

STEINKE

Edward Young's "Conjectures on  
Original Composition"  
in England and Germany

German

Ph. D.

1914

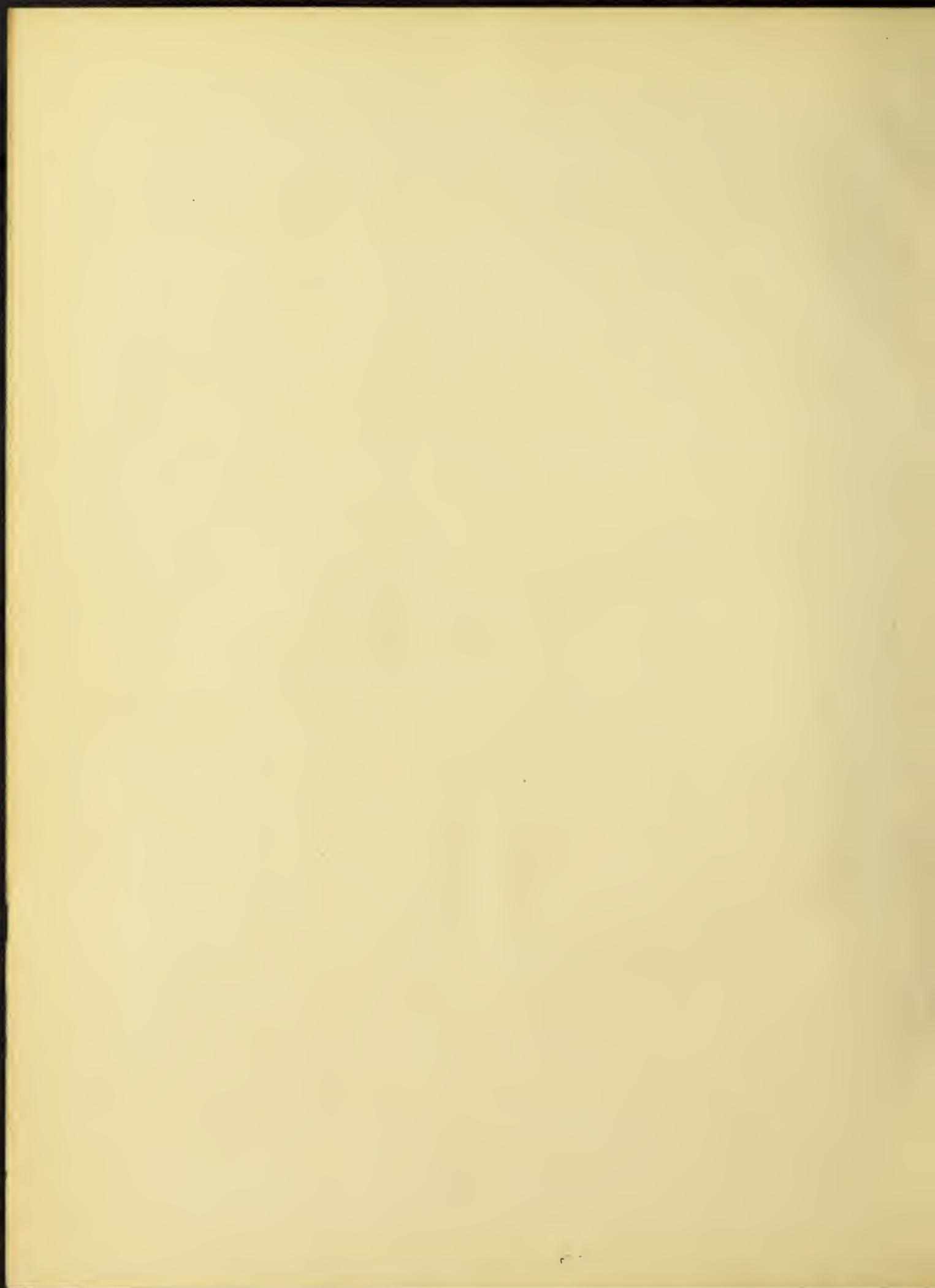
UNIV. OF  
ILLINOIS  
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF ILLINOIS  
LIBRARY

1914

St 3





EDWARD YOUNG'S "CONJECTURES ON ORIGINAL  
COMPOSITION" IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY

BY

MARTIN WILLIAM STEINKE

A. B. Wartburg College, 1908  
A. M. University of Washington, 1910

---

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN GERMAN

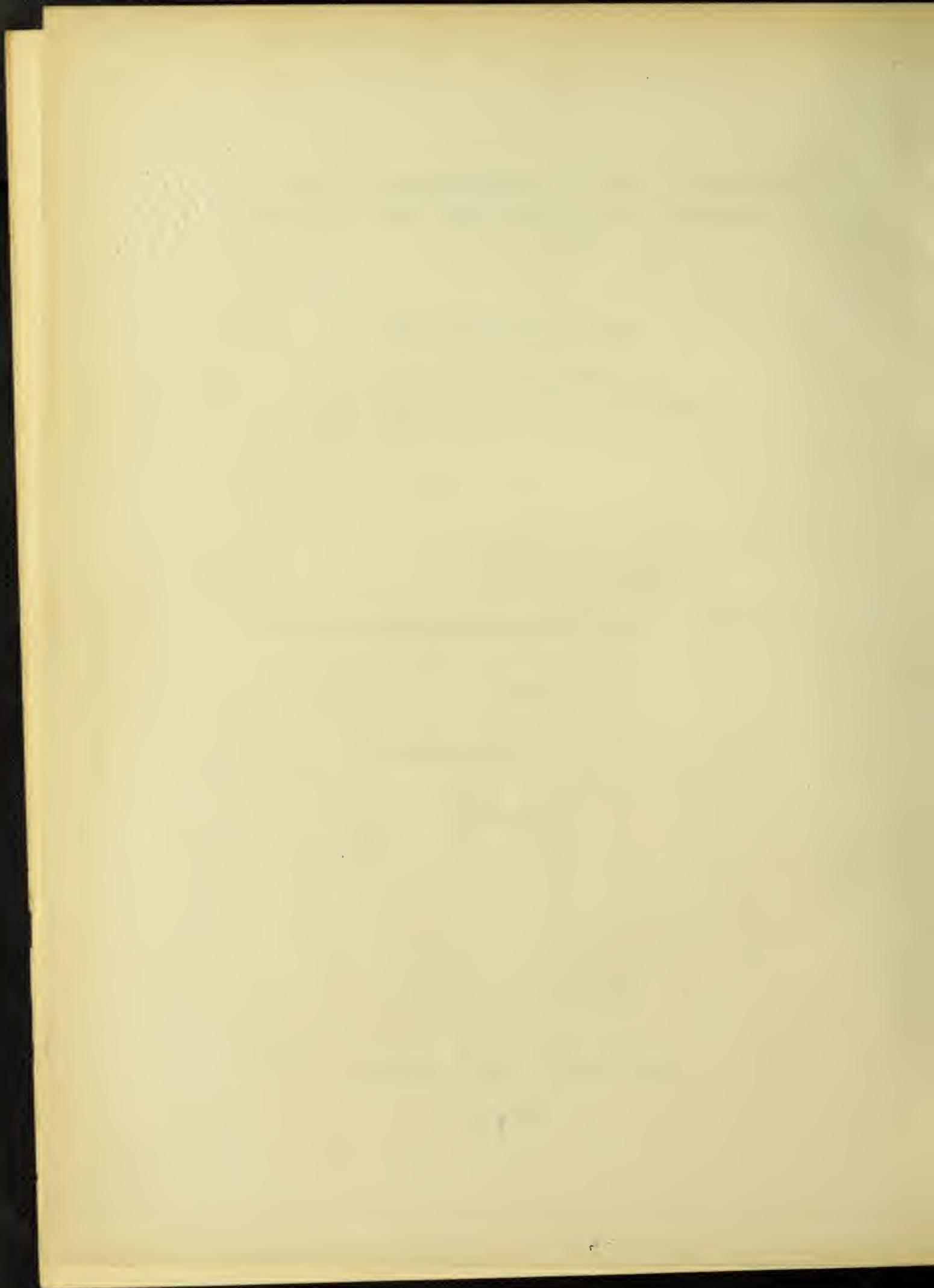
IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1914



1914  
5+3

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 16<sup>th</sup> 1904

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

*Martin William Steinke*

ENTITLED *Edward Young's 'Lectures on Original  
Composition' in England and Germany*

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF *Doctor of Philosophy*

*Julius Loebel*  
In Charge of Major Work  
*Julius Loebel*  
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

*O. E. Lessing.*  
*George T. Flou*  
*F. S. V. Jones*

} Committee  
on  
Final Examination

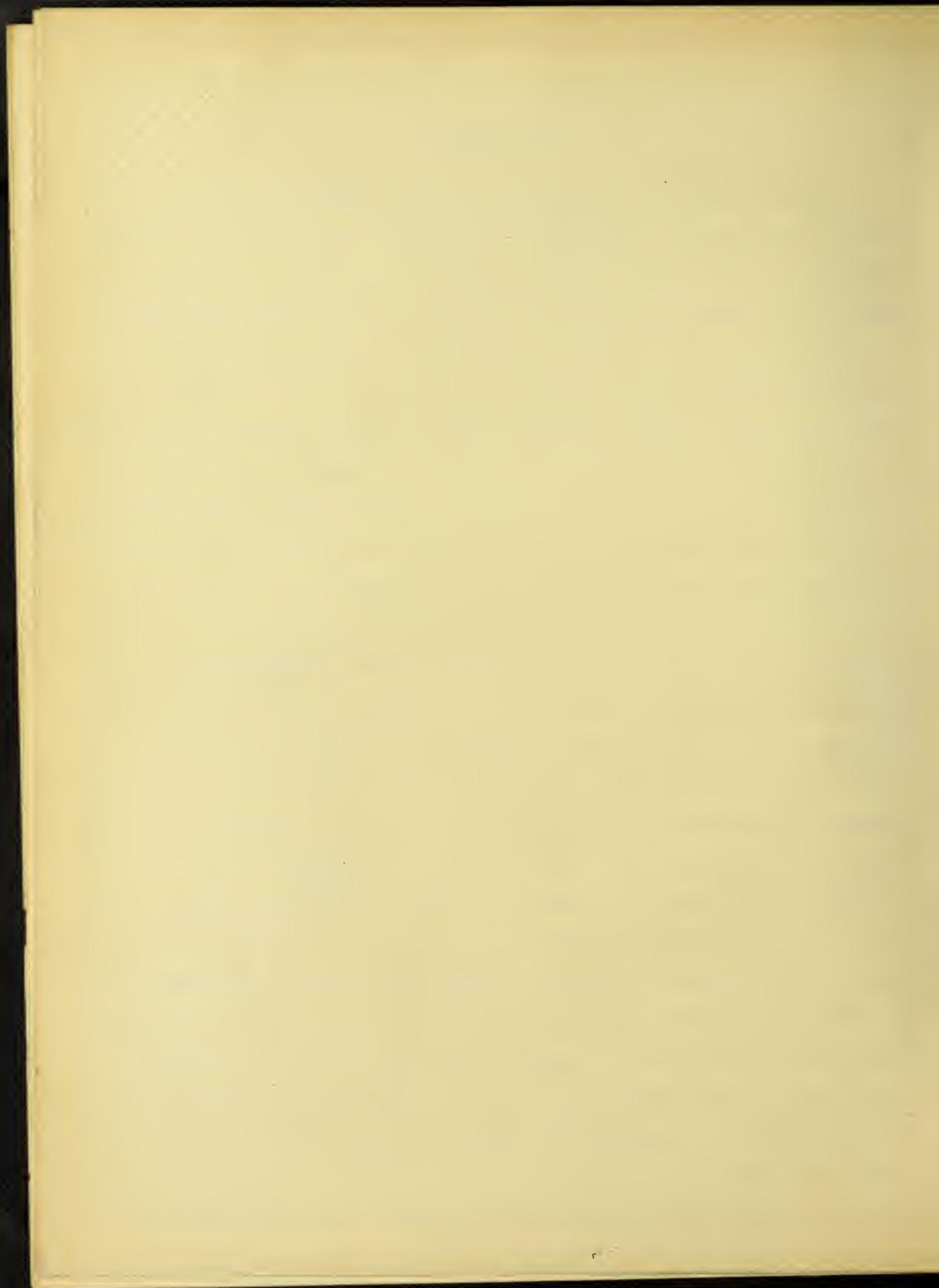
284646



## INTRODUCTION

The first part of my treatise on Young's essay "Conjectures on Original Composition" consists of an attempt to ascertain its actual nature, its original meaning, and its career in England. It tries to show how the author produced its contents, how he treated and applied it, and what part the discourse played in the development of English literature, and what significance it still has. So all available facts that can serve as means of interpretation have been adduced and applied.

My reproduction of the "Conjectures" is executed accurately according to their first edition, and the changes made by their author in their second edition are carefully added in footnotes. The essay has been altered only as to punctuation and spelling. So have also some quotations from old works. Many a sentence punctuated according to the old way says something different from the meaning which it assumes when interpreted according to the present method of punctuation. So this change of punctuation and spelling was made as a necessary part of this interpretative treatment of the "Conjectures". An almost facsimile reproduction of them can be found in the "Shakespeare Jahrbuch", vol. XXXIX, pp. 16-42. The topical index to them is to serve as a brief synopsis and as a convenient means of reference. And the systematized exposition of the theories contained in them has been added to set forth clearly the actual contents and meaning of the essay. The repetitions, the scattered recurrences to the same topics, and those passages which restrict or explain one another have been gathered under their proper headings. So we get a convenient synopsis of the various problems of composition dealt with, and a summary of everything said about each.



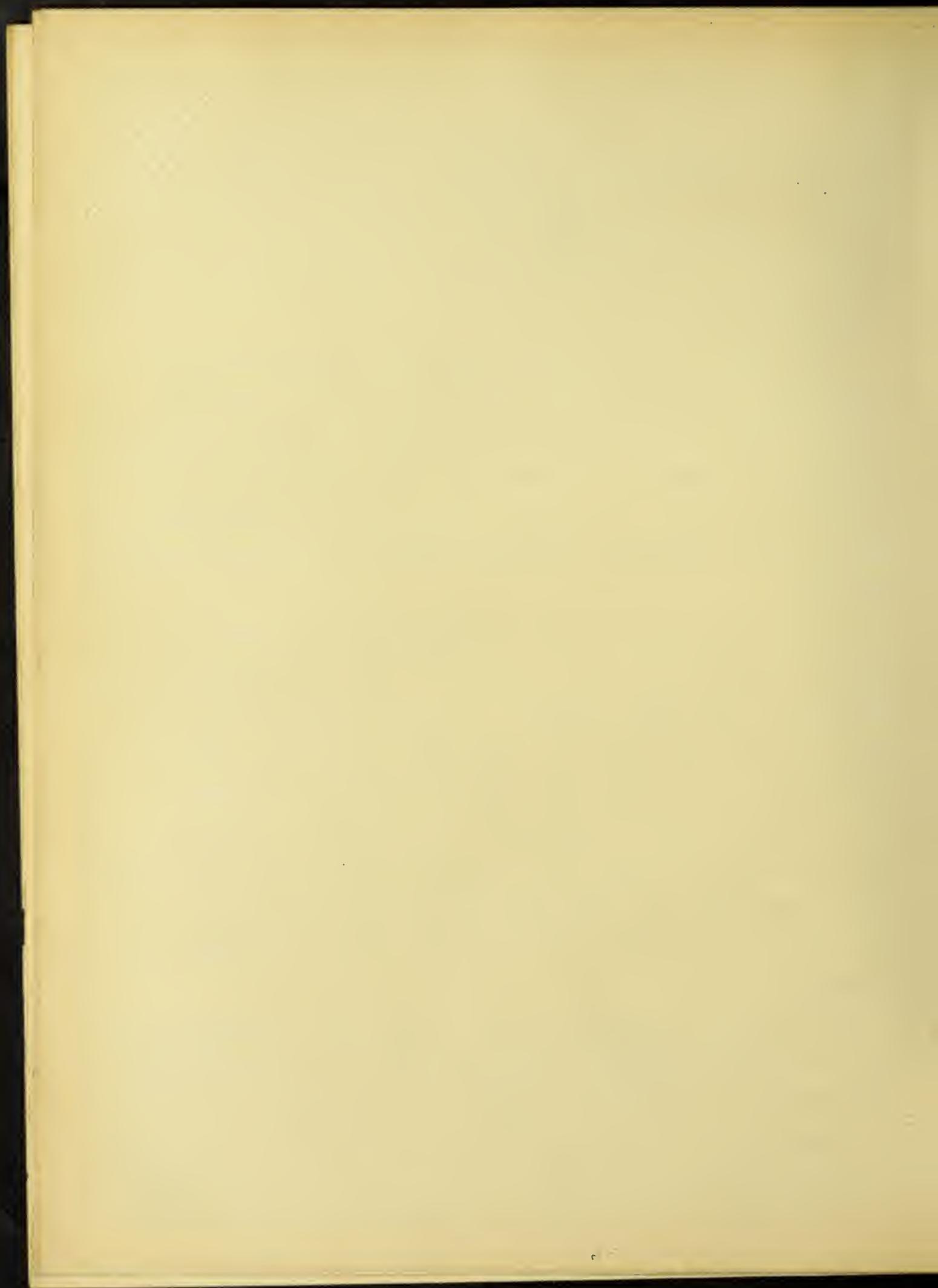
In the investigation of Young's practice and criticism of composition prior to his "Conjectures" it has been attempted to ascertain the author's convictions and intentions as to the statements which he makes in them and thus to obtain means by which to interpret them. It has been attempted to gain that point of view from which the author himself treated the problems in his essay. Thus the author is being interpreted by the author.

The chapter of historical and analytical observations on the "Conjectures" presents all facts pertaining to their origin that could be found, and adds my interpretations of the vague or ambiguous passages in the essay as I derived them from a careful study of all literary productions of our author, of all available biographies of him, and of all accessible discourses dealing with him and his literary work.

As to the relation between the "Conjectures" and later English literary criticism there was not much to be said. All available facts concerning it have been recorded. It has been pointed out also why the "Conjectures" did not prove epoch-making in England. Then there remained only to be added, what significance they still have.

In showing how the "Conjectures" became known in Germany all facts that could be found about the various translations and discussions of them have been presented. Some of these needed only to be gathered from other works. Some of them were newly discovered in Germany.

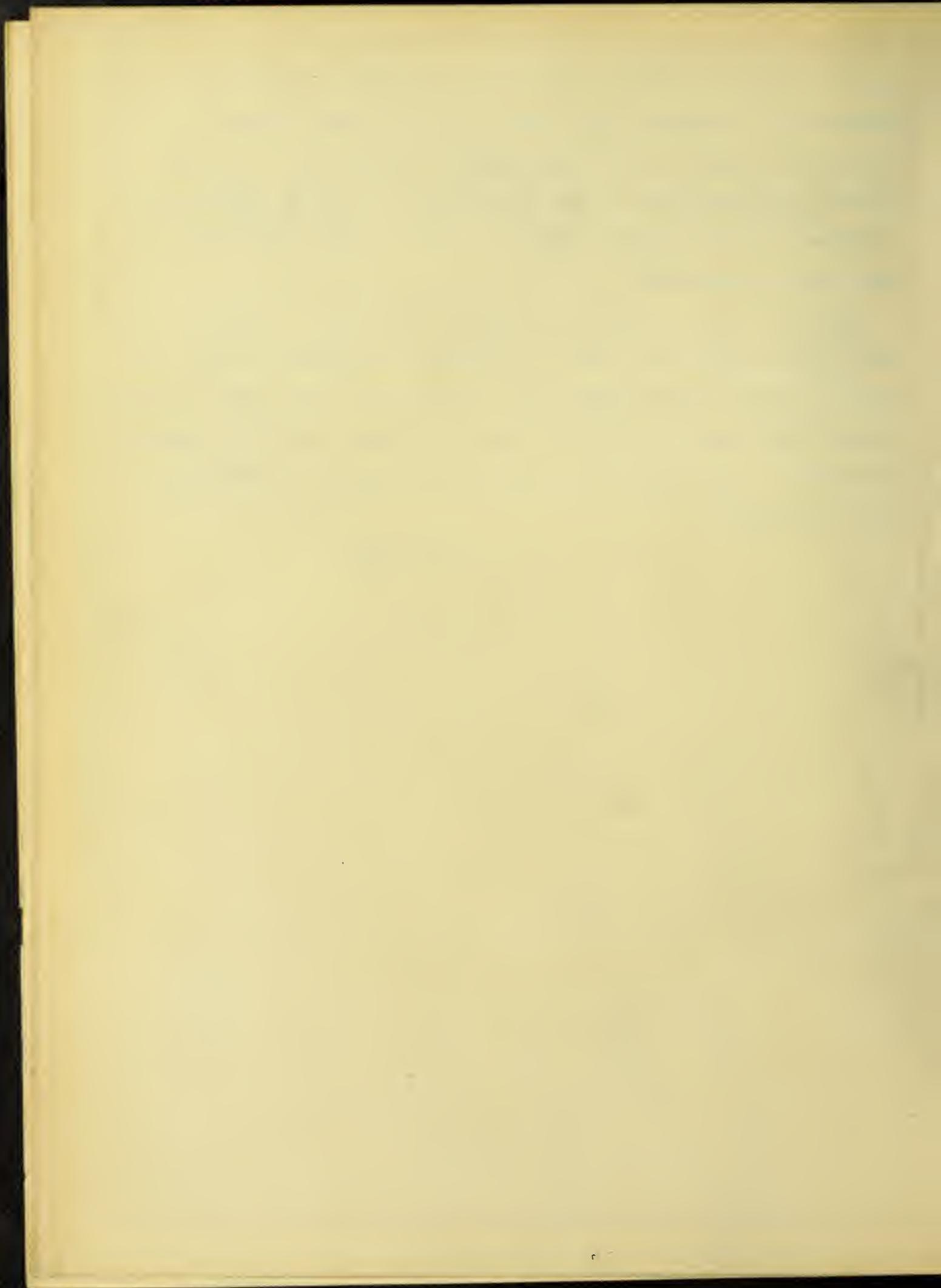
To ascertain the relation of the "Conjectures" to German literature, their parallels in the German writings which appeared between their publication in 1759 and the end of the "Genieperiode", or 1780, have been collected. Also the parallels in other earlier and contemporary possible sources have been located. Then it has been ascer-



tained as fully as possible which later parallels to arguments in the "Conjectures" originated from them. It has not been attempted to trace the ideas contained in the "Conjectures" farther than to the year 1780 because from that time on these ideas were too largely common property in Germany and the possible sources of them in cases where they re-appear are too numerous.

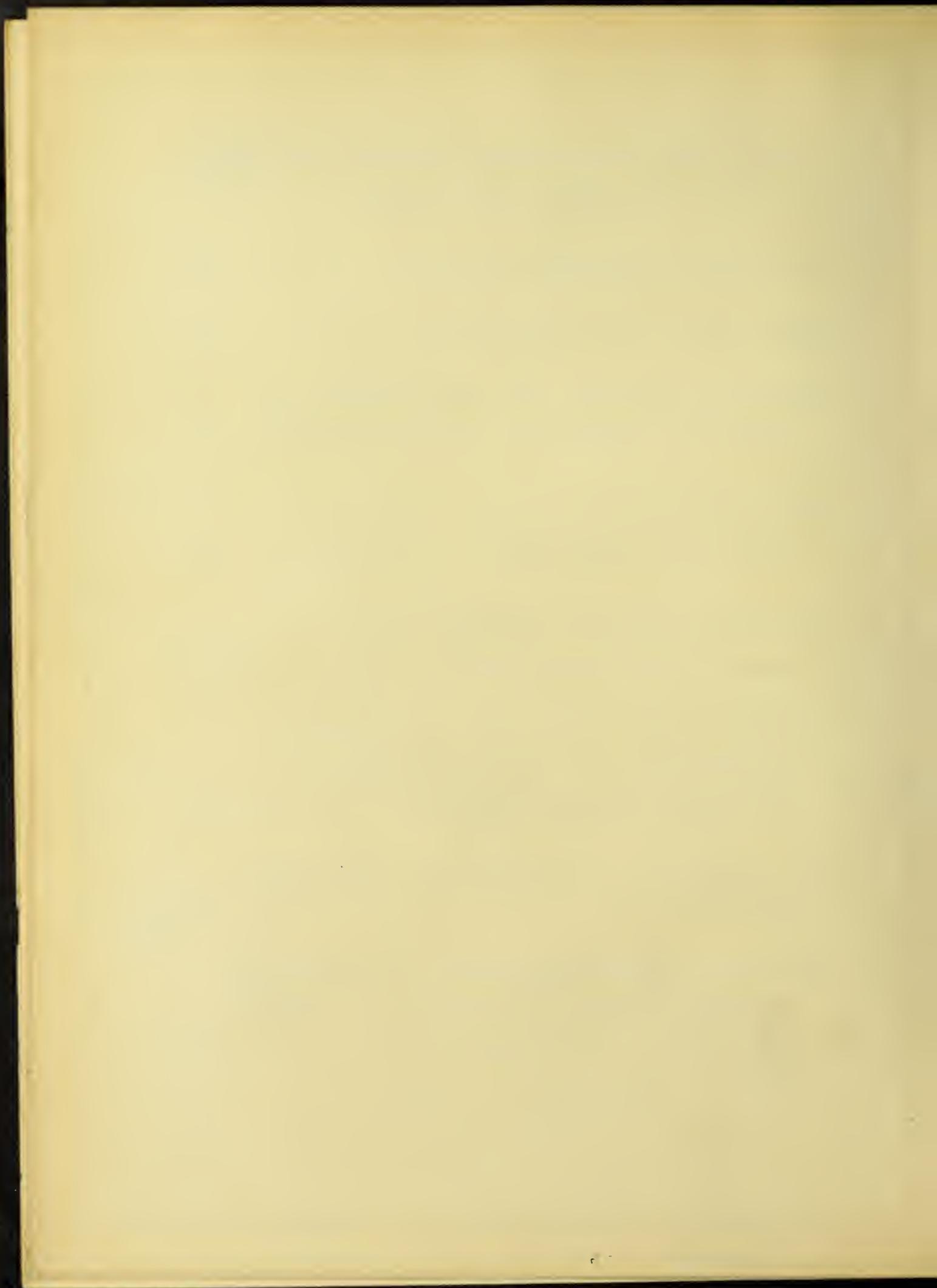
Finally I wish to express my thanks to Professor J.Goebel for his very helpful suggestions, and to Professor O.E.Lessing for his occasional cordial encouragement, and I wish also to say that my college friends Miss M.Bailey and Mr.F.H.Adler are being gratefully remembered for suggestive and inspiring discussions of questions pertaining to this investigation.

M.W.Steinke.



EDWARD YOUNG'S "CONJECTURES ON ORIGINAL COMPOSITION"  
IN ENGLAND AND IN GERMANY

	Page
"Conjectures on Original Composition".....	1
Topical Index to the "Conjectures".....	23
Systematized Exposition of Young's Theories of Composition as Expressed in His "Conjectures"...	32
Young's Practice and Criticism of Composition prior to His "Conjectures".....	44
Observations Concerning the Origin and the Meaning of the "Conjectures".....	75
The Effect of the "Conjectures" on Subsequent English Writers, and their Significance to the Student of English Literature .....	88
The Appearance and the Spread of the "Conjectures" in Germany .....	90
The Relation of the "Conjectures" to the Literature of Germany appearing subsequently up to 1780, the End of the Storm and Stress Period.....	94
Conclusion .....	163



CONJECTURES

on

ORIGINAL COMPOSITION

In a Letter to the Author

of

SIR CHARLES GRANDISON

Si habet aliquot tanquam pabulum studii et doctrinae,  
otiosa senectute nihil est jucundius, Cic.

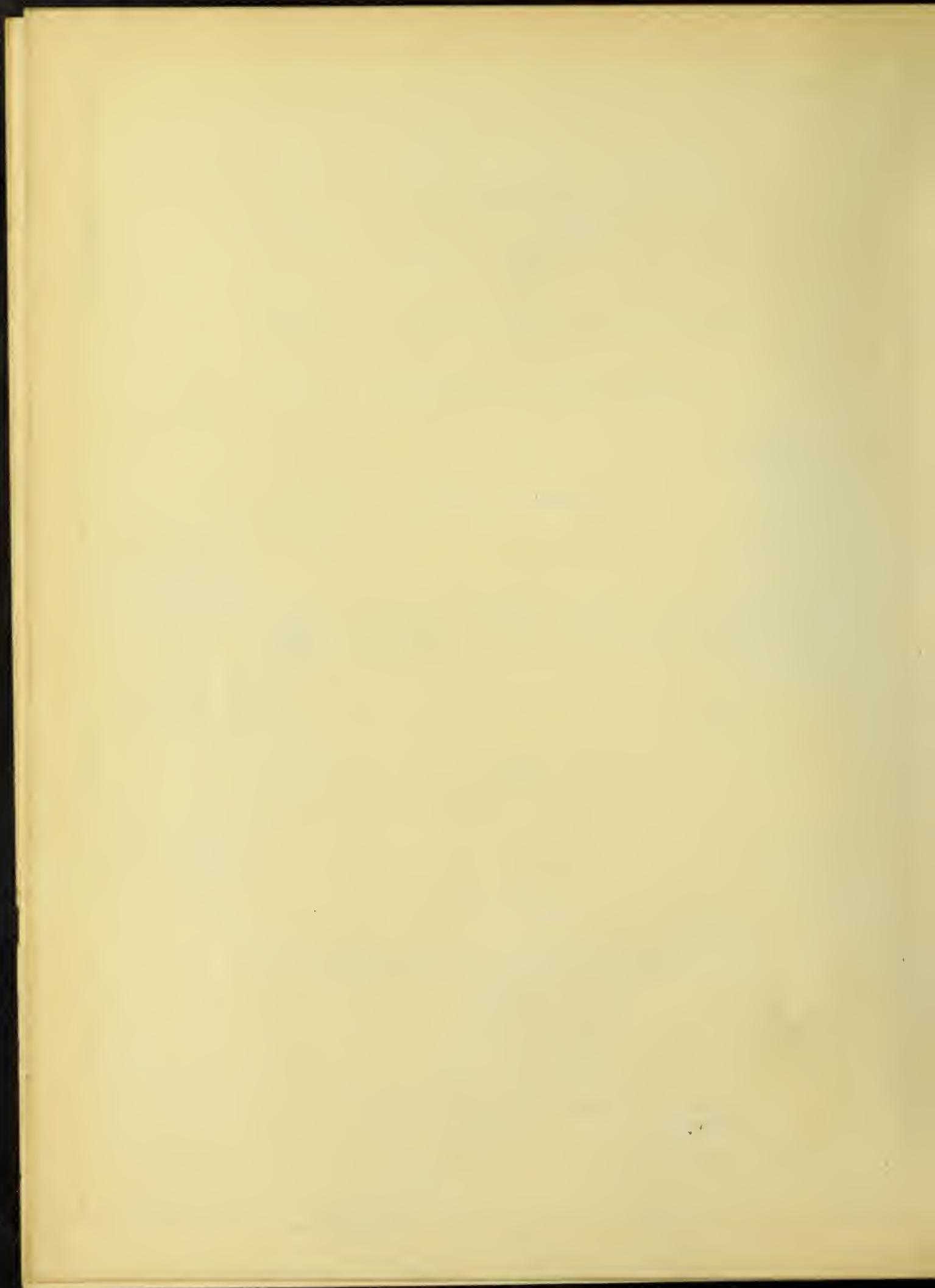
\*\*\*\*\*

London:<sup>1)</sup>

Printed for A. Millar, in The Strand; and  
R. and G. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall

M.DCCLIX

1) London: The Second Edition



Dear Sir,

We confess the follies of youth without a blush; but not so those of age. However, keep me a little in countenance by considering, that age wants amusements more, though it can justify them less, than the preceding periods of life. Now you may relish the pastime here sent you, I know not. It is miscellaneous in its nature, somewhat licentious in its conduct; and, perhaps, not over-important in its end. However, I have endeavored to make some amends by digressing into subjects more important, and more suitable to my season of life. A serious thought standing single, among many of a lighter nature, will sometimes strike the careless wanderer after amusement only, with useful awe: as monumental marbles scattered in a wide pleasure-garden (and such there are) will call to recollection those who would never have sought it in a churchyard walk of mournful yews.

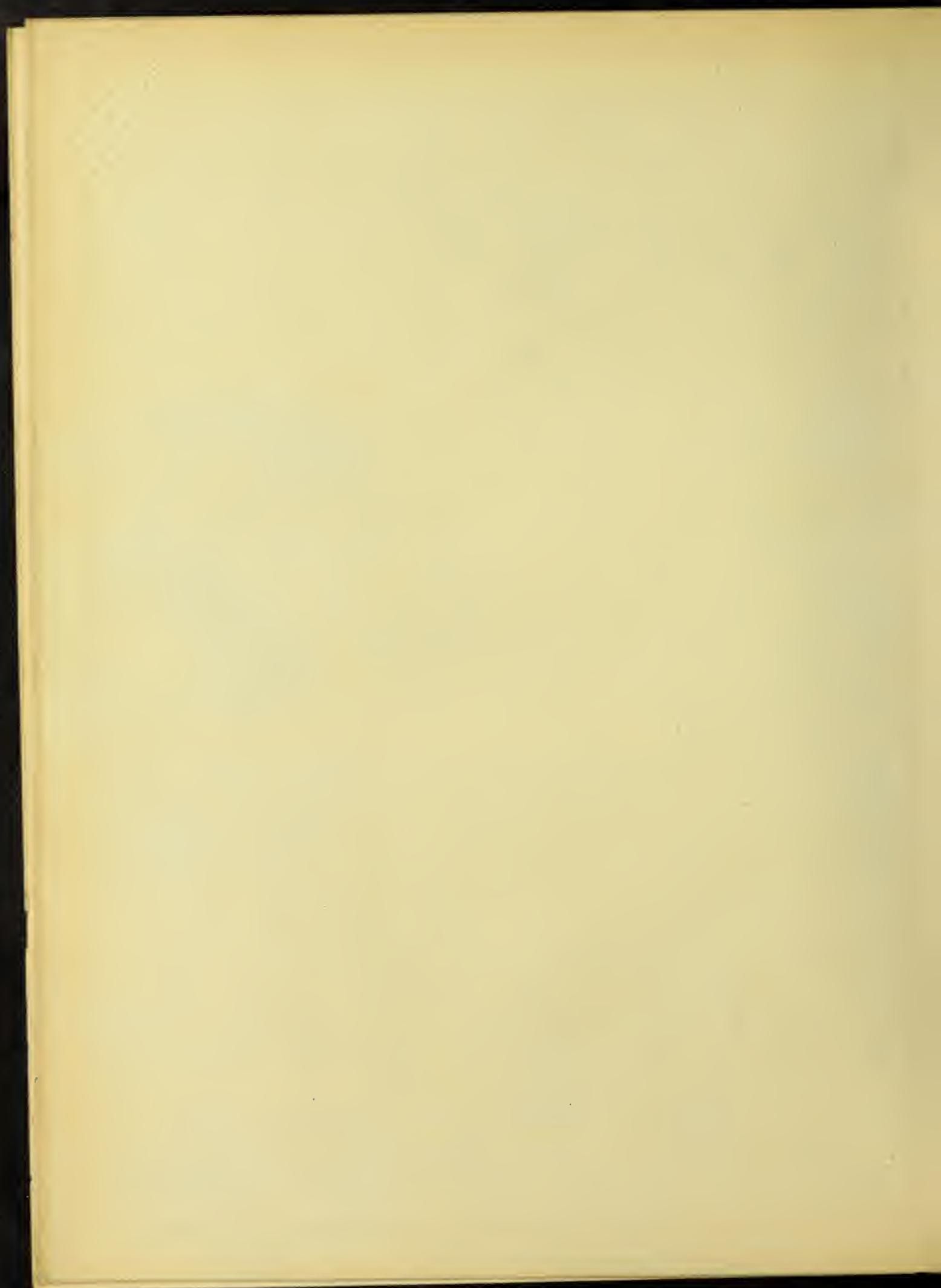
To one such monument I may conduct you, in which is a hidden lustre, like the sepulchral lamps of old; but not like them 1) will this be extinguished, but shine the brighter for being produced, after so long concealment, into open day.

You remember that your worthy patron, and our common friend, put some questions on the serious drama, at the same time when he desired our sentiments on original and moral composition. Though I despair of breaking through the frozen obstructions of age, and care's incumbent cloud, into that flow of thought and brightness of expression which such polite subjects 2) require, yet will I hazard some conjectures on them. I begin with original composition; but, 3) first, a few thoughts on composition in general. Some are of opinion, that its growth, at present, is too luxuriant, and that the press is overcharged. Overcharged, I think, it could never be, if none were admitted, but such as brought their imprimatur from sound understanding, and the public good. Wit, indeed, however brilliant, should not be permitted to gaze self-enamoured on its useless charms, in that fountain of fame (if so I may call the press), if beauty is all that it has to boast; but, like the first Brutus, it should sacrifice its most darling offspring to the sacred interests of virtue, and real service of mankind.

This restriction allowed, the more composition the better. To men of letters and leisure, it is not only a noble amusement, but a sweet refuge; it improves their parts, and promotes their peace; it opens a back-door out of the bustle of this busy and idle world, into a delicious garden of moral and intellectual fruits and flowers, the key of which is denied to the rest of mankind. When stung with idle anxieties, or teased with fruitless impertinence, or yawning over insipid diversions, then we perceive the blessing of a lettered recess. With what a gust do we retire to our disinterested and immortal friends in our closet, and find our minds, when applied to some favorite theme, as naturally and as easily quieted and refreshed as a peevish child (and peevish children are we all till we fall asleep) when laid to the breast! Our happiness no longer lives on charity; nor bids fair for a fall, by leaning on that most precarious and thorny pillow, another's pleasure, for our repose. Now independent of the world is he, who can daily find new acquaintance that at once entertain and improve him, in the little world, the minute but fruitful creation of his own mind!

These advantages composition affords us, whether we write ourselves, or in more humble amusement peruse the works of others.

1) those 2) subjects so polite 3) Composition; and the more willingly, as it seems an original subject to me, who have seen nothing hitherto written on it. But



While we bustle through the thronged walks of public life, it gives us a respite, at least, from care; a pleasing pause of refreshing recollection. If the country is our choice or fate, there it rescues us from sloth and sensuality, which, like obscene vermin, are apt gradually to creep unperceived into the delightful bowers of our retirement, and to poison all its sweets. Conscious guilt robs the rose of its scent, the lilly of its lustre; and makes an Eden a deflowered and dismal scene.

Moreover, if we consider life's endless evils, what can be more prudent than to provide for consolation under them? A consolation under them the wisest of men have found in the pleasures of the pen. Witness, among many more, Thucydides, Xenophon, Tully, Ovid, Seneca, Pliny the younger, who says, In uxoris infirmitate, et amicorum periculo, aut morte turbatus, ad studia, unicum doloris levamentum, confugio. And why not add to these their modern equals, Raleigh, 1) Milton, Clarendon, under the same shield, unwounded by misfortune, and nobly smiling in distress?

Composition was a cordial to these under the frowns of fortune; but evils there are which her smiles cannot prevent or cure. Among these are the languors of old age. If those are held honorable who in a hand benumbed by time have grasped the just sword in defence of their country, shall they be less esteemed whose unsteady pen vibrates to the last in the cause of religion, of virtue, of learning? Both these are happy in this, that by fixing their attention on objects most important, they escape numberless little anxieties, and that tedium vitae which hangs often so heavy on its evening hours. May not this insinuate some apology for my spilling ink, and spoiling paper, so late in life?

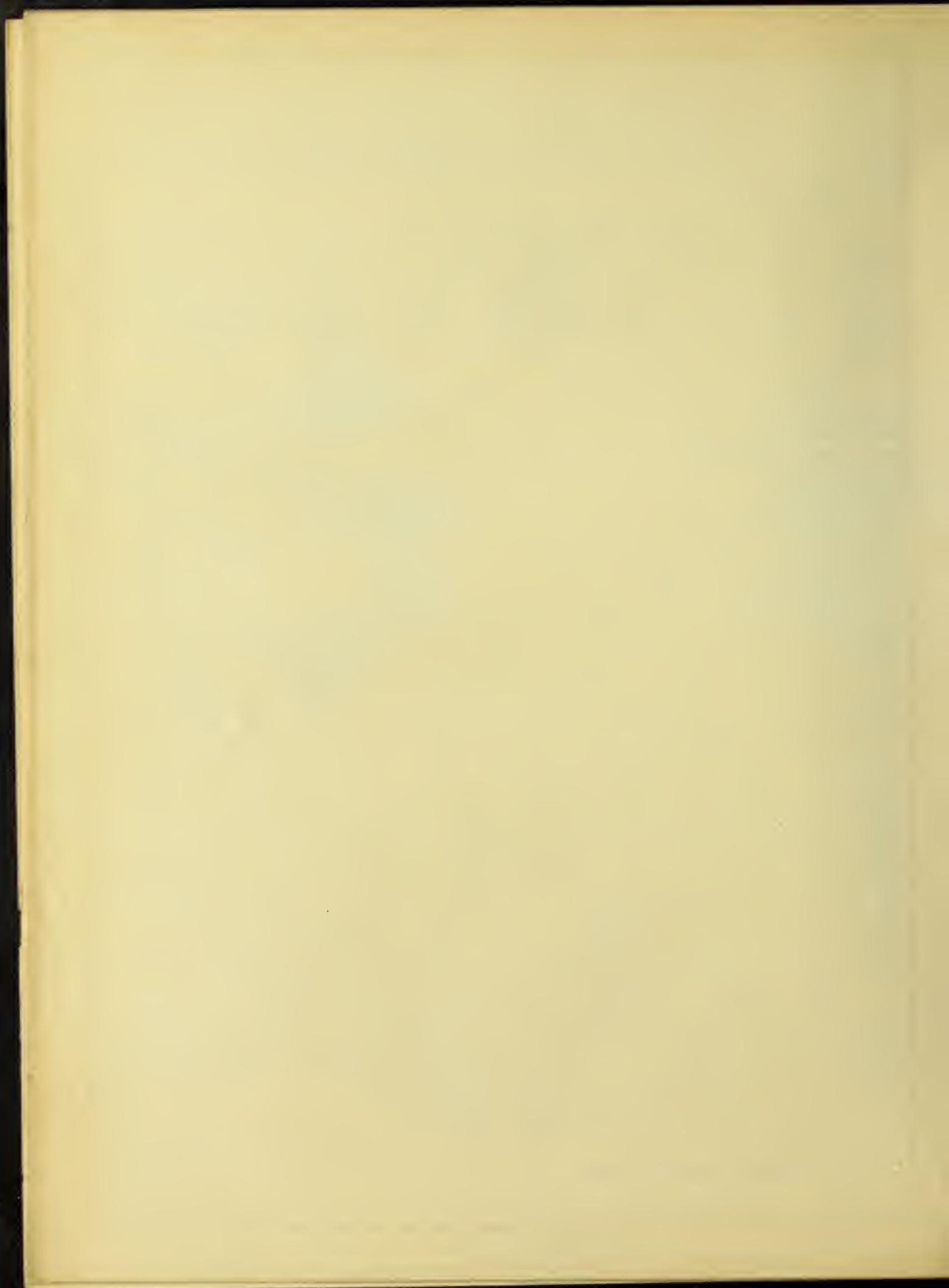
But there are who write with vigor and success to the world's delight and their own renown. These are the glorious fruits where genius prevails. The mind of a man of genius is a fertile and pleasant field; pleasant as Elysium, and fertile as Tempe; it enjoys a perpetual spring. Of that spring originals are the fairest flowers: imitations are of quicker growth, but fainter bloom. Imitations are of two kinds; one of nature, one of authors: the first we call "originals", and confine the term "imitation" to the second. I shall not enter into the curious inquiry of what is, or is not, strictly speaking, original, content with what all must allow, that some compositions are more so than others; and the more they are so, I say, the better. Originals are, and ought to be, great favourites, for they are great benefactors; they extend the republic of letters, and add a new province to its dominion: imitators only give us a sort of duplicates of what we had, possibly much better, before; increasing the mere drug of books, while all that makes them valuable, knowledge and genius, are at a stand. The pen of an original writer, like Armida's wand, out of a barren waste calls a blooming spring: out of that blooming spring an imitator is a transplanter of laurels, which sometimes die on removal, always languish in a foreign soil.

But suppose an imitator to be most excellent (and such there are), yet still he but nobly builds on another's foundation; his debt is, at least, equal to his glory; which, therefore, on the balance, cannot be very great. On the contrary, an original, though but indifferent, (its originality being set aside,) yet has something to boast; it is something to say with him in Horace,

Meo sum pauper in aere:

and to share ambition with no less than Caesar, who declared he had

1) Chaucer, Raleigh, Bacon,



rather be the first in a village, than the second at Rome.

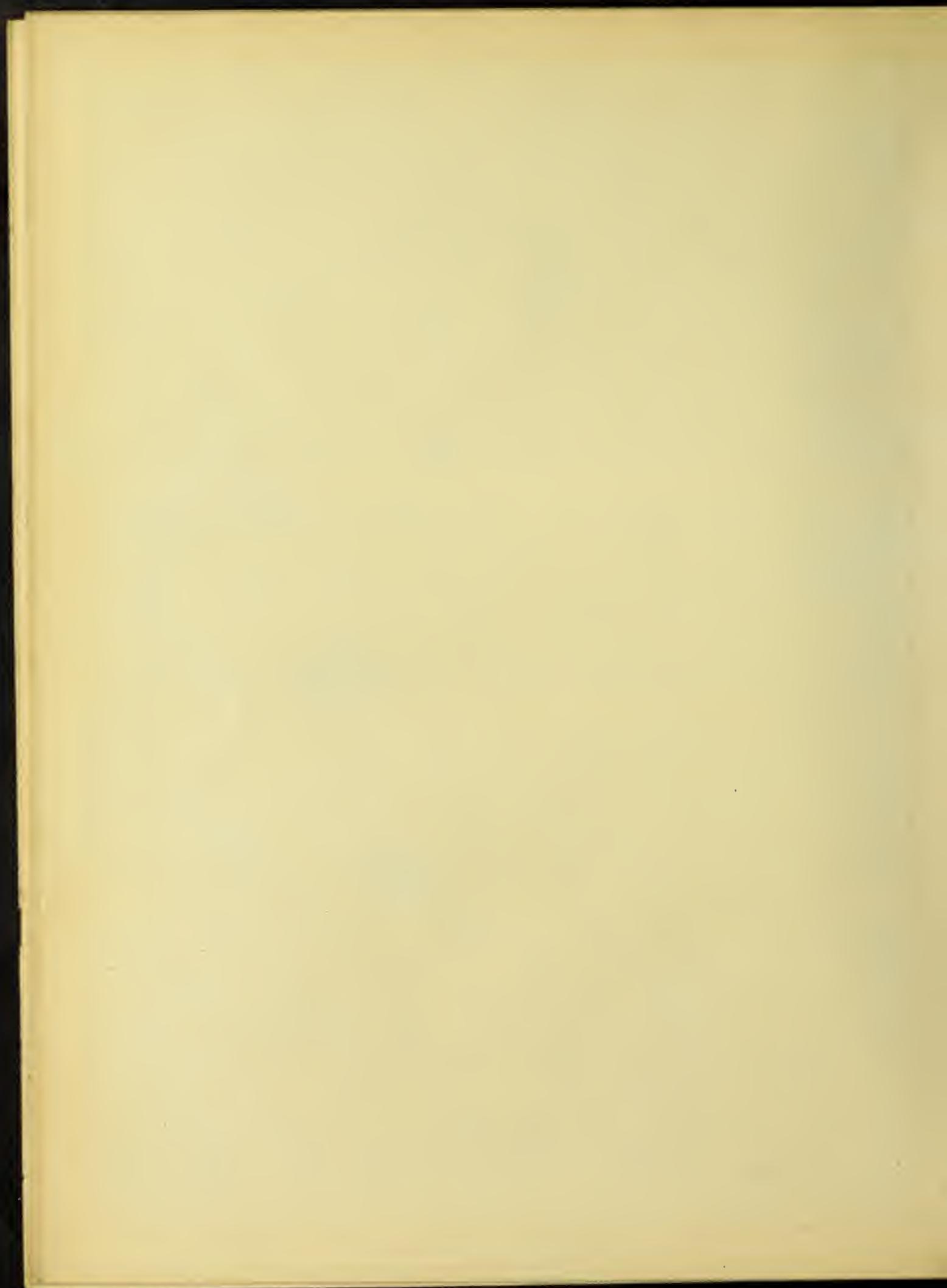
Still farther: an imitator shares his crown, if he has one, with the chosen object of his imitation; an original enjoys an undivided applause. An original may be said to be of a vegetable nature, it rises spontaneously from the vital root of genius; it grows, it is not made: imitations are often a sort of manufacture wrought up by those mechanics, art and labor, out of pre-existent materials not their own.

Again: we read imitation with somewhat of his languor who listens to a twice-told tale: our spirits rouse at an original: that is a perfect stranger, and all throng to learn what news from a foreign land; and though it comes, like an Indian prince, adorned with feathers only, having little of weight, yet of our attention it will rob the more solid, if not equally new. Thus every telescope is lifted at a new discovered star: it makes a hundred astronomers in a moment, and denies equal notice to the sun. But if an original, by being as excellent as new, adds admiration to surprise, then are we at the writer's mercy; on the strong wing of his imagination we are snatched from Britain to Italy, from climate to climate, from pleasure to pleasure; we have no home, no thought, of our own, till the magician drops his pen; and then, falling down into ourselves, we awake to flat realities, lamenting the change, like the beggar who dreamt himself a prince. 10 20

It is with thoughts as it is with words, and with both as with men: they may grow old and die. Words tarnished by passing through the mouths of the vulgar, are laid aside as inelegant and obsolete. So thoughts, when become too common, should lose their currency; and we should send new metal to the mint, that is, new meaning to the press. The division of tongues at Babel did not more effectually debar men from "making themselves a name" (as the Scripture speaks), than the too great concurrence or union of tongues will do for ever. We may as well grow good by another's virtue, or fat by another's food, as famous by another's thought. The world will pay its debt of praise but once, and, instead of applauding, explode a second demand as a cheat. 30

If it is said that most of the Latin classics, and all the Greek, except, perhaps, Homer, Pindar, and Anacreon, are in the number of imitators, yet receive our highest applause; our answer is, that they, though not real, are accidental originals; the works they imitated, few excepted, are lost; they, on their fathers' decease, enter as lawful heirs on their estates in fame: the fathers of our copyists are still in possession; and secured in it, in spite of Goths and flames, by the perpetuating power of the press. Very late must a modern imitator's fame arrive, if it waits for their decease. 40

An original enters early upon reputation: Fame, fond of new glories, sounds her trumpet in triumph at its birth; and yet how few are awakened by it into the noble ambition of like attempts! Ambition is sometimes no vice in life; it is always a virtue in composition. High in the towering Alps is the fountain of the Po; high in fame, and in antiquity, is the fountain of an imitator's undertaking; but the river, and the imitation, humbly creep along the vale. So few are our originals, that, if all other books were to be burnt, the lettered world would resemble some metropolis in flames, where a few incombustible buildings, a fortress, temple, or tower, lift their heads in melancholy grandeur, amid the mighty ruin. Compared with this conflagration, old Omar lighted up but a small bonfire when he heated the baths of the barbarians, for eight months together with the famed Alexandrian library's inestimable spoils, that no profane book might obstruct the triumphant progress of his holy Alcoran round the globe. 50



But why are originals so few? Not because the writer's harvest is over, the great reapers of antiquity having left nothing to be gleaned after them; nor because the human mind's teeming time is past, or because it is incapable of putting forth unprecedented births; but because illustrious examples engross, prejudice, and intimidate. They engross our attention, and so prevent a due inspection of ourselves; they prejudice our judgment in favor of their abilities, and so lessen the sense of our own; and they intimidate us with the splendor of their renown, and thus under diffidence bury our strength. Nature's impossibilities, and those of diffidence, lie wide asunder.

10

Let it not be suspected, that I would weakly insinuate anything in favour of the moderns, as compared with ancient authors, no, I am lamenting their great inferiority. But I think it is no necessary inferiority; that it is not from Divine destination, but from some cause far beneath the moon 1). I think that human souls, through all periods are equal; that due care and exertion would set us nearer our immortal predecessors than we are at present; and he who questions and confutes this, will show abilities not a little tending toward a proof of that equality which he denies.

After all, the first ancients had no merit in being originals: they could not be imitators. Modern writers have a choice to make, and therefore have a merit in their power. They may soar in the regions of liberty, or move in the soft fetters of easy imitation; and imitation has as many plausible reasons to urge as pleasure had to offer Hercules. Hercules made the choice of a hero, and so became immortal.

20

Yet let not assertors of classic excellence imagine that I deny the tribute it so well deserves. He that admires not ancient authors betrays a secret he would conceal, and tells the world that he does not understand them. Let us be as far from neglecting, as from copying, their admirable compositions: sacred be their rights, and inviolable their fame. Let our understandings feed on theirs; they afford the noblest nourishment; but let them nourish, not annihilate, our own. When we read, let our imagination kindle at their charms; when we write, let our judgment shut them out of our thoughts; treat even Homer himself as his royal admirer was treated by the cynic, - bid him stand aside, nor shade our composition from the beams of our own genius; for nothing original can rise, nothing immortal can ripen in any other sun.

30

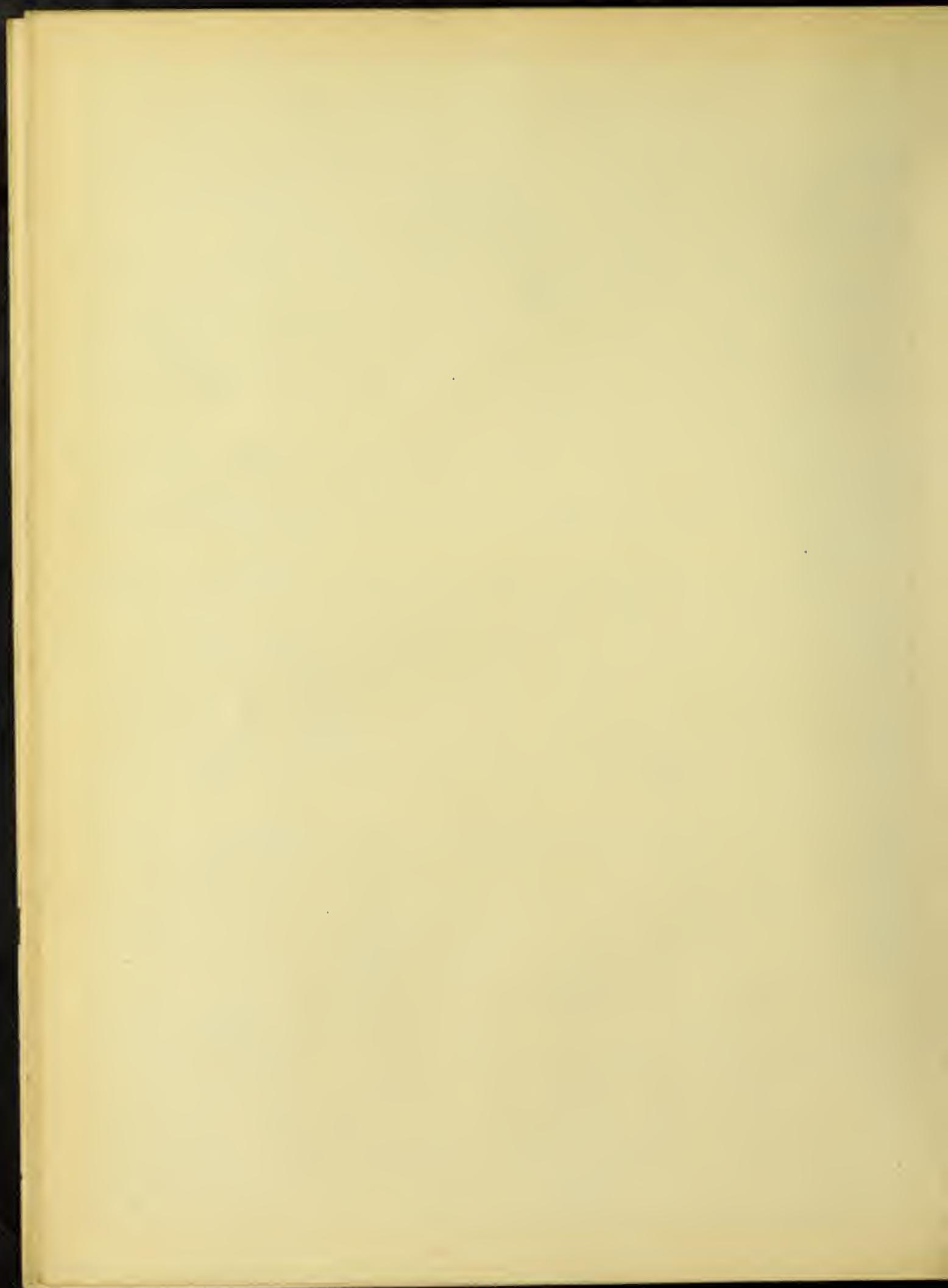
"Must we then," you say, "not imitate ancient authors?" Imitate them by all means; but imitate aright. He that imitates the divine Iliad does not imitate Homer; but he who takes the same method which Homer took for arriving at a capacity of accomplishing a work so great. Tread in his steps to the sole fountain of immortality; drink where he drank, at the true Helicon, that is, at the breast of nature. Imitate; but imitate not the composition, but the man. For may not this paradox pass into a maxim? - namely, "The less we copy the renowned ancients, we shall resemble them the more."

40

But possibly you may reply that you must either imitate Homer, or depart from nature. Not so: for suppose you was to change place, in time, with Homer, then, if you write naturally, you might as well charge Homer with an imitation of you. Can you be said to imitate Homer for writing so as you would have written, if Homer had never been? As far as regard to nature and sound sense will permit a departure from your great predecessors, so far ambitiously depart from them; the farther from them in similitude, the nearer are you to them in excellence; you rise by it into an original; become a noble collateral, not an humble descendant from them. Let us build our compositions with the spirit, and in the taste, of the ancients; but not

50

1) Enquiry into the life of Homer, p. 76



with their materials: thus will they resemble the structures of Pericles at Athens, which Plutarch commends for having had an air of antiquity as soon as they were built. All eminence and distinction lies out of the beaten road, excursion and deviation are necessary to find it; and the more remote your path from the highway, the more reputable, if, like poor Gulliver (of whom anon) you fall not into a ditch in your way to glory.

What glory to come near, what glory to reach, what glory (presumptuous thought!) to surpass, our predecessors! And is that, then, in nature absolutely impossible? or is it not, rather, contrary to nature to fail in it? Nature herself sets the ladder, all wanting is our ambition to climb. For, by the bounty of nature, we are as strong as our predecessors, and by the favour of time (which is but another round in nature's scale) we stand on higher ground. As to the first, were they more than men? or are we less? Are not our minds cast in the same mould with those before the flood? The flood affected matter; mind escaped. As to the second, though we are moderns, the world is an ancient; more ancient far than when they filled it with their fame, whom we most admire.1) Have we not their beauties, as stars, to guide; their defects, as rocks, to be shunned; the judgment of ages on both, as a chart to conduct, and a sure helm to steer us in our passage to greater perfection than theirs? And shall we be stopped in our rival pretensions to fame by this just reproof?

10

20

Stat contra, dicitque tibi tua pagina, Fur es.- Mart.

It is by a sort of noble contagion, from a general familiarity with their writings, and not by any particular sordid theft, that we can be the better for those who went before us. Hope we from plagiarism any dominion in literature, as that of Rome arose from a nest of thieves?

Rome was a powerful ally to many states; ancient authors are our powerful allies; but we must take heed that they do not succor till they enslave, after the manner of Rome. Too formidable an idea of their superiority, like a spectre, would fright us out of a proper use of our wits, and dwarf our understanding, by making a giant of theirs. Too great awe for them lays genius under restraint, and denies it that free scope, that full elbow-room, which is requisite for striking its most masterly strokes. Genius is a master-workman, learning is but an instrument; and an instrument, though most valuable, yet not always indispensable. Heaven will not admit of a partner in the accomplishment of some favourite spirits; but rejecting all human means, assumes the whole glory to itself. Have not some, though not famed for erudition, so written, as almost to persuade us that they shone brighter and soared higher for escaping the boasted aid of that proud ally?

30

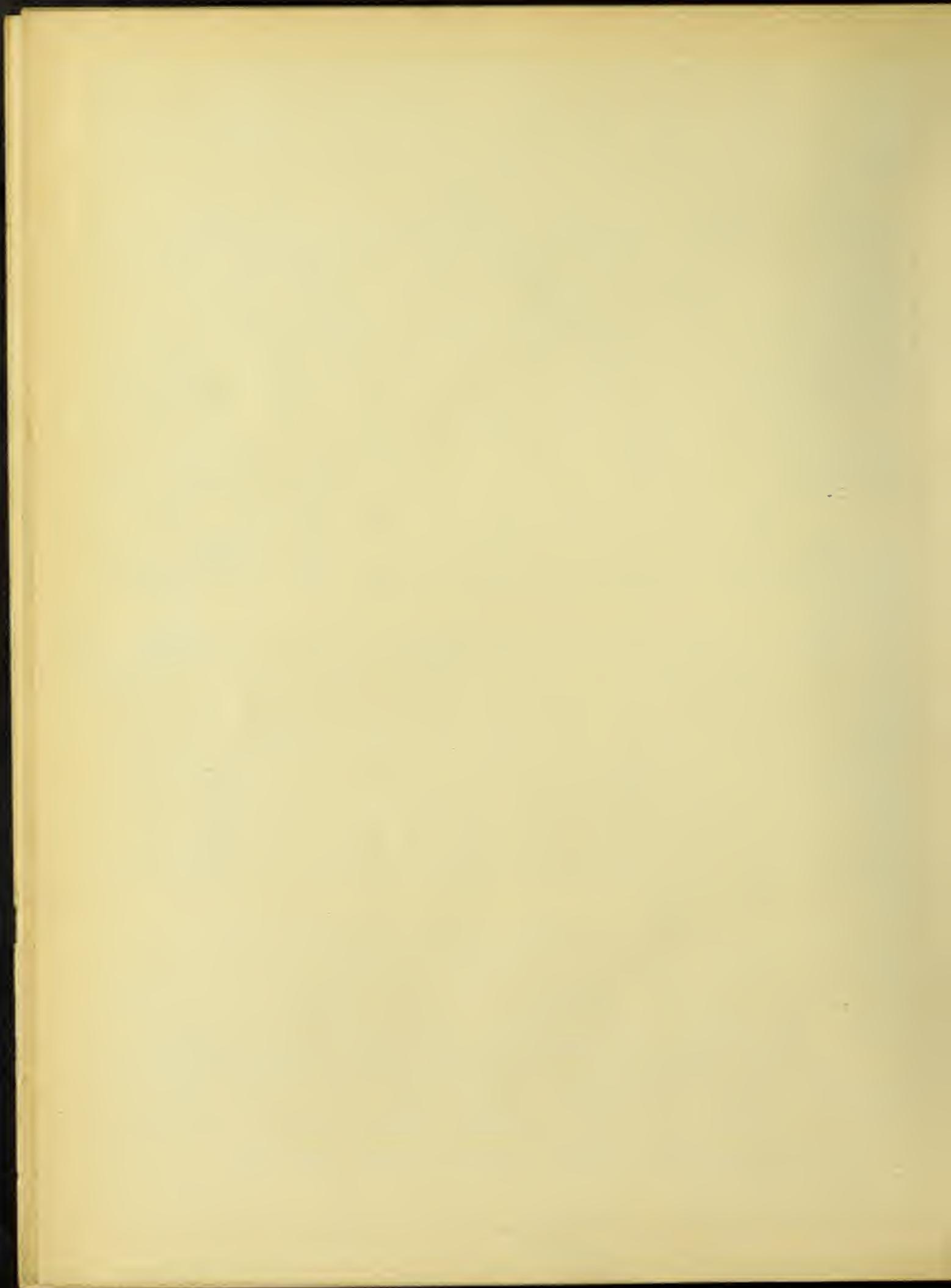
40

Nor is it strange; for what, for the most part, mean we by genius, but the power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end? A genius differs from a good understanding, as a magician from a good architect; that raises his structure by means invisible, this by the skilful use of common tools. Hence genius has ever been supposed to partake of something Divine. Nemo unquam vir magnus fuit, sine aliquo afflatu divino.

50

Learning, destitute of this superior aid, is fond and proud of what has cost it much pains; is a great lover of rules, and boaster of famed examples. As beauties less perfect, who owe half their charms to cautious art, she 2) inveighs against natural unstudied

1) they, whom we most admire, filled it with their fame.  
2) learning.



graces and small harmless indecorums, and sets rigid bounds to that liberty to which genius often owes its supreme glory, but the no-genius its frequent ruin. For unprescribed beauties, and unexampled excellence, which are characteristic of genius, lie without the pale of learning's authorities and laws; which pale, genius must leap to come at them: but by that leap, if genius is wanting, we break our necks; we lose that little credit which possibly we might have enjoyed before. For rules, like crutches, are a needful aid to the lame, though an impediment to the strong. A Homer casts them away, and, like Achilles,

10

Jura negat nata, nihil non arrogat,

by native force of mind. There is something in poetry beyond prose reason; there are mysteries in it not to be explained, but admired, which render mere prose-men infidels to their divinity. And here pardon a second paradox; namely, "Genius often then deserves most to be praised, when it is most sure to be condemned; that is, when its excellence, from mounting high, to weak eyes is quite out of sight."

If I might speak farther of learning and genius, I would compare genius to virtue, and learning to riches. As riches are most wanted where there is least virtue, so learning where there is least genius. As virtue without riches can give happiness, so genius without much learning can give renown. As it is said in Terence, Pecuniam negligere interdum maximum est lucrum, so to neglect of learning genius sometimes owes its greater glory. Genius, therefore, leaves but the second place, among men of letters, to the learned. It is their merit and ambition, to fling light on the works of genius, and point out its charms. We must justly reverence their informing radius for that favor; but we must much more admire the radiant stars pointed out by them.

20

A star of the first magnitude among the moderns was Shakespeare; among the ancients, Pindar; who, as Vossius tells us, boasted of his no-learning, calling himself the eagle, for his flight above it. And such geni as these may, indeed, have much reliance on their own native powers. For genius may be compared to the body's natural strength; 1) learning to the superinduced accoutrements of arms. If the first is equal to the proposed exploit, the latter rather encumbers than assists; rather retards, than promotes, the victory. Sacer nobis inest Deus, says Seneca. With regard to the moral world, conscience - with regard to the intellectual, genius - is that god within. Genius can set us right in composition without the rules of the learned, as conscience sets us right in life without the laws of the land; this, singly, can make us good, as men; that, singly, as writers can sometimes make us great.

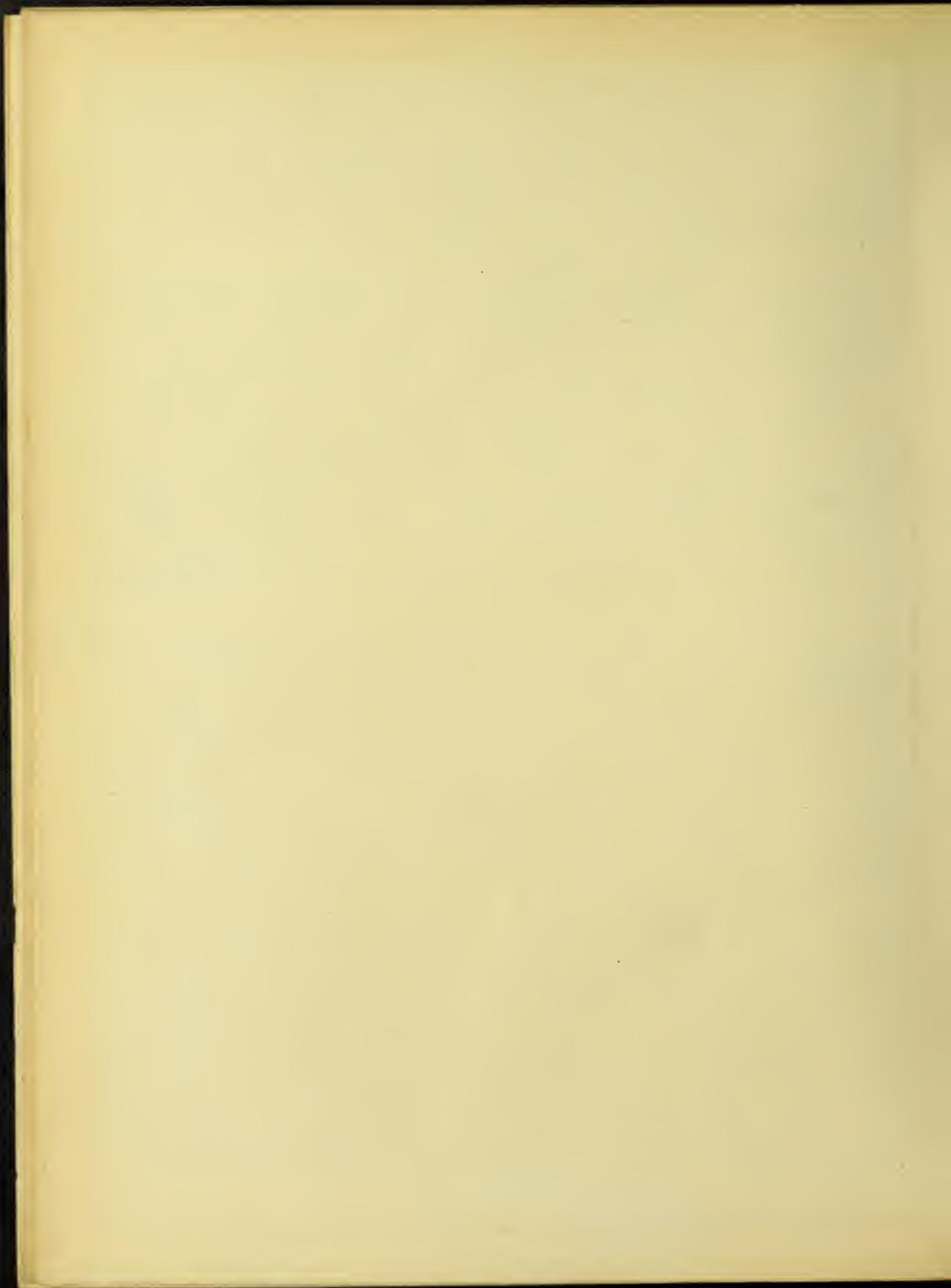
30

40

I say, "sometimes", because there is a genius which stands in need of learning to make it shine. Of genius there are two species, an earlier and a later; or call them infantine, and adult. An adult genius comes out of nature's hand, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature; Shakespeare's genius was of this kind: on the contrary, Swift stumbled at the threshold, and set out for distinction on feeble knees. His was an infantine genius; a genius, which, like other infants, must be nursed and educated, or it will come to nought. Learning is its nurse and tutor; but this nurse may overlay with an undigested load, which smothers common sense; this tutor may mislead with pedantic prejudice, which vitiates the best understanding. As too great admirers of the fathers of the church have sometimes set up their authority against the true sense of Scripture, so too great admirers of the classical fathers have sometimes set up their authority, or example, against reason.

50

1) to the natural strength of the body



Neve minor, neu sit quinto productioni actu fabula.

So says Horace, so says ancient example. But reason has not subscribed. I know but one book that can justify our implicit acquiescence in it 1).

But superstition 2) set aside, the classics are for ever our rightful and revered masters in composition, and our understandings bow before them. But when? When a master is wanted; which sometimes as I have shown, is not the case. Some are pupils of nature only, nor go farther to school. From such we reap often a double advantage; they not only rival the reputation of the great ancient authors, but also reduce the number of mean ones among the moderns. For when they enter on subjects which have been in former hands, such is their superiority, that, like a tenth wave, they overwhelm and bury in oblivion all that went before; and thus not only enrich and adorn, but remove a load, and lessen the labor, of the lettered world.

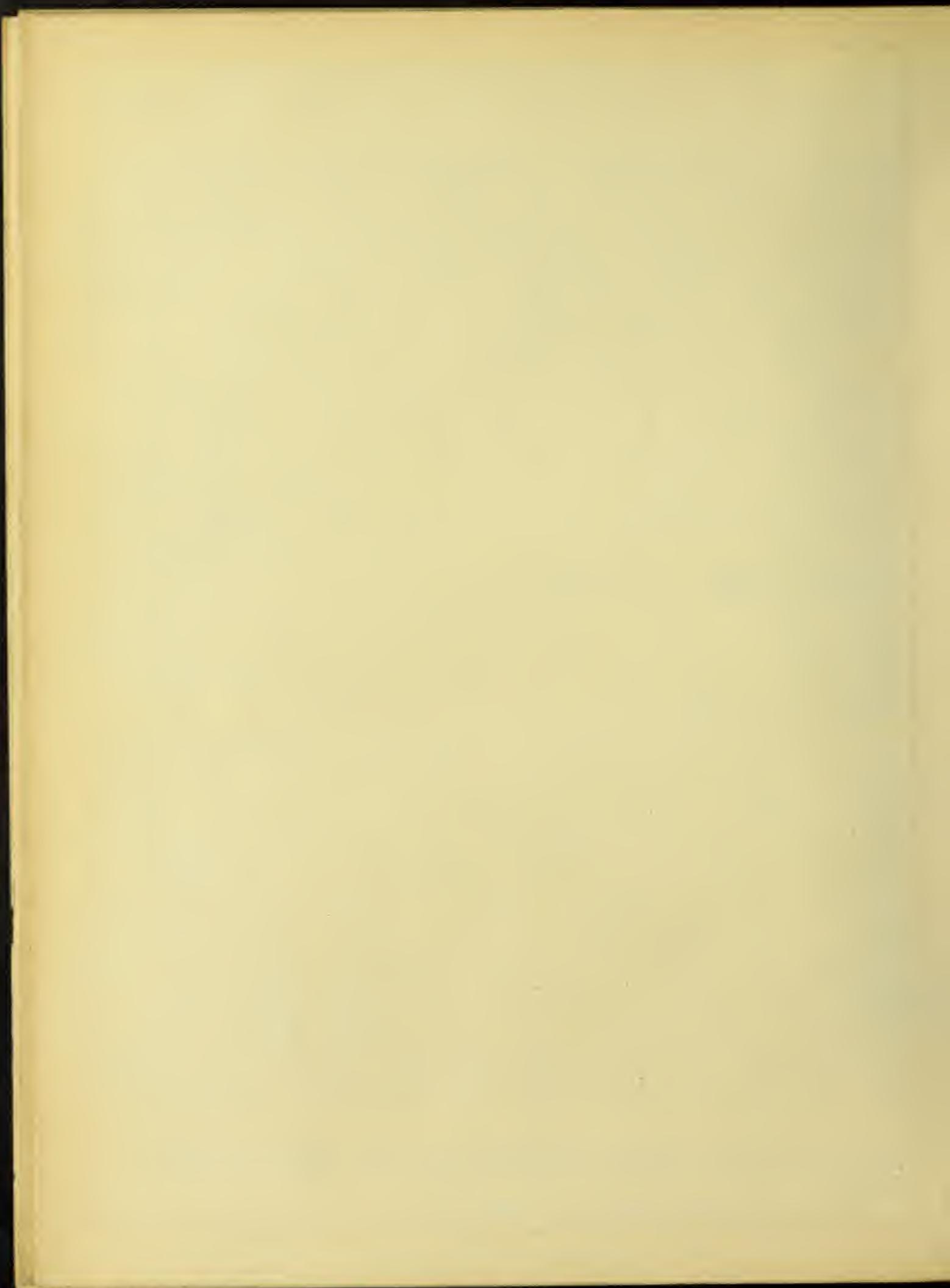
"But", you say, "since originals can arise from genius only, and since genius is so very rare, it is scarce worth while to labor a point so much, from which we can reasonably expect so little." To show that genius is not so very rare as you imagine, I shall point out strong instances of it in a far distant quarter from that mentioned above. The minds of the schoolmen were almost as much cloistered as their bodies; they had but little learning, and few books; yet may the most learned be struck with some astonishment at their so singular natural sagacity, and most exquisite edge of thought. Who would expect to find Pindar and Scotus, Shakespeare and Aquinas, of the same party? Both equally show an original, unindebted energy; the vigor igneus, and coelestis origo, burn in both; and leave us in doubt if 3) genius is more evident in the sublime flights and beautiful flowers of poetry, or in the profound penetrations, and marvelously keen and minute distinctions, called the "thorns of the schools" There might have been more able consuls called from the plough than ever arrived at that honor; many a genius, probably, there has been which could neither write nor read. So that genius, that supreme lustre of literature, is less rare than you conceive.

By the praise of genius we detract not from learning; we detract not from the value of gold by saying that a diamond has greater still. He who disregards learning, shows that he wants its aid; and he that overvalues it, shows that its aid has done him harm. Overvalued, indeed, it cannot be, if genius, as to composition is valued more. Learning we thank, genius we revere; that gives us pleasure, this gives us rapture; that informs, this inspires, and is itself inspired; for genius is from heaven, learning from man: this sets us above the low and illiterate; that, above the learned and polite. Learning is borrowed knowledge; genius is knowledge innate, and quite our own. There fore as Bacon observes, it may take a nobler name, and be called "wisdom"; in which sense of wisdom, some are born wise.

But here a caution is necessary against the most fatal of errors in those automaths, those "self-taught philosophers" of our age, who set up genius, and often mere fancied genius, not only above human learning, but divine truth. I have called genius "wisdom"; but let it be remembered, that in the most renowned ages of the most refined heathen wisdom, (and theirs is not Christian,) "the world by wisdom knew not God; and it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save those that believed." In the fairyland of fancy, genius may

1) it: and (by the way) on that book a noble disdain of undue deference to prior opinion has lately cast a new and inestimable light.

2) for our predecessors      3) whether



wander wild; there it has a creative power, and may reign arbitrarily over its own empire of chimeras. The wide field of nature also lies open before it, where it may range unconfined, make what discoveries it can, and sport with its infinite objects uncontrolled, as far as visible nature extends, painting them as wantonly as it will. But what painter of the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us the true portrait of a seraph? He can give us only what by his own, or others eyes, has been seen; though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burlesqued, dishonored, or adorned. In like manner, who can give us Divine truth unrevealed? Much less should any presume to set aside Divine truth when revealed, as incongruous to their own sagacities. Is this too serious for my subject? I shall be more so before I close. 10

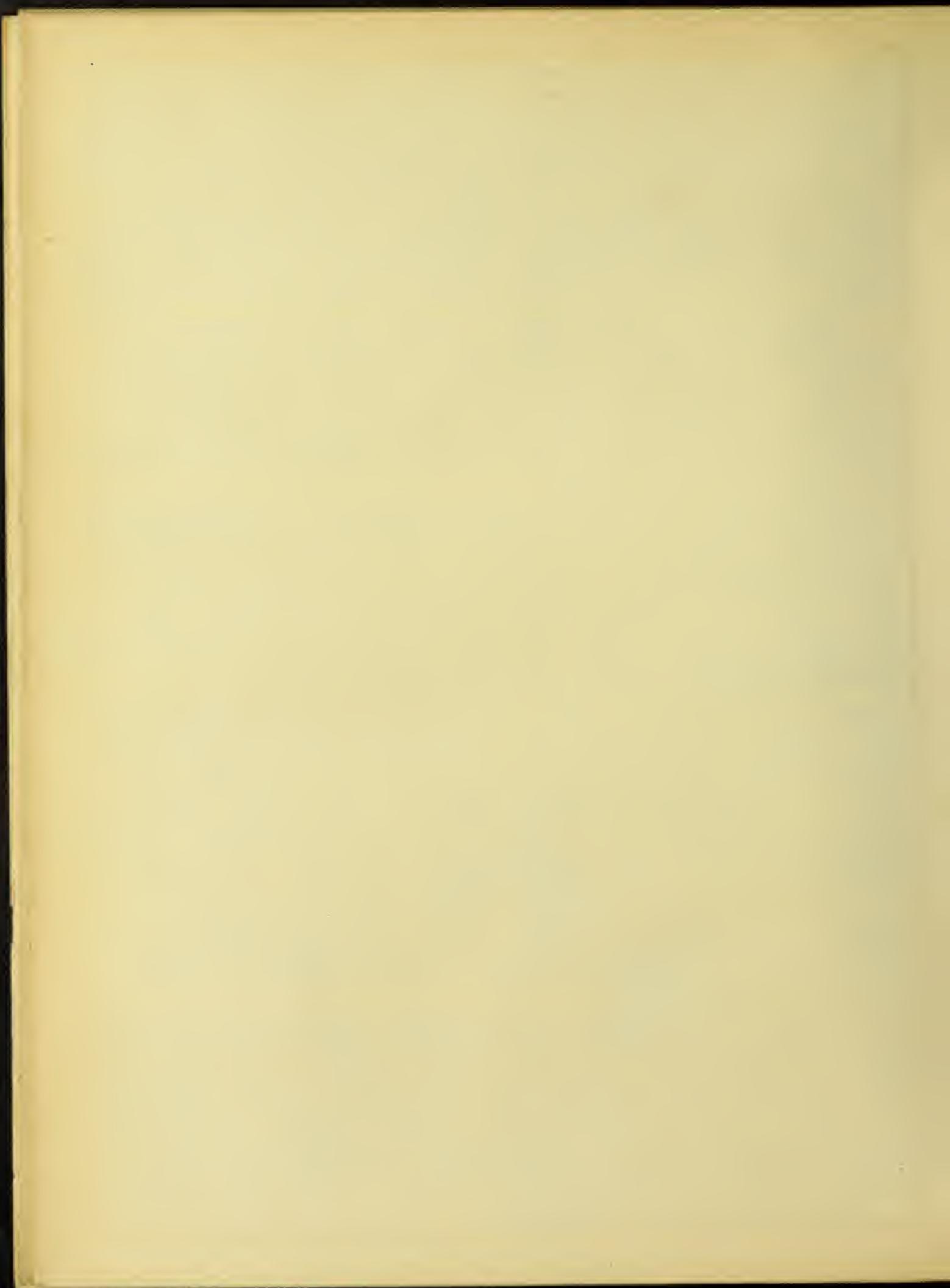
Having put in a caveat against the most fatal of errors, from the too great indulgence of genius, return we now to that too great suppression of it, which is detrimental to composition, and endeavor to rescue the writer, as well as the man. I have said, that some are born wise; but they, like those that are born rich, by neglecting the cultivation and produce of their own possessions, and by running in debt, may be beggared at last; and lose their reputations, as younger brothers estates, not by being born with less abilities than the rich heir, but at too late an hour. 20

Many a great man has been lost to himself and the public, purely because great ones were born before him. Hermias, in his Collections on Homer's blindness, says that Homer, requesting the gods to grant him a sight of Achilles, that hero rose, but in armor so bright that it struck Homer blind with the blaze. Let not the blaze of even Homer's muse darken us to the discernment of our own powers, which may possibly set us above the rank of imitators; who, though most excellent, and even immortal, (as some of them are) yet are still but Dii minorum gentium, nor can expect the largest share of incense, the greatest profusion of praise, on their secondary altars. 30

But farther still: a spirit of imitation hath many ill effects; I shall confine myself to three. First, it deprives the liberal and politer arts of an advantage which the mechanic enjoy: in these, men are ever endeavoring to go beyond their predecessors; in the former, to follow them. And since copies surpass not their originals, as streams rise not higher than their spring, rarely so high; hence, while arts mechanic are in perpetual progress and increase, the liberal are in retrogradation and decay. These resemble pyramids, - are broad at bottom, but lessen exceedingly as they rise; those resemble rivers which, from a small fountain-head, are spreading ever wider and wider as they run. Hence it is evident that different portions of understanding are not (as some imagine) allotted to different periods of time; for we see, in the same period, understanding rising in one set of artists, and declining in another. Therefore nature stands absolved, and the inferiority of our composition 1) must be charged on ourselves. 40

Nay, so far are we from complying with a necessity which nature lays us under, that, secondly, by a spirit of imitation we counteract nature and thwart her design. She brings us into the world all originals. No two faces, no two minds, are just alike; but all bear nature's evident mark of separation on them. Born originals, how comes it to pass that we die copies? That meddling ape imitation, as soon as we come to years of indiscretion, (so let me speak), snatches the pen, and blots out nature's mark of separation, cancels her kind intention, destroys all mental individuality. The lettered world no longer consists of singulars; it is a medley, a mass; and a hundred 50

1) our inferiority in composition



books, at bottom, are but one. Why are monkeys such masters of mimicry? Why receive they such a talent at imitation? Is it not as the Spartan slaves received a licence for ebriety, - that their betters might be ashamed of it?

The third fault to be found with a spirit of imitation is, that, with great incongruity, it makes us poor and proud; makes us think little, and write much; gives us huge folios, which are little better than more reputable cushions to promote our repose. Have not some sevenfold volumes put us in mind of Ovid's sevenfold channels of the Nile at the conflagration? -

10

Ostia septem

Pulverulenta vacant septem sine flumine valles.

Such leaden labors are like Lycurgus' iron money, which was so much less in value than in bulk that it required barns for strong boxes, and a yoke of oxen to draw five hundred pounds.

But notwithstanding these advantages of imitation, imitation must be the lot (and often an honorable lot it is) of most writers. If there is a famine of invention in the land, like Joseph's brethren we must travel far for food; we must visit the remote and rich ancients. But an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenished from within, and affords us a miraculous delight. Whether our own genius be such or not, we diligently should inquire, that we may not go begging with gold in our purse; for there is a mine in man which must be deeply dug ere we can conjecture its contents. Another often sees that in us which we see not ourselves; and may there not be that in us which is unseen by both? That there may, chance often discovers, either by a luckily chosen theme, or a mighty premium, or an absolute necessity of exertion, or a noble stroke of emulation from another's glory; as that on Thucydides, from hearing Herodotus repeat part of his history of the Olympic games. Had there been no Herodotus, there might have been no Thucydides, and the world's admiration might have begun at Livy for excellence in that province of the pen. Demosthenes had the same stimulation on hearing Callistratus; or Tully might have been the first of consummate renown at the bar.

20

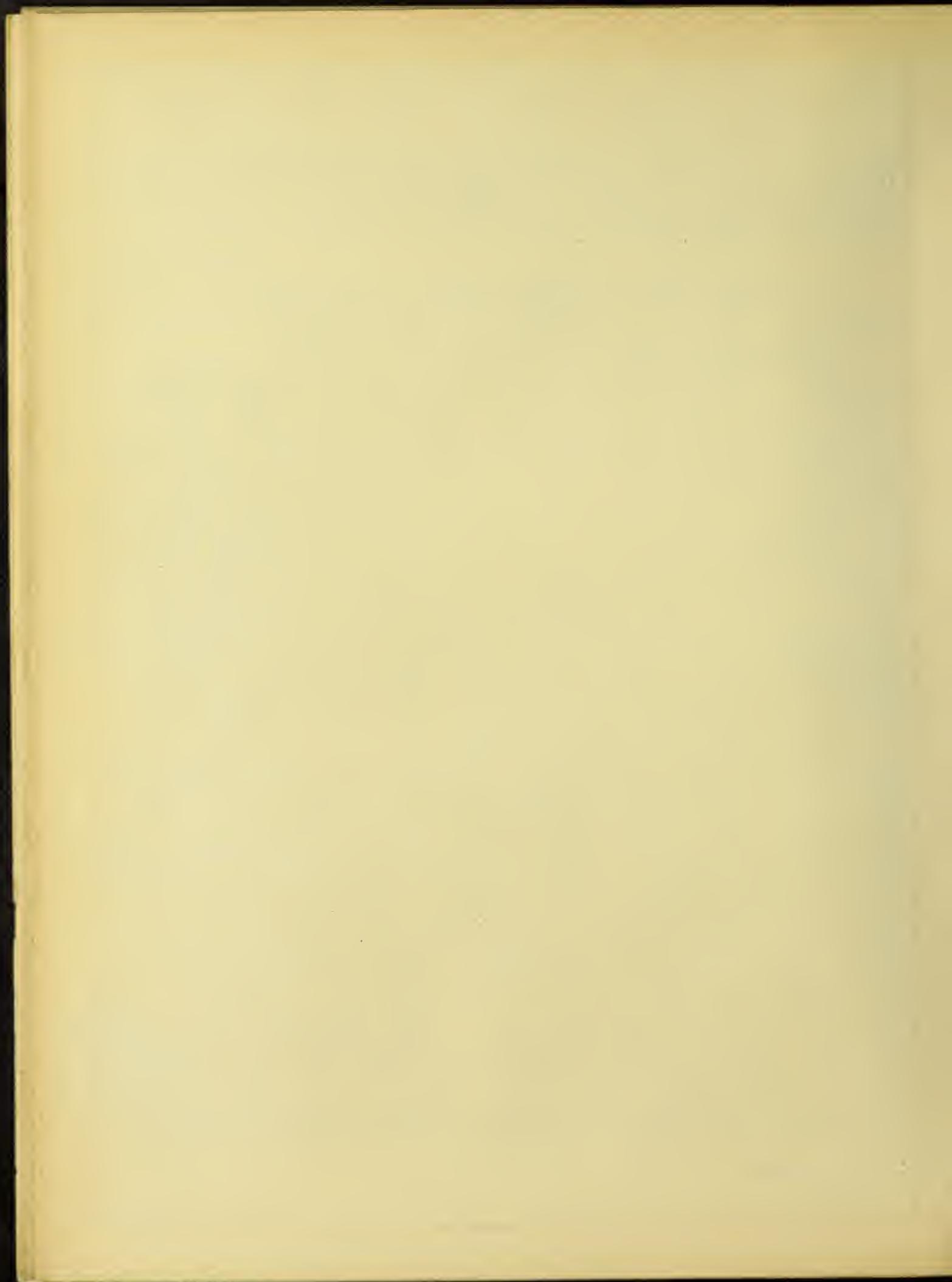
30

Quite clear of the dispute concerning ancient and modern learning, we speak not of performance, but powers. The modern powers are equal to those before them; modern performance in general is deplorably short. How great are the names just mentioned! Yet who will dare affirm, that as great may not rise up in some future or even in the present age? Reasons there are why talents may not appear, none why they may not exist, as much in one period as another. An evocation of vegetable fruits depends on rain, air, and sun; an evocation of the fruits of genius no less depends on externals. What a marvellous crop bore it in Greece and Rome! and what a marvellous sunshine did it there enjoy! what encouragement from the nature of their governments, and the spirit of their people! Virgil and Horace owed their divine talents to Heaven, their immortal works to men: thank Maecenas and Augustus for them. Had it not been for these, the genius of those poets had lain buried in their ashes. Athens expended on her theatre, painting, sculpture, and architecture, a tax levied for the support of a war. Caesar dropped his papers when Tully spoke; and Philip trembled at the voice of Demosthenes. And has there shone 1) but one Tully, one Demosthenes, in so long a course of years? The powerful eloquence of them both in one stream should never bear me down into the melancholy persuasion, that several have not been born, though

40

50

1) arisen



they have not emerged. The sun as much exists in a cloudy day as in a clear: it is outward, accidental circumstances, that, with regard to genius either in nation or age.

Collectas fugat nubes, solemque reducit.- Virg.

As great, perhaps greater than those mentioned, (presumptuous as it may sound) may possibly arise; for who hath fathomed the mind of man? Its bounds are as unknown as those of the creation; since the birth of which, perhaps, not one has so far exerted, as not to leave his possibilities beyond his attainments, his powers beyond his exploits. Forming our judgments, altogether by what has been done, without knowing, or at all inquiring, what possibly might have been done, we naturally enough fall into too mean an opinion of the human mind. If a sketch of the divine Iliad before Homer wrote, had been given to mankind, by some superior being, or otherwise, its execution would, probably, have appeared beyond the power of man. Now, to surpass it, we think impossible. As the first of these opinions would evidently have been a mistake, why may not the second be so too? Both are founded on the same bottom,- on our ignorance of the possible dimensions of the mind of man.

Nor are we only ignorant of the dimensions of the human mind in general, but even of our own. That a man may be scarce less ignorant of his powers than an oyster of its pearl, or a rock of its diamond; that he may possess dormant, unsuspected abilities, till awakened by loud calls, or stung up by striking emergencies; is evident from the sudden eruption of some men out of perfect obscurity into public admiration, on the strong impulse of some animating occasion; not more to the world's great surprise than their own. Few authors of distinction but have experienced something of this nature, at the first beamings of their yet unsuspected genius on their hitherto dark composition. The writer starts at it, as at a lucid meteor in the night, is much surprised, can scarce believe it true. During his happy confusion, it may be said to him, as to Eve at the lake,

"What there thou seest, fair creature, is thyself."- Milton.

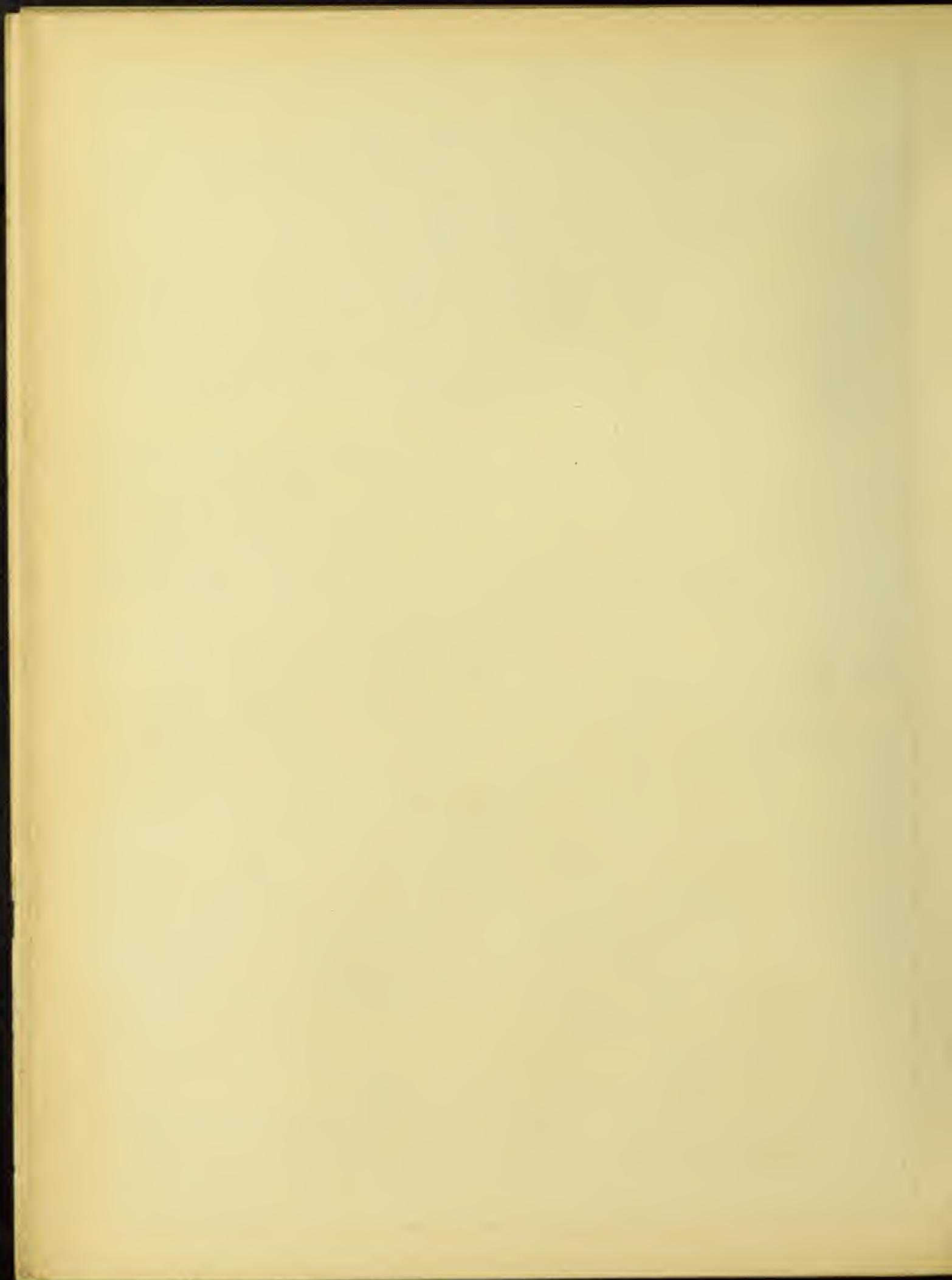
Genius, in this view, is like a dear friend in our company under disguise; who, while we are lamenting his absence, drops his mask, striking us at once with equal surprise and joy. This sensation, which I speak of in a writer, might favor, and so promote, the fable of poetic inspiration. A poet of a strong imagination and stronger vanity, on feeling it, might naturally enough realize the world's mere compliment, and think himself truly inspired: which is not improbable; for enthusiasts of all kinds do no less.

Since it is plain that men may be strangers to their own abilities, and by thinking meanly of them without just cause may possibly lose a name, perhaps a name immortal, I would find some means to prevent these evils. Whatever promotes virtue, promotes something more, and carries its good influence beyond the moral man: to prevent these evils, I borrow two golden rules from ethics, which are no less golden in composition than in life: 1. "know thyself;" 2. "Reverence thyself." I design to repay ethics in a future letter, by two rules from rhetoric for its service.

1. "Know thyself." Of ourselves it may be said, as Martial says of a bad neighbor,

*Nil tam prope, proculque nobis.*

Therefore dive deep into thy bosom; learn the depth, extent, bias, and full fort of thy mind; contract full intimacy with the stranger within thee; excite and cherish every spark of intellectual light and heat, however smothered under former negligence, or scattered through the dull, dark mass of common thoughts; and, collecting them into a body, let thy genius rise (if genius thou hast) as the sun



from chaos; and if I should then say, like an Indian, "Worship it", (though too bold), yet should I say little more than my second rule enjoins; namely, "Reverence thyself."

That is, let not great examples or authorities browbeat thy reason into too great a diffidence of thyself: thyself so reverence as to prefer the native growth of thy own mind to the richest import from abroad: such borrowed riches make us poor. The man who thus reverences himself will soon find the world's reverence to follow his own. His works will stand distinguished: his the sole property of them; which property alone can confer the noble title of an author: that is, of one who, to speak accurately, thinks and composes; while other invaders of the press, how voluminous and learned soever, (with due respect be it spoken,) only read and write.

This is the difference between those two luminaries in literature, the well-accomplished scholar, and the divinely inspired enthusiast: the first is, as the bright morning star; the second, as the rising sun. The writer who neglects those two rules above will never stand alone: he makes one of a group, and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng. Incumbered with the notions of others, and impoverished by their abundance, he conceives not the least embryo of new thought; opens not the least vista through the gloom of ordinary writers, into the bright walks of rare imagination and singular design. While the true genius is crossing all public roads into fresh untrodden ground, he, up to the knees in antiquity, is treading the sacred footsteps of great examples, with the blind veneration of a bigot saluting the papal toe; comfortably hoping full absolution for the sins of his own understanding, from the powerful charm of his idol's infallibility.

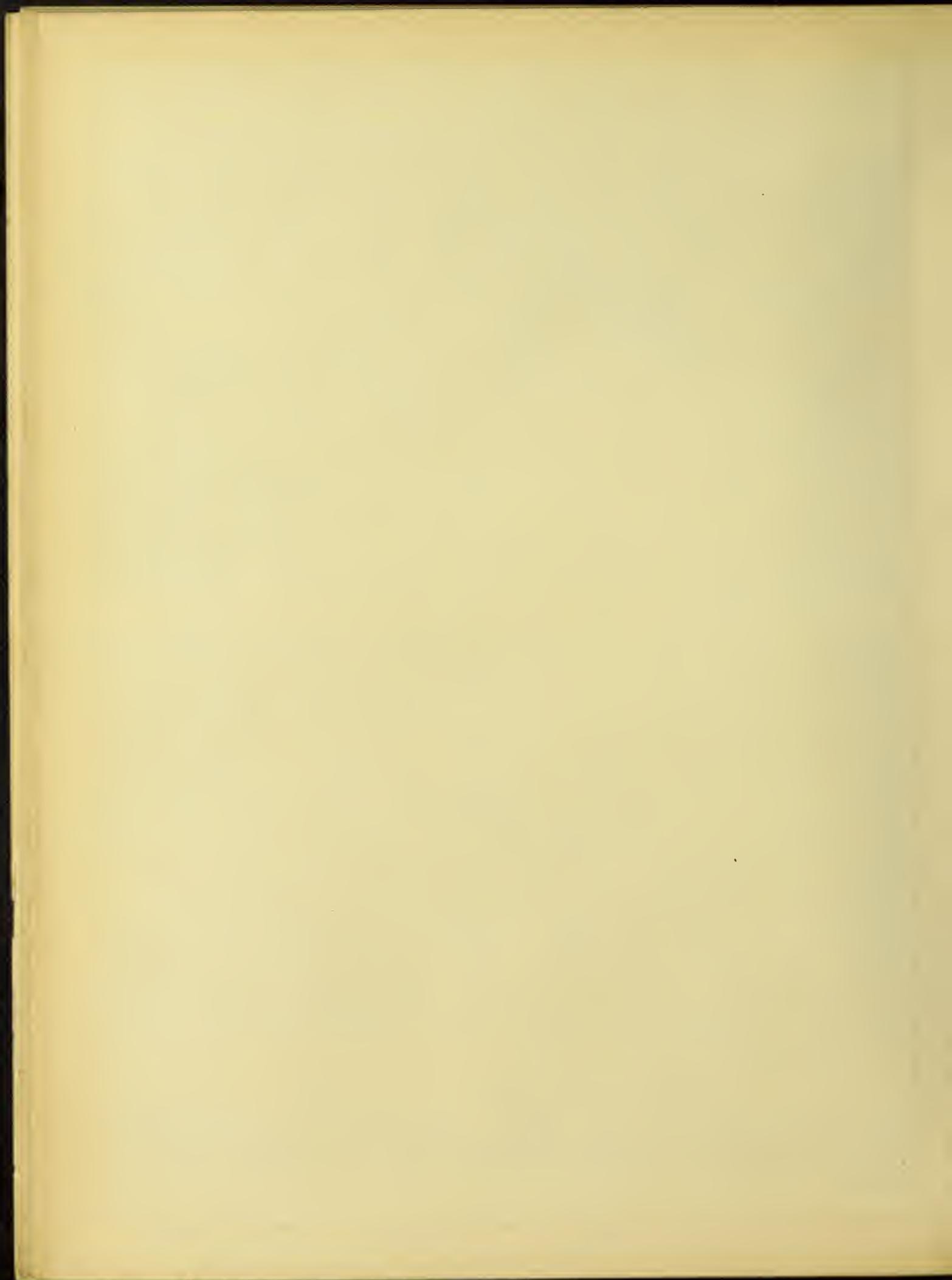
Such meanness of mind, such prostration of our own powers, proceeds from too great admiration of others. Admiration has, generally, a degree of two very bad ingredients in it, - of ignorance and of fear; and does mischief in composition and in life. Proud as the world is, there is more superiority in it given than assumed; and its grandees of all kinds owe more of their elevation to the littleness of others' minds, than to the greatness of their own. Were not prostrate spirits their voluntary pedestals, the figure they would make among mankind would not stand so high. Imitators and translators are somewhat of the pedestal-kind, and sometimes rather raise their original's reputation by showing him to be by them inimitable, than their own. Homer has been translated into most languages; Aelian tells us, that the Indians, (hopeful tutors) have taught him to speak their tongue. What expect we from them? Not Homer's Achilles, but something which, like Patroclus, assumes his name, and, at its peril, appears in his stead: nor expect we Homer's Ulysses gloriously bursting out of his cloud into royal grandeur, but an Ulysses under disguise, and a beggar to the last. Such is that inimitable father of poetry, and oracle of all the wise whom Lycurgus transcribed; and for an annual public recital of whose works Solon enacted a law, that it is much to be feared that his so numerous translations are but as the published testimonials of so many nations and ages, that this author, so divine, is untranslated still.

