the center of the growing controversy: "The reader will find here no regions cursed with irremediable barrenness, or blest with spontaneous fecundity; no perpetual gloom or unceasing sunshine; nor are the nations here described either devoid of all sense of humanity, or consummate in all private and social virtues. . . ." <sup>30</sup> Johnsonian objectivity was losing ground, however. The East grew steadily more "romantic" and full of "incredible fictions." In spite of the attacks of men like John Wesley, who fumed at the idealized portraits of Orientals and dismissed Abbe Raynal's eulogies as "pure romance" <sup>31</sup> (the word was assuming a growing significance) the vogue seems to have continued to affect the eighteenth-century gentleman, as it "excited his curiosity, enlarged his artistic horizon, and played its part in weakening the prestige of classicism." <sup>32</sup> New words, such as "lacquer," "porcelain," "chintz," "Nabob," "canister," "teacup," and "tea-party" entered the English language, London became filled with china warehouses, teahouses, teapots, chocolate-pots, lacquered



kettles and chintz curtains, and a counter-current swept across English taste, which until recently has been much underestimated by critics of the so-called neoclassical period. As Allen comments:

Have not writers on the classical period made this mistake? Have they taken full account of the tendencies of taste which at least counteracted, if they did not actually resist, the influence of classical art? They have, to be sure, recognized the hostility of medievalism to the authority of antiquity . . . . But they have scarcely noted that classical architecture was exposed, as I have shown, to abundant satiric criticism even at the time when it has been supposed that it was enjoying the greatest favor; and they have laid no stress whatsoever on the conflict between classical and Oriental art. <sup>33</sup>

The effort to discredit Orientalism as the foe of classicism was pioneered by thinkers like Shaftesbury on the grounds that this was a moral issue. The badly-proportioned art of the East was not only bad but unethical and deviate. The satirists joined battle, usually on the side of classicism, whose standards they feared were in jeopardy. Pope wrote disparagingly of charming Indian screens and bohea parties, Swift attacked travelling utopians in Gulliver's Travels, and William Whitehead, a World contributor, complained doggedly of "chairs, tables, chimney-pieces, frames for looking-glasses" and so on, being reshaped to suit "this new-fangled standard," and that "every gate to a cow-yard is in T's and Z's, and every hovel for the cows has bells hanging in the corners." <sup>34</sup>

And, as though the eighteenth-century gentleman needed further warning to look to his daughter and his ducats, Joseph Warton, another World contributor, urged upon him the moral consequences of admiring "whimsical and grotesque figures, the monstrous offspring of wild

imagination, undirected by nature and truth,"<sup>35</sup> and a paper-stainer from Battersea, in his Essay on the Invention of Engraving and Printing in Chiaro Oscuro (1754), showed beyond question how persons who liked Chinese wallpaper were morally deviant, and how the wallpaper business was about to fall asunder on account of "houses in the air; clouds, and sky upon the ground," and "lions leaping from bough to bough like cats."<sup>36</sup> As Allen comments, the bulk of this criticism, whatever other feelings reinforced it, was "written from a classical point of view, and adopted as its premise the superiority of the art inspired by Greece, Rome, and the Italian Renaissance."<sup>37</sup> Hence, "The art of peoples who neglected symmetry, proportion, perspective, and light and shade offended men in whose judgment Palladio and Poussin had achieved finality of design." In their view, the Oriental was "grotesque," and Chinese art was "antic." By way of summing up, Allen has a more general comment on the significance of chinoiserie as a counter-culture. As he says, "No complete survey of what is currently called the 'reaction against classicism' can neglect, as has been the habit in the past, the anticlassical tendencies in Oriental art," because, first of all, it antedates the supposed outbreak of the revolt by at least a century, and second, because it antedates something even more important:

Furthermore, is it too much to say that Orientalism prepared the way for romanticism? Chinese art assuredly had the exotic note, some of that "strangeness added to beauty" which generally even the most controversial of critics are willing to admit has some affinity with romanticism. Then too, as the "reaction" and the development of the romantic movement were marked by an increasing capacity to respond intellectually

and emotionally to phases of culture hitherto excluded from sympathy, so the interest in the unfamiliar art of the Far East may be regarded as at least breaking the ground for the later appreciation of such neglected phenomena as the life and personality of uncivilized peoples, primitive poetry, and the remains of Celtic and Norse literature. <sup>38</sup>

B. Sprague Allen seems to me indisputably correct in his approach to Orientalism, and his perceptions, which I have quoted at length, will I hope give the reader some insight into the importance of Eastern literature which, in the words of another critic, marked "the swing over from classicism to romanticism," <sup>39</sup> and to which a Virginian of Tucker's tastes and predilections could turn to express his own sense of transition. For there can be no doubt that the artistic imagination, both in Europe and America, had been looking for quite some time for a way to slip the noose. As the young William Beckford wrote to Cyrus Redding: "I preferred it [oriental literature] to the classics of Greece and Rome. I began it myself as a relief from the dryness of my other studies. . . . The Latin and Greek were set tasks. The Persian I began of my own accord." <sup>40</sup>