But here,

*Cynthius aurem vellit;*

*Virg.*

and demands justice for his favorite, and ours. Great things he has done; but he might have done greater. What a fall is it from Homer's numbers, free as air, lofty, and harmonious as the spheres, into childish shackles and tinkling sounds! But, in his fall, he is still great;



"Nor appears  
Milt.

Less than archangel ruin'd, and the excess  
Of glory obscurea."

Had Milton never wrote, Pope had been less to blame; but when in Milton's genius Homer, as it were, personally rose to forbid Britons doing him that ignoble wrong, it is less pardonable, by that effeminate decoration, to put Achilles in petticoats a second time. How much nobler had it been, if his numbers had rolled on in full flow through the various modulations of masculine melody, into those grandeurs of solemn sound which are indispensably demanded by the native dignity of heroic song! How much nobler, if he had resisted the temptation of that Gothic demon, which modern poesy tasting, became mortal! O how unlike the deathless, divine harmony of three great names, (how justly joined!) of Milton, Greece, and Rome! His verse, but for this little speck of mortality, in its extreme parts, as his hoer had in his heel, like him, had been invulnerable and immortal. But, unfortunately, that was undipped in Helicon, as this in Styx. Harmony, as well as eloquence, is essential to poesy; and a murder of his music is putting half Homer to death. "Blank" is a term of diminution: what we mean by "blank verse" is, verse unfallen, uncursed; verse reclaimed, reenthroned in the true language of the gods: who never thundered, nor suffered their Homer to thunder, in rhyme; and therefore, I beg you, my friend, to crown it with some nobler term; nor let the greatness of the thing lie under the defamation of such a name.

10

20

But supposing Pope's Iliad to have been perfect in its kind; yet it is a translation still; which differs as much from an original as the moon from the sun.

-- Phoeben alieno jusserat igne  
Impleri, solemque suo. Claud.

30

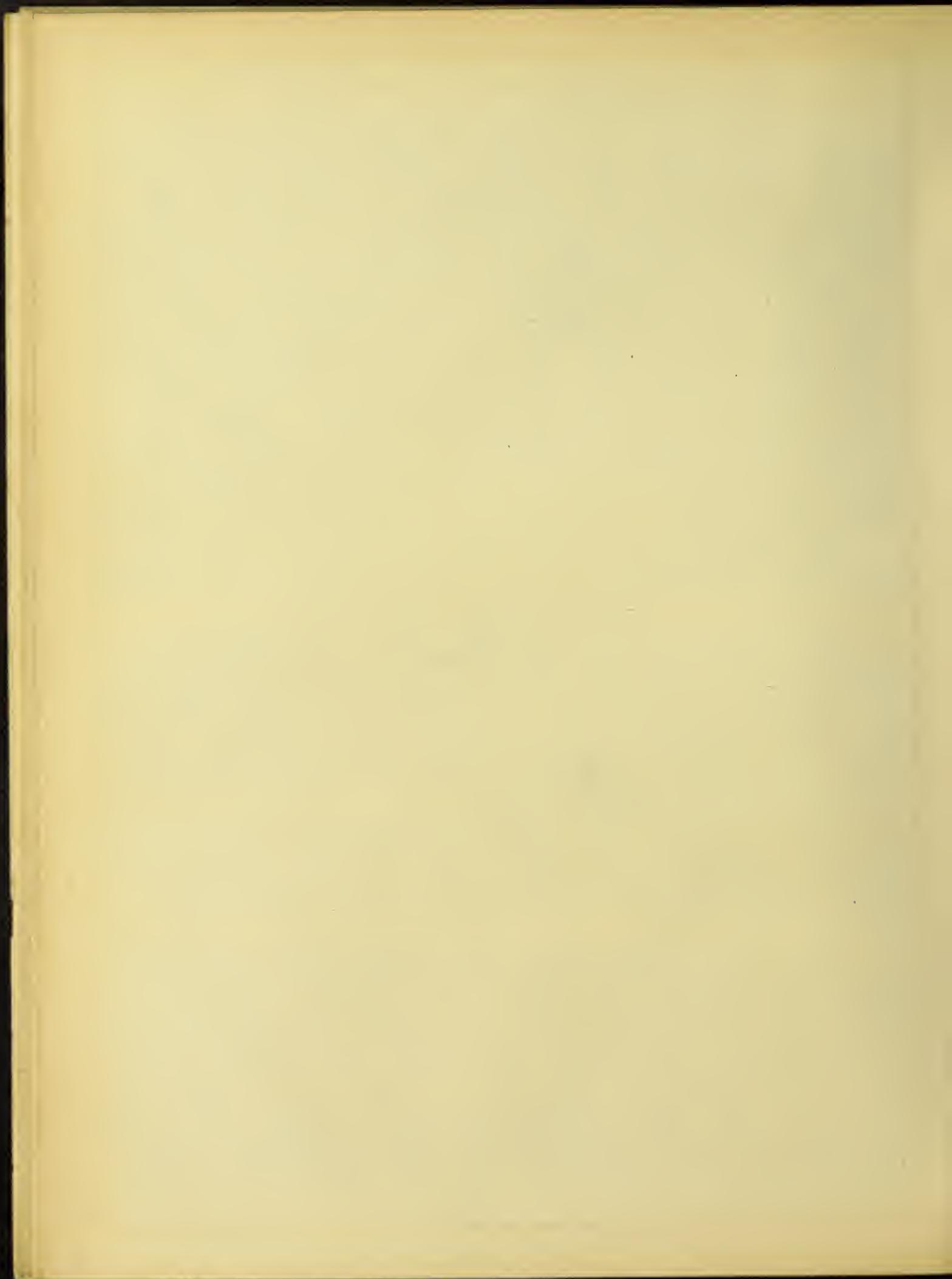
But as nothing is more easy than to write originally wrong, originals are not here recommended but under the strong guard of my first rule, - "Know thyself". Lucian, who was an original, neglected not this rule, if we may judge by his reply to one who took some freedom with him. He was, at first, an apprentice to a statuary; and when he was reflected on as such by being called Prometheus, he replied, "I am, indeed, the inventor of new work, the model of which I owe to none: and, if I do not execute it well, I deserve to be torn by twelve vultures, instead of one."

If so, O Gulliver, dost thou not shudder as thy brother Lucian's 40 vultures hovering over thee? Shudder on! They cannot shock thee more than decency has been shocked by thee. How have thy Houynhums thrown thy judgment from its seat, and laid thy imagination in the mire! In what ordure hast thou dipped thy pencil! What a monster hast thou made of the

-- Human face divine! Milt.

This writer has so satirized human nature, as to give a demonstration in himself, that it deserves to be satirized. "But," say his wholesale admirers, "few could so have written." True, and fewer would. If it required great abilities to commit the fault, greater still would have saved him from it. But whence arise such warm advocates for such a performance? From hence, namely: Before a character is established, merit makes fame; afterwards fame makes merit. Swift is not commended for this piece, but this piece for Swift. He has given us some beauties which deserve all our praise; and our comfort is, that his faults will not become common; for none can become guilty of them but who have wit as well as reputation to spare. His wit had been less wild, if his temper had not jostled his judgment. If his favorite Houynhums could write, and Swift had been one

50



of them, every horse with him would have been an ass, and he would have written a panegyric on mankind, saddling with much reproach the present heroes of his pen: on the contrary, being born amongst men, and, of consequence, piqued by many, and peevish at more, he has blasphemed a nature little lower than that of angels, and assumed by far higher than they. But surely the contempt of the world is not a greater virtue, than the contempt of mankind is a vice. Therefore I wonder that, though foreborne by others, the laughter-loving Swift was not reproved by the venerable dean, who could sometimes be very grave.

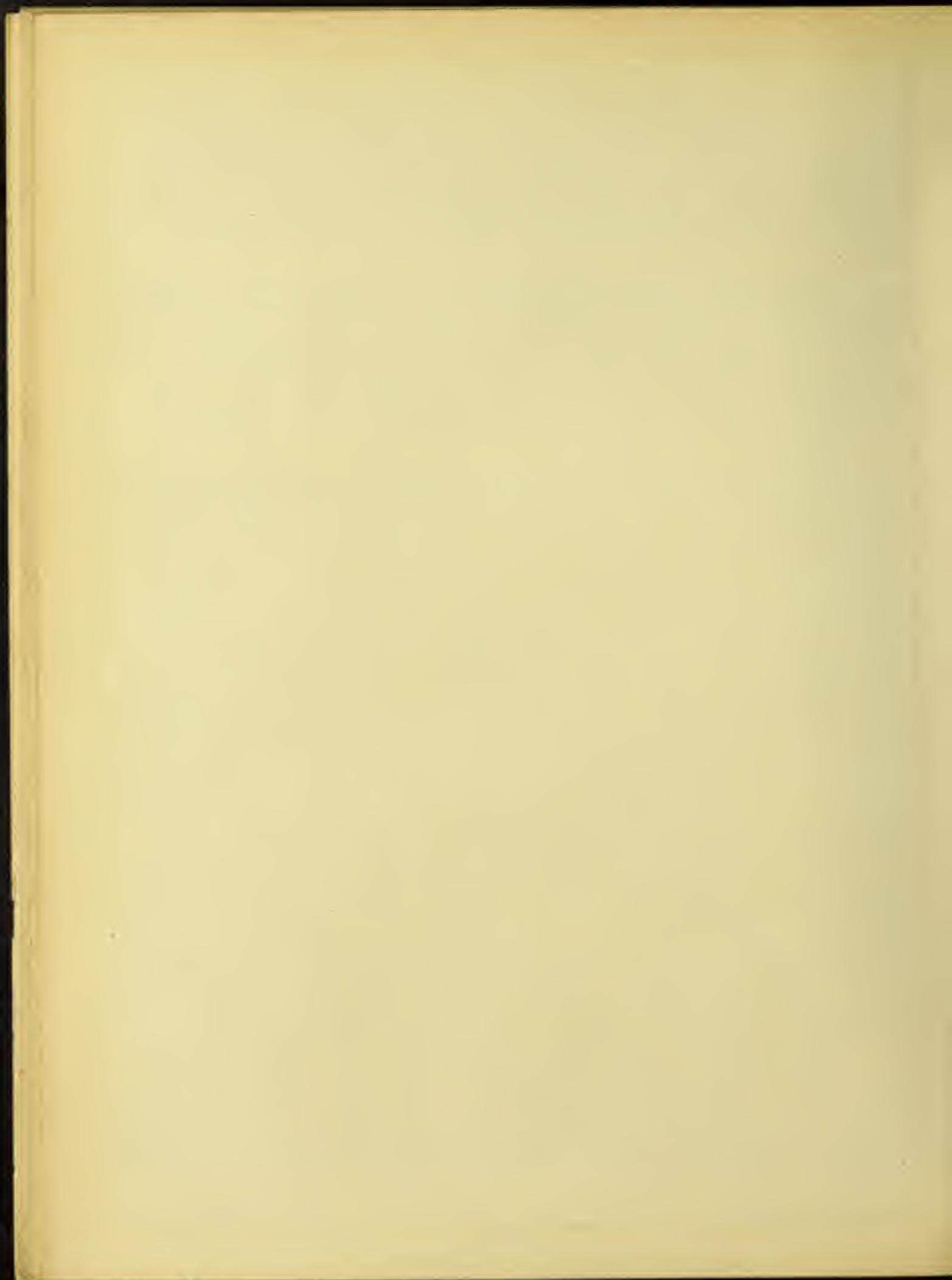
For I remember, as I and others were taking with him an evening's walk, about a mile out of Dublin, he stopped short; we passed on; but perceiving that he did not follow us, I went back, and found him fixed as a statue, and earnestly gazing upward at a noble elm, which in its uppermost branches was much withered and decayed. Pointing at it he said, "I shall be like that tree: I shall die at top." As in this he seemed to prophecy like the Sybils; if, like one of them, he had burnt part of his works, especially this blasted branch of a noble genius, like her too, he might have risen in his demand for the rest.

Would not his friend Pope have succeeded better in an original attempt? Talents untried are talents unknown. All that I know is, that, contrary to these sentiments, he was not only an avowed professor of imitation, but a zealous recommender of it also. Nor could he recommend anything better, except emulation, to those who write. One of these all writers must call to their aid; but aids they are of unequal repute. Imitation is inferiority confessed, emulation is superiority contested or denied; imitation is servile, emulation, generous; that fetters, this fires; that may give a name, this a name immortal. This made Athens to succeeding ages the rule of taste, and the standard of perfection. Her men of genius struck fire against each other; and kindled by conflict, into glories no 1) time shall extinguish. We thank Aeschylus for Sophocles, and Parrhasius for Zeuxis, emulation for both. That bids us fly the general fault of imitators; bids us not be struck with the loud report of former fame, as with a knell, which damps the spirits, but as with a trumpet, which inspires arder to rival the renowned. Emulation exhorts us, instead of learning our discipline for ever, like raw troops, under ancient leaders in composition, to put those laurelled veterans in some hazard of losing their superior posts in glory.

Such is emulation's high-spirited advice, such her immortalizing call. Pope would not hear, pre-engaged with imitation, which blessed him with all her charms. He chose rather, with his namesake of Greece, to triumph in the old world, than to look out for a new. His taste partook the error of his religion, - it denied not worship to saints and angels; that is, to writers who, canonized for ages, have received their apotheosis from established and universal fame. True poesy, like true religion, abhors idolatry; and though it honors the memory of the exemplary, and takes them willingly (yet cautiously) as guides in the way to glory, real (though unexampled) excellence is its only aim; nor looks it for any inspiration less than divine.

Though Pope's noble muse may boast her illustrious descent from Homer, Horace, yet is an original author more nobly born. As Tacitus says of Curtius Rufus, an original author is born of himself, is his own progenitor, and will probably propagate a numerous offspring of imitators, to eternize his glory; while mule-like imitators die without issue. Therefore, though we stand much obliged for his

1) which no



giving us a Homer, yet had he doubled our obligation, by giving us - a Pepe. Had he a strong imagination, and the true sublime? That granted, we might have had two Homers instead of one, if longer had been his life; for I heard the dying swan talk over an epic plan a few weeks before his decease.

Bacon, under the shadow of whose great name I would shelter my present attempt in favor of originals, says, "Men seem not to know their own stock and abilities, but fancy their possessions to be greater, and their abilities less, than they really are." Which is, in effect, saying, that we ought to exert more than we do; and that, on exertion, our probability of success is greater than we conceive.

Nor have I Bacon's opinion only, but his assistance too, on my side. His mighty mind travelled round the intellectual world, and, with a more than eagle's eye, saw and has pointed out blank spaces or dark spots in it, on which the human mind never shone: some of these have been enlightened since; some are benighted still.

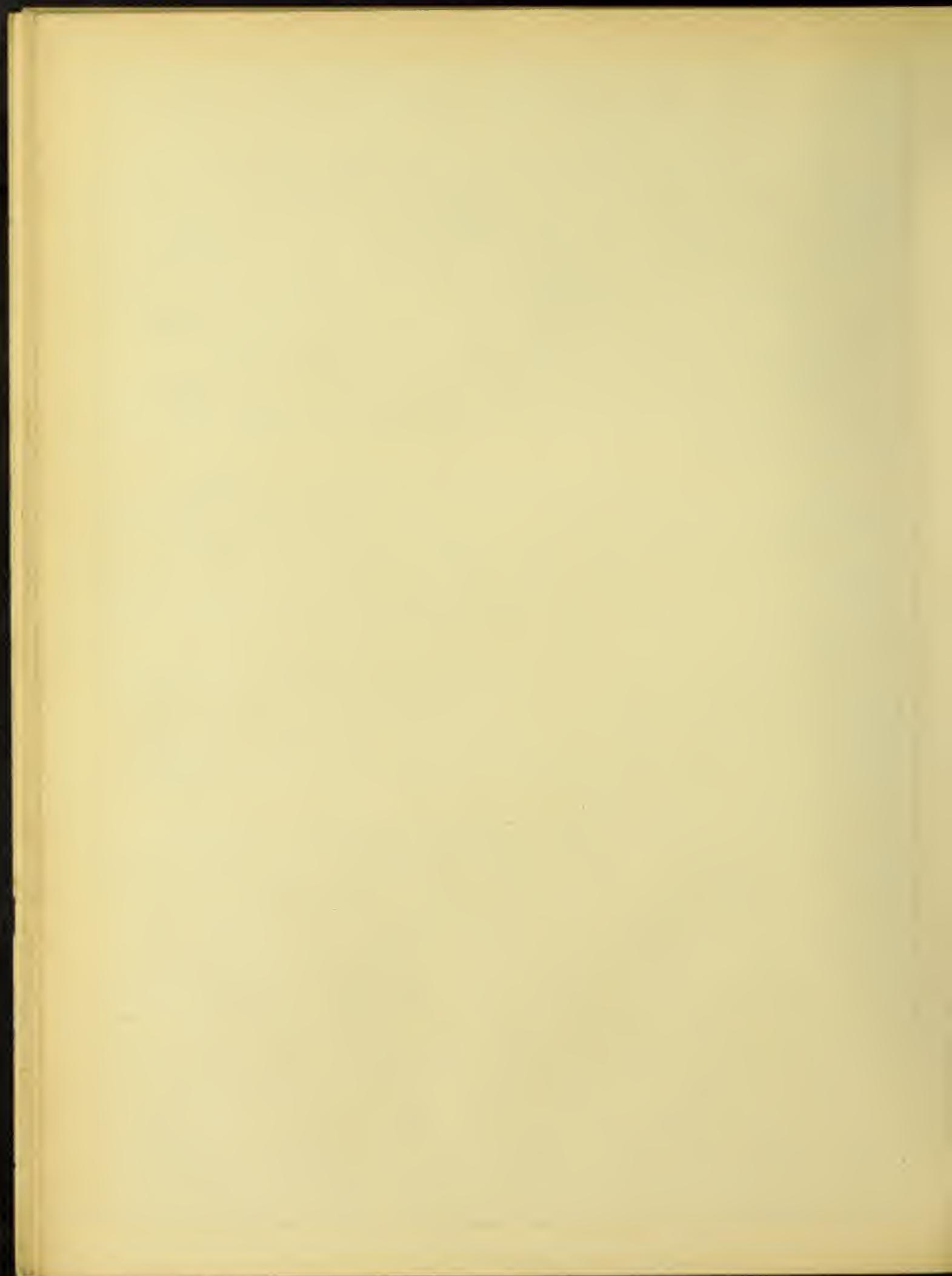
Moreover, so boundless are the bold excursions of the human mind, that, in the vast void beyond real existence, it can call forth shadowy beings and unknown worlds, as numerous, as bright, and, perhaps as lasting, as the stars: such quite-original beauties we may call paradisaical,-

Nates sine semine flores. Ovid.

When such an ample area for renowned adventure in original attempts lies before us, shall we be as mere leaden pipes, conveying to the present age small streams of excellence from its grand reservoir in antiquity, and those too, perhaps, mudded in the pass? Originals shine like comets, have no peer in their path, are rivalled by none, and the gaze of all: all other compositions, if they shine at all, shine in clusters, like the stars in the galaxy; where, like bad neighbors, all suffer from all; each particular being diminished, and almost lost in the throng.

If thoughts of this nature prevailed,- if ancients and moderns were no longer considered as masters and pupils, but as hard-matched rivals for renown,- then moderns, by the longevity of their labors, might one day become ancients themselves; and old Time, that best weigher of merits, to keep his balance even, might have the golden weight of an Augustan age in both his scales; or, rather, our scale might descend; and antiquity's (as a modern watch for it strongly speaks) might kick the beam.

And why not? for, consider,- since an impartial Providence scatters talents indifferently, as through all orders of persons, so through all periods of time; - since a marvellous light, unenjoyed of old, is poured on us by revelation, with larger prospects extending our understanding, with brighter objects enriching our imagination, with an inestimable prize setting our passions on fire, thus strengthening every power that enables composition to shine;- since there has been no fall in man on this side Adam, who left no works, and the works of all other ancients are our auxiliars against themselves, as being perpetual spurs to our ambition, and shining lamps in our path to fame;- since this world is a school, as well for intellectual as moral advance, and the longer human nature is at school, the better scholar it should be;- since, as the moral world expects its glorious millennium, the world intellectual may hope, by the rules of analogy, for some superior degrees of excellence to crown her later scenes; nor may it only hope, but must enjoy them too; for Tully, Quintilian, and all true critics allow, that virtue assists genius, and that the writer will be more able, when better is the man:- all these particulars, (I say) considered, why should it seem altogether impossible, that heaven's latest editions of the human mind may be the most correct and fair; that the day may come,



when the moderns may proudly look back on the comparative darkness of former ages, on the children of antiquity, reputing Homer and Demosthenes as the dawn of divine genius, and on Athens as the cradle of infant-fame? What a glorious revolution would this make in the rolls of renown?

"What rant", say you, "is here!" I partly grant it: yet, consider, my friend, knowledge physical, mathematical, moral, and divine, increases; all arts and sciences are making considerable advance; with them, all the accommodations, ornaments, delights and glories of human life; and these are new food to the genius of a polite writer; these are as the root, and composition as the flower; and as the root spreads and thrives, shall the flower fail? As well may a flower flourish when the root is dead. It is prudence to read, genius to relish, glory to surpass, ancient authors; and wisdom, to try our strength in an attempt in which it would be no great dishonor to fail.

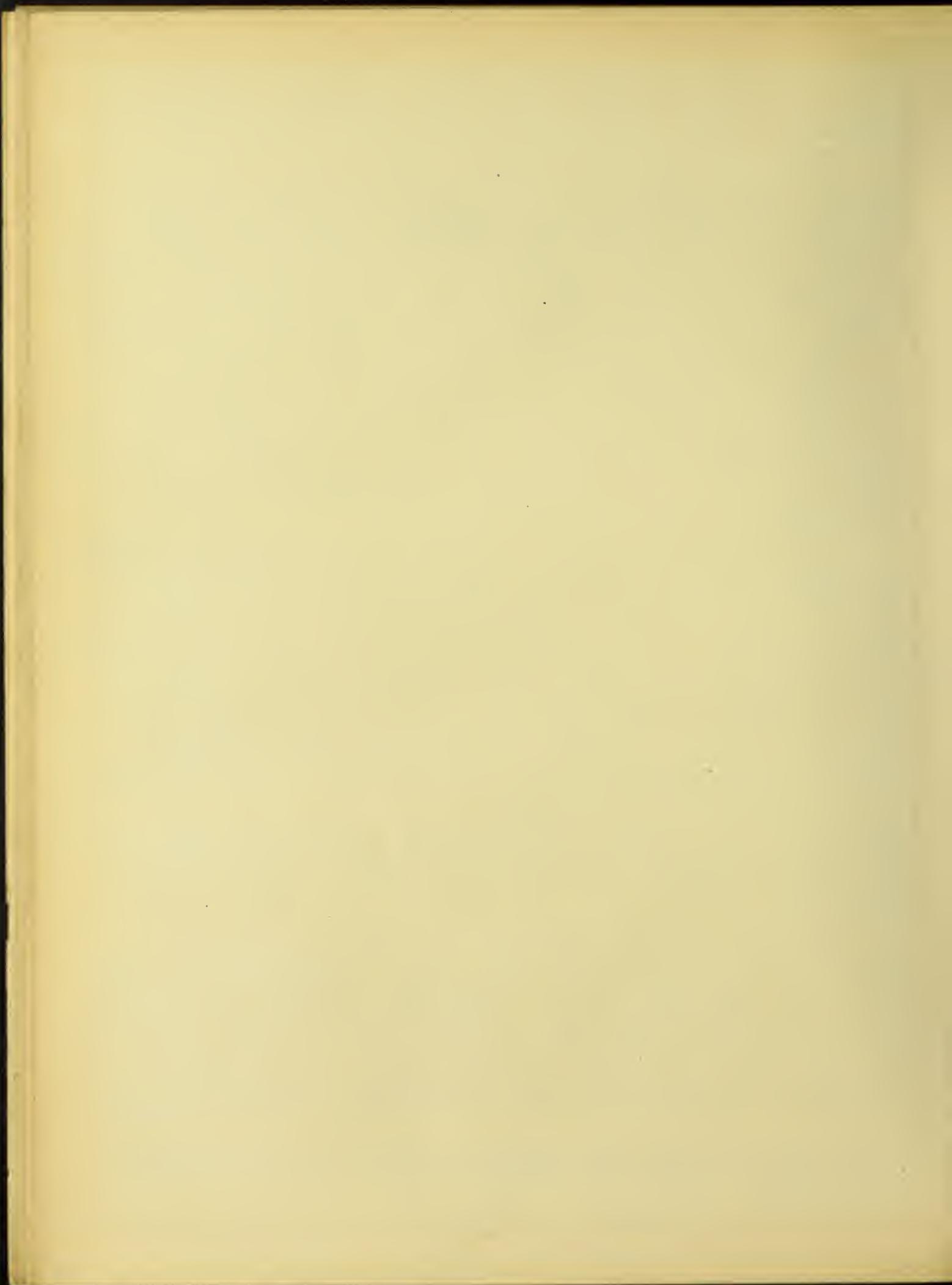
Why condemned Maro his admirable epic to the flames? Was it not because his discerning eye saw some length of perfection beyond it? Ad what he saw, may not others reach? And who bid fairer than our countrymen for that glory? Something new may be expected from the Britons particularly; who seem not to be more severed from the rest of mankind by the surrounding sea, than by the current in their veins; and of whom little more appears to be required, in order to give us originals, than a consistency of character, and making their compositions of a piece with their lives.

In 1) polite composition, in natural and mathematical knowledge, we have great originals already: Bacon, 2) Newton, Shakespeare, Milton have showed us that all the winds cannot blow the British flag farther than an original spirit can convey the British fame. Their names go round the world; and what foreign genius strikes not as they pass? Why should not their posterity embark in the same bold bottom of new enterprise, and hope for the same success? Hope it they may; or you must assert that either those originals, which we already enjoy, were written by angels, or deny that we are men. As Simonides said to Pausanias, reason should say to the writer, "Remember thou art a man." And for a man not to grasp at all which is laudable within his reach, is a dishonor to human nature, and a disobedience to the divine; for as Heaven does nothing in vain, its gift of talent implies an injunction of their use.

A friend of mine has obeyed that injunction: he has relied on himself, and with a genius, as well moral as original, (to speak in bold terms,) has cast out evil spirits: has made a convert to virtue of a species of composition, once most its foe: as the first Christian emperors expelled demons, and dedicated their temples to the living God.

But you, I know, are sparing of your praise of this author: therefore I will speak of one, which is sure of your applause. Shakespeare mingled no water with his wine, lowered his genius by no vapid imitation. Shakespeare gave us a Shakespeare, nor could the first in ancient fame have given us more. Shakespeare is not their son, but brother; their equal, and that, in spite of all his faults. Think you this too bold? Consider in those ancients what is it the world admires? Not the fewness of their faults, but the number and brightness of their beauties; and if Shakespeare is their equal (as he doubtless is) in that which in them is admired, then is Shakespeare

1) lives. May our genius shine, and proclaim us in that nobler view! - *mimima contentos nocte Britannos.* Virg. And so it does; for in 2), Boyle,



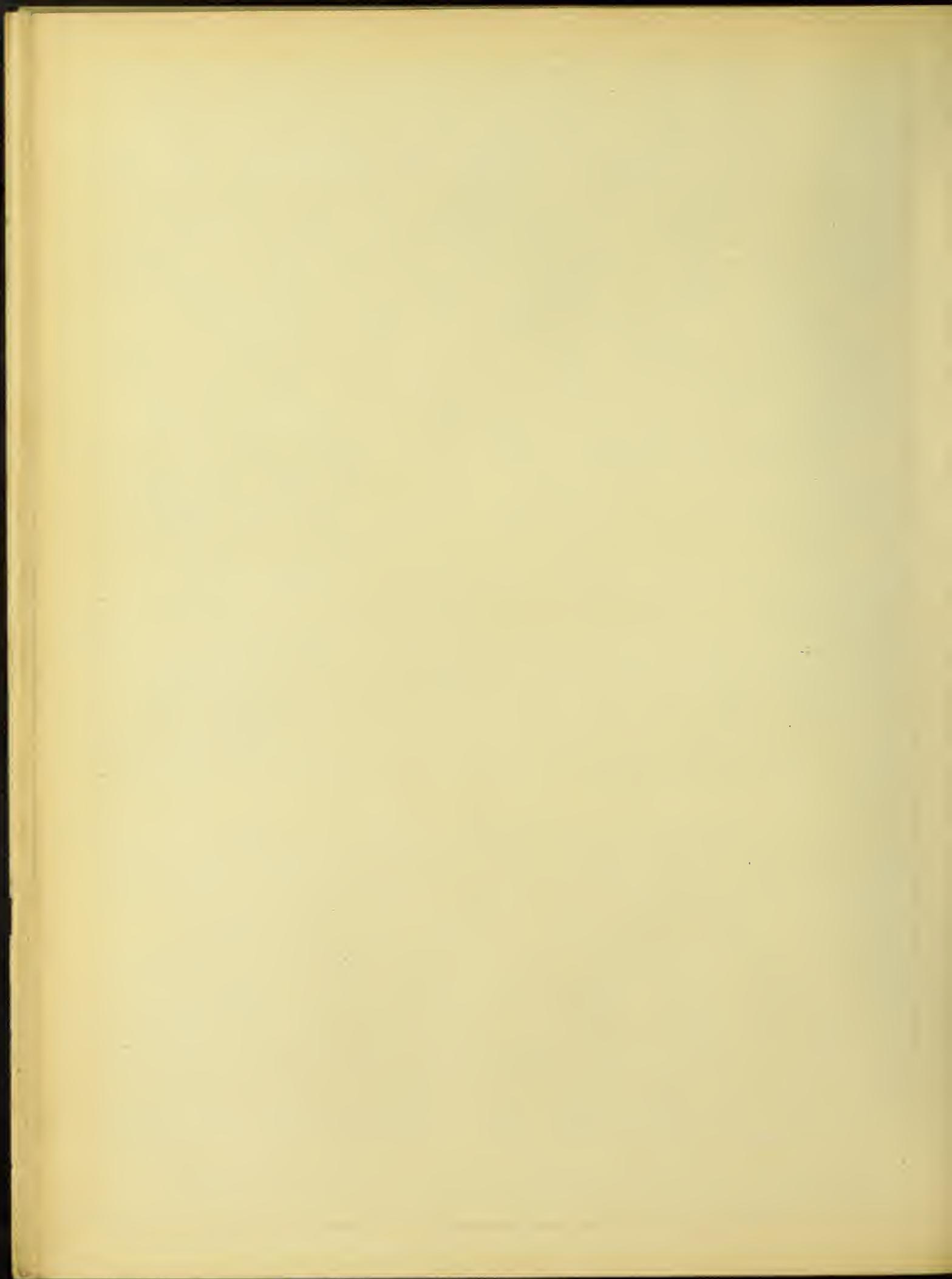
as great as they; and not impotence, but some other cause, must be charged with his defects. When we are setting these great men in competition, what but the comparative size of their genius is the subject of our inquiry? And a giant loses nothing of his size, though he should chance to trip in his race. But it is a compliment to those heroes of antiquity to suppose Shakespeare their equal only in dramatic powers; therefore, though his faults had been greater, the scale would still turn in his favor. There is at least as much genius on the British as on the Grecian stage, though the former is not swept so clean; so clean from violations not only of the dramatic 10 but moral rule; for an honest heathen, on reading some of our celebrated scenes, might be seriously concerned to see that our obligations to the religion of nature were cancelled by Christianity.

Jonson, in the serious drama, is as much an imitator, as Shakespeare is an original. He was very learned, as Samson was very strong, to his own hurt. Blind to the nature of tragedy, he pulled down all antiquity on his head, and buried himself under it. We see nothing of Jonson, nor indeed, of his admired (but also murdered) 20 ancients; for what shone in the historian, is a cloud on the poet; and *Catiline* might have been a good play, if *Sallust* had never writ.

Who knows if Shakespeare might not have thought less, if he had read more? Who knows if he might not have labored under the load of Jonson's learning, as *Enceladus* under *Actna*? His mighty genius, indeed, through the most mountainous oppression would have breathed out some of his inextinguishable fire; yet, possibly, he might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight. Perhaps he was as learned as his dramatic province required; for, whatever other learning he wanted, he was master of two books, unknown to many of the 30 profoundly read, though books which the last conflagration alone can destroy,— the book of nature, and that of man. These he had by heart, and has transcribed many admirable pages of them, into his immortal works. These are the fountain-head, whence the *Castalian* streams of original composition flow; and these are often mudded by other waters, though waters, in their distinct channel, most welcome and pure: as two chemical liquors, separately clear as crystal, grow foul by mixture and offend the sight. So that he had not only as much learning as his dramatic province required, but, perhaps, as it could safely bear. 1)

Dryden, destitute of Shakespeare's genius, had almost as much 40 learning as Jonson, and, for the buskin, quite as little taste. He was a stranger to the pathos; and by numbers, expression, sentiment, and every other dramatic cheat, strove to make amends for it; as if a saint could make amends for the want of conscience, a soldier for the want of valor, or a vestal of modesty. The noble nature of tragedy disclaims an equivalent: like virtue, it demands the heart; and Dryden had none to give. Let epic poets think; the tragedian's point is rather to feel: such distant things are a tragedian and a poet, that the latter, indulged, destroys the former. Look on *Earnwell* and *Essex*, and see how as to these distant characters Dryden 50 excels and is excelled. But the strongest demonstration of his no-taste for the buskin are his tragedies fringed with rhyme; which, in epic poetry, is a sore disease, in the tragic, absolute death. To Dryden's enormity, *Pope's* was a light offence. As lacemen are foes to mourning, these two authors, rich in rhyme, were no great friends to those solemn ornaments which the nature of their works required.

1) bear. If Milton had spared some of his learning, his muse would have gained more glory than he would have lost by it.



"Must rhyme, then," say you, "be banished?" I wish the nature of our language could bear its entire expulsion; but our lesser poetry stands in need of a toleration for it: it raises that, but it sinks 1 the great; as spangles adorn children, but expose men. Prince Henry bespangled all over in his eyelet-hole suit, with glittering pins, and an Achilles, or an Almanzor, in this Gothic array, are very much on a level, as to the majesty of the poet and the prince. Dryden had a great, but a general, capacity; and as for a general genius, there is no such thing in nature. A genius implies the rays of the mind concentrated, and determined to some particular point: when they are scattered widely, they act feebly, and strike not with sufficient force to fire or dissolve the heart. As what comes from the writer's heart reaches ours; so what comes from his head sets our brains at work and our hearts at ease. It makes a circle of thoughtful critics, not of distressed patients; and a passive audience is what tragedy requires. Applause is not to be given, but extorted; and the silent lapse of a single tear does the writer more honor than the rattling thunder of a thousand hands. Applauding hands and dry eyes (which during Dryden's theatrical reign often met) are a satire on the writer's talent and the spectator's taste. When by such judges the laurel is blindly given, and by such a poet proudly received, they resemble an intoxicated host, and his tasteless guests, over some sparkling adulteration, commending their champagne. But Dryden has his glory, though not on the stage. What an inimitable original is his ode! A small one, indeed, but of the first lustre, and without a flaw; and, amid the brightest boasts of antiquity, it may find a foil.

10

20

Among the brightest of the moderns, Mr. Addison must take his place. Who does not approach his character with great respect? They who refuse to close with the public in his praise, refuse at their peril. But, if men will be fond of their own opinions, some hazard must be run. He had what Dryden and Jonson wanted, a warm and feeling heart; but, being of a grave and bashful nature, through a philosophic reserve and a sort of moral prudery, he concealed it, where he should have let loose all his fire, and have showed the most tender sensibilities of heart. At his celebrated "Cato" few tears are shed, but Cato's own; which, indeed, are truly great, but uneffecting, except to the noble few who love their country better than themselves. The bulk of mankind want virtue enough to be touched by them. His strength of genius has reared up one glorious image, more lofty and truly golden, than that in the plains of Dura, for cool admiration to gaze at, and warm patriotism (how rare!) to worship; while those two throbbing pulses of the drama, by which alone it is shone to live, terror and pity, neglected through the whole, leave our unmolested hearts at perfect peace. Thus the poet, like his hero, through mistaken excellence, and virtue overstrained, becomes a sort of suicide; and that which is most dramatic in the drama, dies. All his charms as poetry are but as funeral flowers which adorn - all his noble sentiments but as rich spices which embalm - the tragedy deceased.

30

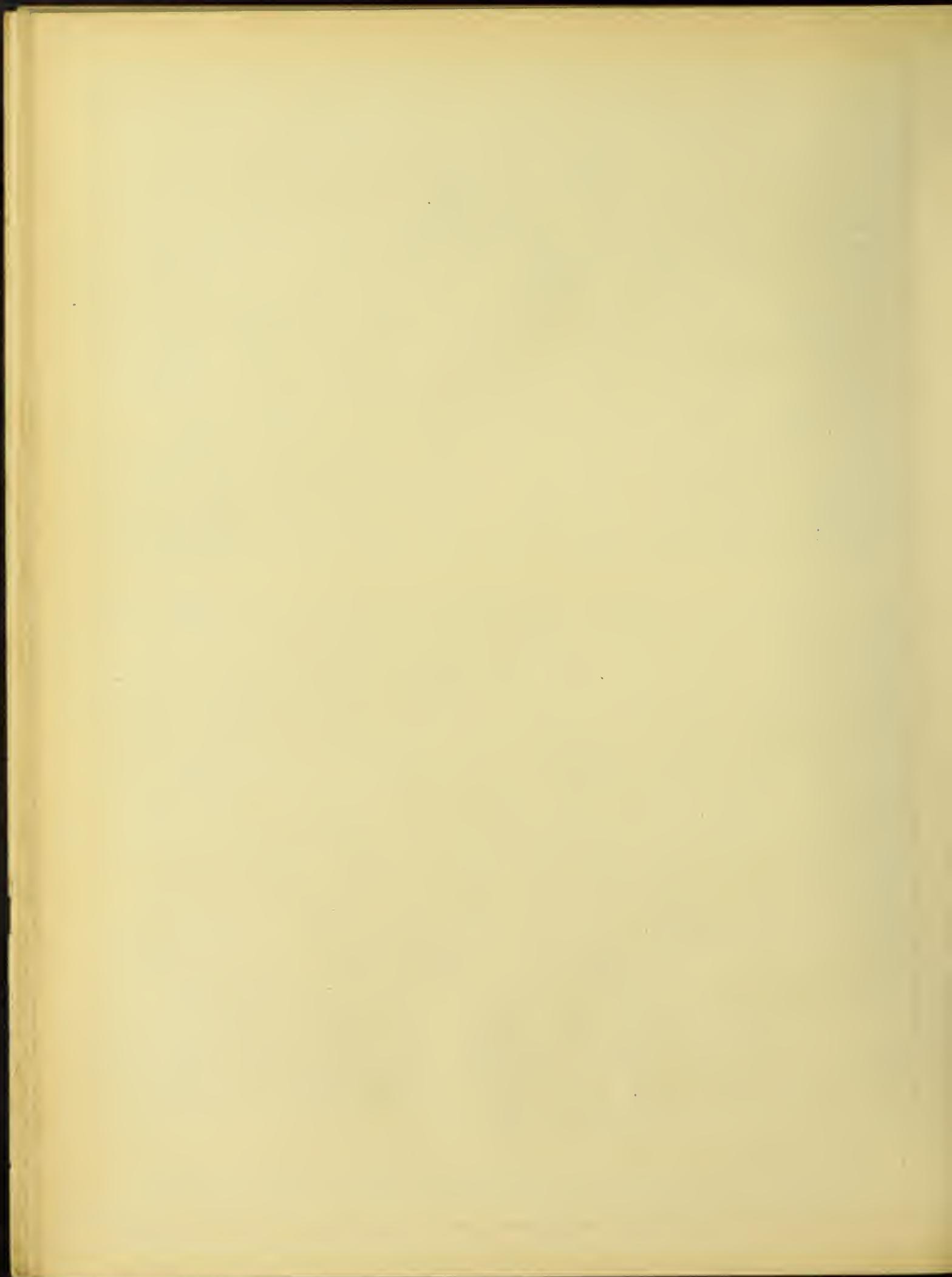
40

Of tragedy, pathos is not only the life and soul, but the soul inextinguishable: it charms us through a thousand faults. Decorations which in this author abound, though they might immortalize other poetry are the splendida peccata which damn the drama; while, on the contrary, the murder of all other beauties is a venial sin, nor plucks the laurel from the tragedian's brow. 2)

50

1) but sinks

2) brow. Was it otherwise, Shakespeare himself would run some hazard of losing his crown.



Socrates frequented the plays of Euripides; and what living Socrates would decline the theatre, at the representation of Cato? Tully's assassins found him in his litter, reading the "Medea" of the Grecian poet, to prepare himself for death. Part of "Cato" might be read to the same end. In the weight and dignity of moral reflection, Addison resembles that poet, who was called, "the dramatic philosopher"; and is himself, as he says of Cato, "ambitiously sententious." But as to the singular talent so remarkable in Euripides, at melting down hearts into tender streams of grief and pity, there the resemblance fails. His beauties sparkle, but do not warm; they sparkle as stars in a frosty night. There is, indeed, a constellation in his play; there is the philosopher, patriot, orator, and poet; but where is the tragedian? And, if that is wanting,

Cur in theatrum Cato severe venistis? Mart.

And, when I recollect what passed between him and Dryden, in relation to this drama, I must add the next line,-

An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?

For, when Addison was a student at Oxford, he sent up this play to his friend Dryden, as a proper person to recommend it to the theatre, if it deserved it; who returned it with very great commendation, but with his opinion, that, on the stage, it could not meet with its deserved success. But though the performance was denied the theatre, it brought its author on the public stage of life. For persons in power inquiring soon after of the head of his college for a youth of parts, Addison was recommended, and readily received, by means of the great reputation which Dryden had just then spread of him above..

There is this similitude between the poet and the play: as this is more fit for the closet than the stage, so that shone brighter in private conversation than on the public scene. They both had a sort of local excellency, as the heathen gods a local divinity; beyond such a bound they unadmired, and these unadored. This puts me in mind of Plato, who denied "Homer" to the public; that "Homer" which, when in his closet, was rarely out of his hand. Thus, though "Cato" is not calculated to signalize himself in the warm emotions of the theatre, yet we find him a most amiable companion, in our calmer delights of recess.

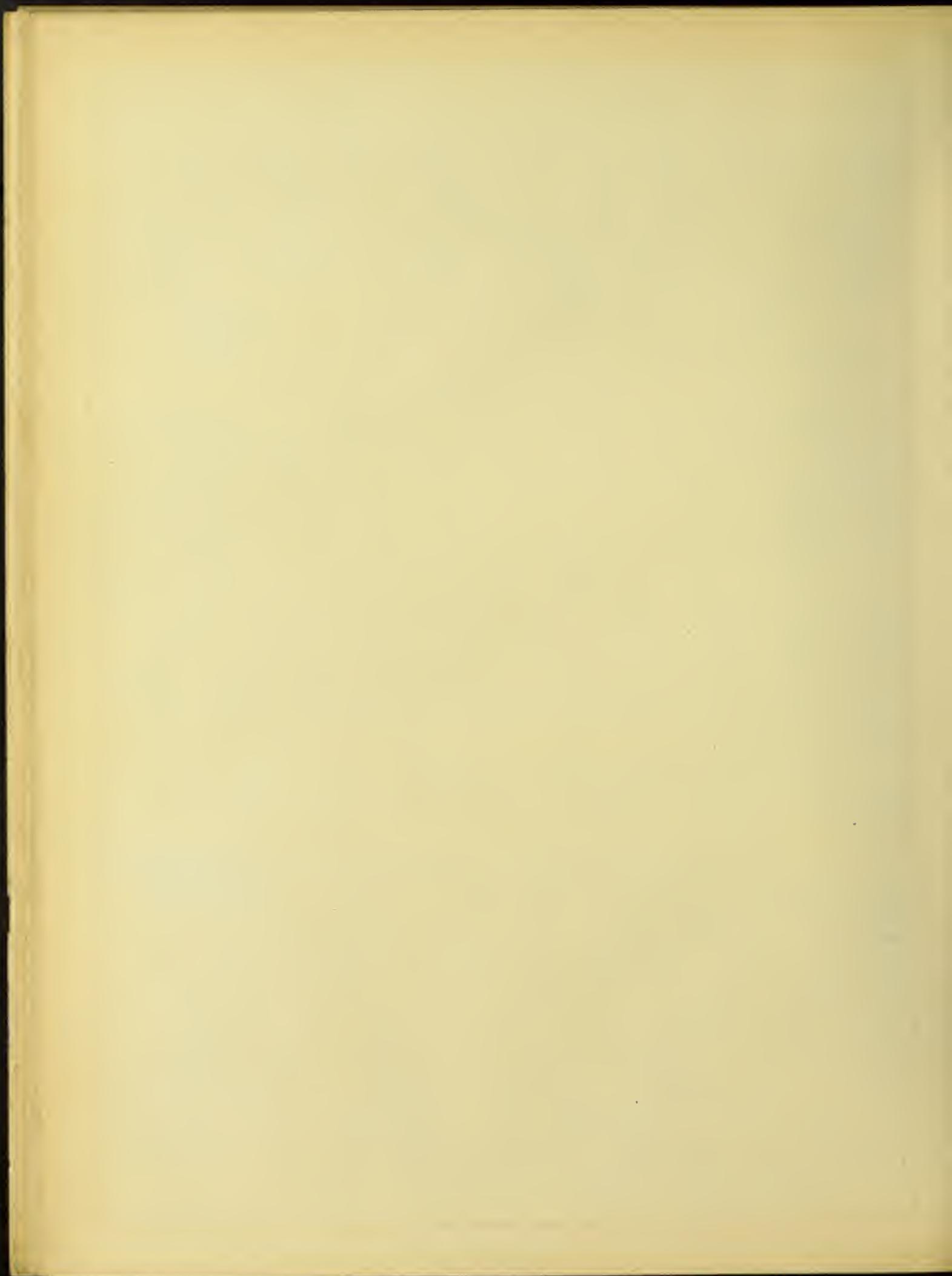
Notwithstanding what has been offered, this, in many views, is an exquisite piece. But there is so much more of art than nature in it, that I can scarce forbear calling it an exquisite piece of statuary,

"Where the smooth chisel all its skill has shown,

To soften into flesh the rugged stone." - Addison.

That is, where art has taken great pains to labor undramatic matter into dramatic life; which is impossible. However, as it is, like Pygmalion, we cannot but fall in love with it, and wish it was alive. How would a Shakespeare or an Otway have answered our wishes? They would have outdone Prometheus, and, with their heavenly fire, have given him not only life, but immortality. At their dramas (such is the force of nature) the poet is out of sight, quite hid behind his Venus, never thought of till the curtain falls. Art brings our author forward, he stands before his piece; splendidly, indeed, but unfortunately; for the writer must be forgotten by his audience, during the representation, if for ages he would be remembered by posterity. In the theatre, as in life, delusion is the charm; and we are undelighted the first moment we are undeceived. Such demonstration have we that the theatre is not yet opened in which solid happiness can be found by man; because none are more than comparatively good; and folly has a corner in the heart of the wise.

A genius fond of ornament should not be wedded to the tragic



muse, which is in mourning: we want not to be diverted at an entertainment, where our greatest pleasure arises from the depth of our concern. But whence (by the way) this odd generation of pleasure from pain? The movement of our melancholy passions is pleasant, when we ourselves are safe; we love to be at once miserable and unhurt: so are we made; and so made, perhaps, to show us the Divine goodness; to show that none of our passions were designed to give us pain, except when being pained is for our advantage on the whole; which is evident from this insistence, in which we see that passions the most painful administer greatly, sometimes, to our delight. 1)

To close our thoughts on "Cato": he who sees not much beauty in it, has no taste for poetry; he who sees nothing else, has no taste for the stage. While it justifies censure, it extorts applause. It is much to be admired, but little to be felt. Had it not been a tragedy, it had been immortal; as it is a tragedy, its uncommon fate somewhat resembles his, who, for conquering gloriously, was condemned to die. Both shone, but shone fatally; because in breach of their respective laws, the laws of the drama, and the laws of the arms. But how rich in reputation must that author be, who can spare a "Cato" without feeling the loss.

That loss by our author would scarce be felt; it would be but dropping a single feather from a wing that mounts him above his contemporaries. He has a more refined, decent, judicious, and extensive genius, than Pope or Swift. To distinguish this triumvirate from each other, and, like Newton, to discover the different colors in these genuine and meridian rays of literary light, Swift is a singular wit, Pope a correct poet, Addison a great author. Swift looked on wit as the jus divinum to dominion and sway in the world, and considered as usurpation all power that was lodged in persons of less sparkling understandings. This inclined him to tyranny in wit. Pope was somewhat of his opinion, but was for softening tyranny into lawful monarchy; yet were there some acts of severity in his reign. Addison's crown was elective: he reigned by the public voice:

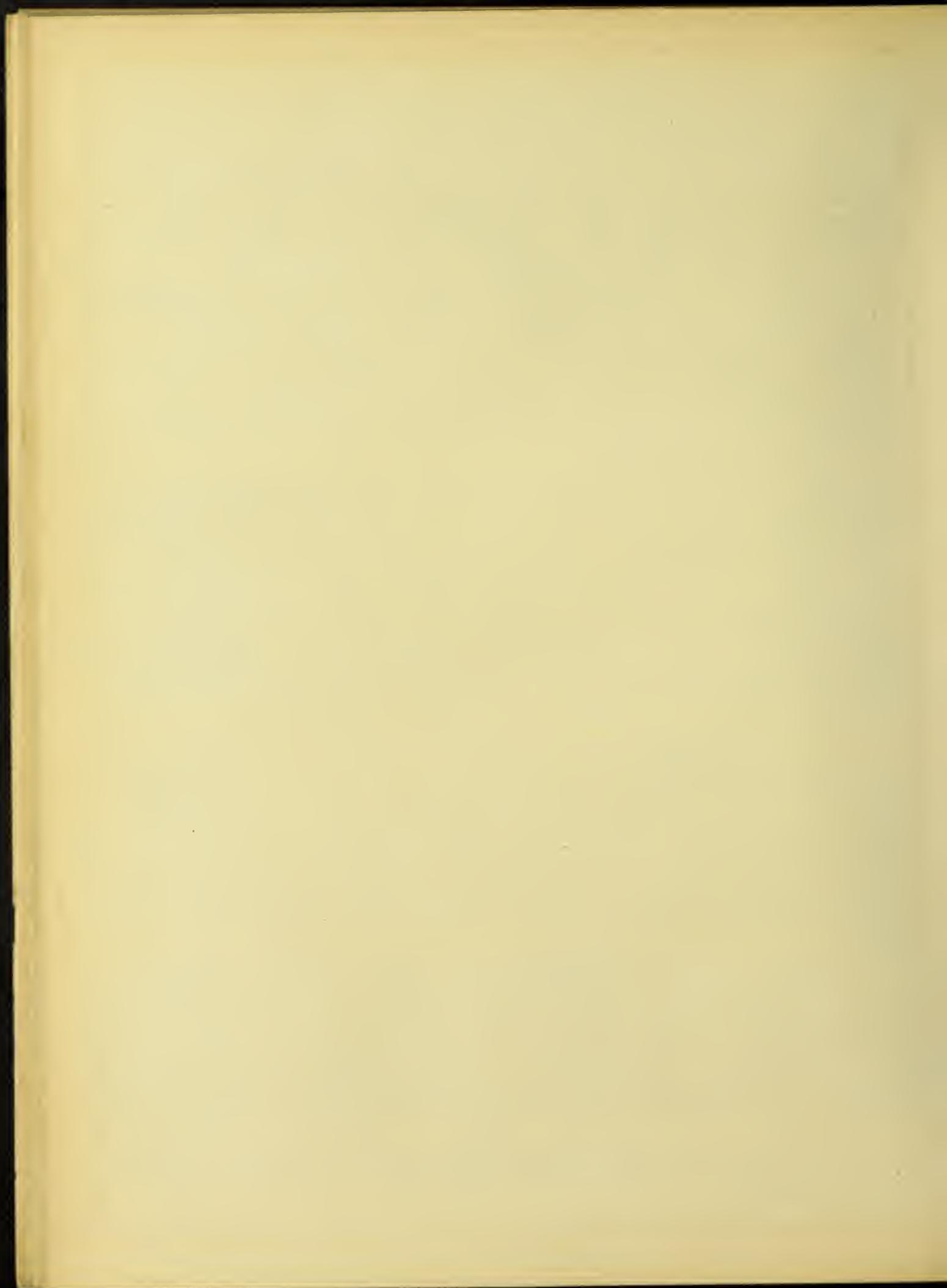
-- Volentes

Per populos dat jura affectat Olympo. Virg.

But as good books are the medicine of the mind, if we should dethrone these authors, and consider them, not in their royal, but their medicinal capacity, might it not then be said - that Addison prescribed a wholesome and pleasant regimen, which was universally relished, and did much good; - that Pope preferred a purgative of satire, which, though wholesome, was too painful in its operation; - and that Swift insisted on a large dose of ipecacuanha, which, though readily swallowed from the fame of the physician, yet if the patient had any delicacy of taste, he threw up the remedy instead of the disease?

Addison wrote little in verse, much in sweet, elegant, Virgilian prose; so let me call it, since Longinus calls Herodotus most Homeric and Thucydides is said to have formed his style on Pindar. Addison's compositions are built with the finest materials, in the taste of the ancients, and (to speak in his own language) on truly classic ground; and though they are the delight of the present age, yet am I persuaded that they will receive more justice from posterity. I never read him but I am struck with such a disheartening idea of perfection that I drop my pen. And, indeed, far superior writers should forget his

1) delight. Since great names have accounted otherwise for this particular, I wish this solution, though to me probable, may not prove a mistake.



compositions, if they would be greatly pleased with their own. 1)

But you say, that you know his value already.- You know, indeed, the value of his writings, and close with the world in thinking them immortal; but I believe, you know not that his name would have deserved immortality though he had never written; and that, by a better title than pen can give. You know, too, that his life was amiable; but, perhaps, you are still to learn that his death was triumphant. That is a glory granted to very few; and the paternal hand of Providence, which sometimes snatches home its beloved children in a moment, must convince us that it is a glory of no great consequence to the dying individual; that, when it is granted, it is granted chiefly for the sake of the surviving world, which may profit by his pious example, to whom is indulged the strength and opportunity to make his virtue shine out brightest at the point of death. And here permit me to take notice that the world will, probably, profit by a more pious example of lay-extraction, than by one born of the church; the latter being usually taxed with an abatement of influence by the bulk of mankind: therefore, to smother a bright example of this superior good influence, may be reputed a sort of murder injurious to the living, and unjust to the dead.

10

20

Such an example have we in Addison; which, though hitherto suppressed, yet, when once known, is insuppressible, of a nature too rare, too striking to be forgotten. For, after a long and manly, but vain, struggle with his distemper, he dismissed his physicians, and with them all hopes of life. But with his hopes of life he dismissed not his concern for the living, but sent for a youth nearly related and finely accomplished, but 2) not above being the better for good impressions from a dying friend. He came; but life now glimmering in the socket, the dying friend was silent. After a decent and proper pause, the youth said, "Dear sir, you sent for me, I believe, and I hope that you have some commands; I shall hold them most sacred." May distant ages not only hear, but feel, the reply! Forcibly grasping the youth's hand, he softly said, "See in what peace a Christian can die!" He spoke with difficulty, and soon expired. Through grace Divine, how great is man! Through Divine mercy, how stingless death! Who would not thus expire?

30

What an inestimable legacy were those few dying words to the youth beloved! what a glorious supplement to his own valuable fragment on the truth of Christianity! what a full demonstration that his fancy could not feign beyond what his virtue could reach! For when he would strike us most strongly with the grandeur of the Roman magnanimity, his dying hero is ennobled with this sublime sentiment:-

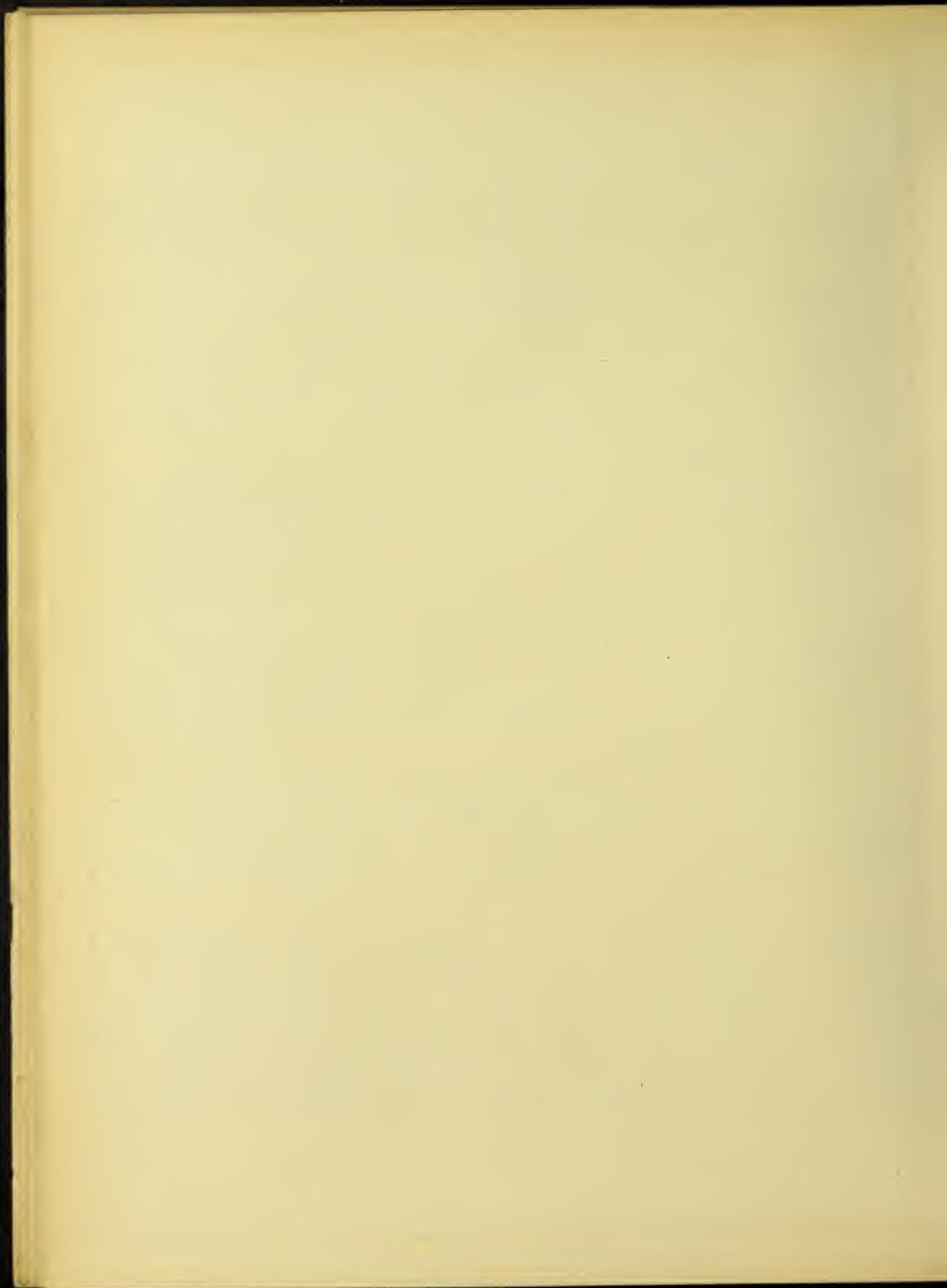
40

While yet I live, let me not live in vain. Cato.

1) And yet (perhaps you have not observed it) what is the common language of the world, and even of his admirers, concerning him? They call him an elegant writer. That elegance which shines on the surface of his compositions, seems to dazzle their understanding, and render it a little blind to the depth of sentiment which lies beneath. Thus (hard fate!) he loses reputation with them, by doubling his title to it. On subjects the most interesting and important, no author of his age has written with greater, I had almost said, with equal weight. And they who commend him for his elegance, pay him a sort of compliment by their abstemious praise, as they would pay to Lucretia, if they should commend her only for her beauty.

50

2) yet



But how much more sublime is that sentiment when realized in life; when dispelling the languors, and appeasing the pains for a last hour, and brightening with illustrious action the dark avenue and all-awful confines of an eternity! When his soul scarce animated his body, strong faith and ardent charity animated his soul into divine ambition of saving more than his own. It is for our honor and our advantage to hold him high in our esteem; for the better men are, the more will they admire him; and the more they admire him, the better will they be.

By undrawing the long-closed curtain of his death-bed, have I not showed you a stranger in him whom you knew so well? Is not this of your favorite author, 10

-- Notâ major imago? - Virg.

His compositions are but a noble preface, the grand work is his death: that is a work which is read in heaven. How has it joined the final approbation of angels to the previous applause of men! How gloriously has he opened a splendid path, through fame immortal, into eternal peace! How has he given religion to triumph amidst the ruins of his nature; and, stronger than death, risen higher in virtue when breathing his last! 20

If all our men of genius had so breathed their last, - if all our men of genius, like him, had been men of genius for eternals, - then had we never been pained by the report of a latter end - O, how unlike to this! But a little to balance our pain, let us consider, that such reports as make us at once adore and tremble, are of use, when too many there are who must tremble before they will adore; and who convince us, to our shame, that the surest refuge of our endangered virtue is in the fears and terrors of the disingenuous human heart.

"But reports", you say, "may be false"; and you farther ask me, "If all reports were true, how came an anecdote of so much honor to human nature as mine to lie so long unknown? What inauspicious planet interposed to lay its lustre under so lasting and so surprising an eclipse?" 30

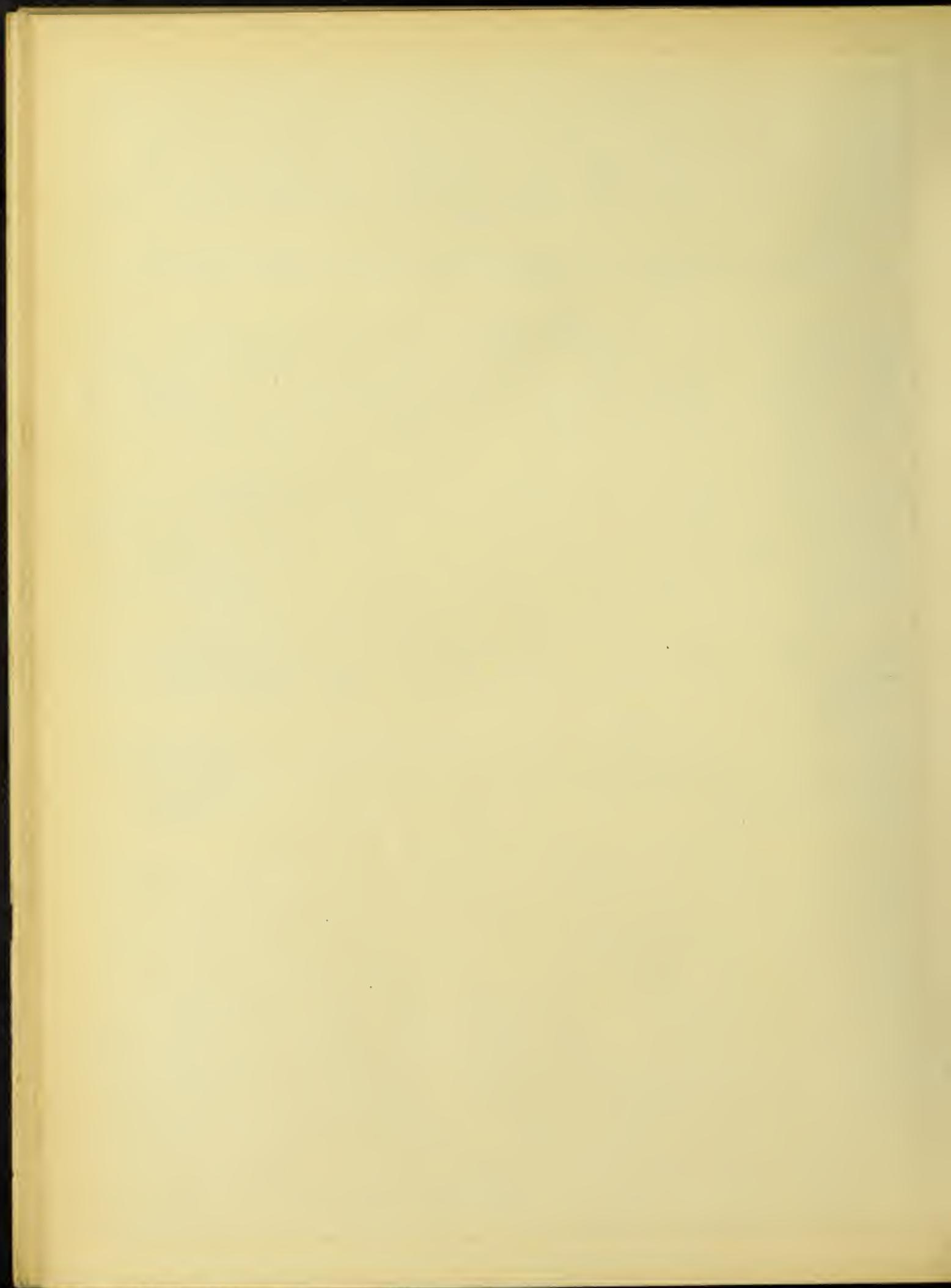
The fact is indisputably true; nor are you to rely on me for the truth of it. My report is but a second edition: it was published before, though obscurely, and with a cloud before. As clouds before the sun are often beautiful, so this of which I speak. How finely pathetic are those two lines, which this so solemn and affecting scene inspired!-

"He taught us how to live: and, O, too high 40

A price for knowledge, taught us how to die." Tickell.

With truth wrapped in darkness, so sung our oracle to the public, but explained himself to me. He was present at his patron's death, and that account of it here given, he gave to me before his eyes were dry. By what means Addison taught us how to die, the poet left to be known by a late and less able hand; but one more zealous for his patron's glory: zealous and impotent, as the poor Egyptian, who gathered a few splinters of a broken boat, as a funeral pile for the great Pompey, studious of doing honor to so renowned a name. Yet had not this poor plank (permit me here so to call this imperfect page) been thrown out, 50 the chief article of his patron's glory would probably have been sunk forever, and late ages have received but a fragment of his fame: a fragment glorious indeed, for his genius how bright! But to commend him for composition, though immortal, is detraction now, if there our encomium ends; let us look farther to that concluding scene, which spoke human nature not unrelated to the Divine. To that let us pay the long and large arrears of our greatly posthumous applause.

This you will think a long digression: and justly: if that may be called a degression, which was my chief inducement for writing at



all. I had long wished to deliver up to the public this sacred deposit, which by Providence was lodged in my hands; and I entered on the present undertaking partly as an introduction to that which is more worthy to see the light; of which I gave an intimation in the beginning of my letter: for this is the monumental marble there mentioned, to which I promised to conduct you; this is the sepulchral lamp, the long hidden lustre of our accomplished countryman, who now rises, as from his tomb, to receive the regard so greatly due to the dignity of his death: a death to be distinguished by tears of joy: a death which angels beheld with delight.

10

And shall that which would have shone conspicuous amid the resplendent lights of Christianity's glorious morn, by these dark days be dropped into oblivion? Dropped it is; and dropped by our sacred, august, and ample register of renown, which has entered in its marble memoirs the dim splendor of far inferior worth. Though so lavish of praise, and so talkative of the dead, yet is it silent on a subject which, (if any) might have taught its unlettered stones to speak. If powers were not wanting, a monument more durable than those of marble should proudly rise in this ambitious page, to the new and far nobler Addison, than that which you and the public have so long and so much admired. Nor this nation only; for it is Europe's Addison, as well as ours; though Europe knows not half his title to her esteem; being as yet unconscious that the dying Addison far outshines her Addison immortal. Would we resemble him? Let us not limit our ambition to the least illustrious part of his character; heads, indeed, are crowned on earth; but hearts only are crowned in heaven; a truth, which, in such an age of authors, should not be forgotten.

20

It is piously to be hoped that this narrative may have some effect, since all listen when a death-bed speaks: and regard the person departing as an actor of a part which the great Master of the drama has appointed us to perform to-morrow. This was a Roscius on the stage of life; his exit how great!. Ye lovers of virtue, plaudite: and let us, my friend, ever "remember his end, as well as our own, that we never do amiss." I am,

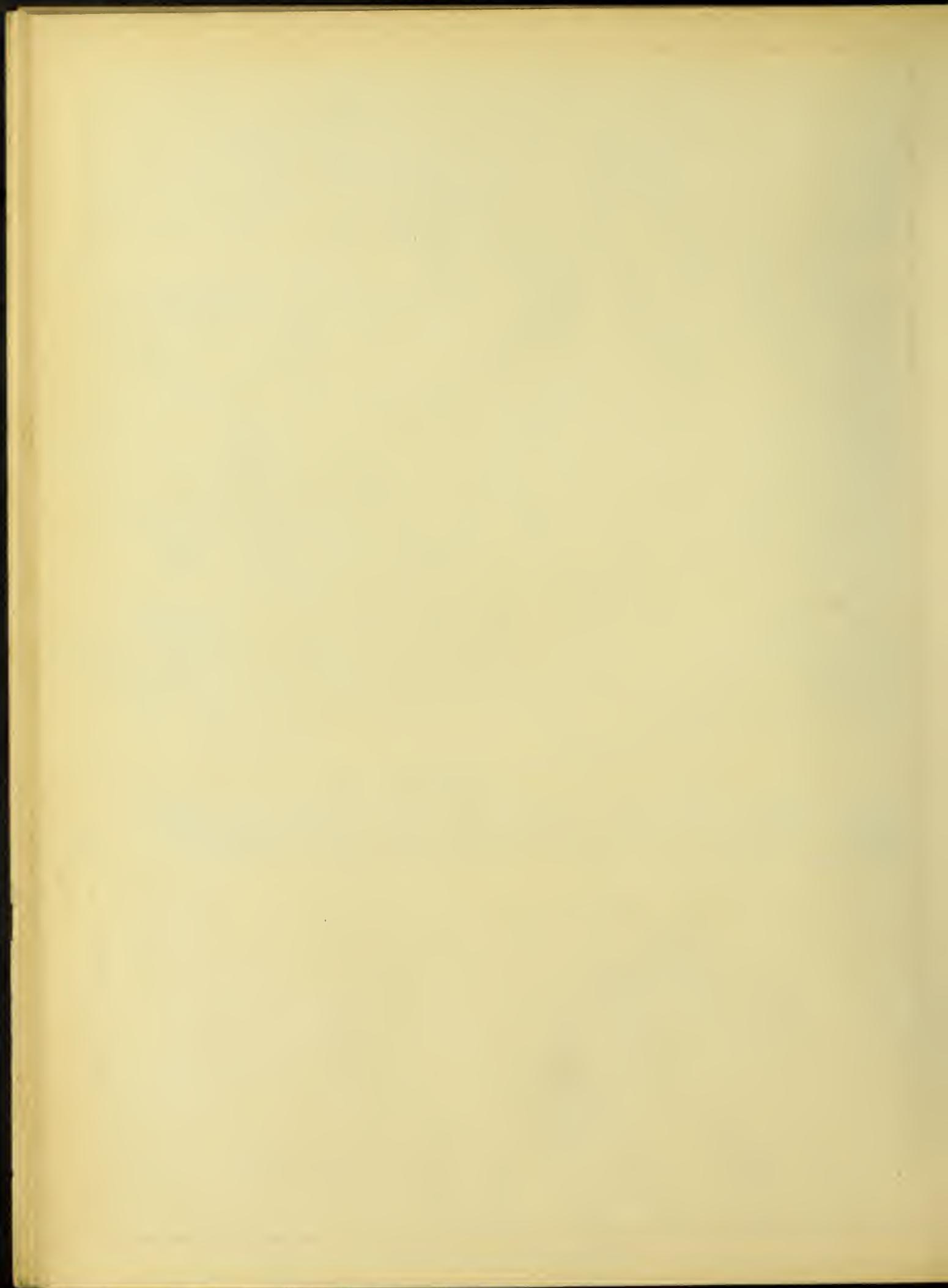
30

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged,  
humble servant.

P.S. How far Addison is an original, you will see in my next: where I descend from this consecrated ground into his sublunary praise: and great is the descent, though into noble heights of intellectual power.

40



TOPICAL INDEX TO TWO "CUMINGSTONES"

By the Name of Authors

- (1) Press overcharged, p.1,1.26ff.
- (2) If in the interests and real service of mankind, the mere composition the better, p.1,1.26.
- (3) Such an age of authors, p.22,1.27.

Analogy

By the rules of analogy, p.11,1.51.

Antiquity

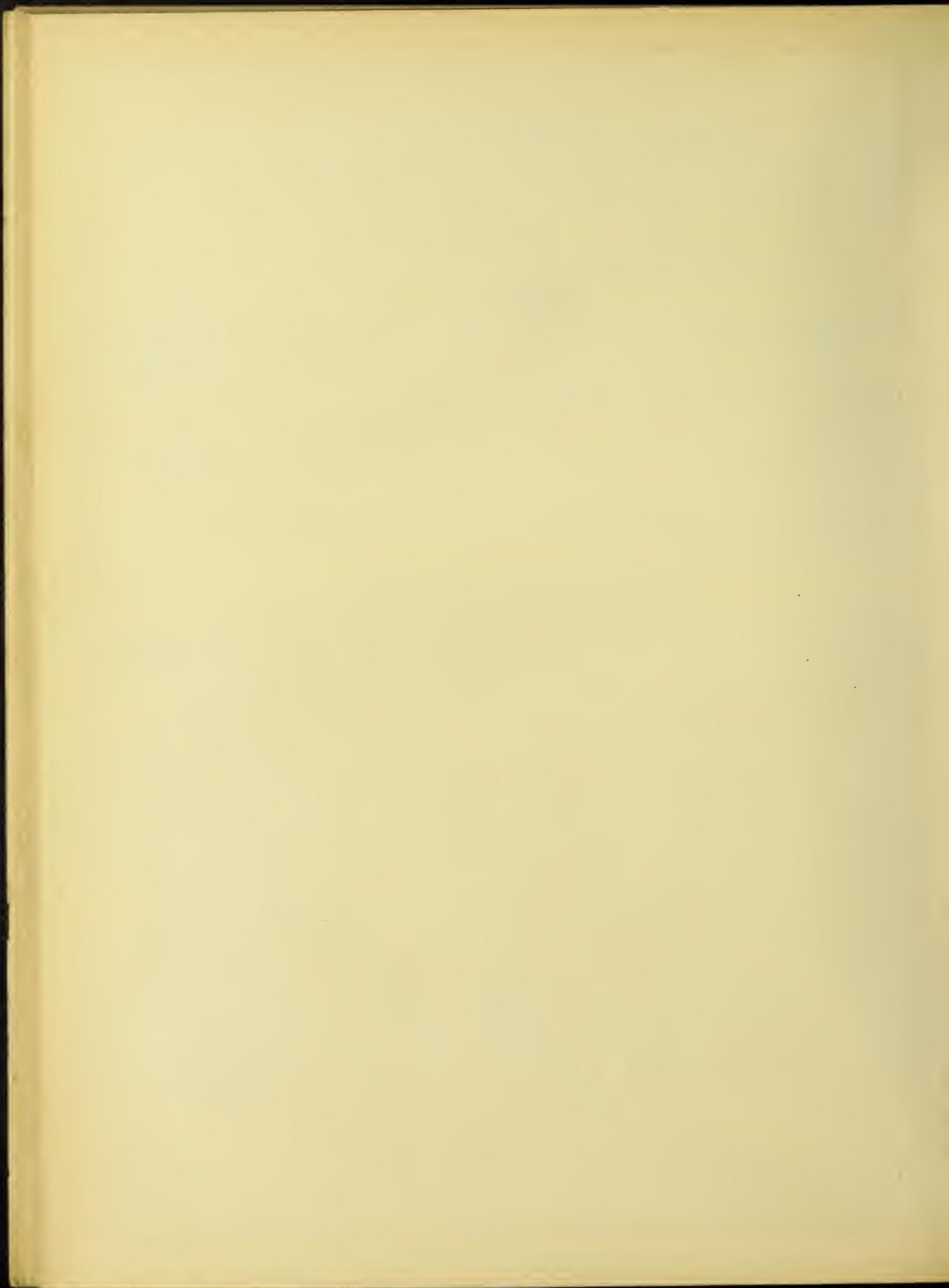
- (1) Ancients were imitators, p.3,1.25ff.
- (2) Understandings of the moderns feeding on (but of the ancients, p.1,1.22.
- (3) Let our imagination kindle at the charge of the ancients, p.1,1.22.
- (1) The ancients as our guides, p.5,1.13ff.
- (5) Too great awe for the ancients lays genius under restraint, p.5,1.27.
- (3) The classics are our masters in composition, when a writer is young, p.7,1.33ff.
- (7) Up to the times in antiquity, p.11,1.34.
- (3) Shakespeare as great as the ancients, p.17,1.54ff.
- (2) Johnson pulled all antiquity down on his head and buried himself under it, p.16,1.46ff.

Authors Quoted or Mentioned

Addison: p.17,1.26; p.18,1.45ff; p.19,1.27ff; p.22,1.13.  
 Aelian: p.11,1.10. Aeschylus: p.12,1.28. Anacreon: p.3,1.26.  
 Aquinas: p.7,1.25. Bacon: p.3,1.25; p.7,1.15; p.11-31ff; p.17,1.29.  
 Barnwell: p.13,1.50. Bille: p.7,1.52; p.9,1.10ff. Caesar: p.2,1.52.  
 Calistratus: p.2,1.24. Chaucer: p.2,1.53. Claudian: p.2,1.16.  
 Calopian: p.12,1.26. Demosthenes: p.2,1.23ff; p.12,1.2. Dryden:  
 p.13,1.40ff; p.17,1.23ff; p.12,1.45ff. Essex: p.12,1.27. Euripides:  
 p.13,1.1. Herodas: p.3,1.24. Herodotus: p.2,1.20ff; p.12,1.17. Horace:  
 p.7,1.2; p.3,1.17; p.13,1.52. Homer: p.6,1.26; p.1,1.14ff; p.3,1.2;  
 p.3,1.25ff; p.10,1.13; p.11,1.40ff; p.12,1.40ff; p.12,1.54; p.11,1.10ff;  
 p.15,1.2; p.18,1.32ff; p.18,1.17. Johnson: p.16,1.44ff; p.17,1.22. Livy:  
 p.9,1.22. Longinus: p.19,1.17. Lucian: p.12,1.23; p.12,1.12. Macro:  
 p.15,1.16. Martial: p.3,1.24; p.12,1.51; p.12,1.14. Milton: p.2,1.10;  
 p.12,1.33; p.12,1.33ff; p.15,1.23; p.16,1.25. Orosius: p.12,1.12. Ovid:  
 p.2,1.12; p.2,1.9; p.14,1.22. Planchinus: p.12. Pindar: p.3,1.23;  
 p.6,1.24; p.7,1.25; p.19,1.15. Plutarch: p.3,1.2. Plato: p.12,1.12.  
 Pope: p.12,1.3ff; p.12,1.21ff; p.14,1.2; p.16,1.54; p.12,1.21ff.  
 Quintilian: p.11,1.30. Raleigh: p.2,1.15. Richardson: See title-page;  
 p.15,1.20ff. Rufus: p.12,1.51. Sallust: p.12,1.22. Seneca: p.7,1.24.  
 Seneca: p.3,1.12; p.3,1.23. Shakespeare: p.3,1.23; p.7,1.27; p.15,1.  
 25ff; p.16,1.6ff; p.17,1.54; p.18,1.13. Socrates: p.12,1.1. Sophocles:  
 p.13,1.23. Swift: p.3,1.13; p.12,1.24; p.12,1.3; p.12,1.20ff. Tacitus:  
 p.12,1.24. Terence: p.3,1.22. Tickall; p.11,1.40ff. Thucydides: p.2,1.  
 12; p.2,1.20ff; p.12,1.16. Tully: p.2,1.12; p.2,1.24ff; p.11,1.70.  
 Virgil: p.2,1.17; p.12,1.1; p.11,1.23; p.12,1.57; p.12,1.10ff; p.11,1.  
 13. Vossius: p.6,1.22. Xenophon: p.2,1.12. Xenius: p.12,1.24.

Beauties, not Faults, Count

- (1) Unprescribed beauties and unexampled excellence lie beyond learning's authorities, p.3,1.2ff.
- (2) Not the form of faults, but the number of beauties the world admires, p.15,1.51ff.



(3) Patbos charges through a thousand souls, p.17, l.31.

#### Benefactors

Original and benefactors; they extend the republic of letters, p.6, l.130.

#### Blank-verse

(1) Blank verse rolls out in an euline melody, p.12, l.22.  
 (2) Blank verse is verse unfallen, uncurst; the true language of the gods, p.12, l.23ff.

#### Borrowed Possessions

(1) Learning is borrowed knowledge, p.7, l.11.  
 (2) Borrowed riches make us poor, p.11, l.7.

#### Britons Have Genius

(1) Originals may be expected from Britons, p.15, l.10ff.  
 (2) There is at least as much genius on the British stage as on the Grecian, p.16, l.32.

#### Correctness

(1) Heaven's latest editions of the human mind may be the best correct, p.11, l.52f.  
 (2) The poet, through mistaken excellence and virtuous constraint, becomes a sort of suicide, p.17, l.152.  
 (3) The decorations of a drama lacking passion, are splendid peccata, p.17, l.21ff.  
 (4) Beauties that sparkle, but do not warm, p.12, l.10.  
 (5) Addison's Cats much to be admired, but little to be felt, p.12, l.13ff.  
 (6) Pope a correct poet, p.12, l.12.

#### Creative Power

(1) The little world, the vicine but fruitful creation of the mind, p.1, l.52f.  
 (2) Genius has a creative power, p.1, l.51f.

#### Criticism

(1) Flinging light on the works of genius and pointing out its errors, p.6, l.25f.  
 (2) What comes from the writer's head not from his heart, makes a circle of thoughtful critics, not of distressed patients, p.17, l.12ff.

#### Delusion

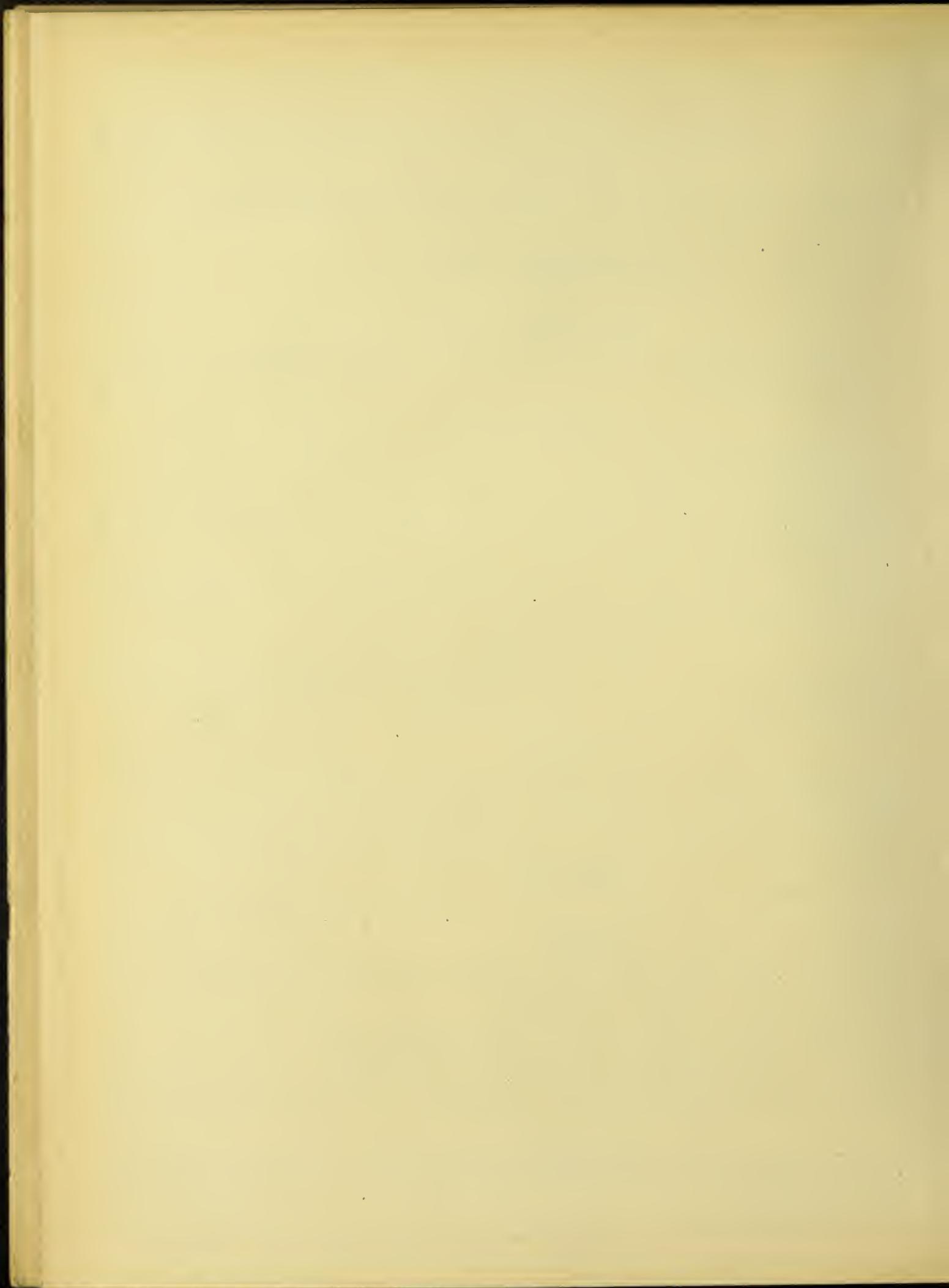
In the theatre, as in life, delusion is the error, p.12, l.51.

#### Divine

(1) The Divine Illud, p.1, l.11f.  
 (2) Genius supposed to partake of something divine, p.5, l.502.  
 (3) Cacer nobis inest deus, p.6, l.27f.  
 (4) Genius a god within, p.6, l.22f.  
 (5) Vigor igneus et coelestis erigo, p.7, l.27.  
 (6) Genius is inspired: is from heaven, p.7, l.11f.  
 (7) The divinely inspired enthusiast, p.11, l.15f.  
 (8) True poetry looks not for inspiration less than divine, p.12, l.31.  
 (9) The dawn of divine genius, p.15, l.2f.

#### Emulation

(1) Due care and exertion would set us nearer our immortal predecessors, p.1, l.12f.  
 (2) What glory to equal or surpass our predecessors, p.7, l.27.



- (3) A noble contagion from the writings of our predecessors, p.3, l.25ff.
- (4) A noble stroke of emulation, p.3, l.29.
- (5) Emulation is superiority contested or denied; it fires and gives a name immortal, p.13, l.23ff.
- (6) Men of genius struck fire against each other, p.13, l.11f.
- (7) Emulation exhorts to put ancients in hazard of losing glory, p.13, l.37ff.
- (8) Emulation's high-spirited advice and immortalizing call, p.13, l.11f.
- (9) Ancients and moderns hard-matched rivals, p.11, l.23ff.
- (10) No great dishonor to fail to surpass the ancients, p.15, l.11ff.

#### Enthusiasm

- (1) Enthusiasts of all kinds, p.12, l.11.
- (2) The divinely-inspired enthusiast, p.11, l.15f.

#### Evocation of Genius

- (1) Genius discovered by chance; either by a lucky throw, premium, necessity, or emulation, p.9, l.27ff.
- (2) Evocation of the fruits of genius depends on externals, p.9, l.13f.
- (3) Outward, accidental circumstances bring the sun of genius forth, p.10, l.1ff.

#### Examples

- (1) Illustrative examples engross prejudice, and intimidate, p.1, l.5.
- (2) Learning a host of famed examples, p.3, l.37ff.
- (3) Let not great examples broodest thy bosom into too great a diffidence of thyself, p.11, l.4f.
- (4) Treading the sacred footsteps of great examples, p.11, l.24f.
- (5) True poetry takes the exemplary willingly, yet cautiously, as guides, p.13, l.17ff.

#### Exertion

- (1) Not was has so far exerted as not to leave his possibilities beyond his attainments, p.10, l.8f.
- (2) We ought to exert more than we do, p.14, l.10.

#### Fame

- (1) The debt of the imitator at least equal to his glory, p.7, l.30f.
- (2) Fame sounds her trumpet at the birth of an original, p.3, l.14f.
- (2) Genius without such learning can give renown, p.3, l.21f.
- (1) Genius makes us great as writers, p.6, l.10ff.
- (5) Emulation gives a name immortal, p.13, l.23f.
- (2) Glories no time shall extinguish, p.13, l.30f.

#### Fancy

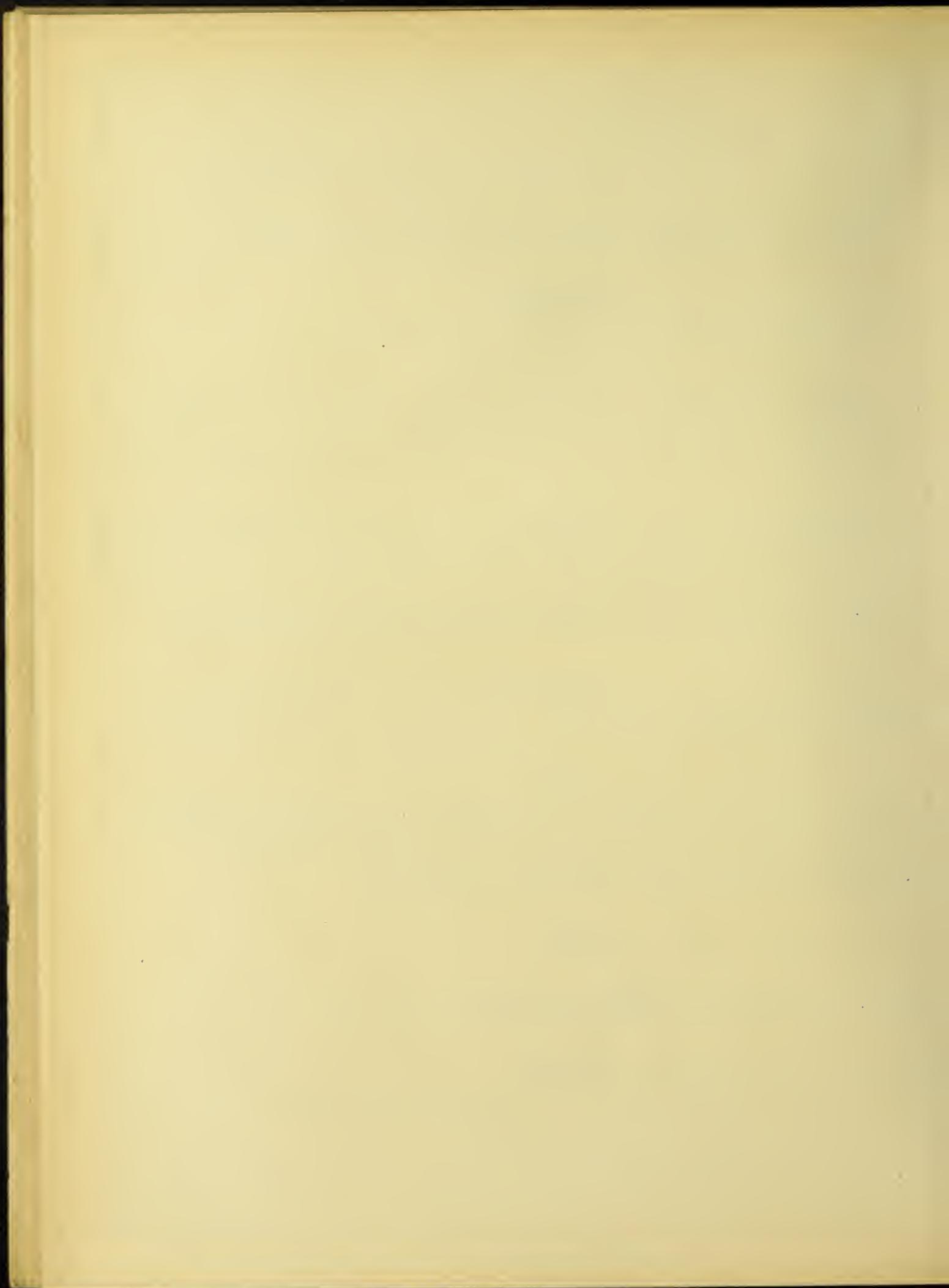
See Imagination, p.27.

#### Father of Poetry

Homer, that inevitable father of poetry, p.11, l.16f.

#### Feeling

- (1) Genius gives rapture, p.7, l.11f.
- (2) Passions on fire a factor in composition, p.11, l.15f.
- (2) Any agenda for lack of pathos a cheat, p.10, l.11f.
- (1) Tragedy demands the heart, p.10, l.12.
- (5) What comes from the writer's heart be chaste, p.17, l.10f.
- (6) A warm and feeling heart, p.17, l.32f.
- (7) Terror and pity the two throbbing pulses of the drama, p.17, l.10ff.
- (8) Pathos the life and the soul inextinguishable of tragedy, p.17, l.50f.



- (9) Pathos charms through a thousand faults, p.17, l.37.  
 (10) Addison's Cato much to be admired, but little to be felt, p.19, l.13f.

#### Fire

- (1) Vigor igneus, p.7, l.27.  
 (2) Tantalum fires, p.12, l.22.  
 (3) Passions on fire, p.14, l.43f.  
 (1) The inextinguishable fire of the mighty genius of Shakespeare, p.16, l.25.  
 (3) A genius must fire, or dissolve, the heart, p.17, l.27f.  
 (3) Addison should have let loose all his fire, p.17, l.33.  
 (7) The heavenly fire of Shakespeare and Otway giving life and immortality, p.18, l.10ff.

#### Food to the Genius

- (1) The wide field of visible nature, p.9, l.27f.  
 (2) Bold excursions beyond real existence, p.11, l.17ff.  
 (3) Revelation extending our understandings and enriching our imagination, p.14, l.42ff.  
 (4) Increasing knowledge and advancing arts and sciences, and the modern modes of life are new food to the genius, p.15, l.7ff.

#### Genius

- (1) Genius a master-workman, p.5, l.37.  
 (2) Genius the power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end, p.5, l.12f.  
 (3) Genius supposed to partake of something divine, p.5, l.50f.  
 (4) Genius most to be praised when those sure to be condemn'd, p.6, l.15f.  
 (5) Genius like virtue and learning like riches, p.6, l.13f.  
 (6) Genius a god within, p.6, l.32f.  
 (7) An earlier genius and a later: infantine and adult, p.6, l.15f.  
 (8) Genius less rare than imagined, p.7, l.19.  
 (9) Genius from heaven, p.7, l.12.  
 (10) Genius is knowledge innate, or wisdom, p.7, l.41ff.  
 (11) Were fancied genius, p.7, l.19.  
 (12) Neglecting the cultivation of genius, p.8, l.19f.  
 (13) A genius divinely replenish'd from within, p.8, l.30f.  
 (14) Genius lying buried under ashes, p.8, l.10f.  
 (15) Genius a friend under disguise, p.10, l.31f.  
 (16) The true genius crosses into fresh, untrodden ground, p.11, l.22f.  
 (17) Homer and Demosthenes the dawn of divine genius, p.15, l.2f.

#### Genius not Faultless

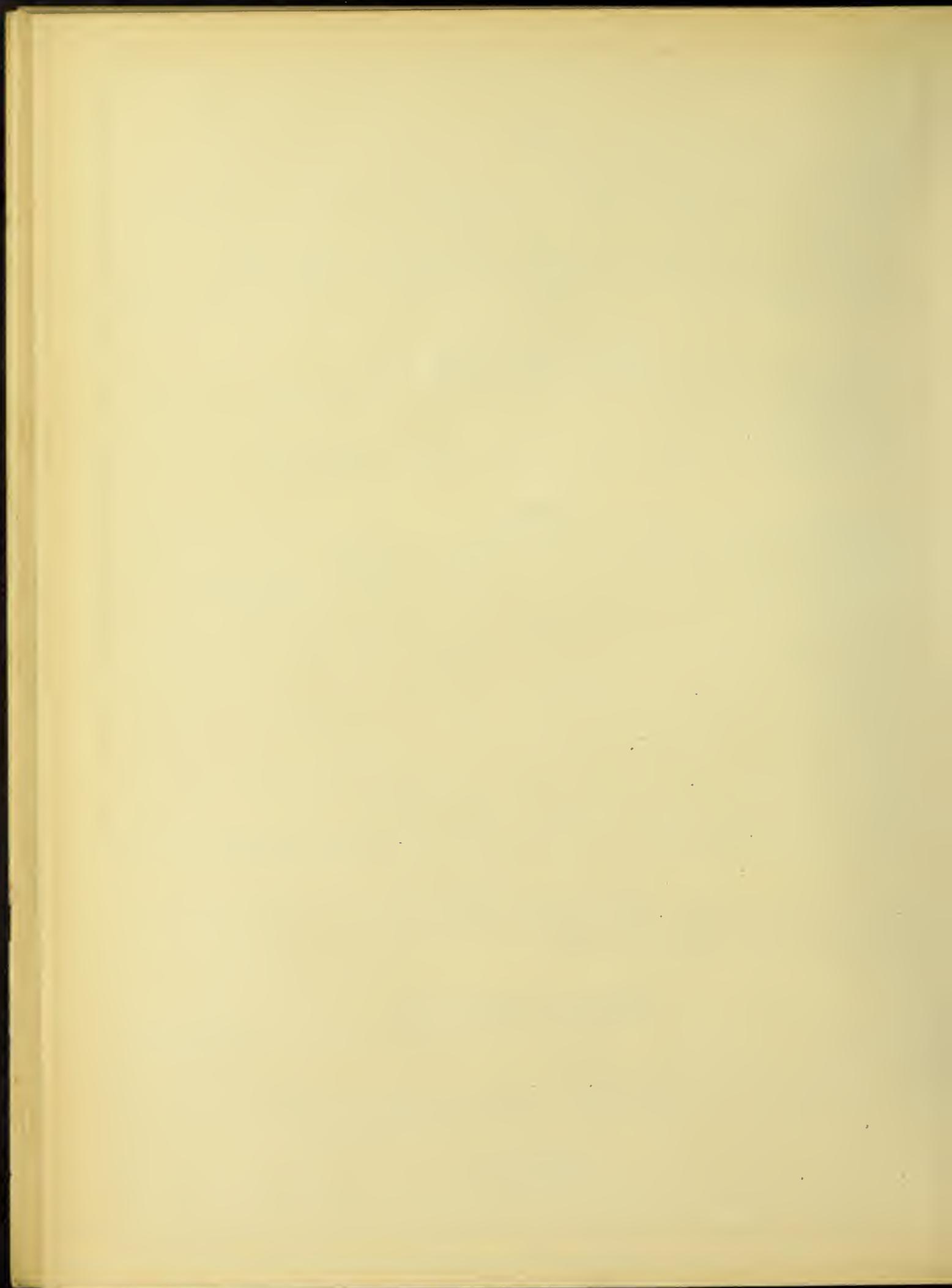
- (1) To natural unstuffed grace, and skill in common genius often owes its cuprate glory, p.5, l.35ff.  
 (2) A giant loses nothing of his size by tripping in his race, p.13, l.14f.

#### Growth of Compositions

- (1) A delicious garden of moral and intellectual fruits and flowers, p.1, l.10.  
 (2) Fruits of genius, p.2, l.30f.  
 (3) The mind of a man of genius a fertile field, p.2, l.31f.  
 (1) An original of a vegetable nature: it grows, p.3, l.12.  
 (5) Native growth of the writer's own mind, p.11, l.8.

#### Imagination

- (1) At the mercy of the author's imagination, p.2, l.15ff.  
 (2) In the fairyland of fancy genius, a wonder-ill, p.7, l.54f.



- (3) Imagination laid in the wire, p.12, l.43f.
- (4) Strong imagination, p.11, l.2.
- (5) Excursions into the vast void beyond real existence, p.11, l.17f.

#### Imitation

- (1) Imitations are of two kinds, one of nature and one of art, p.2, l.31f.
- (2) Imitations give only duplicates, p.2, l.42f.
- (3) Imitator a transplant, p.2, l.17.
- (4) Imitations a sort of manufacture, p.2, l.3.
- (5) Cannot become famous by another's thoughts, p.2, l.31f.
- (6) The ancients imitators, p.2, l.35ff.
- (7) Imitation creeps along the vale, p.2, l.50.
- (8) Imitate the method of the ancients, p.1, l.16.
- (9) In the spirit and taste of the ancients, but not with their material, p.4, l.58ff.
- (10) Discernment of our own powers may set us above imitators, p.3, l.23f.
- (11) Imitators dei minorum gentium, p.2, l.30ff.
- (12) Imitation deceptive of progress, p.2, l.23ff.
- (12) Copies surpass not their originals, as streams rise not higher than their spring, p.8, l.37ff.
- (14) By imitation we counteract nature, p.8, l.50f.
- (15) The swelling ape imitation, p.3, l.51.
- (16) A hundred books at bottom but one, p.3, l.52f.
- (17) The spirit of imitation makes poor and proud; makes us think little and write much, p.2, l.6.
- (18) Imitation must be the lot of most writers, and is often an honorable lot, p.9, l.16f.
- (19) Imitation fetters, p.12, l.22.

#### Inspiration

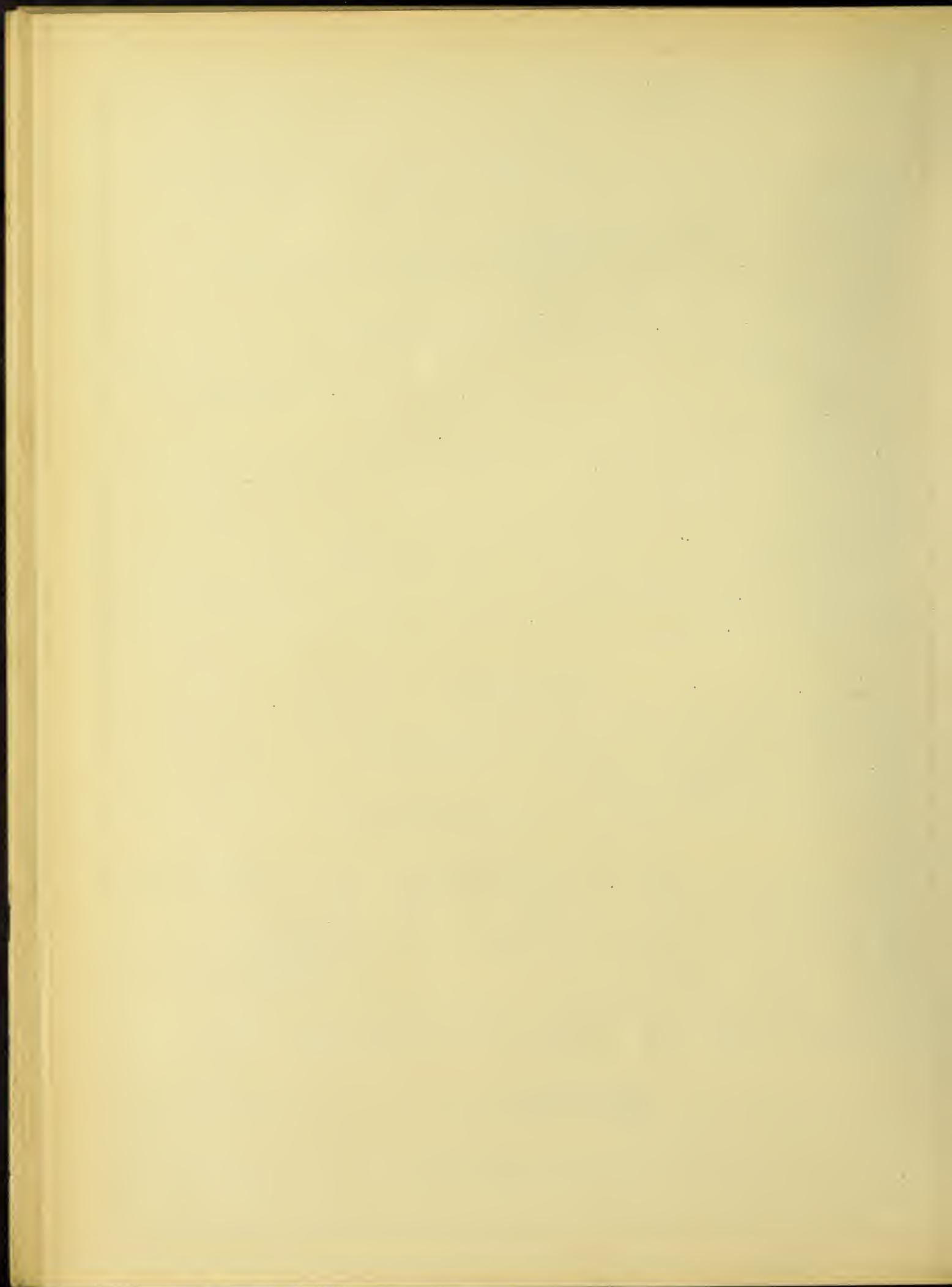
- (1) Genius partaking of something divine, p.5, l.30f.
- (2) Sacce nobis inest deus, p.6, l.37f.
- (3) Genius inspires and is inspired, p.7, l.11f.
- (4) The fable of poetic inspiration, p.10, l.37f.
- (5) Truly inspired, p.12, l.10.
- (6) Divinely inspired enthusiast, p.11, l.15f.
- (7) Divine inspiration of true poetry, p.12, l.17ff.

#### Invention and Newness

- (1) Be rather the first in a village than the second in Rome, p.2, l.1.
- (2) An original a perfect stranger, p.2, l.22f.
- (3) As excellent as now, p.2, l.15f.
- (4) Words with new meaning, p.2, l.27f.
- (5) All eminence and distinction lies out of the beaten road, p.2, l.22f.
- (6) An inventive genius, p.2, l.20.
- (7) New thought, p.11, l.20f.
- (8) Rare imagination and singular design, p.11, l.27f.
- (9) A genius seeks fresh untrampled ground, p.11, l.22f.
- (10) Inventor of new work, p.12, l.37.

#### Know Thyself

- (1) Too formidable an idea of the superiority of the ancients frightens and dwarfs, p.3, l.22f.
- (2) Discernment of our own powers, p.3, l.22.
- (3) A mine in man which must be deeply dug ere we can conjecture its contents, p.2, l.21f.
- (4) The bounds of the mind as unknown as those of creation, p.12, l.50f.



- (3) Genius a friend under disguise, p.10, l.31f.
- (3) Know thyself, p.10, l.52.
- (7) Dive deep into thy bosom; get acquainted with thy mind; contract intimacy with the stranger within thee, p.10, l.54ff.
- (3) Let not great examples browbeat thy reason, p.11, l.14f.
- (3) Talents untried are talents unknown, p.13, l.22.
- (10) Former fame must not damp a writer's spirits, p.12, l.25f.
- (11) Men seem not to know their own stock and abilities, p.11, l.7f.
- (12) Too mean an opinion of the human mind, p.10, l.12.
- (13) Strangers to their own abilities, p.10, l.12f.

#### Learning

- (1) Learning is but an instrument, p.5, l.23.
- (2) Some not famed for erudition have therefore shone brighter and soared higher, p.5, l.41ff.
- (3) Learning fond and proud of such pains; a lover of rules and a booster of famed examples, p.5, l.32ff.
- (4) Genius like virtue, and learning like riches, p.6, l.12.
- (5) Learning is most wanted where there is least genius, p.6, l.10f.
- (6) Genius without much learning can give renown, p.6, l.31f.
- (7) To neglect of learning genius sometimes owes its greater glory, p.6, l.33f.
- (8) The no-learning of Pindar, p.6, l.31f.
- (9) Genius can set us right in composition without the rules of the learned, p.6, l.10f.
- (10) Some are pupils of nature only, nor go farther to school, p.7, l.2f.
- (11) Many a genius could neither write nor read, p.7, l.32f.
- (12) Learning is borrowed knowledge, p.7, l.41.
- (13) Jonson was very learned to his own hurt, p.10, l.15f.
- (14) Shakespeare might have thought less, had he read more and labored under Jonson's learning, p.10, l.31ff.
- (15) If Milton had spared some of his learning, his name would have gained more glory, p.16, l.53f.

#### Magician

- (1) The pen of an original like Arminia's wand, p.6, l.15f.
- (2) A genius, like a magician, raises his structure by means invisible, p.5, l.47ff.
- (3) Genius miraculous, p.2, l.22.

#### Moderns versus Ancients

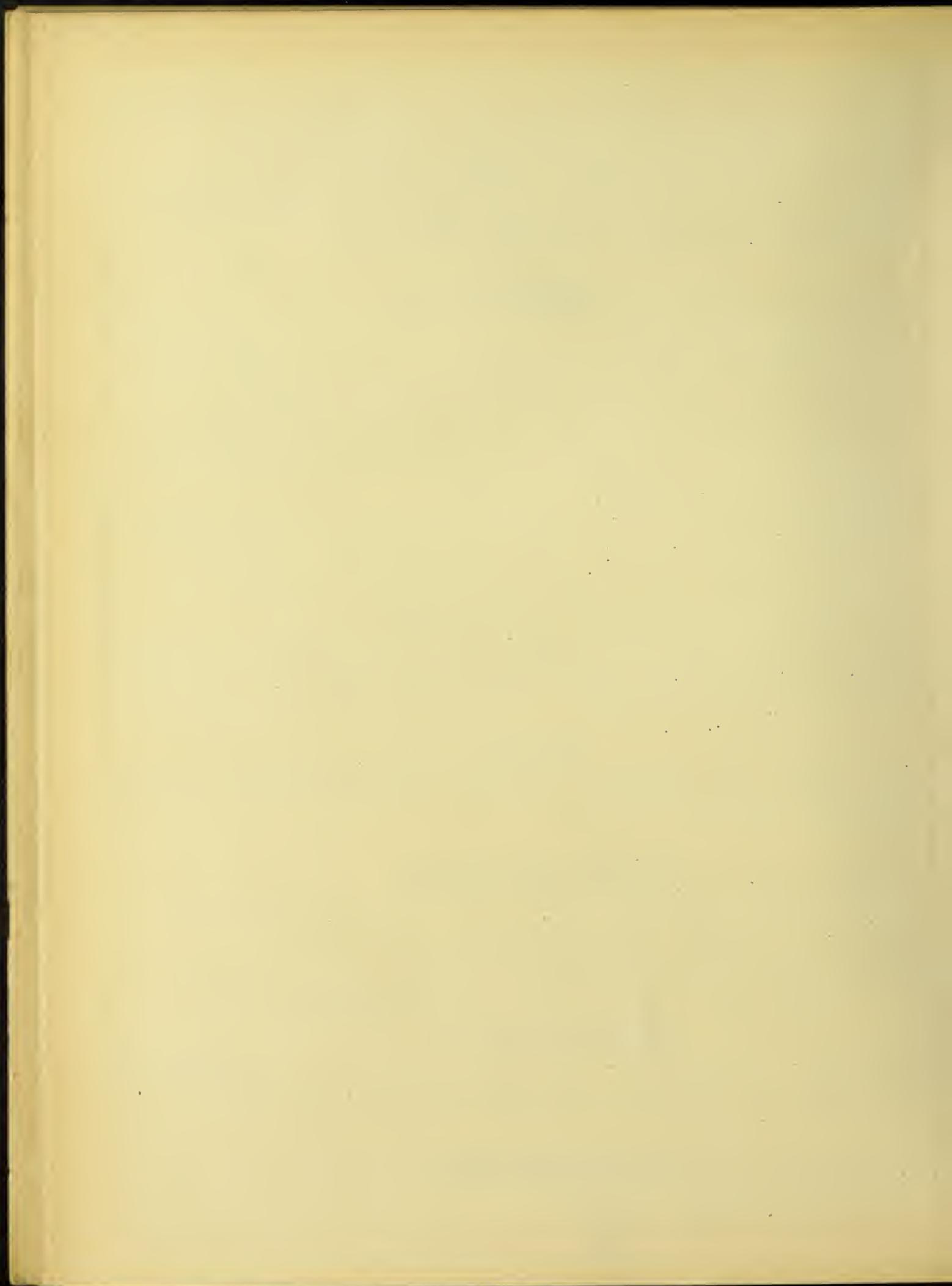
- (1) Human souls at all times equal, p.1, l.15f.
- (2) Ancients and moderns no longer masters and pupils, but level-matched rivals, p.11, l.20ff.
- (3) We are as strong as our predecessors, p.5, l.10f.
- (4) Minds cast in the same mould, p.5, l.15f.
- (5) The modern powers are equal to those before them, p.2, l.27f.
- (6) An Augustan age possible to the Britons, p.11, l.27.

#### More than Common Man

- (1) A giant loving nothing of his size by climbing to trip to his race, p.16, l.1f.
- (2) Shakespeare, that giant, that much more than common man, p.16, l.26f.

#### Mysteries in Poetry

- (1) Something in poetry beyond prose reason: mysteries not to be explained, but admired, p.6, l.12f.



Native Strength

- (1) Native force of mind, p.6, l.12.
- (2) Native powers, p.6, l.31.
- (2) Genius being natural sagacity, p.7, l.1.
- (1) An original unindebted energy, p.7, l.20.
- (5) An original author born to himself, p.13, l.31.
- (3) Strength of genius, p.17, l.10.

Nature

- (1) The sole fountain of literary immortality is the breast of nature, p.4, l.14f.
- (2) By the bounty of nature are we as strong as our predecessors, p.5, l.12f.
- (3) Natural, unstudied graces, p.5, l.53f.
- (1) Some are pupils of nature only, nor go farther to school, p.7, l.2f.
- (5) By imitation we counteract nature: she brought us into the world all originals, p.8, l.50ff.
- (3) Two books, that of nature and that of man, the fountain-head of original composition, p.16, l.20ff.
- (7) Much more art than nature in Addison's Cato, p.18, l.38f.

Noble Few

Unaffected, except to the noble few, p.17, l.27f.

Originals

- (1) Originals the fairest flowers of a wild of genius, p.2, l.20.
- (2) Imitations of nature are originals, p.2, l.31ff.
- (3) Originals great favorites because great benefactors, p.2, l.10f.
- (1) An original writer calls out of a barren waste a blooming spring, p.2, l.15f.
- (5) An original of a vegetable nature: it grows, and is not made, p.2, l.4ff.
- (3) The ancients accidental originals, p.2, l.22.
- (7) Originals being few, p.3, l.51.
- (3) Though all born originals, die copies, p.3, l.53ff.
- (9) A translation differs from the original as the moon from the sun, p.12, l.27f.
- (12) Pope would have succeeded better in an original attempt, p.13, l.21f.
- (11) Original beings from beyond reality, p.11, l.17ff.
- (12) Adventure in original attempts, p.11, l.22f.
- (12) Originals shine like comets, p.11, l.27.

Perfection

Some length of perfection seen beyond a literary production, p.15, l.17f.

Plagiarism

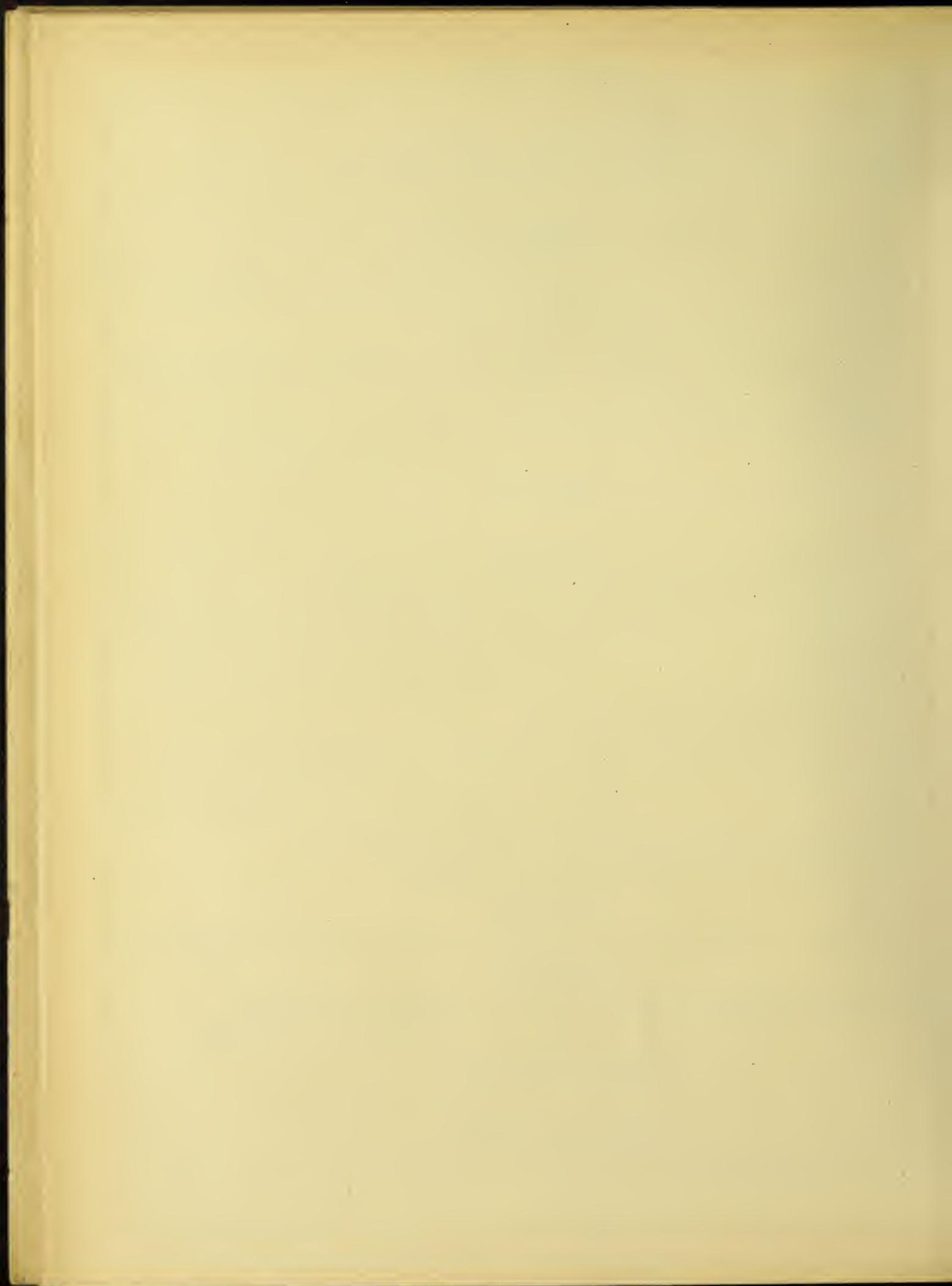
- (1) Cannot become famous by another's thoughts, p.2, l.31f.
- (2) Hoping dominion in literature from plagiarism, p.5, l.27f.
- (3) Were leaden pipes leading down from antiquity, p.11, l.24ff.

Pleasure from Pain

We love to be at once miserable and unhurt, p.12, l.5.

Prometheus-symbol

A Shakespeare or an Otway would have outdone Prometheus and given life and immortality, p.18, l.16ff.



### Reason as the Poetic Faculty

- (1) The mind of a man of genius, p.2, l.31.
- (2) With regard to the intellectual world genius the god within, p.6, l.39f.
- (3) Exquisite edge of thought, p.7, l.24.
- (4) Imitation makes us think little and write much, p.2, l.5f.
- (5) In doubt whether genius is more evident in the flights and flowers of poetry or in profound penetrations and keen and minute distinctions, p.7, l.37ff.
- (6) Get acquainted with your mind and, collecting every spark of intellectual light and heat, let your genius rise like the sun, p.10, l.51ff.
- (7) A noble author thinks and composes, and not merely reads and writes, p.11, l.10ff.
- (8) Judgment thrown from its seat, p.12, l.18.
- (9) The bold excursions of the mind, p.11, l.17f.
- (10) Shakespeare might have thought less if he had read more, p.16, l.21f.
- (11) The epic poet thinks, the tragedian feels, p.16, l.17f.
- (12) A genius implies the rays of the mind concentrated and determined to some particular point, p.17, l.2f.

### Reverence Thyself

- (1) Too great awe for the ancients lays genius under restraint, p.5, l.35.
- (2) Forging our judgment only by what has been done we fall into too mean an opinion of the human mind, p.12, l.10ff.
- (3) Reverence thyself, p.11, l.3.
- (4) Thyself so reverence as to prefer the native growth of thy own mind to the richest import from abroad, p.11, l.5ff.
- (5) The man who reverences himself, will find the world's reverence follows his own, p.11, l.7ff.

### Rime

- (1) Rime chillish shackles and tinkling sounds, p.11, l.37.
- (2) Rime effeminate decoration, p.12, l.7.
- (3) That Gothic demon made modern poetry mortal, p.12, l.12f.
- (4) Rime in epic poetry a sore disease, is tragic absolute death, p.16, l.52f.
- (5) Rime raises the lesser poetry, but sinks the greater, p.17, l.3ff.

### Rules

- (1) Learning is a great lover of rules, p.5, l.32f.
- (2) Rules are like crutches, p.6, l.8.
- (3) Genius can set us right without the rules of the learned, p.6, l.40f.

### Spirit of the People

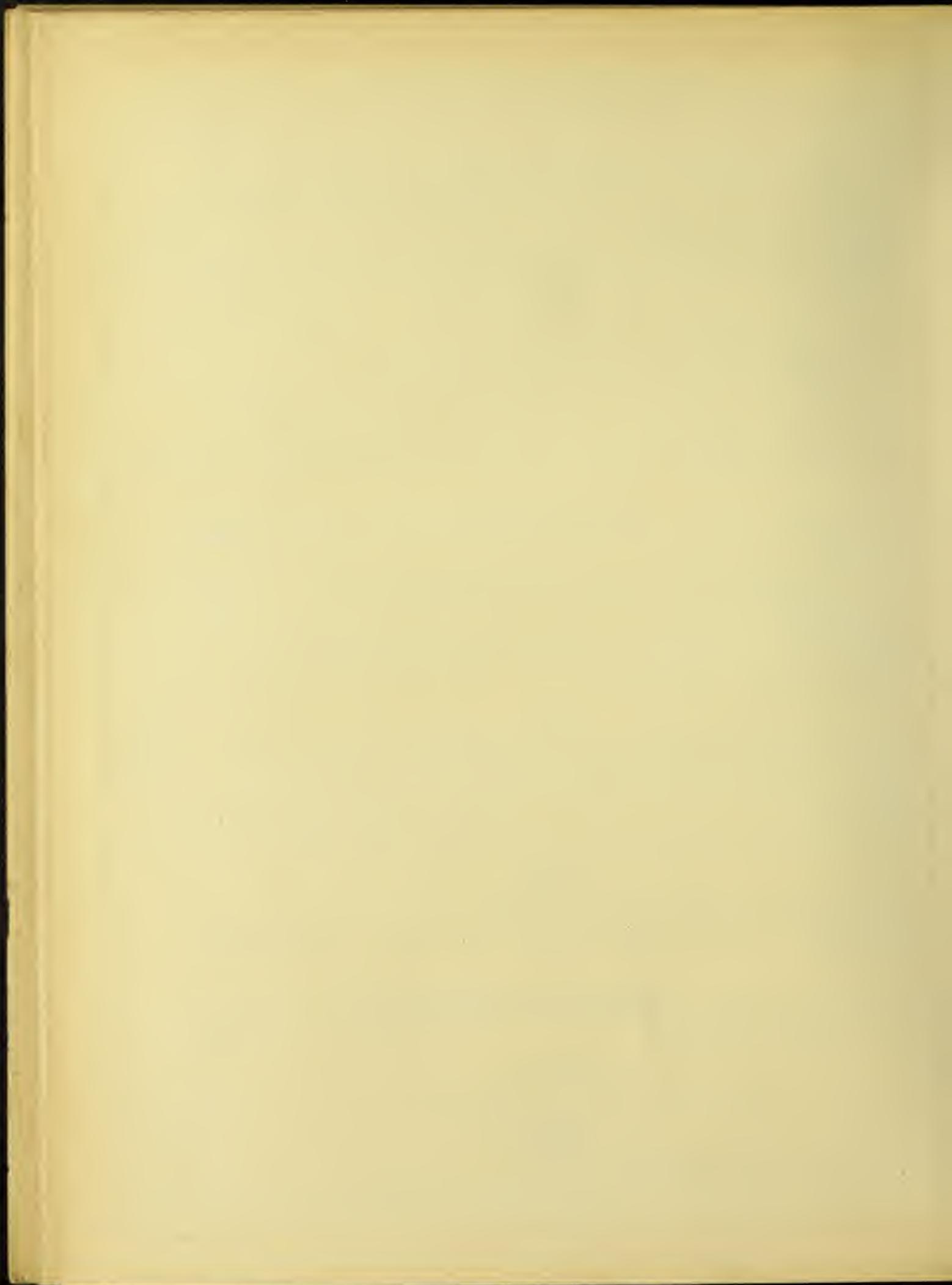
The poets of Greece and Rome got encouragement from the spirit of their people, p.9, l.16f.

### Sublime

Pope not having the true sublime, p.11, l.2.

### Talent

- (1) Talent at imitation, p.9, l.2.
- (2) Reasons why talents may not appear, p.9, l.41.
- (3) Virgil and Horace owed their divine talents to Heaven; p.9, l.17.
- (4) Talents untried are talents unknown, p.12, l.22.



(5) Heaven's gift of talents, p.15, l.37.

Translation

A translation differs from an original as the moon from the sun, p.12, l.27f.

Truth Divine

- (1) Genius not to be set up above divine truth, p.7, l.10.
- (2) No genius can give us divine truth unrevealed, p.3, l.20f.

Use of Composition

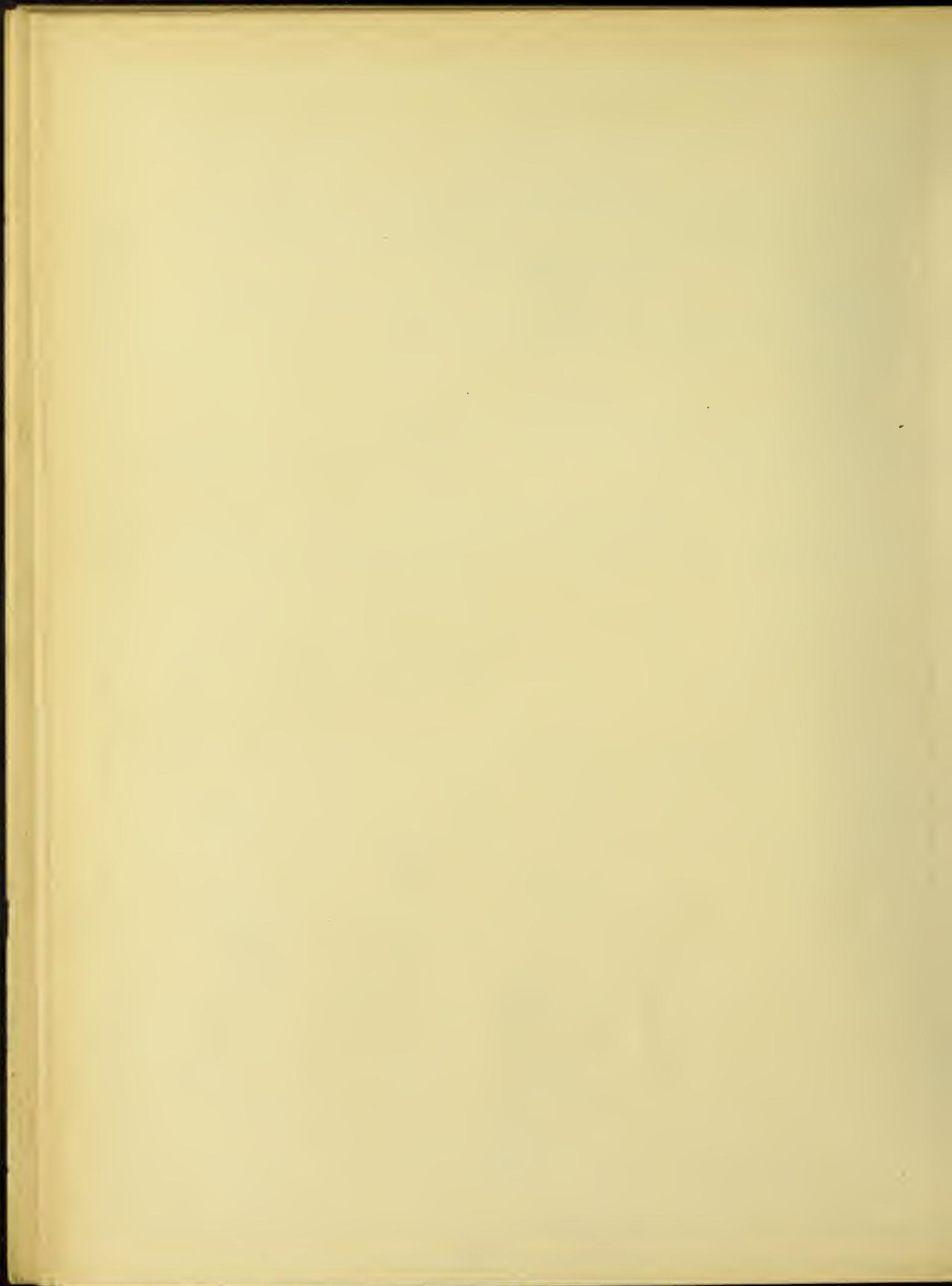
- (1) In the sacred interests of virtue and service of mankind, p.1, l.23ff.
- (2) Composition a noble amusement, p.1, l.20.
- (3) The pen vibrating in the cause of religion, virtue, and learning, p.2, l.22f.

Virtue

- (1) The sacred interests of virtue, p.1, l.21.
- (2) Virtue assists genius: the better the man, the more able the writer, p.14, l.35f.
- (3) Ambition in writing a virtue, p.3, l.46ff.

Writers' Harvest not Over

- (1) The ancients have not reaped everything, p.4, l.1f.
- (2) An ample area for renowned adventure lies open, p.14, l.23f.



A Systematized Exposition of Young's Theories of Composition  
as Expressed in his "Conjectures"

A. Composition in General

Aim and Value of Composition

The press could never be overcharged if only those compositions were admitted that bring their imprimature from sound understanding and the public good. Wit, however brilliant, should not be admitted, if beauty is all that it has to boast; it should sacrifice itself primarily to the sacred interests of virtue and real service of mankind. They are to be esteemed whose pen vibrates to the last in the cause of religion, virtue, and learning.

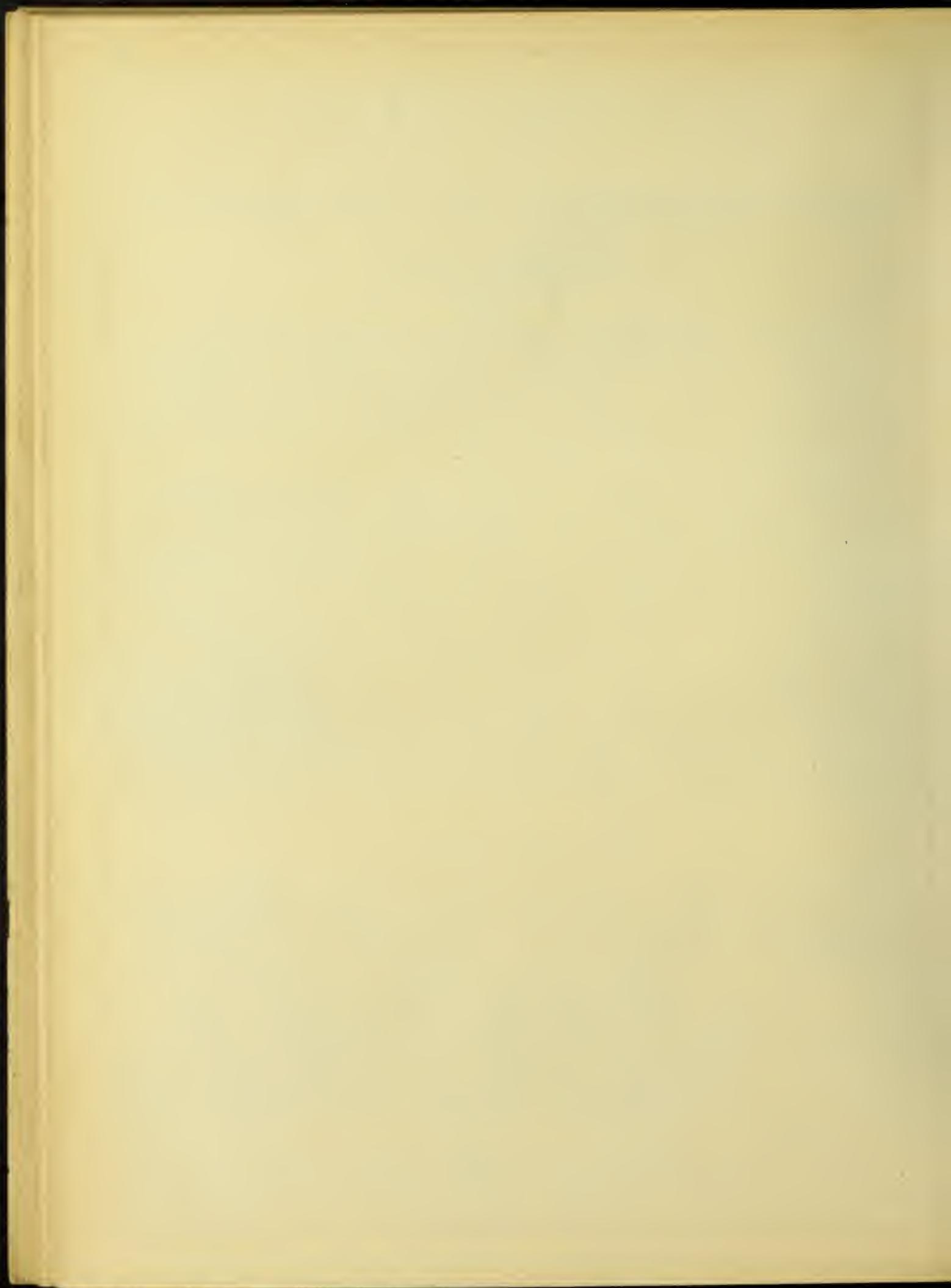
To men of letters and leisure composition is a noble amusement and a sweet refuge; it opens a back-door into a delicious garden of moral and intellectual fruits and flowers, where we perceive the blessings of a lettered recess. How independent of the world is he who can daily find new acquaintances, that at once entertain and improve him, in the little world, the minute but fruitful creation of his own mind? These advantages composition affords us, whether we write ourselves, or in more humble amusement peruse the works of others.

The glorious fruits where genius prevails are writing with vigor and success to the world's delight and one's own renown. Genius can make us great as writers. Genius without much learning can give renown. Emulation of great models may give a name immortal; the men of genius in Athens struck fire against each other and kindled by conflict into glories which no time shall extinguish. An original composition enters early upon reputation: fame sounds her trumpet at its birth. Originals are, and ought to be, great favorites, for they are great benefactors: they extend the republic of letters and add a new province to its dominion.

Ancients and Moderns

We have the beauties of the ancients as stars to guide us, their defects as rocks to be shunned, the judgment of ages on both to steer us to greater perfection than theirs. ... The classics are for ever our rightful and revered masters in composition, and our understandings bow before them, when a master is wanted. ... Let us be as far from neglecting as from copying the admirable compositions of the ancients. Let our understandings feed on theirs; they afford the noblest nourishment; but let them nourish, not annihilate, our own. When we read, let our imagination kindle at their charms; when we write, let our judgment shut them out of our thoughts. ... Too formidable an idea of the superiority of the ancients, like a spectre, would frighten us out of a proper use of our wits, and dwarf our understanding by making a giant of theirs. Too great awe for them lays genius under restraint. ...

Let it not be suspected that I would weakly insinuate anything in favor of the moderns, as compared with ancient authors; no, I am lamenting their great inferiority. But I think it is no necessary



inferiority. I think that human souls, through all periods are equal that due care and exertion would set us nearer our immortal predecessors than we are at present. ... By the bounty of nature we are as strong as our predecessors; and by the favor of time (which is but another round in nature's scale) we stand on higher ground. ... The modern powers are equal to those before them; modern performance in general is deplorably short. How great are the names just mentioned? Yet who will dare affirm that as great may not rise up in some future or even in the present age? Reasons there are why talents may not appear, none why they may not exist, as much in one period as another. An evocation of the fruits of genius depends on externals. What a marvellous crop bore it in Greece and Rome? And what a marvellous sunshine did it enjoy? What encouragement from the nature of their governments, and the spirit of their people? Virgil and Horace owed their divine talents to heaven; their immortal works, to men; thank Maecenas and Augustus for them. ... If ancients and moderns were no longer considered as masters and pupils, but as hard-matched rivals for renown; then moderns, by longevity of their labors, might one day become ancients themselves, and old time, that best weigher of merits, to keep his balance even, might have the golden weight of an Augustan age in both his scales: or rather our scale might descend, and antiquity's might kick the beam. ... Something new may be expected from Britons particularly, ... of whom little more appears to be required, in order to give us originals, than a consistency of character, and making their compositions of a piece with their lives.

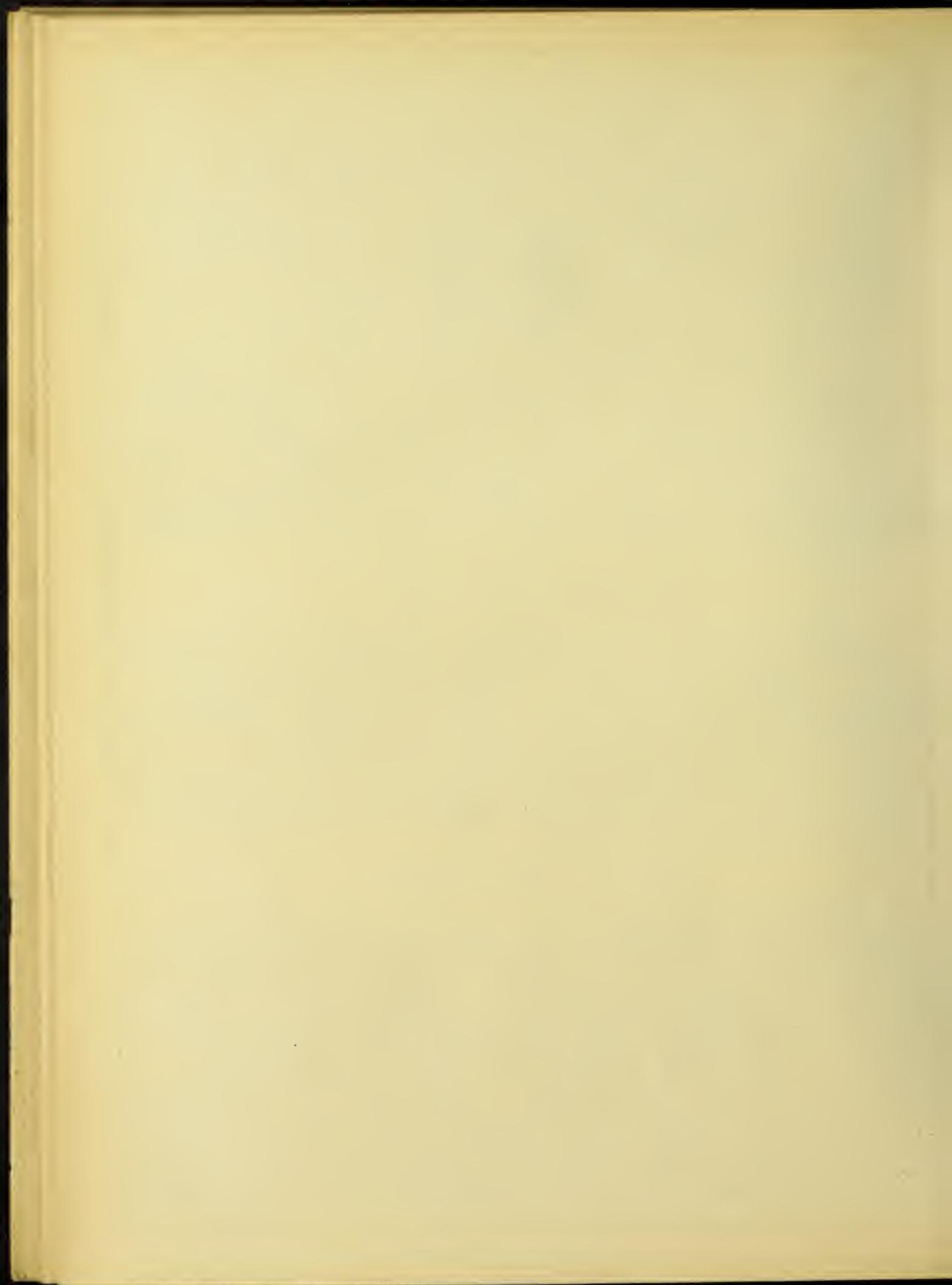
#### Criticism and its Function

What is it the world most admires in the ancients? Not the fewness of their faults, but the numbers and brightness of their beauties. ... Pathos, the life and soul of tragedy, charms through a thousand faults. ... Genius often owes its supreme glory to the liberty of natural unstudied graces and small harmless indecorums. Unprescribed beauties and unexampled excellence, which are characteristics of genius, lie without the pale of learning's authorities and laws.

Genius leaves but the second place, among men of letters, to the learned. It is their merit and ambition to fling light on the works of genius and point out its charms. We most justly reverence their informing radius for that favor; but we must much more admire the radiant stars pointed out by them.

#### Learning or Native Strength

Learning is borrowed knowledge. ... It is fond and proud of what has cost it much pains; it is a great lover of rules and boaster of famed examples, and inveighs against natural, unstudied graces and small harmless indecorums as beauties less perfect since they do not owe half their charms to cautious art. ... Learning is but an instrument; and an instrument, though most valuable, yet not always indispensable. ... Learning is most wanted where there is least genius. ... Genius can set us right in composition without the rules of the learned. ... Rules, like crutches, are a needful aid to the lame, though an impediment to the strong. ... Some not famed for erudition have so written that therefore they shone brighter and soared higher. ... To neglect of learning genius sometimes owes its greater glory. ... Many a genius probably there has been who could neither read nor write. ... Pindar, a star of the first magnitude among the ancients, boasted of his no-learning, calling himself the eagle for his flight



above it. ... Jonson was very learned to his own hurt; he pulled down all antiquity on his head and buried himself under it. ... Shakespeare might have thought less if he had read more, and might have labored under Jonson's learning and not risen up into that giant, that much more than common man at which we now gaze with amazement and delight. ... If Milton had spared some of his learning, his muse would have gained more glory than he would have lost by it.

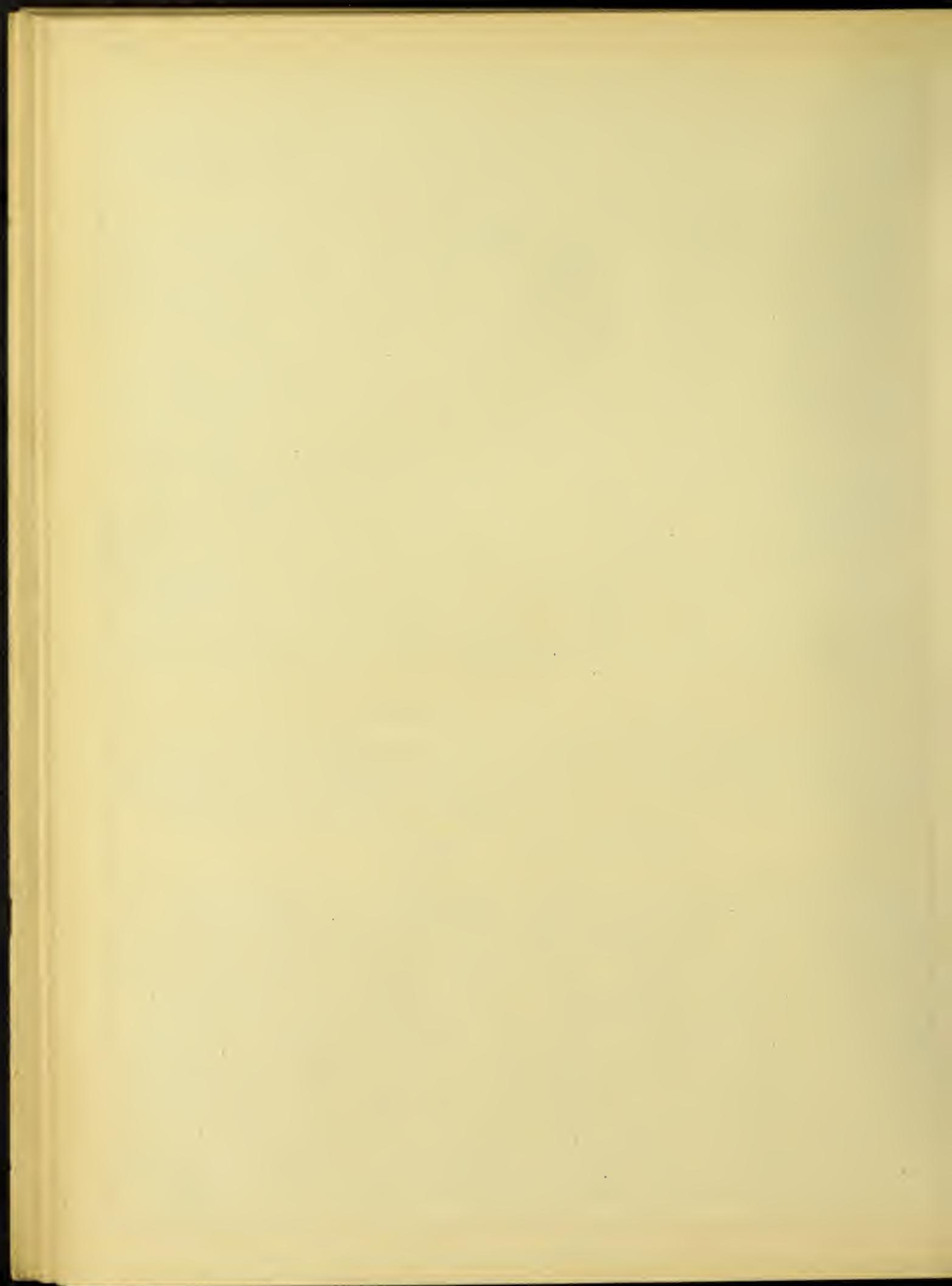
There is a genius which stands in need of learning to make it shine. Swift's was an infantine genius, which must be nursed and educated, or it will come to nought. But learning, its nurse and tutor, may overlay it with an indigested load, which smothers common sense, and may mislead with pedantic prejudice, which vitiates the best understanding. ... The classics are for ever our masters in composition when a master is wanted. Some, however, are pupils of nature only, nor go farther to school. These not only rival the ancient authors, but also reduce the number of mean ones among the moderns. When they enter on subjects which have been in former hands, they overwhelm and bury in oblivion all that went before them, and thus not only enrich and adorn, but remove a load, and lessen the labor, of the lettered world. ... The schoolmen had but little learning and few books, yet may the most learned be struck with some astonishment at their so singular natural sagacity and most exquisite edge of thought. They and Pindar, Scotus, Shakespeare, and Aquinas equally show an original, unindebted energy. ... Homer reigned supreme by native force of mind. ... Such genii as Shakespeare and Pindar may indeed have much reliance on their own native powers, for genius may be compared to the natural strength of the body, and learning to the superinduced accoutrements of arms. If the first is equal to the proposed exploit, the latter rather encumbers than assists. ... Though Pope's noble muse may boast her descent from Homer, Virgil and Horace, yet is an original author more nobly born: he is born of himself.

#### Translations and the Translator

But supposing Pope's Iliad to have been perfect in its kind; yet it is a translation still; which differs as much from an original as the moon from the sun. ... We stand much obliged for his giving us a Homer, yet had he doubled our obligation by giving us - a Pope.

#### Imitations and the Imitator

Imitations are of two kinds, one of nature, one of authors. The first we call originals, the second, imitations. ... Imitate the ancient authors, but imitate aright. He that imitates the Iliad does not imitate Homer, but he who takes the same method which Homer took. Imitate not the composition, but the man; the less we copy the ancients, the more we resemble them; ... the farther from them in similitude, the nearer to them in excellence. ... Let us build our compositions with the spirit and in the taste of the ancients, but not with their materials. ... We cannot get famous by another's thought. ... Imitators give us only a sort of duplicates. ... An imitator is a transplant of laurels, which sometimes die on removal, and always languish in a foreign soil. ... Imitations are often a sort of manufacture wrought up out of preexistent materials not their own. ... Shakespeare mingled no water with his wine, did not lower his genius by vapid imitation. ... Imitation is inferiority confessed; it is servile, it fetters. ... The spirit of imitation deprives the liberal and politer arts of an advantage which the mechanic enjoy: In these,



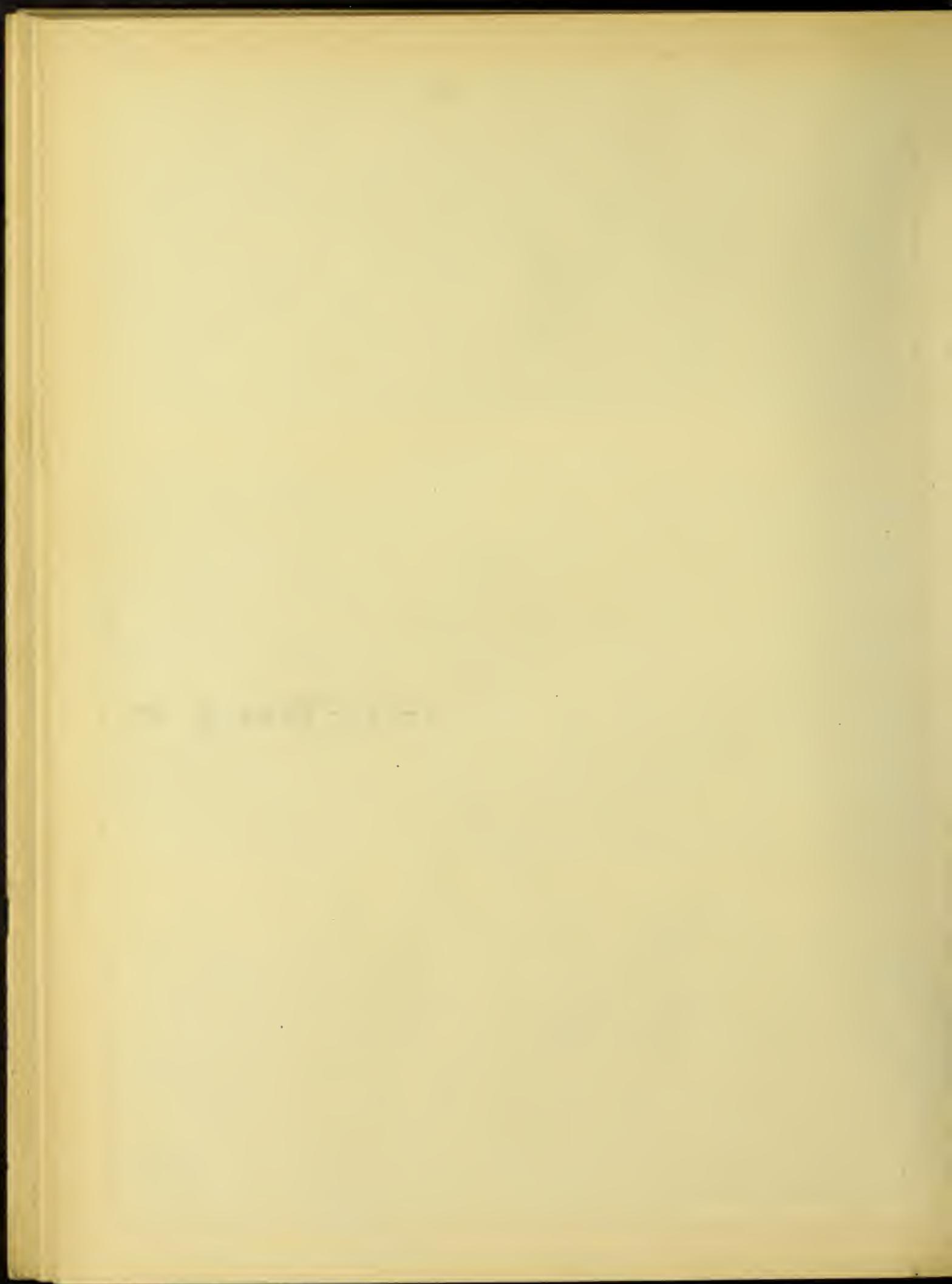
men are ever endeavoring to go beyond their predecessors; in the former, to follow them. And since copies surpass not their originals as streams rise not higher than their spring, and rarely so high, the liberal arts are in retrogradation and decay. ... By a spirit of imitation we counteract nature. She brings us into the world all originals: no two faces, no two minds, are just alike. Imitation blots out nature's mark of separation and destroys all mental individuality the lettered world no longer consists of singulars; it is a medley, a mass; and a hundred books, at bottom, are but one. ... A spirit of imitation makes us poor and proud; it makes us think little and write much. ... But notwithstanding these disadvantages, imitation must be the lot (and often an honorable lot it is) of most writers. If there is a famine of invention, we must visit the remote and rich ancients. ... Let not the blaze of even Homer's muse darken us to the discernment of our own powers, which may possibly set us above the rank of imitators, who, though most excellent, and even immortal (as some of them are) yet are still dii minorum gentium, and cannot expect the greatest praise.

### Models and Emulation

The classics are for ever our rightful and revered masters in composition, when a master is wanted, which sometimes is not the case. ... True poetry, like true religion, abhors idolatry; and though it honors the memory of the exemplary and takes them willingly (yet cautiously) as guides in the way to glory; real, though unexampled excellence is its only aim. ... Let no great examples, or authorities browbeat thy reason into too great a diffidence of thyself: Thyself so reverence as to prefer the native growth of thy own mind to the richest import from abroad. ... Emulation is superiority contested, or denied; it fires, it may give a name immortal. It made Athens to succeeding ages the rule of taste and the standard of perfection. Her men of genius struck fire against each other, and kindled, by conflict, into glories no time shall extinguish. Emulation exhorts us, instead of learning our discipline for ever under ancient leaders in composition, to put those laureled veterans in some hazard of losing their superior posts in glory. ... Chance often discovers in us by a noble stroke of emulation from another's glory what has been unseen before both by us and others. ... It is prudence to read, genius to relish, and glory to surpass, ancient authors, and wisdom to try our strength in an attempt in which it would be no great dishonor to fail.

### Original Works and the Original Writer

Some compositions are more original than others. ... If it is said that most of the Latin classics and all the Greek except, perhaps, Homer, Pindar, and Anacreon, are in the number of imitators, yet receive our highest applause; our answer is that they, though not real, are accidental originals; the works they imitated, few excepted, are lost. ... Would Pope not have succeeded better in an original attempt? ... We stand much obliged for his giving us a Homer, but he would have doubled our obligation by giving us a Pope. ... An original enters early upon reputation: fame, fond of new glories, sounds her trumpet in triumph at its birth; and yet how few are awakened by it into the noble ambition of like attempts? So few are our originals that, if all other books were to be burnt, the lettered world would resemble some metropolis in flames where a few incumbustible buildings, a fortress, temple, or tower, lift their heads, in

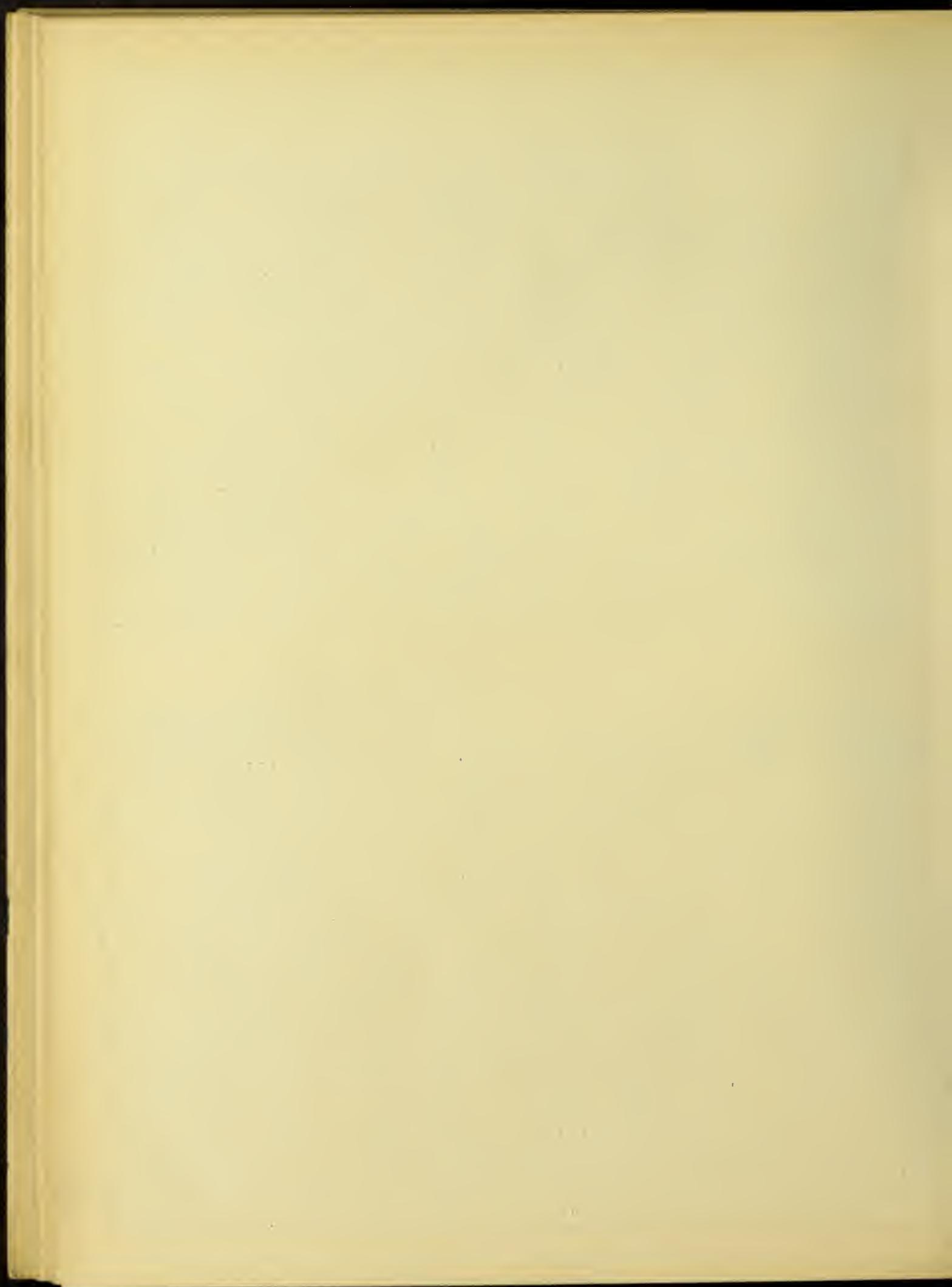


melancholy grandeur, amid the mighty ruin. But why are originals so few? Not because the writer's harvest is over, the great reapers of antiquity having left nothing to be gleaned after them; nor because the human mind's teeming time is past, or because it is incapable of putting forth unprecedented births; but because illustrious examples engross, prejudice, and intimidate. They engross our attention, and so prevent a due inspection of ourselves; they prejudice our judgment in favor of their abilities, and so lessen the sense of our own; and they intimidate us with the splendor of their renown, and thus under diffidence bury our strength....We ought to exert more; on exertion our probability of success is greater than we conceive...Moreover, so boundless are the bold excursions of the human mind that in the vast void beyond real existence it can call forth shadowy beings and unknown worlds as numerous, as bright, and, perhaps, as lasting, as the stars; such quite-original beauties we may call paradisaical.

"Natos sine semine flores." Ovid. When such an area for renowned adventure in original attempts lies before us, shall we be as mere leaden pipes, conveying to the present age small streams of excellence from its grand reservoir in antiquity; and those too, perhaps, mudded in the pass? Originals shine, like comets. All other compositions (if they shine at all) shine in clusters, like stars in the galaxy, each particular being deminished and almost lost in the throng... Originals are, and ought to be, great favorites, for they are great benefactors; they extend the republic of letters. The pen of an original writer, like Armida's wand, out of a barren waste calls a blooming spring... An original enjoys an undivided applause. An original may be said to be of a vegetable nature; it rises spontaneously from the vital root of genius; it grows, it is not made; imitations are often a sort of manufacture wrought up by those mechanics, art and labor, out of pre-existent materials of others.

#### The Psychology of Literary Composition.

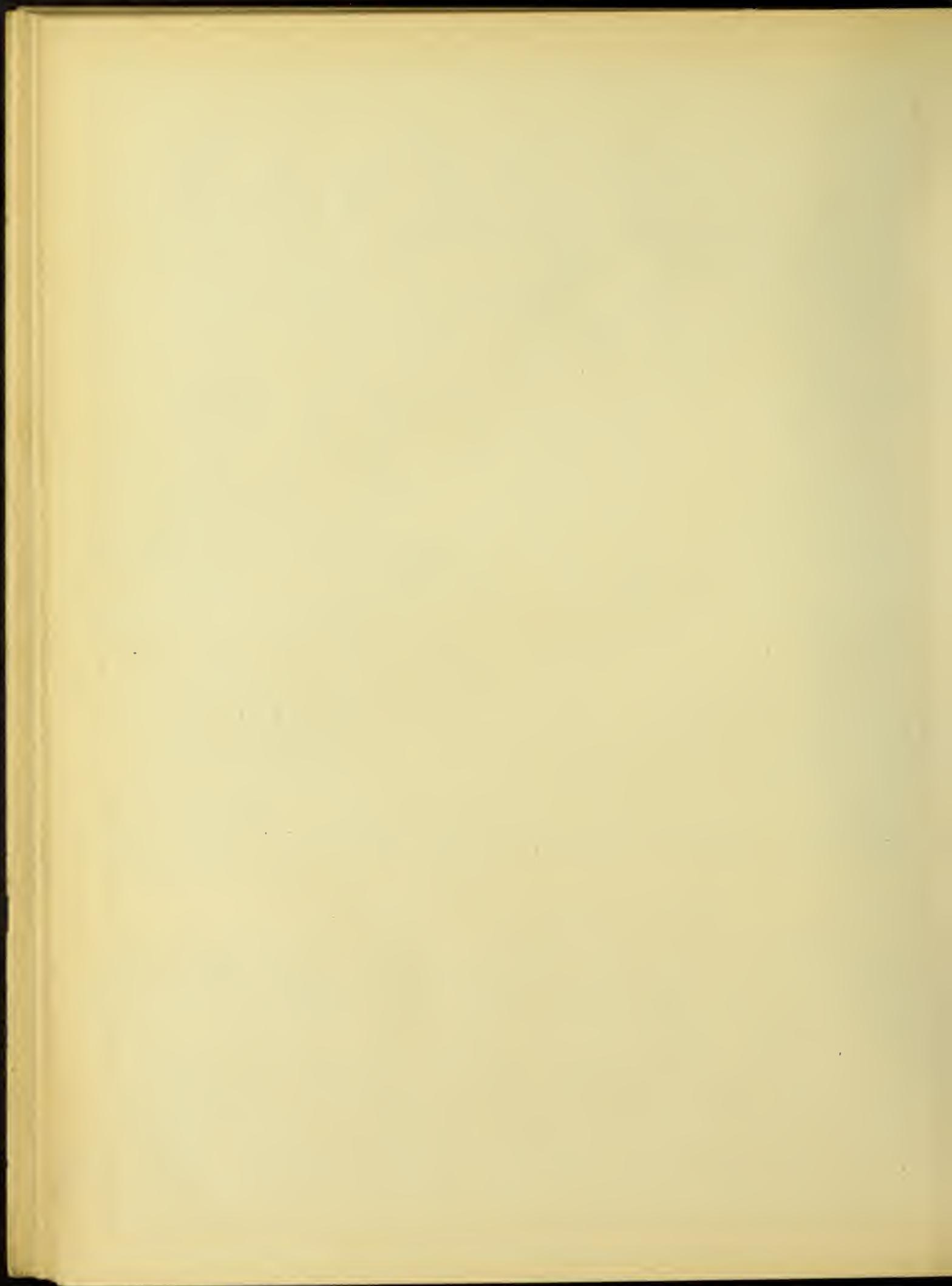
The noble title of an author; that is, of one (to speak accurately) thinks and composes; while other invaders of the press, how voluminous and learned soever, only read and write...Know thyself:...dive deep into thy bosom; learn the depth, extent, bias, and full fort of thy mind; contract a full intimacy with the stranger within thee; excite and cherish every spark of intellectual light and heat, however smothered under former negligence, or scattered through the dull, dark mass of common thoughts; and collecting them into a body, let thy genius rise (if a genius thou hast) as the sun from chaos...as for a general genius, genius implies the rays of the mind concentered and determined to some particular point. ..Yet may the most learned be struck with some astonishment at the schoolmen's so singular natural sagacity and most exquisite edge of thought. Who would expect to find Pindar and Scotus, Shakespeare and Aquinas, of the same party? Both equally show an original, unindebted energy; the vigor igneus and coelestis origo burn in both; and leave us in doubt whether genius is more evident in the sublime flights and beauteous flowers of poetry, or in the profound penetrations and marvelously keen and minute distinctions called the thorns of the schools... So boundless are the bold excursions of the human mind, that in the vast void beyond real existence, it can call forth shadowy beings, and unknown worlds, or numerous, as bright, and, perhaps, as lasting as the stars....In the fairyland of fancy genius may wander wild; there it has a creative power:...but the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us only what by his own, or others' eyes has been seen: though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burl-squed, dishonored, or adorned....A marvelous light, unenjoyed of old, is



poured on us by revelation, with larger prospects extending our understanding, with brighter objects enriching our imagination, with an inestimable prize setting our passions on fire, thus strengthening every power that enables composition to shine. ... Pope would have doubled our obligation by giving us, instead of a Homer, - a Pope. Had he a strong imagination, and the true sublime? That granted, we might have had two Homers instead of one. ... All eminence and distinction lie out of the beaten road; and the more remote your path from the highway the more reputable. ... The writer who neglects those two rules, "Know thyself", and "Reverence thyself", will never stand alone; he makes one of a group and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng. He conceives not the least embryo of new thought; opens not the least vista through the gloom of ordinary writers into the bright walks of rare imagination and singular design; while the true genius is crossing all public roads into fresh untrodden ground. ... If there is a famine of invention, we must visit the remote and rich ancients; but an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenished from within; and affords us a miraculous delight. Whether our own genius be such, or not, we diligently should inquire; that we may not go a begging with gold in our purse. For there is a mine in man, which must be deeply dug ere we can conjecture its contents. Another often sees that in us which we see not ourselves; and may there not be that in us which is unseen by both? That there may, chance often discovers, either by a luckily chosen theme, or a mighty premium, or an absolute necessity of exertion, or a noble stroke of emulation from another glory. ... Emulation made Athens to succeeding ages the rule of taste and the standard of perfection. Her men of genius struck fire against each other and kindled, by conflict, into glories which no time shall extinguish. ... Who hath fathomed the mind of man? Its bounds are as unknown as those of the creation, since the birth of which, perhaps, not one has so far exerted, as not to leave his possibilities beyond his attainments, his powers beyond his exploits. ... Let not the blaze of even Homer's muse darken us to the discernment of our own powers. ... Bacon says, "Men seem not to know their own stock and abilities, but fancy their possessions to be greater, and their abilities less, than they really are". Which is in effect, saying, "that we ought to exert more than we do; and that, on exertion, our probability of success is greater than we conceive". ... I think that human souls, through all periods, are equal; that due care and exertion would set us nearer our immortal predecessors than we are at present.

#### Genius as Quality and as Phenomenon.

Of genius there are two species, an earlier and a later; or call them infantine, and adult. An adult genius comes out of nature's hand, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth, and mature. Shakspere's genius was of this kind. On the contrary, Swift stumbled at the threshold and set out for distinction on feeble knees. His was an infantine genius; a genius which, like other infants, must be nursed and educated, or it will come to nought. Learning is its nurse and tutor; but this nurse may overlay it with an indigested load, which smothers common sense; and this tutor may mislead with pedantic prejudice, which vitiates the best understanding. ... Genius we revere; it gives us rapture; it inspires and in itself inspired; for genius is from heaven, learning from man. Learning is borrowed knowledge; genius is knowledge innate and quite our own. Therefore, as Bacon observes, it may take a nobler name and be called wisdom; in which sense of



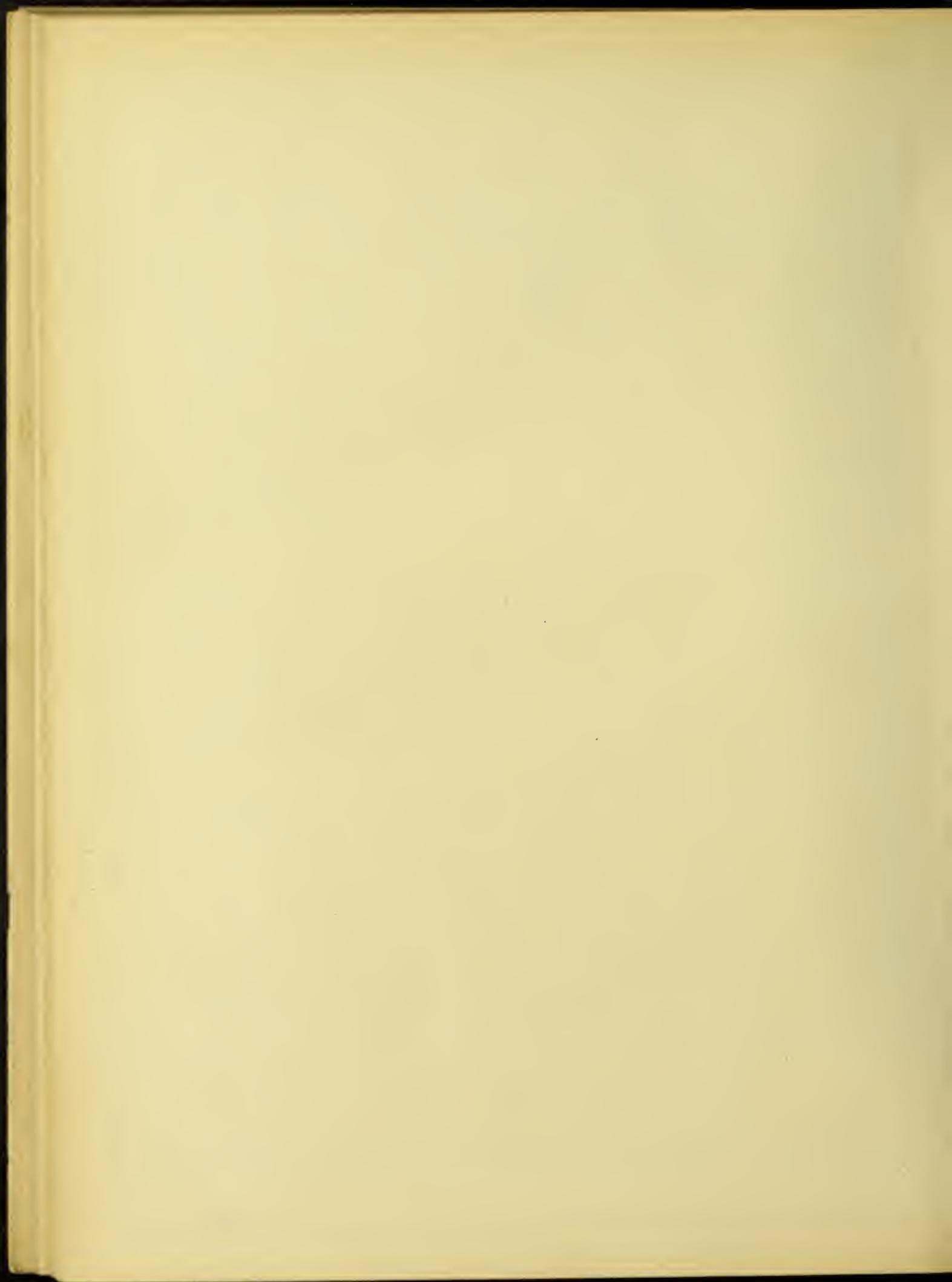
wisdom some are born wise...If there is a famine of invention in the land, like Joseph's brethren, we must travel far for food; we must visit the remote and rich ancients; but an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenished from within: and affords us a miraculus delight...Genius is a master-workman, learning is but an instrument; and an instrument, though most valuable, yet not always indispensable. Heaven will not admit of a partner in the accomplishment of some favorite spirits, but rejecting all human means assumes the whole glory to itself. What for the most part mean we by genius but the power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end? A genius differs from a good understanding as a magician from a good architect; that raises his structure by means invisible; this by the skilful use of common tools. Hence genius has ever been supposed to partake of something divine. "Nemo unquam vir magnus fuit sine aliquo afflatu divino"... "Sacer nobis inest deus", says Seneca. Wit' regard to the moral world, conscience, wit' regard to the intellectual genius, is that god within. Heaven can set us right in composition, without the rules of the learned; as conscience in life without the laws of the land....The writer who neglects those two rules, "Know thyself", and "Reverence thyself", will never stand alone; he makes one of a group, and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng. He conceives not the least embryo of new thought, opens not the least rifta through the gloom of ordinary writers, into the bright walks of rare imagination and singular design; while the true genius is crossing all public roads into fresh untrodden ground.

As beauties less perfect, who owe half their charms to cautious art, learning inveighs against natural unstudied graces and small harmless indecorums; and sets rigid bounds to the liberty to which genius often owes its supreme glory; but the no-genius, its frequent ruin. For unprescribed beauties and unexampled excellence, which are characteristic of genius, lie without the pale of learning's authority and laws....Genius often then deserves not to be praised when it is most sure to be condemned; that is, when its excellence, from mounting high, to weak eyes is quite out of sight...When we are setting these great men in competition, what but the comparative size of their genius is the subject of our inquiry? And a giant loses nothing of his size though he should chance to trip in his race....

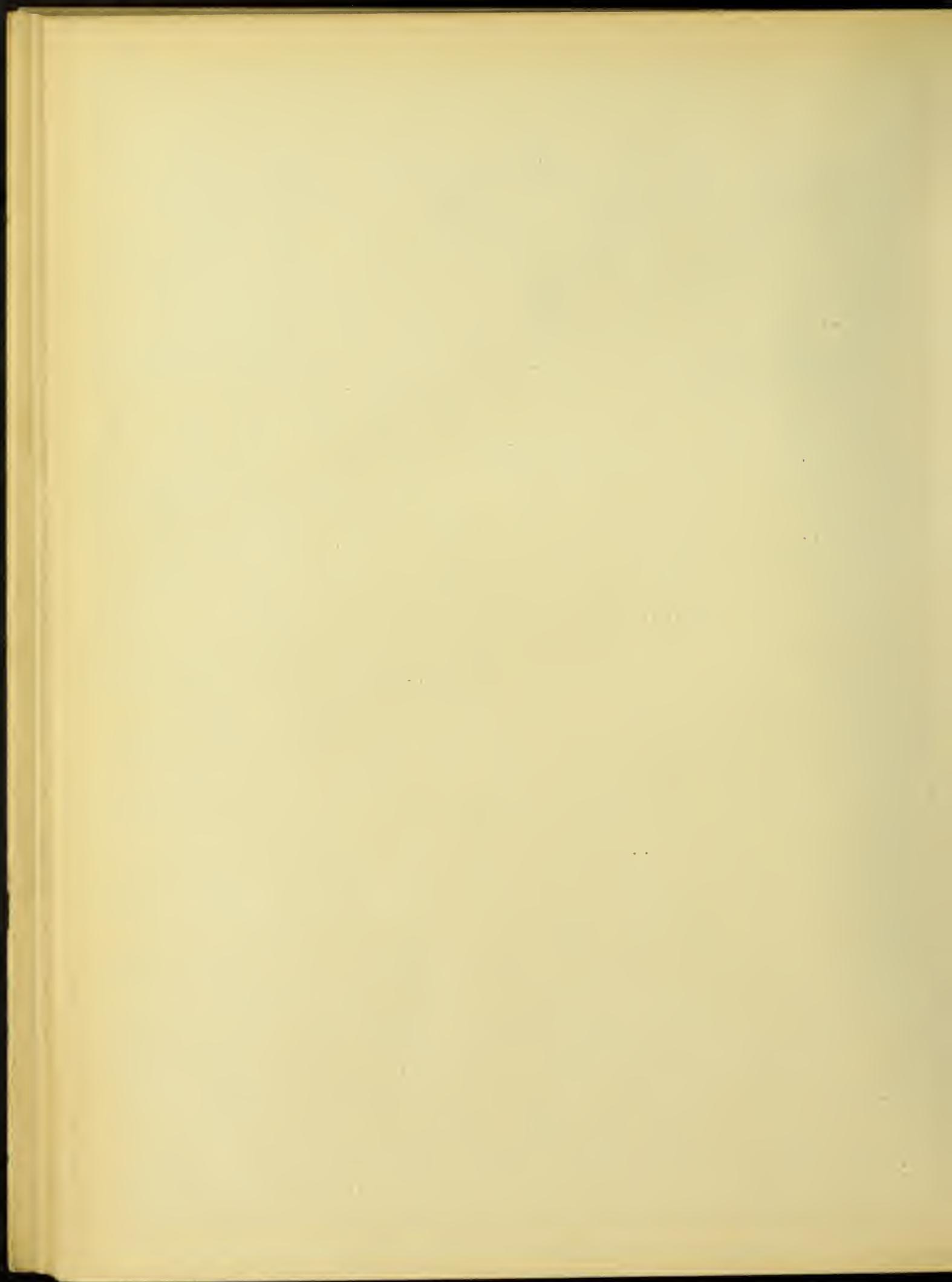
To show that genius is not so very rare as you imagine, I shall point out strong instances of it in a far distant quarter from that mentioned above. The winds of the school were about to or had claimed as their lodges; they had but little learning and few books; yet may the most learned be struck with some astonishment at their so singular natural sagacity and most exquisite edge of thought. Who would expect to find Pindar and Scoto, Shakespeare and Aquinas, of the same party? Both equally show an original, unindented energy; the Vigil igneus and Caelestis origo burns in both, and leaves us in doubt whether genius is more evident in the sublime flights and beauteous flowers of poetry, or in the profound penetrations and marvelously keen and minute distinctions called the thorns of the schools. Many a genius, probably, there has been which could neither write nor read. So that genius, that supreme lustre of literature, is less rare than you conceive.

#### Something Mysterious, Magic and Divine in Poetry.

There is something in poetry beyond prose reason; there are mysteries in it not to be explained, but admired...In the fairyland of fancy genius may wander wild; there it has a creative power, and may reign



arbitrarily over its own empire of chimeras...So boundless are the bold excursions of the human mind that in the vast void beyond real existence it can call forth shadowy beings and unknown worlds as numerous, as bright, and, perhaps, as lasting as the stars; such quite-original beauties we may call paradisaical, "ratos sine semine flores",...The pen of an original writer, like Armida's wand, out of a barren waste calls a blooming spring...A genius differs from a good understanding as a magician from a good architect; that raises his structure by means invisible; this by the skilful use of common tools. Hence genius has ever been supposed to partake of something divine. "Nemo unquam vir magnus fuit sine aliquo afflatu divine"...Under the head of Jonson's learning Shakespeare might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight...Both, the schoolmen and Pindar and Scotus, Shakespeare and Aquinas, equally show an original, unindebted, energy; "Vigor igneus and Caelestis origo burns in both...Genius gives us rapture; it inspires and is itself inspired; for genius is from heaven...Virgil and Horace owed their divine talents to heaven...Shakespeare and Otway would have outdone Prometheus and, with their heavenly fire, have given Addison's Cato not only life, but immortality...He that imitates the divine Iliad, etc....Genius is a master-workman, learning is but an instrument; and an instrument, though most valuable, yet not always indispensable. Heaven will not admit of a partner in the accomplishment of some favorite spirits; but rejecting all human means, assumes the whole glory to itself...."Sacer nobis inest deus", says Seneca. With regard to the moral world, conscience, with regard to the intellectual, genius is that god within. Genius can set us right in composition, without the rules of the learned; as conscience sets us right in life without the rules of the land.... When there is a famine of invention, we must visit the remote and rich ancients; but an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenished from within; and affords us a miraculous delight....Real, though unexampled, excellence is true poesy's only aim; nor looks it for any inspiration less than divine....Thyself so reverence as to prefer the native growth of thy own mind to the richest import from abroad; which alone can confer the noble title of an author; that is, of one who (to speak accurately) thinks and composes; while other invaders of the press only read and write. This is the difference between those two luminaries in literature, the well-accomplished scholar, and the divinely-inspired enthusiast; the first is as the bright morning-star; the second as the rising sun.... Few authors of distinction but have experienced something of this nature at the first beamings of their yet unsuspected genius on their hitherto dark composition: the writer starts at it as at a lucid meteor in the night: is much surprized; can scarce believe it true. Genius in this view is like a dear friend in our company under disguise, who, while we are lamenting his absence, drops his mask, striking us at once with equal surprize and joy. This sensation which I speak of in a writer, might favor, and so promote, the effable of poetic inspiration: a poet of a strong imagination and stronger vanity, on feeling it, might naturally enough realize the world's mere compliment and think himself truly inspired. Which is not improbable; for enthusiasts of all kinds do no less...But here a caution is necessary against the most fatal of errors in those automaths, those self-taught philosophers of our age, who set up genius, and often mere fancied genius, not only above human learning, but divine truth. I have called genius wisdom, but let it be remembered that in the most renowned ages of the most refined heathen wisdom (and theirs is not Christian) "the world by wisdom knew not God, etc." The most unbounded and exalted genius can give us only what by his own, or others' eyes



has been seen; though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burl-  
 esqued, dishonored, or adorned. In like manner, who can give us div-  
 ine truth unrevealed?

### The Poet a Creator.

Originals extend the republic of letters....The pen of an original  
 writer; like Armida's wand, out of a barren waste calls a blooming  
 spring....So boundless are the bold excursions of the human mind that  
 in the vast void beyond real existence it can call forth shadowy  
 beings and unknown worlds, as numerous, as bright, and, perhaps, as  
 lasting, as the stars....The lettered recess, the little world, the  
 minute but fruitful creation of the mind of the man of letters and  
 leisure....Lucian, when reflected on as an apprentice to a statuary  
 by being called Prometheus, replied, "I am indeed the inventor of  
 new work, the model of which I owe to none"....If there is a famine  
 of invention, we must visit the remote and rich ancients, but an in-  
 ventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse,  
 is divinely replenished from within...At the first beamings of his  
 yet unsuspected genius on his hitherto dark composition the writer  
 starts as at a lucid meteor in the night; is much surprizes; can scarce  
 believe it true. This sensation which I speak of in a writer might  
 favor and so promote the fable of poetic inspiration: a poet of a  
 strong imagination, and stronger vanity, on feeling it, might think  
 himself truly inspired;...enthusiasts of all kinds do no less....But  
 here a caution is necessary against the most fatal of errors in those  
 self-taught philosophers of our age, who set up genius, and often  
 mere fancied genius, not only above human learning, but divine truth.  
 I have called genius wisdom; but let it be remembered, that in the  
 most renowned ages of the most refined heathen wisdom (and theirs is  
 not Christian) 'the world by wisdom knew not God, etc.' In the fairy-  
 land of fancy genius may wander wild; there it has a creative power,  
 and may reign arbitrarily over its own empire of chimeras. The wide  
 field of nature also lies open before it, where it may range uncon-  
 fined, make what discoveries it can, and sport with its infinite ob-  
 jects uncontroled, as far as visible nature extends, painting them as  
 wantonly as it will: But what painter of the most unbounded and ex-  
 alted genius can give us the true portrait of a seraph? He can give  
 us only what by his own, or others' eyes, has been seen; though that  
 indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burl-  
 esqued; In like manner, who can give us divine truth unrevealed? Much less  
 should any presume to set aside divine truth when revealed, as incon-  
 gruous to their own sagacities.

### B The Working Principles of Original Composition.

#### Form and Embellishment.

What we mean by blank-verse is verse unfallen, uncurst; verse  
 reclaimed, reinthroned in the true language of the gods; who never  
 thundered, nor suffered their Homer to thunder, in rime....What a  
 fall is it from Homer's numbers, free as air, lofty, and harmonious  
 as the spheres, into childish shackles and tinkling sounds, that  
 effeminate decoration. How much nobler had it been, if his numbers  
 had rolled on in full flow through the various undulations of mas-  
 culine melody, into those grandeurs of solemn sound, which are indis-  
 pensably demanded by the native dignity of heroic song? How much  
 nobler if he (Pope in his translation of Homer) had resisted the temp-  
 tation of that gothic daemon, which modern poesy tasting, became



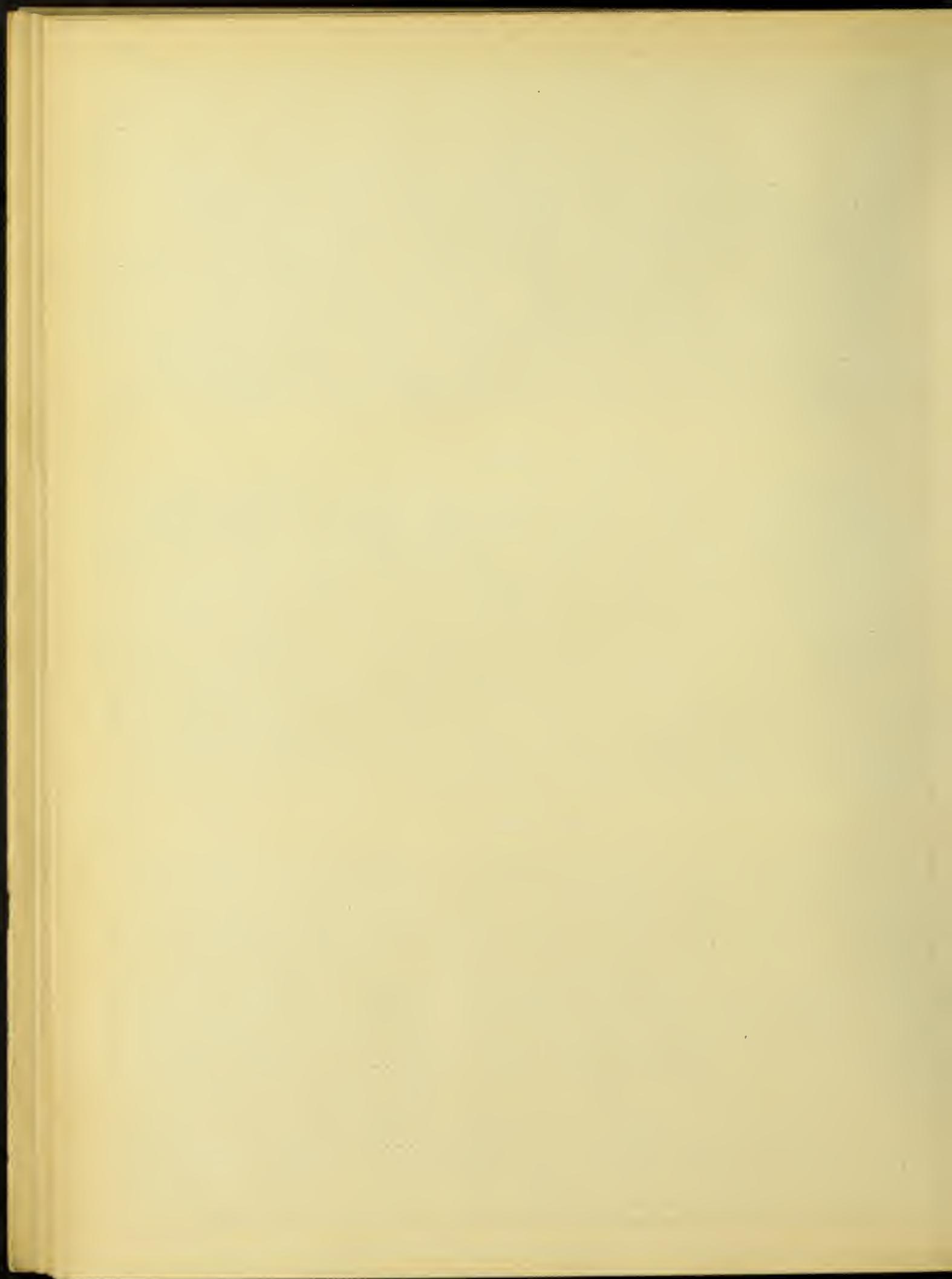
mortal?...The strongest demonstration of Dryden's no-taste for the buskin are his tragedies fringed with rime, which in epic poetry is a sore disease; in tragic, absolute death...Must rime then, say you, be banished? I wish the nature of our language could bear its entire expulsion; but our lesser poetry stands in need of a toleration for it, it raises that, but it sinks the great; as spangles adorn children, but expose men...Addison's strength of genius has reared up one glorious image...for real admiration to gaze at, while those two throbbing pulses of the drama, by which alone it is shown to live, terror and pity, neglected throughout the whole, leave our unmolested hearts at perfect ease. Thus the poet, like his hero, through mistaken excellence and virtue over-strained, becomes a sort of suicide; and that which is most dramatic in the drama dies. All his charms of poetry are but as funeral flowers which adorn...of tragedy pathos is not only the life and soul, but the soul inextinguishable; it charms through a thousand faults. Decoration, which in this author abound, though they might immortalize other poesy, are the splendida peccata which damn the drama...His beauties sparkle, but do not warm; - they sparkle as stars in a frosty night.

#### Rules and Models.

Learning is a great lover of rules and boaster of famed examples: As beauties less perfect, who owe half their charm to cautious art, learning inveighs against natural unstudied graces and small harmless indecorums, and sets rigid bounds to that liberty to which genius often owes its supreme glory; but the no-genius its frequent ruin. For unprescribed beauties and unexampled excellence, which are characteristics of genius, lie without the pale of learning's authorities and laws...Rules, like crutches, are a needful aid to the lame, though an impediment to the strong. Homer cast them away, and, like his Achilles, "Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat", by native force of mind... For genius may be compared to the natural strength of the body, learning to the superinduced accoutrements of arms: if the first in equal to the proposed exploit, the latter rather encumber, than assists, rather retard, than promote, the victory...Genius can set us right in composition without the rules of the learned, as conscience sets us right in life without the laws of the land.

#### Material

A translation differs as much from an original as the moon from the sun...An imitator is a transplanter of laurels, which sometimes die on removal, always languish in a foreign soil...We may as well grow good by another's virtue, or fat by another's food, as famous by another's thought...It is by a sort of noble contagion from a general familiarity with their writings, and not by any particular sordid theft that we can be the better for those who went before us. Hope we from plagiarism any dominion in literature?...Learning is borrowed knowledge; genius is knowledge innate and quite our own...Thyself so reverence as to prefer the native growth of thy own mind to the richest import from abroad; such borrowed riches make us poor...An original may be said to be of a vegetable nature; it rises spontaneously from the vital root of genius; it grows, it is not made; imitations are often a sort of manufacture wrought up by those mechanics, art and labor, out of pre-existent materials not their own...The writer who neglects those two rules ("Know thyself", and "Reverence thyself") will never stand alone: he makes one of a group, and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng: Incumbered with the notions of others and

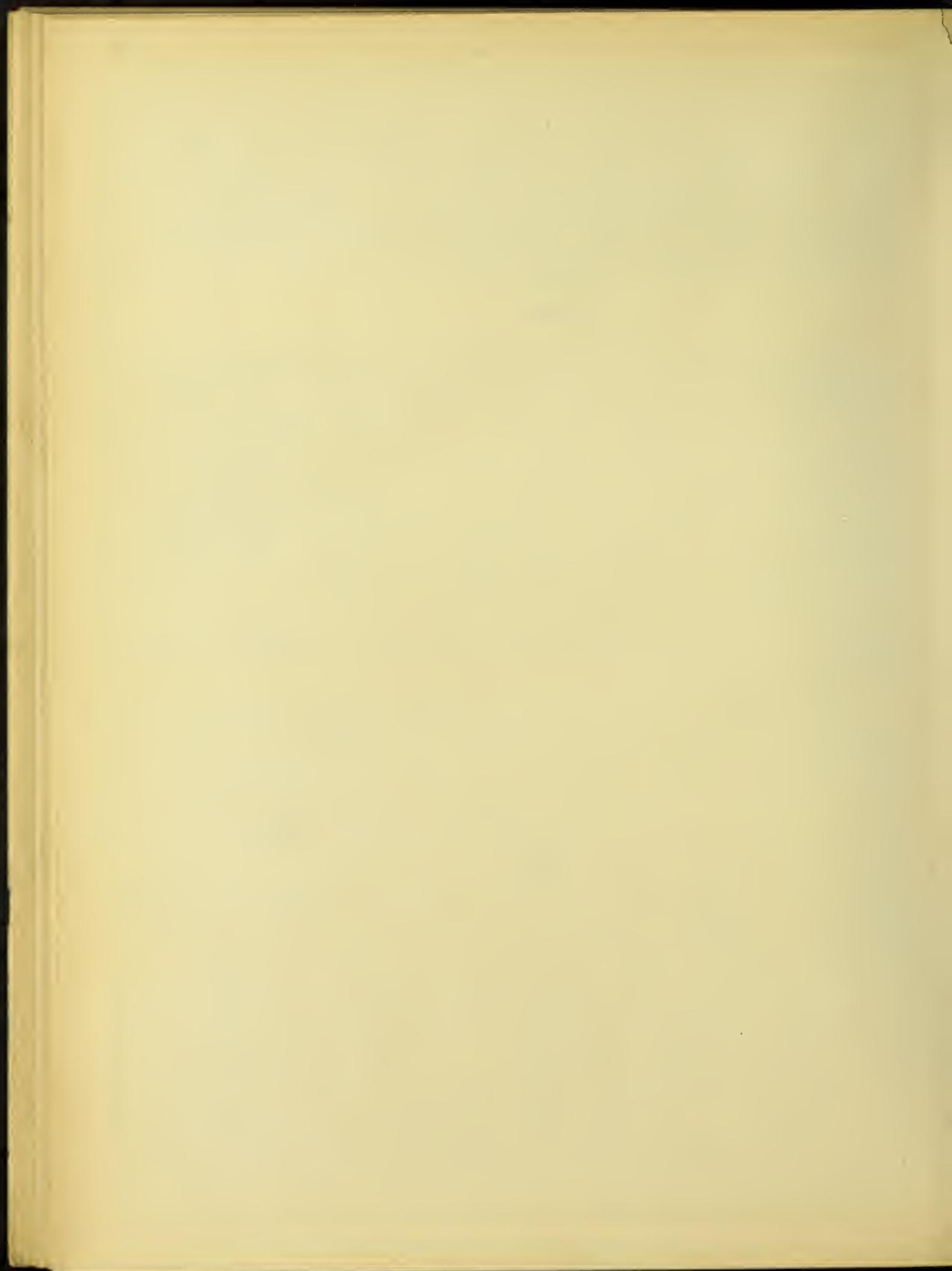


impoverished by their abundance, he conceives not the least vista through the gloom of ordinary writers into the bright walks of rare imagination and singular design.... Words tarnished by passing through the mouths of the vulgar are laid aside as inelegant and obsolete. So thoughts, when they become too common, should lose their currency, and we should send new metal to the mint, that is, new meaning to the press... Knowledge physical, mathematical, moral, and divine, increases, all arts and sciences are making considerable advance; with them all the accommodations, ornaments, delights, and glories of human life; and these are new food to the genius of a polite writer: these are as the root, and composition, as the flower.

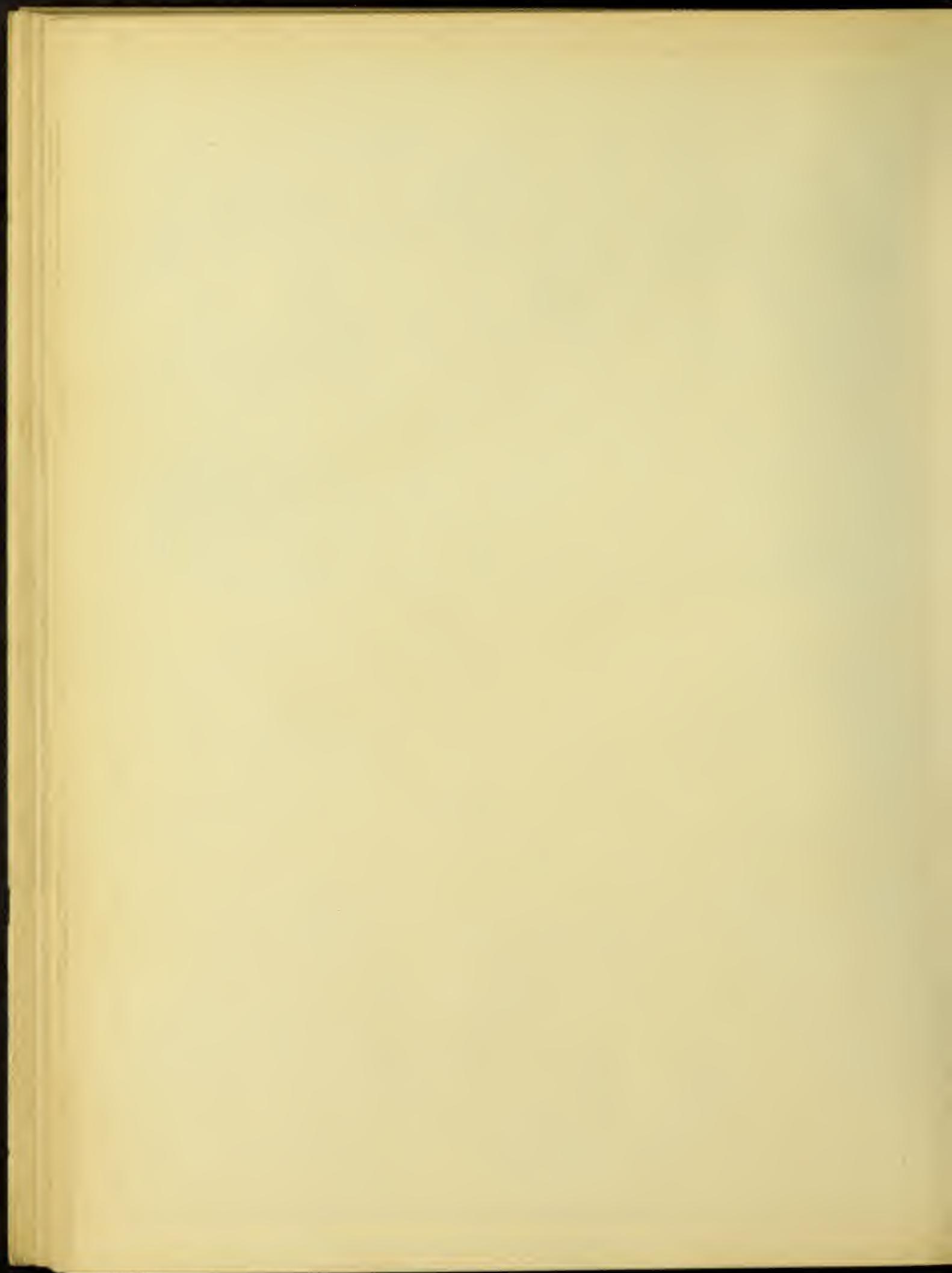
#### Treatment

If an original, by being as excellent as new, adds admiration to surprised, then are we at the writer's mercy; on the strong wing of his imagination we are snatched from Britain to Italy, from climate to climate, from pleasure to pleasure; we have no home, no thought, of our own; till the magician drops his pen: and then falling down into ourselves, we awake to flat realities, lamenting the change, like the beggar who dreamt himself a prince... The writer must be forgotten by his audience, during the representation, if for ages he would be remembered by posterity. In the theatre, as in life, delusion is the charm; and we are undelighted the first moment we are undeceived.... The nobler nature of tragedy disclaims an equivalent; like virtue, it demands the heart. Let epic poets think; the tragedian's point is rather to feel; such distant things are a tragedian and a poet, that the latter indulged, destroys the former. ... As what comes from the writer's heart reaches ours; so what comes from his head sets our brains at work and our hearts at ease. It rakes a circle of thoughtful critics, not of distressed patients; and a passive audience is what tragedy requires. ...