Literature, being a kind of social cardiograph, was particularly sensitive to the reverberations of "chinoiserie" and orientalism, and it is in this area that we can most readily see its relationship with the romantic movement. From the artist's point of view, the Orient became an imaginative outlet, where the creative spirit could have virtually free play. Writers turned to India and China

as new worlds, as yet uncluttered by crystallized attitudes. The drama, for example, responded in a series of pieces involving the "Nabob" or merchant returning rich from India.<sup>41</sup> A few plays captured something of the atmosphere of the East and showed the dramatist's acquaintance with recent Indian scholarship, and the study of Sanskrit and Eastern culture and mythology. Plays and operas of the last quarter of the eighteenth century differed from their predecessors in this respect, benefiting from the Oriental scholarship of men like Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, and various groups of translators and researchers connected with the East India Company.<sup>42</sup>

Prose responded in several ways. Travel books having already provided a springboard to fancy, translations of Oriental tales assumed a new fascination. Galland's original French translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments or the Thousand and One Nights (1704) paved the way for Oriental translations and imitations all over France and England. Edward Wortley Montagu acquired a complete manuscript of the Arabian Nights and translated it into English. Petis de la Croix's Persian Tales (1710-1712) appeared and, in 1711, Joseph Addison produced The Vision of Mirza, the gently didactic essay which was to become the prototype of such "Eastern Tales." All at once a genre was in embryo. At first, of course, compromises of various kinds had to be made with objective reality--its other species being temporarily out of favor at the time. Tale-tellers were obliged to assume the appearance of translators, appealing to

"auctorite" in much the same way as the Medieval makers had done, for the sake of rational proprieties. "Editors" and critics lured the uninitiated by comparing these tales with authentic travellogues and classical literary conventions.<sup>43</sup> But gradually an unmistakable genre began to take shape, characterized usually by the use of a frame tale stringing together subsidiary tales, and by the introduction of an Oriental scholar-persona to authorize the telling of the tale. The latter went some way to reconciling fact with fiction and provided the real author with a kind of dervish Bunbury in case of disaster. By 1790 the Arabian Nights, with certain abridgments, was even considered suitable for children, and although some of the sterner classicists such as Warburton remained intransigent, eighteenth-century critics (Richard Hole, for example) were making attempts at absorption of the new material.<sup>44</sup> There was a flood to be absorbed. In 1712 (translated 1729) there appeared The Adventures of Abdulla, Son of Hanif, a French production, called by one critic "one of the most insipid of oriental tales";<sup>45</sup> in 1764 James Ridley, Chaplain to the East India Company, published the Tales of the Genii; in 1768 Alexander Dow, another East India Company man, produced the Tales of Inatulla; in 1797 came an edition of tales entitled the Oriental Collections, and soon the market was flooded, not only with translations and pseudo-translations, but with many quasi-oriental works of palpable fiction and very immemorable quality.

The most significant service such writers performed to literature was that they provided fuel for greater imaginations. In 1778 William

Beckford crawled out from beneath his classical education and wrote The Long Story (published in 1930 as The Vision), a work not in itself significant, perhaps, but whose blend of Oriental content with a classical style marked it out as one of the first truly hybrid or transitional pieces of the genre. Even more significantly, it led Beckford to resolve the antitheses of the classical and the Oriental in a later and much better oxymoron. As a young man of fertile imagination, Beckford had been lured by the East as an otherwhere, a Xanadu, a kind of half-known utopia. Damascus and Sunristan, for young Beckford, were "those happy countries, which Nature had covered with roses,"<sup>46</sup> and soon he had embarked as co-translator of Montagu's Arabian Nights manuscripts and, sometime between 1779 and 1783, completed his own imaginative translation of Al-Raoui, one of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. Then, in around 1786, making use of his acquaintance with the Tales of Inatulla, Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters from Turkey, the Persian Tales, Gueullette's Mogul Tales (from which he borrowed some plot devices), stock themes and the conjurable name of Haroon Alraschid from the Arabian Nights, and his own very vivid imagination, Beckford wrote Vathek.<sup>47</sup> Not since Rasselas or Addison's Vision of Mirza had the Oriental tale achieved such stature, for Beckford rose above the general eighteenth-century habit of using the East to point a moral or adorn a tale, and produced a piece of imaginative literature truly oxymoronic in its fusion of the Satanic and the good, reason and fancy, humor and tragedy, in such a way as to inspire later

Romantics like Byron and, more distantly, Poe and Melville. <sup>48</sup>

Beckford's work may be the greatest prose piece of the genre, but for many years after its composition it remained practically unknown and unobtainable, owing to problems of collaborate editorship, note furnishing and translation--for Beckford's original version was in French. In America the work was unknown until 1816, when a pirated edition appeared, published in Philadelphia by Matthew Carey. <sup>49</sup> Oddly enough, however, there is an admittedly slender chance that St. George Tucker himself may have been one of the earliest readers of Beckford's novel. There are several possible avenues through which Tucker may have come in contact with Vathek. First, Tucker knew Matthew Carey, the book's first American publisher, well enough to entrust him with some of his own writings. It was Carey to whom Tucker wrote towards the end of his life, requesting the publication of his collected poems, for example. Second, Tucker was quite probably acquainted with Vathek's translator, the Reverend Samuel Henley, who was Professor of Moral Philosophy at the College of William and Mary between 1770 and 1775, while Tucker himself was an undergraduate. <sup>50</sup> Henley wrote a conventional poem praising the author of the Bermudian--Nathaniel Tucker, St. George's elder brother--and we know that Nathaniel met Henley at least once, for he wrote St. George from London in May 1775, "You may be sure it was not long before I waited on the Professor whom I found not remarkably well affected towards the Americans." <sup>51</sup> Henley had recently been obliged to leave Virginia after a controversy involving

his heterodox religious beliefs.