Know thyself; dive deep into thy bosom; learn the depth, extent, bias and full fort of thy mind; contract full intimacy with the stranger within thee; excite and cherish every spark of intellectual light and heat, however smothered under former negligence, or scattered through the dull, dark mass of common thoughts; and collecting them into a body, let thy genius rise (if a genius thou hast) as the sun from chaos. ... Let no great examples or authorities browbeat thy reason into too great a diffidence of thyself: Thyself so reverence as to prefer the native growth of thy own mind to the richest import from abroad; ... this alone can confer the noble title of an author; that is, of one who (to speak accurately) thinks and composes while other invaders of the press, how voluminous and learned soever, only read and write. ... Due care and exertion would set us nearer our immortal predecessors than we are at present. ... We ought to exert more than we do; and on exertion our probability of success is greater than we conceive. ... Why condemned Maro his admirable epic to the flames? Was it not because his discerning eye saw some length of perfection beyond it? And what he saw may not others reach? And who bid fairer than our countrymen for that glory? Something new may be expected from Britons particularly. ... All eminence and distinction, lies out of the beaten road; excursion and deviation are necessary to find it; and the more remote your path from the highway the more reputable. ... The writer who neglects those two rules, 'Know thyself', and 'Reverence thyself', will never stand alone; he makes one of a group, and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng. Incumbered with the notions of others and impoverished by their



abundance, he conceives not the least embryo of new thought; opens not the least vista through the gloom of ordinary writers into the bright walks of rare imagination and singular design; while the true genius is crossing all public roads into fresh untrodden ground. ... He that admires not the ancient authors, betrays a secret he would conceal and tells the world that he does not understand them. Let us be as far from neglecting as from copying their admirable compositions: sacred be their rights and inviolable their fame. Let our understandings feed on theirs; they afford the noblest nourishment. But let them nourish, not annihilate, our own. When we read, let our imagination kindle at their charms; when we write, let our judgment shut them out of our thoughts. .... Must we then, you say, not imitate ancient authors? Imitate them, by all means; but imitate aright. He that imitates the divine Iliad does not imitate Homer; but he who takes the same method which Homer took for arriving at a capacity of accomplishing a work so great. ... Imitate; but imitate not the composition, but the man. ... Let us build our compositions with the spirit and in the taste of the ancients; but not with their materials. ... In the fairy-land of fancy genius may wander wild; there it has a creative power, and may reign arbitrarily over its own empire of chimeras. The wild field of nature also lies open before it, where it may range unconfined, make what discoveries it can, and sport with its infinite objects uncontrolled, as far as visible nature extends, painting them as wantonly as it will. But what painter of the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us the true portrait of a seraph? He can give us only what by his own, or others' eyes, has been seen; though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burlesqued, dishonored, or adorned.



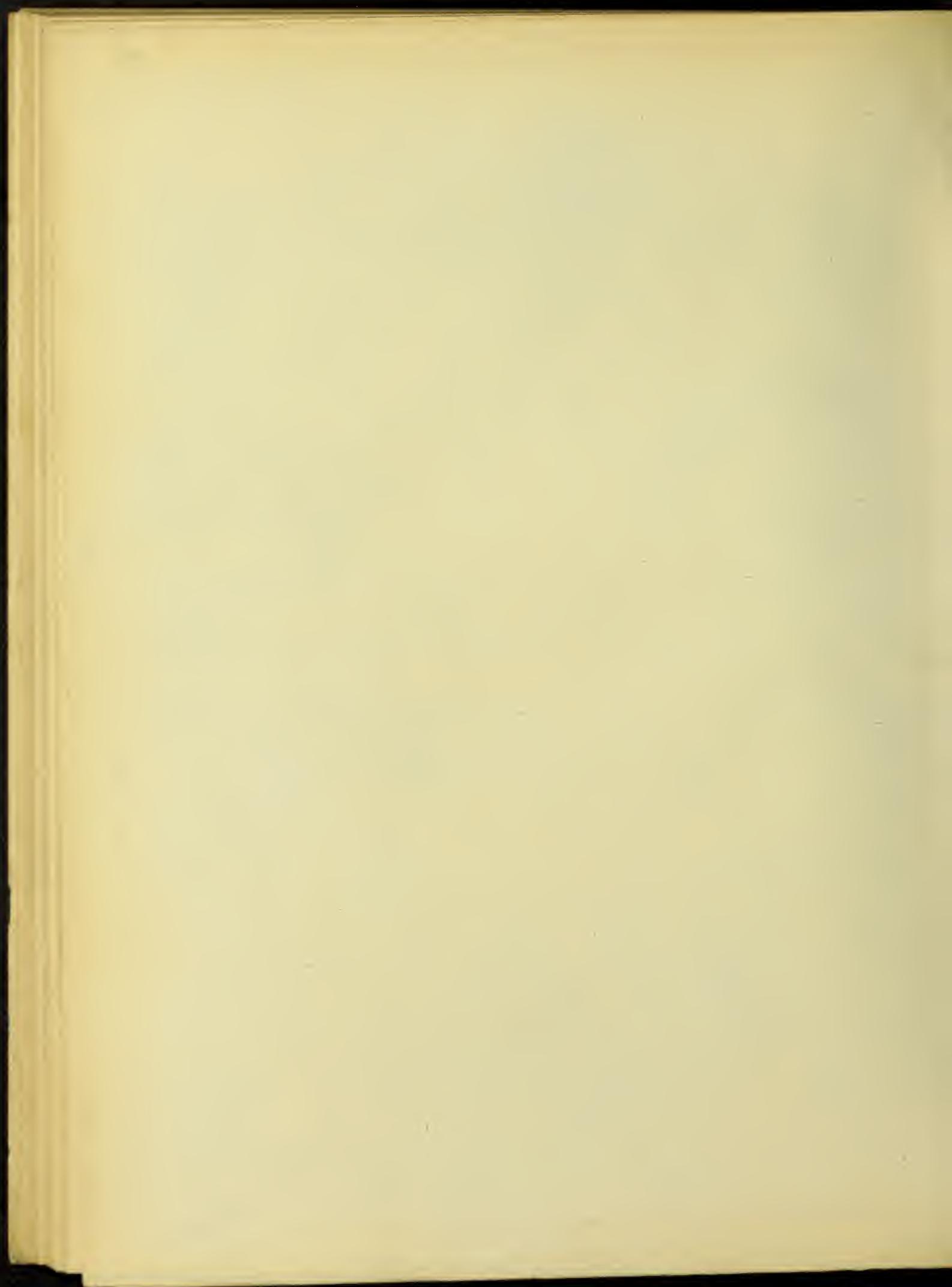
YOUNG'S PRACTICE AND CRITICISM  
OF COMPOSITION PRIOR TO HIS "CONJECTURES".

The literary productions of our author are partly "Verstandesprose" and partly what his "Conjectures" characterize as original compositions. Some of his works are marked throughout as to conception, elaboration, and form by the characteristics of the literary school that was founded by Ben Jonson and that found its most prominent representatives in Dr. Johnson and Pope. The other works of our author contain only here and there passages that are written in the spirit and taste of this school. These writings, which are few in number, but constitute the principal literary work of the author, are written in the spirit of reaction gradually arising at that time against the school of Pope; later on he was caught by the current of the Miltonic revival and thus became a writer of sacred poetry; and finally he came forward as a most vigorous exponent of the principles that arose in opposition to the neo-classical school and constituted the literary creed of the romanticists. He was originally, and to a very considerable extent throughout his entire literary career, a neo-classicist. On his literary art as such, however, he grafted the new poetic art of the rising school of romanticists, and the latter art bore the fruits which found a lasting place in literature.

Most of the twenty-five various writings of Young are so completely pseudo-classical and so little related to that art of composition which made the author noted and was set forth in the "Conjectures", that they are not here to be considered in detail. But it is to be noted how completely they mark their author as a neo-classicist, and how they influenced his practice and final exposition of the new art of original composition.

The first literary venture of the author, "An Epistle to Lord Lansdowne" (1712), is entirely neo-classical; it is addressed to this neo-classical poet; it has the form of the typically pseudo-classical epistle; it is written in polished heroic couplets; and it is marked by witty turns, clever analogies, antitheses, paradoxes, exaggerations, and conventional subjects and ideas. About the same is true of the other five epistles; they are written in heroic couplets; and the subject matter and its treatment are in the spirit and the taste of the Queen Ann Wits. Two of them, however, the two "Epistles to Mr. Pope Concerning the Authors of the Age" (1730), are notable. In them Young expounds, lauds, and embraces the pseudo-classical literary creed and praises Pope and Addison for establishing it. In the first of these epistles he speaks as a fellow-combatant in the neo-classical ranks against the Italian fantastical extravagance of the pre-ailing Marini, or "Metaphysical", school and against non-conformity to the succeeding wave of French influence which caused the neo-classical movement. By this participation in the battle of the neo-classicists against fantastic reveries, and for sound and sparkling understanding and current form, or for *bel-sprit*, Young began his campaign for originality which he waged in various others of his works, and brought to a grand climax in the "Conjectures". In the other epistle to Pope he sets forth and indorses with praise what are really Pope's "precepts how to write and how to live."

The most successful efforts of Young in the pseudo-classical art of composition are his satirical, didactic, and moralizing poems. In his series of satires, "Love of Fame, the Universal Passion", (1725-1728), he has proven himself a considerable rival of his master Pope. "The Centaur not Fabulous, in Six Letters to a Friend on the Life

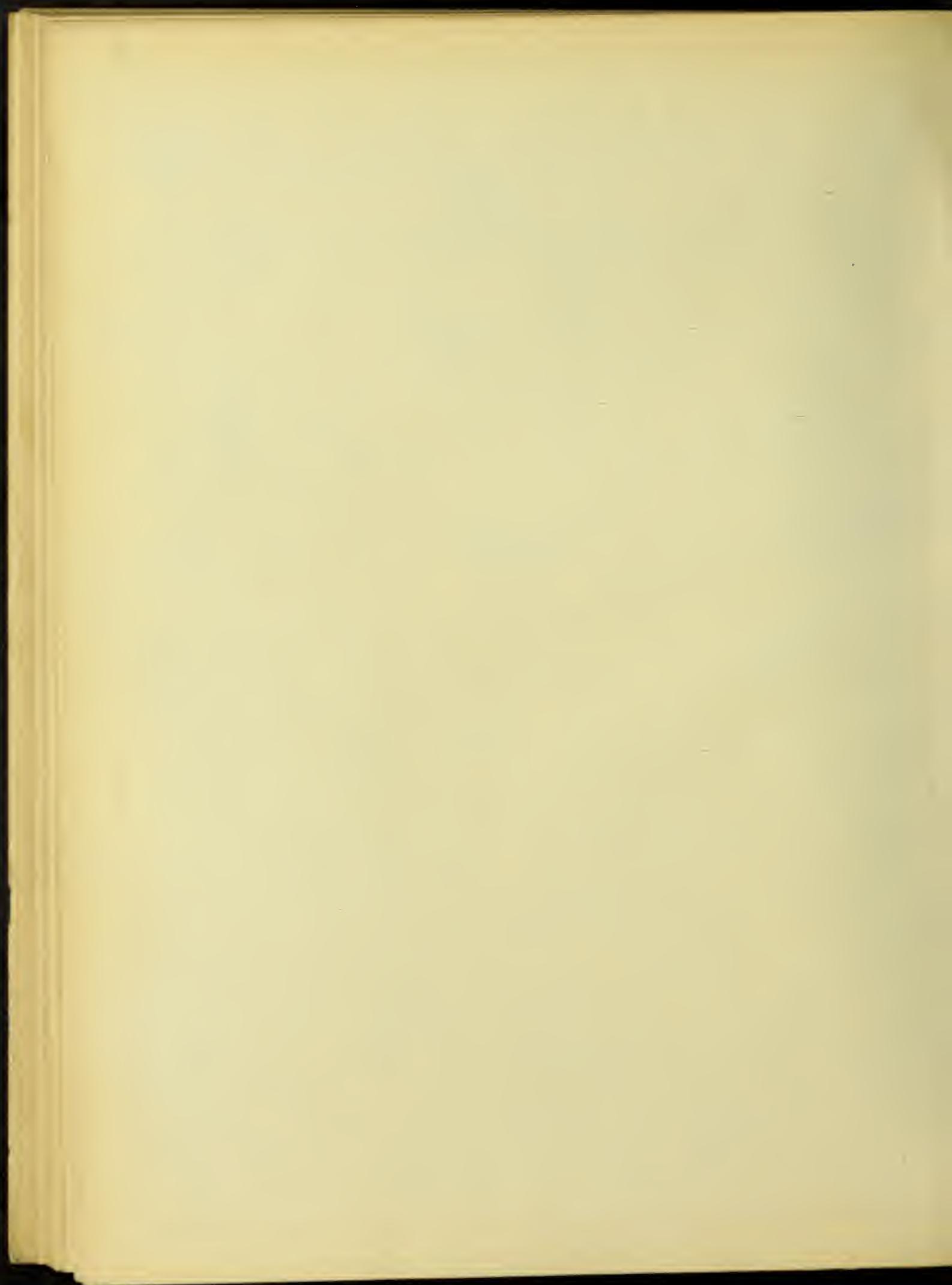


in Vogue" (1754) is a didactic, moralizing, non-original discourse in the spirit of the moral weeklies of that century. The same holds true of "Reflexions on the Public Situation of the Kingdom" (1745), excepting that this poem is written in blank verse. The other works of the author that belong to this class are his dramas, which are all based on Greek, Latin, or French models, after the fashion of the pseudo-classicists.

Those works of the author which are something other than neo-classical, are few in number, but considerable in significance. They show how he acquired, practiced, and widely advocated the new literary art by which he became noted, and which is set forth in the "Conjectures". So these works require analysis and will serve as a key to the discourse in question.

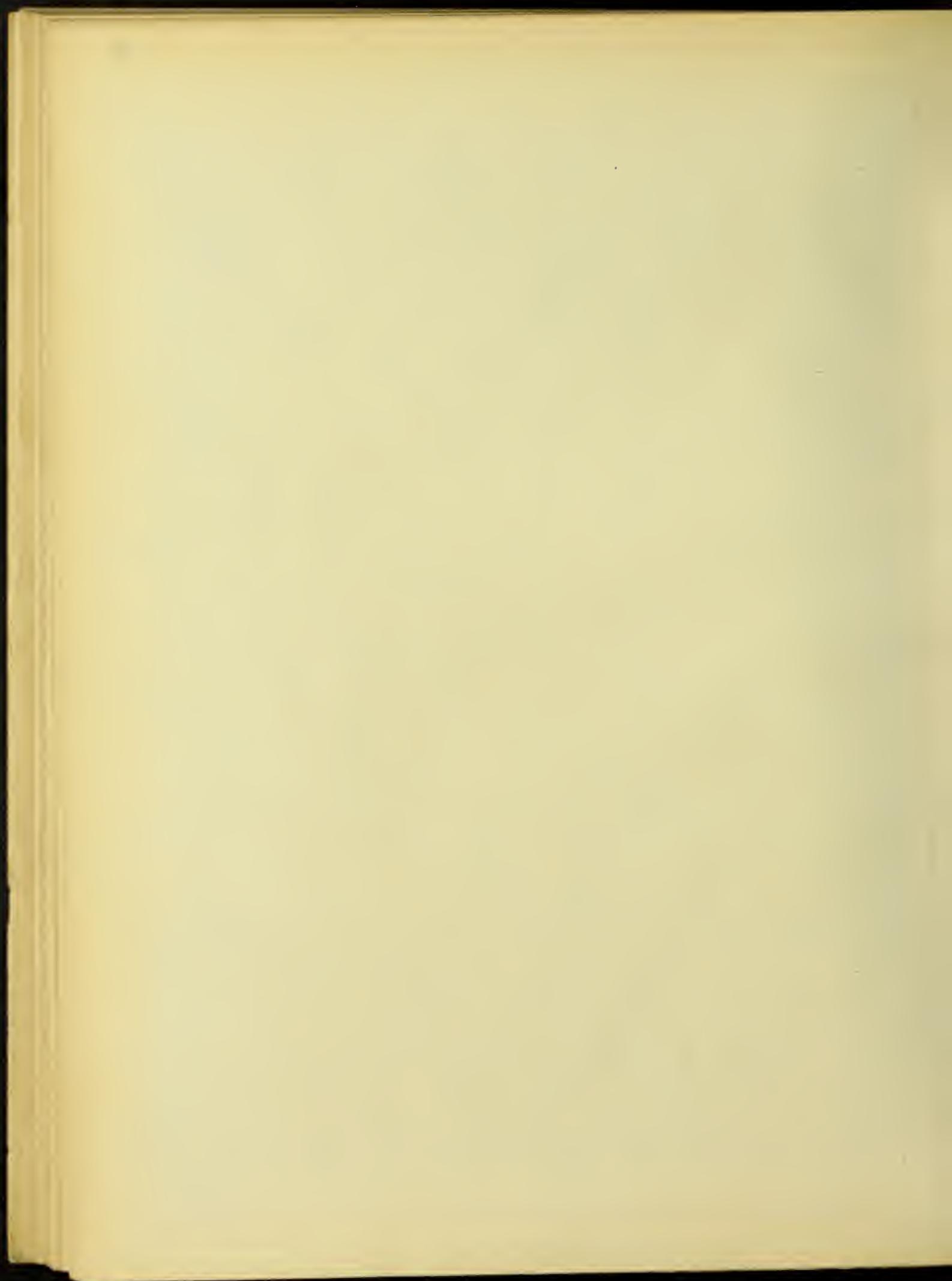
Of the twenty-five literary productions of our author only five characterize him as more than pseudo-classical; and they characterize him as one of the writers of what he himself terms "sacred poetry". The first of these five works was "The Last Day" (1713). This poem is written in the neo-classical couplet, and its diction is highly pseudo-classical. Its content, however, is biblical and Miltonic. Although this poem is only "a feeble imitation of Milton" (Hettner, *Geschichte der englischen Literatur des 17ten Jhdts.*) produced with the same ambition of saying what was "never so well expressed before" with which Atterbury wrote to Pope about "Samson Agonistes", "it deserves your care, and is capable of being improved, with little trouble into a perfect model and standard of tragic poetry", and although it was produced "to encourage virtue and dishearten vice": nevertheless this undertaking marks the beginning of his so-called original art of composition.

His next piece of sacred poetry was his "Paraphrase on a Part of the Book of Job" (1719). This poem is also put into heroic couplets, and it was also written with the intent of improving and polishing the original, as the author says in a footnote to it: "I have thrown the whole into a method more suitable to our notions of regularity. The judicious, if they compare this piece with the original, will, I flatter myself, find the reasons for the great liberties I have indulged myself in through the whole", (Works I, 247). So this piece is still neo-classic as to verse-form, purpose, and its imitative nature. But in the writing of it Young arrived at one of his most significant literary principles, his grandiloquence. He calls it the sublime. By noting how he employed the word sublime it becomes clear that he used it as his friend Mrs. Montagu defines it: "the sublime, that is, a style proper for poetry, and which is the exact Scripture style", (Phelps, p. 19). Young makes nearly the whole piece a bombastic speech of God thundered forth in heroic couplets, yet this marks the establishment of his imaginative, rhetorical method of composition which he later employed in writing the "Night Thoughts" and of which he speaks in the "Conjectures" as the "creative power of genius in the fairy field of fancy." So Young gets his sublime, imaginative, or rhetorical way of writing partly from Milton but mostly from the Bible. He says in defense of it: "The Almighty's speech (chap. XXVIII etc.), which is what I paraphrase in this little work, is by much the finest part of the noblest and most ancient poem in the world. Bishop Patrick says, its grandeur is as much above all other poetry, as thunder is louder than a whisper," (Works I, 246). Another source here used in addition to the Bible is the discourse "On the Sublime" by Longinus, which he quotes in support of putting the words of the Lord mostly as questions: "Longinus has a chapter on interrogations, which shows that they contribute much to the sublime" (Works I, 247). A further clue to the origin of Young's art of sacred poetry is the following note by him on some lines of the poem in question: "There is a very great air in all



that precedes, but this is signally sublime. We are struck with admiration to see the vast and unovermalleable ocean receiving commands, and punctually obeying them; to find it like a managed horse, raging, tossing, and foaming, but by the rule and direction of its master. This passage yields in sublimity to that of "Let there be light," etc., so much only as the absolute government of nature yields to the creation of it" (Works I, 248 f). As further evidence showing how Young studied the literary style of the Bible as his model, also the following footnote is to be noticed: "Here we may observe, that our judicious as well as sublime author just touches the great points of distinction in each creature, and then hastens to another. A description is exact when you cannot add but what is common to another thing, nor withdraw but something peculiarly belonging to the thing described. A likeness is lost in too much description, as a meaning often in too much illustration" (Works I, 252). The following remark of the author on the Bible passage, "his eyes are like the eye-lids of the morning", reveals the very essence of his poetic art: "I think this gives us as great an image of the thing it would express, as can enter the thought of man". (Works I, 256). Young not only admired this sort of bold imagery; he also practiced and advocated it as the greatest creative activity of the poet. The value of this poetry to us rests partly in its clever intellectual-ity, but for the most part in its boldly imaginative imagery.

The next in the series of works in which Young developed his new art of composition is an amplified sermon entitled "A Vindication of Providence; or a True Estimate of Human Life" (1726). Herein he makes observations that reveal his conception of the mental process in composition; then he again discusses passages in the Old Testament as the greatest pieces of literature. His remarks directly or indirectly concerning composition, are briefly these: "The cause of an author's desire of literary immortality is that God implanted in the soul a violent desire of approbation, in order to stimulate man into attainment of his own approbation, which is the most valuable" (II, 335 f). "Emulation is an exalted and glorious passion, parent of most excellencies in human life" (II, 351). In addition to remarking that the passions have by others been considered "rhetorically with regard to composition", he adds "The imagination delights in extremes" (II, 349), "fear is a passion which creates new worlds for calamity, things that are not" (II, 347); "Thought can make absent things present, take away the distance between earth and heaven, and make an eternal good, though future, a better entertainment and fuller satisfaction to the mind than all the pleasures of sin, though at hand" (II, 329). Finally the author resumes his study of the Bible as literature, quotes it copiously, and then says: "What fire, what rapidity, what elevation, what enthusiasm, what picture, what propriety, what opulence, what fancy, what energy, what 'non imitabile fulmen' (Virgil), is here! How arousing, how divine, but how terrifying too, is this! And may its sacred Inspiration forbid that the ambitious should read it for their pleasure only!..... Though a shorter quotation would have satisfied my present purpose, yet, since I designed this likewise as a specimen of a work that endeavors to show, in a manner yet unattempted, the genius and eloquence of the psalms, Prophets, and Job superior to that of all other authors, I hope the length will be excused. Prejudice on one hand, and implicit admiration and ecstasy on the other, have left room and occasion of farther adjusting the degree of estimation due to these compositions, as compositions; some parts of which have reached such a height of perfection that human nature has not ideas to carry her to a conception of anything beyond it. Two instances of this truth



among many are, I think, the six last chapters of Job, and Psalm CIV," (II, 362). Previously he intimates significantly that there is "not something beyond all human composition in this", and thus he implies that by emulation a writer may attain to this sort of composition; and with Milton as his guide he strove to do so.

In the fourth and most noted of Young's series of sacred writings in which he evolved his art of original composition, that is, in his "Night Thoughts", we find his literary art completely developed and at its best. This poem is the most successful English rival of "Paradise Lost". The "Night Thoughts" are written in blank-verse, they consist mostly of Biblical subject matter with imaginative variations and amplifications thereof, they contain invocations of a divine muse and pretend to be divinely inspired. This poem contains to a great extent the principles of literary composition in practice that are preached in the "Conjectures". In this series of four works we see the development of Young's Miltonic or Scriptural art of composition, by which he attained his greatest literary success in the "Night Thoughts" and which he afterwards set forth, however veiled, in his discourse on original composition. So a summary of the principles of literary composition found in these four works, to be compared with the theories expressed in the "Conjectures" and to be used as a key of explanation to them, will here be in place.

These sacred writings in particular contain a comprehensive and detailed system of observations on poetic composition. This took its rise from the continuous self-consciousness of the author while composing; he talks again and again about himself writing poetry. So he reveals his art of composition and his own conception of it.

As to verse-form he lets examples speak, and they tell that he came only slowly to prefer blank-verse to the heroic couplet. "The Last Day" (1713) was put into the latter verse-form; and in the "Paraphrase on a Part of the Book of Job" (1719) the Lord delivers his long speech in polished pseudo-classical couplets. Two of his works, however, the "Night Thoughts" (1742-45) and soon thereafter his short political poem "Reflexions on the Public Situation of the Kingdom" (1745) were put into blank verse.

How the author came to choose blank-verse for the "Night Thoughts", and to employ it once more afterwards, and finally to recommend it so ardently in the "Conjectures" is quite clear. "Paradise Lost", the model for the "Night Thoughts", was written in blank verse and contained, in its introduction, a justification and eulogy of this verse-form. Also Thomson's "Seasons" (1726-30), the principle non-imitative, non-classical, or most thoroughly imaginative and original poem of the time, which is generally supposed also to have served Young as model, appeared in blank verse.

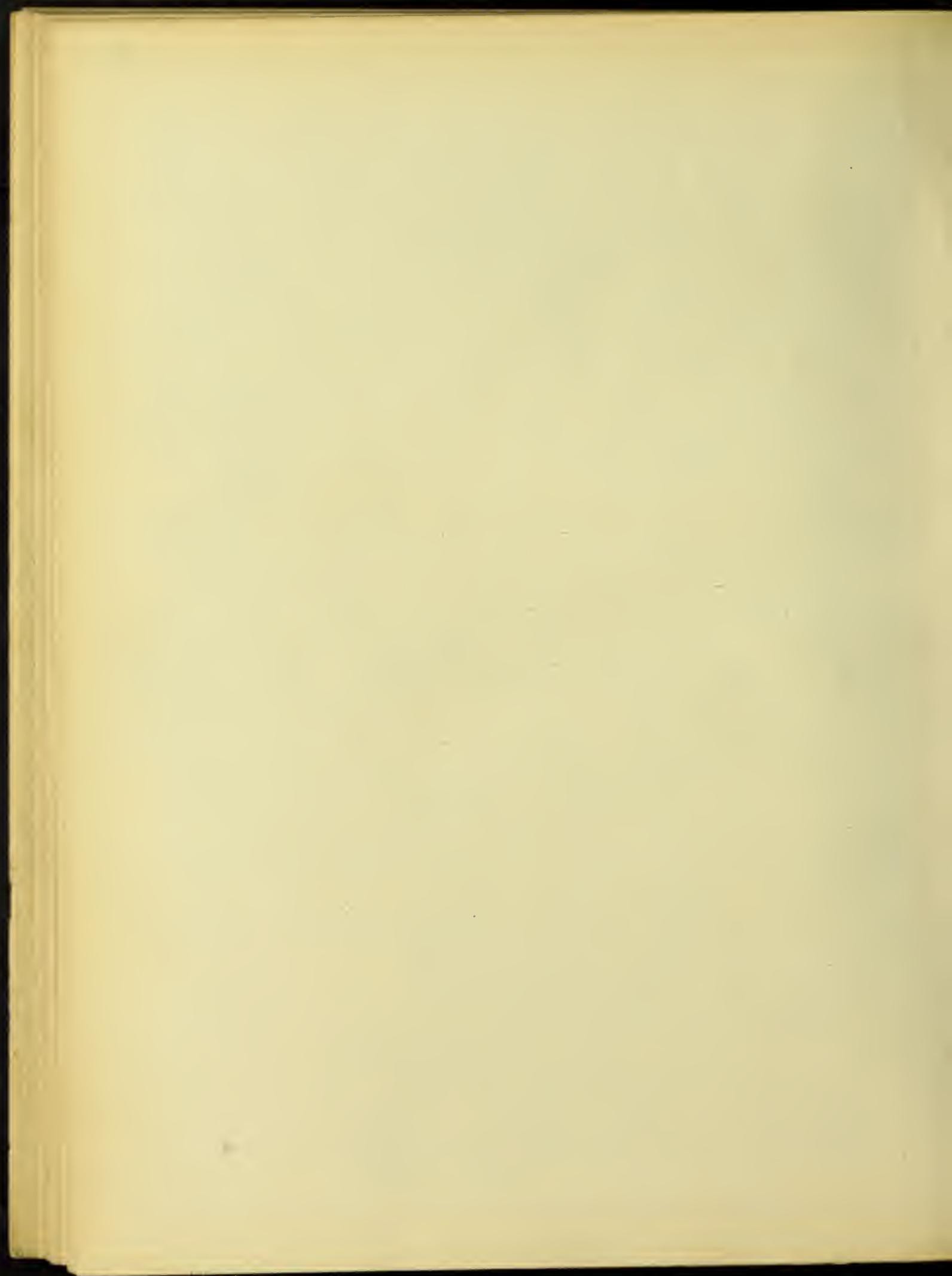
Much is said about the author: his significance and responsibility are clearly defined and are declared to be great:

Who write, an awful character profess;  
The world as pupil of their wisdom claim,  
And for their stipend an immortal fame.  
Nothing but what is solid or refined  
Should dare ask public audience of mankind.

(Works II, 41.)

And, as thy strain describes the matchless man,  
Thy life shall second what thy muse began.  
Though sweet the numbers, though a fire Divine  
Dart through the whole, and burn in every line,  
Who strives not for that excellence he draws,  
Is stain'd by fame, and suffers from applause.

(Works I, 339.)



And when your genius exquisitely shines,  
Live up to the full lustre of your lines:

(Works II, 43)

First the "Epistles to Pope", next the "Night Thoughts", finally the "Conjectures", argue that an author must be good in order to be great. The first speak as follows:

Poets but expose those men who virtue quit:

A fallen angel is a fallen wit;

And they plead Lucifer's detested cause,

Who for bare talents challenge our applause

Would you restore just honors to the pen?

From able writers rise to worthy men.

(Works II, 44.)

And the "Night Thoughts" say:

Genius and Art, Ambition's boasted wings,

Our boast but ill deserves, A feeble aid:

Heart-merit wanting -----

A celebrated wretch when I behold,

When I behold a genius bright and base,

Of towering talents, and terrestrial aims.

(Works I, 100.)

And finally the "Conjectures" (p. 73) repeat: "Tully, Quintilian, and all true critics allow, that virtue assists genius, and that the writer will be more able when better is the man."

And the term good is used to mean morally and religiously good. This idea is based on two arguments. One of them is that good intentions must precede worthy achievements:

Reason the means, affections choose our end:

Means have no merit, if our end amiss.

If wrong our hearts, our heads are right in vain;

-----  
Right ends and means make wisdom; worldly wise

Is but half-witted, at its highest praise.

(Works I, 101.)

A Christian is the highest style of man.

(Works I, 65.)

O'er learning reason reign; o'er that, your creed.

(Works II, 43.)

The other argument is that only the religious man is a complete and fully able man:

Religion is all . . . . .

-----  
She gives the soul a soul that acts a god.

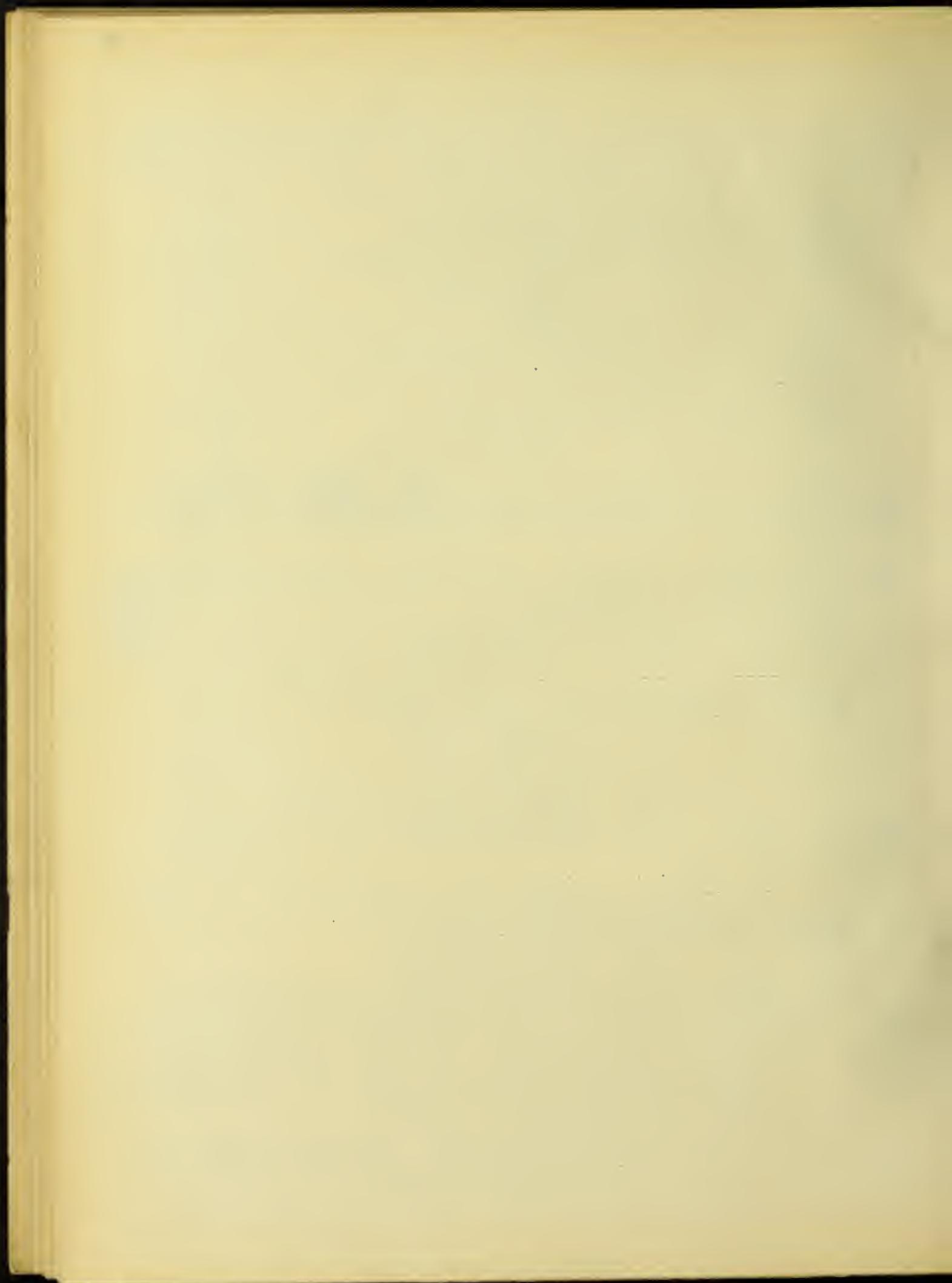
Religion! Providence! an after-state!

Here is firm footing; here is solid rock.

(Works I, 60.)

These moral and religious qualifications are required of the author as signs of life of his divine ingredient. The latter, moreover, is declared to constitute his greatest perfection and the faculty with which he works as author. And this divine faculty is defined as the soul, or, synonymously, as reason. Also God is declared to consist in essence of reason, and man's soul, or reason, is defined as a part of God descended into man.

In accord with the foregoing it is furthermore said that the author who is morally and religiously good, partakes actively of a divine nature. He is god-like and can exercise divine power. As particularly Moses and Aaron performed physical miracles, so he can do mental wonders. This is spoken of as divine magic, and



much is made of it.

God is repeatedly defined or referred to as reason, as a super-mind, and as the fountain-head of all principles and particles of reason in the universe. He is spoken of, more in a Platonical than a Biblical way, as a source from which all human souls, or minds, come and to which they all finally return. The following passage gives a summary of this doctrine:

He, the great Father, kindled at one flame  
The world of rationals; one spirit pour'd  
From Spirits' awful fountain; pour'd Himself  
Through all their souls; but not in equal stream;  
Profuse or frugal of the inspiring God,  
As his wise plan demanded; and, when past  
Their various trials in their various spheres,  
If they continue rational, as made,  
Resorbs them all into Himself again.

(Works I, 59.)

In the following passage the divinity of man is spoken of in the Biblical way: "Whence this reproach to reason and immortality? Whence this inglorious and absolute desertion from our god-like selves? Sounds that too high? - In whose image were we made? I foresee your objection; I grant that image is impaired; but I quit not my point; I dare affirm that beings which are free, rational, and immortal, may be gods in due time, through Divine Grace, if they please.

(Works II, 492.)

Man is here declared to be god-like remnantly and potentially. He has impaired his divine nature by his fall in Adam, but he can have it restored through death after living a Christian life: "And death, which others slays, makes him a god."

(Works I, 180.)

More frequently, however, man is said to be divine in the platonical sense. He is said to possess as the principal component part of his being, a part of God. This divine inhabitant of man is spoken of as a visitor from a different land, and a stranger in his human abode in this world.

"The soul of man, (let man in homage bow,  
Who names his soul), a native of the skies,

-----  
The illustrious stranger, in this foreign land."

(Works I, 77.)

"This all-pervading, this all-conscious soul,  
This particle of energy divine."

(Works I, 130.)

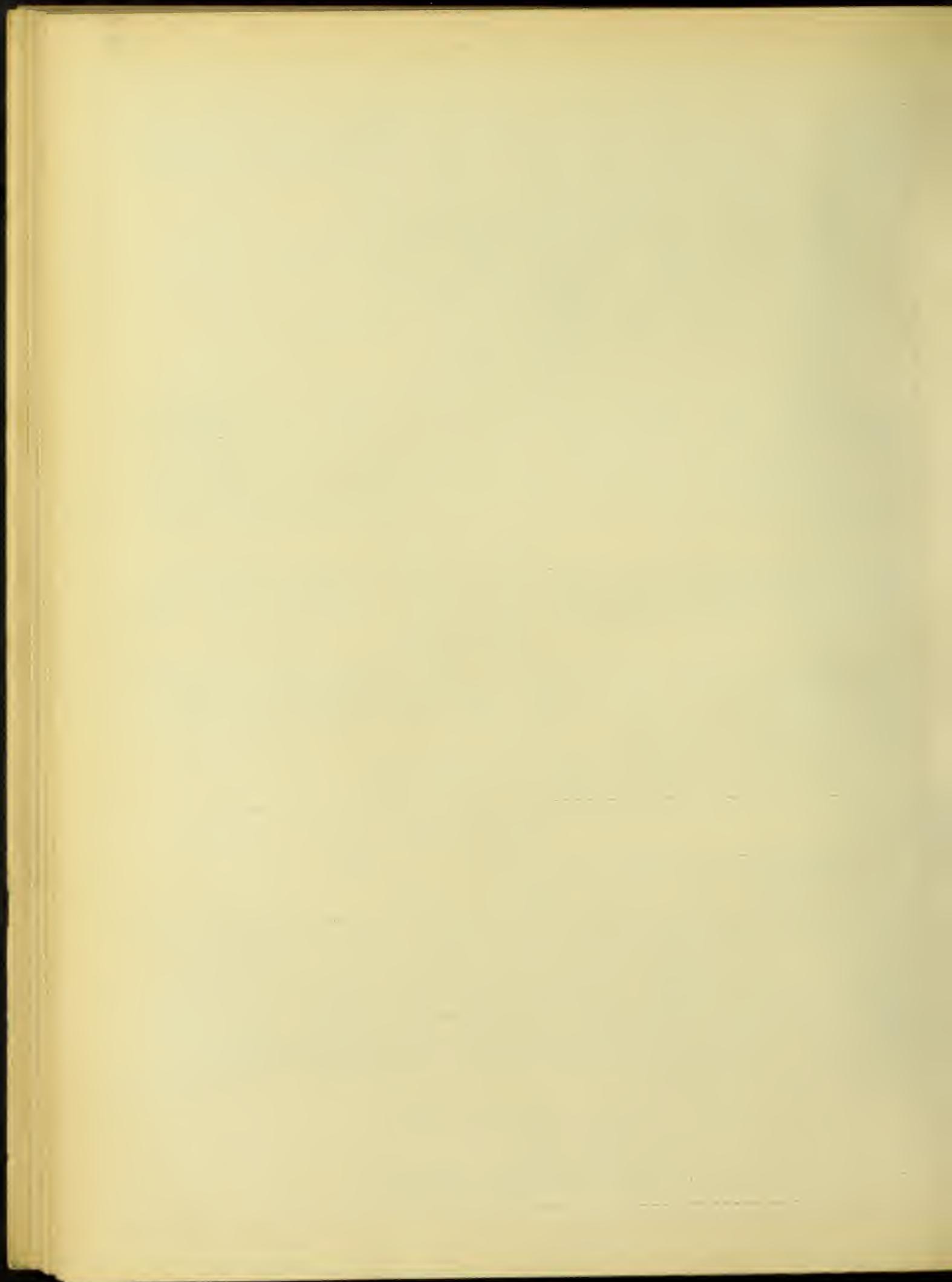
But here and elsewhere this particle of God in man is not conceived of as destroyed by Adam and to be restored only through death. It is spoken of in very different terms. God is said to consist of reason, as declared in a previous quotation, and also in the following. Reason is said to lend man his great dignity and worth; and he is pronounced an image and fellow-being of God. The following quotations are some of the passages that voice this doctrine: "The Deity is all reason in his nature, conduct, and commands, The great, invariable, eternal, alternative, throughout his creation, is, or reason, or ruin."

(Work II, 453.)

"O for a joy from reason! joy from that  
which makes a man a man."

(Works I, 183.)

"Reason is man's peculiar; sense the brute's."  
-----



And what is reason? Be she thus defined:

Reason is upright stature in the soul.

O! be a man; - and strive to be a god."

(Works I, 180.)

"And with transport and adoration let me resound the lofty language of the prophet, - "A man the fellow of the Almighty."

(Ezech. Xiii, 7.)

(Works II, 526.)

But not only man's soul, or reason, is declared to be divine; also his other faculties, particularly his passions, are said to be divine, not as partaking of the divine essence, but for being given man by his Creator, as is said in the following passages:

"All (and justly) reason deem divine; I see,

I feel a grandeur in the passions too,

Which speaks their high descent, and glorious end;

Which speaks them rays of an eternal fire."

(Works I, 122.)

"If there is a God, he gave us our passions, as well as our reason; they, therefore, as well as our reason, should assist in his service. And, indeed, reason without them, though it may loudly tell, will but lamely perform, our duty. How great a part of the Scripture must these men's kind of criticism explode! Poor David must break his harp, lest it give offense. Even angels have their passions, nor are any beings exempt from the need of them on this side of the throne of God."

(Works II, 480.)

In every undertaking, but particularly in literary composition, reason is to play the principal role. The passions are also to take part, but they are to be subordinated to reason. They are to serve as its help-mates, and are to be ruled by its judgment:

"What wealth in senses such as these! What wealth

In fancy fired to form a fairer scene

There sense surveys! in memory's firm record!

-----  
What wealth in intellect, that sovereign power,

Which sense and fancy summons to the bar;

Interrogates, approves, or reprehends."

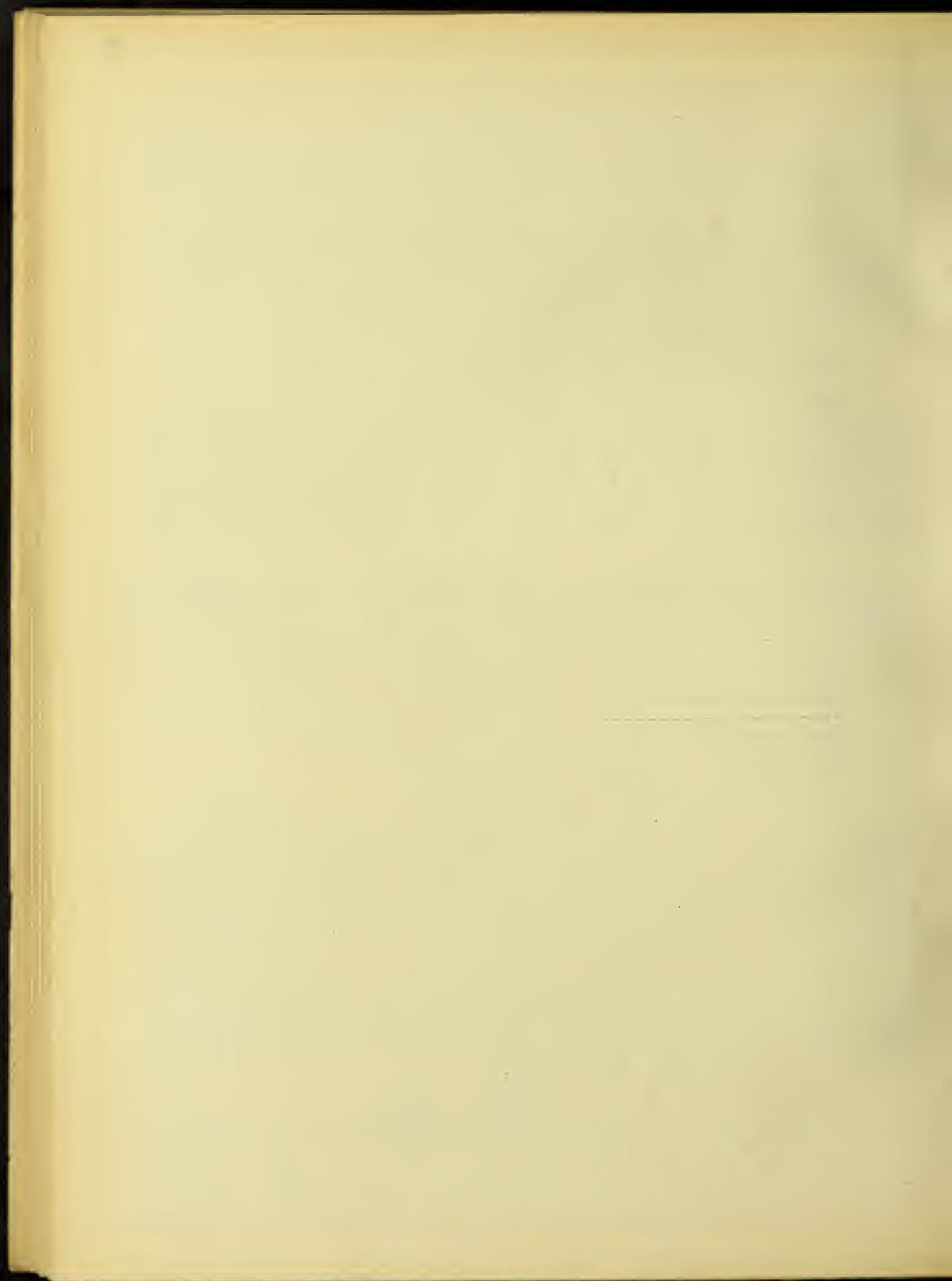
(Works I, 104.)

Reason, it was said, makes man a man. So it follows that he cannot be a man when he cannot proceed according to, and by the use of, his reason. And indeed everything is declared to be explicable and practicable by the use of one's reason. God and man have already been declared knowable, and have been defined as to their nature and relation to man's faculty of reason. Mysteries and faith are being likewise explained and rationalized in the following statements:

Modern deists ... have their objections to the Gospel. Their chief objection is against its mysteries. There is nothing mysterious in it, but with regard to things which we either can not, or need not, understand: can not, through the limitation of the human intellect; or need not, through the sufficiency of other means and motives for our leading good lives.

(Works II, 434.)

"A mystery explained is a mystery destroyed: for what is a mystery but a thing not known? But things not known may reasonably be believed: and in the very strangest things there may be truth, and in things very credible a lie. It is with our understandings as with our eyes. Both have their mysteries: both have objects beyond their reach; some accidentally, some absolutely. We see not



those objects that are placed in an obscure light, because there is a defect in the medium: we see not those that are vested with too much light, because there is a weakness in the sensory, unable to sustain such strong impressions. Thus it is with the objects of our understandings: some things we know not, for want of being duly informed. Salvation was a mystery to the Gentiles; but ceased so to be when revealed by the Gospel. Other things we know not because they exceed the measure of our comprehension.

"Thus some articles of our faith are such mysteries as by no revelation can cease to be so. They must be mysteries while men are men; while yet unblest with powers that are not indulged to this imperfect state. ---and, indeed, far from humiliation, and even common modesty, must he be who hopes to give light to those mysteries which St. Paul, with all his learning, eloquence, and inspiration, pronounced to be "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks", those most subtle of men, "foolishness": that is, they thought it folly to believe them, because unintelligible, and because they did not apprehend that there was any Divine authority to compel their belief."

(Works II, 430 ff.)

"For faith is entirely the result of reason."

(Works II, 439.)

On the one hand, all that is usually conceded to be outside of the sphere of reason, is thus declared to be knowable and accessible. On the other hand, again, the whole realm of reason is declared to be wonderful. Man and all creation about him are conceived of as the expression of the wise and wonderful ideas of God. So the whole universe is rational and affords the most suitable field of activity for reason. To ponder over man and the universe, and to think their underlying principles is, therefore, to think the thoughts of God.

The following passages may be noted as an exposition of the view that a contemplative Christian's mind sees everywhere miracles:

"What though my soul fantastic measures trod  
O'er fairy fields; or mourn'd along the gloom  
Of pathless woods; or down the craggy steep  
Hurl'd headlong, swam with pain the mantled pool;  
Or scaled the cliff; or danced on hollow winds,  
With antic shapes, wild natives of the brain?  
Her ceaseless flight, though devious, speaks her nature  
Of subtler essence than the trodden clod;

-----  
E'en silent night proclaimed my soul immortal."

(Works I, 5.)

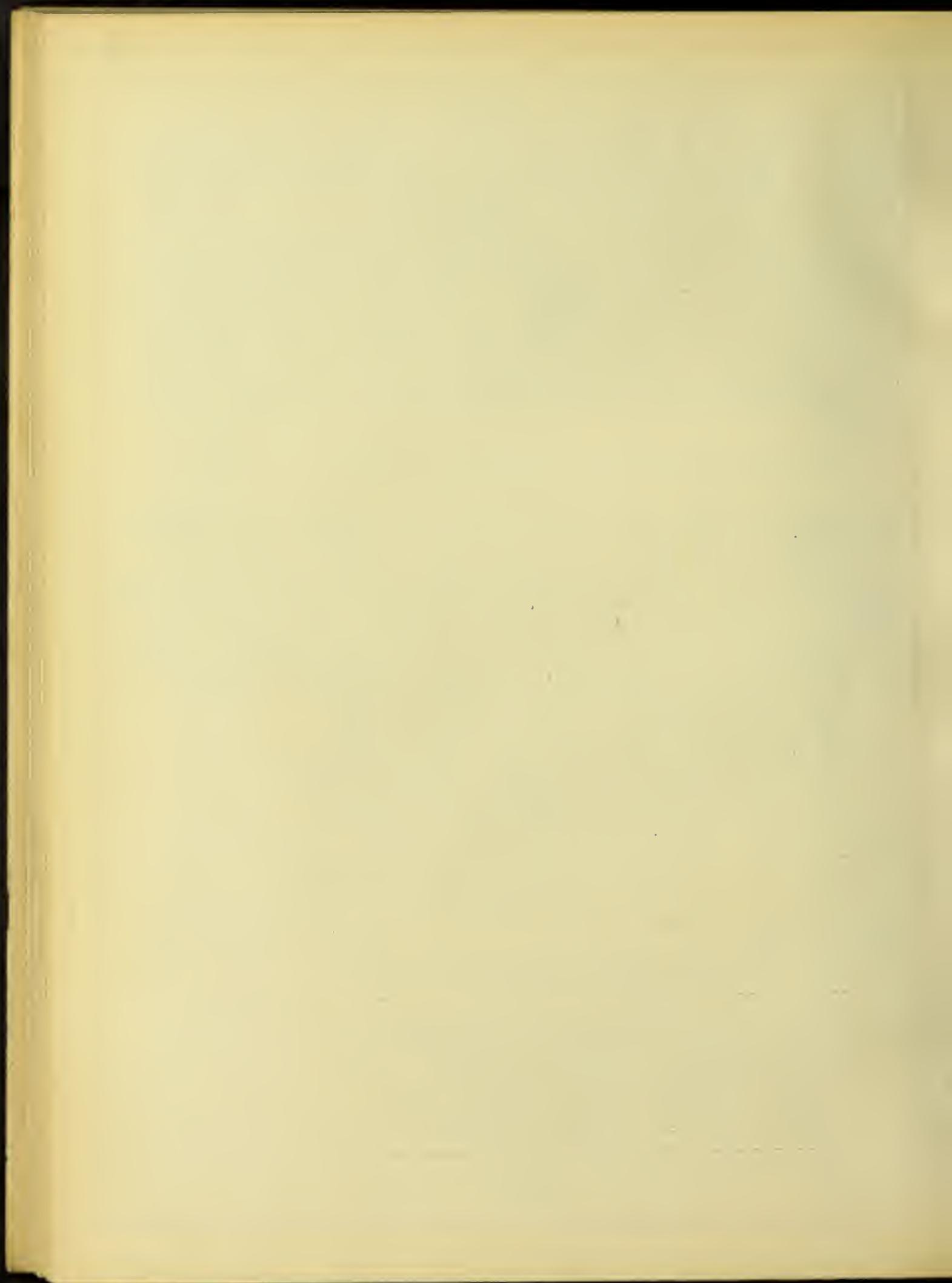
The whole universe displays wonders of God, but the greatest wonder is man:

"How poor, how rich, how abject, how august,  
How complicate, how wonderful, is man!

-----  
Midway from nothing to the Deity!  
A beam ethereal, sullied and absorbed!  
Though sullied and dishonored, still divine!  
Dim miniature of greatness absolute!  
An heir of glory! a frail child of dust!  
Helpless immortal! insect infinite!  
A worm! a god! - I tremble at myself,

-----  
O what a miracle to man is man."

(Works I, 4 f.)



And this universe full of wonders represents the expression of so many ideas that were previously in the mind of God:

"As, in the material universe, all exactly corresponds with previous ideas of it in the Divine Mind, etc."

(Works II, 527.)

To study and to appreciate the creation and to think the ideas of God therein embodied, is found to be the sublimest occupation of man:

"Wouldst thou be great, wouldst thou become a god ... ?

-----  
How glorious then appears the mind of man,  
When in it all the stars and planets roll!  
And what it seems it is; great objects make  
Great minds, enlarging as their views enlarge;  
Those still more god-like, as those more divine."

(Works I, 211.)

"Divine contemplate and become divine.

-----  
Admit the boundless theatre of thought  
From nothing up to God; which makes a man."

(Works I, 212.)

But man himself is said to be the most profitable and the most necessary object of study for man: "... It is the close, frequent, and feeling inspection of these interiors of man's sublime condition, as immortal and redeemed, that is the highest cordial of human joy, and the richest mine of human thought. A mine deep dug by few! and yet without it man is not more a stranger to the natives of Saturn than to himself. Without it he must want the true, genuine, vital spirit of a Christian. None without it can be filled with the light and comfort of the Holy Ghost."

(Works II, 509.)

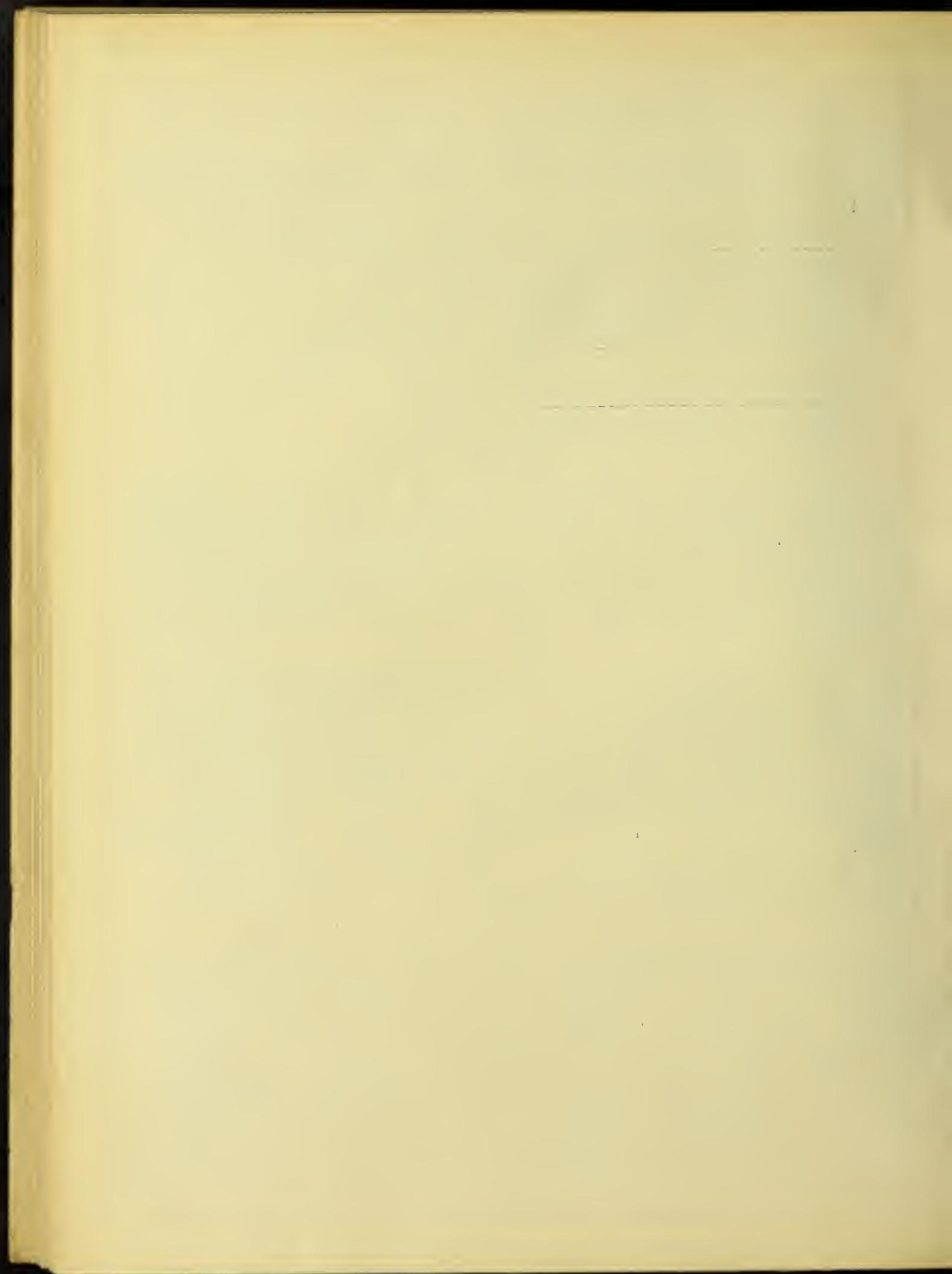
Man is considered not only as a marvelously constructed, but also as a wonderfully endowed and greatly privileged creation. The following has reference to his power due to his superior physical and mental efficiency, and to his power due to his privilege of communing by prayer with God: "A man is almost more than man can conceive; a marvellous being that rises above himself, darting rays of glory beyond the reach of his own sight. ... It is in thee to grant or deny the request of the Almighty. And impious, indeed, it would be, if unauthorized by Scripture, in which that request is made.

A requesting Omnipotence! .... How abject is thy weakness!  
How great is thy power! Thou crawler on earth, and possessor (I was about to say) controller of the skies!"

(Works II, 503.)

The noblest undertaking of man, we here learn, is thus to study the wonderful works of God and thereby to get to know God and himself and the way to eternal life. And the greatest service one can render his fellowmen, we learn next, is to put them on the same way to God. This opens up a field of activity for the poet. He is to act as precursor: he is to point the way.

This task of the poet is analysed as primarily intellectual. This doctrine follows necessarily from the preceding. God and the principal essence of man and the ruling principles in the universe were said to consist of reason and to be comprehensible only through reason. So the faculty by which the poet ranges the fields here assigned to him, is his God-descended soul, or reason, and this composing of sacred poetry is characterized as primarily a thought process.



"Think frequently, think close, read nature, turn  
Men's manners o'er, and half your volumes burn.  
To nurse with quick reflection, be your strife,  
Thoughts born from present objects, warm from life:  
When most unsought, such inspirations rise,  
Slighted by fools, and cherished by the wise.  
Expect peculiar fame from these alone;  
These make an author, these are all your own."

(Works II, 43.)

"From dreams, where thought in fancy's maze runs mad,  
To reason, that heaven-lighted lamp in man,  
Once more I wake; - - - - -"

O, lost to virtue, lost to manly thought,  
Lost to the noble sallies of the soul,  
Who think it solitude to be alone!  
Communion sweet! communion large and high!  
Our reason, guardian angel, and our God!"

(Works I, 82.)

"This is free thinking, - unconfined to parts,-  
To send the soul, on curious travel bent,  
Through all the provinces of human thought."

(Works I, 145.)

"So joys the soul, when, from inglorious aims,  
----- she mounts  
To Reason's region, her own elements,  
Breathes hopes immortal, and affects the skies."

(Works I, 80.)

"I'll range the plenteous intellectual field;  
And gather every thought of sovereign power,  
To chase the moral maladies of man;  
Thoughts which may bear transplanting to the skies,  
Though natives of this coarse penurious soil;  
Nor wholly wither there, where seraphs sing,  
Refined, exalted, not annulled, in heaven:  
Reason the sun that gives them birth, the same  
In either clime, though more illustrious there."

(Works I, 77.)

In the foregoing and in the following it is said that the content of poetry is to be the product of reason.

"Thought, enthusiasm, and picture, which are as the body, soul, and robe of poetry."

(Works I, 419.)

Thought is also spoken of as the most delightful, genuine, and profitable entertainer:

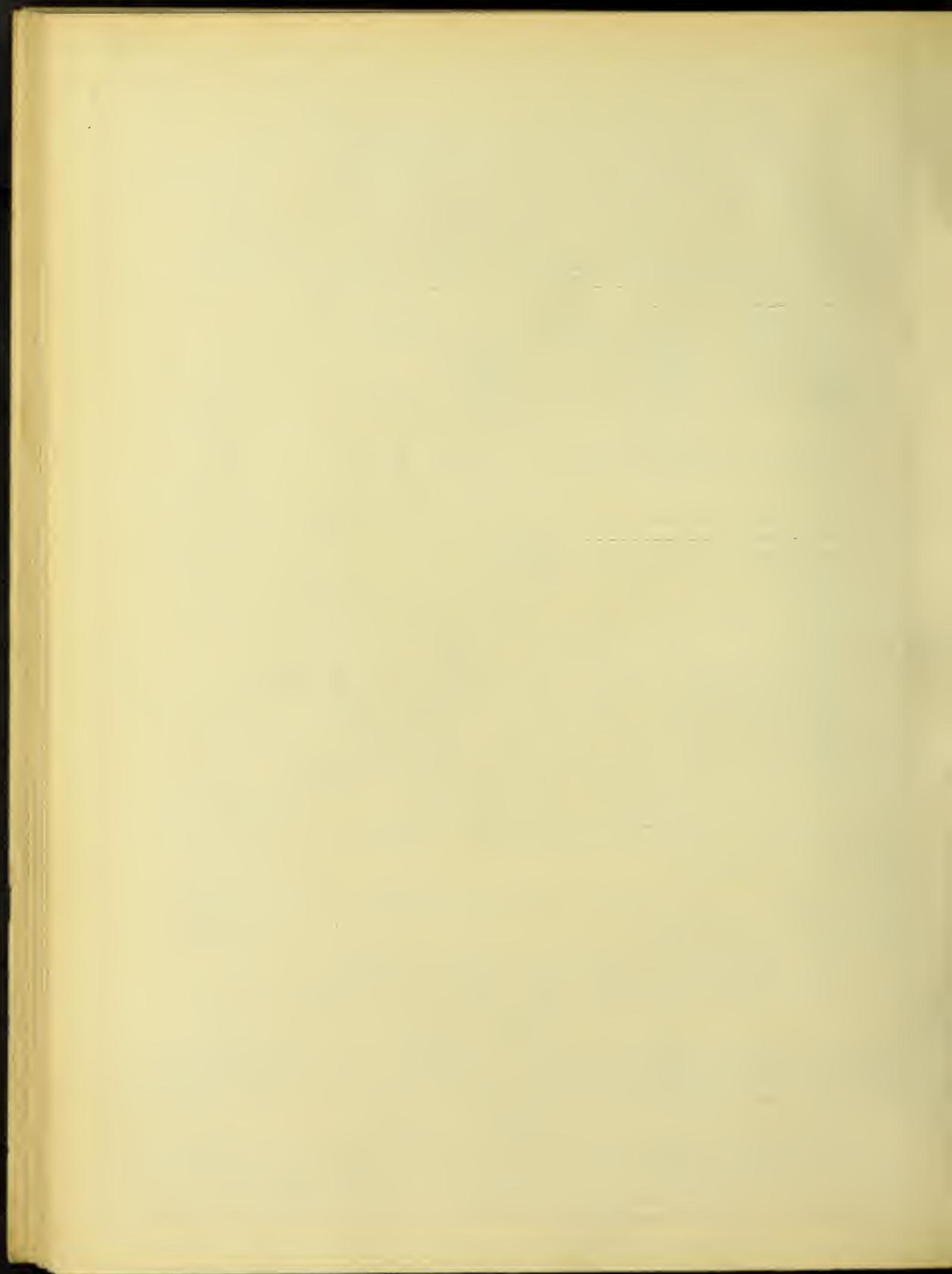
"They stand collecting every beam of thought,  
Till their hearts kindle with divine delight;  
For all their thoughts, like angels seen of old  
In Israel's dream, come from, and go to, heaven."

(Works I, 174.)

"Thought can make absent things present, take away the distance between earth and heaven, and make an eternal good, though future, a better entertainment and fuller satisfaction to the mind, than all the pleasures of sin, though at hand."

(Works II, 330.)

But reason is not to work alone as the factor which makes man of man, and which constitutes the poetic faculty. It is to be assisted by the other senses as its helpmates. As the subordinates and servants of reason these other senses are credited with great



significance, both in life and in poetic composition.

Man's "passions" are declared to be vital factors in his life when they are dominated by reason:

"The passions are the wants of the soul, as the appetites may be called the passions of the body."

(Works II, 353.)

"An account of the passions is properly a history of the active part of the soul, as an account of the understanding is of the contemplative. . . . They have by others been considered physically, as they constitute part of our nature; morally, as they influence virtue and vice; and rhetorically, with regard to composition: but I do not know that they have been considered in a system, or with any accuracy, as the pains, and promoters of the pains, of life. In this view I shall speak of them."

(Works II, 345.)

"I know not well why, but the passions are a favorite subject with mankind: - - - Or, because they are such powerful and universal springs, that almost all the pleasures, pains, designs, and actions of life are owing to them."

(Works II, 325.)

And these other senses besides reason, particularly passion characterized as mental emotion or fervor, are credited with great working ability in literary composition. This mental fervor, or intellectual fire, is to be produced in the process of ardent contemplative thinking. This sort of rapturous thinking is what the author speaks of under the name of imagination, or fancy. This fervor or rapture is to serve as a stimulus of the mind and is to give it momentum in its poetic flights.

"I gaze, and, as I gaze, my mounting soul  
Catches strange fire, Eternity! at thee;"

(Works I, 53.)

"With inward eyes, and silent as the grave,  
They stand collecting every beam of thought,  
Till their hearts kindle with divine delight;"

(Works I, 174.)

"To feel, is to be fired."

(Works I, 51.)

"What heart of stone but glows at thoughts like these?  
Such contemplations mount us, and should mount  
The mind still higher; nor ever glance on man  
Unraptured, uninflamed. - Where roll my thoughts  
To rest from wonders? "

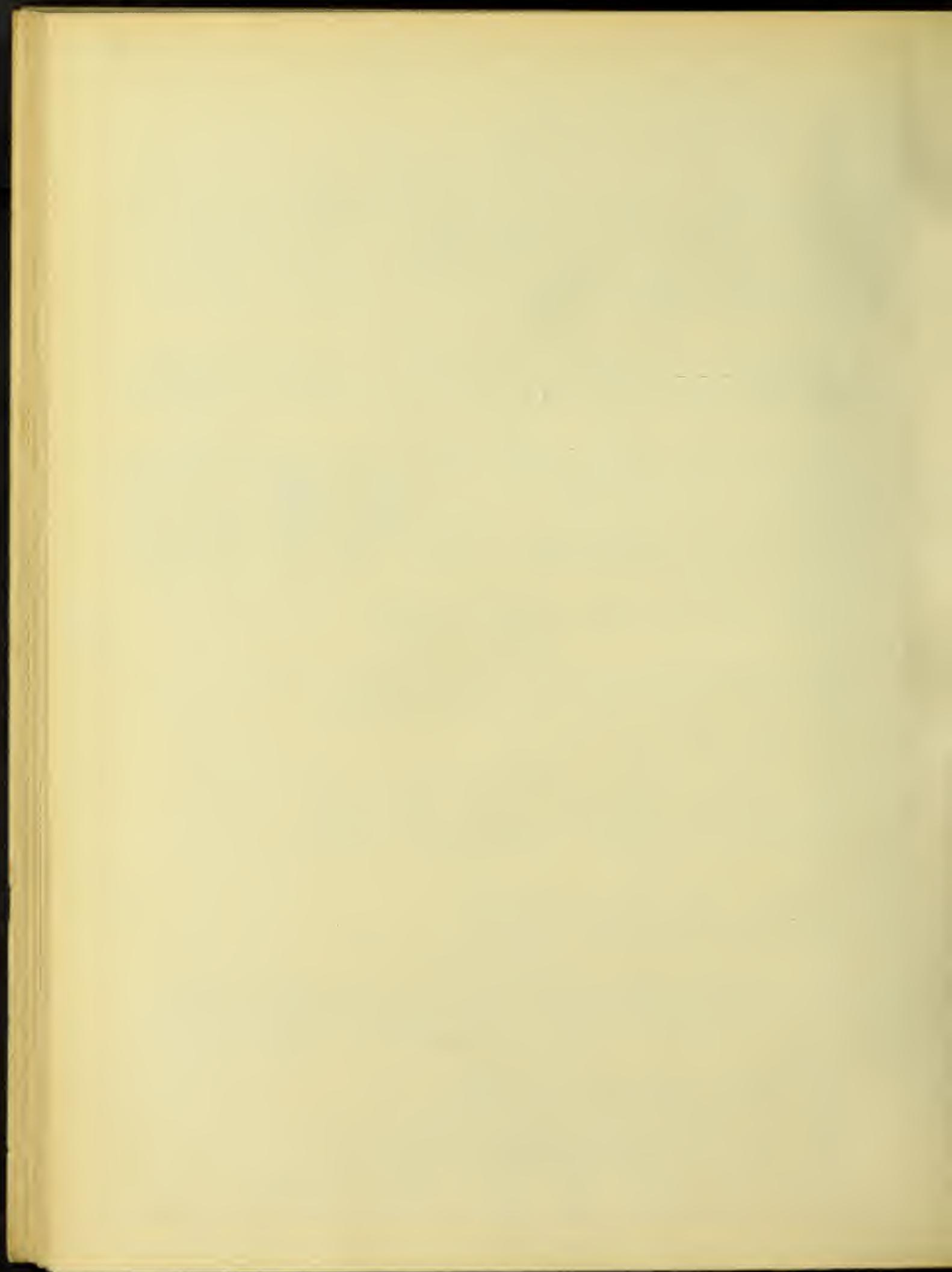
(Works I, 53.)

"I glow, I burn! The numbers pure,  
High-flavor'd, delicate, mature,  
Spontaneous stream from my unlabored breast."

(Works II, 4.)

But imagination and passion are said to play useful roles in life and in poetic activities only when they are under the sway of reason. As not under its rule they are called by the author "fogs of sense and passion's storm" and are pronounced "reason's foe" and man's ruin.

"Imagination is the Paphian shop,  
Where feeble happiness, like Vulcan, lame,  
Bids foul ideas, in their dark recess,  
And hot as hell, (which kindled the black fires)  
With wanton art, those fatal arrows form  
Which murder all thy time, health, wealth, and fame.  
Wouldst thou receive them, other thoughts there are,



On angel-wing descending from above,  
Which these, with art divine, would counter-work,  
And form celestial armor for thy peace."

(Works I, 175.)

"Judgment, indeed, that masculine power of the mind, in Ode, as in all compositions, should bear the supreme sway; and a beautiful imagination, as its mistress, should be subdued to its dominion. Hence, and hence only, can proceed the fairest offspring of the human mind."

(Works I, 416.)

"What wealth in senses such as these! What wealth  
In fancy fired to form a fairer scene  
Than sense surveys! in memory's firm record:

-----  
What wealth in intellect, that sovereign power,  
Which sense and fancy summons to the bar;  
Interrogates, approves, or reprehends.  
What wealth in souls that soar, dive, range around,  
Disdaining limit or from place or time:  
And hear at once, in thought extensive, hear  
The Almighty fiat, and the trumpets sound!  
Bold on creation's outside walk, and view  
What was, and is, and more than e'er shall be:  
Commanding with omnipotence of thought,  
Creations new in fancy's field to rise!  
Souls, that can grasp what'er the Almighty made,  
And wander wild through things impossible!

(Works I, 104 f.)

"On argument alone my faith is built:  
Reason pursued is Faith; and, unpursued,  
Where proof invites, 'tis Reason, then no more;

-----  
Reason the root, fair faith is but the flower:  
The fading flower shall die, but reason lives  
Immortal as her Father in the skies."

(Works I, 64.)

-----  
"in Passion's flame  
Hearts melt; but melt like ice, soon harder froze.  
True love strikes root in Reason, Passion's foe."

(Works I, 27.)

The author deals with two very different kinds of poetic inspiration. One is the mental stimulation gained from the object treated. Thoughts evoked by objects are conceived of as poetic inspirations. This principle is, to some extent, already set forth in the preceding quotations. The following passages remain to be added to show that the author takes, in this sense of poetic inspiration, anybody and anything as an inspiring poetic muse. Finally it is to be noted that the author himself speaks of this as only a technicality.

"Inspire me, Night! with all thy tuneful spheres;  
Whilst I with seraphs share seraphic themes."

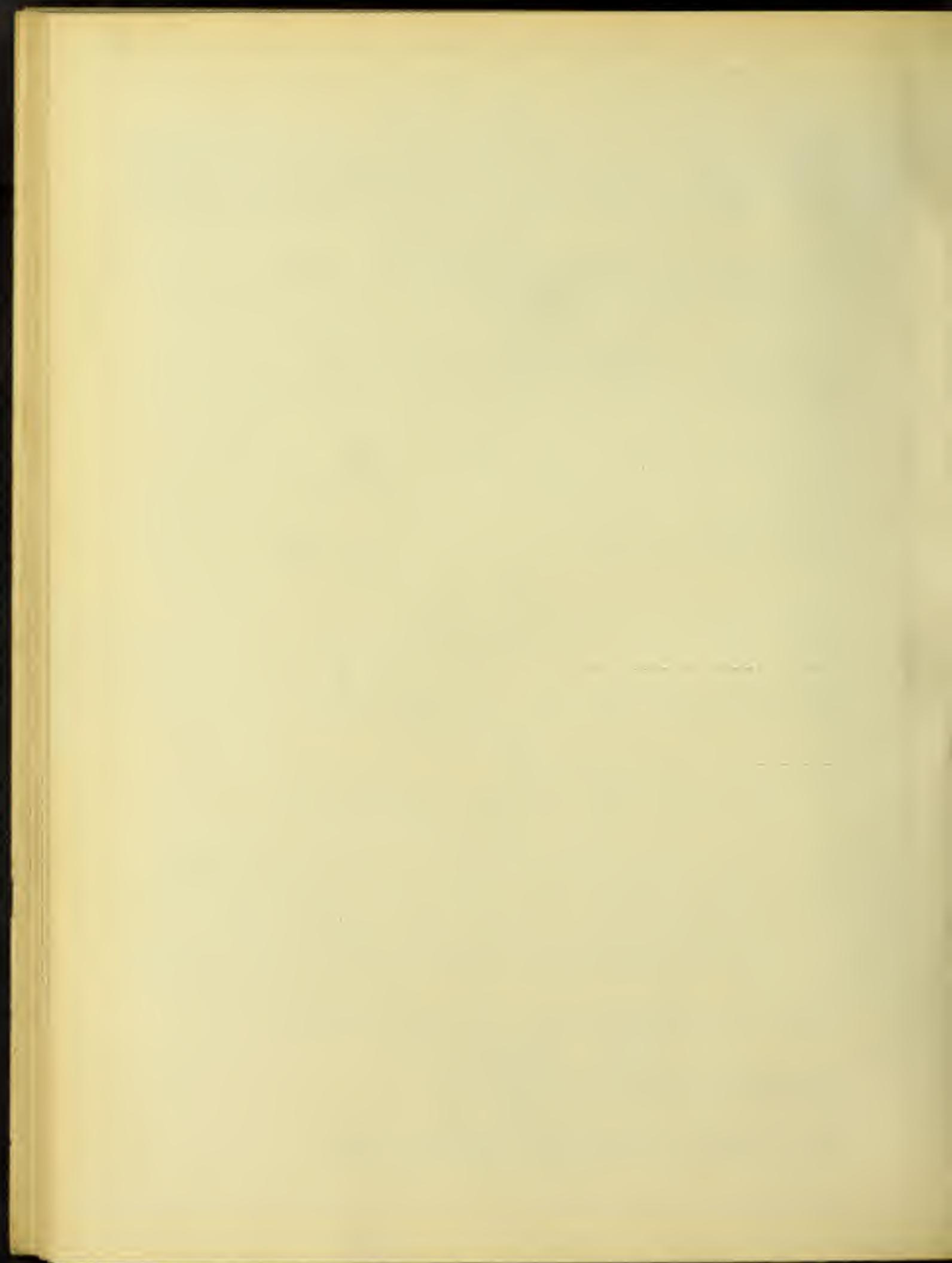
(Works I, 51.)

"I find my inspiration in my theme,  
The grandeur of my subject is my muse."

(Works I.)

"On this last labor, this my closing strain,  
Smile, Walpole, or the Nine inspire in vain."

(Works I, 105.)



From lofty themes, from thoughts that soar'd on high,  
 And open'd wondrous scenes above the sky,  
 My muse, descend: indulge my fond desire;  
 With softer thoughts my melting soul inspire,  
 And smooth my numbers to a female's praise.

(Works I, 317.)

With invocations some their breasts inflame,  
 I need no muse, - a Walpole is my theme.

(Works I, 343.)

The other sort of inspiration is treated of as divine assistance in poetic composition. Just how it is being invoked and conceived of, is to be learned from the following quotations:

"Heaven lighted up the human soul,  
 Heaven bid its rays transpire the whole,  
 And giving godlike reason, gave us all.  
 Thou golden chain 'twixt God and men,  
 Bless'd reason! guide my life and pen:

-----  
 A God is naught but reason infinite.

The man of reason is a god

Who scorns to stoop to Fortune's nod:"

(Works II, 9.)

"Thought borrows light elsewhere; from that first fire,  
 Fountain of animation, whence, descends  
 Urania, my celestial guest! who deigns  
 Nightly to visit me, so mean."

(Works I, 72.)

-----  
 "and, O thou,  
 The glorious third! distinct, not separate!  
 Beaming from both, with both incorporate!  
 And (strange to tell) incorporate with dust!  
 By condescension, as Thy glory, great,  
 Unshrined in man! of human hearts, if pure,  
 Divine inhabitant! the tie divine  
 Of heaven with distant earth, by me, I trust,  
 (If not inspired) uncensured this address,"

(Works I, 249.)

O Thou, whose word from solid darkness struck  
 That spark, the sun! strike wisdom from my soul:  
 ----- O lead my mind,

-----  
 Lead it through various scenes, of life and death:  
 And from each scene the noblest truth inspire:  
 Nor less inspire my conduct than my song."

(Works I, 4.)

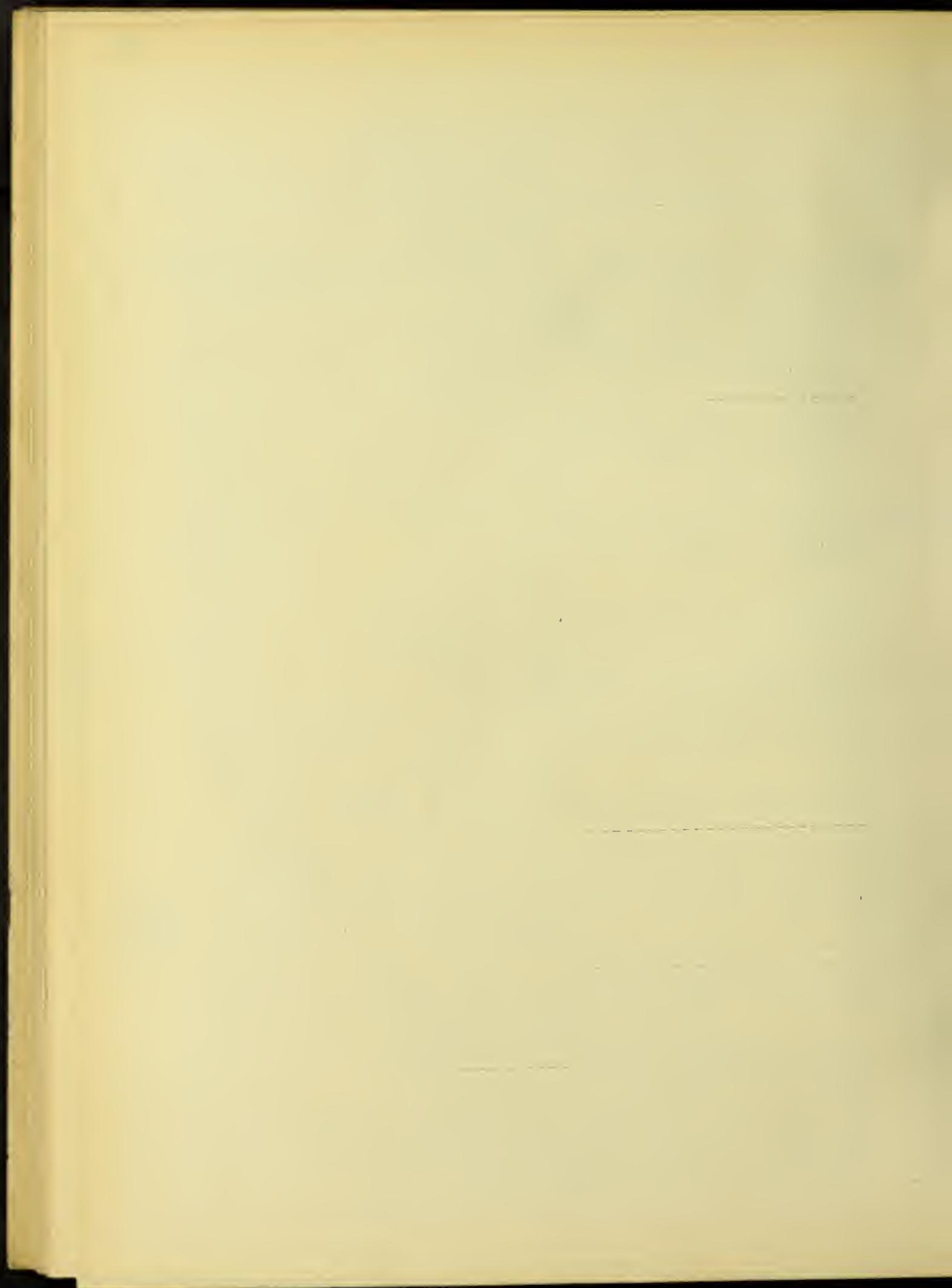
"But chiefly Thou, great Ruler, Lord of all!

-----  
 To my great subject Thou my breast inspire,  
 And raise my laboring soul with equal fire.

(Works I, 265.)

O Thou, blest Spirit! whether the supreme,  
 Great antemundane Father! -----

-----  
 Or from His throne some delegated Power.  
 "Ho, studious of our peace, dost turn the thought  
 From vain and vile to solid and sublime!  
 Unseen Thou lead'st me to delicious draughts  
 Of inspiration, from a purer stream,  
 And fuller of the God, than that which burst



From famed Castalia: nor is yet allay'd  
 My sacred thirst; though long my soul has ranged  
 Through pleasing paths of moral and Divine,  
 By Thee sustained, and lighted by the stars.  
 By them best lighted are the paths of thought:

-----  
 By day the soul is passive, all her thoughts  
 Imposed, precarious, broken, are nature.  
 By night, from objects free, from passion cool,  
 Thoughts uncontroll'd, and unimpress'd the births  
 Of pure election, arbitrary range,  
 Not to the limits of one world confined,  
 But from ethereal travels light on earth,  
 As voyagers drop anchor, for repose,  
 Let Indians ... the sun adore:  
 Darkness has more divinity for me."

(Works I, 62 p.)

"Some angel guide my pencil, while I draw,  
 What nothing less than angel can exceed,  
 A man on earth devoted to the skies,  
 Like ships in seas, while in, above, the world!"

(Works I, 177.)

Man's mind is viewed in another aspect as able to assert its intrinsic divine power and thereby to do divine, or magic, miracles. So the poet is frequently spoken of as a magician. His magic is, however, carefully characterized as divine. The author bases his doctrine of divine magic almost entirely on the miracles recorded in the Old Testament, particularly on those performed by Moses and Aaron. Occasionally also references to classical lore of magic occur. Sometimes Biblical and classical elements are mingled.

"With honest magic make the knave inclined  
 To pay devotion to the virtuous mind;"

(Works I, 304.)

"Pride, that impartial passion, reigns through all;

-----  
 Some lords it bids admire their wands so white,  
 Which bloom, like Aaron's, to their ravish'd sight;  
 Some lords it bids resign, and turn their wands  
 Like Moses', into serpents in their hands."

(Works I, 352.)

"Suspend your toils, ye brawny throng!  
 Charm'd by the magic of my song."

(Works II, 55.)

"Some hearts, in secret hard, unapt to melt,  
 Struck by the magic of the public eye,  
 Like Moses' smitten rock, gush out again."

(works I, 70.)

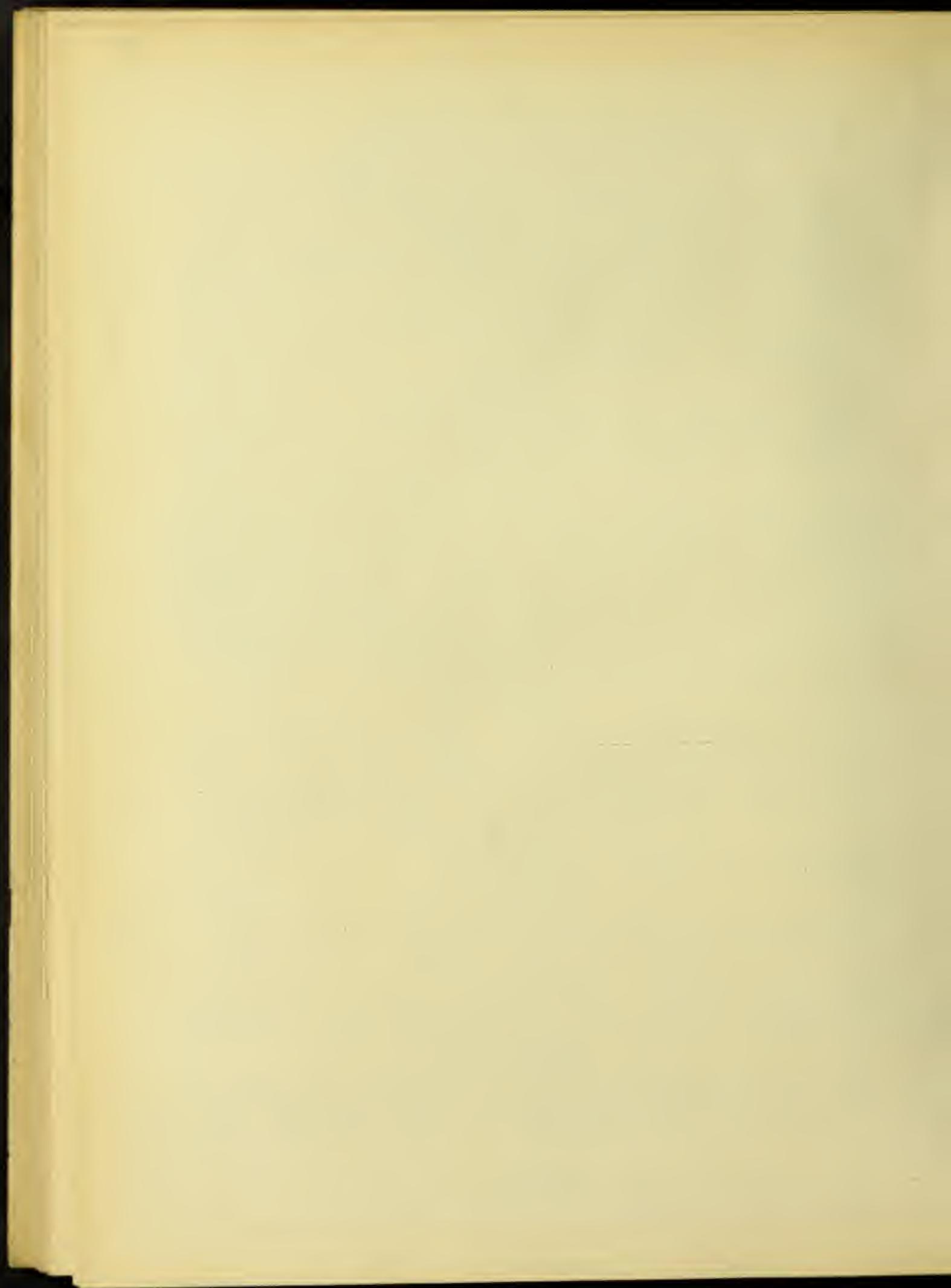
"If a vicious people are not slaves, the course of nature is suspended in their favor; they are miraculously safe. A flame is in the bush, and the bush is not consumed."

(works II, 337.)

"The prophets are more accurate and authentic historians of the future than the most happy genius, uninspired, can possibly be of the past. And want we miracles for our conviction? The series of Scripture prophecies accomplished, is the most striking of miracles."

(Works II, 517.)

"Say, by what name shall I presume to call  
 Him I see burning in those countless suns,



As Moses, in the bush? Illustrious Mind!  
(Works I, 238.)

"Where are the pillars that support the skies?  
-----

-----What magic, what strange art,  
In fluid air these ponderous orbs sustain?"  
(Works I, 213.)

"sky-born, sky-guided, sky-returning race!  
Erect, immortal, rational, divine!  
-----

Take-in, at once, the landscape of the world,  
At a small inlet, which a grain might close,  
And half-create the wondrous world they see.  
Our senses, as our reason, are divine.  
But for the magic organ's powerful charm,  
"Earth were a rude, uncolored chaos still."  
(Works I, 104.)

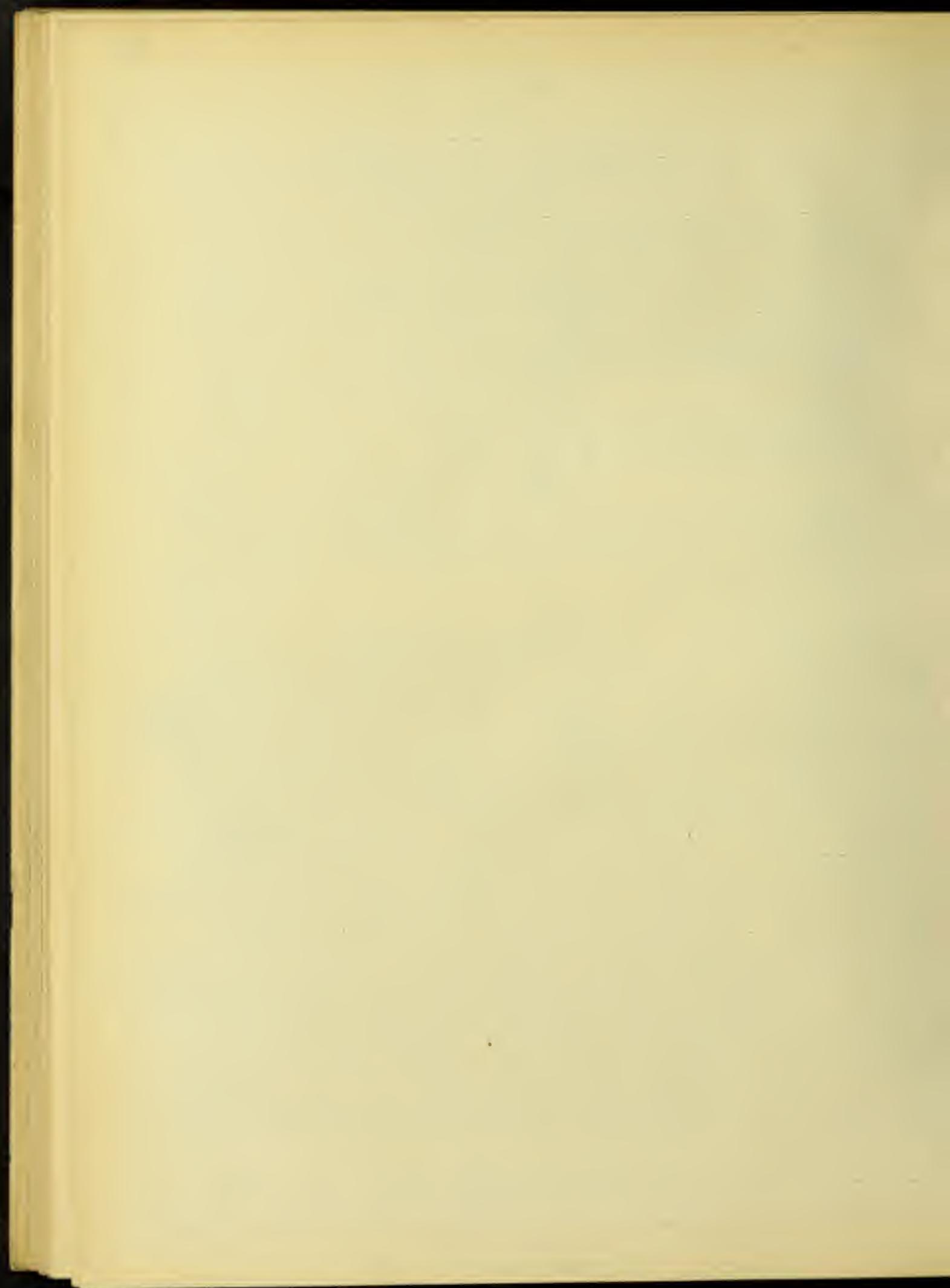
"Gazing on miracles by mortals wrought,  
Arches triumphal, theatres immense,  
Or nodding gardens pendent in mid-air,  
Or Temples proud to meet their gods half-way."  
(Works I, 208.)

"Hear, and I'll thy spirit from the dust,  
While the stars gaze on this enchantment now;  
Enchantment, not infernal, but divine."  
(Works I, 227.)

"Bid day stand still,  
Bid him drive back his car."  
(Works I, 21.)

The main factor in the development of Young's literary art and criticism was no doubt his participation in the Miltonic revival. His first piece of sacred poetry, the "Paraphrase on a Part of the Book of Job", a Miltonic imitation, leads to his study of the Bible as the sublimest sort of literature, and to the use of the treatise "On the Sublime" by Longinus as a literary guide. And the minor poems of Milton evoked the meditative poetic fruitfulness of our author. As to the latter the following words by Prof. Phelps (The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement) are to the point: "The young Romanticists claimed Milton for their own; his name was a rallying cry: and they followed him in thought, language, and versification. --- But it was not so much in form as in thought that Milton effected the Romantic movement; and although "Paradise Lost" was always reverentially considered his greatest work, it was not at this time nearly so effective as his minor poetry; and in the latter it was "Il Penseroso" - the love of meditative comfortable melancholy - that penetrated most deeply into the Romantic soul", (p. 77). The churchyard school began with Parrell's "Night-Piece on Death", in the early years of the century. Blair's "Grave" (1743) and Young's "Night Thoughts" (1742-45) and Gray's "Elegy" (1751) were the principal contributions to permanent literature that the school produced," (p. 100). Another factor, though smaller, yet not insignificant, was his relation to the Spenserian revival. The latter got under way earlier than the former; soon they ran side by side, and some of the leading romanticists participated in both. These two movements formed the beginning and constituted the principal currents of the new literary movement.

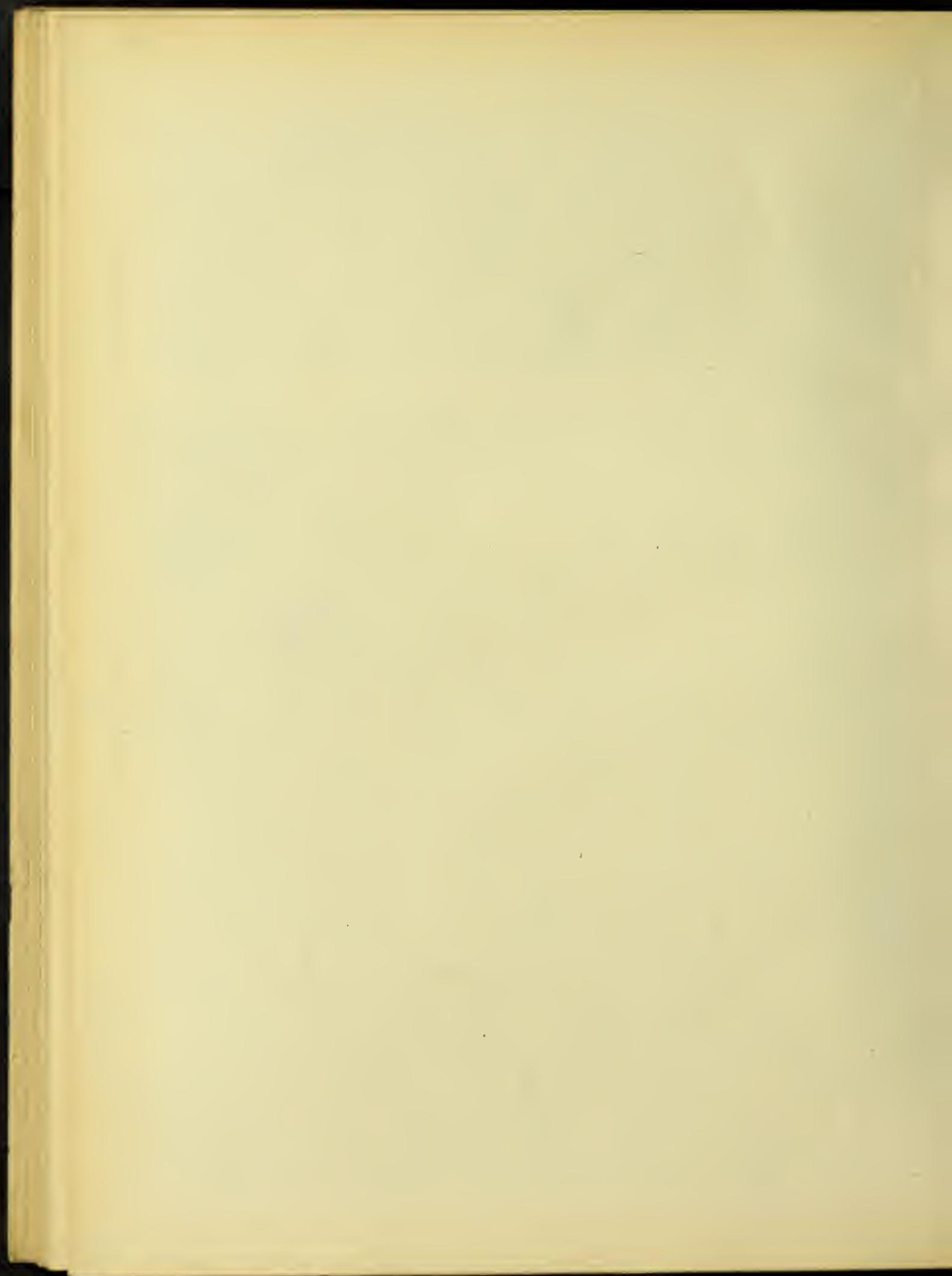
The Spenserian revival was the first manifest revolt against pseudo-classicism. It is akin to the Miltonic revival, and promoted its progress. The revival of the Spenserian stanza formed the first



successful repudiation of the heroic couplet. Later on, and along the way made by it, came blank-verse. And the Spenserian method of poetic exposition prepared the way for the Miltonic.

The relation of Spenser to the romantic movement is excellently pointed out by Mr. Phelps in his book "The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement", p. 47: "Spenser was the poet of Romanticism as Pope was of Classicism. They stand exactly in opposition; the one all intellect, didactic and satirical; the poet of town life and of fashionable society; the other all imagination and exaggeration; the poet of dream-land, of woods and streams, of fairy and supernatural life. Along with the sharp contrast in substance, there is also the pronounced difference in style. Nothing could be more unlike the regular strokes of the couplet than the lazily flowing melody of the Spenserian stanza. Spenser thus played a most important part in the new movement - a part much greater than that of Shakespeare and Milton - although both these poets were extreme favorites with the Romanticists."

Spenser was "all imagination and exaggeration; the poet of dream-land, of fairy and supernatural life", and as master in bold imaginative poetic creation he served formerly Milton and now the romanticists, with Young among them, as master. But to how great an extent Young was influenced by the Spenserian revival, is not easy to ascertain; but that he was touched by it, is certain. The Spenserian fad was in vogue throughout his literary career. Between the appearance of his first publication (1712) and the beginning of the appearance of his "Night Thoughts" (1742), seventeen Spenserian imitations were published. These had been preceded by only one, but were followed by many. At the time when the "Conjectures" appeared there were in all about fifty. And this movement has many characteristics that appear also in the literary art and criticism of Young; yet he is, in none of his writings, a professed or even obviously apparent follower of Spenser, as he was of Milton. Two works of the author, the "Night Thoughts" and the "Conjectures" contain Spenserian characteristics. The "Night Thoughts" exhibit, for one thing, the quality praised by Mathew Prior in the preface to the first Spenserian imitation, "An Ode, humbly inscribed to the Queen, ... Written in Imitation of Spenser's Style" (1706): "My two great examples, Horace and Spenser, in many things resemble each other; both have a height of imagination and a majesty of expression in describing the sublime", (Phelp, p. 50.). How far this quality of the "Night Thoughts" is Miltonic and Scriptural, and how far Spenserian, is hard to say. More thoroughly Spenserian, however, are their descriptions of nature and the direct communion with it. But these principles were already common at the time; Young may have obtained them at second hand from Spenserian works, most probably from "Thomson's Seasons" (1726). The "Conjectures" are even more Spenserian than the "Night Thoughts", notably in the following passage: "In the fairyland of fancy, genius may wander wild; there it has a creative power, and may reign arbitrarily over its own empire of chimeras. The wide field of nature also is open before it, where it may range unconfined, make what discoveries it can, and sport with its infinite objects uncontrolled, as far as visible nature extends, painting them as wantonly as it will." It was this art of originating the content of poetry with an inventive and constructive fancy that characterized the non-classical, but original, art of composition of the romanticists, and in this art Spenser was taken as master. If Young did not exploit Spenser directly, he got some of the literary principles of the latter indirectly, for they were widely in use during Young's authorship. The following passage by Addison (Spectator No. 415) is noteworthy in this connection. The passage just quoted from the "Conjectures" was



probably based on this.

"There is a kind of writing wherein the poet quite loses sight of nature and entertains his reader's imagination with the characters and actions of such persons as have many of them no magicians, demons, and departed spirits. This Mr. Dryden calls "the fairy way of writing", which is, indeed, more difficult than any other that depends on the poet's fancy, because he has no pattern to follow in it, and must work altogether out of his own invention.

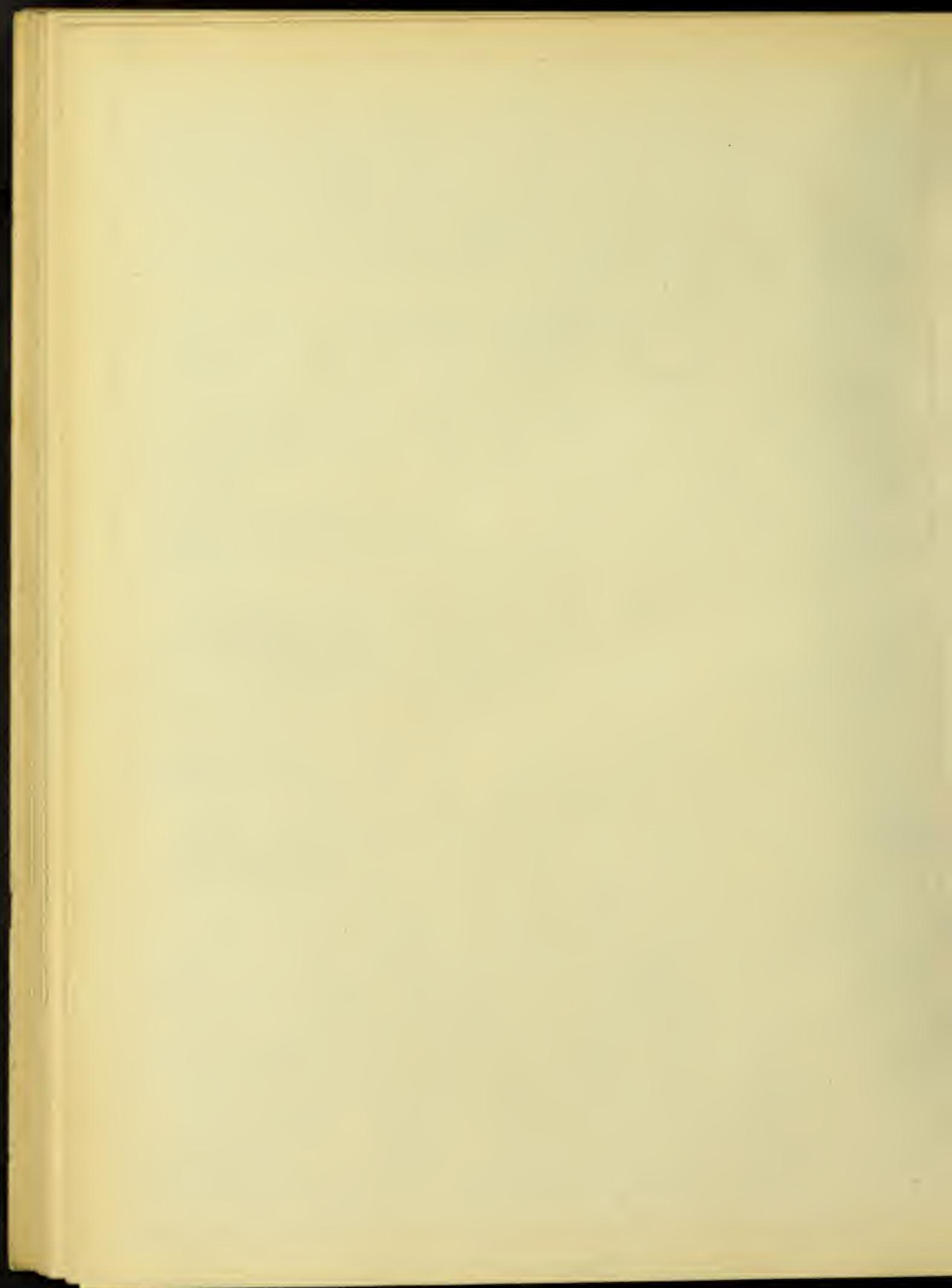
There is a very odd turn of thought required for this sort of writing, and it is impossible for a poet to succeed in it who has not a particular cast of fancy, and an imagination naturally fruitful and superstitious.

There is another sort of imaginary beings that we sometimes meet with among the poets when the author represents any passion, appetite, virtue or vice, under a visible shape and makes it a person or an actor in his poem. Of this nature are the descriptions of Hunger and Envy in Ovid, of Fame in Virgil, and of Sin and Death in Milton. We find a whole creation of the like shadowy persons in Spenser, who had an admirable talent in representations of this kind. ----Thus we see how many ways poetry addresses itself to the imagination, as it has not only the whole circle of nature for its province, but makes new worlds of its own, shows us persons who are not to be found in being." etc. (Addison Spectator No. 419.)

Since Young derived the art of his greater poetry from Milton, we must see what the latter teaches his followers. This inquiry will mean a consideration of Milton's acquisition, practice, and conception of his art of sacred poetry.

The sort of poetry in which Young did his most considerable work and on which he based his ultimate literary criticism, goes back to Milton, as has been shown, and it goes back beyond Milton to a still earlier turn in English life and literature, as will be shown subsequently. It was not created by Milton, but existed already at and before his time. The following by George H. Palmer in his "Life and Works of George Herbert" (I, 30 f) is the right word in this place:

"The Bible was the Magna Charta of the Reformation. To love it was to show one's hostility to Popery. In it all truth was contained. If one needed poetry, then, or sacred song, where could one obtain it better than in this its original? For a time it seemed almost profane to look elsewhere. The favorite form of religious utterance was the versified paraphrase of some portion of the Bible. Naturally the Psalms were the part most commonly chosen. The collection of Paraphrases of Psalms which goes by the name of Sternhold and Hopkins, was drawn up in 1562, and was soon adopted into the use of the English churches. But almost every prominent poet attempted a few Psalms. To translate them became a literary fashion. Wyatt and Surrey engaged in it, as later did Sidney and his sister, Spenser, Sylvester, Davison, Wither, Phineas Fletcher, King James, Lord Bacon, Milton, Sandys, and even Carew. But the disposition to paraphrase the Bible did not confine itself to the Psalms. Surrey put Ecclesiastes into verse; Sylvester, Job; Quarles versified Job, and the Song of Solomon. Both he and Donne tried to make poetry out of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Drayton told the stories of Noah, Moses, and David. Indeed, the strange fashion lasted down to the time of Cowley, who in 1656 published four Books of the Troubles of King David, and translated one of them back into Latin. Paradise Lost itself may be regarded as but the full, gorgeous, and isolated consummation of what Milton's predecessors in Paraphrase and Vision had already attempted". This passage is only a small part of its author's excellent survey of religious poetry prior to George Herbert (1533-1633); but it suffices to answer the question in point. Other



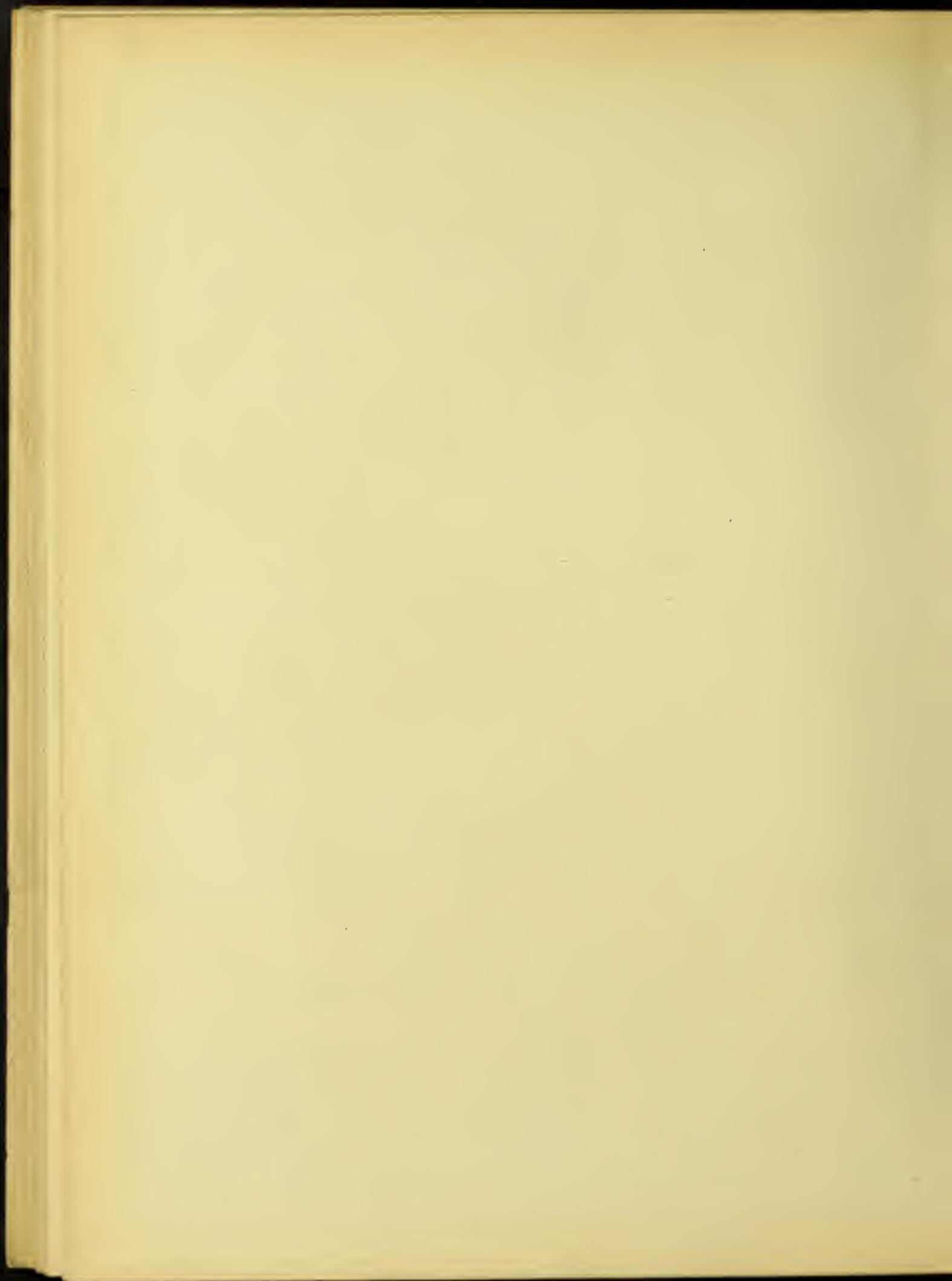
historians of English literature say the same; there was sacred poetry in England before Milton wrote, and he only continued and developed it. It came in with Christianity, it consisted at first mainly of translations and paraphrases of parts of the Bible. The poetical meditations and visions based on the Bible became frequent. And, from the eleventh century down to the sixteenth, first the miracle and then the morality plays increased the amount of religious poetry. It is, however, mainly since the Reformation, as pointed out above, that greater zeal on the part of the poet and a greater demand by the public for sacred poetry of the Miltonic kind ruled. But the religious writers and writings before the Reformation as well as between it and Milton, can be found discussed in many easily accessible books; so a comprehensive and detailed discussion of their nature and history is not here in place. There is only that now to be considered in detail that bears on Milton's theory of poetry. So there are here briefly to be considered his beginnings in sacred poetry, his gradual development of it, his attitude towards it, his precursors to whom he became indebted for example and material, and those other factors that shaped his views and practice of his religious poetry.

The earliest sacred writings of Milton that have come down to us, it is to be recalled, were paraphrases of Psalms, done in 1621. The next and more original religious poems were his odes "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (1629) and "The Passion" (1630). Then appeared the short poem "Upon the Circumcision" (1631). After a considerable pause in religious poetry there followed "Nine of the Psalms done into metre", (1613-1653). Thereafter Milton wrote no religious poetry again until he gave the world his poetic masterpiece, "Paradise Lost" (1658-1663). A few years later he produced his last Scriptural poem, "Paradise Regained" (1665-1667). These dates recall the fact that the author wrote sacred poetry, though only at considerable intervals, yet all his life.

It is also to be recalled how he came to practice sacred poetry and how he got to develop it as he did. The principal factor in this appears to have been a sincere inner prompting to worship God and serve his fellowmen as author of unequalled sacred poems. He began to write as a notably pious youth. To even his earliest religious poems, those written while at school and in college, around 1621-1632, show over and above their academic conventionality unmistakable Christian sincerity. The latter has evidently guided him all his life in his choice of subject and method in this sort of poetry. In his later writings he expresses his consciousness and conception of his sacred mission as religious poet. In his sonnet on his having reached the age of twenty-three (1631), after lamenting his unfruitfulness in poetry, he says:

"Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,  
It shall be still in strictest measure even  
To that same lot, however, near or high,  
Toward which time leads me, and the will of Heaven.  
All is, if I have grace to use it so,  
As ever in my great Task-master's eye".

A still more explicit exposition of his consciousness and conception of his mission is found in "Reason of Church Government" (1641), where he makes these statements: "I began, therefore to assent to them (the Italian scholars), and diverse of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting, which now grew daily upon me, that by labor and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possessed me and these



other - that ... there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory by the honor and instruction of my country. ... that what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old, did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above of being a Christian, might do for mine." It is to be noted how some of the points made in this passage represent the central features of the author's work in sacred poetry. The recurrence elsewhere in the explication of his way of writing, and they criticize the foundation principles of his religious works. These principles, to repeat and more in detail to consider them, are the following: (1) He decides to write in obedience to an inner prompting, or the strong propensity of nature. (2) By means of labor and intent study he hopes to have something so written to afterwards that they should not willingly let it lie. (3) He wants to glorify God by giving honor and instruction to his country. (4) "What the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old, did for their country, he wants to do for his."

In speaking of his inner prompting and his strong propensity of nature he is speaking of impulses from his poetic talents to exercise them. It is the stirring of the principle of life in the poet as such; Young demands it as the poet's only valid reason to write.

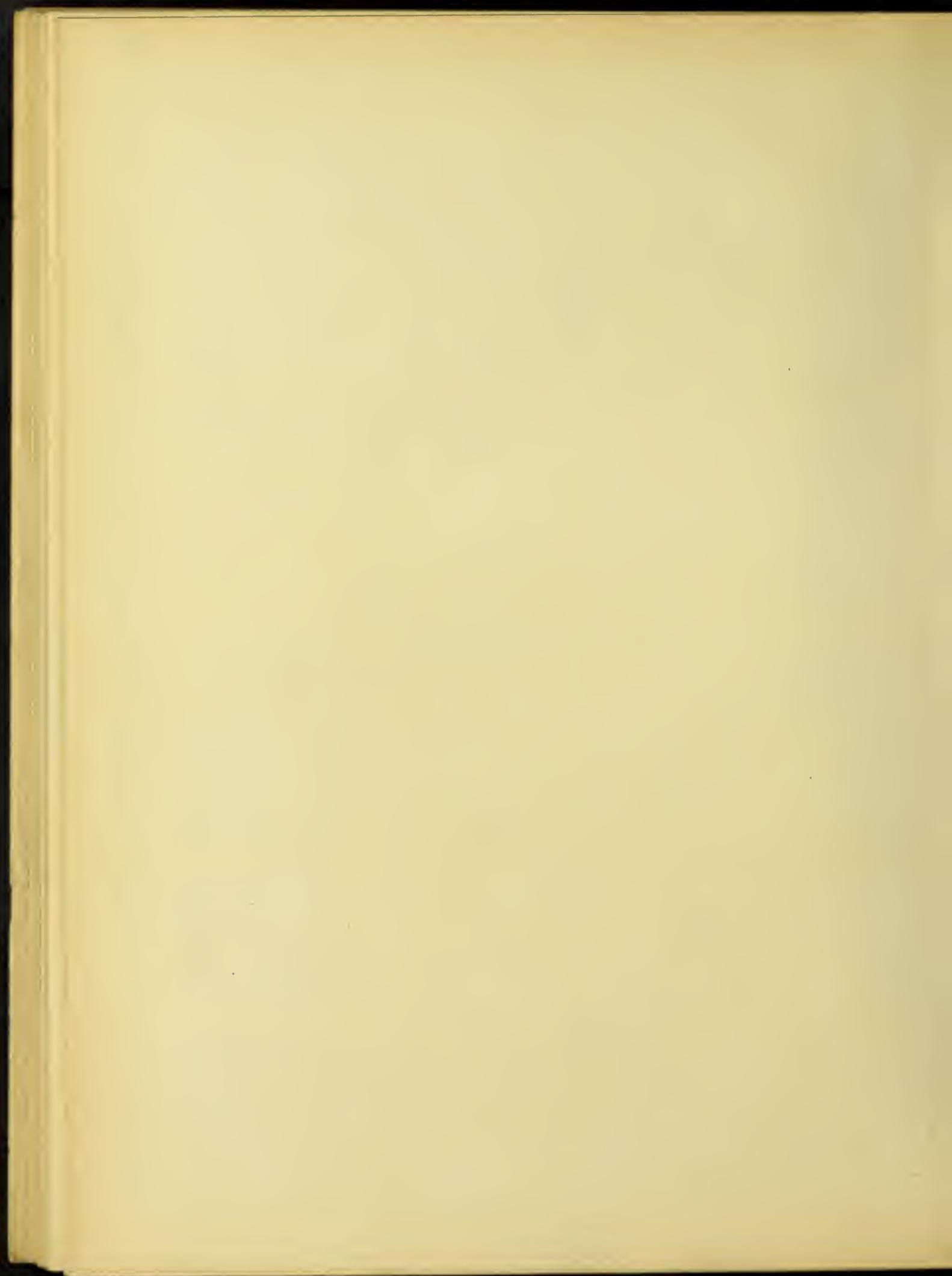
"But grant your judgment equal to the best,  
Sense fills your head, and genius fires your breast;  
Yet still forbear: your wit (consider well)  
'Tis great to show, but greater to conceal;  
As it is great to seize the golden prize  
Of place or power, but greater to despise.  
If still you languish for an author's name,  
Think private merit less than public fame,  
And fancy not to write is not to live;  
Deserve and take the great prerogative". (Works II, 41).

Elsewhere Young speaks of this inner prompting to write as his poetic genius and inspiring muse.

Milton wants to write something great by means of "labor and intent study". This is, moreover, what he did, as is well known; and this is one of the principal things to have in mind in considering his art of poetry. He is so laborious and cumulative that he is rightly said in one way to be a most unoriginal poet. But he is so remarkable a transformer of his accumulated possessions that he is therefore a most original poet. Milton was at first thoroughly imitative: soon he altered and enriched borrowed forms and materials; as a mature poet he was a creative transformer.

Milton was a man of "labor and intent study" throughout his literary career. He read omnivorously as long as his eye-sight endured. Since the age of twelve, we know, he was unable to rest from study until after midnight. And all his life he was a man of books. After the loss of his eye-sight, others read voluminously to him. And as such a book-man he was a docile and tractable learner; he accepted material and manners from his masters for later use; but he applied them in an unconstrained, original way.

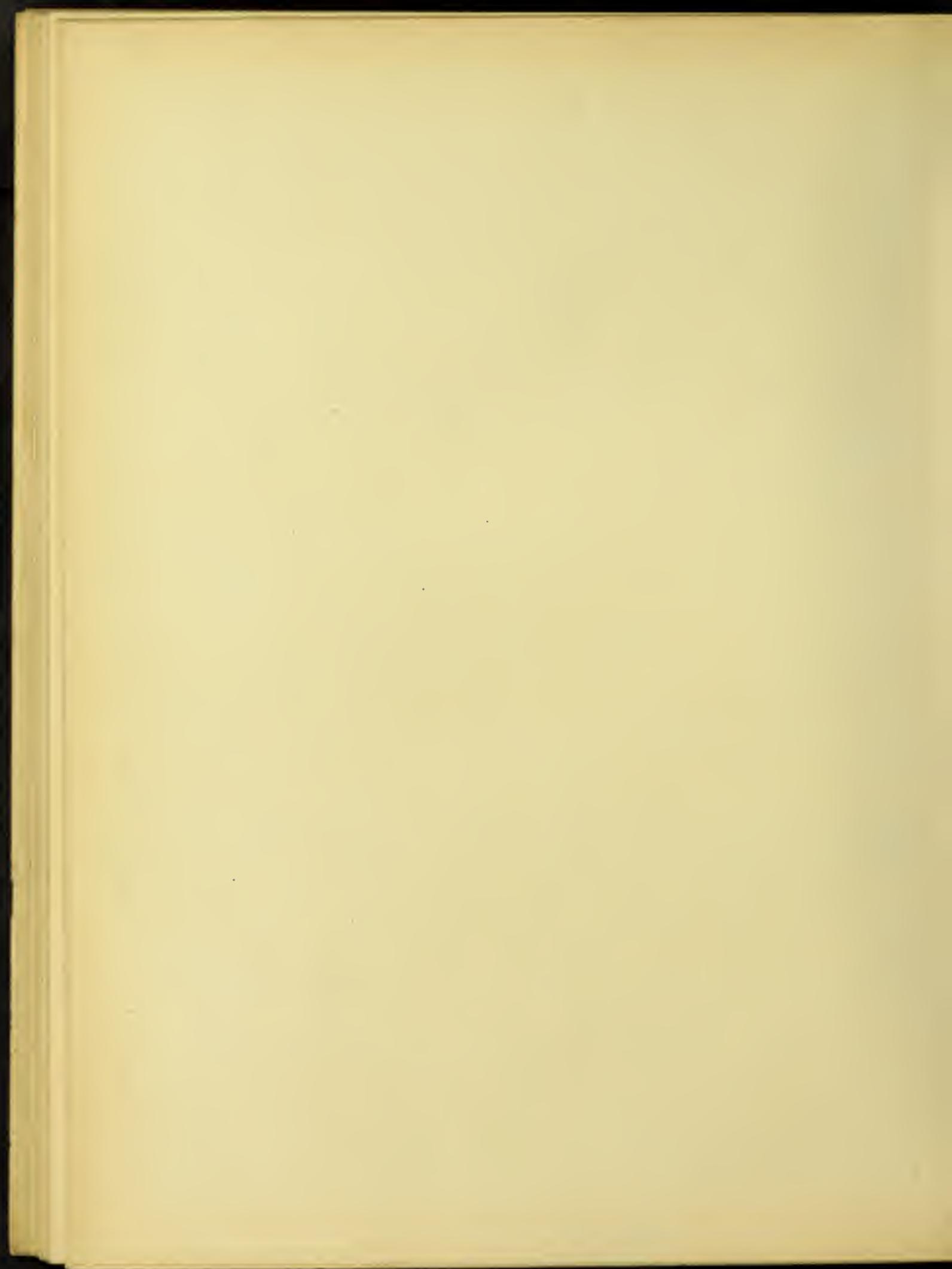
This principle is clearly exemplified in his diction and verse-form. In his first literary production he speaks in the "borrowed accents" of the "metaphysical" school of poetry after the manner of Donne and Crashaw. But in his principal poetic works he spoke so entirely in his own accents that his diction in them is acknowledged to be exceptionally original. In the form of his verse he was at first imitative and painfully laborious. Some of his short poems are counted among the most perfect, as to finish, in all English literature. But his originality as to form appears particularly in his



development of blank-verse. Currey, (1515-1517) was the first, in his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, to use the ten-syllable, unrimed verse, which we now call blank-verse. As he was so well versed in Italian literature, it seems more probable that he adopted it from Roncellai and others, than that he formed it from the five-foot riming measures of his own language. Sackville (1527-1608) introduced it into the drama; Marlow, in his *Tarburline* (1588), made it the proper verse of the drama; and Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Massinger used it splendidly. To poetry proper in England, however, it was given by Milton. He accepted it from his English predecessors as the verse of the drama and first used it as such in "*Corus*" and "*Sanson Agonistes*". Then he reconstructed it into a new verse-form by introducing into its structure numerous innovations derived from the Italian poets of the time, and by employing it so successfully in his poetic masterpiece, he gave it a lasting place in literature. In the Miltonic revival it was used by John Philips in his "*Splendid Shilling*" (1705) and in his "*Cyder*" (1706). Thomson employed it in his "*Seasons*" (1726-1730). Our author Young uses it in his "*Night Thoughts*" (1719-13), and in their former concluding piece, "*Reflections on the Public Situation of the Kingdom*" (1745), and he advocates its use after an unprecedented manner in the "*Conjectures*".

But "labor and intent study" crowned with original results, are characteristic not alone of the outer form, but also as to the contents of Milton's exemplary sacred poetry. This applies both to the minor and to the greater of the poems in question. The former are generally accepted to be more or less industriously wrought after models and laden with studiously acquired material. Of "*Paradise Lost*" Woody says (Milton's Complete Poetical Works, p. 97), "on every page, almost in every line, there is an echo of some earlier singer". In fact about forty works have been adduced as sources of Milton's great poem. Most of them have been successfully proven to bear some similarity to this supposed copy. In many instances, however, this similarity is due either to a general familiarity of Milton with the model in question, or to a coincident parallelism in matter and execution. "What" says Masson (Milton's Poetical Works I, 29) "is to be said of all this? For the most part it is laborious nonsense. That Milton knew most of the books mentioned, and, indeed, a great many more of the same sort, is extremely likely...but that in any of the books, or in all of them together, there is to be found the "origin of *Paradise Lost*", in any intelligible sense of the phrase, is utterly preposterous." For a further discussion of the question as to the extent of Milton's indebtedness for his great sacred poems these and other Milton scholars are to be consulted.

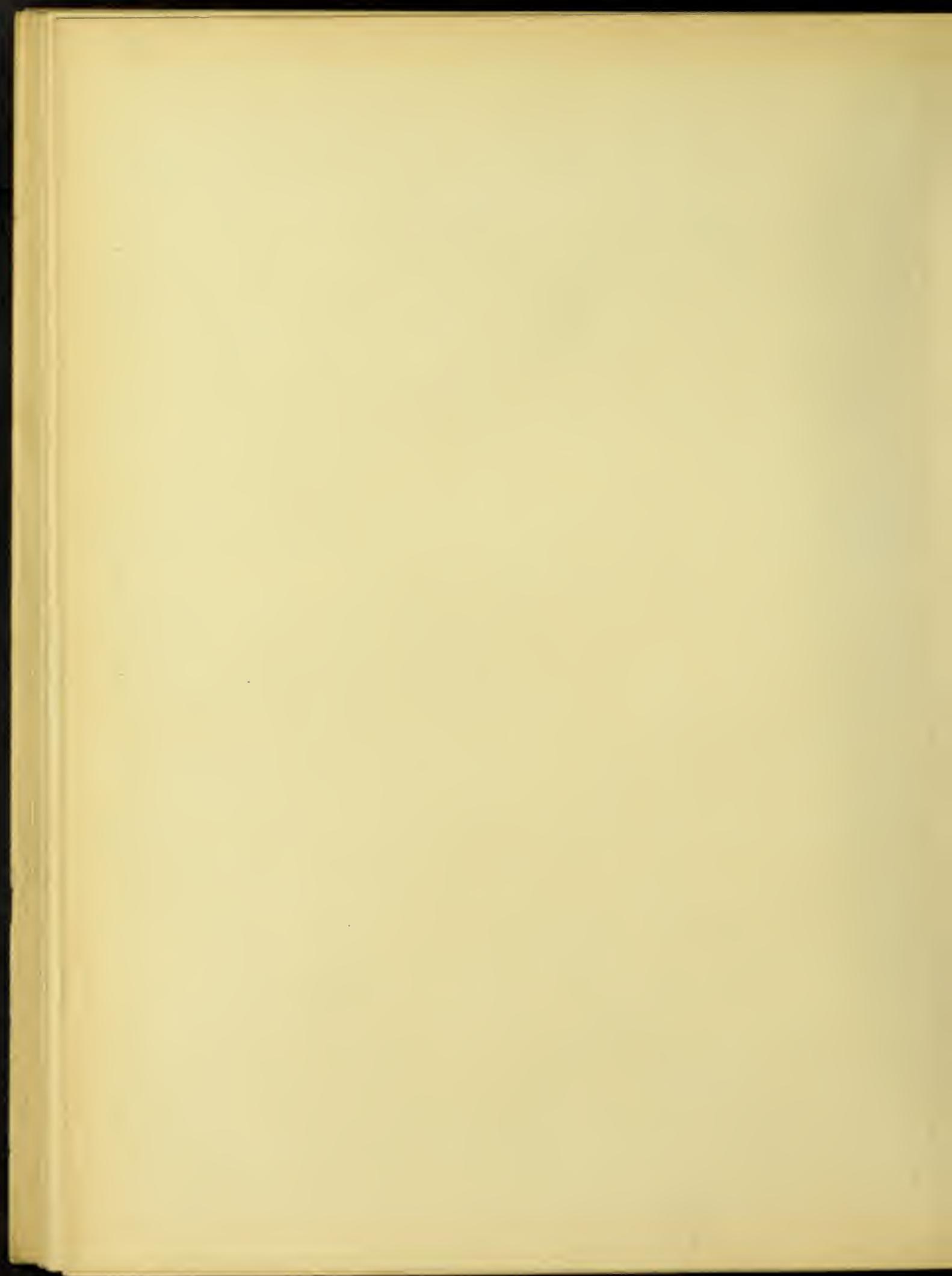
Those qualities, however, that mark Milton's poetry as sacred, and also occur in the works of Young, demand closer attention. So it must be noted what Milton got, by "labor and intent study", from the Bible. Woody says the following about those projects that finally resulted in *Paradise Lost*, (Milton's Complete Poetical Works, p. 91): "Milton undertook, during the comparatively unemployed time between 1633-1642, a systematic course of reading in the Bible, in the chronicle-histories of Holingshed and Speed, and in the older chronicles of Bede, Geoffry of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury, with the design of setting down all the hopeful subjects which occurred to him in perusal. These jottings have been preserved to us among the Milton manuscripts in Trinity College, Cambridge. They consist of ninety-nine subjects, of which two-thirds are from old and new testament Scripture, and the remainder from British history." Also in "*The Reason of Church Government*" (1641), written during this time, Milton reveals how he studied the Bible as model literature. He deliberates



as to that "epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the Book of Job a brief, model". A little farther on he says, "The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as Criton rightly judges; and the Apocalypse of Saint John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a seven-fold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies, ...but those frequent songs throughout the Law and Prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poetry to be incomparable". Thus Milton studied the Bible as literature around 1632-13 when he was making literary projects, and recorded from it the sixty subjects as still extant. At least during the years of work on "Paradise Lost", as we know from several of his contemporaries, his systematic daily activity began by hearing a chapter out of the Hebrew Bible. At this time he was also engaged upon his "Christian Doctrine". Considering how much he applied himself to the Scriptures, it seems as if he must have had them for the most part by memory; and that "Paradise Lost" is essentially but an argumented paraphrase of it, is not to be contested. But it is to be remembered what he says as to literary sources in general, and as to the Scriptures as such in particular, (Eikonoklastes); "Such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not bettered by the borrower, among good authors is accounted plagiary". ... "It is not hard for any man who hath a Bible in his hands to borrow good words and holy sayings in abundance, but to make them his own is a work of grace only from above".

'Grace from above', this idea is noteworthy. Milton speaks of fulfilling his mission as poet by "labor and intent study" accompanied with "grace from above". He considers poetic talents a gift from God and he asserts that the poet must have divine assistance to employ it most successfully. The former view, already expressed in the foregoing quotation, is amplified in the following. Speaking of the poetic endowment of the greatest ancient and modern poets and then declaring the authors of the Bible to be above them all, he says:

"These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some - though most abused - in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to imbued and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind and set the affections in right tune; ...lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thought from within, - all these things with a solid and tractable smoothness to point out and describe: teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue", (Reason of Church Government, p. ). Thus he pronounces poetic abilities a gift from God, and adds, what he also says in a foregoing passage, that they are to be employed to glorify God and to instruct mankind. A little further on he expresses himself as to divine assistance in a poetic undertaking. Speaking of his literary project, which eventually resulted in "Paradise Lost" he says (ibid. p. ) that it is to be a work obtained "by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs". As cited previously, he wants to do to God's glory by the honor and instruction of his country what "those Hebrews of old" did



for theirs. By a careful study of the Bible he strives to learn their literary art, and by devout prayer he seeks to be appointed to their holy office and to be given Divine assistance in his authorship, as they were. And he says that he feels this prayer fulfilled when he says that he feels himself impelled to write by the propensity of nature and an inner prompting, and "as ever in my great Task-master's eye".

So the vocation of a poet means to Milton a life of work and prayer, and this furnishes the right key of explanation to one of the most striking characteristics of his two greatest sacred poems, "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained". In both he invokes the Christian Divinity as his poetic muse. He says in the commencement of the former:

"of man's first disobedience -----  
-----

Sing Heavenly Muse, that, on the secret top,  
of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire  
That Shepherd also first taught the chosen seed  
-----I thence  
Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song.

And chiefly Thou, O Spirit -----  
-----

Instruct me, for Thou know'st."

And in the beginning of the third book he addresses himself again to the Holy Ghost, calling Him the "Holy Light" and then says:

"So much the rather Thou, Celestial Light,  
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers  
Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence  
Purge and dispurse, that I may see and tell  
Of things invisible to mortal sight".

Here we have instances in which the prayers wherewith the author was wont to accompany his work, are inserted as a part of the poem.

We can make quite sure as to the origin and nature of those invocations. They cannot be practical levises. They are completely in accord with the religious principles of Milton as he reveals them elsewhere in his writings, and are a natural expression and application of them. The following brief consideration will suffice to bear this out fully.

Milton believed that the Holy Ghost acted on and through man during the time that the Scriptures were composed. He affirms that the authors of the Bible were divinely taught and inspired:

"As men divinely taught, and better teaching  
-----

Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome. (P. R. IV. 356).

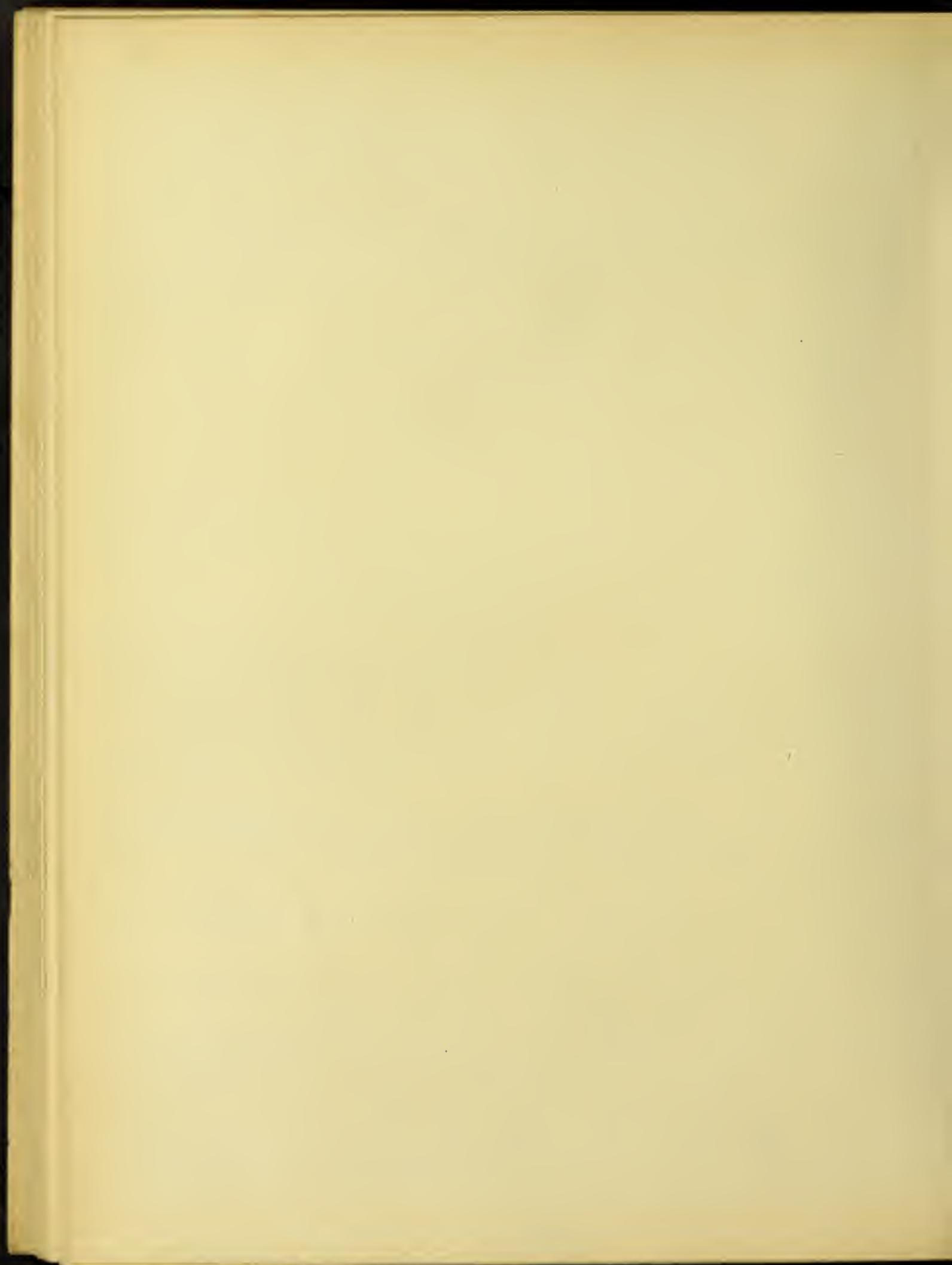
And he speaks repeatedly of their being divinely inspired. The following case is an instance:

"Heavenly Muse, that, on the secret top  
of Oreb or Sinai didst inspire", (P. L. I. 6). And he says of the Scripture, calling them "Zion's songs",

"Such are from God inspired, (P. R. IV. 350).

A little further on (IV. 490) he adds that God "vouchsafed his voice to Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet inspired". From these passages and from numerous others in his various works we learn that Milton subscribed to the doctrine of plenary Biblical inspiration.

Other statements in his writings show that he was ruled by the conviction that enlightenment and inspiration by the Holy Ghost occurred not only in olden times, but in modern times as well. He says that the assistance of the Holy Ghost is both obtainable and indispensable for the interpretation of the Scriptures:



"Those written Records puer, though not but by the Spirit understood," (P. L. XII, 513). "Every believer has a right to interpret the Scriptures for himself, inasmuch as he has the Spirit for his guide. ... Partly by reason of their own simplicity and partly through the Divine illumination, that are plain and perspicuous in all things necessary to salvation, and adapted to the instruction of even the most unlearned, through the medium of diligent and constant reading". ... But he adds that they are not "to be interpreted by the judgment of men, that is, by our own unassisted judgment, - but by means of that Holy Spirit promised to all believers". And he holds that the Holy Spirit not only helped sincere inquirers after truth understand the Scriptures, but that He also aided those who preached the word of God: "For public preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit, working as best seems to his secret will." And he ascribes the same rank and office to the poet as to the preacher. "Poetic abilities," he says, "are the inspired gift of God, .. and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to imbroad and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility: ... to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works and what he suffers to be wrought with high Providence in his church; ... Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, "(Reason of Church Government). And speaking of his plan to write a great poem he says, (ibid. p. ) that the requisite powers are to be obtained only "by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge". Elsewhere he says: "And if any man incline to think I undertake a task too difficult for my years, I trust, through the supreme enlightning assistance, for otherwise". Also in "Paradise Regained" (l. 460) this idea is dealt with:

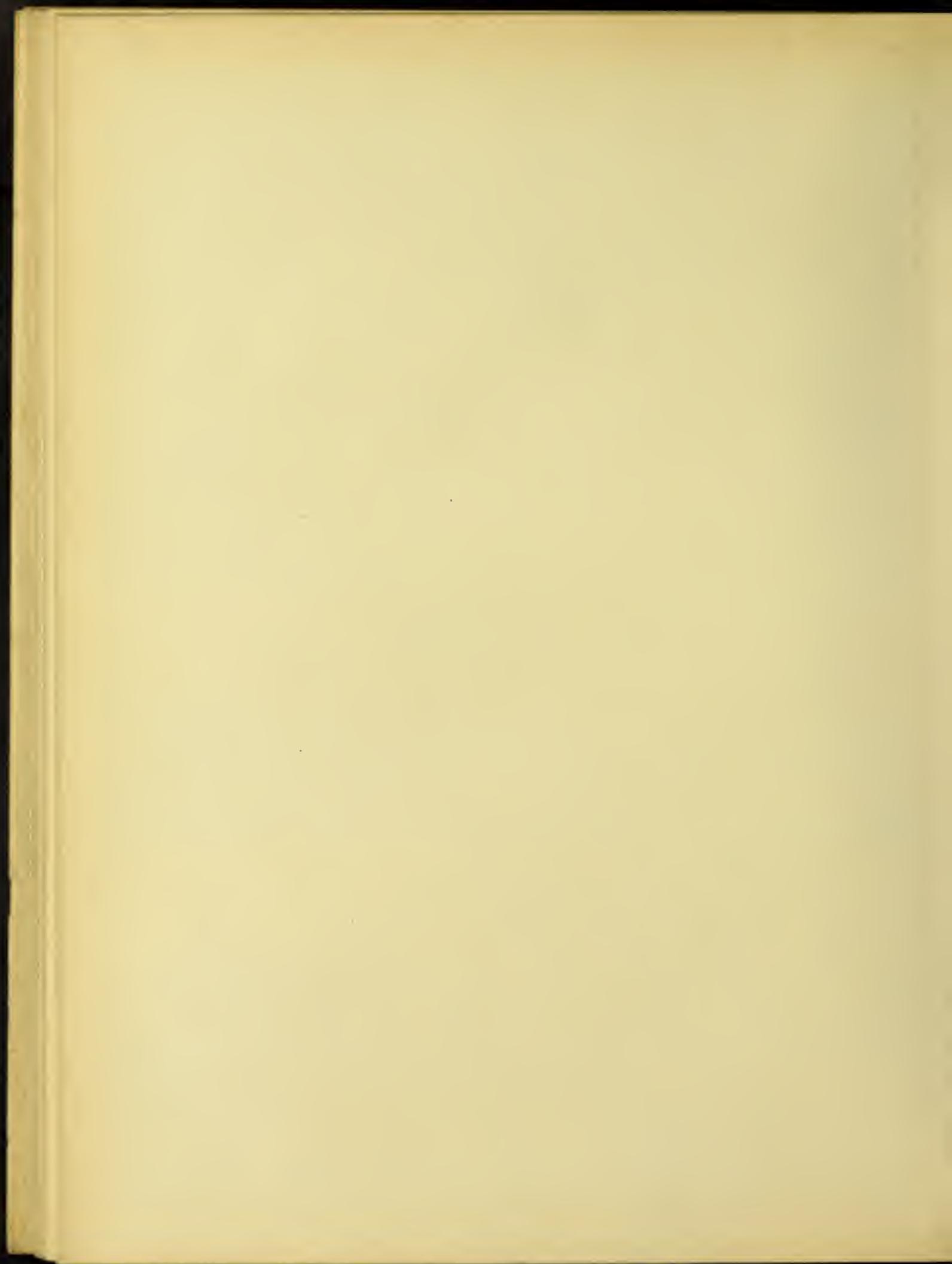
"God hath now sent his living Oracle  
Into the world to teach his final will,  
And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell  
In pious hearts an inward oracle  
To all truth requisite for men to know".

And Milton not only speaks of praying for divine assistance in his poetic labor, but he also discloses his conviction that he was being divinely assisted in them. His widow, says Newton, rejected the insinuation that he borrowed from the ancient authors with the reply that "he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him", and said of this Muse: "It was God's grace and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly". She is here quoting Milton himself. The same idea occurs in Paradise Lost (IX. 20):

"If answerable style I can obtain  
Of my celestial Patronesse, who deigns  
Her nightly visitation unimplored,  
And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires  
Easy my unpremeditated verse."

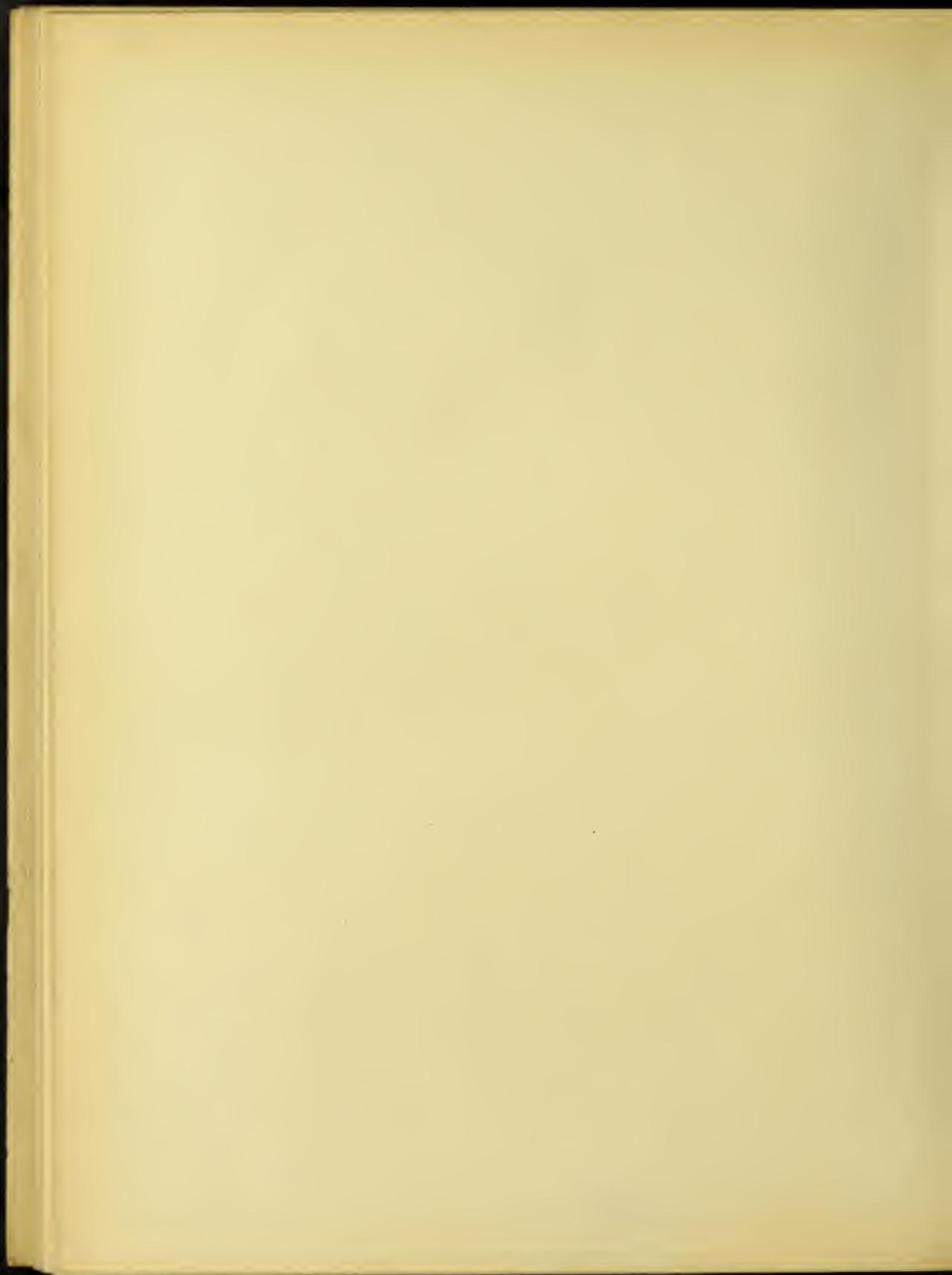
These evidences will suffice to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Milton believed firmly as to "those Hebrews of old" that they were divinely assisted sacred writers, and as to himself, that he could become a sacred writer like them. And they also prove of Milton that he not only at one time hoped by "labor and intent study" supplemented by "devout prayer" to become, like "those Hebrews of old" a divine writer, but also that he afterwards likewise firmly believed that he was divinely enlightened "to see and tell of things invisible to mortal sight" (P.L.III. 55), and that he was a divinely inspired composer of sacred poetry.

The next question must be: Where did Milton get his ideas about enlightenment and inspiration of man by the Holy Ghost? A short inquiry will suffice to show that all statements concerning them have



close parallels in the Scriptures. When he calls the writers of the Scriptures "men divinely taught", he says of them only what the Bible says: The Apostles were mostly common, unlearned fishermen and could not have preached and written as they did without being divinely taught. And we have the words of Christ promising them the aid of the Holy Ghost. (Mark 13, 11): "But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost." The invocation of the Holy Ghost as "Heavenly Muse that on the secret top of Oreb or Sinai didst inspire" is obviously based on the Old Testament. His calling the Scripture "from God inspired" is saying about them what we read 2. Tim. 3, 16: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." The assertions that "every believer has a right to interpret the Scriptures for himself" is in accord with John 5, 39: "Search the Scriptures." Also that one must have "the Spirit for his guide" in his study of Scripture, and that "these written records pure are not but by the Spirit understood" are statements made in the spirit of the Bible. The following passages may be noted: "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you," (St. John XIX. 30). ... "The Father of glory will give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him, the eyes of your understanding being enlightened" (Epl. I. 17-18). That the Spirit aids and speaks in preaching is also said in the Bible. "But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man," (Gal. I. 11)... "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance," (Acts 2, 4). The statement that "poetic abilities are the inspired gift of God" is, in spirit, akin to the following: "David... the sweet psalmist of Israel said, The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue", (2 Sam. 23, 1, 2). When he says that he is going to obtain the powers requisite to write his great poem "by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge", he is again speaking in the spirit and the terms of Scripture: "And they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance," (Acts 2, 4)... "But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding", (Job 32, 8). His reliance on "supreme enlightening assistance" is also in accord with the foregoing passage, and with the prayer of Solomon for wisdom, "Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart", (Kings III, 9) and the Lord's reply: "I have given thee a wise and understanding heart" (ibid. 12).

So closely Milton followed the Bible in forming his literary principles, and planning and executing his religious poems. And his zeal in this and the demand of his times for his sacred poetry, were probably increased by the religious forces which were alive around him. His conception of divine inspiration in particular may have been formed with regard to those religious sects of his age which claimed divine inspiration for themselves and made it a question of the day. Poets and literary critics of his time had to reckon with it. So did notably Dr. Henry More and Casaubon. They developed their doctrine of divine inspiration in opposition to that of these sects and in agreement with that of accredited philosophers and in a more orthodox agreement with that of the Scriptures. Thus they endeavored to avoid the charge of also being religious enthusiasts. In the same manner the Biblical doctrine of inspiration may have come to mean so much to Milton, and for like reason he may have



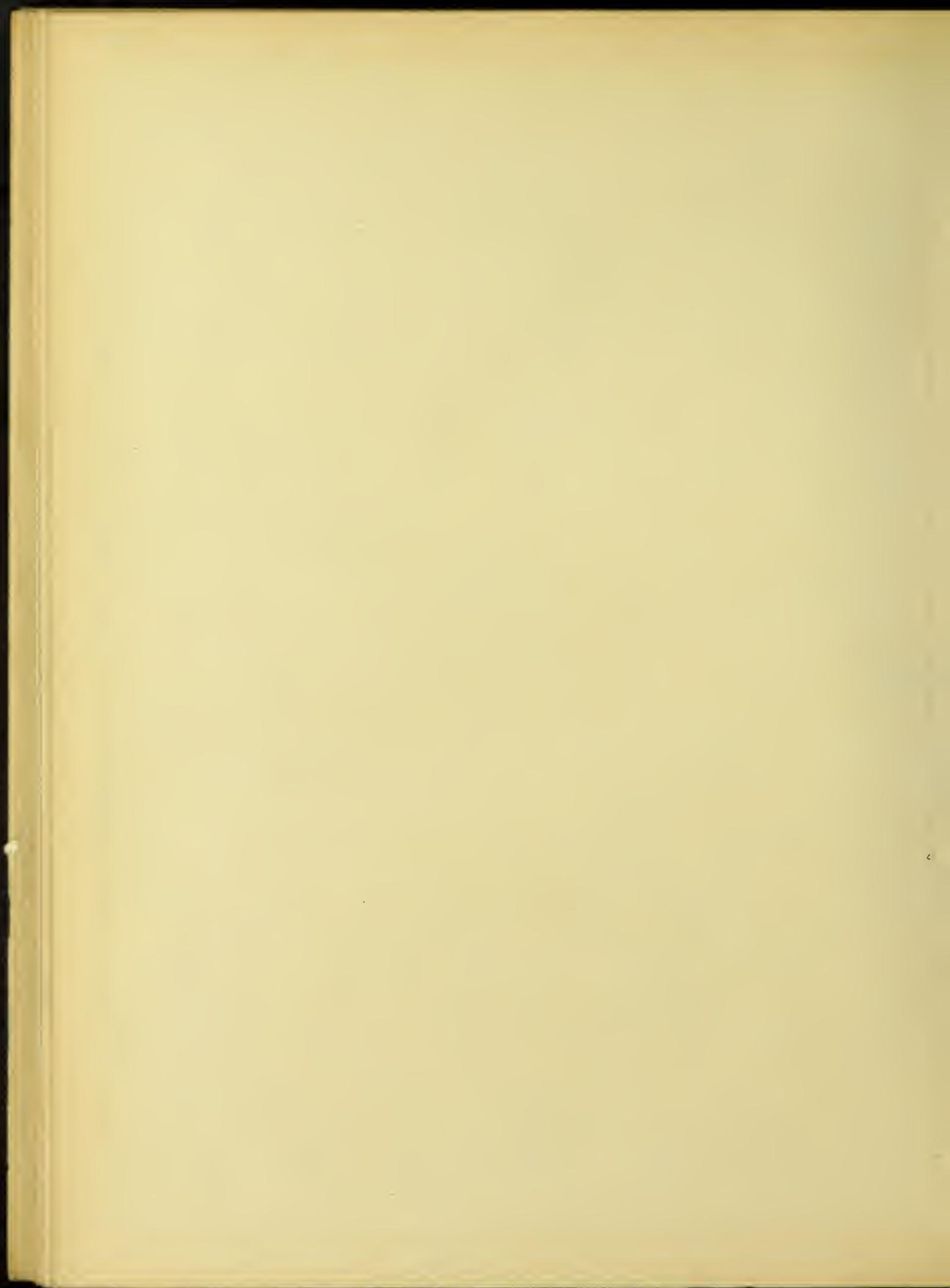
adhered so closely to it. But it is not generally maintained that he developed his doctrine of inspiration as a member of any of the orthodox religious sects of his days. Much to the contrary he speaks in his "Doctrine of Divorce" (I, 11) of those "who follow Anabaptism, Familism, Antinomianism, and other fanatic dreams."

But we must also know the forces that determined Milton's literary career. His close study of the Bible as literature and his imitation and emulation of its composers were not matters of chance. His religious bent of mind is to be ascribed to the religious home from which he came. His father had become an ardent Puritan while student, although consequently even disinherited by his family. The poet's mother was also deeply religious. And these parents imparted to their son the fundamental principles of Christianity and a serious, independent, religious spirit, and brought him up to serve God in the church. When he graduated from Cambridge he was a theologian ready to enter the ministry. So it is not surprising that he adhered to the Scriptures and that he was so well versed in them.

His study of the Bible as literature, however, belongs mainly to a later period. Its beginning was perhaps connected with his first paraphrasing of Psalms, executed while at Cambridge, and probably because assigned by his teachers. And this undertaking may have given rise to his first two religious poems belonging also to this period, the ode "On the Nativity", and "The Passion". His close study of the Bible with regard to its literary qualities and poetic themes, however, was preceded by his six years of solitary reading and study at his father's country home at Horton (1632-38), "ranging over the wide fields of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, French, Italian, and English literatures", and by meeting Grotius in Paris and becoming acquainted with his religious compositions, and probably on that occasion also with those of Vondel, the countryman of Grotius; and it was preceded by his visit to Italy, the land of his beloved Italian masters in religious poetry, and the place where he is said to have seen the Scripture drama "Adamo" of Andreini performed and thereby to have been set to planning his religious masterpiece. It is after his return from the continent that he writes "The Reason of Church Government" (1671), in which he records his observations on the literary characteristics of the Bible, and formulates his principles of sacred poetry. It was at about this time that he jotted down those sixty subjects out of the Bible as suitable for literary treatment. So his religious training at home and his study of theology in college attuned his mind to religious authorship. But his chief encouragement to it came from his study of the religious poetry in the different literatures, and from his consequent ambition to do for his country what other writers of sacred poetry, chiefly the Italian, and "those Hebrews of old", had done for theirs.

In some ways Young resembles Milton strikingly, in others he differs from him radically. A comparison will show that he copied him in certain instances, but that he did not become a thorough disciple of him. As to subject-matter, verse form, and treatment, these authors are very similar, but as to spirit, religious and philosophical principles, and theories of literary composition, they are very different.

As to content, Young's "Last Day" somewhat resembles Milton's ode "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" and its companion-piece "The Passion"; the "Paraphrase on a Part of the Book of Job", resembles Milton's paraphrases of Psalms; and Young's "Night Thoughts" are akin to Milton's "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained". For his "Night Thoughts" the author adopts the blank-verse of "Paradise Lost", and by means of his early imitation of Milton, followed by his



study of the Bible and Longinus, he acquired a method of literary treatment somewhat similar, as to style and flights of imagination, to that of Milton. And in his "Paraphrase on a Part of the Book of Job" Young copies Milton almost literally in his invocations of the Holy Ghost as poetical muse. Similarly, as Milton he assumes the role of a divine prophet, though more reluctantly. Both Young and Milton regarded the Scriptures as divinely inspired, but each in a different way. In some passages they also express themselves similarly as to the preparations that is to precede writing. Milton states (Church Government, Book II, Introd.) that he wrote in ascent to "an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labor and intent study (whic<sup>t</sup> I take to be my portier in this life), joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die". Young speaks similarly of an inward prompting and a strong propensity of nature when he says:

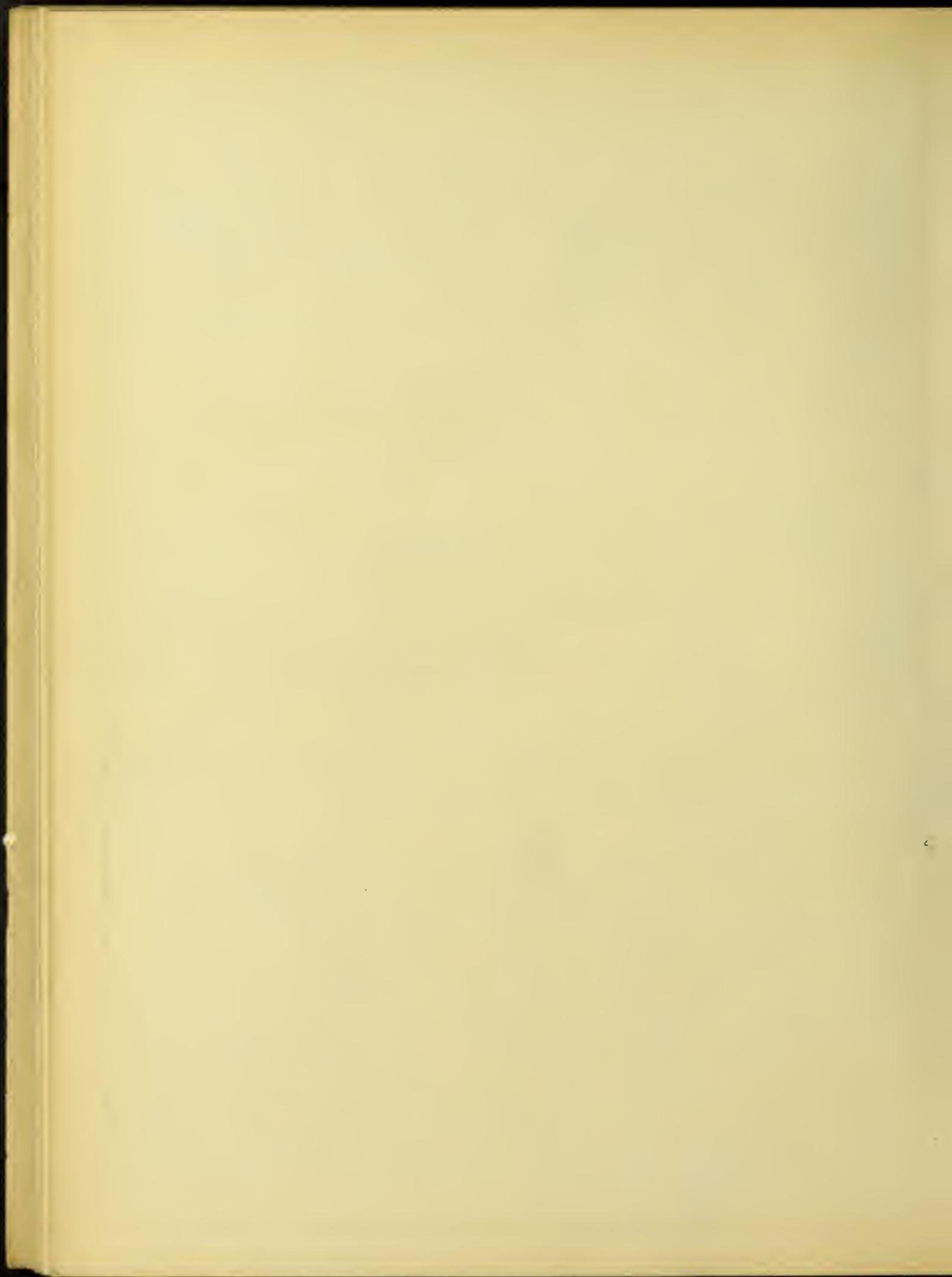
"But grant your judgment equal to the best,  
Sense fills your head, and genius fires your breast;  
Yet still forbear: your wit (consider well)  
'T is great to show, but greater to conceal;  
As it is great to seize the golden prize  
Of place or power, but greater to despise.  
If still you languish for an author's name,  
Think private merit less than public fame,  
And fancy not to write is not to live;  
Deserve, and take, the great prerogative". (Works II. 11).

Young speaks also of intent study as a means of preparation for writing something. He says in his "Epistles to Pope", (Works II. 41): "No writer famed in your own way pass o'er", And both assert later in their lives that their poetry wells up spontaneously out of an unlabored breast. Milton says, (P. L. IV. 32): "If answerable style I can obtain of my celestial Patroness...she inspires Easy my unmediated verse". And Young says:

"I glow, I burn! The numbers pure,  
High-flavor'd, delicate, nature,  
Spontaneous stream from my unlaber'd breast". (Works II, 4).

After noting how Young developed his art and criticism of original composition as writer of sacred poetry, it is to be observed how he cared to write sacred poetry. He was too dependent on the taste, demand, and fashion of his times to strike out in such a new direction only of his own accord.

The first and strongest instigation came no doubt from contemporary critics, from the men who inaugurated the Miltonic revival. As the first and foremost of these Addison is usually discussed, and his notable precursor, John Dennis, is usually disregarded. The significance of the latter as inaugurator of the Romantic movement, particularly of the Miltonic revival, rests mainly on his literary criticism, of which the most important are his "Letters on Milton and Congreve" (1693), "On the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare" (1711), "The Advancement of Reformation of Modern Poetry" (1701), and "The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry" (1701). For this study of Young it is primarily to be noted that Dennis teaches essentially the same concerning Milton and sacred poetry as does Addison in his Spectator essays, and that both say what Young both practices and preaches. All three pursue the same general method in their theory concerning sacred poetry. All assert that religion forms the most useful, the most suitable, and the most sublime content of poetry; they quote from "Paradise Lost" as a great model; and they corroborate this teaching by quoting Longinus as authority.



Young's first Miltonic imitation, "The Last Day" (1711), came in the wake of the two devoted studies and ardent recommendations of Milton by Dennis, "Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry," (1701), and "Grounds of Criticism," (1704); Addison's Spectator papers on Milton (1710); and Toulson's edition of Milton's poetical works, (1711-12). It is very probable that this Miltonic revival directed our author in his choice of a master in the composition of his first religious poem. After this the Miltonic revival became so extensive and forceful that Young's further participation in it is easy to understand. During the fifty years following Toulson's edition, "Paradise Lost" went through 37, and the minor poems through 23, new editions. Also literary criticisms and other imitations of Milton became abundant after Young's "Last Day". So the Miltonic nature of the "Night Thoughts", is not extraordinary.

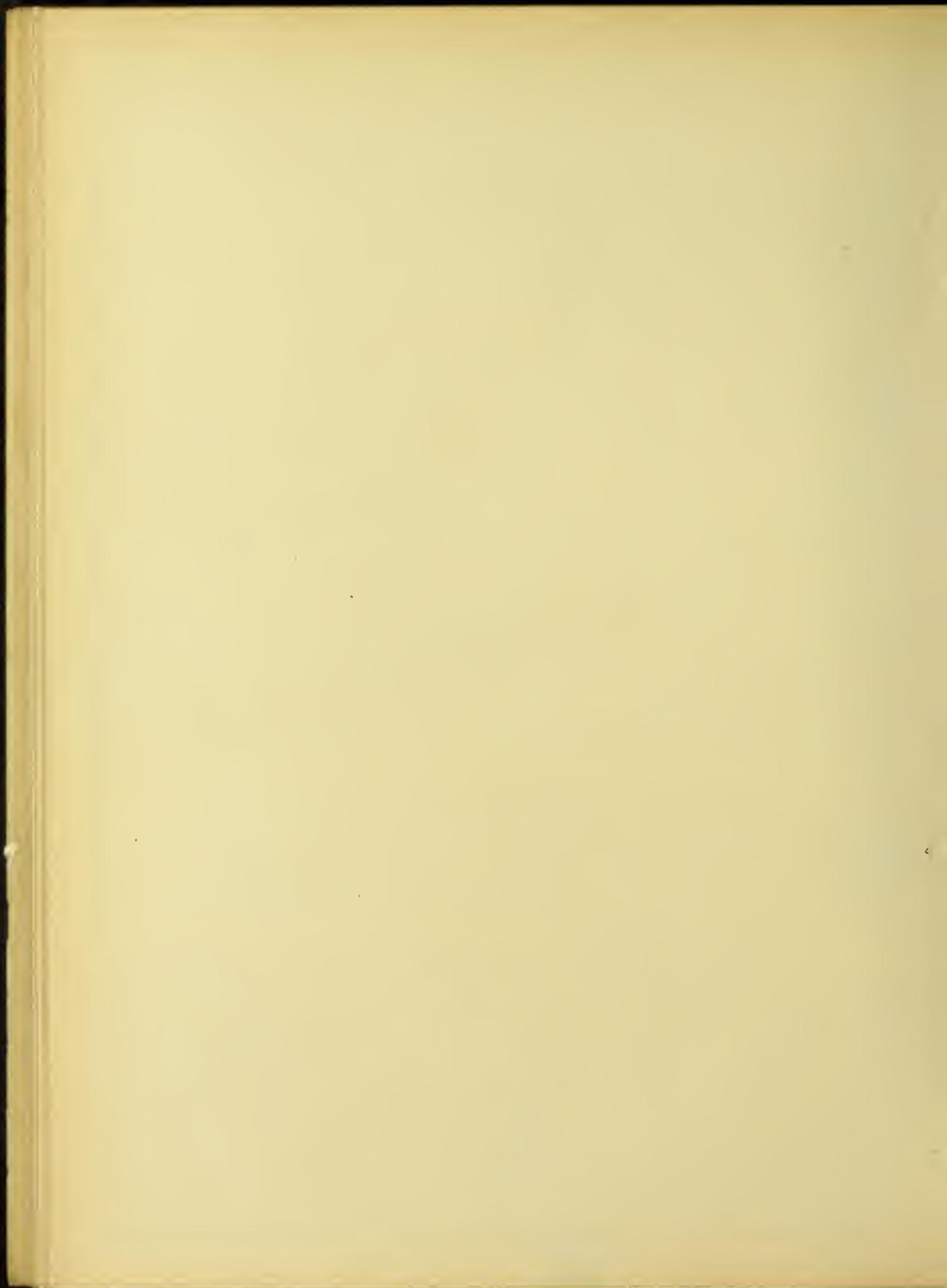
As much as Young resembles Milton in some points, he differs from him as to some fundamental literary, philosophical and theological principles. These men differed already in their outset on the literary career. Both avoided entering the service of the church upon graduation from college, but not in the same spirit and with the same end in view. Milton chose for the first, in preference to holy orders, a long continuation of study as a means to "leave something so written to aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die". But he did this in assent to an "inward prompting" and a "strong propensity of nature" and "as ever in his great Task-master's eye; or in the spirit that he expressed later, saying, "there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory by the honor and instruction of my country." Young deferred entering the service of the Church until his forty-seventh year because "lay advance out, as long as there was any chance of it, had more attractions for him than clerical preferment". And most of his literary productions are self-advertisements and "flattery gone mad" addressed to any prospective Mæcenas.

And these authors differed widely in their views of the nature and activity of a writer. A study and comparison of their theories of poetical composition as expressed in their writings, will reveal two very different conceptions of the poet, and it will show that these are based on no less different philosophical and theological views.

In his poetry Milton speaks as a pious Christian writer. In his incidental literary criticism he judges from the same point of view. He entertains the anthropomorphic conception of God. He sees him as the gloriously enthroned former maker and contrivance ruler of the world. He accepted the Biblical account of the creation unhesitatingly, but took it to mean that man was once divinely created, both as to body and as to soul, and that both are ever afterwards obtained only by hereditary transmission.

Some evidence for this point may be noted: "There seems therefore no reason why the soul of man should be made an exception to the general law of creation, for as has been shown before, God breathed the breath of life into the other living beings, and breathed it so intimately with matter that the propagation and production of the human form were analogous to those of other forms, and the proper effect of that power which had been communicated to matter by the Deity. Man being formed after the image of God, it followed as a necessary consequence that he should be endowed with natural wisdom, holiness, and righteousness". "It would seem therefore that the human soul is not created daily by the immediate act of God, but propagated from father to son in a natural order", (Christian Doctrine).

Faith went to his obedient assent without further speculation and complete conviction. He accepted the orthodox teaching that the



Bible was inspired, both as the thought and word, by the Holy Ghost. As to his own poetical inspiration he believed that a devout prayer receives a favorable hearing and prayed for working ability, and for guidance and suggestions by the Holy Spirit; and he believed that his poetical achievements came in answer to his prayers.

Young, however, was a rationalistic religious philosopher. His conceptions of God and of man differ radically from those of Milton. He says, God is reason, and the human soul, or man's reason, is a particle of energy divine temporarily separated from God and incorporated in man.

"And, O Thou,  
The glorious Third! distinct, not separate!  
Beaming from both, with both incorporate!  
And (Strange to tell) incorporate with dust!  
By condescension, as Thy glory, great,  
Inshrined in man! of human hearts, if pure,  
Divine inhabitant! the tie divine  
Of Human with His at earth! by whom, I trust  
(If not inspired) unconquered this address,  
To Thee, to them - to whom? Mysterious power!  
Revealed, yet unrevealed!" (Works I, 216).

This incorporated "particle of energy divine" is what really constitutes man: "E for a joy from reason! joy from that which makes man man!" (Works I, 103).

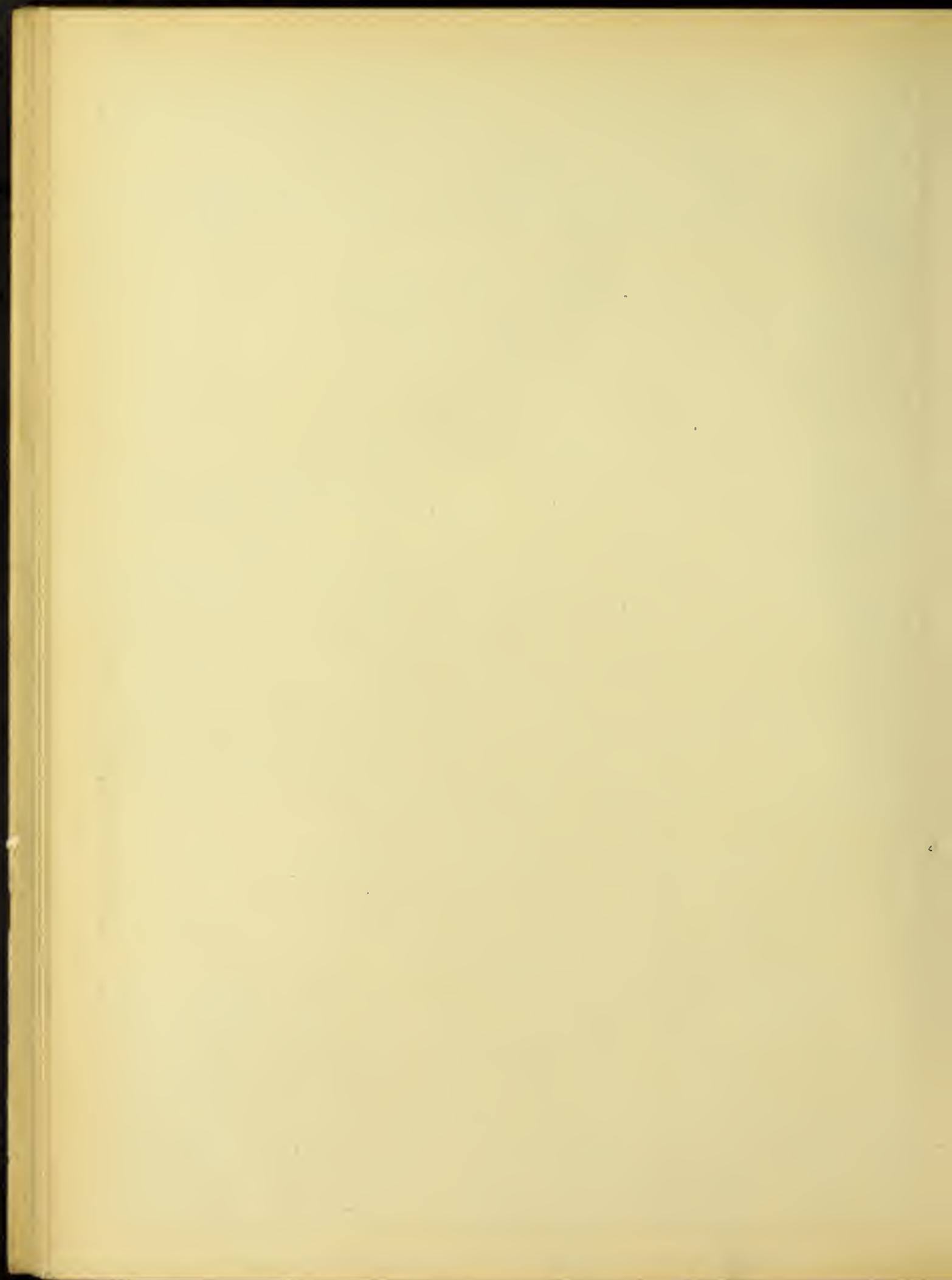
"A Christian is the highest style of man". (Works I, 65).

It must be observed that man's soul, mind, reason and intellect, are characterized alike and termed quite synonymously. We read (Works I, II): "The soul of man...a native of the skies", and (Works I, 102): "A soul which boasts her lineage from celestial fire", and again (Works I, 100): "Who lodge a soul immortal in their breast". But the mind, reason, or intellect, is likewise spoken of. The author speaks of "minds quite conscious of their high descent," (Works I, 100). And of reason he says (I, 108): "All (and justly) reason seem divine", and (I, 221): "Reason, that heaven - lighted lamp in man". Then he defines thus (I, 150): "Reason is upright stature in the soul", and adds (I, 60): "So joys the soul when from inglorious aims set at large she mounts to reason's region, her own element". And he ascribes thinking to both as their principal activity:

"Renounce St. Vermont, and read St. Paul.  
Ere wrapt by miracle, by rind or wing'd,  
His vaulting mind made long abode in heaven.  
This is free thinking, - unconfined to parts, -  
To send the soul, on curious travel bent,  
Through all the provinces of human thought". (Works I, 117).  
"The visible and present are for brutes,  
A slender portion, and a narrow bound!  
There reason, with an energy divine,  
O'erleaps, and claims the future and unseen". (Works I, 120).

The fact is that the soul is defined as a part of the divine soul, and that both are defined as reason. And reason is the most frequent term applied to the "particle of energy divine" in man.

And as reason, or the rational soul, is declared to constitute the fundamental principle of man's being, so, it is also declared to be fundamental principal of man's existence. Reason is pronounced the "sine qua non" of the religious and all other inner life of man. Faith, which is usually conceived of as the opposite of reason, is here based on the latter: "Faith is entirely the result of reason", (II, 100). Virtue is defined similarly: "Virtue is true self interest pursued" (I, 100). "For what is vice? Self-love in a mistake"



(I, 170). "With piety begins all good on earth; 'tis the first-born of rationality", (I, 130). And the means by which the divine essence of man communes with God is thinking.

"Extended views a narrow mind extend;  
Push out its corrugate, expansive make,  
Which ere long, more than planets shall embrace.

-----  
Divine contemplate, and become divine.  
Admit the boundless theatre of thought,  
From nothing up to God; which makes a man".

(Works I, 219).

And by developing his divine individuality or real godhood, man is to become continually more godlike:

"When minds ascend,  
Progress in part depends on themselves,  
Heaven aids exertion; greater makes the great;  
The voluntary little lessons more.  
To be a man, and thou shalt be a god,  
And half self-made!"

(Works I, 232).

And by developing and exercising reason man is to outgrow faith and divine miracles and to arrive at complete knowledge:

"On argument alone by faith is built:  
Reason pursued is faith; and unpersuad,  
Whose proof invites, 't is reason then no more.

-----  
Fond as we are, and justly fond, of faith,  
Reason, we grant, demands our first regard;  
The mother honor'd, as the daughter dear,  
Reason the root, fair faith is but the flower:  
The fading flower shall die, but reason lives  
Immortal as her Father in the skies".

(Works I, 31).

"A mystery explained is a mystery destroyed: for what is a mystery but a thing not known? But things not known may reasonably be believed: in the very strangest things there may be truth, and in things very creditable a lie".

(Works II, 130 C).

Here we have the foundation upon which Young bases his doctrine of poetical composition. And he makes reason not only the main factor in religion, he makes it also the "sine qua non" in authorship.

"Sincerely weigh your learning and your wit;  
Keep down your pride by what is dull, writ:  
No writer faced in your own way pass o'er,  
Much trust example, but reflection more."

(Works II, 11).

"I'll rance the plenteous intellectual field;  
And gather every thought of sovereign power,  
To chase the mortal maladies of man;  
Thoughts which may bear transplanting to the skies,

-----  
Reason, the sun that gives them birth, the same  
In either clime, though illustrious there."

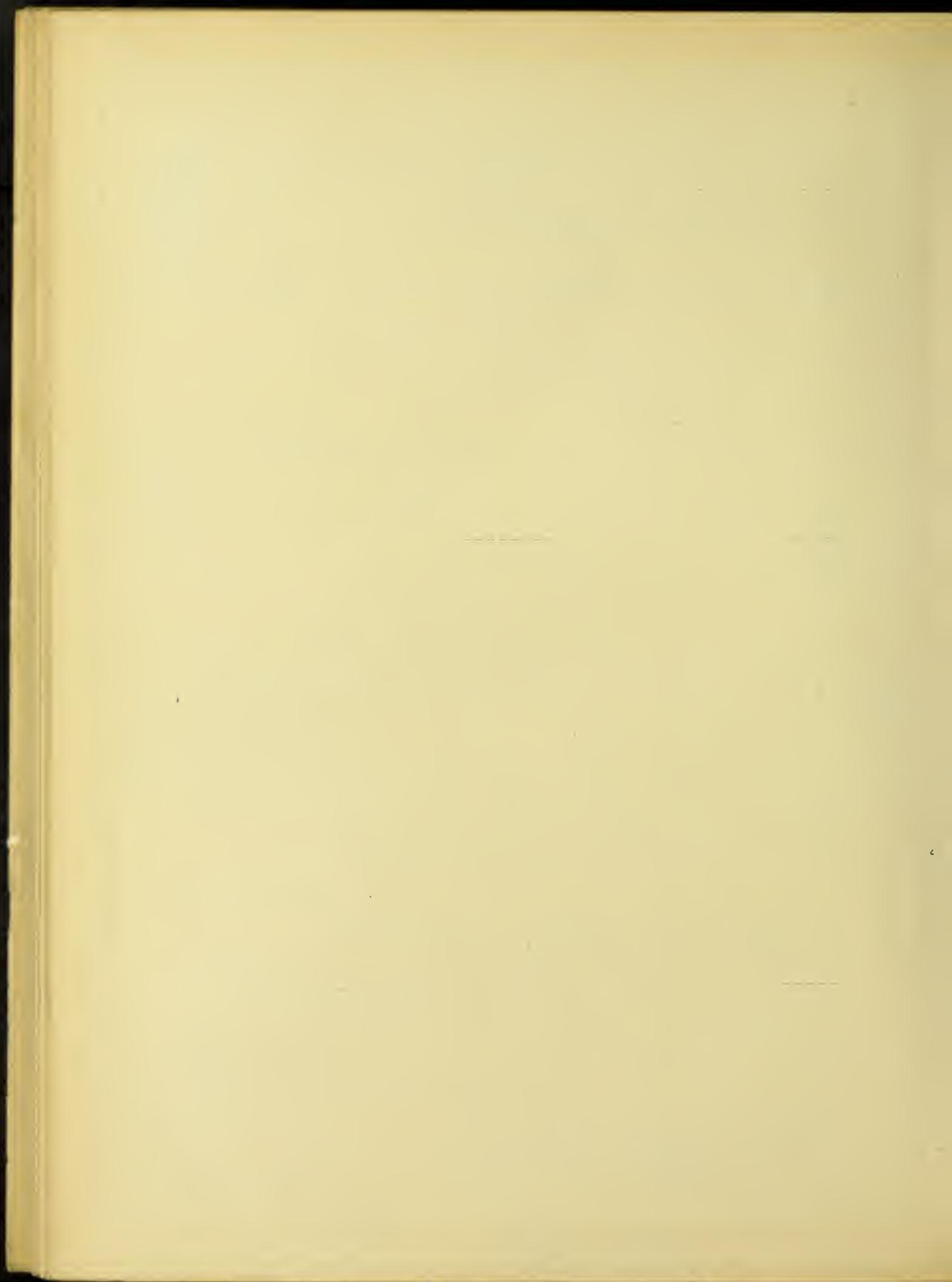
(Works I, 79).

Write, and re-write, blot out, and write again,  
And for its swiftness ne'er applaud your pen.

(Works II, 41).

My lays I file with cautious toil:  
Ye Graces, turn the glowing line;  
On anvils neat your strokes repeat;  
At every stroke the work refines!

(Works I, 412).



And reason acts by means of thinking as the originating faculty in the poet:

"That wealth in souls that soar, dive, range around,  
Disdaining limit or from place or time:  
And hear at once, in thought extensive, hear  
The 'Almighty fist, and the trumpet's sound!  
Bold on Creation's outside wall, and view  
What was, and is, and more than e'er shall be;  
Commanding with omnipotence of thought,  
Creations new in forefath'rs field to rise!"

(Works I, 103).

"Take in, at once, the landscape of the world,  
At a small inlet, which a grain might close,  
And half-create the wondrous world they see.  
Our senses, as our reason are divine.  
But for the magic organ's powerful charm,  
Earth were a rude, uncolor'd clod still".

(Works I, 104).

"Thoughts the birth intellect".

(Works I, 25).

In this thinking process the mind can receive divine guidance. This is what Young means by poetical inspiration, and this is the sort of divine assistance which he invokes:

"O Thou blest Spirit! whether the supreme,  
Great antemundane Father! -----

Or from his throne some delegated Power,  
Who, studious of our power, dost turn the thought  
From vain and vile to solid and sublime!  
Unseen Thou lead'st us to delicious draughts  
Of inspiration, from a purer stream,  
And fuller of the God, than that which hurst  
From famed Castalia".

(Works I, 29).

"O lead my mind,  
(A mind that fair would wander from its see,)  
Lead it through various scenes of life and death;  
And from each scene the noblest truths inspire.  
Nor less inspire by conduct than by song:  
Teach my best reason, reason: my best will  
Teach rectitude; and fix my firm resolve  
Wisdom to wed, and pay her long arrears".

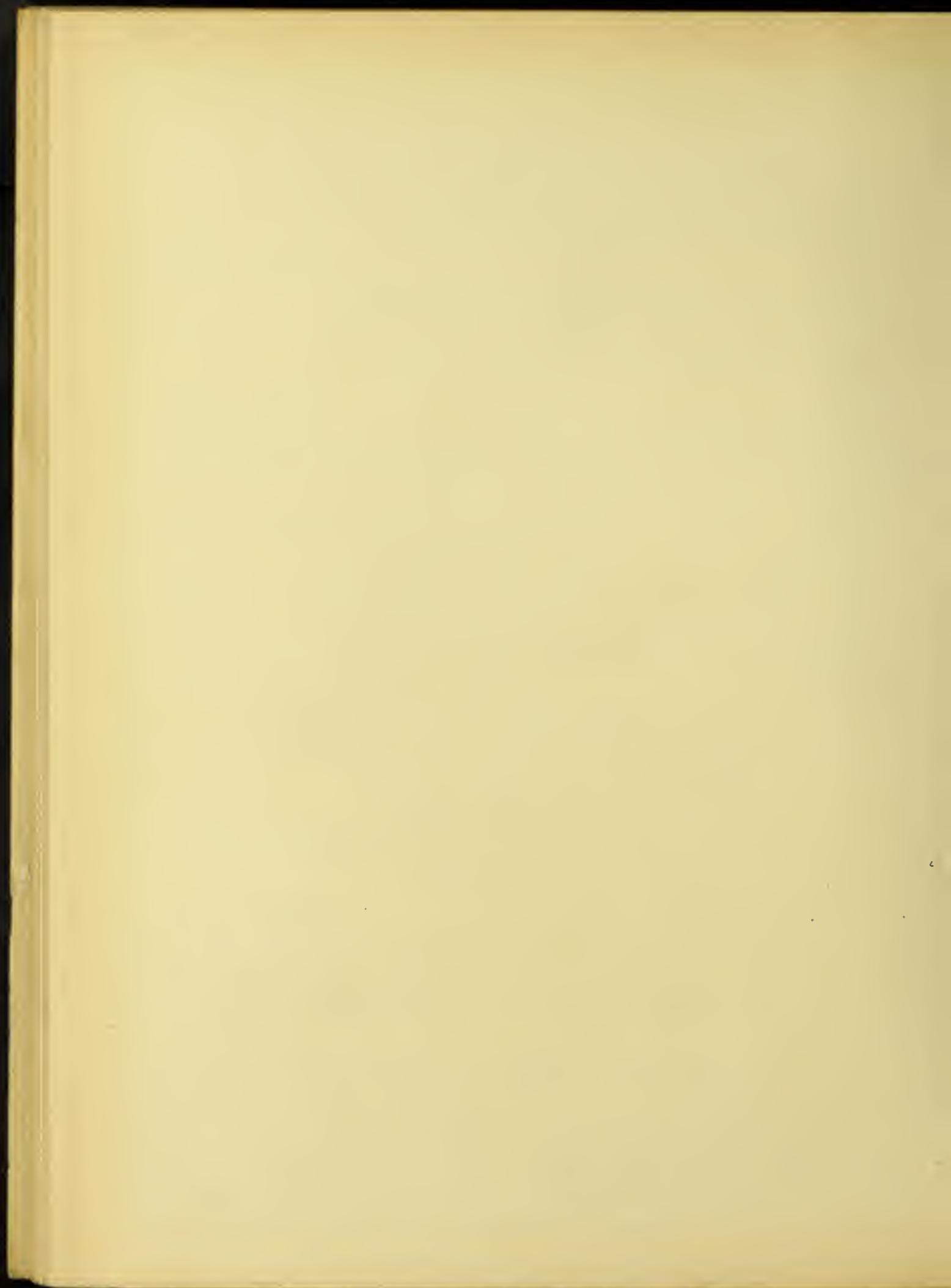
(Works I, 1).

"Thought borrows light elsewhere; from that First Fire,  
Fountain of animation, whence Isaacus  
Urania, my celestial guest! who deigns  
Nightly to visit me, sorceries;"

(Works I, 73).

This conception of poetical inspiration is very different from that of the Greeks and Romans, who believed that a divine voice spoke through the poet, and that the latter was only its spokesman and recorder. It is to be noticed, though, that the phrase, "my celestial guest, who deigns nightly to visit me" does not agree with the foregoing, if taken literally, and that it seems to be taken [almost literally] from Milton.

Just how Young acquired this rationalistic religious philosophy which forms the basis of his doctrine of original composition, is a problem which still lacks a complete solution. His first expression of this philosophy is found in his "Hymns to Hope" (1729). This is little more than a psychological discussion of composition studied from a secular point of view. The further and most complete expression of this philosophy is found in the "Night Thoughts" (1719-1727). Here we have a comprehensive and careful exposition and application of it.



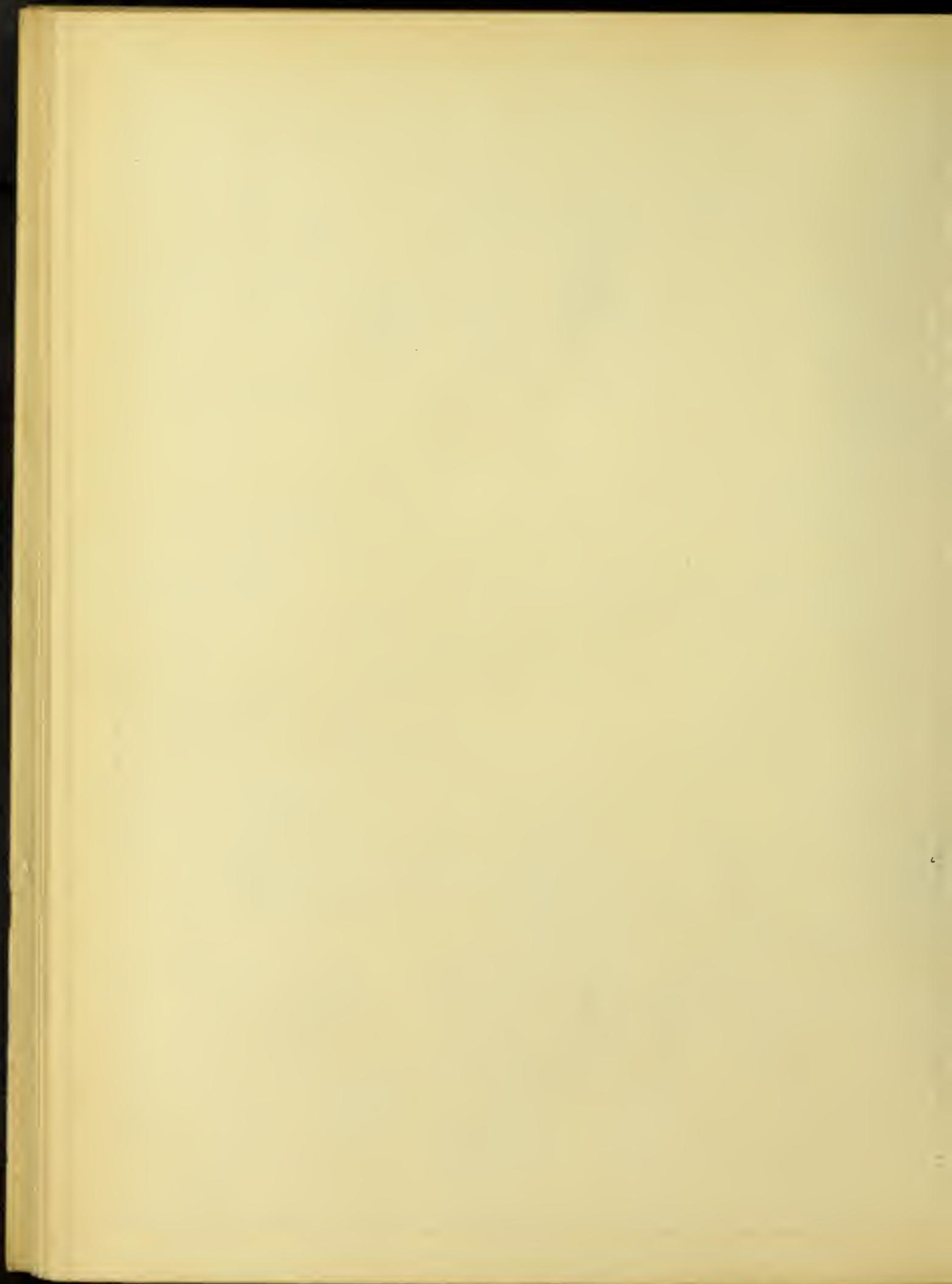
Since the neo-classicists were, above all, religious rationalists, and because Young began to advocate this philosophy while still one of them, it is not to be doubted that he was to some extent their disciple in it. That we have in the "Night Thoughts" is, however, something very different, for example, from the laics of Pope. Perhaps the following passage in the "Conjectures" is a clue to the prime origin of Young's doctrine of reason: "This puts us in mind of Plato, etc." There is so far no certain evidence farthering that Young studied this author; but his religious rationalism as set forth in his writings, particularly in the "Night Thoughts", is obviously neo-platonic. The reader needs only to recall the principles of neo-platonism and then to examine the following passages according to them to see their correspondence. In the following we have the neo-platonic doctrine that the soul, or reason, which the Greeks called  $\lambda \acute{o}γος$ , comes from above as a part of the whole, that it dwells for a while on earth, as a stranger, interstitial, or imprisoned in man, with a continuous longing to return home to its heavenly abode, and that it returns by being reabsorbed by the divine whole upon the death of the body.

"He, the great Father, kindled at one flame  
The world of rationale; one spirit pour'd  
From Spirit's awful fountain; pour'd Himself  
Through all their souls; but not in equal stream:  
As His wise plan demand'd; and, when part  
Their various trails in their various spheres,  
If they continue rational, as made,  
resorbs them all into Himself again. (Works I, 39).  
Angels are men of a superior kind:

-----  
And man are angels loaded for an hour,  
Who wade this fiery vale, and climb with pain  
And slippery step, the bottom of the steep. (Works I, 57).  
-----

The soul of man....a native of the skies,  
-----  
The 'illustrious stranger in this foreign land,  
-----  
studious of home, and ardent to return. (Works I, 77).  
-----

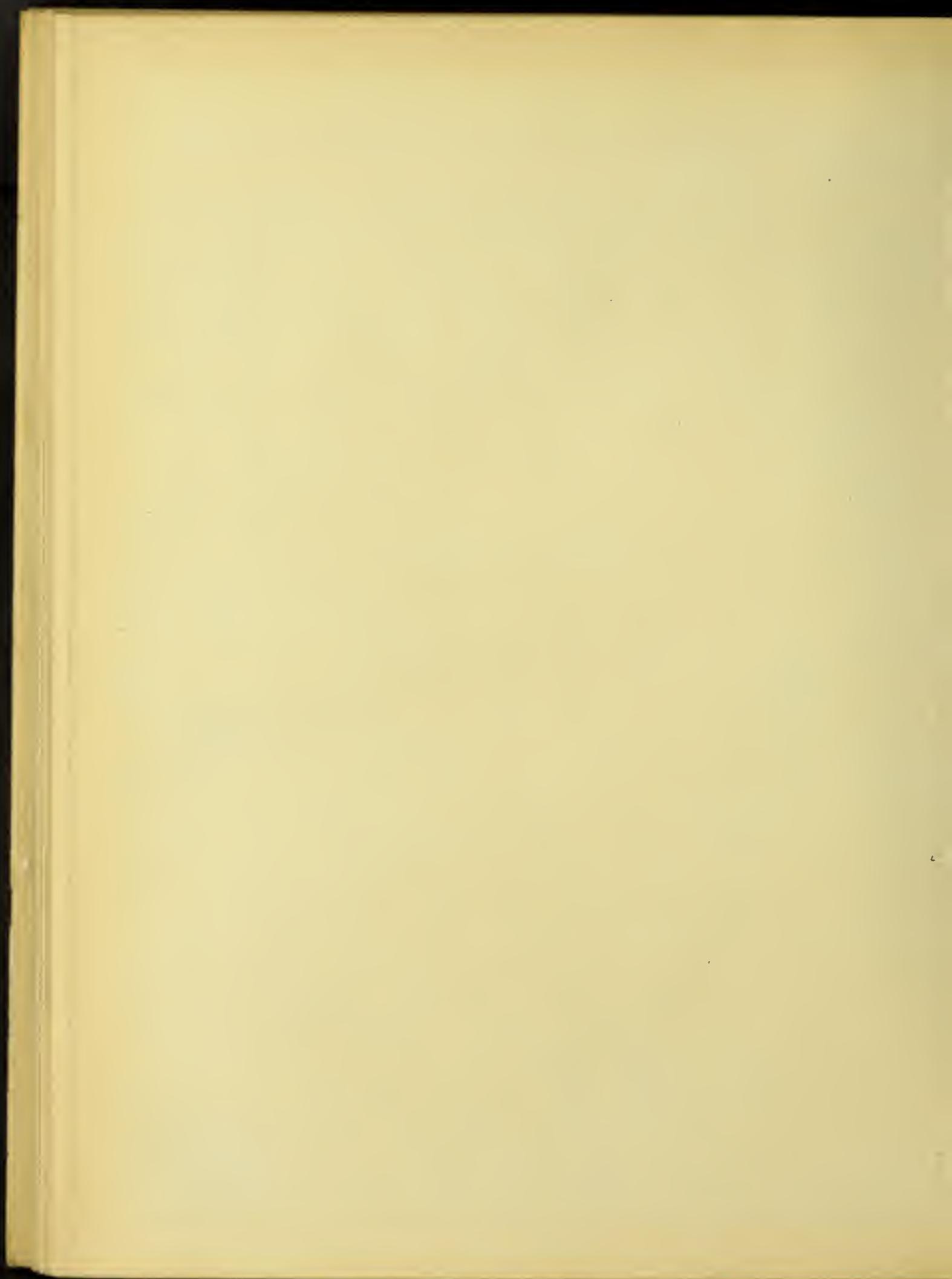
These are the principle ideas of Young concerning God, man, life and literary composition, and they constitute the fundamental principles which underlie his life and his writings. Without regard for them we cannot understand the actual nature of the author and the original meaning of his literary criticism. So the results here obtained are to be applied as means in the following explanation of the "Conjectures."



## Observations Concerning the Origin and Meaning of the "Conjectures"

The "Conjectures" are extremely rhetorical, in many instances vague, and in some instances even inconsistent. Consequently each reader construes their meaning according to his point of view and his preconceived ideas about the points in question. He interprets, moreover, according to his use of the words and expressions employed by the author, or according to his knowledge of the specific sense in which the language of the essay is used. Very different interpretations are the result. But at present the question is not what these were and what effect they took in different periods of time. The problem at present is, what meaning did the author intend to convey in the "Conjectures"; or, what is their original meaning? This is to be discovered by interpreting the author by the author. So this chapter attempts to ascertain the sense in which the author used the words and statements in the "Conjectures" by comparing their use in this composition with their use found in the other writings of the author. A further problem here to be dealt with is, how and where were the "Conjectures" composed? The question whether Young's "Conjectures on Original Composition" are themselves an original composition, have also not yet been completely answered. So it remains here also to be shown whether they are the immediate product of a creative genius, or whether they are a labored structure compiled out of pre-existent materials. And in addition to ascertaining their original meaning and explaining the procedure in their composition, this chapter undertakes to determine just what occasioned the production of the "Conjectures", and just when they were written.