For several other reasons, however, Vathek and its genealogy are a propos in regard to Tucker's own Eastern tale. First, Beckford's position as belle-lettrist is readily comparable with the Virginian's. Both the Englishman and the American had "hybrid" educations, involving reconciliation of classical and romantic material, and an attempt on the writer's part to resolve or at least accommodate the two cultures.<sup>52</sup> Second, the Eastern tales produced by both men may be viewed as "transitional" literature in so far as they are part of the newly developing taste for imaginative and romantic worlds, and many of the critical comments inspired by an analysis of Beckford's novel may provide useful insights into Tucker's own more modest exercise in the genre. Both writers were essentially deviating from a classical training in the interests of an imagined "otherwhere" which the Romantics proper would later inhabit fearlessly and flamboyantly. Third, both tales have a didactic intent--a legacy, perhaps, from the Age of Reason--which the writer in each case handles in a revelation to this hero. The important point here is that the moral reaches the protagonist not at the portal of his reason, but at the portal of his imagination. The "vision" has to be interpreted to his rational faculties--a significant development when we consider its implications for explicit and implicit literature. Beckford admittedly cheats a little in this respect, showing his Caliph the figures of hell, and doing the interpretation himself in a morbid and sonorous final paragraph;



Tucker is somewhat more successful at integration, providing for an anagnorisis within the tale itself.

To all intents and purposes, Vathek was the last of the eighteenth-century prose Eastern tales, and in itself ushered in a new version of the genre: the verse tale of the nineteenth century. As an Indian critic, Mahmoud Manzalaoui, points out, "It is clear . . . that around 1800, imaginative writers began to make use of the pseudo-Orient in a fresh manner. The didactic possibilities of the subject in the prose essay and in fiction were all but exhausted." 53 The new version of the genre, of course, was one to which Byron, Shelley, Southey, Moore, Coleridge, and many other Romantics contributed. It appealed both to the artist's rational and imaginative faculties; both to his conscious and subconscious mind. In his choice of genre, therefore, St. George Tucker looked forward as well as back.

The "Vision of Selim" does, in fact, have an analogue in the Philadelphia magazine of the period, The Portfolio. 54 In the eighth volume (1812) of that periodical appears an essay entitled, Hamet, a Tale. The essay is unsigned, but anyone familiar with Tucker's prose from his "old Batchellor" collection may be interested to examine Hamet for its stylistic and thematic similarities. The story, very briefly, is of an Arabian shepherd (Hamet), who has paradisiac visions of another land and gradually loses his appreciation of the real world around him. Because of his continued indulgence of "fancy" in this way, he finally wakes to his surroundings to find that

they no longer supply his needs. The orange on the tree withdraws from his grasp and the spring water tantalizes, until "at length, faint, weary and exhausted, he arrived at the spot where he first landed, and sinking down to the ground, waited, in gloomy and hopeless resignation, the consummation of his fate." Before his death he has a final vision in which the moral of the proceedings is explained to him: for indulging fanciful visions of another world he is punished by losing the blessings of this.

The essay seems to me a possible counterpart of the "Selim" adventure. It involves the same technique of waking the protagonist to reality, in order to change his perception of everyday blessings. In the "Selim" story, the purpose is to give him the "shock of recognition" because it will show him what paradise is like. The restoration of Selim to consciousness, after a kind of death, and to the company of his parents, his nurse, his tutor, and his beloved Astarte, makes use of the same analogy as Shakespeare's last romances, between the human experience of loved ones restored, and the magical experience of paradise imagined. In the "Hamet" tale the same "shock of recognition" reveals to the hero what he has lost by indulging paradisiac flights of fancy. Both kinds of speculation may well have occupied Tucker's imagination during his premature retirement while he contemplated his daughter's death.

The "Vision of Selim," like the other "old Batchellor" items, is presented in the framework of the familiar essay, requesting the consideration of the "columnist" and his readers. It has the

measured, unhurried step of polite Augustan prose. But its allusions, its place-names and its setting are chosen for their romantic and exotic appeal. Their fascination was one to which Augustans such as Steele, Addison, and Hawkesworth had not been immune, for these eighteenth-century essayists produced a number of didactic versions of the Eastern tale genre themselves.<sup>55</sup> But the fascination, anti-classical as it was, really looked forward to another era: to the Kubla Khan, to Fitzgerald's hedonistic translation of Omar Khayyam, to Tennyson's treatment of Haroon Alraschid, and to the exotic writings of Edgar Allan Poe, who was growing up in Richmond at the time, and sending in his manuscripts to William Wirt.<sup>56</sup>

Poe's Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade in prose, and his tale of Al Aaraaf in verse, reflect the growing local interest in such a genre, and his Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque, published in 1840, is of particular interest as a product of the tradition in which, in his modest way, St. George Tucker was working. According to Poe, the term "Arabesque" was intended to characterize the "seriousness" and "Germanism" of his "phantasy-pieces," where "Imagination, feeling herself unshackled, roamed at will among the ever-changing wonders of a shadowy and unstable land."<sup>57</sup> This appears to me exactly the medium of Tucker's own tale of "Selim." It is, so far as I can discover, unique among his signed writings.