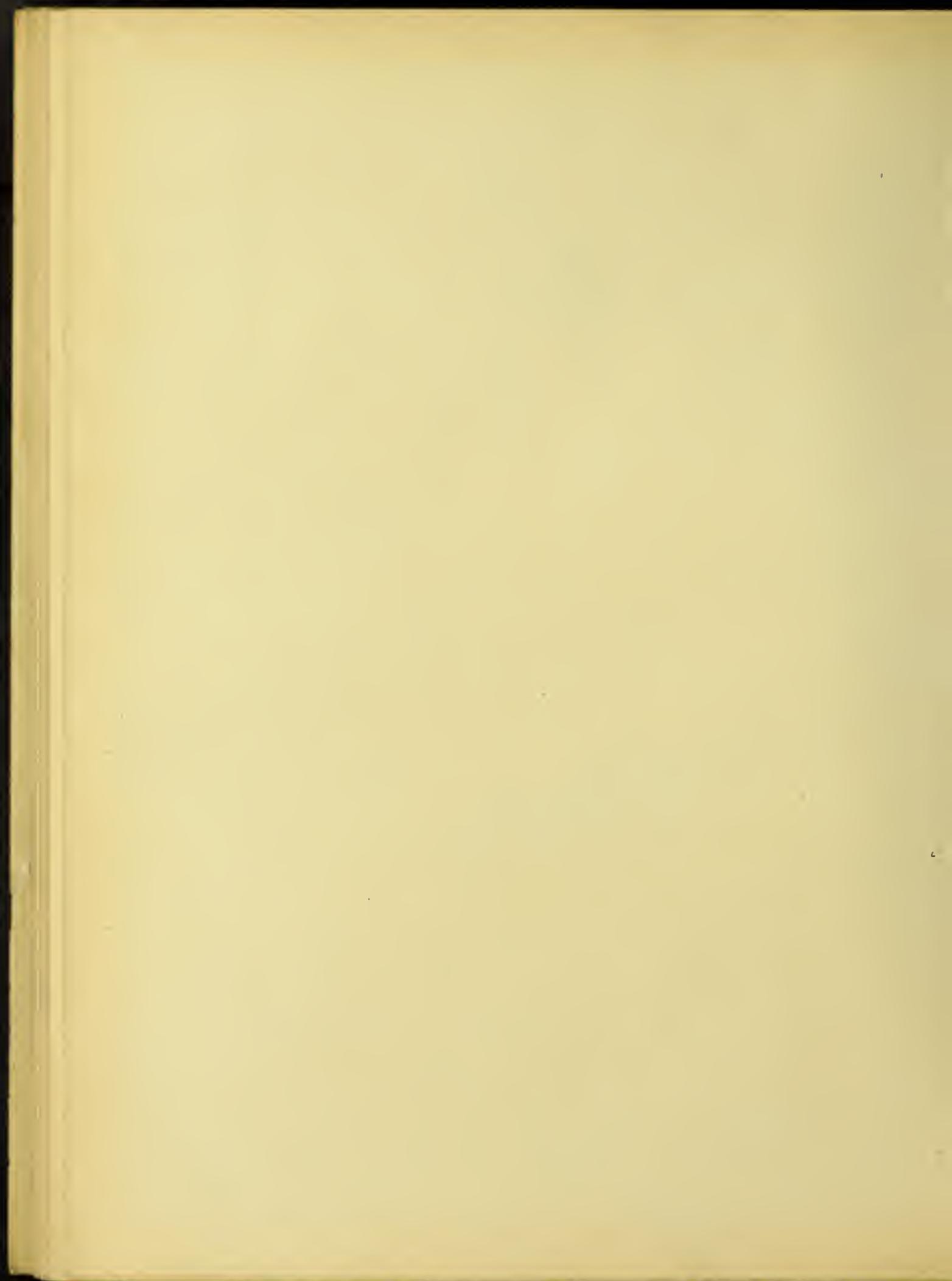
The "Conjectures" were published for the first time in the year 1759. In this year two editions appeared. The first was supposed to have been printed in the month of May. An announcement containing long extracts from it appeared in the May number of the Gentleman's Magazine and, in the same form, in the May number of Scot's Magazine. But this announcement may have preceded the printing of the "Conjectures"; the manuscript of the latter may have been used in writing it. According to a letter from the publisher, Richardson, to the author, dated May 29, they were not yet off the press on this date. Richardson writes: "I have written urgently to Mr. Johnson: but it would be a pity to baulk the sale. Mr. Millar has ordered one thousand to be printed". And further on in this same letter of May 29 he asks Young to alter the "Conjectures." He writes: "Let me ask (however great and noble what you say of Mr. Addison's death is) whether it may not bear shortening? Will it not be thought labored?" Richardson, being the printer, would not have asked to have the "Conjectures" altered if they had already been in type at this time. Considering, furthermore, that it says on the title page of the first edition: "Printed for A. Millar, etc." and that he announces in this same letter that "Mr. Millar has ordered one thousand to be printed" leaves no doubt that this request to alter the "Conjectures" was made before the first edition was printed. From this it becomes clear that they were not printed and sold before, or on, May 29. Richardson says also the following in this letter: "...three good judges of my acquaintance... wish, as I presumed formerly myself to propose, that the subject had been kept more separate and distinct. They think the next to divine vehemence (so one of them expressed himself) with which original writing is recommended, suffers some cooling abatement, which it



would not have done had the solem subject been left to the last, when the critic, the scholar, the classic, might properly have given place to the Christian divine." By this passage we are informed that the discussion of Addison's death did not stand last in the "Conjectures" at this time; in the first printed edition, however, it does. Hence it follows that the "Conjectures" were altered after May 29, and before the first edition was printed. And since this alteration must have required several days time, the printer being in London and the author in Welwyn, twenty-five miles away, and their fastest way of traveling being with horses, it may furthermore reasonably be concluded that they were printed after the end of May. There is, on the other hand, neither evidence nor probability that they were printed much later. Thus all evidence so far available says, they were printed for the first time in the month of June of the year 1750.

It is also still a question just when the "Conjectures" were written. Professor Brandl takes as key to the situation this passage in Richardson's letter to Young of May 28, 1759; "I have written urgently to Mr. Johnson: but it would be pity to baulk the sale." He regards this passage as evidence that a table of contents, a proof for correction, or such like, had been sent to Dr. Johnson, and that the latter had failed to reply. And in answer to the question how Young came to have any business of this nature that had to be so urgently transacted with Dr. Johnson, Professor Brandl replies that it must have been on account of Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas", which was published in the beginning of April. The tenth chapter of the novel speaks of the true poet and of originality versus imitation, and this, he thinks, called forth the "Conjectures". So he concludes that they were composed during the few weeks between the beginning of April and the end of May. The following passage, however, taken from a letter by Richardson to Mrs Delany, written September 11, 1758, proves that they were either already written, or at least planned, nine months before the publication and seven months before the appearance of Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas": "Dr. Young...if I guess right, will one day oblige the world with a small piece on Original Writing and Writers", (Richardson, Corr. IV. 118). And according to the following footnote by Dr. Kind in his book "Edward Young in Germany", p. 2, the "Conjectures" were composed about three years before their publication: "The Conjectures were written in 1750, and the manuscript had been read by Young's most intimate friends before its publication in 1753".

A further and harder problem is the question, what induced Young to write his discourse on original composition at a certain period so late in life, and what caused him to publish it when he did several years after writing it. That it did not result alone from an internal creative impulse will become obvious further on, where it will be shown that the essay consists only of material that had existed previously, partly in his own writings, and partly in other writings, and partly as topics of the day among his literary associates. So the question is, what induced him just at this time to construct the "Conjectures" out of this pre-existent material. In the introduction he implies that his composition was occasioned by a friend of his. There he says to Richardson: "You remember that your worthy patron and our common friend put some questions on the serious drama at the same time when he desired our sentiments on original composition. Though I despair of breaking through the frozen obstructions of age, and care's incumbent cloud, into that flow of thought and brightness of expression which subjects so polite require, yet will I hazard some conjectures on them". There is no reason to doubt that the "Conjectures" were thus occasioned. Although most of their contents had been in the mind of the author at an earlier period, and



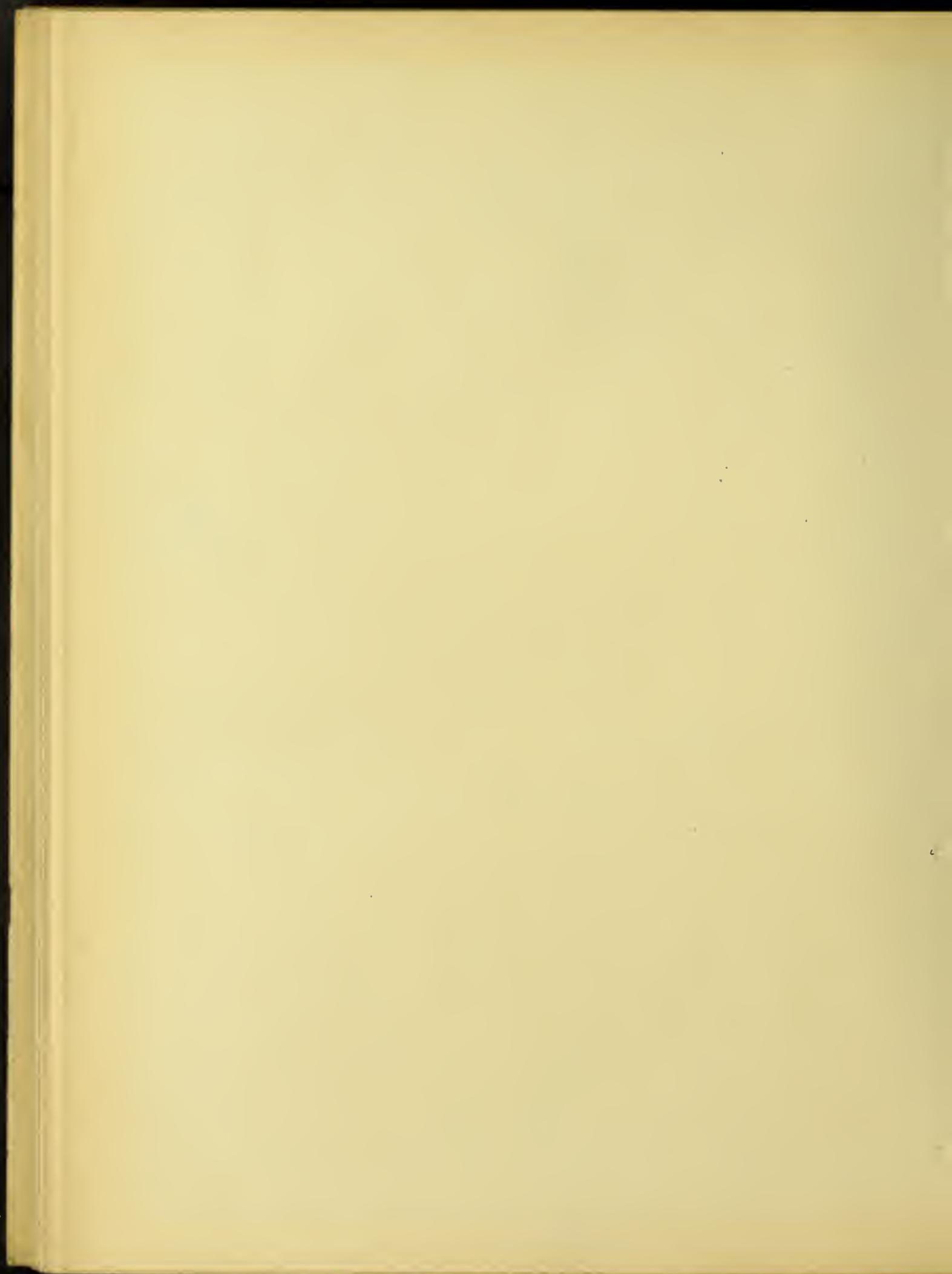
had been already been given to the public in his earlier works, its restatement in the form of the "Conjectures" may nevertheless have been brought about by the worthy patron of Richardson, and com. friend of him and our author. But who was the person here referred to? It must have been some one of the literary circle that frequented Richardson's house and had Young among its members. Professor Brandl asserts that it was Colley Cibber (Shakespeare Jahrbuch XXIX, p. 1, 12), and bases this argument on the suppositions that the following passage in a letter by Young to Richardson of March 14, 1754 (Richardson Corr. II, 32) refers to this Cibber and to a certain discussion with him of the stage and of composition, and that the passage just quoted from the "Conjectures" refers to the same man and the same discussion.

Young's letter says: "Pray ask Mr. Cibber from me where now are the fine gentlemen of the stage!" But it is open to discussion whether this refers to Colley Cibber (1671-1751), or to his son Theophilus Cibber (1703-1758), and whether both passages refer to the same man.

The following evidence as to this is to be gathered from historical matter. Doran says, (Young's Works I, p. 7 XVIII), quoting Mrs. Montagu, that Young and Colley Cibber associated on account of their common interest in the drama and the stage: "In 1715 the Wells were frequented by a motley crowd of English, Irish and Scotch: ... fine ladies, poets and players. As representatives of the latter were Mrs. E. Montagu, Dr. Young, and Colley Cibber. ... He (Young) has made a friendship with one person here, whom I believe you would not imagine to have been made for his bosom friend. ... You would not guess that this associate of the doctor's was - old Cibber! Certainly, in their religious, moral and civil character, there is no relation; but in their dramatic capacity there is some". And a letter from Colley Cibber to Richardson dated Nov. 19, 1753, (Richardson Corr. II, 177), shows that these two were on friendly terms and in touch with each other at this time.

With the facts at hand that Young discoursed with Colley Cibber about dramatics in the year 1715, and that the latter corresponded with Richardson as late as Nov. 19, 1753, it becomes very probable that Young meant Colley Cibber when he wrote Richardson on March 14, 1754: "Pray ask Mr. Cibber from me where now are the fine gentlemen of the stage!" And it seems, furthermore, quite probable that this passage and that in the "Conjectures" both refer to the same discussion of the stage, the drama, and literary composition. This may have occurred at Turnbridge in 1715, or in the year 1752, when Colley Cibber finished and published his "Analogy", or in 1751, just before Young wrote the letter to Richardson in which he refers to Mr. Cibber.

Since there is no conclusive evidence that Colley Cibber was the man in question, it is reasonable to inquire if it was not his son Theophilus Cibber. The latter must have been personally acquainted with Young, and they had interests in common, on account of which they may have communicated. Theophilus Cibber was a successful actor, playwright, and author, of London. Between 1715 and his sudden death by drowning in 1758 he acted for years at Covent Garden, then for some time at the Haymarket, and again at Covent Garden. In 1752 he published "The Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and Ireland", and his "Lives of the Poets", and in 1753 he published his "Dissertations on Theatrical Subjects as they have several times been delivered to the Public". So these works all appeared shortly before the "Conjectures" were written, and they treat of the serious drama and of original and moral composition, and frequently in nearly the same wording, as the "Conjectures". As to the "serious drama" he says, for example, "The Holy Scripture furnishes us with no argument against plays; on the contrary, we find



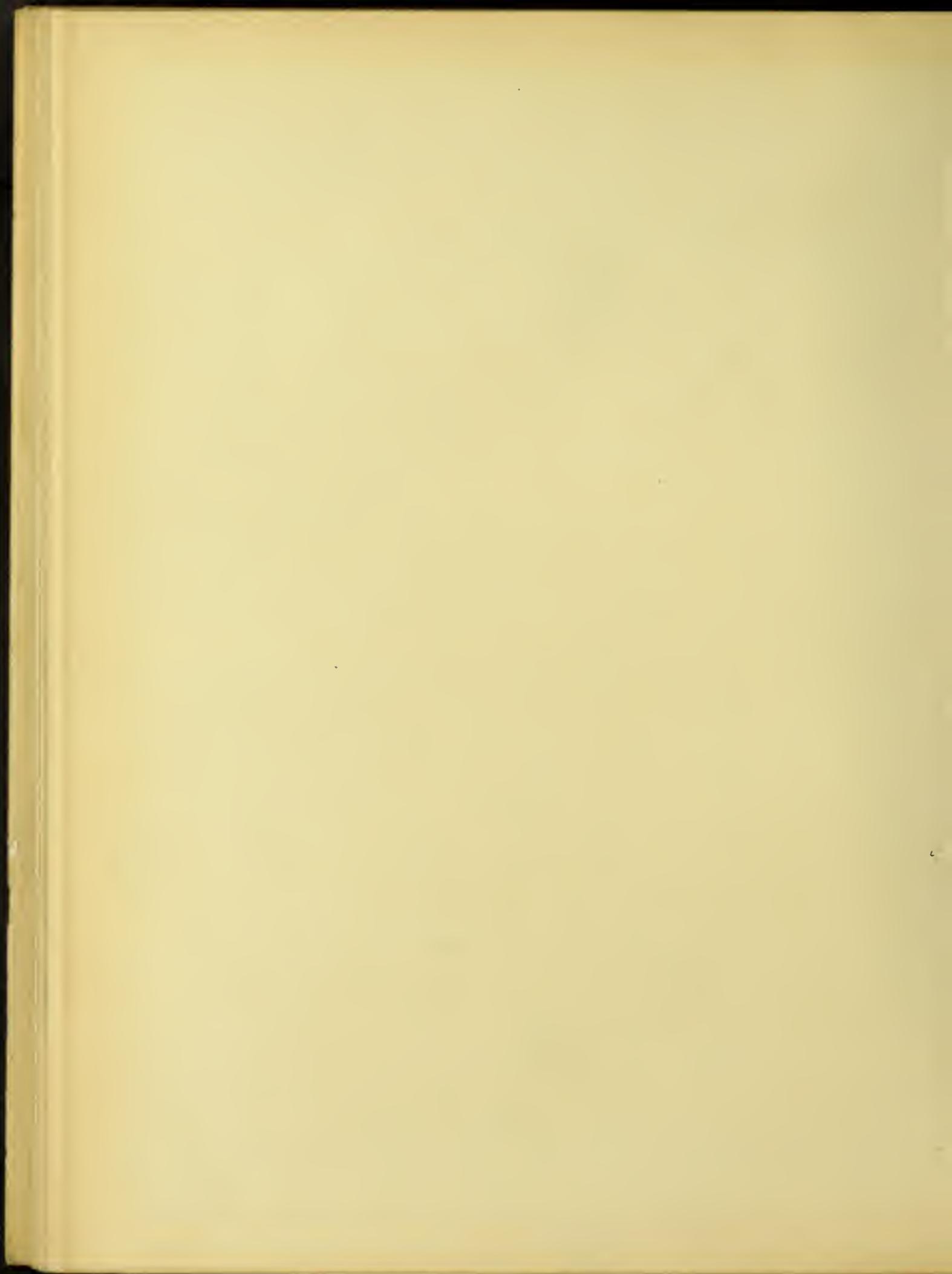
quotations there in favor of them. The text of St. Paul, "Evil communication corrupts good manners", was an expression of the comic poet Menander, ...The Apostle adopting this sentiment, shows dramatic poetry lay not under Gospel censure. (Theophilus Cibber, His orations I, 7). And adds the assertion, that parts of the Old Testament are dramatic. It is easily possible that he conferred with Dr. Young, the divine and playwright, on this subject. And speaking of the actor he says, (Dissertations I, 47):

"Nature's forsook our new theatric art,  
Aiming to strike the eye, neglects the heart"; and, (ibid, I, 57)  
"The emotions, in short, should begin at the heart".

The "Conjectures" say (p. 10, l. 40): "The noble nature of tragedy... demands the heart."... Or "what comes from the writers heart reaches ours; so what comes from his head sets our brains at work and our hearts at ease", (ibid. p. 17, l. 12). As to original composition he speaks, much as Young, about ven of genius, and of immortal Shakespeare as the great example. He speaks of his "imaginary genius" and "extensive imagination" and the "spirit and fire" that animate his works. He says the story of "Winter's Tale" afforded Shakespeare "a large field for his lively imagination to wander in". He emphasizes the imagination as the poetical faculty, and speaks of a "creature of the poet's imagination". In another place he says: "Nothing evinces want of genius, invention, or taste, more than an awkward imitation", (Dissertations II, 22). These facts show that Theophilus Cibber dealt with the same subjects that the "Conjectures" afterwards deal with; so they prove it not entirely improbable that Theophilus Cibber was the Mr. Cibber to whom Young referred in his letter of March 11, 1754 to Richardson, and that he may also have been the person to whom Young refers in the "Conjectures" as having consulted with him and Richardson about these subjects.

A third person not entirely out of the question as the one Young refers to as having suggested the subjects of the "Conjectures", is Aaron Hill (1685-1652). The Dictionary of National Biography says "Among Hill's letters are many giving advice to actors (including Garrick) upon their art, ... and literary disquisitions addressed to Pope and Bolingbroke". He also wrote a pamphlet entitled "Critical Reflexions on Propriety in Writing". Herein he develops the idea, to use his own words, "that Mr. Pope knew nothing as to plot and thought, yet merited the name of genius". Richardson had the manuscript, but it was never published, says Popham, (Richardson, p. 72). Since Hill was thus interested in the analysis and criticism of literary composition and was closely related to Young as a writer of secret poetry, and met him frequently at Richardson's, it may be that he was the man who consulted Young about the subjects of the serious drama and original and moral composition. This evidence shows that the person in question might, but need not, have been Colley Cibber or Aaron Hill. Walter Thomas asserts (p. 160 f), but without proof, that it was "sans doute Arthur Onslow" who put questions as to "original and moral composition" and that the "Conjectures" were produced in reply to his inquiry. But sufficient evidence for a complete solution of this problem is still lacking.

Another passage in the introduction of the "Conjectures" demanding comment is: "I begin with original composition; and the more willingly as it seems an original subject to me, who have seen nothing hitherto written on it". This passage proves contrary to fact when we compare the "Conjectures" with earlier literary criticism. It was, moreover, not contained in the first edition of the "Conjectures", but appeared for the first time in the second edition, being evidently inserted "to give the treatise more weight by claiming for it the stamp



of that very originality which it preaches, as Dr. Hill says, (Edward Young in Germany, p. 7). It remains to be added that this sort of thing had become frequent practice with the author and that it was, in his own words, "a trick to cheat the public". There are numerous instances in which he attempts to recommend a literary product of his to the reader by claiming originality for it, or giving to it the appearance of significance by means of some other device. So he prefaces his extremely unoriginal and insignificant "Imperium Polagi.. Written in imitation of Pindar's Spirit" (1733) with the assertion: "We have many copies and translations that pass for originals. This ode, I humbly conceive, is an original, though it professes imitation", (Works II, 2). Similarly he says of his "Ocean, an Ode": "My subject is....(what is strange)hitherto unsung", (Works I, 119). His "Resignation" contains the lines:

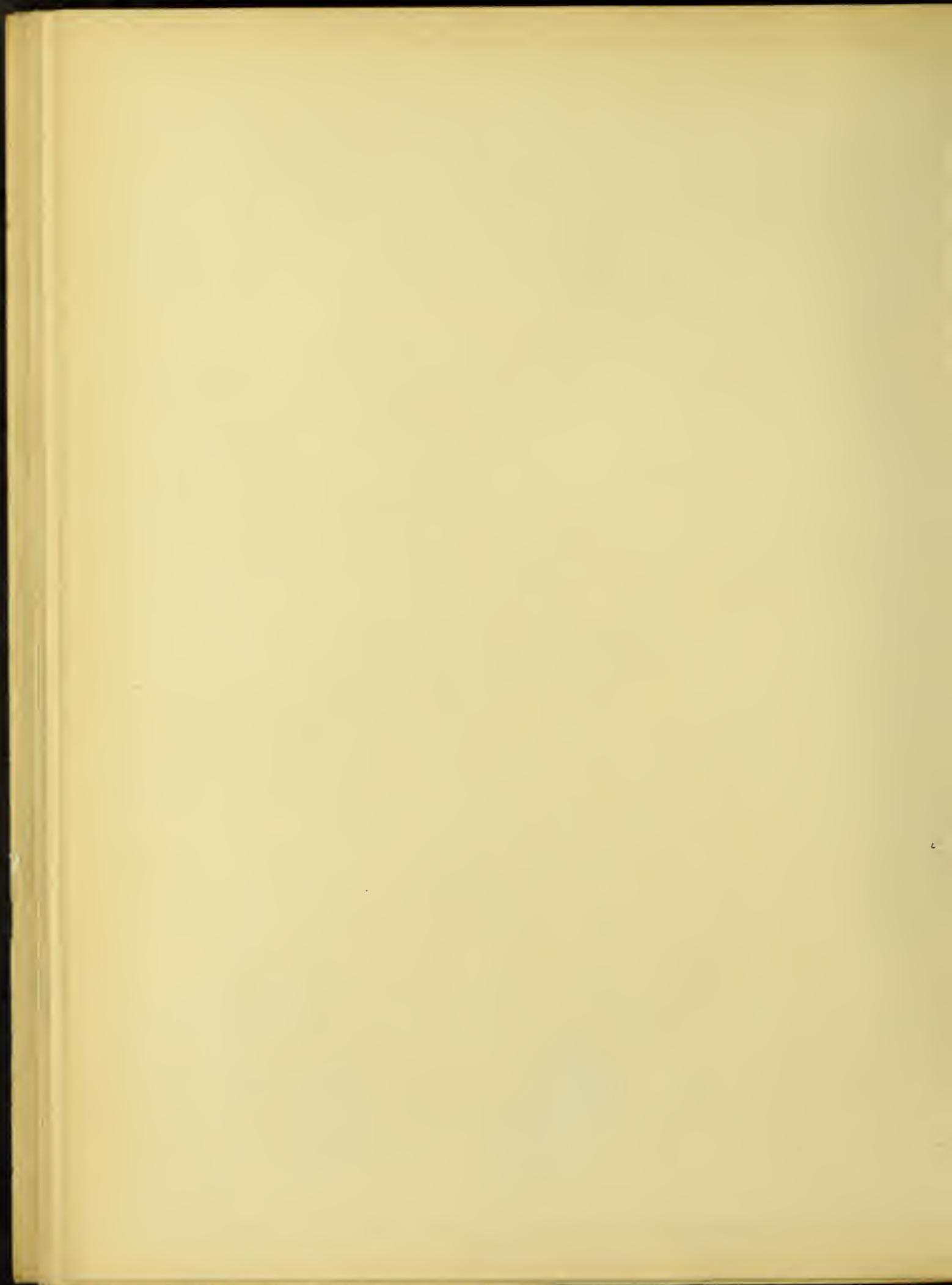
"O Resignation! yet unsung,  
Untouched by former strains;" (Works II. 88.

Of his "Vindication of Providence" (1728) he says in the preface to it that the observations "are by no means drawn from books, but from life", (Works II, 226). In behalf of the "Night Thoughts" (1742-45) Young did two things to recommend them to the reader. One thing was that he claimed spontaneous originality for them in the preface: "As the occasion of this poem was real, not fictitious; so the method pursued in it was rather imposed by what spontaneously arose in the author's mind on that occasion, than meditated or designed", (Works I, 2). The other thing was that he published the first portion of the "Night Thoughts" without his name, and instead with the much more striking adornment of the title-page, "published by the author of Clarissa". Another notable instance of this sort of recommendation of his works is his putting a sketch of a Centaur, done by himself, before his "Centaur not Fabulous", (1751). The following passage in a letter of his to Richardson gives his intention and opinion as to this matter: "If you know any proper artist in that way, I wish you would show him the grotesque picture of a centaur in my dedication. If I could have a cut of it, I would prefix it to the letters. It would, (I think) have two good effects: ... It would carry the reader with more appetite through the dedication, as letting him into the meaning of the odd picture before him.....This seems to me a trick to cheat the public. The question is if you will be an accomplice in it. A man of taste in sculpture may improve on my sketch. ...I wish I knew Hogarth, or your friend Mr. Hymore".

Those several instances of devices to add weight to a composition have but another of their kind in this statement in the "Conjectures": "it seems an original subject to me, who have seen nothing hitherto written on it". Comparing the "Conjectures" with earlier writings will prove that this assertion is contrary to fact and that it was only used as a habitual means to literary success and fame, and that it must be taken accordingly in studying the essay.

The demand that no compositions are to be admitted to the press "but such as brought their imprimatur from sound understanding and the public good", or, in other words, "such as have not only beauty to boast of, but are sacrificed primarily to the sacred interests of virtue and real service of mankind", is a repetition of the old doctrine of Horace. This was a paramount principle with the non-Classicalists. Young preached and practiced it all his life. His apology for writing the "Conjectures" is that his "unsteady pen vibrates to the last in the cause of religion, of virtue, of learning".

"Composition opens a back-door out of the hustle of this busy and idle world into a delicious garden of moral and intellectual



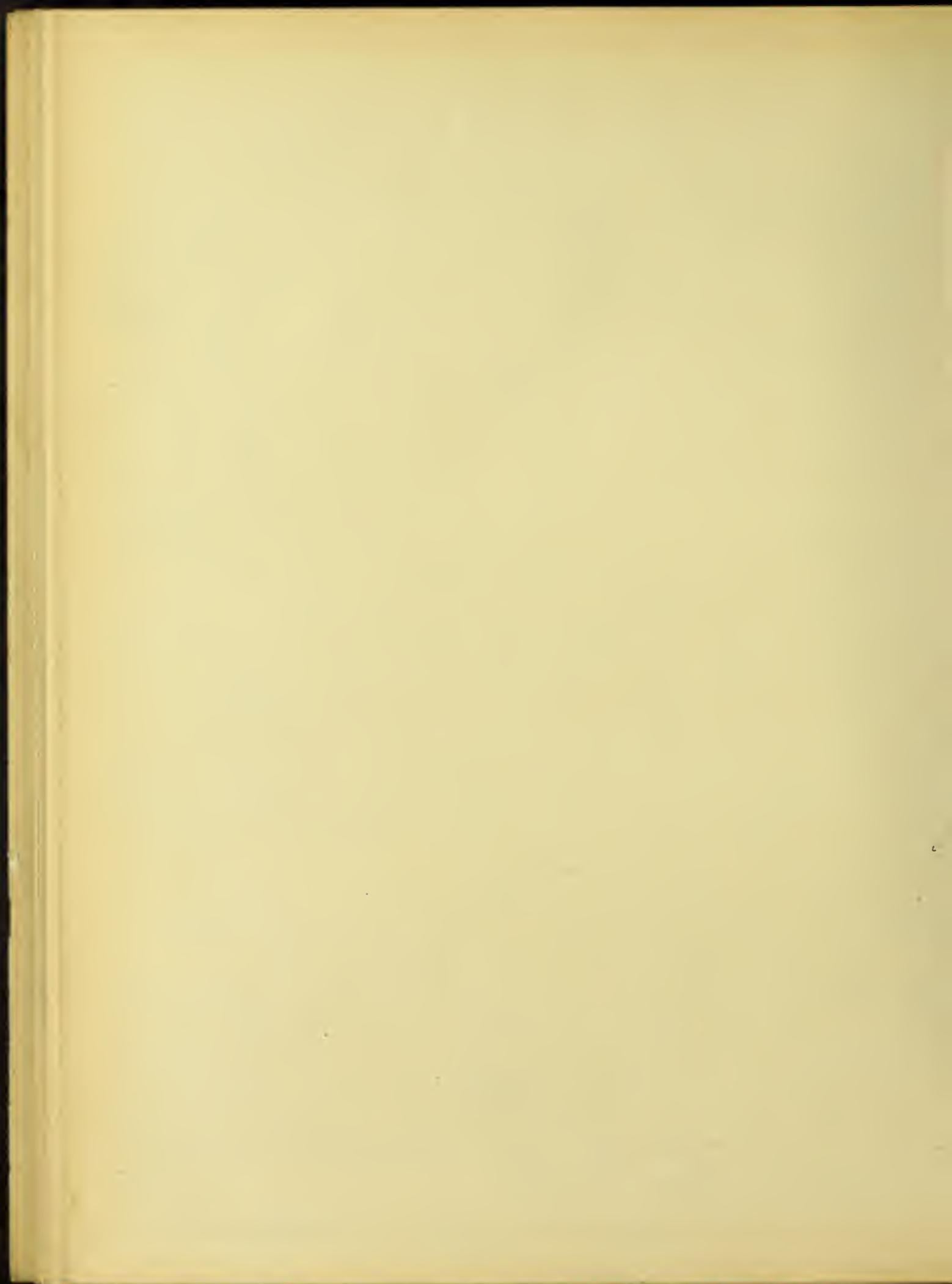
fruits and flowers. ... How independent of the world is he who can daily find new acquaintance that at once entertain and improve him, in the little world, the minute but fruitful creation of his own mind. These advantages composition affords us, whether we write ourselves, or in more humble amusement peruse the works of others," (Conject. I, l. 39ff.). In this place the object in question is only the mental world of "men of letters and leisure", which consists of ideas and ideals and is formed by authorship, and may be resorted to for entertainment and improvement. This mental world of writers and readers consisting of a body of knowledge and principles procured and formed by the mind itself and yielding it intellectual and mental fruits and flowers, is called "the little world, the minute but fruitful creation of the mind". Thus the mental world is compared to the physical, and the mind to the Creator. It would seem at first as if an extraordinary, supernatural creative activity of the mind is being spoken of. At bottom, however, we have here only an unfitting simile. The production of the mental world is further spoken of as a process of forming it out of acquired scholarly material, and the "creation" of the physical world by God is ordinarily conceived of, according to the Scriptures, as a process of creating it out of nothing. But the question is here in fact only about intellectual acquisitions and the use of mental possessions, and not yet about poetic creation.

"But there are those who write with vigor and success, to the world's delight and their own renown. These are the glorious fruits where genius prevails. The mind of a man of genius is a fertile and pleasant field...; it enjoys a perpetual spring. Of that spring originals are the fairest flowers." (Conject. p. 3, l. 20 ff.). According to other passages in this essay the word "genius" means essentially an excellent receptive and associative intellect. This is shown by the two principal passages concerning literary originality; "Excite and cherish every spark of intellectual light and heat, however smothered under former negligence, or scattered through the dull dark mass of common thoughts; and collecting them into a body, let thy genius rise", (Conject. p. 10. l. 70 ff.). "The most unbounded and exalted genius....can give us only what by his own, or others' eyes, has been seen; though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burlesqued, dislodged, or adorned", (Conject. p. 8, l. 2 ff.). And it is the "mind" of a man of genius that "enjoys a perpetual spring" of which "originals are the fairest flowers". This sounds the keynote of the author's doctrine about original composition, expressed prior to, as well as in, this essay. The poet's mind, or reason, or intellect, is his chief working-faculty.

It has been asked whether "perpetual spring" is intended to mean an unceasing fountain or the season of the year. The context requires the latter interpretation: a "fertile and pleasant field" and "the fairest flowers of that spring" being spoken of.

"An original may be said to be of a vegetable nature; it rises spontaneously from the vital root of genius; it grows, it is not made. Imitations are often a sort of manufacture wrought up by those mechanics, art and labor, out of pre-existent materials not their own", (Conject.)p.1.ff). Here we have two striking similes, but their content, as explained by other parts of the essay, is not very considerable. In the former not more than the spontaneous fanning of compositions by productive minds out of somehow acquired and then assimilated ideas can be meant. Compare the statement. "The most unbounded and exalted genius...can give us only what by his or others' eyes has been seen", (Conject. p. 8, l. 5 ff.). The latter simile speaks of grossly dependent thinking and outright plagiarism.

"Ambition is sometimes no vice in life; it is always a virtue



in composition". This indicates Young's main-spring of authorship. He practiced and recommended moral and religious service to man for eternal immortality, and original composition as the means to literary immortality. In his "True estimate of Human Life", (Works II. 335 f.) the ambition for literary fame is declared to be a passion wisely implanted by God: "An author at his lamp tells himself in triumph, now the toil is almost over, the purchase at hand, he is within a month of immortality. ... It is very strange; but the secret of it is this: God implanted in the soul a violent desire of approbation, in order to stimulate man into an attainment of His own approbation".

"Drink where he (Homer) drank, at the true Helicon, that is, at the breast of nature", (Conject. p. 4, l. 41.). It may be asked in what sense the term nature is here used. It is here, as elsewhere in the essay, most probably used in reference to the external world. The author speaks elsewhere of communing with God by means of meditation and prayer, but he nowhere speaks of a personal communing with nature as a divinity. He speaks of it also in the following passage as the visible world:

"Think frequently, think close, read nature, turn  
Men's manners o'er, and half you volumes burn,  
To nurse with quick reflection, be your strife,  
Thoughts born from present objects, warm from life".

(Works II, 42).

"For by the bounty of nature we are as strong as our predecessors: ... Are not our limbs cast in the same mould with those before the flood? The flood affected matter, mind escaped", (Conject. p. 5, l. 12 ff.). What is this about? We have no literary predecessors either sacred or pagan, that antedate the flood.

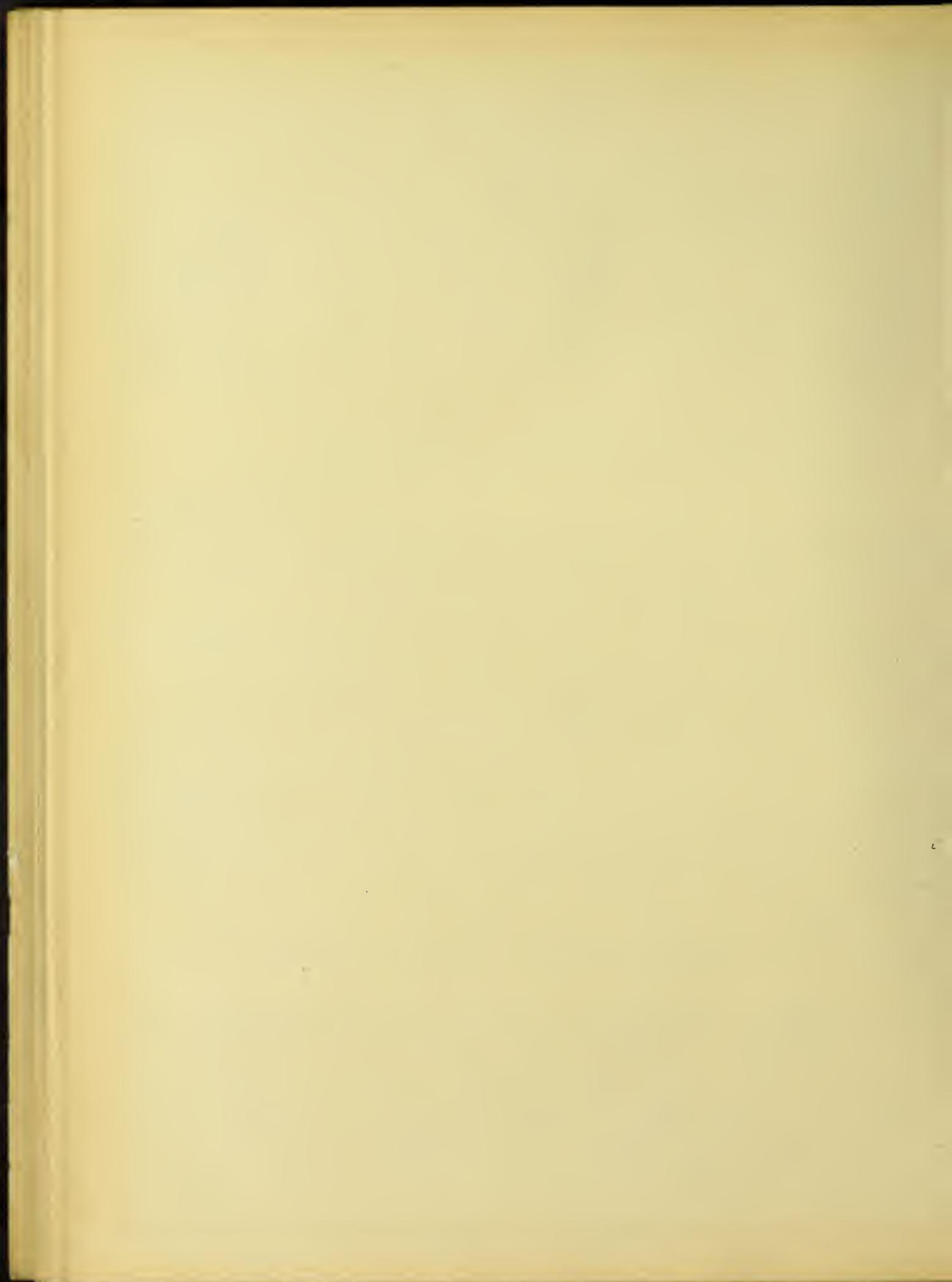
"Genius is a master-workman, learning is but an instrument; and an instrument, though most valuable, yet not always indispensable. Heaven will not admit of a partner in the accomplishment of some favorite spirits; but rejecting all human means, assures the whole glory to itself." Here a literary mind precociously masterful on account of special endowment by nature, or heaven, must be meant. Such a mind will excel without much of the learning that is necessary to a smaller mind. So nature, or heaven, is said to treat it as a special favorite, bringing it into this world naturally efficient instead of making it so by means of schooling. Further on he adds (Conject. p. 6, l. 46 ff.): "An adult genius comes out of nature's land, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and nature". Again (Conject. p. 7, l. 8 f.): "Some are pupils of nature only, nor go farther to school". A mystic meaning of the passage under consideration is improbable; it would be wholly out of accord with the views of the author as elsewhere revealed.

'Genius - the power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end.' (Conject. p. 3, l. 46 f.). The extraordinarily capable and independent mind is spoken of.

"A genius differs from a good understanding, as a musician from a good architect; that raises his structure by means invisible; this by the skilful use of common tools", (Conject. p. 1, l. 17 f.).

Comparing the statement, 'the genius raises his structure by means invisible' with the passage "In the fairyland of fancy, etc." (Conject. p. 7, l. 51 f.) will show that working with memory and with fancy images is the point in question, and that "the skilful use of common tools" means working with books and models.

"Genius has ever been supposed to partake of something divine. Nemo nunquam vir magnus fuit sine aliquo afflatu divino." (Conject. p. 5, l. 50, f.): Here we have a reluctant statement, supported with



an alien classical citation, of a view that had been boldly asserted by the author many years before. In the "Night Thoughts" he convinces his readers of his belief that man's mind, or reason, or intellect, or soul, is of divine origin and has divine power. The following is one instance from among many where this view is definitely expressed:

"Annihilation? how it yawns before me!  
 Next moment I may drop from thought, from sense,  
 The privilege of angles and of worms,  
 An outcast from existence! and this spirit,  
 This all-pervading, this all-conscious soul,  
 This particle of energy divine,  
 Which travels nature, flies from star to star,  
 And visits gods, and emulates their powers,  
 Forever is extinguished! (Works I, 133).

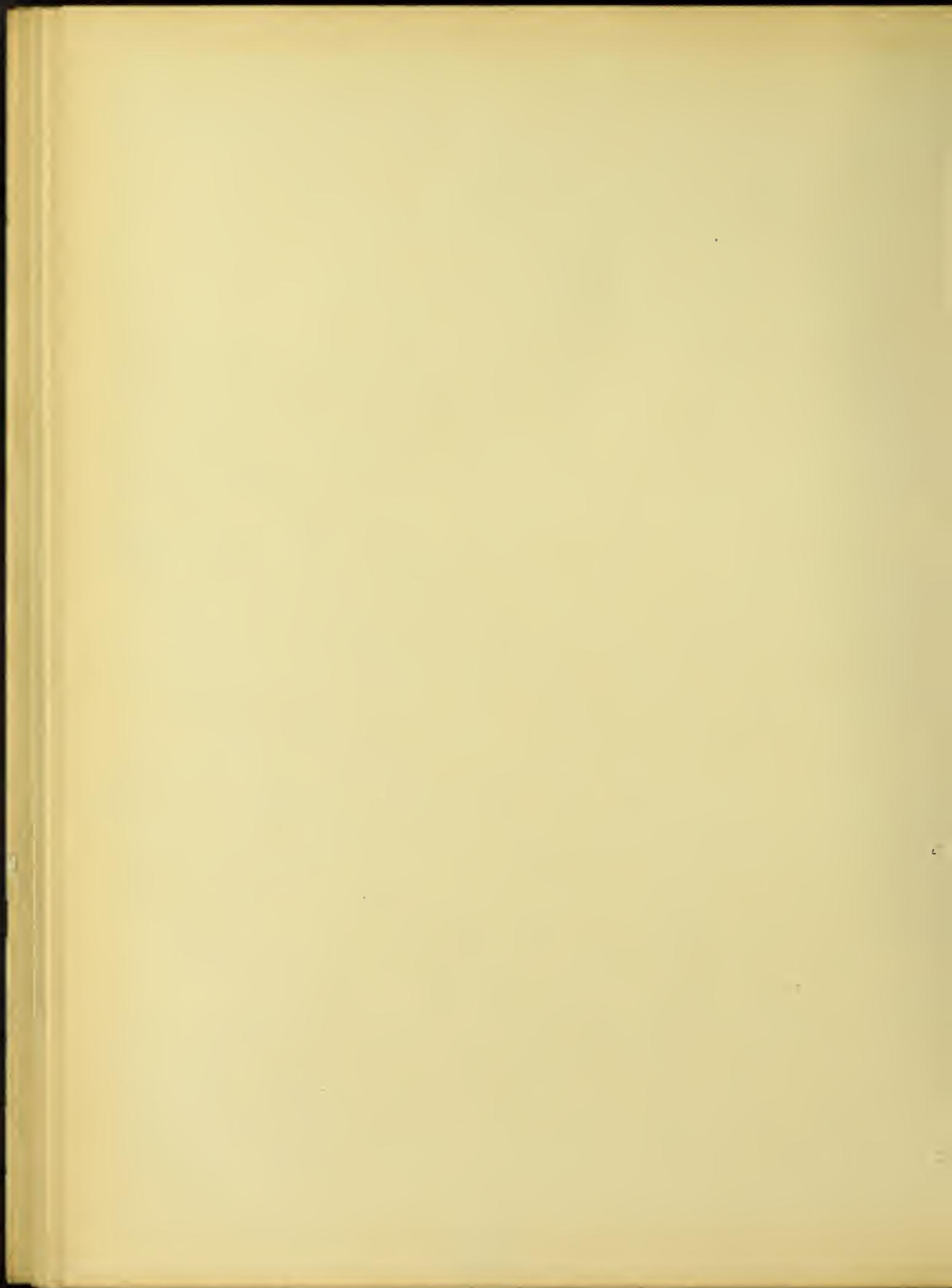
As a participant in the romantic movement at the time of his writing the "Conjectures", Young says: "As beauties less perfect, who owe half their charms to cautious art, learning inveighs against natural unstudied graces, and small harmless indecorums, and sets rigid bounds to that liberty, to which genius often owes its supreme glory, (Conject. p. 5, l. 54 ff.). This reveals the transition between the two movements, and Young's change with it. While yet a neo-classicist he had said quite the opposite in his epistle to Pope among his "needful precepts how to write and live". There we read:

"Excuse no fault; though beautiful, 'twill harm;  
 One fault shocks more than twenty beauties charm". (Works II, 12)

"Sacer nobis inest deus, says Seneca. With regard to the moral world, conscience, with regard to the intellectual, genius, is that god within", (Conject. p. 3, l. 27, ff.). This genius, or the god within with regard to the intellectual world, is not the intellect itself which the author elsewhere calls "this particle of energy divine". The context characterizes it as the literary conscience, or reflex feeling, of an author, which decides unerringly between right and wrong without consulting rules. It is here conceived of as we think of an educated ear judging of music, or our "spruchweisheit" deciding as to grammar and rhetoric, without consulting rules.

Comparing the schoolmen with their "so singular natural sagacity and most exquisite edge of thought" with Euclid, Shakespeare and Aquinas, the author says they "equally show an original, undoubted energy; the vigor igneus, and the coelestis oris burn in both; and leaves us in doubt whether genius is more evident in the sublime flights and beautiful flowers of poetry, or in the profound penetrations and marvelously keen and minute distinctions called the theories of the schools," (Conject. p. 7, l. 23, ff.). Here is a further definition of genius as volatile and penetrative thought. It will also be found that Young considers the main thing with the mind, or genius, of a poet to be "sublime flights and beautiful flowers of poetry".

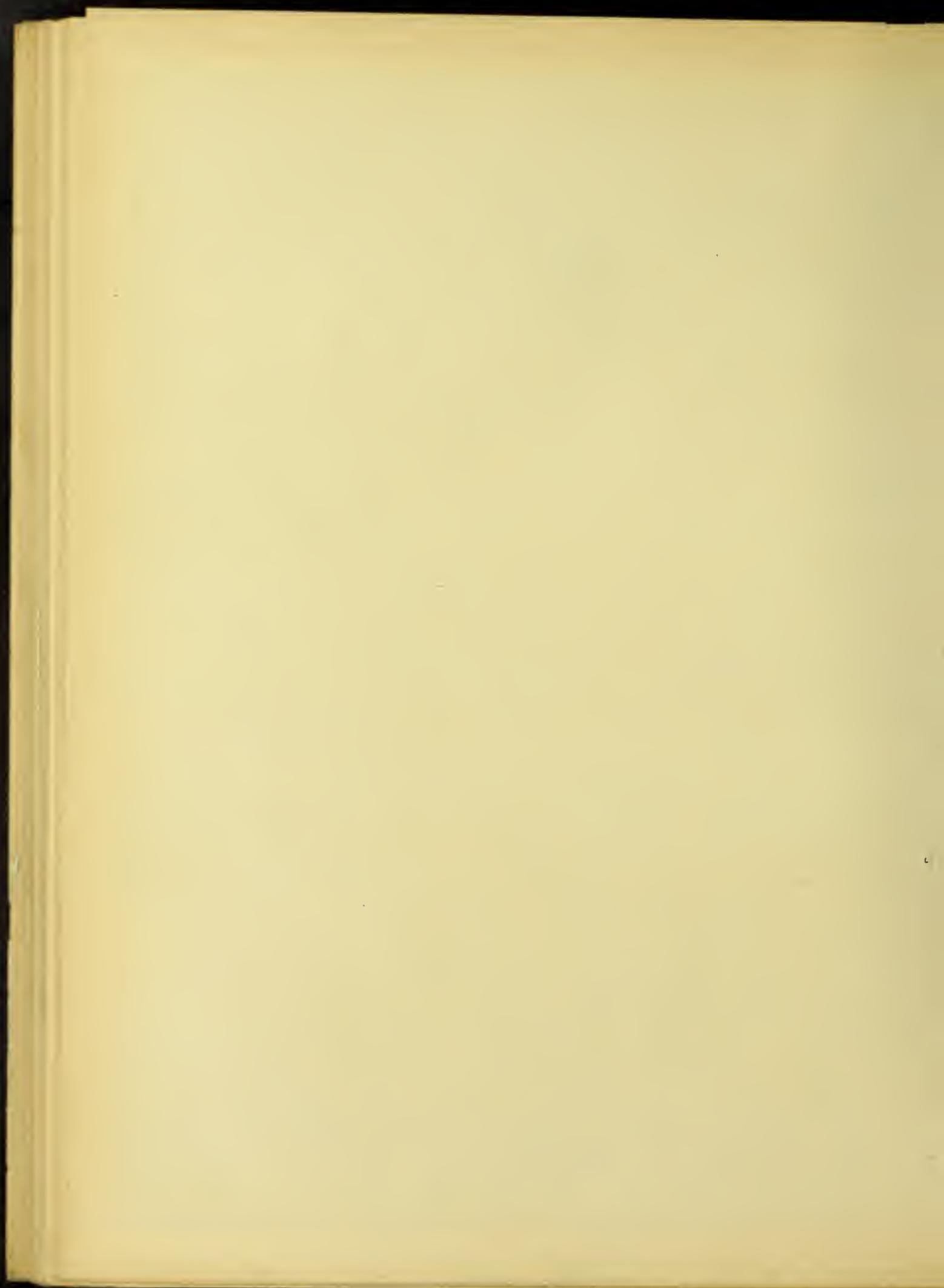
'Genius gives us rapture; it inspires, and is itself inspired: it is from heaven; genius is knowledge innate', (Conject. p. 7, l. 41 ff.). Divine, inherent reason or intellect, is again meant. It is to be noticed that Young nowhere in this essay treats of genius as a voice within coming from God and speaking through man. He absolutely denies this idea saying: "But here a caution is necessary against the most fatal of errors in these authorships, those self-taught philosophers of our age, who set genius, and often mere fancied genius, not only above human learning, but divine truth. I have called genius wisdom; but let it be remembered, that in the most renowned ages of the most refined heathen wisdom (and theirs is not Christian) 'the world by wisdom knew not God etc.'... But what painter of the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us the true portrait of a scribbler? We can



give us only what by his own, or others' eyes, has been seen; though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burlesqued, dishonored, or adorned. In like manner, who can give us divine truth unrevealed?" According to this the Holy Ghost no more speaks through man since the days of Israel and the Apostles. Milton, for example, says the contrary, as already pointed out. The author also condemns the ancient classical conception of poetic inspiration: "This sensation ('the first beamings of yet unsuspected genius'), which I speak of in a writer, might favor, and so promote, the fable of poetic inspiration: A poet of a strong imagination, and stronger vanity, on feeling it, might naturally enough realize the world's mere compliment, and think himself truly inspired. Which is not improbable; for enthusiasts of all kinds do no less", (Conject. p. 10, l. 26, ff.).

"In the fairyland of fancy genius may wander wild; there is his creative power, etc." (Conject. p. 7, l. 54 f.). Genius has a creative power: this seems at first as the punctum saliens in original composition. The rest of the paragraph, however, says that this creative power ascribed to genius wandering wild in the fairyland of fancy, is only the ability of the mind to dissect and reconstruct sense-impression, or memory and fancy images. The author adds that "the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us only what by his own, or others' eyes has been seen; though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burlesqued, dishonored, or adorned". This assertion contradicts the statement made in the foregoing paragraph saying that "genius is knowledge innate". It is the doctrine of Hobbes and Locke that no ideas ever came from the human mind that have not previously passed in through the senses, either ready-made, or in the elements.

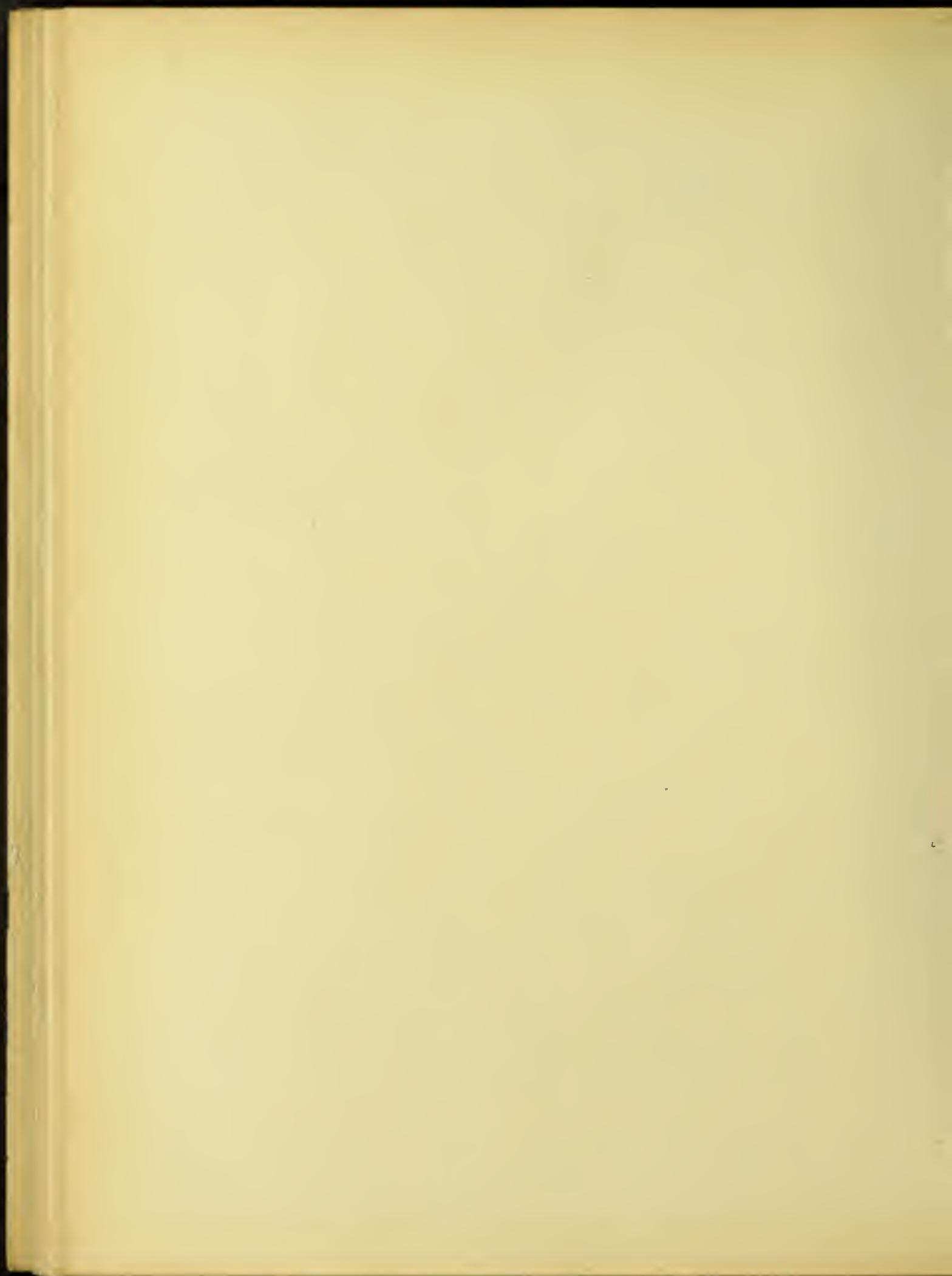
"If there is a famine of invention in the land, like Joseph's brethren, we must travel far for food; we must visit the remote and rich ancients; but an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenished from within." (Conject. p. 9, l. 17 ff.). An inventive genius is, like the widow's cruse, divinely replenished from within: this statement is to be compared with the previous one, "imitation makes us think little and write much". (Conject. p. 9, l. 5 f.), and with the following one, saying that he deserves the noble title of an author "who (to speak accurately) thinks and composes; while other invaders of the press... only read and write", (Conject. p. 11, l. ff.). From these passages we can safely conclude that the "inventive genius divinely replenished from within" is only a fruitful thinker, and that "divinely replenished from within like the widow's cruse" is only a hyperbole. "The bottom fathomed the mind of man? Its bounds are as unknown as of the creation; since the birth of which, perhaps, not one has so far exerted, as not to leave his possibilities beyond his attainments, his powers beyond his exploits", (Conject. p. 10, l. 9 ff.). Mental exertion, as here spoken of, is another of the main principles in Young's doctrine of original literary composition. So he approvingly construes Bacon as "in effect saying that we ought to exert more than we do; and that on exertion, our probability of success is greater than we conceive" (Conject. p. 14, l. 9 ff.). A further passage will make the meaning still clearer. "Therefore dive deep into thy bosom; learn the depth, extent, bias and full fort of thy mind; contract full intimacy with the stranger within thee; excite and cherish every spark of intellectual light and heat, however smothered under former negligence, or scattered through the dull, dark mass of common thoughts; and collecting them into a body, let thy genius shine", (Conject. p. 10, l. 54 ff.). This passage and the following form the main issue in this treatise on original composition: "The writer who neglects those two rules above ("Know thyself," "revere thyself,") will never stand alone;



he makes one of a group, and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng; incumbered with the notions of others, and impoverished by their abundance, he conceives not the least embryo of new thought; opens not the least vista through the gloom of ordinary writers into the bright walks of rare imagination and singular design; while the true genius is crossing all public roads into fresh untrodden ground" (Conject. p. 11, l. 17 ff.). As a key to the sense in which the term "untrodden ground" is here to be taken the following lines may be consulted: "Nor have I Bacon's opinion only, but his assistance too, on my side. His mighty wind travelled round the intellectual world; and with a more than eagle's eye saw, and has pointed out blank spaces, or dark spots in it, on which the human mind never shone. Some of these have been enlightened since; some are benighted still" (Conject. p. 11, l. 12 ff.). He deserves the noble title of an author who (to speak accurately) thinks and composes; while other invaders of the press.... only read and write. This is the difference between those two luminaries in literature, the well-accomplished scholar and the divinely inspired enthusiast". (Conject. p. 11, l. 19 ff.). A few pages farther we read similarly: "True poesy, like true religion, abhors idolatry...real though unexampled, excellence is its only aim; nor looks it for any inspiration less than divine", (Conject. p. 13, l. 17 ff.). Here we have two noteworthy expressions: "Divinely-inspired enthusiast" and, true poesy looks not "for any inspiration less than divine". Is the author here speaking of actual living poetical inspiration as the ancient classical poets conceived of it and as the authors of the Scriptures are believed to have experienced it? Or is he speaking of divine operation on the imagination of the poet as his favorite author Addison does in the following passage?

"We have already seen the influence that one man has over the fancy of another, and with what ease he conveys into it a variety of imagery; how great a power then may we suppose lodged in Him who knows all the ways of affecting the imagination, who can infuse what ideas he pleases and fill those ideas with terror and delight to what degree He thinks fit? He can excite images in the mind, without the help of words, and make scenes rise up before us and seem present to the eye, without the assistance of bodies or exterior objects. He can transport the imagination with such beautiful and glorious visions as can possibly enter into our present conceptions" (Spectator, No. 121). To answer this question we must inquire into his use of the term divine and into other statements of his concerning this point. He says of Homer: "This author so divine is untranslated still", (Conject. p. 11, l. 50 f.), and again: "Homer and Demosthenes, the Law of divine genius", (Conject. p. 15, l. 2 f.). And to cite a third instance: "O how unlike the deathless, divine harmony of three great names, of Milton, Greece, and Rome?" (Conject. p. 13, l. 13 f.). In these cases the term divine is evidently not used in a Christian theistic sense. - In other cases, however, the author does use it in the Christian sense. But mindful of the author's assertion that "the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us only what by his or others' eyes has been seen", and not "divine truth unrevealed", we must conclude that the term divine is used in about the same manner in the expression "divinely inspired enthusiast" and "no inspiration less than divine", as it is used in applying it to Homer and Demosthenes, and even to the "harmony of three great names", and we must say that it is just one of the author's ornamental epithets, signifying extraordinary and excellent.

It is striking how the writer, speaking as romanticist when he wrote this treatise, renounces those neo-classical principles and Pope, their chief exponent, which he had formerly followed and praised. In his "Epistles to Pope" he praises him highly and endorses his pseudo-



classical literary principles. Even in the "Night Thoughts" he says in reference to Pope and his translation of the Iliad, "Ah! could I reach your strain!" But in the "Conjectures" he speaks very differently. Here he denies that Pope had "a strong imagination and the true sublime", and attacks him for being "not only an avowed professor of imitation, but a zealous recommender of it also".

The statement above may be a reference to the following by Pope (Edwin's edition I, 9): "All that is left to us is to recommend our productions by the imitation of the ancients". In a foot-note to this passage Warton is quoted saying: "I have frequently heard Dr. Young speak with great disapprobation of the doctrine contained in this passage, with a view to which he wrote his discourse on Original Composition".

And though Young has himself put part of his earlier poetry into the heroic couplet of Pope, he now criticises the latter for riving his translation of the Iliad: "That a fall is it from Homer's numbers, free as air, lofty, and harmonious as the spheres, into chillish shackles and tinkling sounds". (Conject. p. 11, l. 75 ff.). And although Young has God deliver the long speech constituting the greater part of his "Paraphrase on a Part of the Book of Job" (1713) in polished heroic couplets, he says here, recommending blank verse and criticising Pope's Iliad: "That we mean by blank verse is verse unfallen, uncurst; verse reclaimed, reinterposed in the true language of the gods; who never thundered, nor suffered their Homer to thunder, in verse", (Conject. p. 13, l. 39 ff.).

"A marvelous light, unjoyed of all, is poured on us by revelation, with larger prospects extending our understanding, with brighter objects enriching our imagination, with an inestimable prize setting our passions on fire, thus strengthening every power that enables composition to shine", (Conject. p. 11, l. 12 ff.). This 'revelation which poured on us a marvelous light unjoyed of all and sets our passions on fire with an inestimable prize' has a far to the Biblical revelation of the Christian view of God and man and of the present as well as the future life. It seems as a recurrence of the author to his exaltation in his earlier writings of sacred poetry above all other. Then "inestimable prize" could mean both temporal fame and eternal bliss.

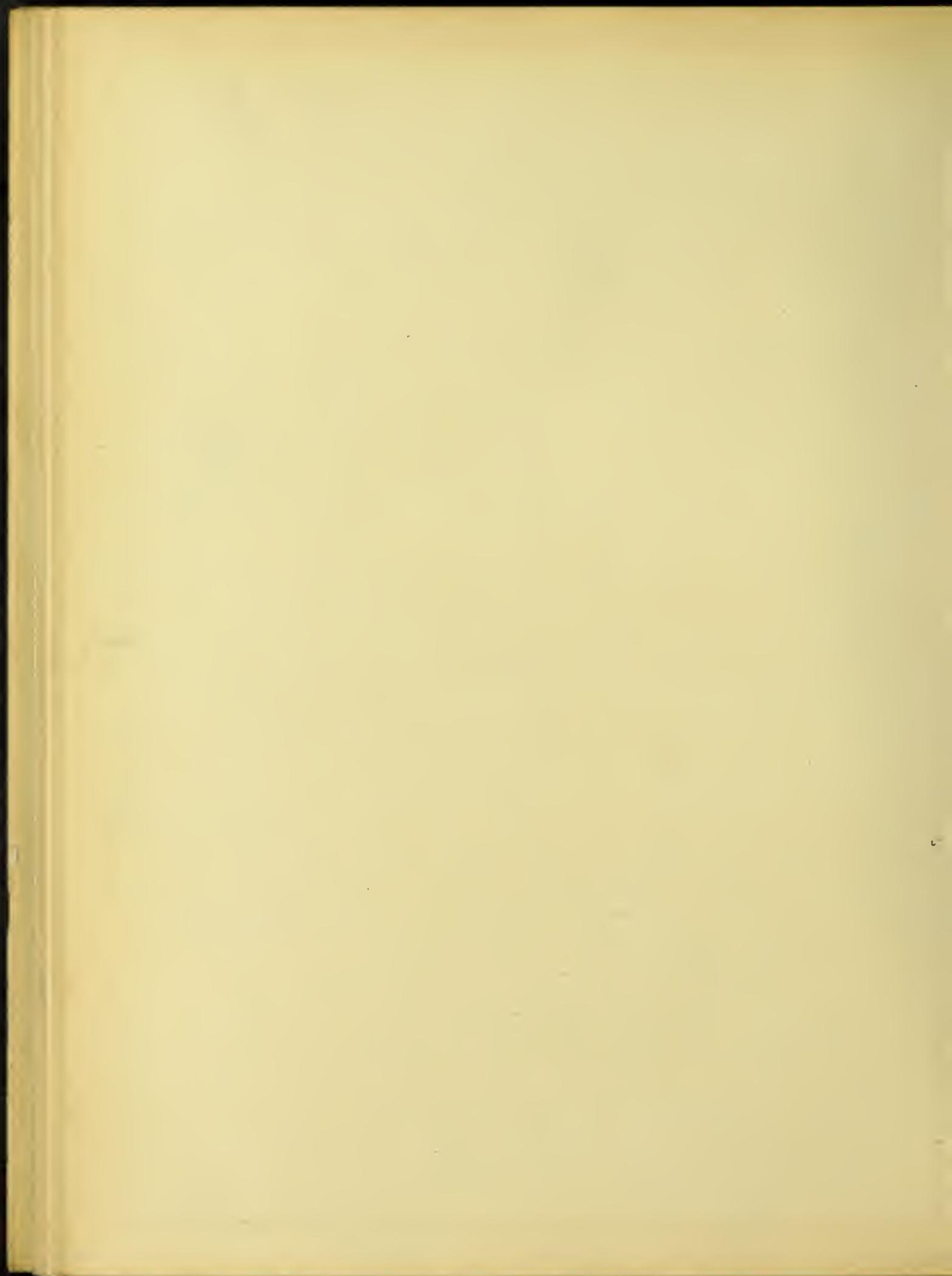
Criticising Addison's Cato again, the author says (Conject. p. 13, l. 41 f.): "However, as it is, like Pygmalion, we cannot but fall in love with it and wish it was alive. How would a Shakespeare or an Otway have answered our wishes? They would have outdone Prometheus, and, with their heavenly fire, have given him not only life, but immortality". This passage has been taken to mean something very definite and extraordinary. The "heavenly fire" of Shakespeare and Otway was interpreted as a super-human spiritual power, or poetical "Holy Ghost". A few cross-references will furnish the right interpretation.

"Ambition, pleasure! let us talk of these:

-----  
 Are these thy refuge? No; these rush upon thee,  
 Thy vitals seize, and vulture-like devour.  
 I'll try if I can pluck thee from thy rock,  
 Prometheus! from this narrow hall of earth:  
 If reason can unchain thee, thou art free.

-----  
 Come, my Prometheus, from thy painted rock  
 Of false ambition if unchained, we'll wound:  
 We'll innocently steal celestial fire,  
 And kindle our devotion at the stars;  
 A theft that shall not chain, but set thee free.

(Works I, 162, 200).



The author is here speaking of intellectual fire. The same holds true of the following passage in the "Conjectures", p. 16, l. 21 ff. "Who knows if Shakespeare might not have thought less, if he had read more? Who knows if he might not have labored under the load of Jonson's learning as Enceladus under Actna? His mighty genius, indeed, through the most mountainous oppression would have breathed out some of his inextinguishable fire; yet, possibly, he might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight. ...he was master of two books, ...the book of nature, and that of man...These are the fountain-head whence the Castalian streams of original composition flow".

"Moreover, so boundless are the bold excursions of the human mind, that in the vast void beyond real existence, it can call forth shadowy beings, and unknown worlds, as numerous, as bright, and perhaps as lasting as the stars", (Conject. p. 11, l. 17 ff.). The idea that the mind "can call forth shadowy beings" not actually in existence seems to have been taken from the Spectator, as will be shown later. The idea that it can call forth unknown worlds, comes from the astronomy of the "Night Thoughts" as it is exemplified in these lines:

"From some superior point, (where, who can tell?)

Suffice it, it is a point where gods reside)

How shall the stranger man's illumined eye,

In the vast ocean of unbounded space,

Behold an infinite of floating worlds

Divide the crystal waves of ether pure,

In endless voyage, without port!"

(Works I, 92).

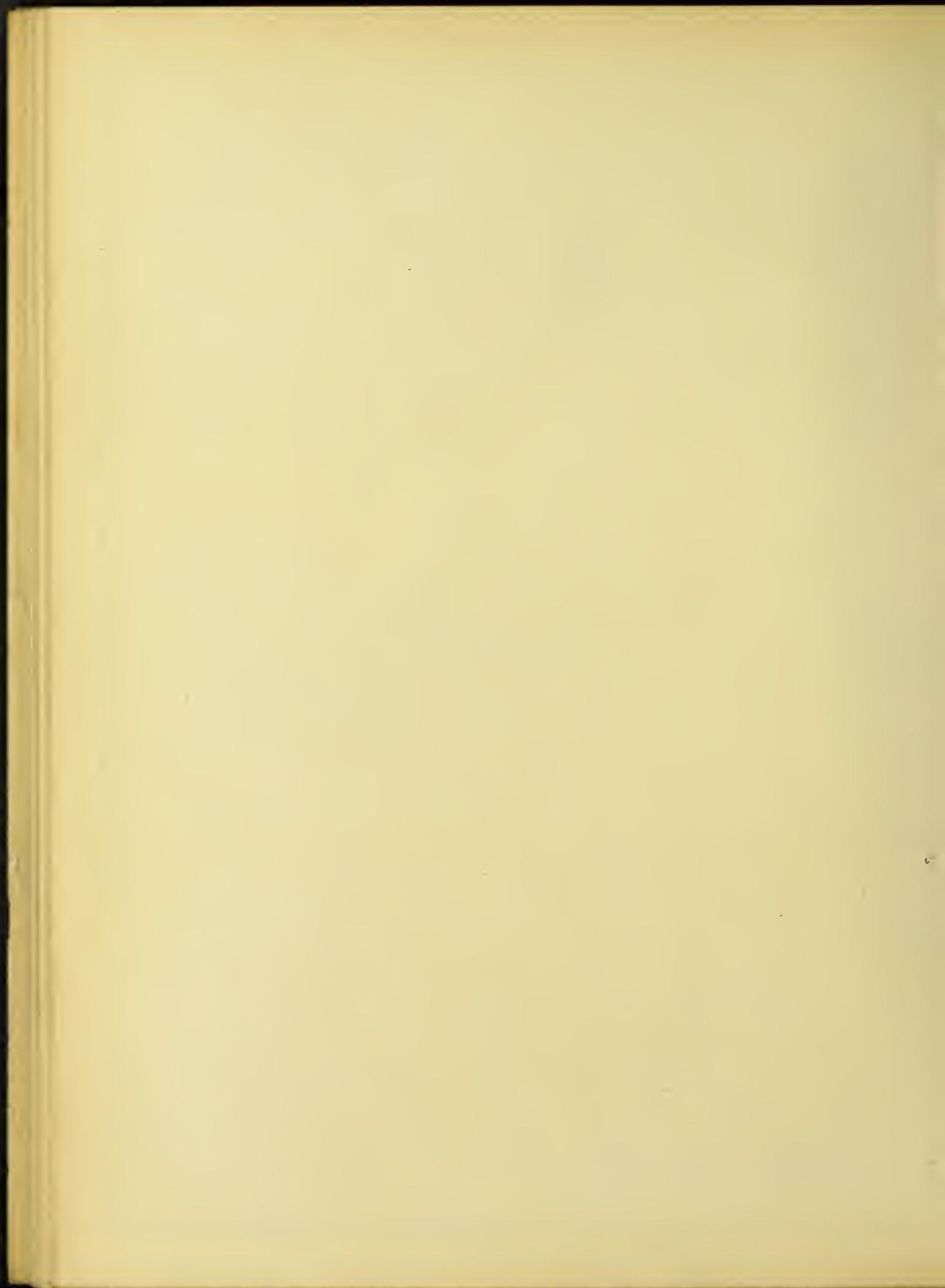
"And old Time, the best weigher of merits, to keep his balance even might have the golden weight of an Augustan age in both his scales: or rather our scale might descend; and antiquity's (as a modern watch for it strongly speaks) might kick the beam", (Conject. p. 11, l. 27 ff.) The "modern watch" here spoken of was most probably Addison. A little farther along Young says similarly: "Among the brightest of the moderns Mr. Addison must take his place", (Conject. p. 17, l. 28 ff.) and in the following passage Addison uses the phrase which Young quotes:

"I made an essay of them by putting the weight of wisdom in one scale and that of riches in another, upon which the latter...immediately flew up and kicked the beam," (Spectator No. 132).

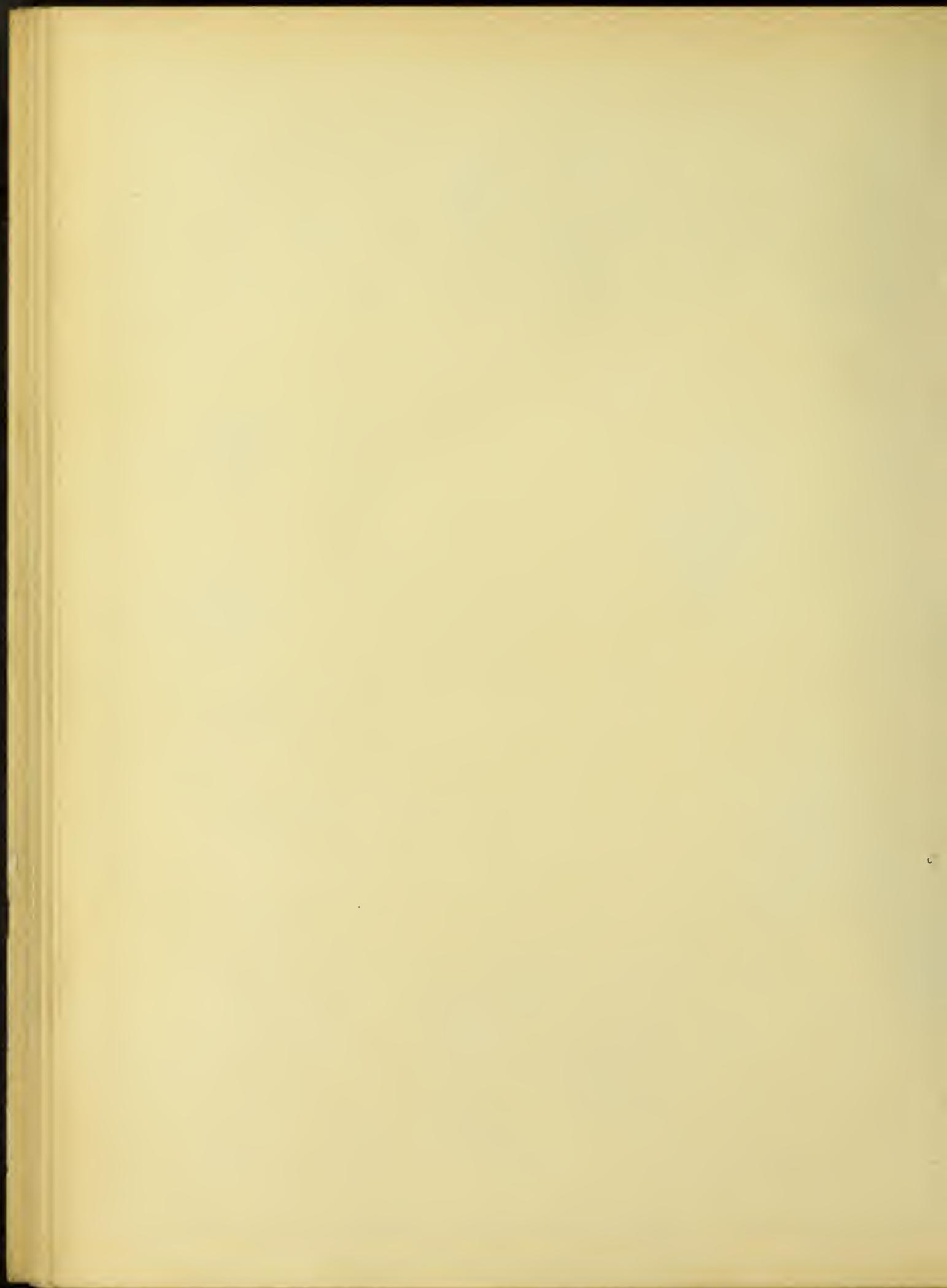
"A friend of mine...has made a convert to virtue of a species of composition once most its foe", (Conject. p. 17, l. 32 ff.). This friend, says Dr. Doran (Young's Works I, 572 f.), was Richardson, and the "species of composition", the novel.

"That a rant say you, is here? - I partly grant it: yet consider, etc.", (Conject. p. 15, l. 3.). The treatise does indeed consist, to a striking extent, of rant carried to insincerity and contradiction. The following chapters will show that its ideas were not originated during the days or years of its composition, but that they already existed, even clearly and forcibly set forth, partly in the previous works of our author and partly in the more scientific works of other authors, and that they were furthermore the living issues of the day in the literary circles which Young frequented. So we have here not the turbulent diction of a newly produced mind, but the reflective elaboration of a rhetorician. The author was working with ready material, and in a strenuous effort he demonstrated the problem has much sparkling, rhapsodic antithesis could be gotten out of it. And we have here a rather narrow circle of thoughts set forth in a bewildering poetical cant. This capturous style is not to be taken for that of a spontaneously creating literary genius.

But although this discourse on original composition is so indefinite that it permits of opposed interpretations, as rhetoricians that



it can prove distasteful, and so iritative that it is not a great contribution to literary criticism, it has nevertheless not fallen short of significance for the world of literature. The critic who reads the treatise in search after scientific statements about the topics it discusses, will find less here than in its preceding literary criticisms. But the reader to whom its content is new and who is not unfavorably affected by its actual nature as a literary production, will find it a powerfully suggestive and inspiring essay. In England, where its teachings were not a new message, it never attained to great significance. In Germany, however, as will be shown hereafter, its career became a very different one. It came true of the "Conjectures" that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country".

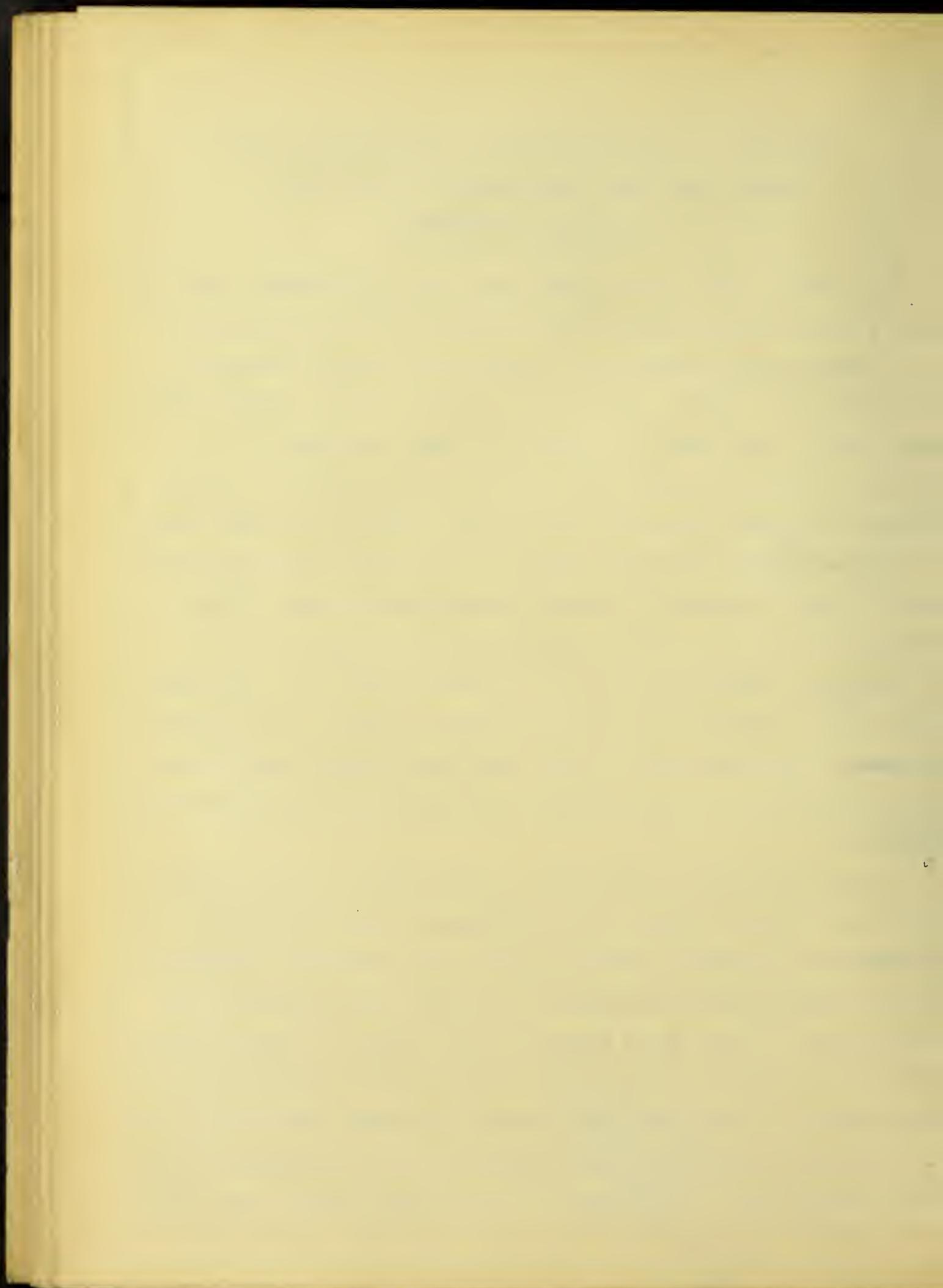


THE EFFECT OF THE "CONJECTURES" ON SUBSEQUENT ENGLISH  
WRITERS, AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE STUDENT  
OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The "Conjectures" never proved epoch-making in England. They met with a tame reception and made but few converts to their doctrine. This occurred partly because their content was already extensively known from other sources, and partly, say the critics, because their author was in this case as in others not taken seriously.

The "Conjectures" were first publicly taken notice of in London journals. They were announced and copiously quoted in the May number of the "Gentleman's Magazine", and in the same words and at the same time in "Scot's Magazine". Goldsmith advertised the essay in the "Critical Review", but without passing definite judgment on it. Dr. Warburton remarked about it in a censoring tone that "the character of an original writer is not confined to subject, but extends to manner", (Richardson Corr. II, 56). Only Horace Walpole and William Shenstone are said to have greeted the "Conjectures" with unrestricted applause.

Little influence of the essay on later English writers is to be detected. Professor Brandl states (Shakespeare Jahrbuch XXXIX, 13) that his search for instances revealed but few cases. He found that Horace Walpole speaks quite unmistakably in the spirit and wording of the "Conjectures" in the second preface to his "Castle of Otranto" (1765). And William Shenstone writes to his friend Dr. Percy: "You must by all means read Dr. Young's new 'Conjectures on Original Composition' and let it deter you, when you have completed Ovid, from engaging in any more translations". (cf. W. Thomas, Le Poète Edward Young, p. 476). But

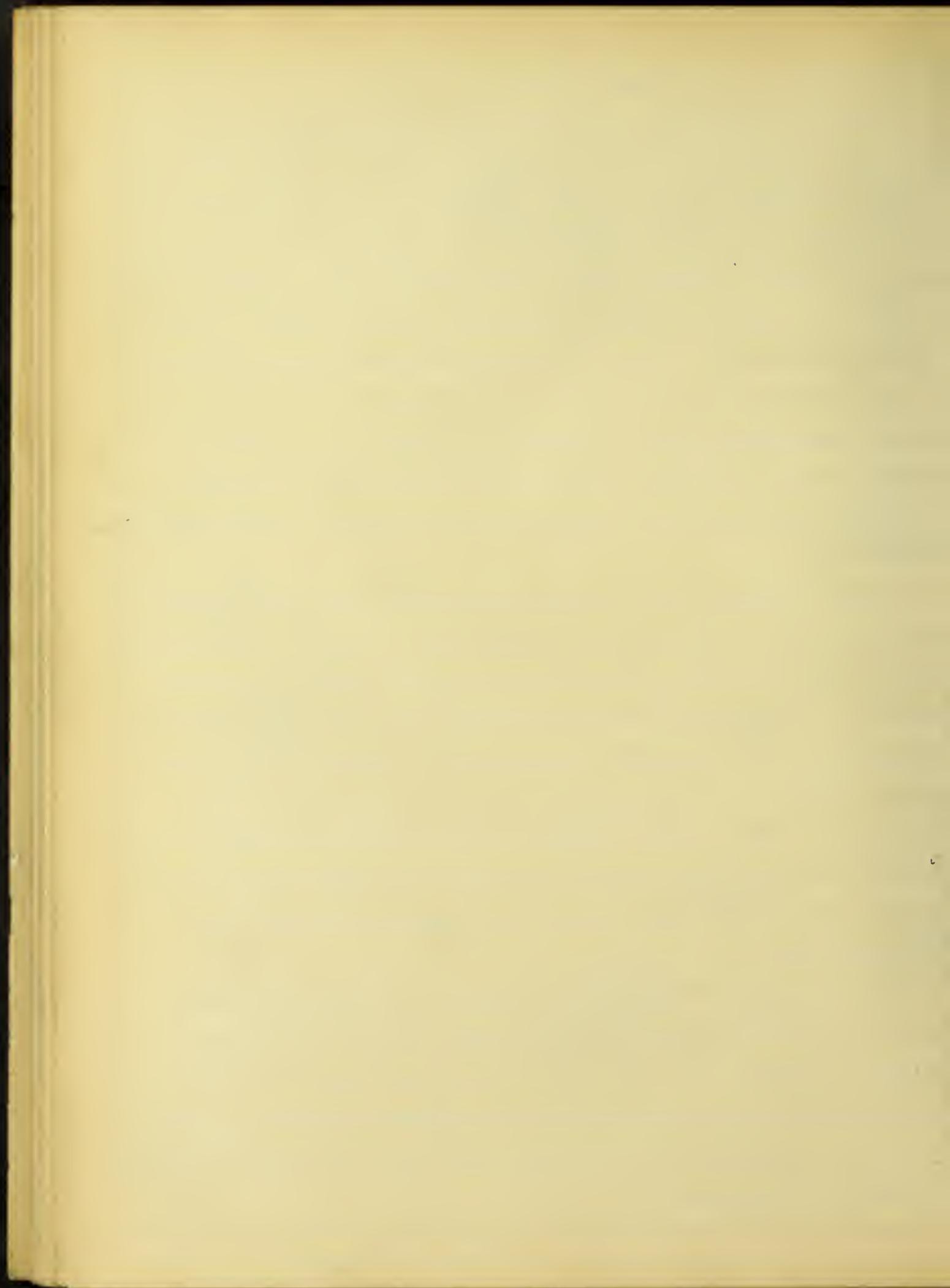


more instances of this nature could not be found.

And the "Conjectures" have been even more disregarded, as Professor Brandl also points out, by subsequent literary critics. Home seems to have nothing from Young in his "Elements of criticism" (1762). Elizabeth Montagu, a personal acquaintance of our author, disregarded him when she wrote her "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare" (1769), and followed Johnson's introduction to his edition of Shakespeare's works (1765). In his "Lectures on Rhetoric" (1783) Hugh Blair follows Addison devotedly, but criticises Young as "too fond of antithesis - too much glitter - fatiguing". And Young's biographer Croft speaks of the "Conjectures" only as "the lively letter in prose.... more like the production of untamed, unbridled youth, than of jaded fourscore".

From the time of their appearance even until now the "Conjectures" have at no time received much attention from the English readers and writers. They are even omitted from the greater number of the many editions of Young's works and are becoming very rare. They appear in the editions 1767 (posthumous supplementary volume), of 1770 (Edinburgh, 4 vols.), of 1774 (London, 5 vols.), of 1778 (Isaac Reed, 6 vols.), of 1798 (London, 3 vols.), and of 1854 (John Doran, 2 vols.). Young's works in these editions have become so scarce that such a set of them could be purchased only after a search of two years both abroad and here.

To the student of English literature the "Conjectures" are a revelation as to the period of their composition and as to their author's literary work. They embody to a large extent the literary program of their time. They are also the author's completest expression as to literature and composition, and they constitute his literary testament to posterity.



The Appearance and Spread of the "Conjectures" in  
Germany.

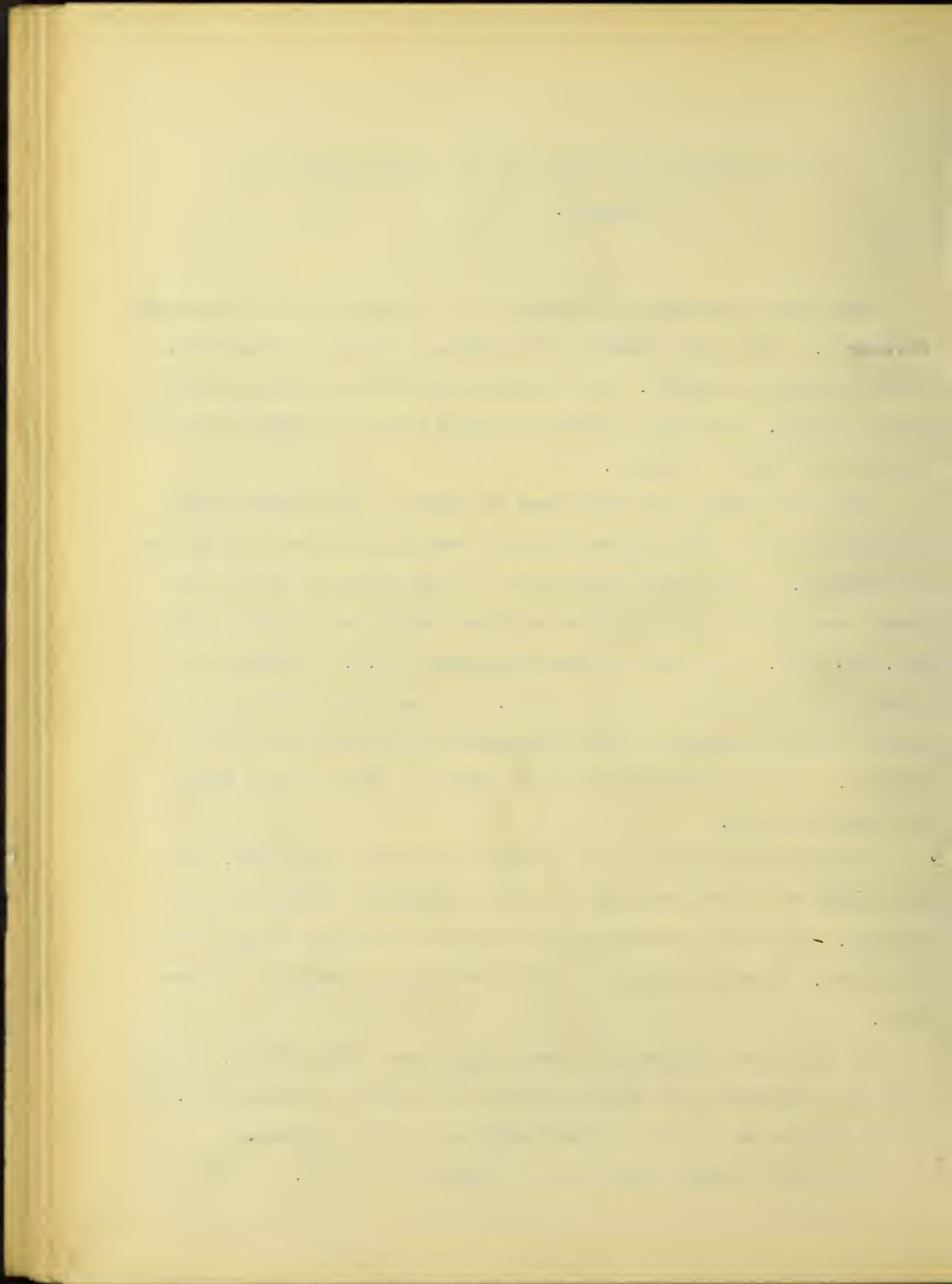
Soon after appearing in England the "Conjectures" came also to Germany . . . Here they became known through several translations, through numerous reviews, and through discussions of them in literary circles. Soon they became as widely known in Germany as they were at any time in England.

They were published four times in German, three times within about two years, and once more nearly twenty-seven years after being written. The first translation of them appeared about nine months after their first English edition, which was shortly after Feb. 25, 1760. And this translation, signed "V.T.", was made by Hans Ernst von Teubern (1738 - 1801). It was translated from the second English edition of the "Conjectures" and was published in Leipzig. In the introduction to it Young is spoken of in terms of highest praise.

In this same year of 1760 another translation appeared. It was signed "G\*", but for what name this signature stands is still unknown. This is a translation of the first edition of the "Conjectures". It was published in the "Freimütige Briefe" of Hamburg.

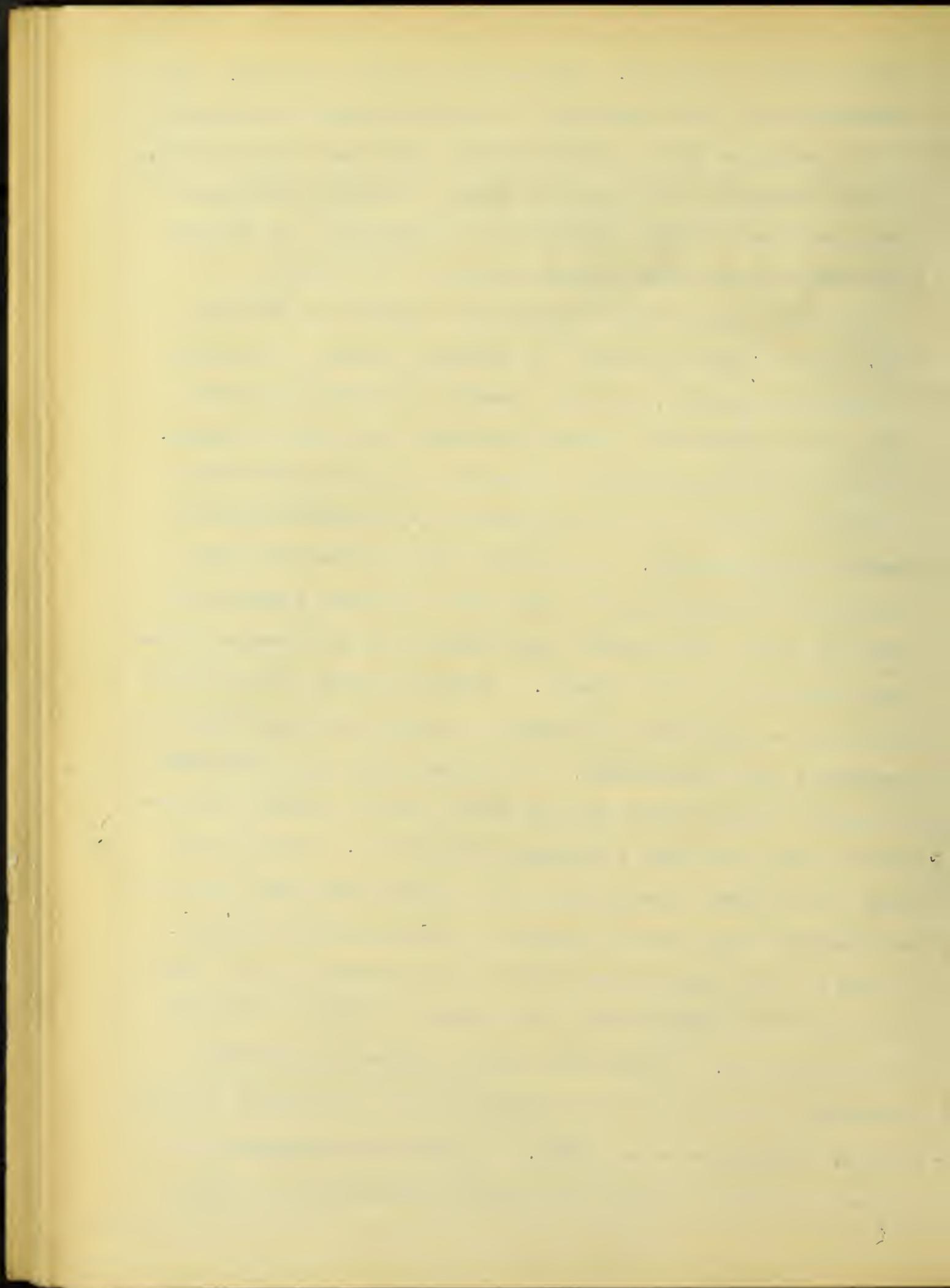
In 1761 the "Conjectures" went forth anew from Leipzig. This time they appeared in a second edition of Teubern's translation. It was an unaltered reprint of their earliest German edition.

The fourth German translation appeared in 1787. The



author signed it only "C". Who he was is still a mystery. His translation is a free rendering of the first English edition of the "Conjectures," and is named "Über den Geist der Originalwerke." In the introduction the translator speaks of having newly discovered a critique of great importance to his country. He was not acquainted with the three earlier editions of the essay.

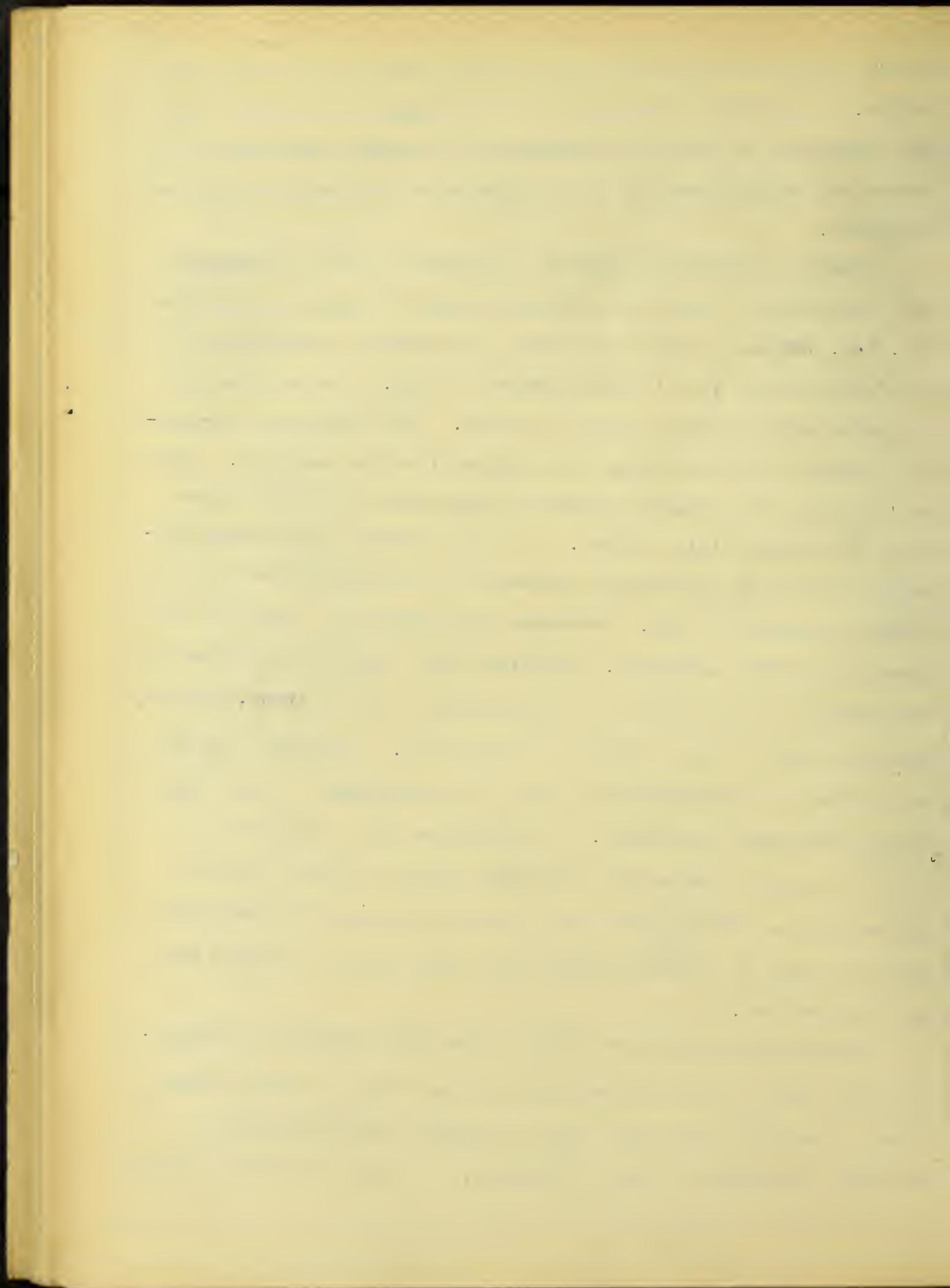
The first review of the "Conjectures" appeared on Feb. 25, 1760, in the "Neue Zeitungen von Gelehrten Sachen" of Leipzig. It contains a synopsis, favorable comment, and the announcement that a German translation (meaning Teubern's) was soon to appear. Shortly after the appearance of Teubern's translation Gottsched published a review of it in his periodical, "Das Neueste aus der anmutigen Gelehrsamkeit." He accuses Young of "meddling with a treatise on critical matters upon which he is not competent to throw any light", and deplors that Teubern did not translate something more worthy of his talents. Finally he adds, however, that the author has said many good things, and that the translator has furnished a good reproduction. In the same year the "Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien Künste" reviews the treatise favorably and gives a two-page résumé of it. Then it mentions the two German translations, and closes saying that the work is already too well known in Germany to require further comment. On June 25, 1761, Nicolai reviewed the "Conjectures" in the "Literaturbriefe" with much praise, and severely censured Gottsched's criticism of them. In the same year the "Bremisches Magazin" published a translation of the article on the "Conjectures" in the Gentleman's Magazine of May, 1759. In 1762 the "Göttingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen" reviewed the second edition of Teu-



bern's translation with favor for both the original and the translation. An article appearing in the "Beiträge zur Literatur und zum Vergnügen" in 1766 and discussing the literary excellence of Greece and England mentions the "Conjectures" favorably and quotes from them.

Schmid's "Theorie der Poesie", published in 1767, recommends the "Conjectures" highly as a literary guide to immortal originality. J.J. Rambach, on the other hand, attempted a refutation of the "Conjectures" in a "Schulprogramm" of 1765. He was answered by Herder with a strong defense of Young. The "Gelehrter Mercurius" attacks the "Conjectures" for discrediting the ancients. Mensel's article "De Veterum Poetarum Interpretatione" (1767) carried this attack still further. In 1770 Cramer's "Nordischer Aufseher" printed an eleven-page synopsis of the "Conjectures" and favorable comments on them. Numerous bibliographies, works on the theory of poetry, esthetics, criticisms, and the like, mentioned the "Conjectures" up to the end of the century, none of these, however, added anything of much interest or importance. Seemingly the latest review of them appeared in 1791 in the supplement to the "Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek". It criticises the translation of 1787, but praises Teubern's translation and the English original. And as late as 1794 the "Englische Blätter", published by Schubarth, had an article on imitation which cites approvingly a passage from the "Conjectures."

These data indicate how Young's essay was received in Germany. They show that it evoked close attention and that it became widely known. And thus they prove that it was dealing with questions that were extensively before the public, or that it brought stirring



new ideas. If the former was the case, it might have been only a matter of listening attentively to rhapsodic eulogy of views already firmly established and widely current, without being moved one way or the other in attitude toward them. If the latter is the case, however, the essay may have been one of the principal agents which caused that study and cult of literary genius and originality which were at their greatest height from 1770 to 1780, during the so-called Storm and Stress period. To find out how this was and thus to ascertain the actual relation of Young's essay to German literature, we must see whether the ideas contained in it appeared afterwards in other writings in Germany; then we must see whether these later appearances of those ideas are due to Young's essay or to other sources. And this will be the problem of the next chapter.

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

The Relation of the "Conjectures" to the Literature of  
Germany appearing subsequently up to 1780, the End of the  
Storm and Stress Period.

In this chapter the precise relation of the "Conjectures" to the two decades of German literature immediately following them is to be ascertained. It is to be seen whether they have contributed as greatly to the Storm and Stress Period, or whether they have even caused it, as many critics say that they have. For this purpose their various statements will be collected with their parallels in Germany that follow them and those that precede them. And then it will be ascertained as definitely as possible whether the parallels that may have sprung from the "Conjectures" really came from them or from elsewhere.

We begin with Young's most direct statement about ancient and modern authors. But since his "Conjectures" are mostly a disquisition on this topic, they are much anticipated and much repeated in Germany. The "Querelle des anciens et des modernes", begun in France by Perrault and Boileau and taken up in England by Sir William Temple, spread to Germany, partly from France and partly from England, it was fought violently during the strife between Gottsched and his Swiss opponents Bodmer and Breitinger; so this dispute was on foot in Germany for twenty years before the appearance of the "Conjectures" and it continued there for twenty years after their appearance. Now it is to be determined how Young's essay effected this dispute, and to this end the following passages are to be compared.

Conjectures p. 9, 1.37 ff. The modern powers are equal to

1. Introduction  
2. Methodology  
3. Results  
4. Discussion  
5. Conclusion

The following text is a placeholder for the main body of the document, which is currently illegible due to extreme blurring. It appears to contain several paragraphs of text, likely detailing the methodology, results, and discussion of a study or report.

those before them; modern performance in general is deplorably short. -- Reasons there are why talents may not appear, none why they may not exist, as much in one period as in another. An evocation of vegetable fruits depends on rain, air, and sun: an evocation of the fruits of genius no less depends on externals. -- Vergil and Horace owed their divine talents to heaven; their immortal works to men: thank Maecenas and Augustus for them.

Ibid. p4, l. 11: Let it not be suspected that I would weakly insinuate anything in favor of the moderns, as compared with ancient authors; no, I am lamenting their great inferiority. But I think it is no necessary inferiority; that it is not from divine destination, but from some cause far beneath the moon. I think that human souls, through all periods are equal; that due care and exertion would set us nearer our immortal predecessors than we are at present.

I 768: Genies will ich wecken, Leser lehren, nicht Kunstrichter gnügen!

Herder II. 280

I 767: Ist man selbst Genie, so kann man durch Proben die meiste Aufmunterung geben, und den schlafenden Funken tief aus der Asche herausholen, wo ihn der andere nicht sieht. Man wird auch eher auf die Hindernisse dringen, die das Genie und den Erfindungsgeist aufhalten, weil man sie aus eigener Erfahrung kennt. Und endlich wird man nun den Toren am besten die Originalsucht ausreden können, wenn man mit der grossen Stimme des Beispiels sie zurückscheucht.

Herder I, 256.

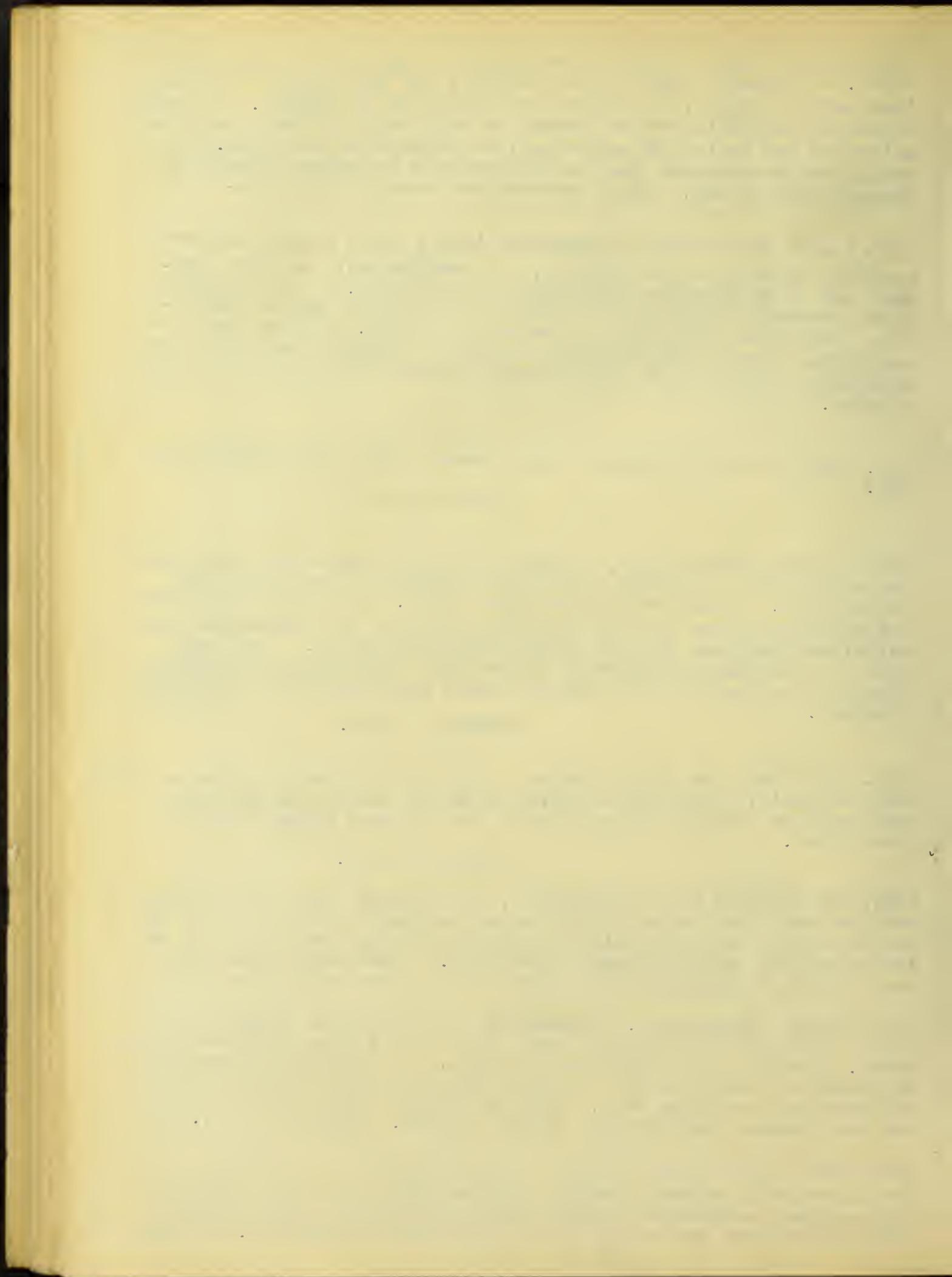
I 767: Wie würde ich nicht freuen, wenn etwa ein Genie, indem es dies läse, erwachte, sich fühlte, seine Schwingen wiegte, um von ihnen den Staub der Systeme abzuschütteln, und alsdenn seinen Flug zur Sonne nähme.

Herder I, 476.

I 765: Man irrt, sagt er (Meinhardt, im Versuche über den Charakter und die Werke der besten italienischen Dichter, 1763 - 1764), wenn man den Mangel grosser Genies zu gewissen Zeiten dem Mangel der Belohnungen und Aufmunterungen zuschreibt. Das wahre Genie arbeitet, gleich einem reissenden Strome, sich selbst seinen Weg durch

die grössten Hindernisse. Shakespeare, der zu einem Handwerke erzogen wurde, ward ein grosser Poet, ohne irgend eine Aufmunterung zu haben, ja sogar ohne selbst es zu wissen. -- Überhaupt können Aufmunterungen niemals Genies erzeugen; und sie schaden gewiss allemal denen die es schon sind, wenn der Gönner nicht selbst den wahren, den grossen Geschmack der Künste besitzt. Lessing VIII, 283

I 754: Wenn ich von den allweisen Einrichtungen der Vorsehung weniger ehrerbietig zu reden gewöhnt wäre, so würde ich keck sagen, dass ein gewisses neidisches Geschick über die deutschen Genies, welche ihrem Vaterlande Ehre machen könnten, zu herrschen scheine. Sie ster-



ben reich an Entwürfen, und schwanger mit Gedanken, denen zu ihrer Grösse nichts als die Ausführung fehlt. -- Nehmen Sie an, mein Herr, dass ein solches Genie in einem gewissen Stande geboren wird, der, ich will nicht sagen der elendeste, sondern nur zu mittelmässig ist, als dass er noch zu der sogenannten güldnen Mittelmässigkeit zu rechnen wäre. Und Sie wissen wohl, die Natur hat ein Wohlgefallen daran, aus eben diesem immer <sup>mehr</sup> grosse Geister hervor zu bringen, als aus irgend einem anderen. Nun überlegen Sie, was für Schwierigkeiten dieses Genie in einem Lande als Deutschland, wo fast alle Arten von Ermunterungen unbekannt sind, zu übersteigen habe. Bald wird es von dem Mangel der nötigsten Hilfsmittel zurückgehalten; bald von dem Neide, welcher die Verdienste auch schon in der Wiege verfolgt, unterdrückt; bald in mühsamen und seiner unwürdigen Geschäften entkräftet. Ist es ein Wunder, dass er nach aufgeopfer-ten Jugendkräften dem ersten starken Sturme unterliegt?

Lessing VI, 394.

I753: Der lobt die Neuern nur und der lobt nur die Alten.

-----  
Nein, nein; denn die Natur wirkt sich stets selber gleich,  
Im Wohltun stets gerecht, an Gaben allzeit reich.  
An Geistern fehlt es nie, die aus gemeinen Schranken  
Des Wissens sich gewagt, voll schöpfrischer Gedanken.

Lessing I, 243.

I753: Die Weisheit, war sie nur verflossener Zeiten Ehr?  
Ist nicht des Menschen Geist der Alten Grösse mehr?  
Lessing I, 243.

In this case we find that the ideas in question occurred in Germany before Young wrote; and we have no proof that their later repetition originated from Young's essay.

In the following case we have striking similarity between Young's lines and those of Gellert and Gerstenberg; probably we have here direct influence of one on the others. But neither the "Conjectures" nor other sources are mentioned, and the others are many. "Conjectures" p.5, l. 35: Too great awe for them (the ancients) lays genius under restraint.

I767: Es ist wahr, dass uns die Meisterstücke der Alten und die Regeln der Kunst grosse Vorteile bringen; doch wer weiss, ob sie nicht auf gewisse Weise selbst Ursache sind, dass wir den Alten in unsern Gedichten so weit nachstehen; dass wir gezwungener und mühsamer sind als sie? Gellert X, 68.

I766: Ich verehere die Alten: aber ich mag meine Empfindungen nicht

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the document. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.]

von ihnen einschränken lassen. Ist der Neuere ein Mann von Genie ?  
 Gut! Er hat ein Recht auf meine Ehrerbietung.

Schlesw. Litbriefe.  
 D. Lit. Denkm. 29/30, 15.

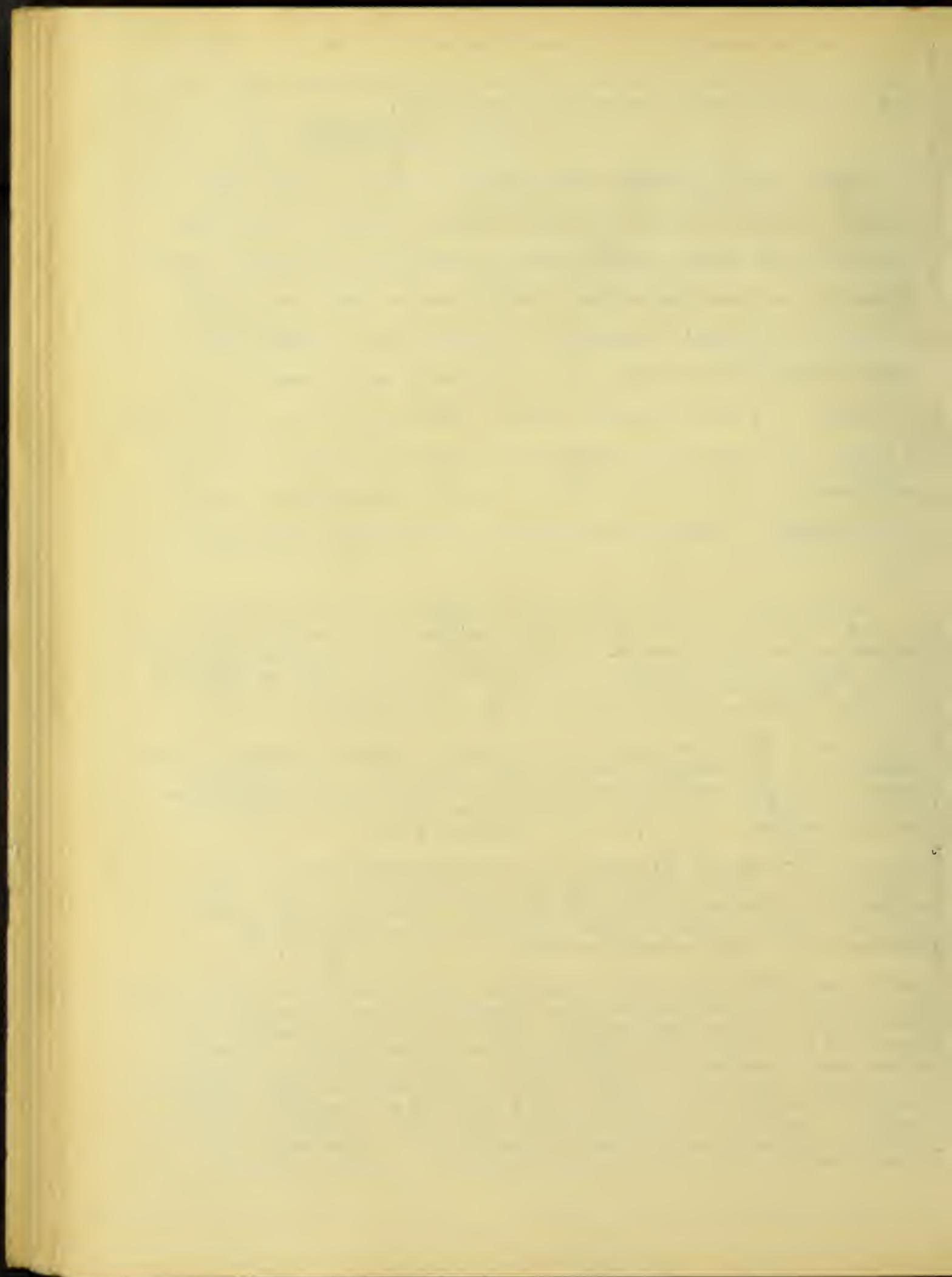
Stein says (Entstehung der neueren Ästhetik, p. 19) that the question whether it does not require greater ability to point out the beauties of poetry than it does to recognize its faults, occurs frequently in French esthetics. And it occurs there before the publication of Young's discourse. It occurs also, however, in Young's essay, and it appears chronologically in the wake of this in Germany. In some instances Young's lines may have been the source of their later parallels, although they are not referred to in any; on the whole, they are too fully and widely anticipated to be of much influence. This will be shown by the following comparative study.

Conjectures p. 15, l. 51, ff. Consider, in those ancients, what is it the world admires? Not the fewness of their faults, but the number and brightness of their beauties; and if Shakespeare is their equal (as he doubtless is) in that which in them is admired, then is Shakespeare as great as they; - - a giant loses nothing of his size though he should chance to trip in his race.

1768: Dieses Stück ist ohnstreitig eines von unsern beträchtlichsten Schönheiten, die genugsam zeigen, dass die Fehler, mit welchen sie verwebt sind, zu vermeiden im geringsten nicht über die Kräfte des Dichters gewesen wäre, wenn er sich diese Kräfte nur selbst hätte zutrauen wollen.  
 Lessing X, 95.

1761: Es ist garnicht die Rede, ob ein Meisterstück Fehler habe, sondern wo die Fehler liegen und wie sie angebracht sind. Jeder vernünftige Autor weiss seine Fehler zum voraus, er weiss ihnen aber die rechte Stelle zu geben, wo sie wie der Schatten im Gemälde sich verlieren und abstechen.  
 Hamann III, 97

1759: Diese Herren, (die mittelmässigen Schriftsteller) welche so gern jedes Gericht der Kritik für eine grausame Inquisition ausschreien, machen sehr seltsame Forderungen. Sie behaupten, der Kunstrichter müsse nur die Schönheiten eines Werks aufsuchen und die Fehler desselben eher bemänteln, als blosstellen. In zwei Fällen bin ich selbst ihrer Meinung. Ein Mal, wenn der Kunstrichter Werke von einer ausgemachten Güte vor sich hat; die besten Werke der Alten zum Exempel. Zweitens, wenn der Kunstrichter nicht sowohl gute Schriftsteller, als nur blos gut Leser bilden will, - - Die Güte eines Werkes beruht nicht auf einzelnen Schönheiten; diese einzelnen



Schönheiten müssen ein schönes Ganze ausmachen, oder der Kenner kann sie nicht anders, als mit einem zürnenden Missvergnügen lesen. Nur wenn das Ganze untadelhaft befunden wird, muss der Kunstrichter von einer nachteiligen Zergliederung abstehen und das Werk so, wie der Philosoph die Welt, betrachten.

Lessing VIII, 39.

1758: Dryden: - - - in den meisten Gattungen der Poesie den Alten gleich, und übertreffen sie sogar in einigen.

Lessing VI, 25I

1752: Ich vergleiche ihn (Huart) übrigens einem mutigen Pferde, das niemals mehr Feuer aus den Steinen schlägt als wenn es stolpert.

Lessing V, 8.

1750: Nein, ich versichere den Herrn Basedow auf meine Ehre, dass ich dem Herrn Klopstock in allem Ernste gewogen bin; so wie ich allen Genies gewogen bin. Aber deswegen, weil ich ihn für ein grosses Genie erkenne, muss er überall bei mir Recht haben? Mit nichten. Grade vielmehr das Gegenteil: Weil ich ihn für ein grosses Genie erkenne, bin ich gegen ihn auf meiner Hut. Ich weiss, dass ein feuriges Pferd auf eben dem Steige samt seinem Reiter den Hals brechen kann, über welchen der bedächtige Esel ohne Straucheln geht.

Lessing VIII, 262 .

1746: Cet ouvrage a des défauts: c'est un jugement qui est à la portée de la plupart. Mais, cet ouvrage n'a pas toutes les beautés dont il est susceptible: c'en est un autre, qui n'est réservé qu'aux esprits du premier ordre.

Batteux, Les beaux arts, II7.

Young values translations and originals very differently.

As a champion for the moderns in the "Querelle des modernes et des anciens" he attacked his opponent Pope, who had asserted that nothing better remains for us to do than to follow the ancients, and had thus evoked the "Conjectures", and says in regard to his translation of Homer, that he would have succeeded better in an original attempt. In this connection he says also: "But supposing Pope's Illiad to have been perfect in its kind; yet it is a translation still; which differs as much from the original as the moon from the sun", "Conjectures" p. I2, 1.26,ff.

This contention of Young has been voiced repeatedly in Germany both before and after the appearance of the "Conjectures", but seemingly not because of them. Gerstenberg says the following as

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the document. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.]

to this question:

1766: Es gibt keine Übersetzungen von Originalpoeten, die sich lesen lassen. Weder die Franzosen noch die Engländer haben dergleichen, und was sie Übersetzungen nennen, ist bald mehr, bald weniger als das Original. Cawley sagte ganz recht, dass der Unterschied in der inneren Bearbeitung zweier Sprachen der Grund sei, warum alle Übersetzungen die er jemals gesehen, so weit unter ihren Originalen wären.

Schlesw. Litbriefe, D. Litdenkm. 29/30, 95.

1766: Ein Franzose ist in den Schriften der "Académie des Inscriptions" der eigentlichen Spur noch näher gekommen. "Übersetzungen bringen der gemeinen Gattungen von Lesern eine mässige Achtung gegen die Originale bei. Es gibt wenig gute Übersetzungen, etc."

Schlesw. Litbriefe, D. Litdenkm. 29/30. 96.

But just during the decade preceding the appearance of the "Conjectures" Lessing had championed the contention in favor of originals versus translations in his widely read literary criticisms. He says:

1759: Am wenigsten aber sind sie (unsere Übersetzer) vermögend, ihrem Originalenachzudenken. Lessing VIII, 9.

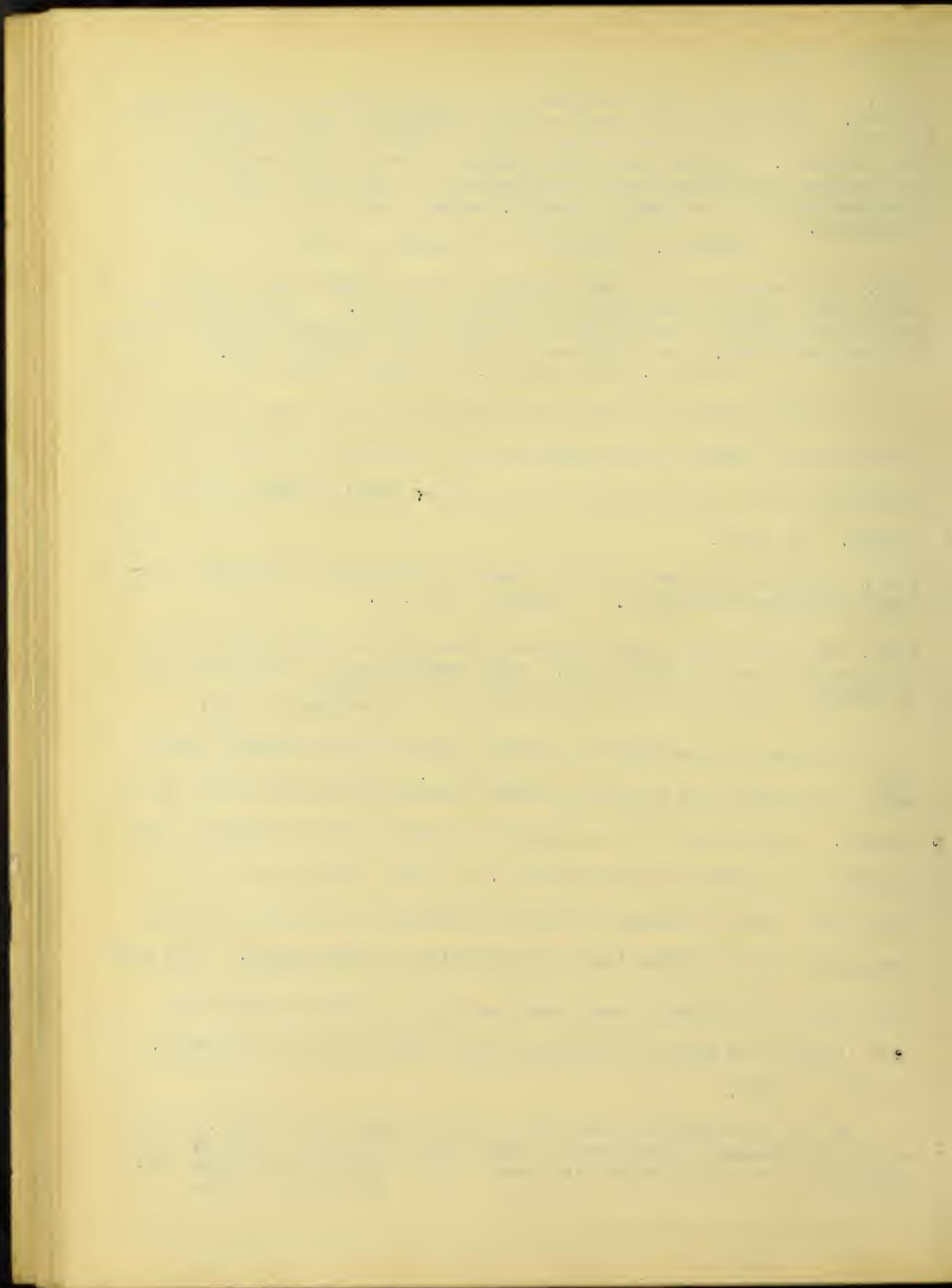
1753: Und in der Tat, kann sich der, welcher nur ein wenig eifrig für die Ehre seiner Nation ist, wohl erniedrigen, ein Übersetzer zu werden, wenn er selbst ein Original werden kann?

Lessing V, 169.

What the "Conjectures" say about imitation was already widely known in Germany and was being widely discussed when they were published. They speak of an imitation of nature as an original, and of that of another as imitation, p.2, 1.34: "Imitations are of two kinds: one of nature, and one of authors: the first we call originals, and confine the term imitation to the second." The same distinction had already been made years ago by Gellert, who has very largely and widely anticipated the "Conjectures" in Germany. He says in 1751:

Wo hat er schreiben gelernt?— In der Schule der Natur.— Hat er den La Fontaine nachgeahmt? — Nein, Ihre Majestät, ich bin ein Original, aber darum weisz ich noch nicht, ob ich ein gutes bin.

Gellert I, 306.



Winkelmann and Batteux are particularly to be mentioned as among the loudest advocates in Germany of the imitation of nature versus that of the works of other authors. Of their many discussions and recommendations of this sort of imitation the following instances may be compared:

1775: Man wird nicht leugnen können, dass die eifrige Nachahmung der Alten mehrenteils ein Weg zur Trockenheit werden kann, zu welcher die Nachahmung der Natur nicht leicht verleiten wird.

Winkelmann I, 87.

1775: "Die Nachahmung der Natur gibt den Figuren des Künstlers Leben, und belebt Formen", wie Sokrates sagt, und Klito, der Bildhauer, stimmt ihm bei. "Die Natur selbst ist nachzuahmen, kein Künstler," gab Lysippus, der grosse Bildhauer, zur Antwort, da man ihn fragte, "wem er unter seinen Vorgängern folgte?"

Winkelmann I, 87.

1746: - - - "le génie, qui est le père des arts, doit imiter la nature".

Batteux, Les beaux arts, 9.

Also the following lines in the "Conjectures" did not come with the force of newness into Germany. The idea that all men are born originals, and the idea of "aping imitation" are neither originated nor newly animated there by Young, as shown by the passages here added.

"Conjectures", p. 8. 1.53 ff.: Born originals, how comes it to pass that we die copies? That meddling ape imitation, as soon as we come to years of indiscretion (so let me speak) snatches the pen, and blots out nature's mark of separation.

1775-'90 Kant: - - - das zu sehr modische Nachäffen verrät einen Menschen ohne Grundsätze. Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 200.

1775-'90: Es besitzt zwar jeder etwas Eigentümliches, allein die gegenwärtigen Schulanstalten, wo alles zum Nachahmen genötigt wird, verhindern die Entwicklung des Genies.

Schlapp, Kants Lehre v. Genie. 165.

1772: - - - denn der Mensch ist unter allen Tieren der grösste Pantomim.

Hamann IV, 42.

1768: - - - bald andern Nationen nachgeäfft, so dass Nachahmer beinahe zum Beiwort und zur zweiten Silbe unseres Namens geworden.

Herder II, 51.

1764-'75. Shaftesbury: They are mean spirits who love to copy merely. Nothing is agreeable or natural, but what is original. Our manners, like our faces, though ever so beautiful, must differ in their beauty.

The first part of the report is devoted to a general description of the country, its climate, soil, and natural resources. It is followed by a detailed account of the various industries and occupations of the people, and a list of the principal towns and villages. The report concludes with a summary of the progress of the colony since its establishment, and a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government.

The second part of the report contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages. It also contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages.

The third part of the report contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages. It also contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages.

The fourth part of the report contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages. It also contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages.

The fifth part of the report contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages. It also contains a list of the names of the principal officers and members of the government, and a list of the names of the principal towns and villages.

An over-regularity is next to deformity.

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 66.

I761: Miltons "Abhandlung von der Erziehung, die Wieland nachge-  
 äfft, aber nicht übertroffen."

Hamann III, 64.

I760: Ich habe dir schon bei einer andern Gelegenheit geschrieben,  
 dass Nachahmen und Nachäffen nicht einerlei ist.

Hamann III, 3.

I755: Ein Maler ist ja eigentlich nichts anders als ein Affe der  
 Natur, und je glücklicher er diese nachäfft, desto vollkommener  
 ist er.

Windkelmann I, 92.

I735: A poet describes nothing so happily as what he has seen; --  
 nor mimicks truly other manners than those whose originals he has  
 practiced and known. Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 29.

I735: -- the natural sensations with which the various parts  
 of the universe affect a sagacious, perceptive, mimicking creature.  
 Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 114.

I735: -- -- but has only been good at mimicking and describing o-  
 thers.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 123.

I527: And to each image give a different face.

-----  
 In this the laws of nature we obey,  
 And act as her example points the way,  
 Which has on every different species thrown  
 A shape distinct and figure of its own.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets, XIX, 645

Aristoteles erklärt sich die Tatsache der Kunst aus der all-  
 gemein-menschlichen Neigung zum Nachahmen, zur *μίμησης* wie sie  
 im Kinde bereits hervortritt. -- -- Scaliger verbindet die Aristo-  
 telische *μίμησης* mit dem fernerhin unzählige Male zitierten Ho-  
 razischen Worte: *ut pictura poesis*.

Stein, 125.

Young continues about imitation, "Conjectures", p.8, l. 37,ff:

"And since copies surpass not their originals, as streams rise not  
 higher than their spring, rarely so high; hence, while arts mech-  
 anic are in perpetual progress, and increase, the liberal are in  
 retrogradation and decay. These words recur partly in Herder:

I778: -- -- denn kein Abfluss springt höher als seine Quelle.  
 Herder VIII, 214.

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the document. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.]

1775: - - das Wasser im Abgang nie höher springt als in seiner Quelle.

Herder VIII, 316

And they were anticipated most completely in Germany by Gellert in the following lines:

1751: Wer sich garnichts, sondern alles seinem Originale zutraut; wer im Nachahmen nichts tun will, als nur seinem Beispiele kümmerlich folgen, der wird ihm nicht allein nicht gleichen, sondern auch stets unter ihm sein. Und was würde durch das Nachahmen erhalten worden sein, wenn keiner mehr ausgerichtet hätte, als das Original, dem er folgte? (Quoting or rather translating Quintilian)

Gellert I, 65.

The "Conjectures" call the imitator a transplanter, p. 2, l. 47.

But already in 1753 Lessing had spoken of:

- - untersuchen, nicht ununtersucht fortpflanzen.

Lessing V, 276.

It seems probable that the lines here given from the "Conjectures" have given rise to the following lines from Gellert, but it is not certain. Gellert had been thinking and writing much along these lines before the publication of Young's essay, and quotes from the other leading English critics and from many of the French, but he never mentions the "Conjectures". Nevertheless he may have known and used them, as here shown:

"Conjectures" p. 7, l. 5 ff. The classics are forever our rightful and revered masters in composition. P. 4.30 ff. Let us be as far from neglecting as from copying their admirable composition. - - - Let our understandings feed on theirs: They afford the noblest nourishment: But let them nourish, not annihilate, our own. When we read, let our imagination kindle at their chorus; when we write, let our judgments shut them out of our thoughts.

1767: Die Alten sind allerdings unsere Lehrmeister in den schönen Wissenschaften. Wir wollen also dankbar sein und von ihnen lernen: - - - ihre Absicht bei ihren Werken erforschen und sie darnach prüfen; ihre Schönheiten bemerken, fühlen, bewundern, auswendig behalten, annehmen. Wir wollen uns durch ihren Geist erhitzen und beleben, und durch ihren Geschmack den unsrigen verbessern. Aber können wir nicht zu dankbar, nicht auf eine ungereimte Art dankbar sein? Ja, wenn wir sie zu knechtisch nachahmen.

Gellert X, 79.

To imitate a great author's method of composition but not his

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.

writings had also been demanded before the days of the "Conjectures." ~~Compare the passages given hereafter and those on page 109.~~ And Gottsched, Bodmer, and Breitinger had long ago asserted that nature must form the basis of poetry. Gottsched says in the title of the second edition of his "Kritische Dichtkunst" (1740) "dass das innere Wesen der Poesie in einer Nachahmung der Natur bestehe", and Breitinger says in 1740 in his "Kritische Abhandlung von der Natur etc." p. 198: "Es ist nicht anders, die Poesie ist eine geschickte Nachahmung der Natur: die erste Grundregel, worauf alle Lehrbücher der Redekunst hinauslaufen müssen, lauten: Studiert die Natur und folgt ihrem Winke!" And Bodmer writes in the year 1741 in his "Poetische Gemälde" p.28: "Was keinen Grund in der Natur hat, kann niemand wohlgefallen als einem zerrütteten Kopfe." And these ideas are forcefully repeated in the "Conjectures", p.4. l. 40 ff.:

Must we then, you say, not imitate ancient authors? Imitate them, by all means; but imitate aright. He that imitates the divine Iliad does not imitate Homer, but he that takes the same Method which Homer took, for arriving at a capacity of accomplishing a work so great. Tread in his steps to the sole fountain of immortality: drink where he drank, at the true Helicon, that is, at the breast of nature.

Both ideas recur frequently in the wake of the "Conjectures". But Young did not originate these ideas in Germany, as here shown. He was only one besides Gottsched and the Swiss, and Winkelmann, Lessing and Batteux, to make them current. The "Conjectures" were seemingly influential, but not indispensable, in the spread and defense of these ideas, as proven by the following passages.

1775 - '90: Genie kann nicht ganz nachgeahmt werden; man kann zwar den Geist oder die Quellen eines Genies nachahmen, aber nicht die Art, wie er es an den Tag bringt.

\* Vergl. Urteilkraft # 32 (Schluss): Nicht Nachahmung, sondern Nachfolge -- welches nur so viel bedeutet als: aus denselben Quellen schöpfen, daraus jener schöpfte, und seinen Vorgängern

Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several paragraphs and appears to be a formal document or letter.

nur die Art, wie sie sich dabei benahmen, abzulernen.

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 285

1767: Wir, die wir die Werke der Alten mit Recht verehren, da wir sie so vortrefflich finden, ahmen vielleicht mehr die Copien der Natur, als die Natur selbst nach. Vielleicht folgen wir nicht sowohl dem idealisch Schönen in unserm Verstande als dem schon vorhandenen in den Werken der Alten.

Gellert X, 68.

1774: Was wird es also nützen, wenn man die Werke der Alten liest, und sie nicht nach den Regeln der Kunst, ich möchte bald sagen, nach den Regeln der Natur liest, denn was sind alle Regeln der Kunst anders, als Stimmen, Befehle der Natur, welche die grössten Geister gehört, verstanden und ausgeübt haben? Wenn man sie, sage ich, nicht mit Einsicht in die Regeln, und mit Geschmack, oder Empfindung liest? Pope spricht: \*) "Mit eben demselben Geiste, mit welchem sie der Autor geschrieben hat."

\*) A perfect judge will read each work of wit  
With the same spirit that its author writ. (Ess. on Crit. V. 2)

Gellert VIII, 91.

1773: - - - und finden selten was in den alten Stücken singt, den Geist der Natur!

Herder V, 183.

1767: Wir können ungerecht gegen die Natur, gegen uns selber werden, wenn wir unsern eigenen Geist verdrängen, um den ihrigen mit ungeschickter Hand an seine Stelle zu setzen. - - Wir müssen es also nicht genug sein lassen, nur die Alten nachzuahmen. Die Natur war ihre Lehrmeisterin; und so soll sie auch die unsrige sein! Wir müssen es nicht blos den Alten gleich tun wollen und ihnen nur Schritt vor Schritt folgen, wir werden sonst eben deswegen unter ihnen bleiben. Wir haben mehr zu wagen. Sie zu übertreffen sei unser Ziel, wenn wir es auch nie erreichen; auf diese Art werden wir ihnen wenigstens gleichen.

Gellert X, 79 ff.

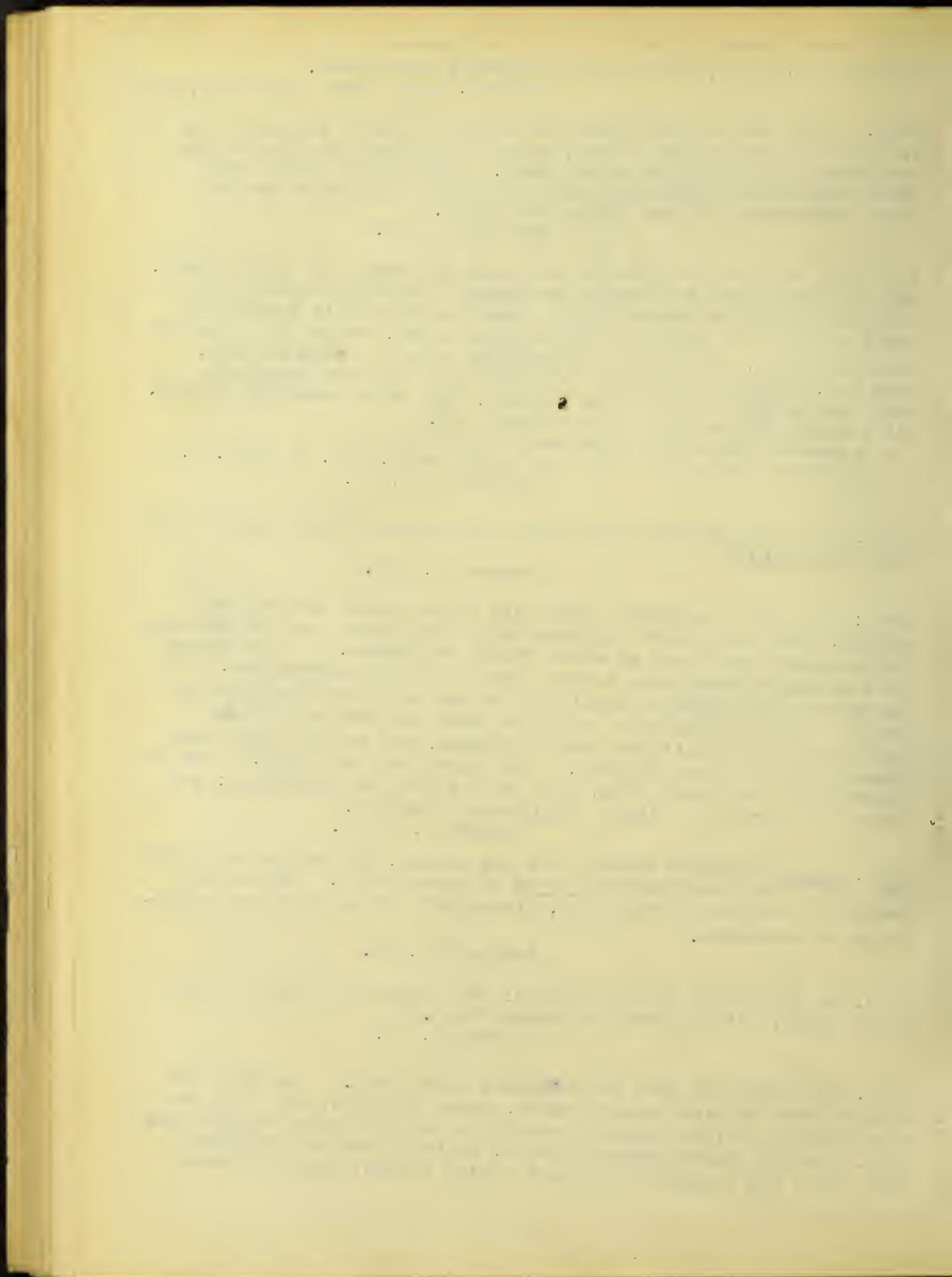
1769: Einen nachahmen heisst, wie ich glaube, den Gegenstand, das Werk des andern nachmachen; einem nachahmen aber, die Art und Weise von dem andern entlehnen, diesen oder einen ähnlichen Gegenstand zu behandeln.

Herder III, 83.

1768: Er will Popes Regel anführen: "man müsse die Alten mit dem Geist lesen, mit welchem sie geschrieben."

Herder II, 53.

1767: Aber Theokrit kann er (Gessner) nicht sein. Im Geist der Idyllen muss er nicht unser Lehrer, unser Original, und noch weniger unser einziges Original sein! - - Zuerst würden dadurch blos arme, trockene Nachahmungen erzeugt, anstatt dass aus Theokrit noch neben ihm Originale gebildet werden können, die eine neue



und eigentümliche Art der Verschönerung nach dem Geschmack unsrer Zeit haben könne, wenn sie Genies sind. Die Natur, der Theokrit näher ist, kann als eine Mutter mit vielen Brüsten noch viele Geister tränken, und wer trinkt nicht lieber aus der Quelle, als aus einem Bach ?

Herder I, 349.

erkannt

1768: Nacheiferer wecke man, nicht Nachahmer. Je besser die Alten/ um so weniger geplündert: desto glücklicher nachgebildet, desto eher erreicht. Und das endlich ist kopierendes Original, wo keine Kopie sichtbar ist, wo man sich an einem griechischen Nationalautor zum Schriftsteller seiner Nation und Sprache schafft: wer dies ist, der schreibt für seine Literatur.

Herder II, 162.

1767: Aber nachahmen, um den Ton eines Alten zu lernen ? Diese Nachahmung ist schon höher und eine Arbeit des Geistes. Wenn man einen Autor mit dem Feuer liest, mit dem er geschrieben hat, so muss er uns so beseelen, dass wir eine Zeitlang gleichsam verückt in seine Sphäre der Gedanken sind: sein Ton schallt noch in unsern Ohren; wir sehen mit seinen Augen; wir atmen in seiner Denkart wie in unserm Elemente: die Seite der poetischen Empfindung tönt in uns, er weckt von der seinigen, mit ihr zusammen: die Worte formen sich nach der Wendung seines Geistes: wir lesen usque scribendi sollicitudinem - - und schreiben. Nun lebt noch seine Sprache in uns; sein Ritmus tönt noch in unserm Ohr: die Reihe seiner Bilder steht vor unserm Auge: wir ahmen in seiner Sprache, in seinem Silbenmass, in seiner Komposition der Gemälde nach, und zeigen uns also als Vituosen. - - - sein Feuer facht unsern Geist an, wir schaffen in seine Bilder neue Züge, und prägen seine Ideen um, wir bilden uns nach seiner Form neue Figuren, ein Ausdruck gelingt uns vor ihm; eine Wendung glänzt hervor; ein Gleichnis malen wir besser aus, - wir werden mehr als Nachahmer, wir werden Nacheiferer.

Herder I, 408.

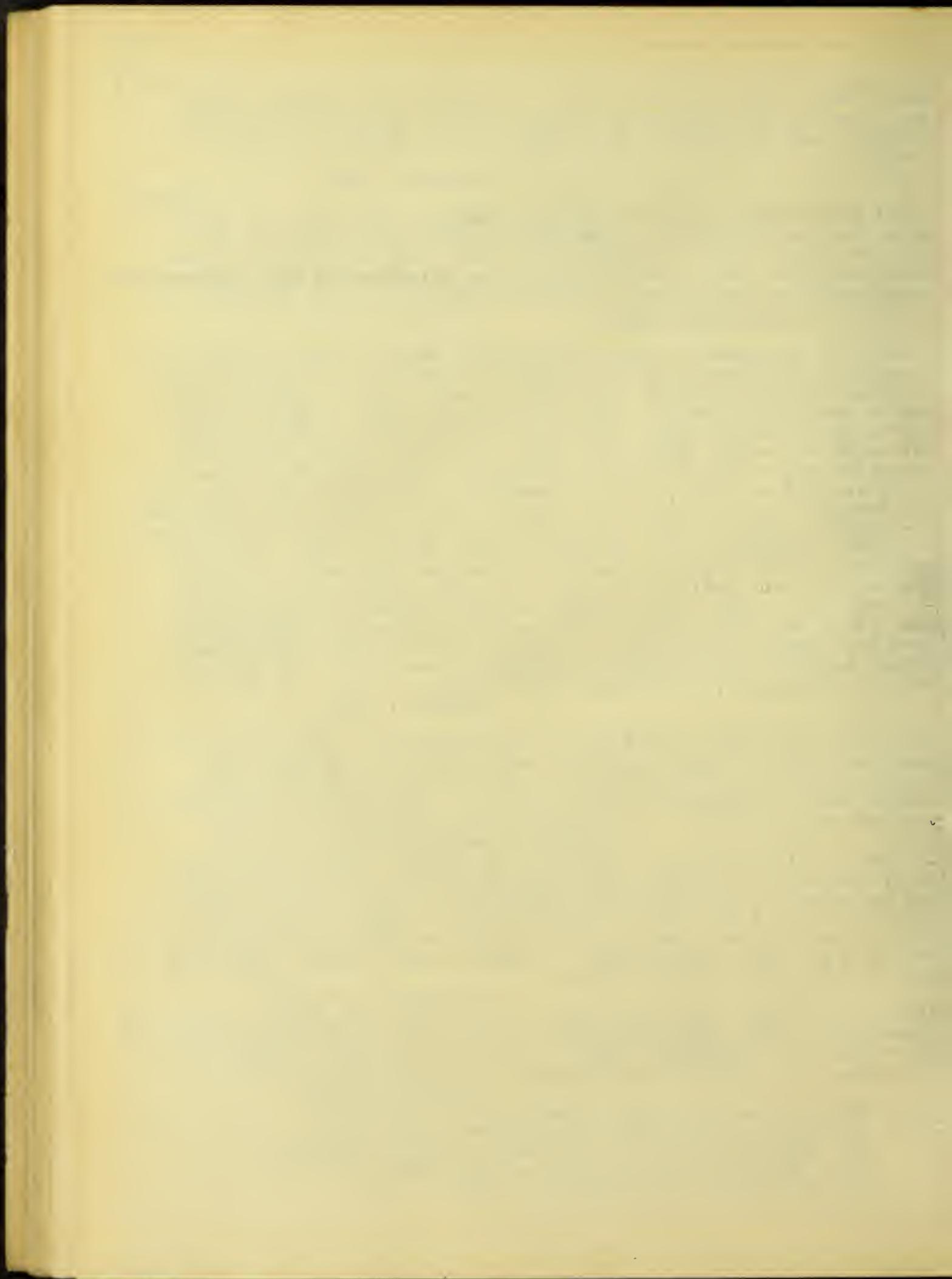
1766: Wenn man sagt, der Künstler ahme dem Dichter, oder der Dichter ahme dem Künstler nach, so kann dieses zweierlei bedeuten: entweder der eine macht das Werk des andern zu dem wirklichen Gegenstande seiner Nachahmung, oder sie haben beide einerlei Gegenstände der Nachahmung, und der eine entlehnt von dem andern die Art und Weise, es nachzuahmen. - - - Bei der ersten Nachahmung ist der Dichter Original, bei der andern ist er Kopist. Jene ist ein Teil der allgemeinen Nachahmung welche das Wesen seiner Kunst ausmacht, und er arbeitet als Genie, sein Vorwurf mag ein Werk anderer Künste oder der Natur sein. Diese hingegen setzt ihn gänzlich von seiner Würde herab; anstatt der Dinge selbst ahmt er ihre Nachahmungen nach und gibt uns kalte Erinnerungen von Zügen eines fremden Genies für ursprüngliche Züge seines eigenen.

Lessing IX, 50 ff.

1756 - '59: Gegen das eigene Denken setze ich das Nachahmen, nicht die Nachahmung: unter jenem verstehe ich die knechtische Folge; in dieser aber kann das Nachgeahmte, wenn es mit Vernunftgefühl geführt wird, gleichsam eine andere Natur annehmen, und etwas Eigenes werden.

Winkelman I, 206.

1753: Was ist denn ihre Kunst, und worauf trotzen sie ?  
Ihr Meister ist Natur, sie in belebten Bildern,  
Mit eignen Farben uns, verschönert oft zu schildern.  
Doch, Dichter, sage selbst, was schilderst du von ihr ?  
Der Dinge Fläche nur und Schein gefallen dir,



Wie sie das Auge sieht, dem Geiste vorzumalen.  
Bleibst du den Sinnen treu, und machst aus Geistern Schalen.  
Ins Innre der Natur dringt nie dein kurzer Blick.  
Lessing I, 244.

1743: Wie Opitz das getan, der im Teutonerland,  
Der erste der Natur, geheime Räder fand;  
Und hundert Jahr hernach, von ihm erst aufgeweckt,  
Zween oder drei allein dieselbe Spur entdeckt.  
Bodmer, D. Litdenkm. XII, 65.

1735: Homer took his plan from nature: he has followed her closely  
in every step.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 314.

1735: The best poets copy from nature and give it to us such as they  
find it.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 69.

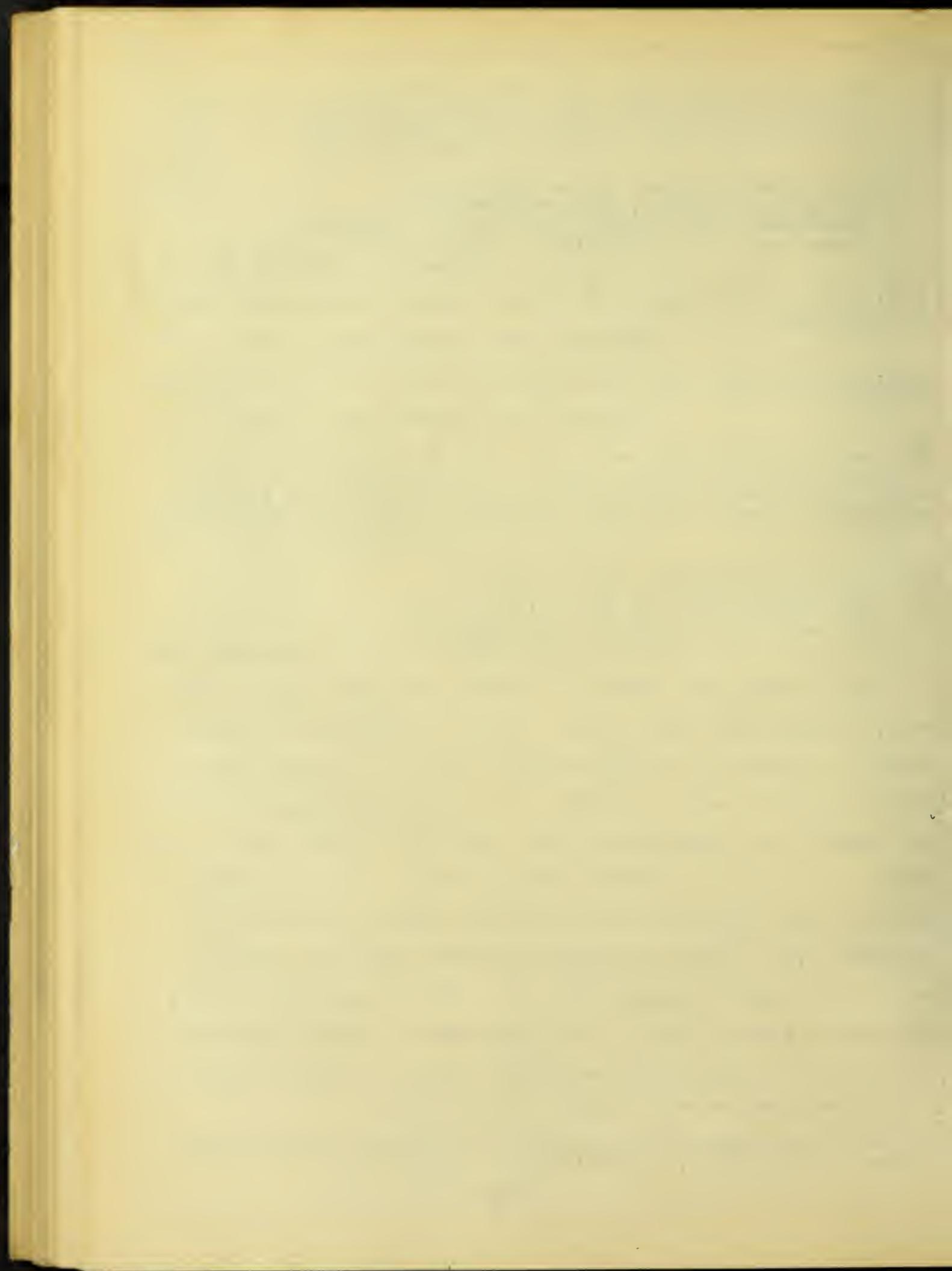
1735: - - - not only the cast of the work is servilely copied, but  
the peculiarities of their style, - - -. The effect of it is to  
enervate and deaden his work, which a writer of half his knowledge  
and accomplishments would have told better without his affectation.  
Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 31.

1527: Be sure from Nature never to depart;  
To copy Nature is the task of art.  
The noblest poets own her sov'reign sway,  
And ever follow where she leads the way.  
Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets XIX, 643.

In discussing the imitation of Homer, as quoted before, Young  
says, "Conjectures" p.4, l 44 ff.: "Tread in his steps to the sole  
fountain of immortality; drink where he drank, at the true Helicon,  
that is, at the breast of nature". And Young says something similar  
and weighty about Shakespeare, p.16, l.29 ff.: "He was master of two  
books - - - the book of nature and that of man. These he knew by  
heart, and has transcribed many admirable pages of them into his  
immortal works. Those are the fountain-head whence the Castalian  
streams of original composition flow". These lines embody an idea  
which was a potent factor in the development of German literature,  
but not in any demonstrable measure on account of Young's lines, as  
already said and as still further shown hereafter.

1768-'69: Die schöne Natur nachahmen - - nachahmen zu unbestimmt!  
Jenes ist Bildhauerei, dies Malerei.

Herder VIII, 103.



1767: Didérot: "Aber diese Neuern, sagte Selim, die Sie hier so wacker über die Klinge springen lassen, sind doch bei weitem so verächtlich nicht, wie Sie vorgeben. Oder wie? Finden Sie kein Genie, keine Erfindung, kein Feuer, keine Charaktere, keine Schilderungen, keine Tiraden bei ihnen? Was bekümmere ich mich um Regeln, wenn man mir nur Vergnügen macht? - - - Gibt es denn auch eine andere Regel als die Nachahmung der Natur? Und haben wir nicht eben die Augen, mit welchen diese sie studierten?"  
Lessing X, 142.

1762: The fundamental principles of the fine arts "drawn from human nature, the true source of criticism".  
Horne, Elements of Criticism, 16.

1754: Nicht nur Batteux, sondern auch Horaz und Aristoteles sagen: Ahme der Natur nach.  
Lessing V, 387.

1746: Ces règles particulières vous effraient; Où les trouver? - - C'est ce livre dans lequel il faut savoir lire: c'est la nature.  
Batteux, Les beaux arts, 104.

1741: Coypel in seinem Gedichte über die Malerei:  
Que la nature soit votre guide fidèle!  
- - - - -  
Le dessein élégant de l'antique sculpture,  
Joint aux effets naïfs que fournit la nature.  
Stein, 75.

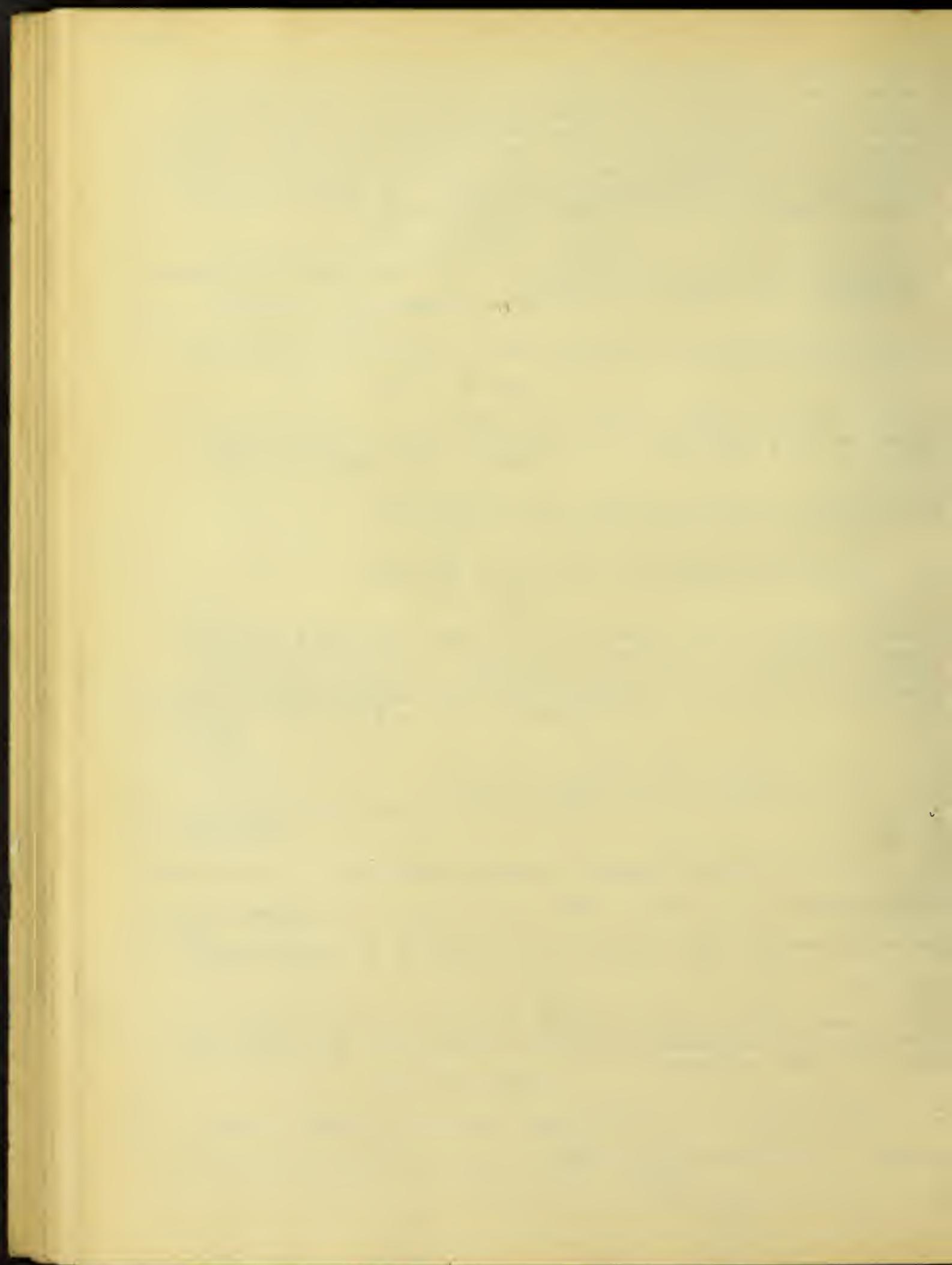
1735: -- Nature is the surest rule, and real characters the best ground of fiction. - - - Homer has copied it and done justice to nature. We see her image in his draught, and receive our own perceptions of men and things reflected back under different forms.  
Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 333 f.

Keep nature's great original in view,  
And thence the living images pursue.  
Horace, Art of Poetry, English Poets  
XIX, 745.

Young's further statement concerning imitation of the ancients, "Conjectures" p.4, 1.47 f.: "The less we copy the renowned ancients, we shall resemble them the more," was quoted as follows by Hamann in 1762:

1762: Young gibt in seinem Kodizill an Richardson das Rätsel auf, die Alten also nachzuahmen, dass wir uns von ihrer Ähnlichkeit je mehr je besser entfernen.  
Hamann II, 173.

Now we come to one of the most fundamental ideas in Young's essay. His "Conjectures on Original Composition" are primarily an



argument in favor of new thought and imaginative invention versus translation, imitation, and plagiarism. But it is again a contention which Young was neither the first nor the only one to voice in Germany; yet he might have accelerated and intensified it very much. This can be seen clearly by comparing the passage in question as quoted below with ~~himself on page 130~~ and the following parallels occurring in Germany before and after the "Conjectures" came in.

"Conjectures", p.11, l.17 ff.: The writer who neglects those two rules above (Know thyself, Reverence thyself,) will never stand alone; he makes one of a group, and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng: incumbered with the notions of others, and impoverished by their abundance, he conceives not the least embryo of new thought; opens not the least vista though the gloom of ordinary writers, into the bright walks of rare imagination and singular design; while the true genius is crossing all public roads into fresh untrodden ground.

1775: Zum Kopieren gehört nur Talent, denn alle diese Stücke können nicht durch Unterweisung erlangt werden. Genies sind selten, d.h. nicht alle Tage wird etwas erfunden. - - - Mittelmässiges Genie ist eine Kontradiktion, dieses ist alsdann nur ein Talent. Genie muss immer etwas Ausserordentliches sein. Genie ist nicht unter dem Zwange der Regel, sondern ein Muster der Regel. Weil aber doch alles, was hervorgebracht wird, regelmässig sein muss, so muss das Genie der Regel gemäss sein; ist es der Regel nicht gemäss, so muss aus ihm selbst eine Regel gemacht werden können, und dann wird es zum Muster.

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 128.

1755-'90: Das Silbenmass und das Reimen kann man ebenso gut zwar lernen wie das Drechseln, aber Neuigkeit der Gedanken, lebhaftes Bilder, Abstechungen machen oder Bewunderung erregen ist nicht zu lernen.

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 203.

1767: - - - das kühne Genie durchstösst das so beschwerliche Zeremoniäl: findet und sucht sich Idiotismen; gräbt in die Eingeweide der Sprache wie in die Bergklüfte um Gold zu finden.

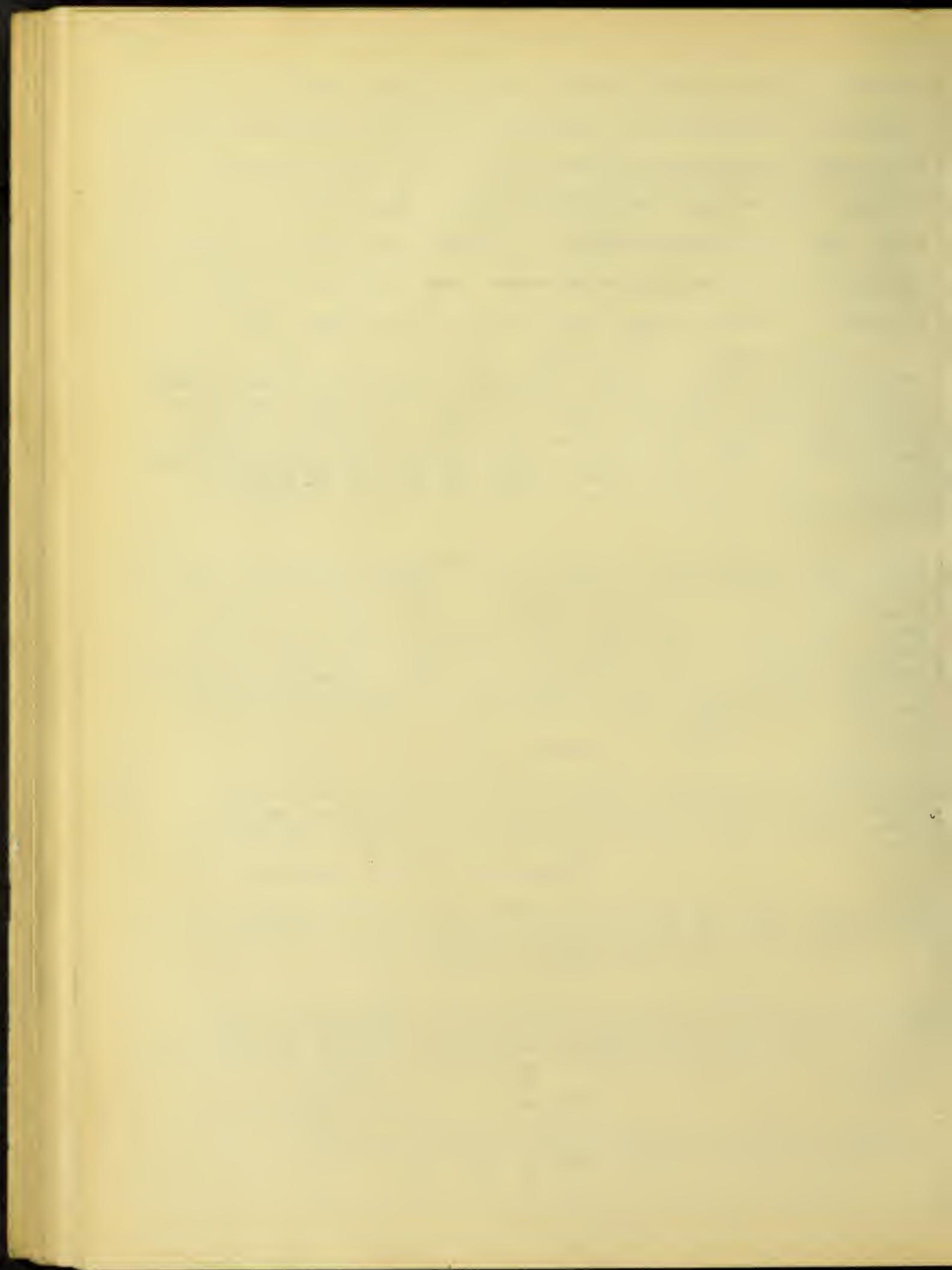
Herder I, 166.

1767: Eben der Pope - - - setzt Homers Genie ganz allein in die Erfindungskraft, und Erfindung scheint mir in der Tat von dem Begriff eines Genies ganz unzertrennlich zu sein. - - - Wo Genie ist, da ist Erfindung, da ist Neuheit, da ist das Original; aber nicht umgekehrt.

Schlesw. D Litdenkm. 29/30, 227 ff.

1767: Der Inhalt ist von des Dichters eigener Erfindung.

Lessing IX, 260.



1767: - - - und wenn zehn feige Kunstrichter zitterten, und Einwürfe machten, und Bollwerke bauten, und Schlingen legten: so fühle ich's doch, dass alle ihre Warnungen zu klein sind, um ein Genie zittern zu machen: grossmütig würde es sie verachten, und sehr gerne eine Ausnahme machen, wenn seine Ausnahme nur Meisterstück ist. Wenn da, wo der Weltweise nur von ferne furchtsam lauschen muss, der Dichter, als Bote der Götter, als Vertrauter der Geheimnisse des Geistes, mit kühnen Schritten fortginge, um in das Heilige zu dringen: was würde er sehen? Von keinem Auge gesehene Dinge! Was würde er hören? Heilige und geweihte Worte, die niemand gehört! Und was sprechen? Geflügelte Sprüche, die keine Zunge vor ihm wagte. - Ich will mich erklären. Wenn die Erfahrungen, die man über und in der menschlichen Seele angestellt, zu poetischen Körpern umgeschaffen würden: wenn die Mutmassungen des Weltweisen vom Dichter, nach der ihm verliehenen Freiheit, sinnliche Gewissheit bekämen: wenn die Hypothesen zu dichterischen Fiktionen sich umbildeten: wenn jede grosse psychologische Wahrheit sinnliches Leben erhielte; kurz, wenn die ganze Welt der menschlichen Seele ins Licht des poetischen Glanzes träte, dessen sie fähig ist:- welch ein Gedicht!

Herder I, 474.

1765:- - - Der Mangel an starken und neuen Gedanken, die einen denkenden Geist so angenehm in den Schriften der Engländer beschäftigen.

Lessing VIII, 281.

1762: Wer Willkür und Phantasie den schönen Künsten entziehen will, stellt ihrer Ehre und ihrem Leben als ein Meuchelmörder nach und versteht keine andere Sprache der Leidenschaften als die der Heuchler.

Hamann II, 402.

1760: Kenner werden in jenen weder Genie noch Geschmack vermissen; und in diesen überall den denkenden Kopf spüren, der die alten Wege weiter bahnt, und neue Pfade durch unbekannte Gegenden zeichnet.

Lessing VIII, 276.

1759: Herr Dusch hat nicht Witz und Erfindungskraft genug, ein Dichter zu sein.

Lessing VII, 110.

1755: An Erfindungskraft mag es dem Verfasser nicht gefehlt haben.

Lessing VII, 27.

1754: Es ist niemals ein vorzügliches Genie aufgestanden, welches nicht seine eigene Weise gehabt hätte.

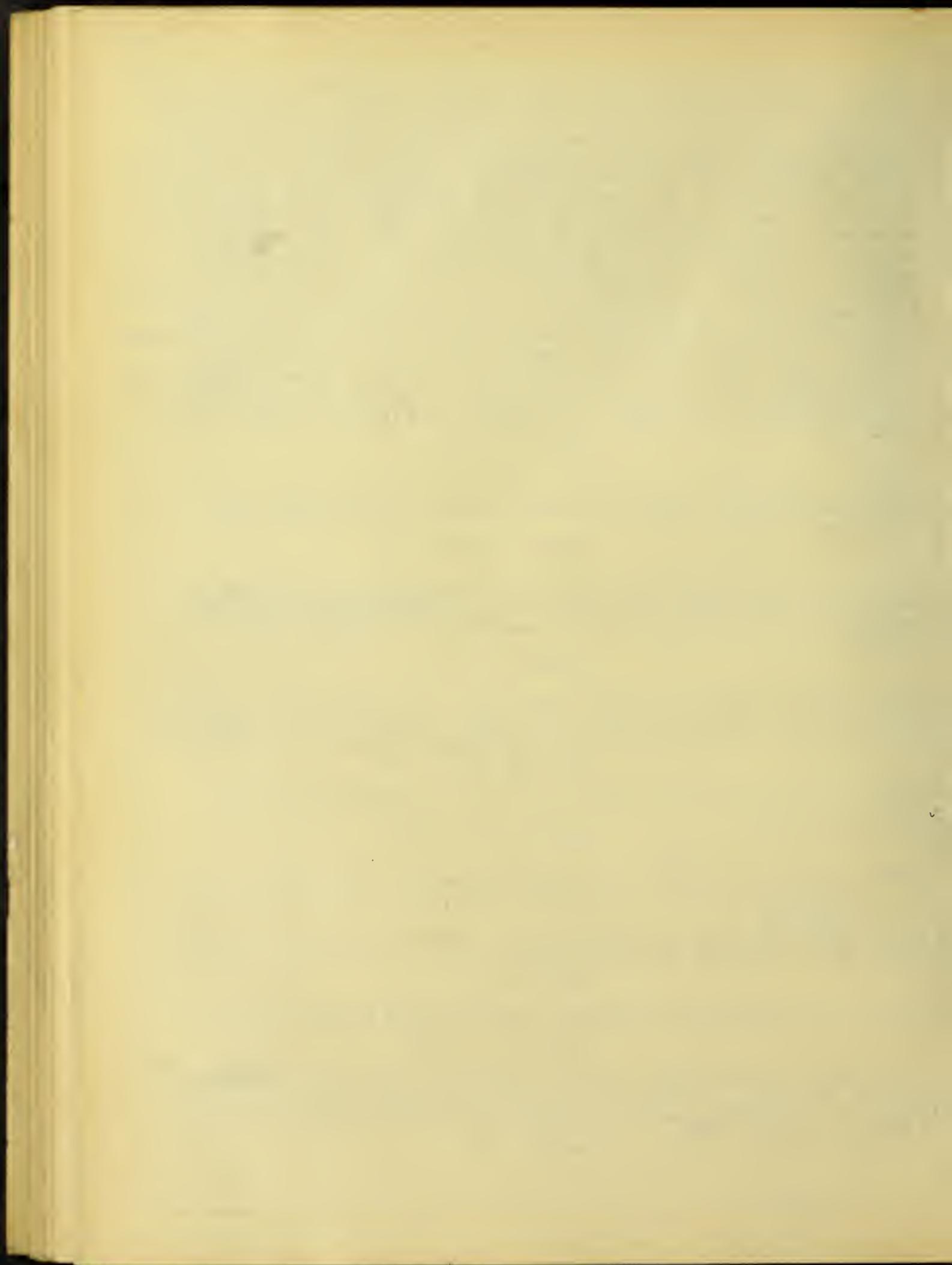
Lessing VI, 60.

1753: Sie reimen ohne Erfindung, ohne Sprachrichtigkeit, etc.

Lessing V, 198.

1752: Wenn übrigens Huart auf der 88 Seite dieses Werkes behauptet, dass es nur den grossen und erfindenden Genies erlaubt sein solle, Bücher zu schreiben, so muss er sich ohne Zweifel selbst für ein solches gehalten haben.

Lessing V, 7.



1751: Hierher gehört der Verfasser eines Gedichtes in drei Gesängen: Jakob und Joseph. - - - Die Erfindungskraft hat wenig dabei gearbeitet.  
Lessing IV, 407.

1751: Wenn ein kühner Geist, voller Vertrauen auf eigene Stärke in den Tempel des Geschmacks durch einen neuen Eingang dringt, so sind hundert nachahmende Geister hinter ihm her, die sich durch diese Öffnung mit einstehlen wollen. Doch umsonst; mit eben der Stärke, mit welcher er das Tor gesprengt hat, schlägt er es hinter sich zu. Sein erstauntes Gefolge sieht sich ausgeschlossen, und plötzlich verwandelt sich die Ewigkeit, die es sich träumen liess, in ein spöttisches Gelächter.

Lessing IV, 399 ff.

1624: Die Worte und Silben in gewisse Gesetze zu drängen und Verse zu schreiben, ist das allerwenigste, was in einem Poeten zu suchen ist. Er muss εὐφραντικῶς, von sinnreichen Einfällen und Erfindungen sein, etc

Opitz, Buch von der deutschen Poeterei, 12.

1527: First to invent, and then dispose with art.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets XIX, 639.

In connection with imitation Young discusses also emulation.

"Conjectures" p.13, l.28 ff.: Imitation is inferiority confessed; emulation is superiority contested, or denied; imitation is servile, emulation generous; that fetters, this fires; that may give a name, this, a name immortal: This made Athens to succeeding ages the rule of taste, and the standard of perfection. Her men stuck fire against each other; and kindled, by conflict, into glories no time shall extinguish.

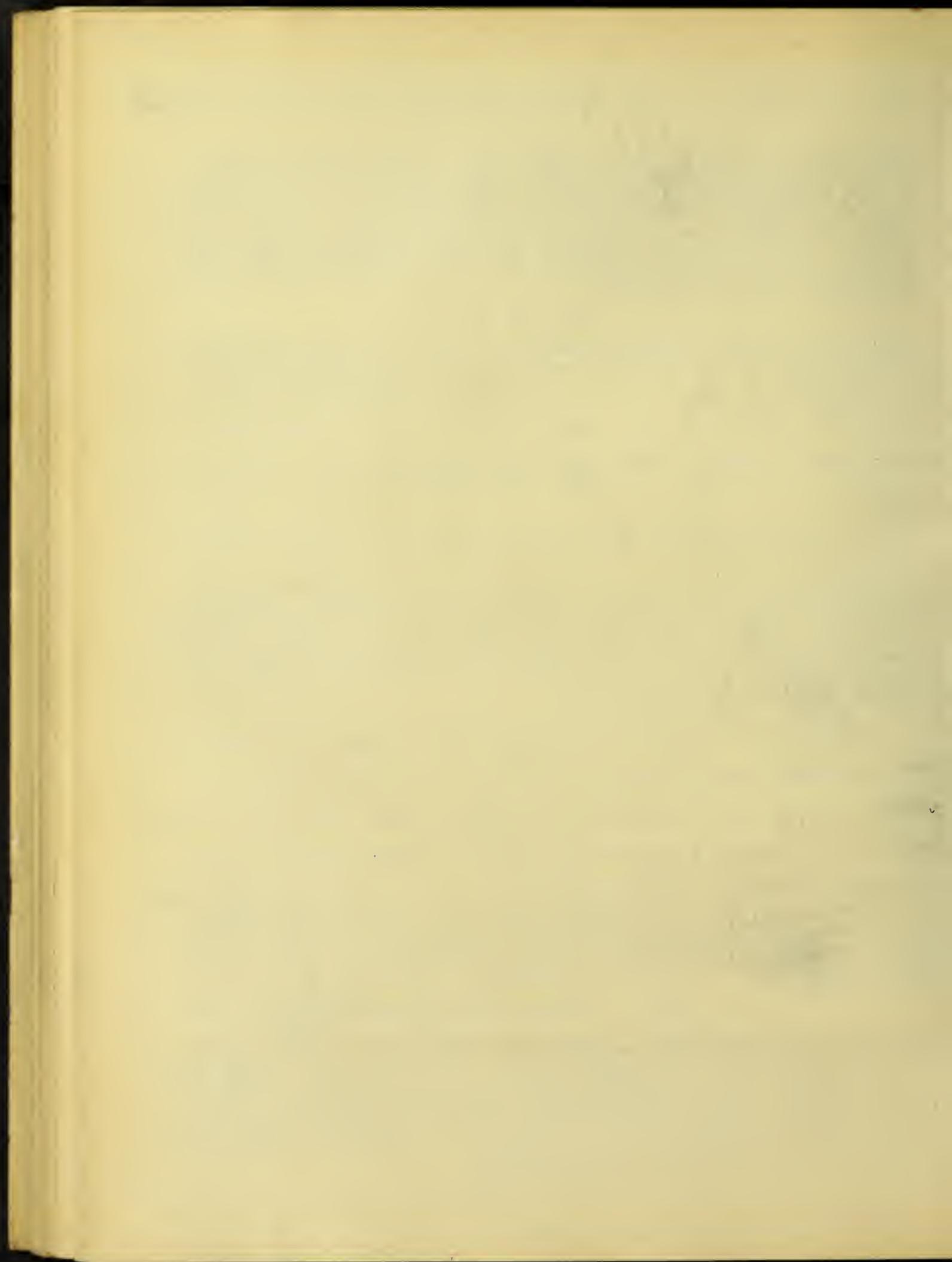
Most of the succeeding statements seem to owe their origin to the foregoing lines in Young's discourse. But some of them were probably originated independently or derived from some other source, perhaps from one or the other of the earlier passages here given.

1775-'90: Nichts aber schadet dem Genie mehr als die Nachahmung, wenn man glaubt, dass man die Ästhetik lernt, man danach zuschneiden dürfe. Dies geschieht leider in den Schulen, und man kann sicher behaupten, dass der Mangel an Genie zu unsern Zeiten blos aus den Schulen herrühre, wo man Kindern Regeln zu Briefen, Chrien, etc., vorschreibt.

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 203.

1775: Auch hier entdeckt nur Seele die Seele: nur ein Genie kann das andre verstehen, reizen und ahnden. Meistens sind's erfahrungs-volle, stille, neidlose Greise, die solch einen Jüngling, verloren in sich selbst, bemerken und ihm das Hoffnungs- und Trostwort zu-rufen: verehere dich selber! Sie werfen die Glutkohle sorglos neben ihn hin "Er wird werden!" sie fällt aber in Jünglings Seele und zündet und wird ihn noch spät befeuern.

Herder VIII, 327.



1796: "Der einzige Weg für uns, unnachahmlich zu werden," sagt Winkelmann, ist die Nachahmung der Alten." "Ich würde", versetzt Klopstock, diese Einschränkungen hinsetzen: in den Arten der Schönheiten, die sie erschöpft haben. Denn welches Genie würde nicht erschrecken müssen, wenn es sich nicht erlauben dürfte, an der Allgemeinheit jenes Satzes zu zweifeln? Haben, zum Exempel, die Griechen die Vorstellungen ausdrücken können, die wir uns von Engeln machen müssen?

Nord. Aufseh. 3.B.St.150(S.259-61).

1767: - - - aber, wie ein berühmter Kunstrichter sagt, Genies können nur von Genies entzündet werden; und der Dichter, der eine Min Sarah schreiben konnte, musste eigne Talente haben.

Schles.Litbriefe, D.Litdenkm. 29/30,278.

1766: Das sind Zeilen des Sadolet, die von dem Vergil ohne Zweifel noch malerischer gekommen wären, wenn ein sichtbares Vorbild seine Phantasie befeuert hätte.

Lessing IX, 49.

1764: "Eben so", sagt Plato, "so wie der Magnet durch die Berührung seine eigne Kraft unzähligen Körpern auf einmal mitteilt; so begeistern Genies neue Genies mit fortgehenden Wundern."

Herder I, 5.

1758: Dryden: "Durch ihre knechtische Beobachtung der Einheiten der Zeit und des Ortes, und ihre Ununterbrochenheit der Scenen in jene Magerkeit der Intrigue und Unfruchtbarkeit der Einbildungskraft verfallen".

Lessing VI, 285.

1755: "Die sklavische Nachahmungssucht der Deutschen."

Lessing VII, 44.

1746: Bientôt l'admiration publique multiplia les talents: l'émulation les anima.

Batteux, Les beaux arts, 76.

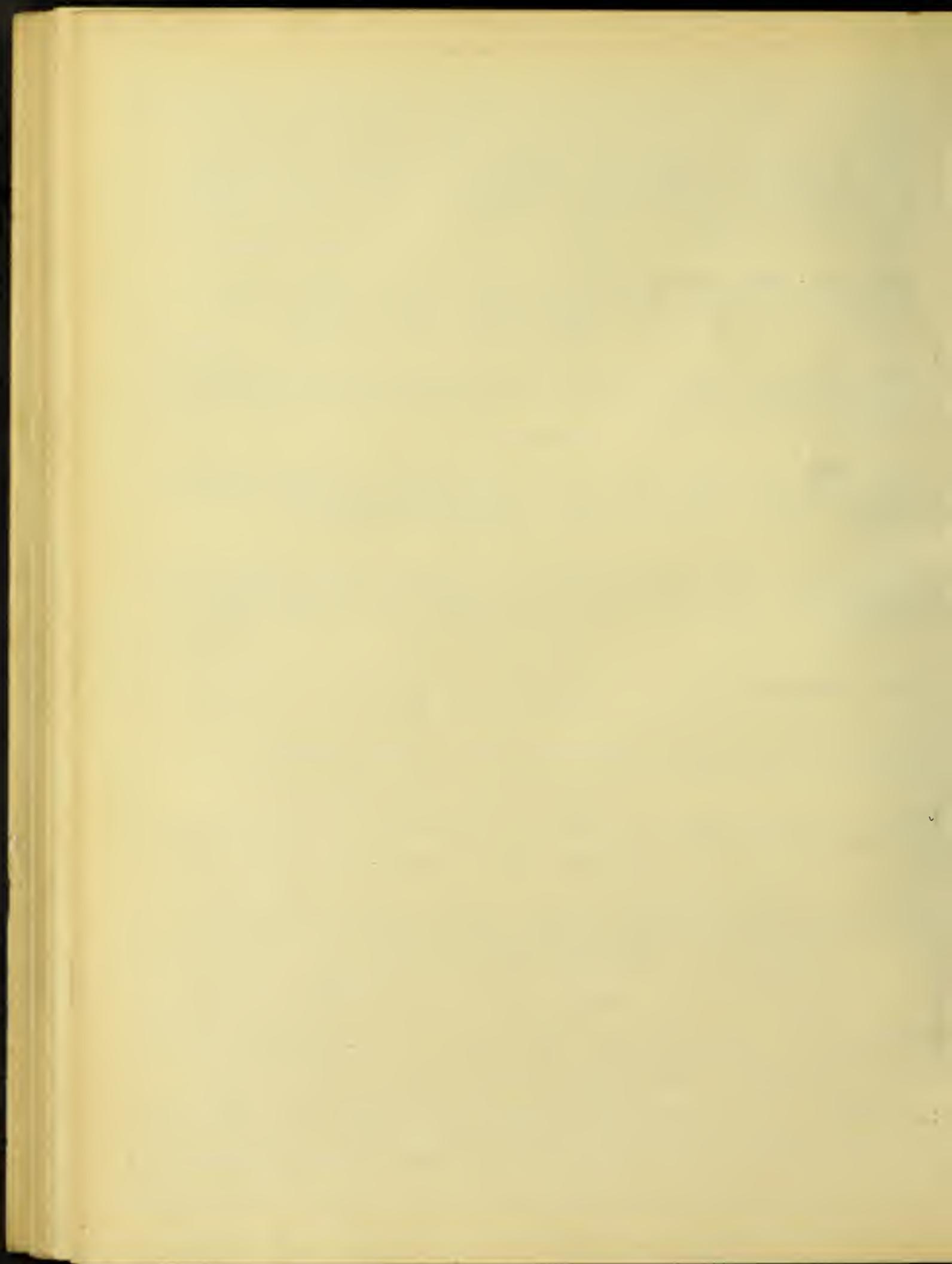
1735: - - - emulation, which certainly contributes to the perfection of every art and science.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 76.

1735: - - - the same inclination to copy has made him check his natural fire, that he might attain Cicero's elegance in the one, and Petrarch's purity and softness in the other.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 33.

The contention that learning and literary rules are rather unnecessary and even detrimental than helpful and indispensable to the genius was begun in Germany decades before the days of the "Conjectures". It was started there primarily by Bodmer and Breitinger, with the English, particularly Shakespeare and Addison, as examples



and authorities, in the fight against the French pseudo-classicism of Gottsched. And about ten years before the coming of Young's essay Lessing voiced this contention as ardently as it has ever been heard in his country. Young expresses it thus,

"Conjectures" p.5, l.52 ff.: Learning, destitute of this superior aid (something divine), is fond and proud of what has cost it much pains; is a great lover of rules, and boaster of famed examples: As beauties less perfect, who owe half their charms to cautious art, learning inveighs against natural unstudied graces, and small harmless indecorums, and sets rigid bounds to that liberty to which genius often owes its supreme glory.

And thus Young emphasizes anew ideas that were current in Germany long before his essay propounded them, and which later formed one of the main currents of thought during the Storm and Stress period.

This dispute began as a part of the "querelle des anciens et des modernes". And this dispute about learning and rules versus innate genius centered around the distinction between the poet as ποιητής, maker, or creator, and the versificateur, first made by Didérot. This question enjoyed a long life in Germany. Though neither originated nor even directly mentioned by the "Conjectures", it was perhaps intensified by them, as shown by the subsequent discussions.

1775-'90: Hier spielt Kant an auf den Unterschied zwischen versificateur und Poet, den die Renaissance, u.a. Petrarca, Ronsard, und Sir Philip Sidney, aufgestellt hatte, und der auch in der Kritik des 18. Jahrhunderts, z.B. bei Addison, Shaftsbury, Warton, Didérot und Lessing eine Rolle spielt. Das Schöpferische erkannte man dabei als das eigentliche Wesen des Dichters.

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 168.

1767: Unter den witzigen Köpfen gibt es Stufen; unter den dichterischen Genies gar keine. Ein Poet ohne grosses Genie ist gar kein Poet; er kann aber ein witziger Kopf sein: daher sagt man mit Recht, dass es seit Erschaffung der Welt kaum zwei oder drei Poeten gegeben habe. - - - Wenn meine Untersuchung keinen weiteren Nutzen hat, so dient sie doch, die ewigen Streitigkeiten über das Wort Dichter und Versificateur auseinander zu setzen.

Schles. Litbriefe., D.Litdenkm. 29/30, 232.



1768: "Man sage immerhin, dass Saint Everemont - - - nichts als ein Phrasendrechsler war: man kann keinen Funken Genie haben und gleichwohl viel Witz und Geschmack besitzen." Voltaire.  
Lessing X, 124.

1759: Didérot - - verbindet keinen geringeren Begriff mit dem Namen eines Versificateurs. Quelle différence entre le Versificateur et le Poète !

Lessing VIII, 230.

1759: Herr Cramer ist der vortrefflichste Versificateur. - - - Dass aber sein poetisches Genie, wenn man ihm überhaupt noch ein poetisches Genie zugestehen kann, sehr einförmig ist, das haben wir oft beide bedauert. - - - Sein Feuer ist, wenn ich so reden darf, ein kaltes Feuer, das mit einer Menge der Ausrufung und Fragen blos in die Augen leuchtet.

Lessing VIII, 140

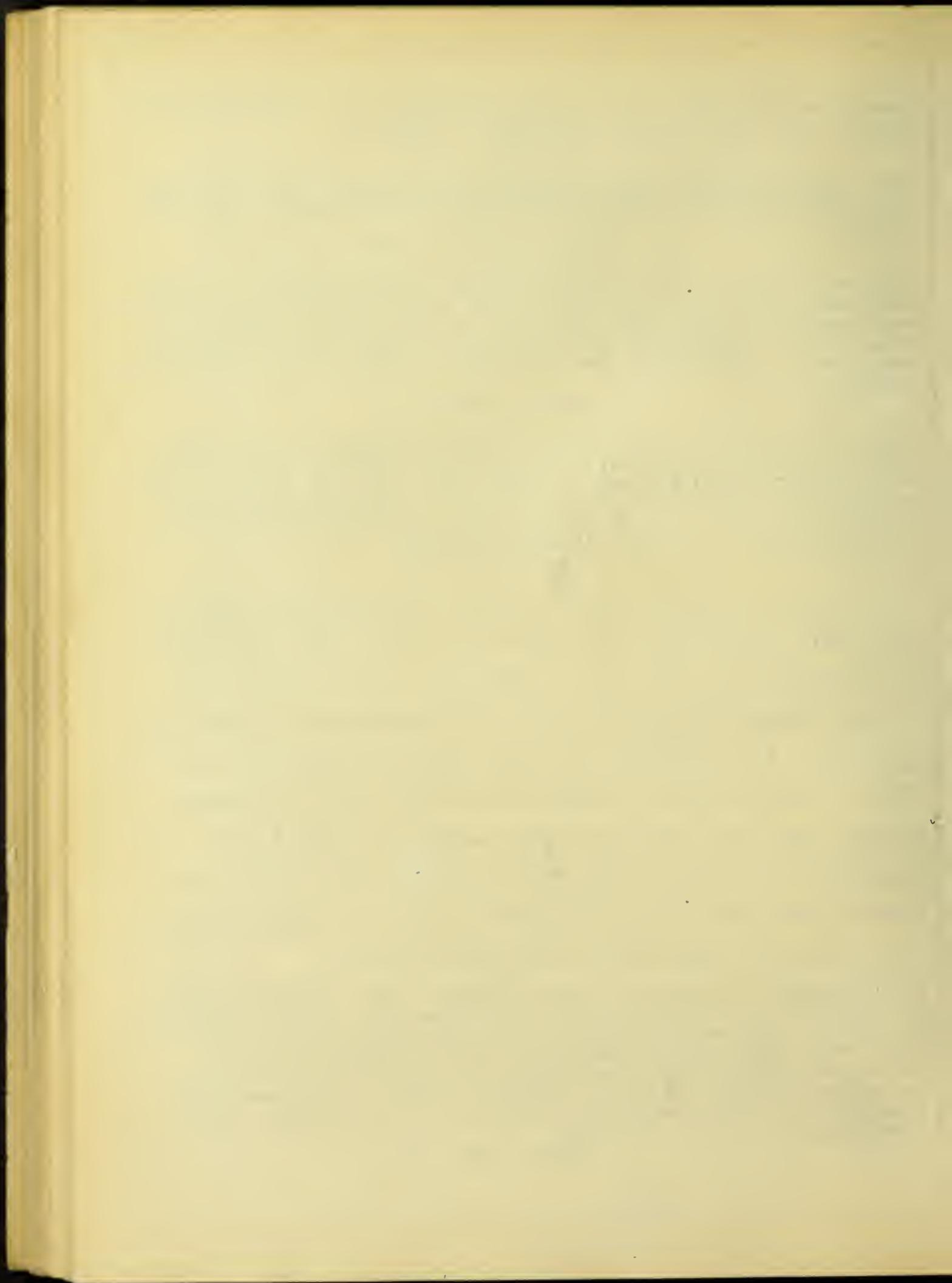
1751: Eine prächtige Versification, die dem blossen Ohr sehr wohlgefällt, und die er (Armand) seinem Meister, dem Herrn von Voltaire, sehr glücklich abgelernt hat, ist ihm eigen. Das ist es auch alles, was ein fähiger Kopf, der aber nicht zum Dichter erschaffen ist, erlernen kann. Der poetische Geist wird ihm allezeit fehlen; denn den zu erlangen, ist Übung und Fleiss umsonst.

Lessing IV, 294.

But besides these discussions about poet and versificateur we find also, occurring again and again, and even in the "Conjectures", the arguments about learning and rules and the independent genius. Of these arguments many came before the "Conjectures", and many came after them. And the latter are often worded as if they had their origin in Young's essay, but most of them that could be found and are here given, are ascribed by their authors to other sources, and the others might have come from other sources as well as from the "Conjectures". The data here adduced show that the significance of Young's essay for this question was quite negligible.

1775: Erkennen und empfinden, gesund erkennen und empfinden sollen wir, und das tut der gemeine Mann vielleicht mehr als der Gelehrte, der gesittete Wilde vielleicht mehr als der ungesittete Europäer, der Mensch von Anschauung und Ruhegeschäft vielleicht mehr als das leidenschaftsvolle, halbwahnwitzige Genie. Reiz und Salz gehören zum Leben; aber es muss im Organismus, im Blut, in der Gesundheit liegen, nicht in zwickelnden Leidenschaften oder spornenden Idolen: sonst frisst es statt zu nähren.

Herder VIII, 312.



1774: Haben wir Genie, so können uns die Regeln viel nützen; aber sie können uns die Anwendung nicht lehren. Diese kommt auf unsere Einsicht, auf unsern Geschmack an. Die Regeln können selbst ein Genie noch immer fehl führen.

Gellert VII, 118.

1774: Mitten in der Arbeit können die Regeln, die wir zu sehr vor Augen haben, das Genie zurückhalten. Das edle Feuer des Geistes, das zu dieser oder jener Stelle nötig wäre, verfliegt, indem wir die Regel um Rat fragen. Wir halten den Geist in seiner Kühnheit auf, weil wir unvorsichtig den Zügel rücken. Wir sollten jetzt von unserm Gegenstande allein erfüllt sein, ihn allein denken und empfinden; wir sollten uns vergessen; und seht, die Furcht, einen Fehler zu begehen, die Begierde, der Regel zu folgen, stört uns in der glücklichsten Verwegenheit.

Gellert VII, 146.

1774: Man kann die Regeln wissen; man kann sie durch Fleiss zur Ausübung bringen; und man kann ohne Genie doch nicht weiter als zum Mittelmässigen gelangen.

Gellert VII, 130.

1769: Ich fahre fort, in der Kunstsprache Baumgartens zu reden. - - - Jene natürliche Fähigkeit, das Schöne zu empfinden, jenes Genie, das durch Übung zu einer zweiten Natur geworden, wie wirkt es? in den Grenzen des Gewohnheitsartigen, in verworrenen, aber desto lebhafteren Ideen, kurz als eine Fertigkeit des Schönen. Da ist sich weder Dichter, noch jedes andere feurige Genie, der Regeln, der Teilbegriffe des Schönen und mühsamer Überlegung bewusst: seine Einbildungskraft, sein Feuerblick auf's grosse Ganze, tausend Kräfte, die in ihm sich zusammen erheben, wirken; und unselig, wenn ihn eine Regel stört! Eine solche natürliche Aesthetik kann weder durch Regeln gegeben, noch ersetzt werden, und es ist Unverstand, zwei so unendlich verschiedene Sachen zu vermischen.

Herder IV, 23.

1768: Und ist dies, so werde die nachahmungslose, feurige Begeisterung des Dithyramben Vorbild: denn bei uns ist leider selbst die schöne Unordnung des Horaz zum abgezirkelten Gesetz geworden. Die Einbildungskraft, von einem würdigen, reichen Gegenstande aufgefordert, von Musik und Sprache geleitet: diese poetische Phantasie geht, wenn sie sich einmal nicht rasende Ausschweifungen nüchtern vorsetzt, sie geht so sicher ihren himmlischen Sonnenweg, voll Glanz und Licht und Feuer, dass der kasteiende Fuhrmann nicht immer hinter ihr sein mag.

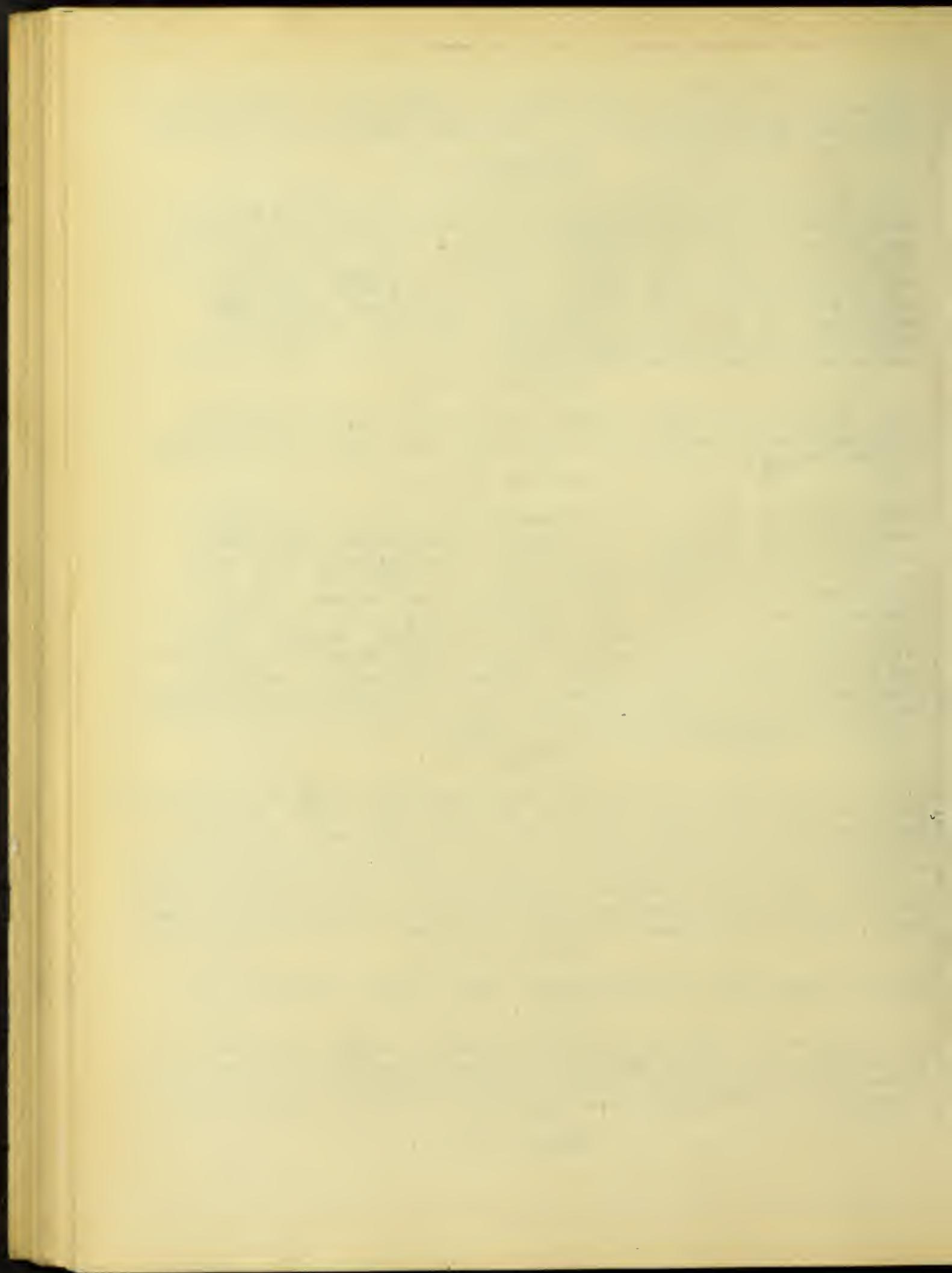
Herder II, 180.