## Notes to the Introduction

<sup>1</sup> Cf., St. George Tucker, Letter of October 27, 1813, intended for Richard Rush esq., Papers MSS, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William & Mary in Virginia. Other biographical details are from the following sources: Jay B. Hubbell, The South in American Literature (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1954); Mary Haldane Coleman, St. George Tucker: Citizen of No Mean City (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1938); Charles T. Cullen, "St. George Tucker and Law in Virginia, 1772-1804" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1971); "Tucker, St. George," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. D. Malone (New York: Scribner's & Sons, 1928-1937); John P. Kennedy, Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1850); Anne E. McCorkle, "St. George Tucker's Old Bachelor Letter on Language & Literature in America" (unpublished MA thesis, College of W & M, 1971); Mary B. Wentworth, "St. George Tucker's Essay 'For the old Batchellor' on Avarice" (unpublished MA thesis, College of W & M, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> St. George Tucker, Letter of October 27, 1813 to Richard Rush, Papers MSS, Swem Library.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Coleman, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of October 27, 1813 to Richard Rush.

<sup>6</sup> Coleman, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> Wentworth, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 9. Hereafter cited as Int. Life; William S. Prince, "St. George Tucker as a Poet of the Early American Republic" (unpublished dissertation, Yale, 1954), pp. 12-21.

<sup>9</sup> Hubbell, pp. 212-15.

<sup>10</sup> Davis, Int. Life, pp. 212-13.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 218-19.

## [ Notes to the Introduction, 12-28 ]

- 12 Davis, Int. Life, pp. 219-20.
- 13 Davis, Int. Life, p. 415.
- 14 Davis, Int. Life, p. 177.
- 15 Davis, Int. Life, p. 194.
- 16 Richard Beale Davis, "Literary Tastes in Virginia Before Poe," William & Mary Quarterly, 2nd Series, XIX (January, 1939), p. 56. Hereafter cited as "Lit. Tastes."
- 17 Wentworth, pp. 9-10.
- 18 St. George Tucker, Essays 19 and 20, "For the old Batchellor," Papers MSS, Swem Library.
- 19 Davis, Int. Life, p. 128.
- 20 Davis, "Lit. Tastes," p. 55.
- 21 Carl Dolmetsch, "Tucker's 'Hermit of the Mountain' Essays: Prolegomenon for a Collected Edition," in Essays in the Literature of Early Virginia, in Honor of Richard Beale Davis, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, forthcoming 1974), p. 21.
- 22 Daniel Gaver Harvey, "St. George Tucker's 'Old Batchellor' Essay 'On Patriotism': A Critical Edition" (unpublished MA thesis, College of W & M, 1972), p. 11.
- 23 Cf., F. R. Leavis, The Common Pursuit (New York: University Press, 1952), pp. 97-115; Maynard Mack, ed., The Augustans (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 1-34; James Sutherland, A Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- 24 Wentworth, p. 25.
- 25 Davis, "Lit. Tastes," p. 55.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., p. 56.
- 28 Ibid., p. 63.

## [Notes to the Introduction, 29-44 ]

- 29 Ibid., p. 63.
- 30 See for example Davis, "Lit. Tastes," p. 58.
- 31 See William Robert Taylor, "William Wirt and the Legend of the Old South," William & Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XIV (1957), pp. 477-93.
- 32 See Harvey, pp. 51-55.
- 33 Taylor, p. 492.
- 34 Ibid., p. 487.
- 35 The words of John Taylor of Caroline. See Taylor, p. 479.
- 36 Jay B. Hubbell, "William Wirt and the Familiar Essay in Virginia," William & Mary Quarterly, 2nd Series, XXIII (March, 1943), p. 152. Hereafter cited as "William Wirt . . ."
- 37 See Hubbell, "William Wirt . . . ," pp. 136-52.
- 38 Taylor, p. 487.
- 39 Davis, "Lit. Tastes," p. 56; Davis, Int. Life, p. 365; Hubbell, The South in American Literature, pp. 235 ff.
- 40 Davis, Int. Life, p. 323.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Cf., ibid., p. 265; The Rainbow: First Series (Richmond, Va.: Ritchie and Worsley, 1804), pp. 54 ff.; The Portfolio VIII (1812) pp. 184 ff.
- 43 For details of these series and their respective merits, see Hubbell, "William Wirt . . . ," pp. 136-52.
- 44 Jay B. Hubbell says (in "William Wirt . . . ," p. 142), "I think we can be sure of the identity of the ten members of the Rainbow Association. I list below the identity of the ten essays in the book with pseudonyms and the names of the probable authors." He goes on to list only nine, omitting No. 8, "On Truth and Eloquence," and disputing with the Library of Congress over the pseudonym of George Tucker. The reader may care to examine this essay for signs of Tucker's authorship.

## [ Notes to the Introduction, 45-63 ]

- 45 Hubbell, "William Wirt . . . ," p. 145.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 William Wirt [ et al. ] The Old Bachelor (Richmond, Va.: Enquirer Press, 1814), Advertisement.
- 49 Harvey, p. 9.
- 50 Davis, Int. Life, p. 284.
- 51 McCorkle, p. 11.
- 52 St. George Tucker, "Nuga: Hermit of the Mountain" Notebook, Papers MSS, Swem Library.
- 53 William Wirt, Letter to St. George Tucker, August 7, 1811, Wirt Papers, The Maryland Historical Society.
- 54 St. George Tucker, Letter to William Wirt, August 8, 1811, Papers MSS, Swem Library.
- 55 St. George Tucker, Letter to Wirt, August 12, 1811.
- 56 William Wirt, Letter to St. George Tucker, August 19, 1811, Wirt Papers, The Maryland Historical Society.
- 57 William Wirt, Letter to Tucker, August 18, 1811.
- 58 St. George Tucker, Letter to William Wirt, August 23, 1811, Papers MSS, Swem Library.
- 59 McCorkle, pp. 8-9.
- 60 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- 61 St. George Tucker, Letter to William Wirt, September 4, 1811, Papers MSS, Swem Library.
- 62 William Wirt, Letter to Dabney Carr, April 30, 1813. See Kennedy, Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt, pp. 313 ff.
- 63 William Wirt, Letter to St. George Tucker, August 22, 1811, Wirt Papers, The Maryland Historical Society.

## [ Notes to the Introduction, 64-71 ]

64 St. George Tucker, Letter to William Wirt, September 11, 1811, Papers MSS, Swem Library.

65 St. George Tucker, Letter to William Wirt, September 12, 1813, Papers MSS, Swem Library.

66 William Wirt, Letter to St. George Tucker, October 10, 1813, Wirt Papers, The Maryland Historical Society.

67 St. George Tucker, "Nuga: Hermit of the Mountain" Notebook, Papers MSS, Swem Library.

68 George G. Williams, "The Beginnings of Nature Poetry in the Eighteenth Century," Studies in Philology XXVII, p. 585.

69 See "The Batchelor" Series, No. VIII, American Museum IV (1788), 563, William Beckford's Vathek resolves to become a hermit, too; see William Beckford, Vathek: An Arabian Tale, 1786 (Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1971), p. 145.

70 Wentworth, p. 28.

71 See William Wirt, Letter of the British Spy (Richmond, Va.: Samuel Pleasants, Jr., 1803), Preface.



## Notes to the Text

<sup>1</sup> I.e., "as we are of forming any adequate ideas of the divine Author," cf. The Spectator essays referred to in the Critique, and particularly VII, No. 635.

<sup>2</sup> Elysium, or Elysian Fields: the home of the Blessed, in the stream of Oceanus. Originally it lay beyond the abode of the Hesperides, but later it was thought that the Fortunate Isles (Canaries) or other locations such as Leuce, the White Isle, etc., were Elysium. The Ruler of this sanctuary was either Cronos, or Rhadamanthys the Just. Later still Elysium was "moved" from the surface of the Earth to Hades, where the road divided left to Tartarus (hell). Some thought that after 1000 years Elysian souls would return to life on Earth, once they had drunk Lethe. Tucker's reference to their "repining" is understandable.

<sup>3</sup> From The Book of Common Prayer: the Office for the Burial of Dead.

<sup>4</sup> Swedenborg, Emanuel (1688-1772) was a Swedish scientist, mathematician, philosopher, and mystic and Author of cosmological treatises including the famous Doctrine of Correspondences and Heaven and Hell. His conception of the universe, based on Descartes' and Polham's theories, was mechanistic and materialistic, though he believed that God was its ultimate originator. His descriptions of heaven and hell contain striking concrete details. He received confirmation of his calling as a cosmologist in trances, hallucinations, and occult communications with spirits.

<sup>5</sup> has ] as, cancelled.

<sup>6</sup> Yet ] But, cancelled.

<sup>7</sup> For other indulgences of the rational mind, see Spectator VIII, No. 600, for example.

<sup>8</sup> its ] his, cancelled.

<sup>9</sup> our ] his, cancelled.

<sup>10</sup> us ] him, cancelled.

<sup>11</sup> instead of ] before we, cancelled.

## [ Notes to the Text, 12-22 ]

12 Selim, or Salim, means "safe and sound." Selim appears in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, for example, as a slave attending the gold of Ala-ed-Deen Abu-sh-Shamat. See Richard F. Burton, ed., The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night (London: Medina, 1886) IV, p. 58. Selim is the name of Lyttleton's fictitious essay-writer in his series of Persian Letters, as well as the hero of Byron's Bride of Abydos, published in November, 1813. Historically, there were three sultans of Turkey called Selim: I (1465-1521), II (1524-1574), and III (1762-1808), who was Tucker's contemporary. The latter was the son of Sultan Mustafa III, succeeded his uncle Abd-ul-Hamid I in 1789, and was eventually overthrown by a revolt of the Janissaries. See Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. 24.

13 Haroon or Harun Alraschid, the most celebrated Arabian Caliph, was the fifth of the 'Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad and the second son of the third Caliph Maholi. His full name was Harun ibn 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbas, and Alraschid was a title meaning "the orthodox." (See Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. 13.) His name appears frequently in the Arabian Nights; see e.g., Burton, viii 160 (where he is described by Al-Siyuti), ix 17 (where he is seen as a poet), vii 108, iv 153, iv 261, ix 188, v 81, v 77, v 75. He is also mentioned by Beckford as the grandfather of Vathek (also a real Caliph of the 'Abbasid), see Vathek, p. 1.

14 Selima is perhaps a derivative of the hero's name, but Selima was also the name of Walpole's cat, drowned in a tub of goldfish, and immortalized by Gray in his famous Elegy on the subject.

15 wives ] wifes, cancelled.

16 Alhamran, cf. Al Ahmar, the Moorish King who built the Alhambra palace in Granada. See also Burton's note, vii 49, on Dar al-Hamra, the Red, who appears in the Arabian Nights.

17 Hali is a variation of Ali, one of the most common Arabian names.

18 embued his mind ] and, cancelled.

19 The implication that a knowledge of Paradise is the province of the imagination rather than the intellect appears also in Addison's "Vision of Mirza"; see English Essays, The Harvard Classics Vol. 27, edited by P. F. Collier and Son, New York, 1937, p. 76, where Mirza is given a "supernatural sight" of the islands of afterlife.

## [ Notes to the Text, 12-22 ]

20 happiness ] happineps, cancelled.

21 The Angel of Death appears frequently in the Arabian Nights; see, for example, the tales involving him, Burton v 250, v 246, v 248. He is also mentioned in Vathek, where the note informs the reader that "this exterminating angel is called Azrael, and his office is to conduct the dead to the abode assigned them"; see Vathek, p. 141, p. 313.

22 Compare Selim's trance with one of Swedenborg's: See Emmanuel Swedenborg, Heaven and Hell (London: Dent. 1909), pp. 226 ff.

## [ Notes to the Text, 23-38 ]

23 Ispakur: cf. Vathek, pp. 64, 155, 230. Ispakur or Istakhar (variously spelled) was the ancient city of Persepolis, Persia. It also appears in John Hawkesworth's Almorán and Hamet: An Oriental Tale, 2 vols. (London: printed for H. Payne and W. Cropley, 1749), I p. 15.

24 Sarmacand ] Sarmacan, cancelled. The setting of an Eastern Tale by Sam Johnson; see his Rambler No. 120. Samarkand is a province of Russian Turkestan, formerly Zarafshan or Zerafshan. It is the ancient Sogdiana and was known as Sughd to the Moslems in the Middle Ages. See Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., Vol. 24. It is clear from Selim's wanderings that Tucker did not consult a map for his geographical locations.

25 eighth ] third, cancelled.

26 their fury ] the fury, cancelled.

27 hot sands ] hotsands, cancelled.

28 The rhetorical device of the thrice-repeated phrase was common in eighteenth-century literature. This is the first mention of the triad "hunger, thirst and weariness," which is repeated in the subsequent sentences.

29 Camel ] campbe, cancelled.

30 Albumasar, 805-886: a celebrated Persian Muslim astrologer. His name is used for the subject of "L'astrologo" by Giovanni Battista della Porba (1606), a play adapted in 1615 as "Albumazar" by Thomas Tomkis, and revived by Dryden in 1668.

31 for them ] with, cancelled.

32 The reference is puzzling: if the "prickly shrubs" are intended to be cacti, Tucker is being botanically inaccurate.

33 as far as ] far as, cancelled.

34 Camels ] Campbulls, cancelled.

35 Aracan appears in Vathek, p. 133. The variant Arakan is a division of lower Burma. It consists of a strip of land running along the eastern seaboard of the Bay of Bengal, from the Naaf estuary. cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., Vol. 2.

36 Ormuz: Properly Ormuz or Hormuz, an island of Iran between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman.

## [ Notes to the Text, 23-38 ]

37 Bossora, cf. Bassorah in the Arabian Nights, e.g., Burton, vii 110, viii 7, vii 130. There is a Bossora in the territory formerly known as French West Africa, on the Black Volta river, but Tucker may perhaps have meant Basra (Arabic Al-Basrah), a center of Arab letters, poetry, science, commerce and finance in the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. Founded as a military encampment by the second Caliph 'Uma I, in 638 about 13 km. from the modern town of az-Zubayr, Iraq, Basra is close to the Persian Gulf. (See the New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed., Vol. 1.)

38 Felucca; a fast, lateen-rigged vessel used in the Mediterranean. Feluccas have three masts, but are capable of being propelled by oars. They often have a rudder at each end, and there is usually an awning in place of an upper deck.

## [ Notes to the Text, 39-51 ]

39 Malacca was a once-flourishing port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Its trade declined, partly because of the shallowness of the harbor, and partly because the ports of Periang and Singapore, at either end of the Straits, drew all its shipping.

40 Madrass--India's third city and the chief port on the Eastern seaboard.

41 This casting of lots and the ensuing sacrifice of a faithful servant to feed the ravenous crew, is very like Byron's Don Juan canto 2, p. 75 ff., where Juan's "luckless tutor" Pedrillo is the victim. The only difference is that Pedrillo has time to think about it, and asks to be bled to death. The same casting occurs later in Mark Twain's "Cannibalism in the Cars."

42 the fury of ] furys of, cancelled.

43 pieces ] peic, cancelled.

44 The connection between despair and drowning is recurrent in literature of the period: cf., William Cowper's The Castaway, for example.

45 striving ] struggling, cancelled.

46 gasp ] stroke, cancelled.

47 Selima: Tucker gives the same name to both Selim's mother and Selim's sister.

48 Astarte, or Ashtoreth, was associated with the planet Venus: she appears in the Arabian Nights, see Burton, x 229.

49 Compare Selim's awakening here with Swedenborg's in Heaven and Hell, pp. 226 ff., but also cf., the awakening of Gulchenrouz in Vathek, pp. 170-71. Interestingly enough, Beckford's description also includes mention of Gulchenrouz becoming a hermit, and living on a mountain. This is one of several intriguing cross-references between Tucker's tale and Beckford's.

50 and in an Ecstasy ] hurling himself on the ground, cancelled.

51 which Hali ] which thou hast prepared for me, cancelled.

## [ Notes to the Text, 52 ]

52 These are two of Tucker's several pseudonymous marks; others included "Lycidas," "Benevolus," "Diogenes," "Moses Dolittle," and "Susannah Trifle." Pseudonymous publication had become conventional in Virginia for several reasons, the most important of which had to do with reputation. The Virginian gentleman was loath to appear sufficiently leisured to be indulging the muses. The correspondence between Tucker and Wirt provides an insight here. At one point Wirt asks Tucker, "how would it act on the character of such men as Jefferson, or Madison, or Monroe, or Marshall, or Tazewell, to have it known of them that they had been engaged in so light and idle a business as writing a play?" To which Tucker replies, "My own apprehension is, that a taste for the belles-lettres, including, under that description, dramatic poetry as all others, is very low in America generally . . . . If the poem be given to the world in such a manner as to appear merely a jeu d'esprit, the effusion of a leisure moment, and without any view to profit or emolument, or as an offering at the shrine of party, --I think, in such a case, the public would regard it favorably." See Kennedy, pp. 307-08.

### Notes to the Critique

1 St. George Tucker, essay 19 "For the old Batchellor," Papers MSS, Swem Library.

2 St. George Tucker, essay 20 "For the old Batchellor," Papers MSS, Swem Library.

3 See Emanuel Swedenborg, Heaven and Hell (London: Dent, 1909), p. 227.

4 Ibid., p. 231.

5 The opening sentence of Rasselas (1759).

6 Heaven and Hell, p. 266.

7 Ibid., p. 259.

8 Harvey, p. 11.

9 For a discussion of Tucker's borrowings here, see Harvey, pp. 49 ff.

10 Spectator 20, December, 1711, where Addison is paraphrasing some remarks of Boileau.

11 See, for example, the Preface to the Rainbow: First Series (Richmond, Va.: Ritchie and Worsley, 1804), p. 3, where Wirt complains of "the difficulty of illustrating by particular fact . . . ."

12 For a discussion of the effects on the plastic arts (which will elucidate the literary effects mentioned here) see Mario Praz, On Neoclassicism (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1969), esp. pages 27, 51-60, 70 ff., 132-43, 271, 311, 313.

13 Quoted by Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (Philadelphia: Troutman and Hayes, 1803), pp. 121-22.

14 Ibid.

15 St. George Tucker, essay 9 "For the old Batchellor," "On Patriotism," Papers MSS, Swem Library.

16 Ibid.



## [ Notes to the Critique, 17-37 ]

- 17 Text of "Vision of Selim," p. 2.
- 18 Quoted by Richard Beale Davis, Int. Life, p. 256.
- 19 St. George Tucker, A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It, in the State of Virginia (Philadelphia: Carey, 1796), p. 10.
- 20 Blair, p. 202.
- 21 Ibid., pp. 202-03.
- 22 Ibid., p. 113.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid., p. 217.
- 25 Ibid., p. 127.
- 26 Ibid., p. 125.
- 27 St. George Tucker, "Nuga: Hermit of the Mountain" Notebook, p. 4, Papers MSS, Swem Library.
- 28 B. Sprague Allen, Tides in English Taste (1619-1800), (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937), I, pp. 234-35.
- 29 Allen, I, p. 186.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 See Allen, I, p. 188.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid., p. 235.
- 34 Ibid., p. 241.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid., p. 243.
- 37 Ibid., p. 254.

## [ Notes to the Critique, 38-52 ]

38 Allen, p. 256.

39 See William Beckford of Fonthill, ed. by Fatma Moussa Mahmoud (New York/ London: Kennikat Press, 1960), pp. 90-92. I have relied heavily on this collection of scholarly essays in my account of the development of the "Eastern Tale" genre.

40 William Beckford of Fonthill, p. 91.

41 See Allen, II, pp. 5 ff.

42 See Allen, II, pp. 15 ff.; William Beckford of Fonthill, pp. 115-16.

43 William Beckford of Fonthill, pp. 129 ff.

44 Ibid., p. 140.

45 Ibid., p. 74.

46 Vathek, by William Beckford: The English Translation by Samuel Henley (1786); the French Editions of Lausanne and Paris (1787): Facsimile Reproductions with an Introduction by Robert J. Gemmett (Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1972), p. viii.

47 For details of Beckford's preparatory readings, see William Beckford of Fonthill, pp. 115-16.

48 Vathek, by William Beckford (Facsimile), p. xviii.

49 Ibid., pp. xvii-xviii; William Beckford of Fonthill, pp. 102 ff.

50 For details of Henley's career at William & Mary, see Fraser Neiman, The Henley-Horrocks Inventory, Williamsburg Va., Botetourt Bibliographical Society and Earl Gregg Swem Library, 1968.

51 Ibid., p. 8.

52 Compare the Virginian belle-lettrist's readings with Beckford's. See William Beckford of Fonthill, p. 93.

## [ Notes to the Critique, 53-57 ]

53 William Beckford of Fonthill, p. 144. Mahmoud's essay gives an interesting account of the transition from prose to verse at the turn of the nineteenth century, and discusses important scholarship on the genre.

54 The Portfolio, ed. Oliver Oldschool, esq. (1812), Vol. VIII, pp. 184 ff.

55 See, for example, The Guardian, XVIII, No. 167, Addison's Story of Helim and Abdallah.

56 For a detailed account of the way in which Wirt helped the young Poe in his search for publication see Una Pope-Hennessy, Edgar Allen Poe 1809-1849: A Critical Biography (New York: Haskell House, 1971), pp. 75 ff.

57 Edgar Allen Poe, Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque, Introduction (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1840), II, pp. 68-69.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

2

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Addison, Joseph. "The Vision of Mirza." Harvard Classics: English Essays, ed. P. F. Collier and Son. New York, 1937.
- Addison, Joseph, and Sir Richard Steele. The Spectator. 5 vols. ed. Donald Bond. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Allen, B. Sprague. Tides in English Tastes (1619-1800). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1937.
- American Museum. Philadelphia: Carey, Stewart and Co. IV, August, 1788.
- Beckford, William. Vathek: The English Translation by Samuel Henley (1786) and the French Editions of Lausanne and Paris (1787): Facsimile Reproductions with an Introduction by Robert J. Gemmett. Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1972.
- Blair, Hugh. Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. Philadelphia: Troutman and Hayes, 1803.
- Burton, Richard F. ed. The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night. London: Medina, 1886.
- Coleman, Mary Haldane. St. George Tucker: Citizen of No Mean City. Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1938.
- Cullen, Charles T. "St. George Tucker and Law in Virginia, 1772-1804." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1971.
- Davis, Richard Beale. Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830. Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Literary Tastes in Virginia Before Poe." William and Mary Quarterly, 19 (1939), 55-68.
- Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone. New York: Scribner's, 1928-37.

- Dolmetsch, Carl. "Tucker's 'Hermit of the Mountain' Essays: Prolegomenon for a Collected Edition." in Essays in the Literature of Early Virginia, in Honor of Richard Beale Davis. ed. J. A. Leo Lemay. Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, forthcoming 1974.
- Harvey, Daniel Gaver. "St. George Tucker's 'Old Batchellor' Essay 'On Patriotism': A Critical Edition." Unpublished MA thesis, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1972.
- Hawkesworth, John. Almorán and Hamet: An Oriental Tale. 2 Vols. London: Printed for H. Payne and W. Cropley, 1749.
- Hubbell, Jay B. The South in American Literature. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "William Wirt and the Familiar Essay in Virginia." William and Mary Quarterly, 23 (1943), 136-52.
- Kennedy, John Pendleton. Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1850.
- Leavis, Frank R. The Common Pursuit. New York: University Press, 1952.
- Mack, Maynard, ed. The Augustans. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961.
- Mahmoud, Fatma Moussa, ed. William Beckford of Fonthill. New York and London: Kennikat Press, 1960.
- McCorkle, Anne Elizabeth. "St. George Tucker's Old Bachelor Letter on Language and Literature in America." Unpublished MA thesis, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1971.
- Neiman, Fraser. The Henley-Horrocks Inventory. Williamsburg, Virginia: Botetourt Bibliographical Society and the Earl Gregg Swem Library, 1968.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1840.
- Pope-Hennessy, Una. Edgar Allan Poe 1809-1849: A Critical Biography. New York: Haskell House, 1971.
- The Portfolio. Ed. Oliver Oldschool. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1812.

- Praz, Mario. On Neoclassicism. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1969.
- The Rainbow: First Series. Ed. William Wirt. Richmond, Virginia: Ritchie and Worsley, 1804.
- Sutherland, James. A Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Swedenborg, Emanuel. Heaven and Hell. Ed. E. Rhys. Everyman's Library. London: Dent, 1909.
- Taylor, William Robert. "William Wirt and the Legend of the Old South," William and Mary Quarterly, 14 (1957), 477-93.
- Tucker, St. George. "For the old Batchellor." 22 essays. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It, in the State of Virginia. Philadelphia: Carey, 1796.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Hermit of the Mountain" Notebook. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of October 27, 1813 to Richard Rush. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of August 8, 1811 to William Wirt. Letters to St. George Tucker, MS #1011. Wirt Papers. The Maryland Historical Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of August 12, 1811 to William Wirt. Letters to St. George Tucker, MS #1011. Wirt Papers. The Maryland Historical Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of August 23, 1811 to William Wirt. Letters to St. George Tucker, MS #1011. Wirt Papers. The Maryland Historical Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of September 4, 1811 to William Wirt. Letters to St. George Tucker, MS #1011. Wirt Papers. The Maryland Historical Society.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of September 11, 1812 to William Wirt. Letters to St. George Tucker, MS #1011. Wirt Papers. The Maryland Historical Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of September 12, 1813 to William Wirt. Letters to St. George Tucker, MS #1011. Wirt Papers. The Maryland Historical Society.
- Wentworth, Mary Beth. "St. George Tucker's Essay 'For the old Batchellor' on Avarice." Unpublished MA thesis. The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1973.
- Williams, George G. Studies in Philology, "The Beginnings of Nature Poetry in the Eighteenth Century." XXVII, 585-97.
- Wirt, William. Letter of August 7, 1811 to St. George Tucker. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of August 18, 1811 to St. George Tucker. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of August 19, 1811 to St. George Tucker. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of August 25, 1811 to St. George Tucker. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of August 22, 1812 to St. George Tucker. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter of October 10, 1813 to St. George Tucker. Papers MSS, Tucker-Coleman Collection. Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letters of the British Spy. Richmond, Virginia: Samuel Pleasants, Jr., 1803.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Old Bachelor. Richmond, Virginia: Enquirer Press, 1814.



## VITA

### Angela Helen Patmore

Born in London, England, August 13, 1946. Received B. A. with First Class Honors from the University of Exeter, Devon, England, June, 1973. Came to the United States on a Fulbright Scholarship and entered the College of William and Mary, September, 1973, as exchange student and candidate for the Master of Arts degree in English.