1767: Je mehr Bücher, sagt Rousseau, desto weniger Weisheit.

Herder I, 139 ff.

1767: Nun urteile man, ob der ganze Corneille seinen Stoff mehr als ein Genie, oder als ein witziger Kopf bearbeitet habe. Es bedarf zu dieser Beurteilung weiter nichts, als die Anwendung eines Satzes, den niemand in Zweifel zieht: das Genie liebt Einfall, der Witz, Verwicklung.

Lessing IX, 309.



1767: Er suchesich mit dem einen sowohl als mit dem andern der französischen Regelmässigkeit mehr zu nähern; aber noch zwanzig Addisons, und diese Regelmässigkeit wird doch nie nach dem Geschmacke der Engländer werden. Begnüge sich damit, wer keine höhere Schönheiten kennt!

Lessing IX, 254.

1767: Genug, dass mich dieser Zwitter mehr vergnügt, mehr erbaut, als die gesetzmässigen Geburten eurer korrekten Racines, oder wie sie sonst heissen.

Lessing IX, 390

1767: - - - und ihre Empfindung wird sie auf manchen Handgriff leiten, der ihrer blossen Spekulation wohl unentdeckt geblieben wäre, den noch kein Kritiker zur Regel generalisiert hat, ob er es schon verdiente, und der öfters mehr Wahrheit, mehr Leben in ihr Stück bringen wird, als all die mechanischen Gesetze, mit denen sich kahle Kunstrichter herumschlagen, und deren Beobachtung sie lieber, dem Genie zum Trotze, zur einzigen Quelle der Vollkommenheit eines Dramas machen möchten.

Lessing IX, 322.

1767: Dem Genie ist es vergönnt, tausend Dinge nicht zu wissen, die jeder Schulknabe weiss; nicht der erworbene Vorrat seines Gedächtnisses, sondern das, was er aus sich selbst, aus seinem eigenen Gefühl hervorzubringen vermag, macht seinen Reichtum aus; - - - er verstört also, bald aus Sicherheit, bald aus Stolz, bald mit, bald ohne Vorsatz, so oft, so gröblich, dass wir anderen guten Leute uns nicht genug darüber wundern können; - - - alles, was wir besser wissen als er, beweist blos, dass wir fleissiger zur Schule gegangen sind als er; und das halten wir leider für nötig, wenn wir nicht vollkommene Dummköpfe bleiben wollen.

Lessing IX, 324 ff.

1767: Lit. Br. T. 17. p. 149 ff.: Die Ordnung, die ihr wesentlich ist, kann die Ordnung der begeisterten Einbildungskraft genannt werden. Eine einzige, ganze Reihe höchst lebhafter Begriffe, wie sie nach dem Gesetz einer begeisterten Einbildungskraft auf einander folgen, ist eine Ode.

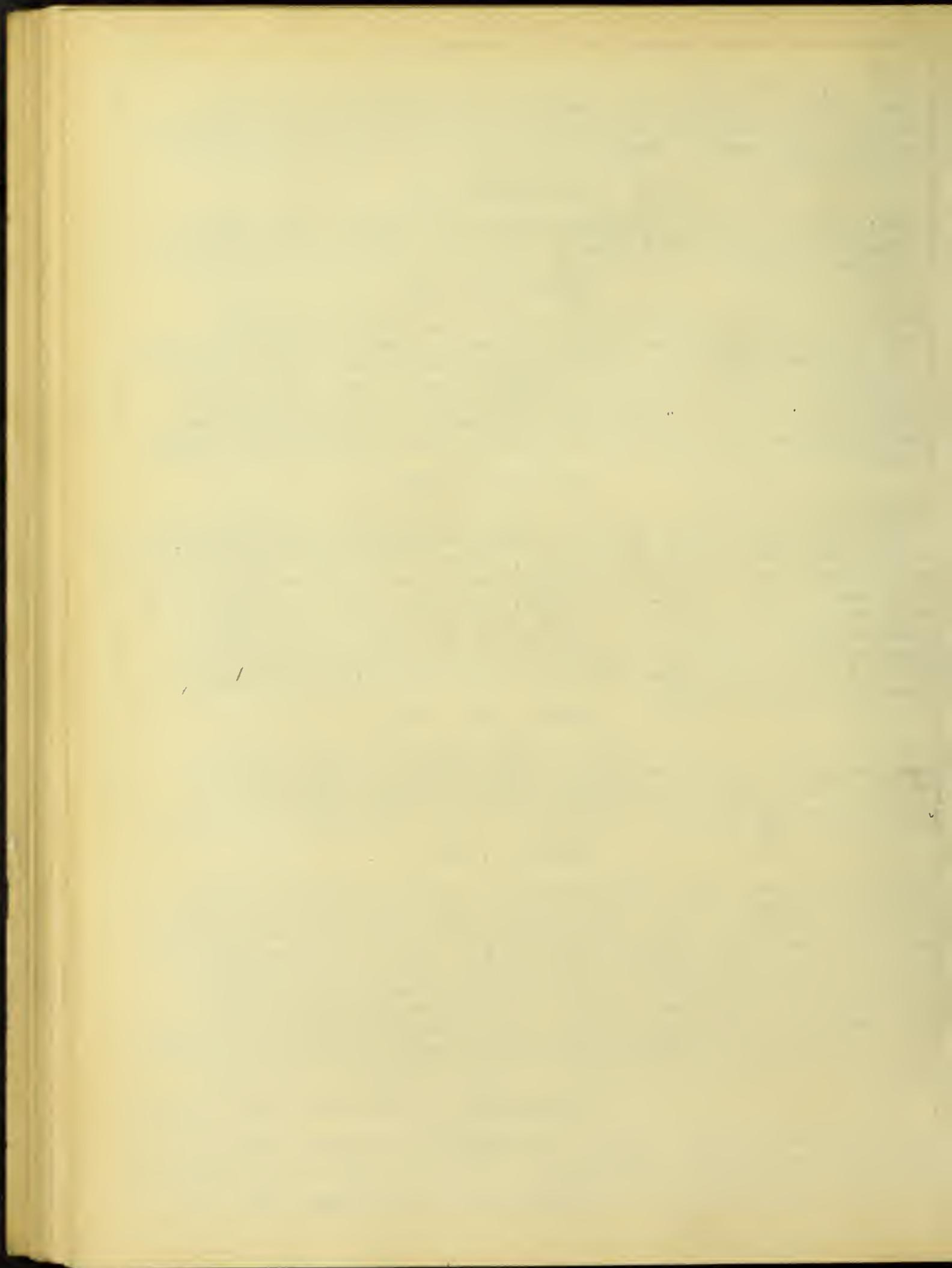
Herder I, 463.

1766: Quoting Warton's "Observations on the Fairy Queen": "doch", sagt er demütig, "es ist abgeschmact, nur einnal daran zu denken, dass man den Spenser oder Ariost nach Regeln beurteilen wolle, die sie sich nicht vorgeschrieben hatten. Wir, die wir in den Tagen der Kritik leben, da man nach Regeln schreibt, sind zu sehr geneigt, eine jede Art von Komposition nach solchen Gesetzen zu richten, die uns unsere Lehrmeister als die einzigen wahren Kriterien der Vollkommenheit angepriesen haben. - - - Spensers Poesie ist die sorglose Ergiessung einer warmen Einbildungskraft und lebhaften Empfindung. - - - Spensers Schönheiten sind den Blumen des Paradieses gleich."

Schlesw.Litbr. D.Litdenkm. 29/30, 40 ff.

1755: Aber wahre Genies finden sich notwendig beleidigt, wenn man sie mit korrekten witzigen Köpfen in gleichem Paare gehen lässt, oder sie gar unter die Letztern erniedrigt.

Schlesw.Litbr. D.Litdenkm. XXIX, 176.



1763: Ebenso muss ein Genie sich herablassen, Regeln zu erschüttern; sonst bleiben sie Wasser; und man muss der erste sein, hereinzu- steigen, nachdem das Wasser bewegt wird, wenn man die Wirkung und Kraft der Regeln selbst erleben will.

Hamann II, 430.

1763: Ohne Selbstverleugnung ist kein Werk des Genies möglich, und ohne Verleugnung der besten Anmerkungen, Regeln und Gesetze kein Schuldrama noch Urbild desselben.

Hamann II, 432.

1763: O ihr Herolde allgemeiner Regeln! Wie wenig versteht ihr die Kunst, und wie wenig besitzt ihr von dem Genie, das die Muster hervorgebracht hat, auf welchen ihr sie baut, und das sie über- treten kann, so oft es ihm beliebt!

Hamann II, 431.

1762: Regularity, order, and connection, are painful restraints on a bold and fertile imagination.

Home, Elements of Criticism, 23.

1762: A poet of superior genius, possessing the power of inflaming the mind, may take liberties that would be too bold in others.

Home, Elements of Criticism, 355.

1759: Von diesem Kunststücke werden aber freilich diejenigen nichts wissen wollen, die nur an einem korrekten Racine Geschmack finden, und so unglücklich sind, keinen Shakespeare zu kennen.

Lessing VIII, 145.

1758: Er weiss von selbst, dass das Genie seinen Eigensinn hat, dass es den Regeln selten mit Vorsatz folgt; und dass diese seine wollüstigen Auswüchse zwar beschneiden, aber nicht hemmen sollen.

Lessing VII, 416.

1758: Alle seine Bilder sind erhaben, und all sein Erhabenes ist naïv. Von dem poetischen Pompe weiss er nichts; und prahlen und schimmern scheint er weder als Dichter noch als Soldat zu wollen.

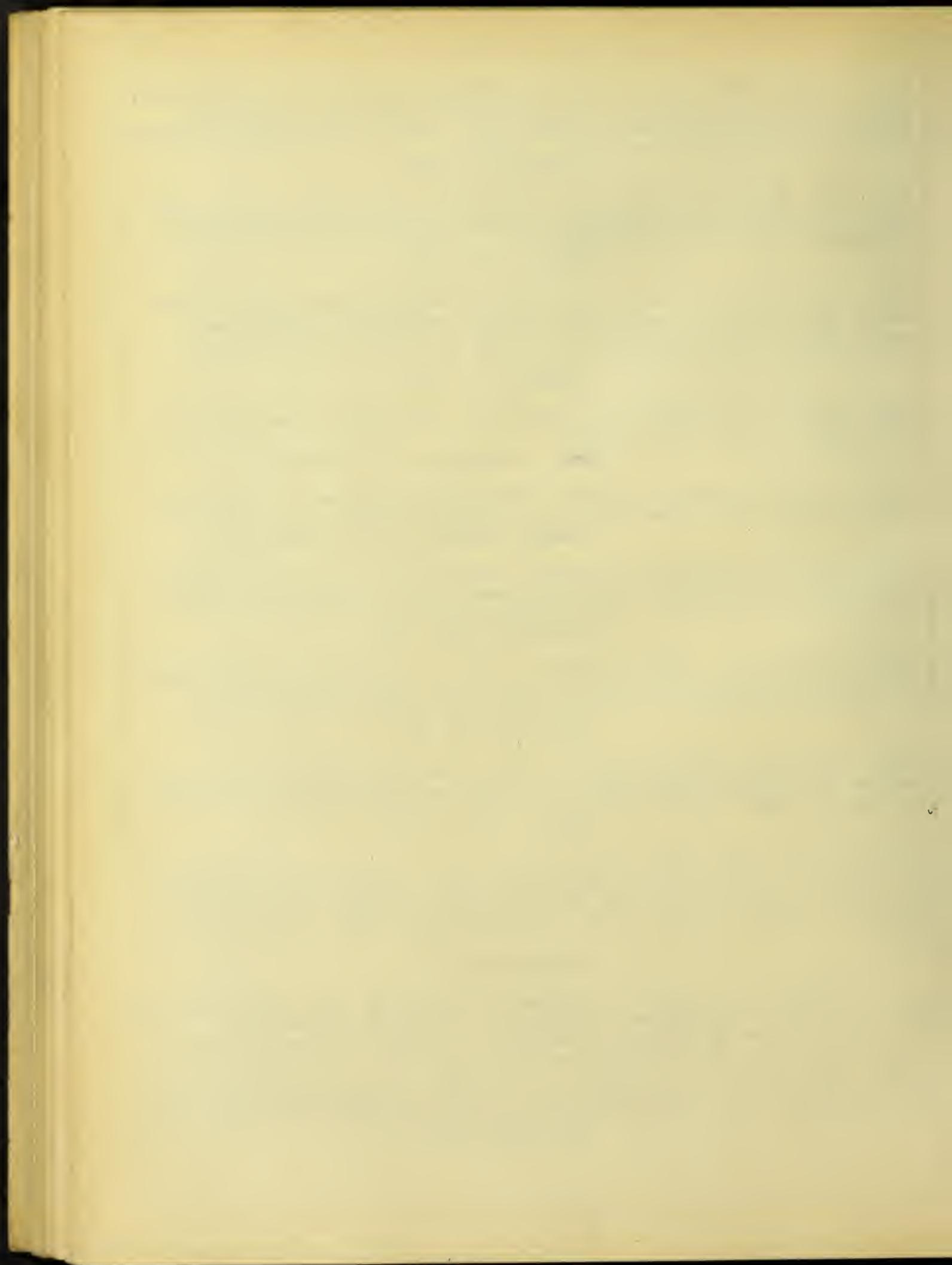
Lessing VII, 118.

1757: Das Ohr leide bei einer kleinen Härte, bei einem abgerissenen, bei einem nicht ganz reinen Reime; wenn nur das Herz dabei gewinnt. Ein kleiner Fehler, ohne den eine grössere Schönheit nicht wohl erreicht werden kann, hört auf, an demselbigen Orte ein Fehler zu sein.

Gellert II, 17.

1756: Ich will bei diesem Gleichnisse bleiben, um meine wahre Meinung von den Regeln zu erklären. So wie ich unendlich lieber den allerungestalteten Menschen erschaffen, als die schönste Bildsäule eines Praxiteles gemacht haben wollte: so wollte ich auch unendlich lieber der Urheber des Kaufmanns von London, als des sterbenden Cato sein, gesetzt auch, dass dieser alle die mechanischen Richtigkeiten hat, derenwegen man ihn zum Muster für die Deutschen hat machen wollen.

Lessing VII, 68.



1755: Allein Ordnung ! Was hat der Dichter damit zu tun ? Und noch dazu eine sklavisches Ordnung! Nichts ist der Begeisterung eines wahren Dichters mehr zuwider.

Lessing.

1755: Grosse Künstler sind auch in ihren Nachlässigkeiten weise; sie können nicht fehlen, ohne zugleich zu unterrichten.

Winkelmann I, 9.

1754: Und Sie wissen wohl, mein Herr, was die Regeln in England gelten. Der Britte hält sie für eine Sklaverei und sieht diejenigen, welche sich ihnen unterwerfen, mit eben der Verachtung und mit eben dem Mitleid an, mit welchem er alle Völker, die sich eine Ehre daraus machen, Königen zu gehorchen, betrachtet.

Lessing V, 405.

1754: Der Affekt drückt sich bei ihm allezeit in der Sprache der Natur aus; er übertreibt nichts, und weiss nicht, was es heisst, den Mangel der Empfindung mit Witz zu ersetzen.

Lessing VI, 190.

1754: In Dingen, welche empfunden werden, und deren Wert durch die Empfindung beurteilt wird, sollte ich glauben, müsse die Stimme der Natur von grösserem Nachdruck sein, als die Stimme der Regeln.

Lessing VI, 42.

1753: - - - mehr Anstrengung des Fleisses als des Genies erfordert.

Lessing V, 271.

1753: Ein Meisterzug, den er aber, wie es scheint, mehr seinem Gedächtnisse als seinem Genie zu danken hat.

Lessing V, 217.

1753: Der Abt von Bernis ist einer von den liebenswürdigsten Dichtern Frankreichs. - - - Seine Verse sind Kinder der Natur, welche in der edelsten Einfachheit dahin fliessen. Nichts ist darinnen gezwungen; alle Schönheiten, sogar die Regeln der Kunst, scheinen sich von ungefähr hineingeflochten zu haben. Wie wahr ist es, dass die Natur das Siegel des Genies, die Stütze des Geschmacks und die Seele der Harmonie ist.

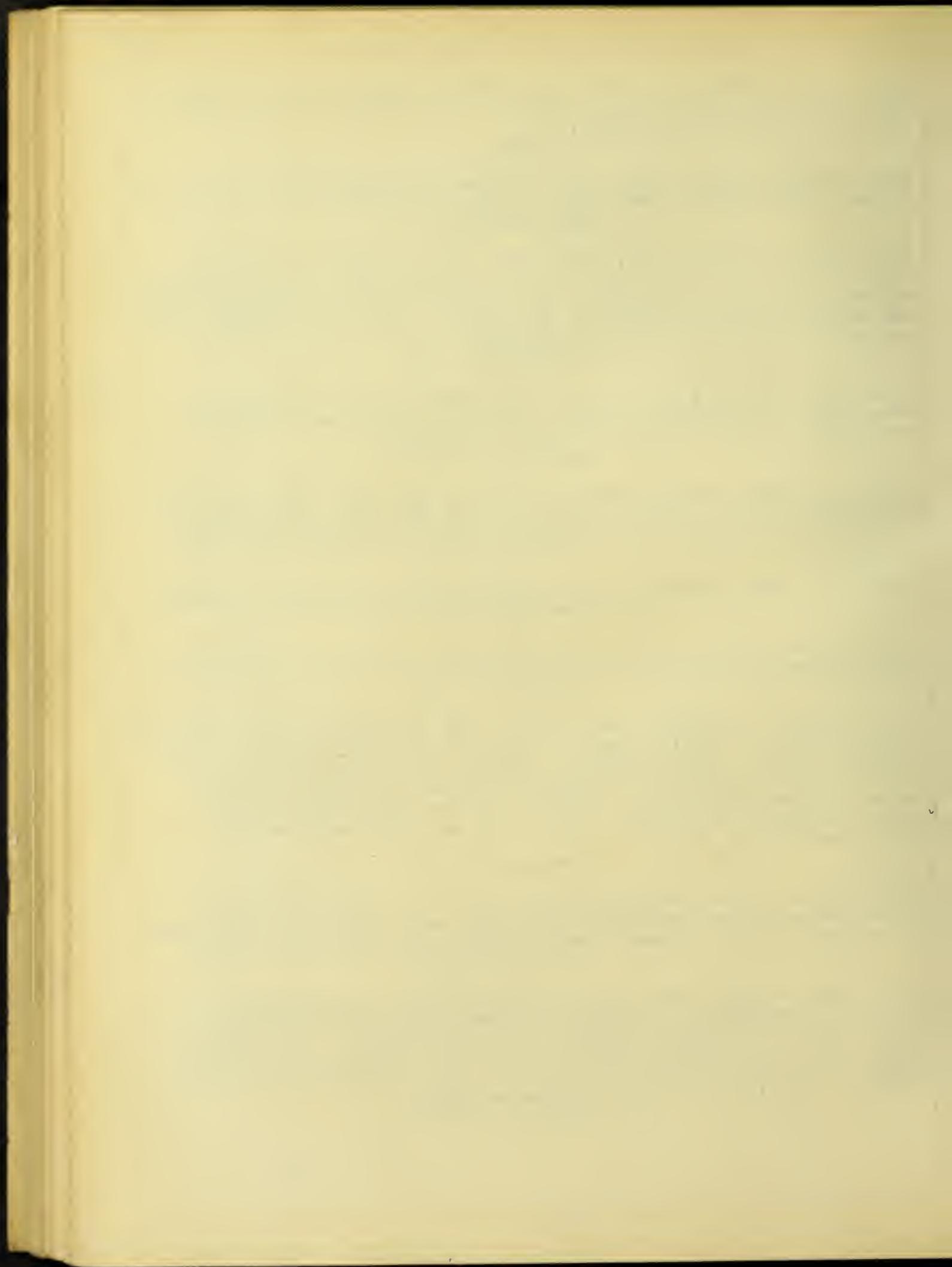
Lessing V, 180.

1753: Gewisse grosse Geister würden diese kleinen Regeln ihrer Aufmerksamkeit nicht geschätzt haben; wir aber, wir andern Anfänger in der Dichterkunst, müssen uns denselben nun schon unterwerfen.

Lessing V, 110.

1751: Nein, etliche wenige, die zu einer leichten und lebhaften Schreibart geboren sind, werden in kurzer Zeit, ohne alle Regeln, bloss durch ihre Klugheit beinahe alles ausrichten. Sie ziehen durch ihre natürlichen, einfältigen und oft unnachahmlichen Schönheiten die Leser an sich, sie erwerben sich in Kurzem die meisten Stimmen. Man liest sie, weil sie uns gefallen.

Gellert I, 105.



1751: Die beste Regel im Briefschreiben ist diese, dass man ohne Regel schreibe. Von dieser Art sind gegenwärtig 73 Briefe des Herrn Gellert, wo man überall die Sprache der Natur und des Herzens findet.  
Lessing II, 228.

1751: Die Regeln in den schönen Künsten sind aus den Beobachtungen entstanden, welche man über die Werke derselben gemacht hat. Diese Beobachtungen haben sich von Zeit zu Zeit vermehrt, und vermehren sich noch, so oft ein Genie, welches niemals seinen Vorgängern ganz folgt, einen neuen Weg einschlägt, oder den schon bekannten über die alten Grenzen hinausbahnt. Wie unzählig muss also nicht die Menge der Regeln sein: denn allen diesen Beobachtungen kann man eine Art der Allgemeinheit geben, das ist, man kann sie zu Regeln machen. Wie unnütz aber müssen sie uns notwendig durch eben diese Menge werden, wenn man sie nicht durch die Zurückführung auf allgemeine Sätze einfacher und weniger machen kann.

Dieses war die Absicht des Herrn Batteux in der Einschränkung der schönen Künste auf einen einzigen Grundsatz, welche er vor einigen Jahren in seiner Sprache herausgab. Er sah alle Regeln als Zweige an, die aus einem einzigen Stamme sprossen. Er ging bis zu ihrer Quelle zurück und traf einen Grundsatz an, welcher einfach und unversteckt genug war, dass man ihn augenblicklich entdecken konnte und weitläufig genug, dass sich alle die kleinen besondern Regeln darinnen verloren, welche man bloss vermittelst der Gefühle zu kennen braucht, und deren Theorie zu nichts hilft, als dass sie den Geist fesselt, ohne ihn zu erleuchten. Dieser Grundsatz ist die Nachahmung der schönen Natur. Ein Grundsatz woran sich alle, welche ein wirkliches Genie zu den Künsten haben, fest halten können; welcher sie von tausend eiteln Zweifeln befreit, und sie bloss einem einzigen unumschränkten Gesetze unterwirft, welches, so bald es einmal wohl begriffen ist, den Grund, die Bestimmung und die Auslegung aller andern enthält.

Lessing IV, 413 ff.

1750: Wenigstens sind die Kunstrichter, Gott sei Dank, so weit noch nicht gegangen, dass sie Regeln festgesetzt hätten, in welcher Ordnung die Personen auf- und abtreten sollten. Wer weiss zwar, was bald geschehen wird, da man jetzo ohnedem die geringsten Kleinigkeiten in der Poesie auf einen metaphysischen Fuss zu setzen bemüht ist? Ich will im Voraus viel Glück dazu wünschen.

Lessing IV, 190.

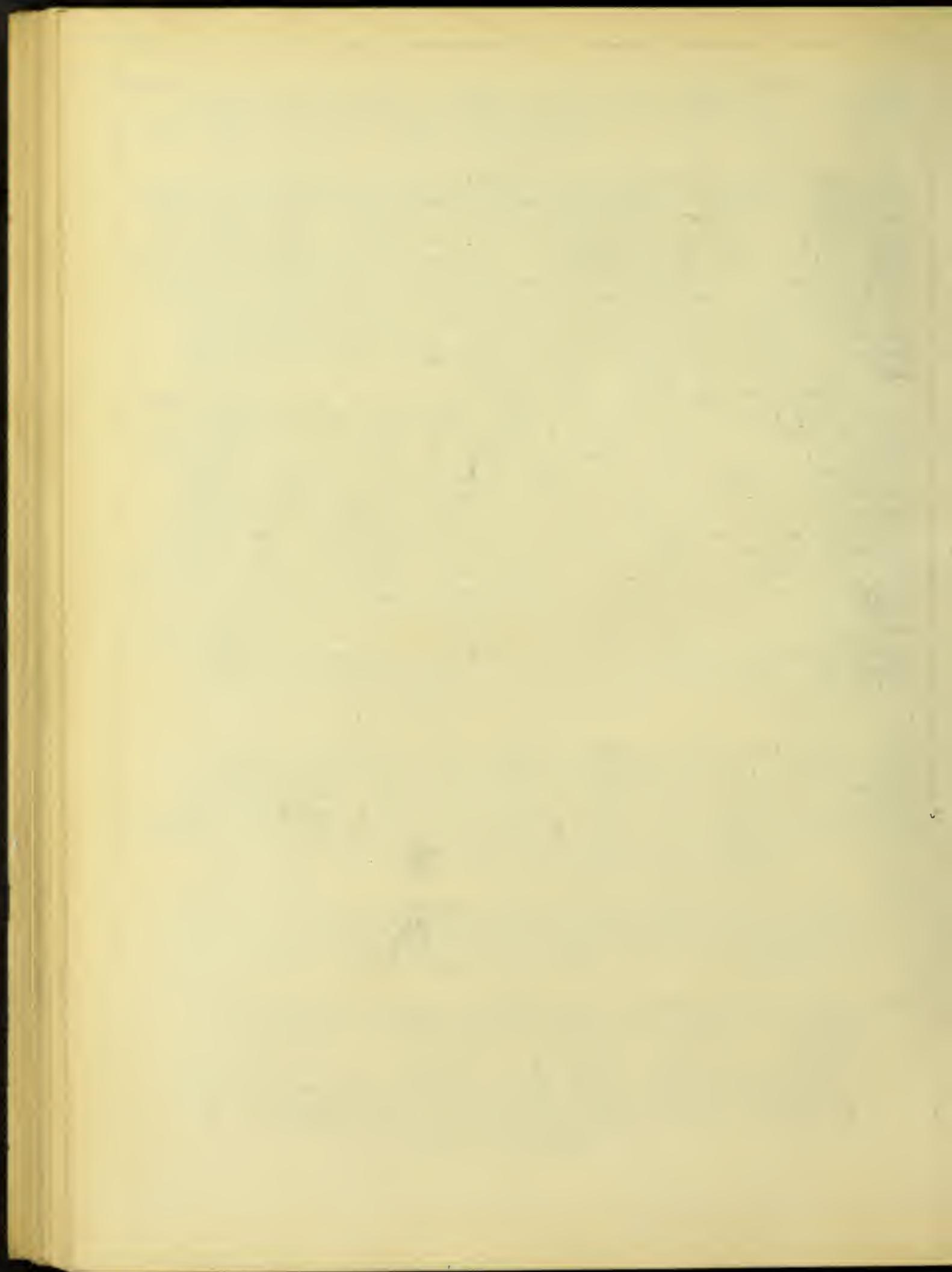
1749: Kritiken ohne Zahl und wenig Meisterstücke,  
Seit dem der Philosoph auf dem Parnasse streift,  
Und Regeln abstrahiert, und die mit Schlüssen steift.

Lessing I, 251.

1749: Kunstwörter müssen dann der Dummheit Blösse decken,  
Und ein gelehrt Citat macht Zierden selbst zu Flecken.

-----  
Tonarten, Intervall, Akkorde, Dissonanz,  
Manieren, Clauseln, Takt, Strick, Conterpunkt und Schwanz,  
Mit hundert Wörtern mehr, die tausend nicht verstehen,  
Worauf sich tausend doch pedantisch albern blähen.

Lessing I, 252.



1749: Nun saget mir, was denn die knecht'sche Regel nützet,  
Die, wenn sie fest sich stützt, sich auf sein Beispiel stützt ?  
Vielleicht, dass Feuer und Geist durch sie ersticket wird;  
Denn mancher hat, aus Furcht zu irren, sich verirrt.  
Lessing I, 253.

1749 Ist nicht der Grund, weil sie erschlich'ne Regeln wissen,  
Und, auf gut Glück, darnach vom Stock zum Winkel schliessen ?  
Er ist's. Nun tadle mich, dass ich die Regeln schmah',  
Und mehr auf das Gefühl als ihr Geschwätze seh'.  
Lessing I, 251.

1749: Fehlt einst der Mensch in ihm, (dem Meistergeist),  
sind doch die Fehler schön.  
Nur seine Stärke macht, dass wir die Schwäche seh'n.  
So kann der Astronom die fernen Sonnenflecken  
Durch Hilf des Sonnenlichts, und anders nicht entdecken.  
Nachahmen wird er nicht, weil eines Riesen Schritt,  
Sich selbst gelassen, nie in Kindertappen tritt.  
Lessing I, 253.

1746: Les règles se sont multipliées par les observations faites  
sur les ouvrages.  
Batteux, Les beaux arts, p. 1.

1735: - - - while his fancy was warming and his words flowing; - - -  
the boldest metaphors and glowing figures would come rushing upon  
him and cast a fire and grace into the composition which no  
criticism can ever supply. Plato, *Io*, ἡ βασιλοῦς  
Blackwell, Life & Writings of Homer, 117.

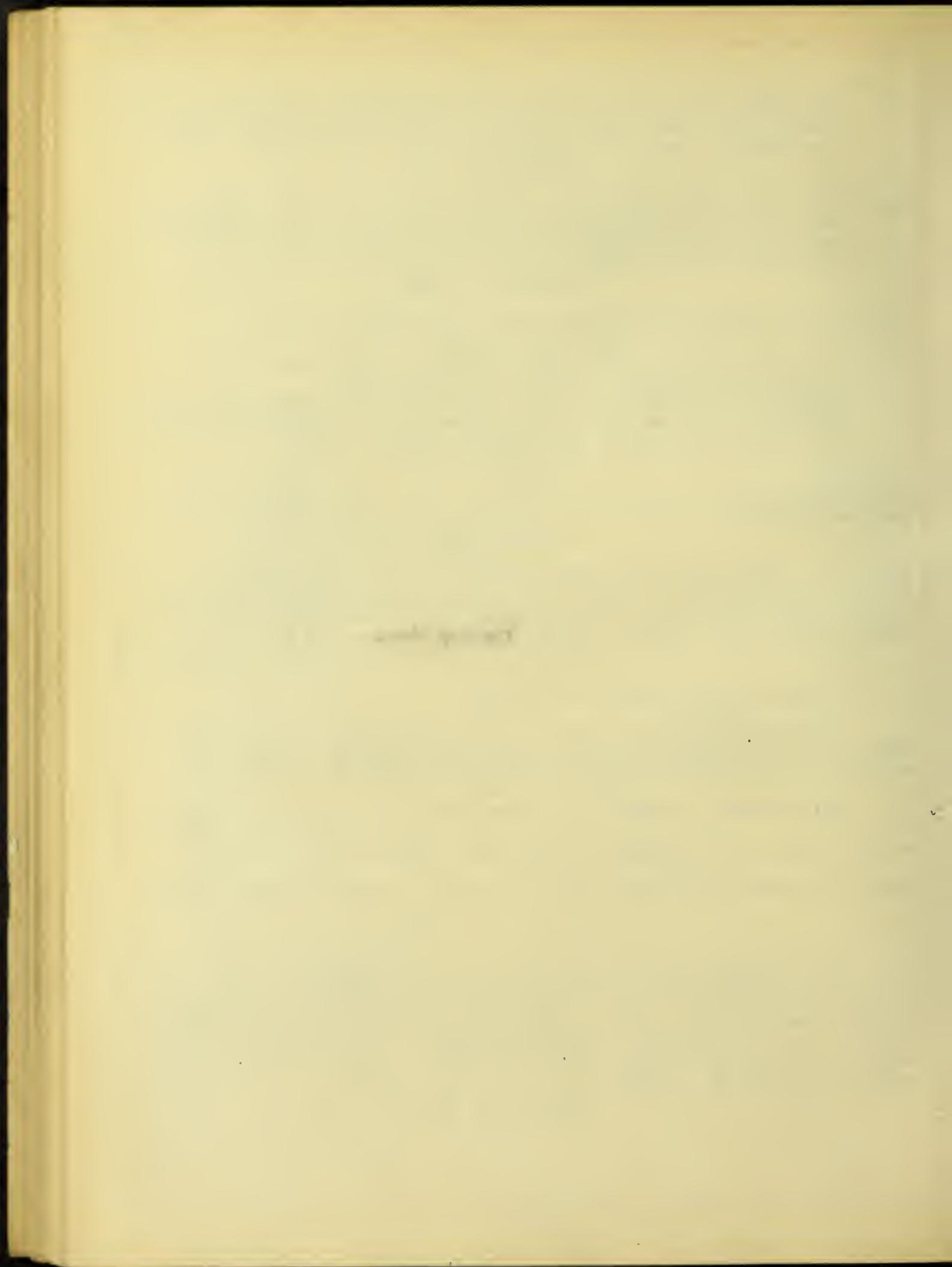
Young continues against learning,

"Conjectures", p.6, l.3 ff.: For unprescribed beauties and  
unexampled excellence, which are characteristics of Genius, lie  
without the pale of learning's authorities and laws.

This passage repeats only an assertion by Pope in his Essay  
on Criticism, and the latter became much earlier, and much more  
widely and lastingly known than the former. Compare the following  
lines:

1751: Wie es überhaupt in der Poesie gewisse Schönheiten gibt, die  
nicht durch Regeln erklärt werden können, die sowohl Glück als  
Sorgfalt sind; wie es in ihr, sowohl als in der Musik, namenlose  
Annehmlichkeiten gibt, die sich durch keine Methoden lehren lassen,  
und die, wie Pope spricht, eine Meisterhand allein erreichen kann:  
so geht es auch mit vielen Schönheiten der prosaischen Erzählung.  
Essay on Criticism, v. 142.

Gellert I, 87 ff.



In another place Young speaks of the poet's genius in the terms of the ancients as a god within who stands above laws:

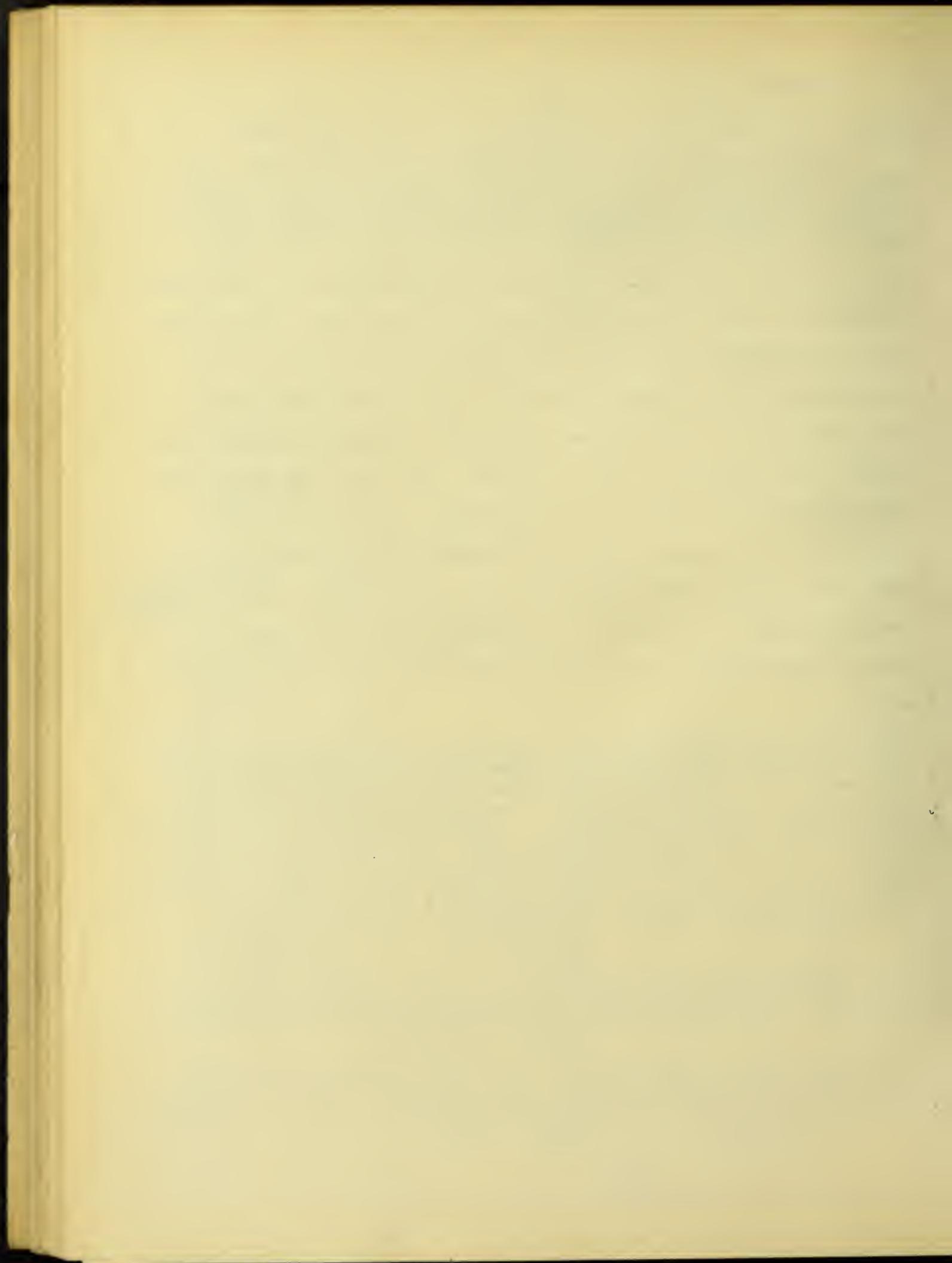
"Conjectures", p.6, l.37 ff.: Sacer nobis inest deus, says Seneca. With regard to the moral world, conscience, with regard to the intellectual, genius, is that god within. Genius can set us right in composition without the rules of the learned; as conscience sets us right in life without the laws of the land.

But this argument was also accessible to the Germans in a multitude of Greek and Latin works from Socrates and Plato down. And Young argues elsewhere in his essay that genius cannot give us divine truth unrevealed, and that it is not to set aside divine truth when revealed, and that the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us only what by his own, or other's eyes, has been seen. So this argument of Young with his restriction, and with so much mention of it in earlier and more frequently quoted works, cannot have been of great significance to the German writers. The following instances where this question is discussed will make Young's discussion appear quite superfluous, particularly those of an earlier date.

1775-'90. Das Wort Genie kommt eigentlich vom lateinischen Genius her, und Genius heist eigentlich Schutzgeist, den jeder Mensch bei sich haben soll. Man hat dieses Talent der Erfindungskraft daher Genie genannt, weil man gleichsam angenommen, dass der Genius die Erfindung dem Erfinder eingebe. - - - Genie kann man auch so erklären, wenn die Natur der Kunst zur Regel dient. So hat man Poeten gehabt ehe die ars poetica durch Regeln bestimmt war, sie waren es von Natur, indem die Natur der Kunst zur Regel diente. Dies ist auch der Grund, warum die Alten die Poeten Vates nannten, Wahrsager, weil sie nicht begreifen konnten, woher sie ihre Poesie hernahmen.  
Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 284.

1775: Das Genie ist ein solcher Funke von Göttlichkeit, dass selbst auf falschem Wege, in üblem Geschmacke, er nur von Kräften des Genies und nicht von Regeln anderswohin gelockt werden will.  
Herder V, 606.

1774: Der gewaltige Rauch scheint doch immer ein wirkliches Feuer zu verraten, das in seinem Busen brennt, und ein solcher lebendige Funke kann es mit dem grössten Walde aufnehmen.  
Hamann V, 99.



1774: So stelle ich mir die Resultate meiner Untersuchung so gross und nützlich vor, dass ich mir nur den Genius zum Leiter und zur Muse meiner Betrachtungen wünschte, der Genius des menschlichen Geschlechts in allen seinen Zuständen war, und unsichtbar den Faden der Entwicklung seiner Kräfte und Neigungen leitet, noch leitet, und allein ganz übersieht.

Herder V, 589 ff.

1770: Herder, wie Hamann, aus Strassburg an seine Braut: "Ich glaube, jeder Mensch hat einen Genius, das ist im tiefsten Grunde seiner Seele eine gewisse göttliche, prophetische Gabe, die ihn leitet, ein Licht, das, wenn wir darauf merkten, und wenn wir's nicht durch Vernunftschlüsse und Gesellschaftsklugheit, und wohlweisen körperlichen Verstand ganz betäubten und auslöschten, ich sage, was uns dann eben auf dem dunkelsten Punkt der Scheidewege einen Strahl, einen plötzlichen Blitz vorwirft: wo wir eine Scene sehen, oft ohne Grund und Wahrscheinlichkeit, auf deren Ahnung ich aber unendlich viel halte. Das war der Dämon des Sokrates; er hat ihn nicht betrogen, er betrügt nie, und er ist so schnell, seine Blicke so fein, so geistig: es gehört auch zu ihm so viel innerliche Treue und Aufmerksamkeit, dass ihn nur achtsame Seelen, die nicht aus gemeinem Kot geformt sind, und die eine gewisse innerliche Unschuld haben, bemerken können."

Jakob Minor, Hamann - - Sturm- und Drangperiode, p. 30 ff.

1769: Bild der Gottheit ! Menschlicher Geist ! - Du bist mein Offenbarer über die Philosophie ! Ihr Newton, ihr Leibnitze ! Ihr seid die Boten der Gottheit an das menschliche Geschlecht, die ich hören und prüfen und nachahmen soll in Forschung der Wege Gottes ! Lehrer der Natur, die Gott mit Kräften begabte, die Welt zu erleuchten - ich folge euren Lehren und dringe mit euch und euch nach in den Tempel der Gottheit:

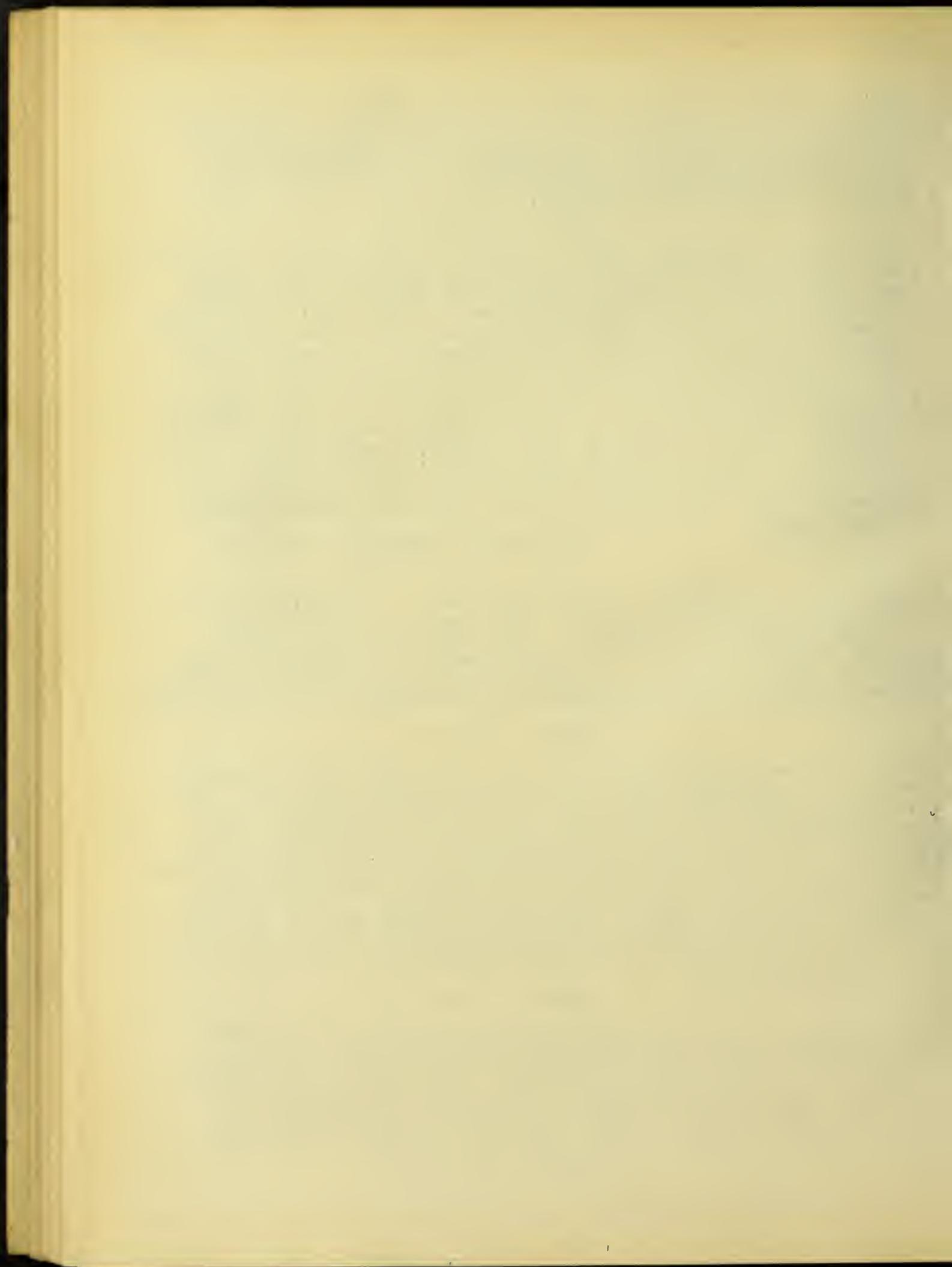
Herder VI, 89.

1769: Sokrates glaubte einen Genius zu haben, der neben ihm wachte. Konnte man nicht sagen, dass alle grossen Männer einen haben, der sie auf die Bahn führt, die ihnen die Natur gezeichnet hat, der von dieser Seite alle ihre Sensationen, Ideen, Bewegungen lenkt, der ihre Talente nährt, erwärmt, entfaltet, der sie fortreisst, sie unterjocht, der über sie einen unüberwindlichen Ascendant nimmt, der die Seele ihrer Seele ist, - - - O Genius ! werde ich dich erkennen ? Die Jahre meiner Jugend gehen vorüber: mein Frühling schleicht ungenossen vorbei; meine Früchte waren zu früh reif und unzeitig. Führer meiner Jugend, und du hülltest dich in Schatten ! - - - Mein Genius rief mich zu den Wissenschaften, zur Philosophie. Ich dachte früh; etc.

Herder IV, 463 ff.

1768: Gemeiniglich waren die grössesten Schriftsteller zugleich die grössesten Nationalautoren. Den Geist ihrer Zeit, bis auf Schwächen und Eigenheiten, wissentlich oder durch den Einhauch des Genies so zu nützen, dass sie, nach her Hand ihres Jahrhunderts gebildet, Zöglinge ihrer Nation, auch im vorzüglichen Verstande Schriftsteller werden konnten, die den Genius ihres Volks, wie Sokrates seinen Dämon, zu Rate zogen, und für Zeit und Vaterland schrieben.

Herder II, 160.



1767: Der wahre Kunstrichter folgert keine Regeln aus seinem Geschmacke, sondern hat seinen Geschmack nach den Regeln gebildet, welche die Natur der Sache erfordert.

Lessing IX, 261.

1762: In this respect a taste in the fine arts goes hand in hand with the moral sense, to which indeed it is nearly allied. Both of them discover what is right and what is wrong.

Home, Elements of Criticism, 13.

1761: Nichts ist also mehr übrig als die Grenzstreitigkeiten des Genies mit der Tollheit zu untersuchen. Das grösste Schisma (Joh. 10, 20) hierin ist unter den Juden gewesen über den Vortrag eines Propheten aus ihren Brüdern. Einige sagten:

und sahen die Manie gleichfalls für die Wirkung eines Genies an. - - - Auch Festus urteilte, dass die viele Belesenheit den Paulus verwirrt gemacht, und gab seinen fanatischen Schwindel den Büchern schuld.

Hamann II, 92.

1759: Was die Meister der Kunst zu beachten für gut befinden, das sind Regeln.

Lessing VIII, 50.

1759: Was ersetzt bei Homer die Unwissenheit der Kunstregeln, die ein Aristoteles nach ihm erdacht, und was bei einem Shakespeare die Unwissenheit oder Ubertretung jener Kritischen Gesetze? Das Genie, ist die einmütige Antwort. Sokrates hatte also freilich gut unwissend sein; er hatte einen Genius, auf dessen Wissenschaft er sich verlassen konnte, den er liebte und fürchtete als seinen Gott.

Hamann II, 38.

1758: Konnte man nicht von Sokrates, wenn er sich auf seinen Schutzgeist bezog, eben das sagen, was von Petrus steht: er wusstenicht was er sagte, oder von Caiphäs, der prophezeite und göttliche Wahrheiten verkündigte, ohne dass er noch seine Zuhörer das Geringste vom dem wahrnahmen, was Gottes Geist durch ihn redete? Dies ist in der merkwürdigen Geschichte Sauls und Bileams vorgestellt, dass unter den Abgöttern selbst, ja in den Werkzeugen der Hölle, die Offenbarung Gottes vor Augen liegt, und dass er sie selbst dazu braucht, um seine Diener und Knechte zu sein, wie Nebukadnezar.

Hamann I, 133 ff.

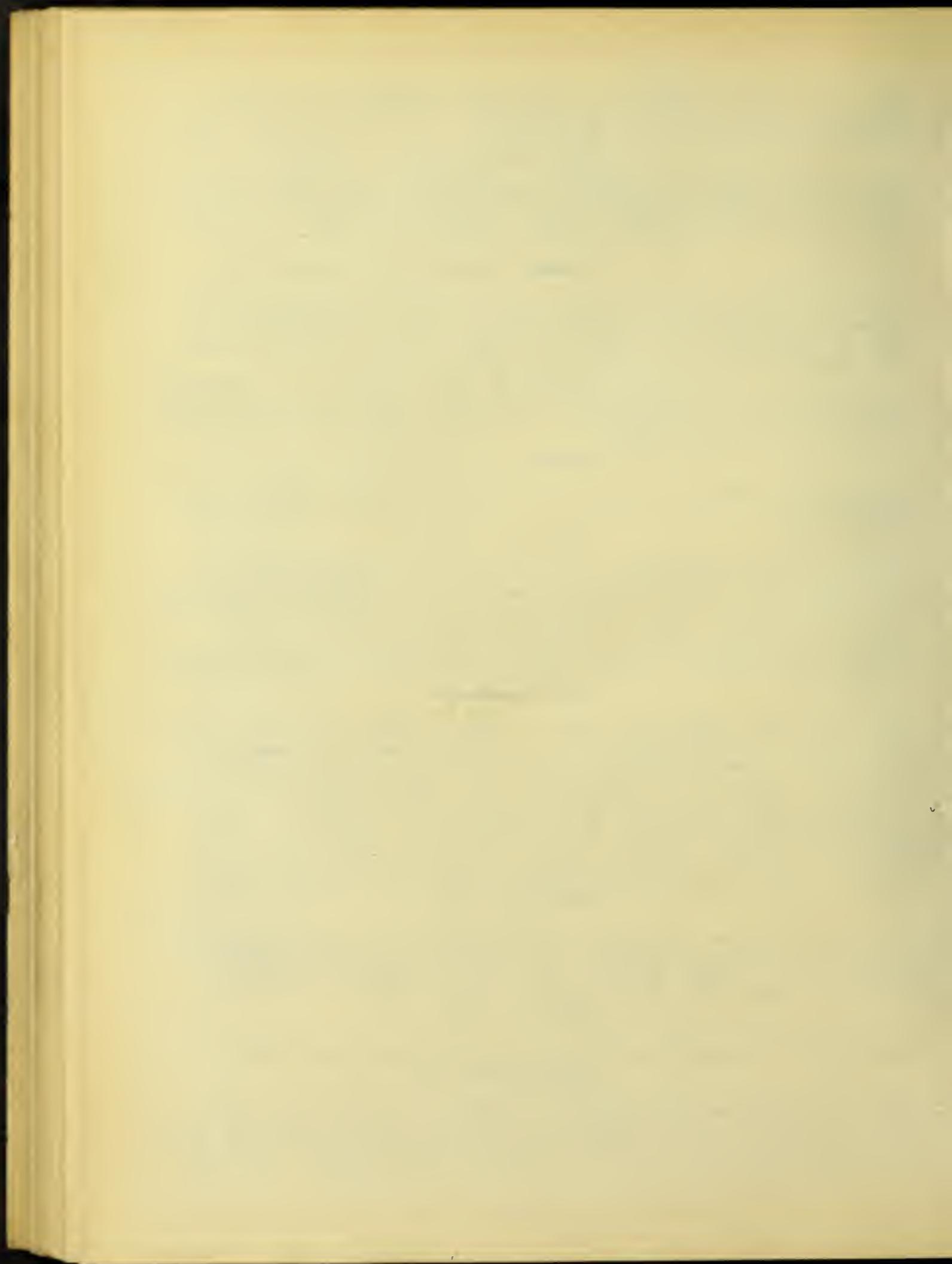
1758: Der Gott, der den Sturm, das Erdbeben, das Feuer zu seinem Boten hat, wählt eine stille, leise Stimme zum Zeichen seiner Gegenwart. - - - Dies ist die stille, leise Stimme, die wir mit Zittern in Gottes Wort und in unsern Herzen hören.

Hamann I, 89.

1755: "Der Dichter bekommt von seinem Schutzgeiste den Befehl.

Lessing VII, 7.

1753: I am sometimes half inclined to fancy that what Socrates in the Io of Plato says (probably in his usual tone of irony) of poets in general, might have actually come to pass: "Hence," says the philosopher, "the God having by possessing their minds, deprived



them of their natural reason, makes use of them, as well as of the prophets and diviners, as his ministers, to the end that we who hear them should understand that matters of so great importance are not uttered by men in their sober senses, but that it is the God himself who utters them, and addresses us by their mouths."

Lowth, Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, 244.

1753: Every affection of the human soul, while it rages with violence, is a momentary frenzy. When, therefore, a poet is able, by the force of genius, or rather of imagination, to conceive any emotion of the mind so perfectly as to transfer to his own feelings the instinctive passion of another, and, agreeably to the nature of the subject, to express it in all its vigor; such a one, according to a common mode of speaking, may be said to possess the true poetic enthusiasm\*, or, as the ancients would have expressed it, "to be inspired; full of the God;" \*Aristoteles expresses it  $\mu\alpha\upsilon\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ , insane; Plato  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\phi\rho\omicron\nu\alpha$ , out of their common senses;  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$ , inspired by a God;  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\zeta\omicron\nu\kappa\alpha$  enthusiastic.

Lowth, Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, 177 ff.

1749: Ach arme Poesie ! anstatt Begeisterung  
Und Göttern in der Brust, sind Regeln jetzt genug  
Noch einen Bodmer nur, so werden schöne Grillen  
Der jungen Dichter Hirn, statt Geist und Feuer, füllen.  
Lessing I, 252.

1749: Ein Geist, den die Natur zum Meistergeist beschloss,  
Ist, was er ist, durch sich; wird ohne Regeln gross.  
Er geht, so kühn er geht, auch ohne Weiser sicher.  
Er schöpft aus sich selbst. Er ist sich Schul' und Bücher.  
Lessing I, 253.

1743: Wenn er des Gottes voll, der den Horaz belehrt,  
Durch einen kühnen Flug sich auf den Pindus hebet.  
Bodmer, D. Litdenkm. XII, 71.

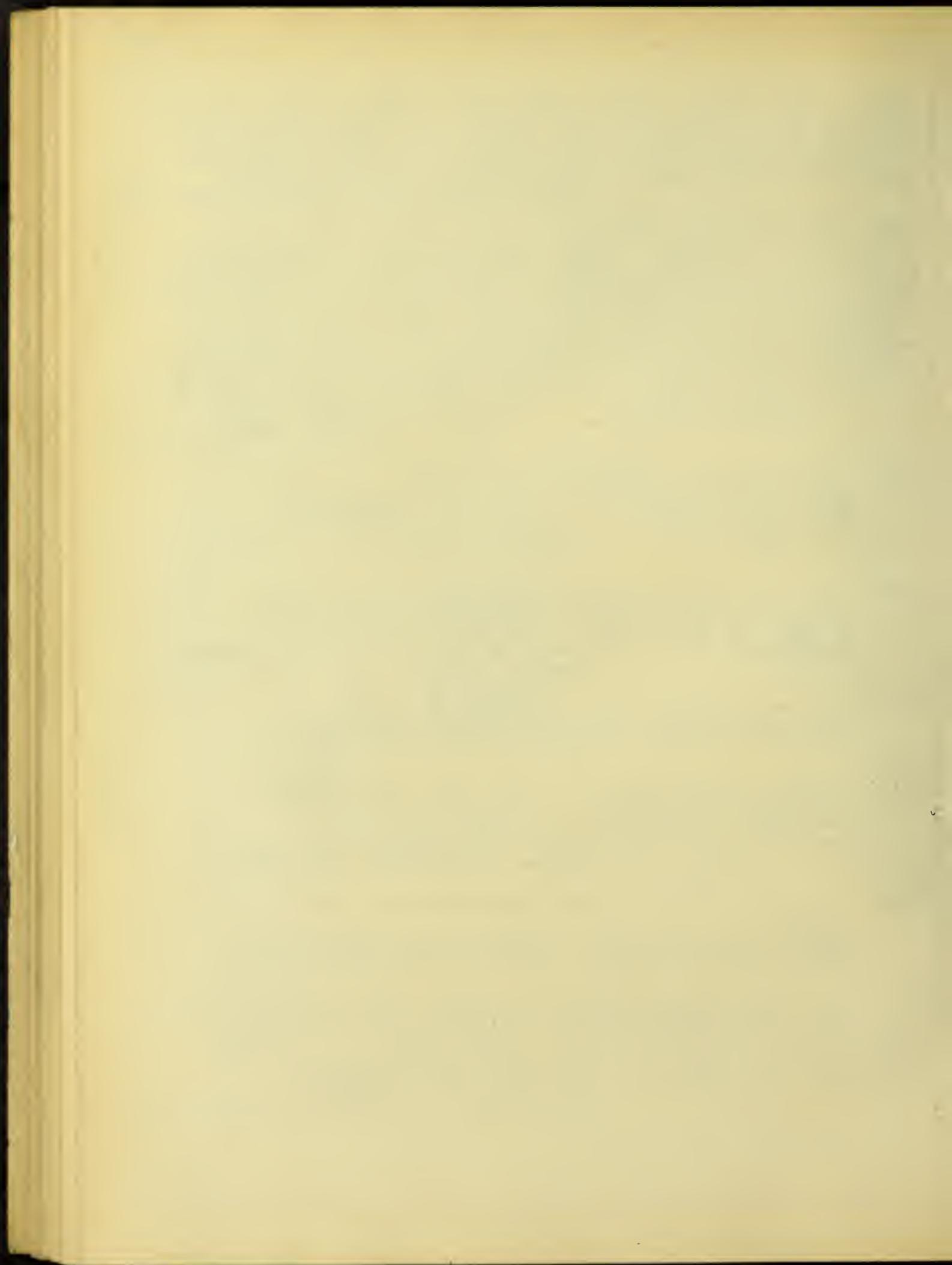
1743: Spreng, der des Gottes voll, der David unterrichtet,  
Mit Davids Denkungsart uns Davids Lieder dichtet.  
Der, wenn er seinen Geist in Davids eingesenkt,  
Mit ihm alsdann empfindt, mit ihm dann sieht und denkt.  
Bodmer, D. Litdenkm. XII, 69.

1624: Est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo, Ovid.

Es ist ein Geist in uns, und was von uns geschrieben,  
Gedacht wird und gesagt, das wird durch ihn getrieben.

Wo diese natürliche Regung ist, welche Plato einen göttlichen Furor nennt, zum Unterschiede des Aberwitzes oder Blödigkeit, dürfen weder Erfindung noch Worte gesucht werden. - - - An den andern wollen wir zwar den Willen und die Bemühung loben, der Nachkommen Gunst aber können wir ihnen nicht verheissen.

Opitz, Buch v.d. deutschen Poeterei, 55.



1624: Es ist auch die Poeterei eher getrieben worden, als man je von derselben Art, Amte und Zugehör geschrieben: und haben die Gelehrten, was sie in den Poeten (welcher Schriften aus einem göttlichen Antriebe und von Natur herkommen, wie Plato hin und wieder hiervon redet) aufgemerkt, nachmals durch richtige Verfassung zusammengeschlossen und aus vielen Tugenden eine Kunst gemacht. Bei den Griechen hat es Aristoteles vornehmlich getan; bei den Lateinern Horatius; und zu unserer Voreltern Zeiten Vida und Scaliger so ausführlich, dass weiter etwas dabei zu tun vergebens ist.

Opitz, Buch v.d. deutschen Poeterei, 8.

1527: While the fierce god exults and reigns within;  
To reason's standard be your thoughts confin'd,  
Let judgment calm the tempest of the mind.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets,  
XIX, 643.

1527: One to his genius trusts, in every part,  
And scorns the rules and discipline of art.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets,  
XIX, 635.

1735: A bard, who sings both to the gods and men:  
Untaught by others, in my mind I bear,  
By God himself implanted, all the strains  
Of melody and verse.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 126.

1735: In this respect the talent of their poets was truly natural and had a much better title to inspiration than their learned successors. I mean learned by books; though I do not say that Homer and Hesiod had no learning of this sort.

Blackwell, Life & Writings of Homer, 125.

1735: But the ancients of early times, as nature gave powers and a genius, so they fought or plowed, or merchandized, or sung; wars, or loves or morals, *ὡς ἡ Μοῦσα ἐδίδου*, just as their muse or genius gave permission.

Blackwell, Life & Writings of Homer, 125.

1669-1741:

Tel, aux premiers accès d'une sainte manie,  
Mon esprit alarmé redoute du génie

L'assaut victorieux;

Il s'étonne, il combat l'ardeur qui le possède,  
Et voudrait secouer du démon qui l'obsède

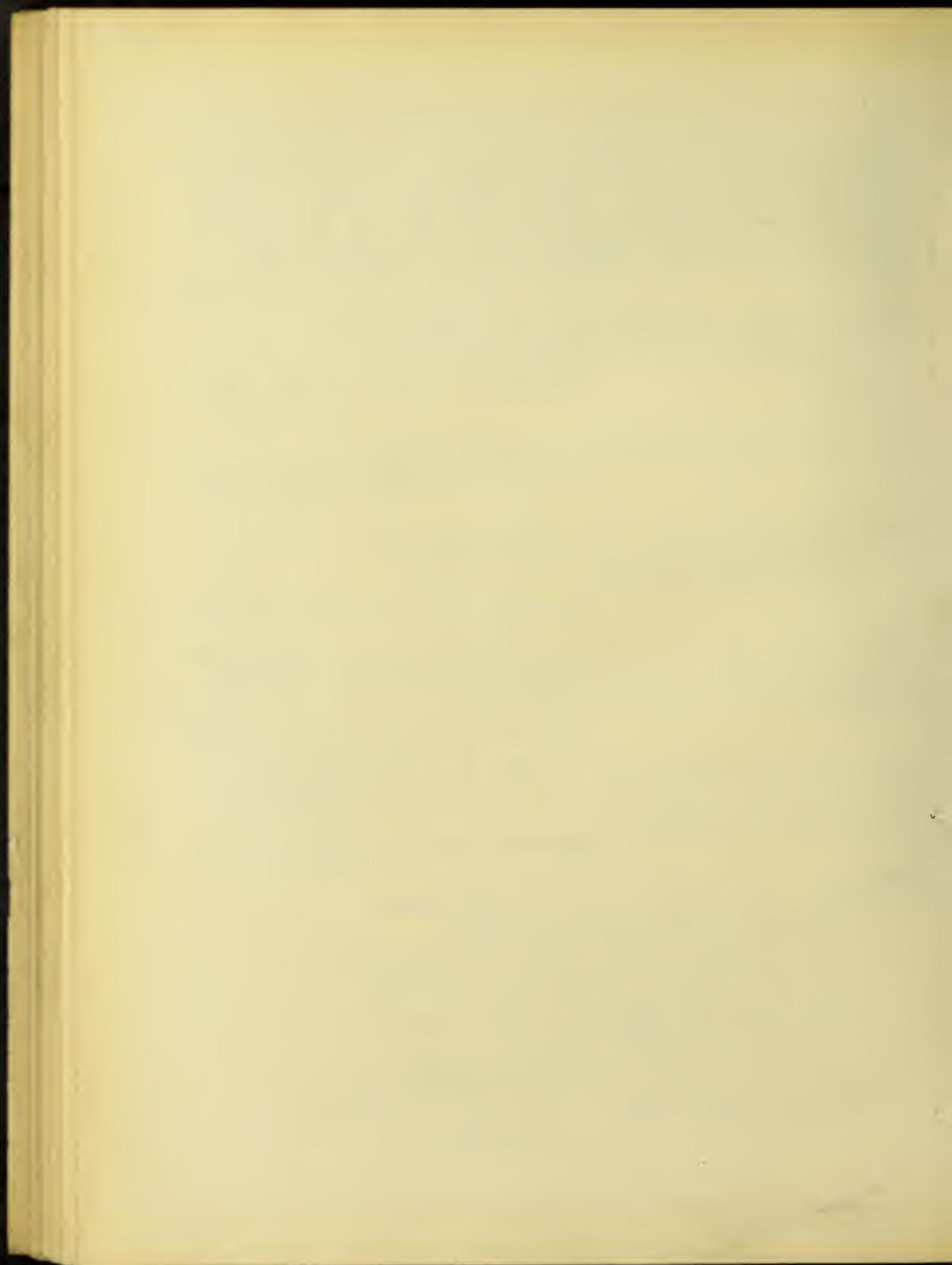
Le joug impérieux.

Mais sitôt que, cédant à la fureur divine,  
Il reconnaît enfin du dieu qui le domine

Les souveraines lois,

Alors, tout pénétré de sa vertu supreme,  
Ce n'est plus un mortel, c'est Apollon lui-même  
Qui parle par ma voix.

J. B. Rousseau.



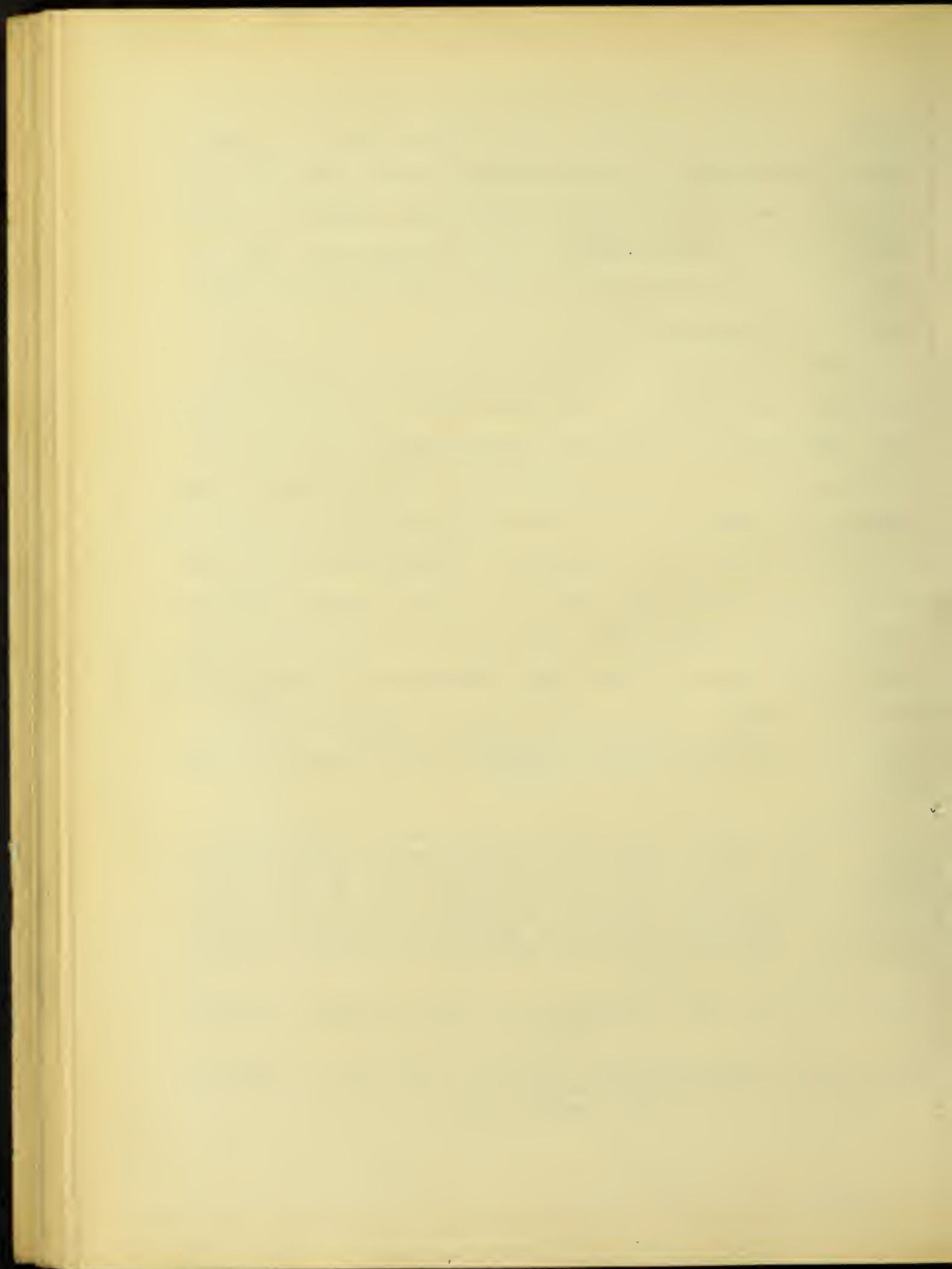
During the pseudo-classicism of Gottsched and during its reverse, the Storm and Stress period, Shakespeare formed a central issue. His champions in Germany defeated French classicism there and established him firmly as the unparalleled example of natural original genius for the writers of the "Genieperiode". And the latter made itself felt most as a widely spread imitation and emulation of Shakespeare.

How this Shakespearian movement in Germany started and developed is accurately and completely shown by Koberstein in his essay "Shakespeare's allmähliches Bekanntwerden in Deutschland". The "Conjectures" have neither begun nor greatly intensified this movement; they were but one source of influence among many. But they say striking things about Shakespeare. Below he is called "that much more than common man", which is, in fact, speaking of him as a super-man, the "Übermensch". This phrase is, however, not the origin of the super-man idea. Grimm's Wörterbuch in its discussion of the word "Genie" and my subsequent data compared with the following lines from Young's essay will reveal the matter as just stated

"Conjectures", p.16, l.21, ff.: Who knows if Shakespeare might not have thought less if he had read more? Who knows if he might not have labored under the load of Jonson's learning as Enceladus under Aetna? His mighty genius indeed through the most mountainous oppression would have breathed out some of his inextinguishable fire; yet possibly he might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight.

1772: Nicht blos nicht übermenschlich, sondern offenbar tierisch.  
Herder V, 17.

1763: Die Charaktere im Ugolino sind alle stark und oft recht mit Shakespearisch wildem Feuer gezeichnet.  
Herder IV, 312.



1767: Man studiert, sagen einige, man sucht sein Talent; oft verfehlt man es: das Genie entdeckt sich selbst. - - - das Genie arbeitet sich durch alle Hindernisse hindurch. Das Genie erschafft; das Talent setzt nur ins Werk. - - - le génie avec moins d'application voit tout, devance l'étude même, et perfectionne les talents.

Schlesw.Litbr. D. Litdenkm.XXIX, 220.

1767: - - - und wenn Homer "summa vis, et quasi mensura ingenii humani" ist, so wird der, so ihn noch beurteilen und tadeln kann, ein völliger Übermensch ! hervorragend über die Schranken des menschlichen Geistes.

Herder III, 202.

1765-66: Er (Miller, Die Hoffnung besserer Zeiten für die Schulen, 1765) hat Recht - - - dass ein lateinisches Genie sich doch durchbrechen werde, wenn es auch spät in sein Lieblingsfeld eingeführt wird. - - - Herolde werden sich immer finden, Genies werden sich immer eine Bahn brechen und siegen.

Herder I, 120.

1755: - - - und die Idee wird sich über die mehr als menschlichen Verhältnisse einer schönen Gottheit in dem vatikanischen Apollo nichts bilden können.

Winkelmann I, 21 ff.

1753: Die Schule macht den Dichter ? Nein.  
Er, welchen die Natur zu ihrem Maler wählet,  
Und ihn, ein mehr als Mensch zu sein,  
Mit jenem Feuer beseelet!

Lessing I, 241.

1747: Auch in der Poesie darf ich meine Hand nach dem unvergänglichen Lorbeer ausstrecken. - - - Meine Freunde - - - versichern mich allezeit auf das aufrichtigste dass sie schon genugsam von meiner mehr als göttlichen Ader überzeugt waren.

Lessing I, 342.

1735: - - - whose inhabitants were surprisingly illuminated beyond the rest of the human race.\*

\* Leibnitz Preface à la Théodicée.

Blackwell, Life & Writings of Homer, 220.

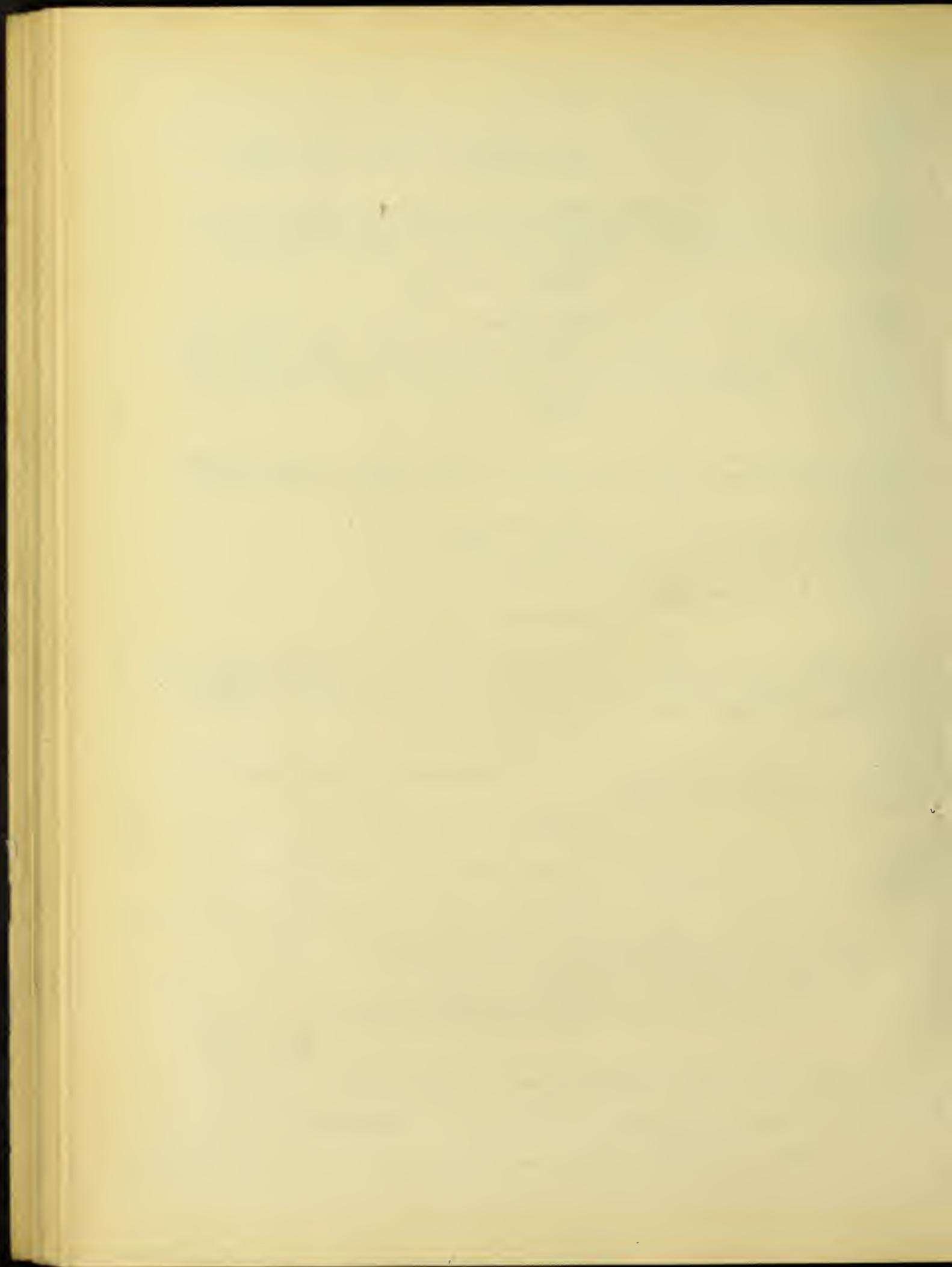
1735: - - - actuated by some higher genius than was competent to mankind.

Blackwell, Life & Writings of Homer, 156.

1527: Nor can the raging flames themselves contain,  
For the whole god descends into the man.  
He quits mortality, he knows no bounds,  
But sings inspir'd in more than human sounds.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets,  
XIX, 643.

In his discussion of Shakespeare Young speaks also of an earlier, or infantine, genius which is to be developed by learning, and of a later, or adult, genius, which comes into the world already



developed. This former conception of genius as "treffliche Naturanlage," capable of development by education and practice to an extraordinary degree, was held by Gellert, Lessing, Kant, Herder, and many others. But the other assertion, "poeta nascitur", as Cicero words it, was also admitted by the Germans, and particularly of Shakespeare. The idea of the natural born genius was indeed far from being new at this time, but Young's version of it was new, and this reappears, particularly in Herder, as will be shown.

"Conjectures p. 6, l. 45 ff: Of genius there are two species: an earlier and a later; or call them infantine, and adult. An adult genius comes out of nature's hand as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth, and mature: Shakespeare's genius was of this kind! On the contrary, Swift stumbled at the threshold, and set out for distinction on feeble knees: His was an infantine genius; a genius which, like other infants, must be nursed and educated, or it will come to nought. Learning is its nurse and tutor.

Now the lines which seem to be imitations:

1775: Wie sich auch Geschmack und Genie feiner brechen mögen: so weiss jeder, dass Genie im allgemeinen eine Menge in-oder extensif strebender Seelenkräfte sei; Geschmack ist Ordnung in dieser Menge. Proportion, und also schöne Qualität jener strebenden Grösse.--- Genie ist eine Sammlung von Naturkräften: es kommt also auch aus den Händen der Natur und muss vorausgehen, ehe Geschmack werden kann.

Herder V, 601.

1774:--- es wird Genie, es wird eine gewisse natürliche Grösse und Lebhaftigkeit der Seele erfordert, die den Menschen zu allen grossen Unternehmungen begeistern muss. Allein, was vermag das beste Genie ohne Unterricht, ohne Kunst, ohne Übung?

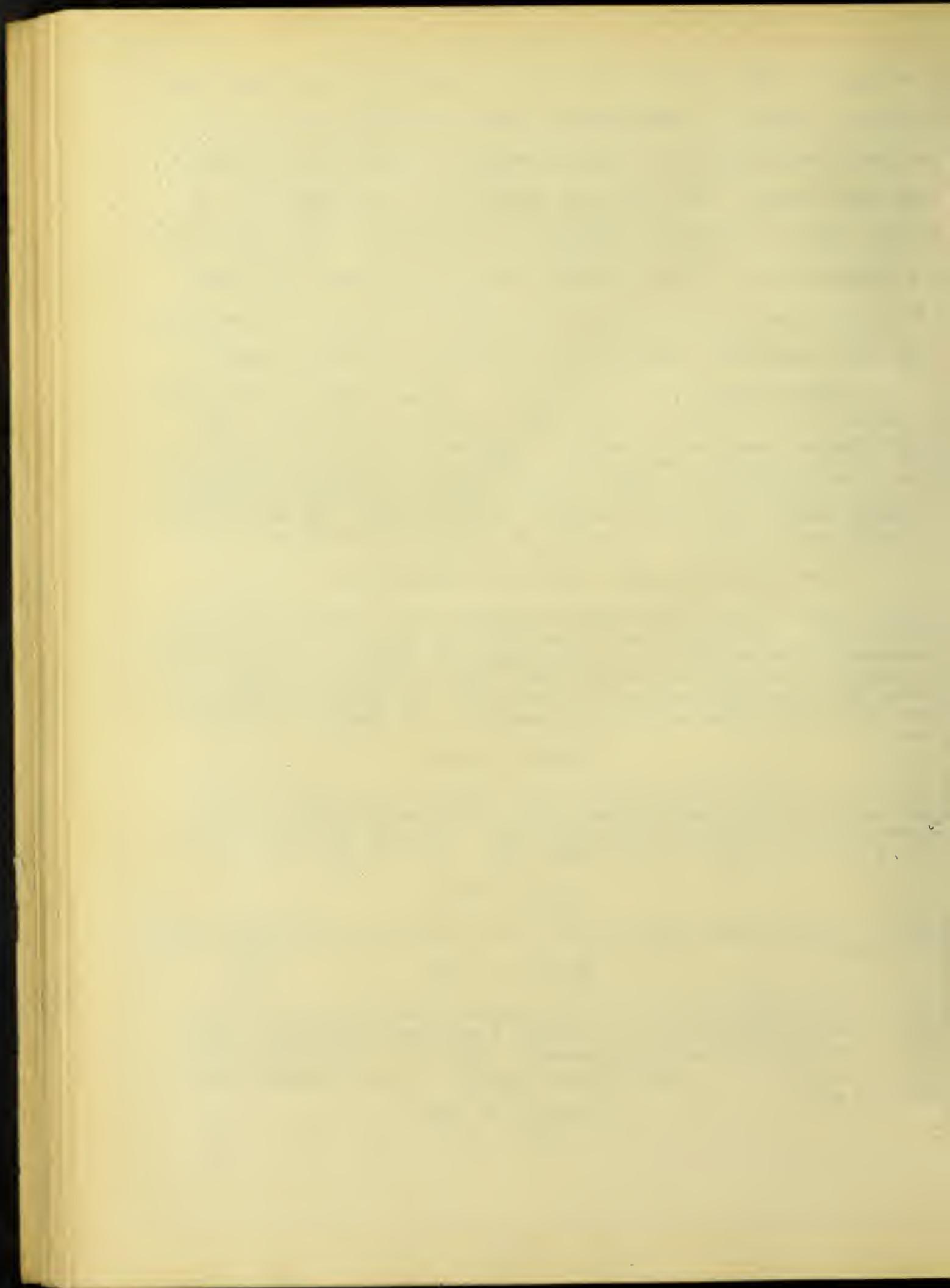
Gellert VII, 33.

1767: Aber es tritt ein Genie auf, wie Pallas aus dem Gehirn des Jupiters.

Herder I, 275.

1767:---und wie staunten wir, dass dies seine (Garriks) erste Rolle, im 24sten Jahr, dass er zuerst das Theater betreten, seine Probe und sein Meisterstück gewesen. So bildet ein Genie sich selbst und tritt auf einmal gebildet hervor, um die Bewunderung der Welt zu sein.

Herder IV, 227.



1766: Nun ist aber die Muse unseres Sängers eine Tochter der Kunst, nicht der schöpferischen Natur.

Herder IV, 253.

1766: Der wahre Geschmack ist ein einziger und wird in eben der Bedeutung angeboren, wie das Genie.

Gerstenburg, Schlesw.Litbr. 29/30, 3.

In continuation about "adult genius coming out of nature's hand, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature" (Conject.p.6,1.46 ff.), that is, about inborn versus acquired proficiency in literary composition, Young adds,

Conjectures p. 7, l. 42 ff., "Genius is from heaven, learning from man: This sets us above the low and illiterate; that, above the learned and polite. Learning is borrowed knowledge; genius is knowledge innate and quite our own. Therefore, as Bacon observes, it may take a nobler name, and be called wisdom; in which sense of wisdom, some are born wise." And this idea occurs in later German literature, as shown hereafter, but in no epoch-making manner.

"Cicero lehrt: "poeta nascitur" --- Der Begriff der εὐφυΐα, der trefflichen Naturanlage, bei Plato und Aristoteles kommt dem des Genies am nächsten".

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 312.

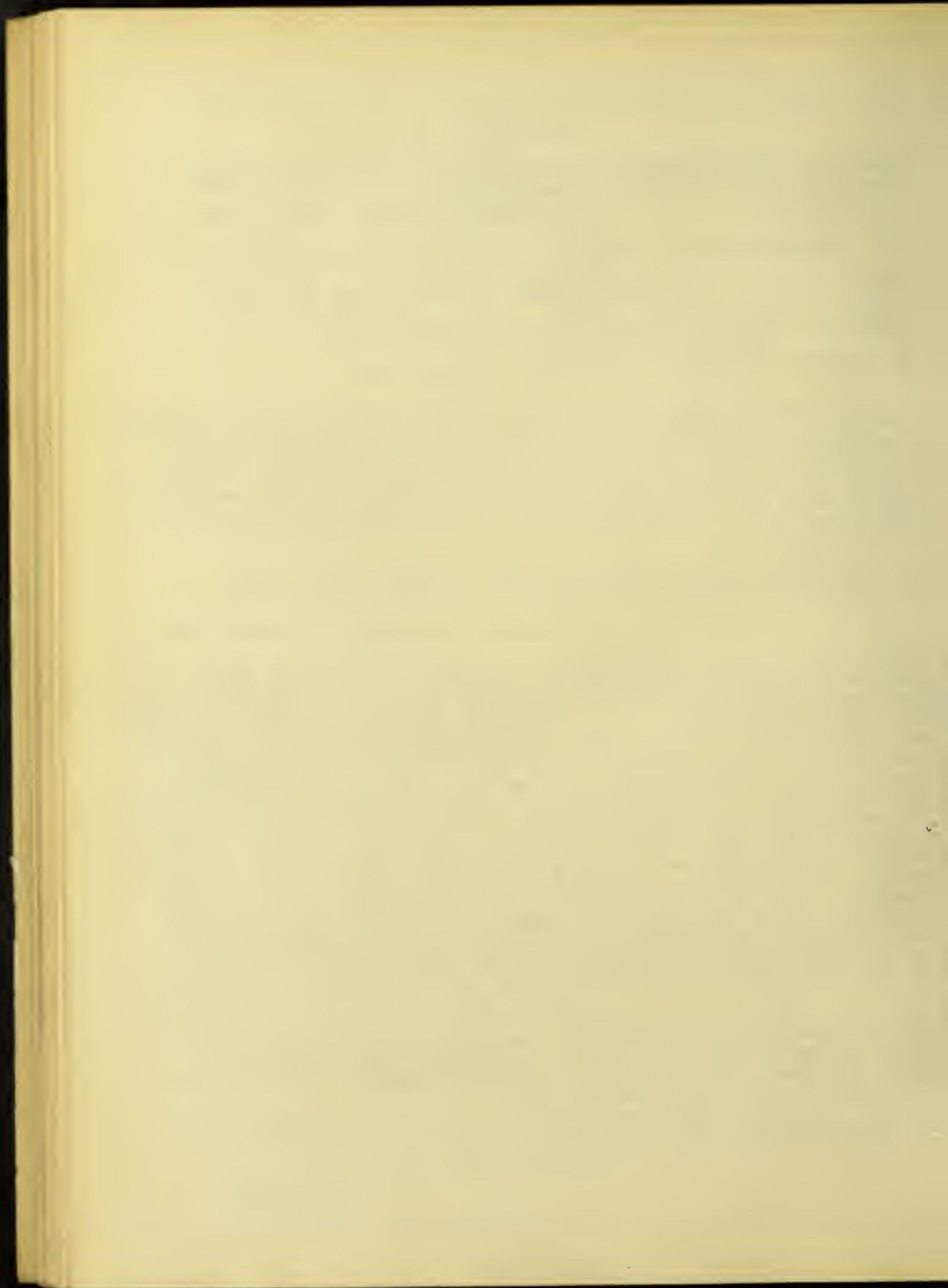
1778: Wer das zarte Saitenspiel junger Kinder und Knaben zu behorchen, wer nur in ihrem Gesicht zu lesen weiss: welche Bemerkungen von Genie und Charakter, d. i. einzelner Menschenart wird er machen! Es klingen leise Töne, die gleichsam aus einer andern Welt zu kommen scheinen: hie und da regt sich ein Zug von Nachdenken, Leidenschaft, Empfindung, der eine ganze Weltschlafender Kräfte, einen ganzen lebendigen Menschen weissagt, und es ist, dünkt mich, die platteste Meinung, die je in einen Papierkopf gekommen, dass alle menschlichen Seelen gleich, dass sie alle als platte leere Tafeln auf die Welt kommen. Keine zwei Sandkörner sind einander gleich, geschweige solche reinen Keime und Abgründe von Kräften, als zwei Menschen-seelen, oder ich hätte von dem Wort Menschen-seele gar keinen Gedanken. Auch das Leibnitzische Gleichnis von Marmorstücken, in denen der Umriss zur künftigen Bildsäule schon da liegt, dünkt mir noch zu wenig, wenigstens zu tot. Im Kinde ist ein Quell von mancherlei Leben, nur noch mit Duft und Leben bedeckt. Eine Knospe, in der der ganze Baum die ganze Blume eingehüllt blüht.

Herder VIII, 226f.

1778: Der bescheidene Deutsche, sagt Klopstock, nennt's dankbar Gabe, und weiter habe ich davon weder Begriff noch Erklärung. Genie und Charakter sind-- "die einzelne Menschenart,\*) die einem Gott gegeben", weder mehr noch minder.

\*) Genius, ingenium, indoles, vis animae, Charakter haben in allen Sprachen diese Bedeutung.

Herder VIII, 222.



1767: Die Fürsicht sendet sie (d.Kunst) mitleidig auf die Erde,  
Zum Besten des Barbaren,damit er menschlich werde;  
Weiht sie,die Lehrerin der Könige zu sein,  
Mit Würde,mit Genie,mit Feuer vom Himmel ein.

Lessing IX, 207.

1763: Es ist dieselbe(=die Fähigkeit,das Schöne in der Kunst zu empfinden),wie der poetische Geist,eine Gabe des Himmels;bildet sich aber so wenig,wie dieser,von sich selbst und würde ohne Lehre und Unterricht leer und tot bleiben.

Winkelmann I,238f.

Speaking again of the ready born genius,or inborn wisdom of Shakespeare,Young compares him to Pindar and says about the latter,Conject.p.6,1.31ff.,"--who(as Vossius tells us)boasted of his no-learning,calling himself the eagle,for his flight above it". Of Bacon he says,ibid.p.14,1.14,that he saw"with a more than eagle's eye". And,ibid. p.6,1.17,he says of genius in general that "from mounting high to weak eyes is quite out of sight".

This comparison of genius to an eagle soaring high seems to have been copied from the "Conjectures" by Herder.But Hamann and Lessing have it also previously to the "Conjectures".

1769: Hoch wie des Adlers Sonnenflug.

Herder III,324.

1765: Die Einsichten des Verfassers scheinen mir,wie sein Stil,mehr ausgedehnt als tief zu sein.---Aber ich habe keinen Adlersblick,keinen Sonnenflug,nichts von dem hohen Geruche des Königs unter den Vögeln in der ganzen Abhandlung wahrgenommen.

Hamann III,339.

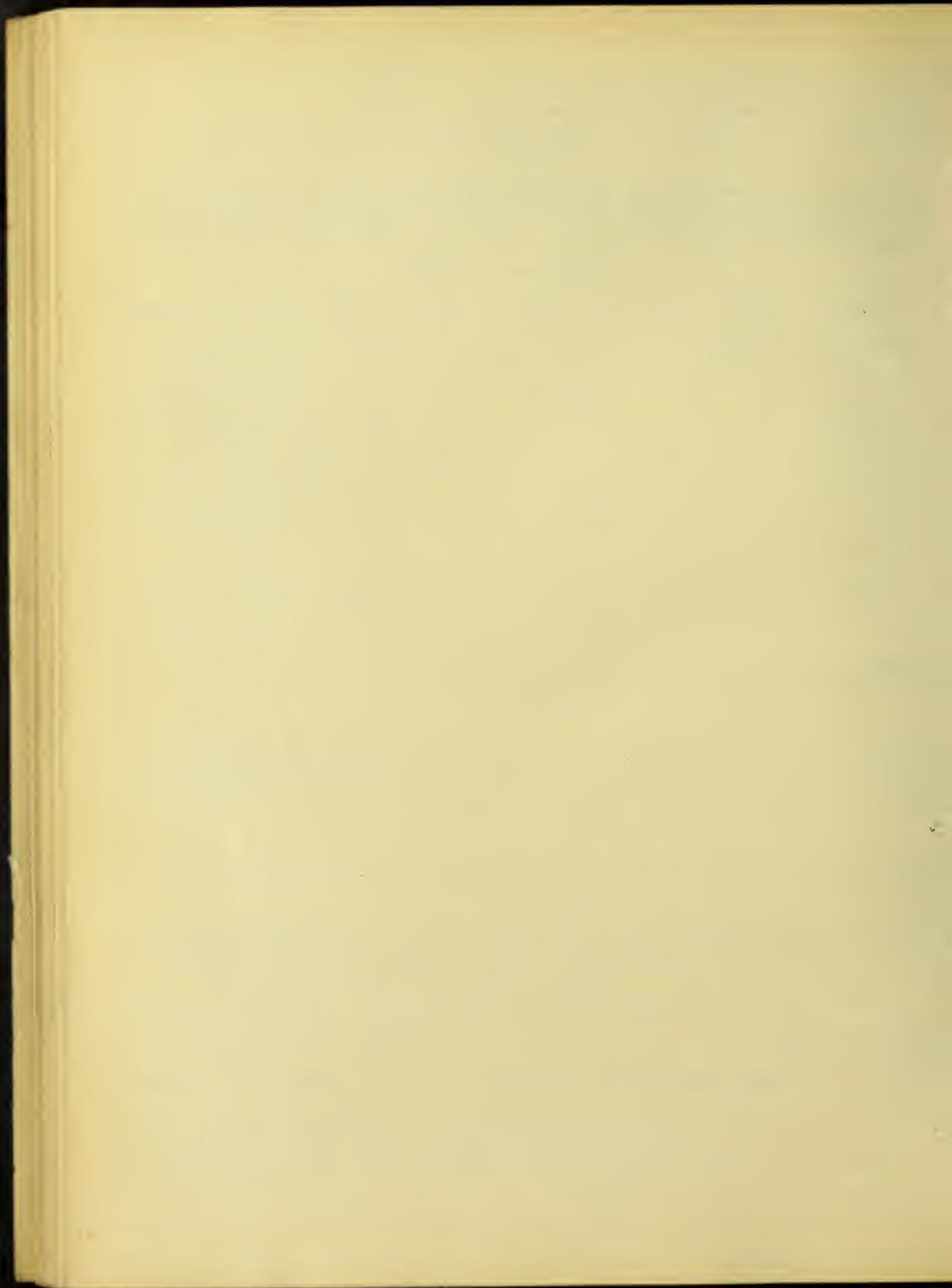
1758: Unsere Augen haben die Schärfe des Adlers,gewinnen das Licht der Engel wenn wir in deinem Worte alles sehen.

Hamann I.80.

1758: Sein(des Dichters) Flug aber hält nie einerlei Höhe.Eben der Adler,der vorher in die Sonne sah,lässt sich nun tief herab,auf der Erde sein Futter zu suchen,und das ohne Beschädigung seiner Würde.

Lessing VII,117.

In his further discussion of the principles of nature in literary composition versus the rules of the critics,Young continues,Conject. p.7, 1.8ff., "Some are pupils of nature only,nor go farther to school: From such we reap often a double advantage: they not only rival the reputation of the great ancient authors,but also reduce the number of of mean ones among the moderns".



This idea of being "pupils of nature" both in art and in life, was one of the ruling ones during the Storm and Stress period. Among the first to spread this idea in Germany were Lessing, Gellert, and Herder, and I quote from them to show how they discussed it and how they got it. Lessing, as will be seen, advocates this idea long before the "Conjectures" were published. Gellert was an ardent admirer of Batteux's "Les beaux arts etc.", the most influential treatise of the time about nature as the basis of all art, and it seems as if he got the idea in question from that before he could have learned it from the "Conjectures". And it is not very probable that Herder, who admired the teachings of Winkelmann, Rousseau, and also Batteux, learned as to this question from Young. The following lines will give some proof of this.

1767: Jene die Alten, welche die Werke der Kunst erst erfanden, gingen mit ihrem Genie auf der Bahn der Natur unbekümmert fort. Sie hatten kein anderes Muster als die Natur und das idealische Schöne, das sich ihrem Verstande darstellte. Dieses drückten sie aus, und wussten von keinen Regeln, als von denen, welche der Geschmack dem Künstler vorschreibt, und welche ihn insgeheim leiten, ohne ihn ihre Leitung fühlen zu lassen.

Gellert X, 68.

1767: Die Werke der Alten beweisen, dass die Natur ihre Lehrmeisterin war.

Gellert X, 67.

1768: "---um ein Emil und Zögling der Natur zu werden".

Herder II, 217.

1778: Und wo lebt sie (die Dichtkunst) auf solche Weise mehr und anders, als bei treuen Schülern und Kindern der Natur, in Zuständen der sinnlichen Stärke und Gesundheit, der herzlichen Offenheit, Tätigkeit, Wahrheit. Wo Kunst an die Stelle der Natur tritt, und an die Stelle der Menschheit Gesellschaft; da ist, wie alle lebendige Wahrheit der grossen Schöpfung Gottes, so auch ihre Dolmetscherin und Freundin, Poesie, verbannt oder entstellt und zur Lügnerin, was sie nicht sein kann und nie sein sollte, erniedrigt. Wo alles Zwang, Sitte, Konvention ist, solls sie auch werden; mithin ist ihre beste Ader tot, von ihrem göttlichen Feuer ein Häufchen Asche übrig.

Herder VIII, 343.

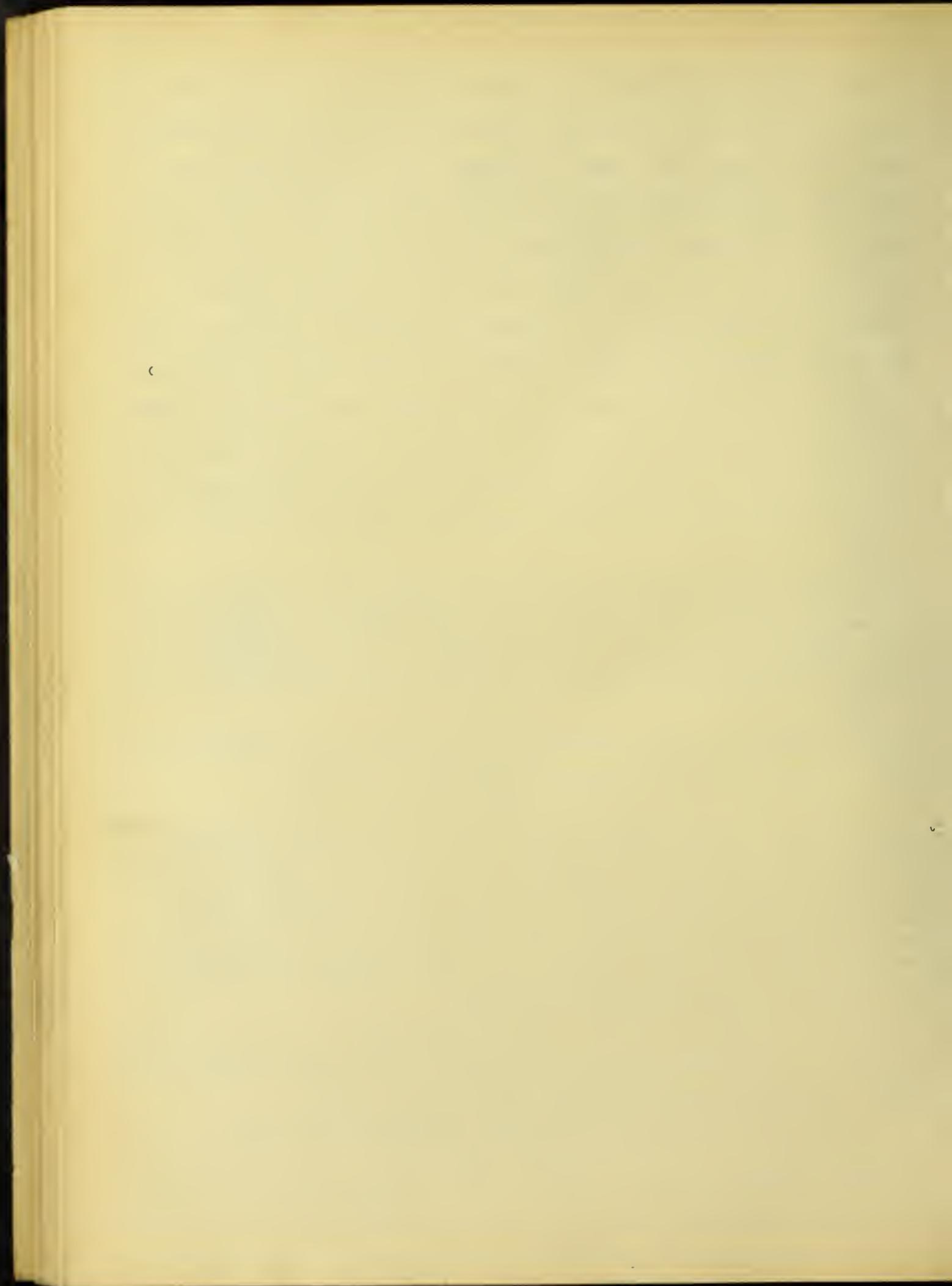
1753: Eine feurige und doch sittsame Einbildung, die Sprache der Natur, ---geben ihm das Recht auf einen vorzüglichen Rang unter unsern Dichtern.

Lessing V, 159.

1749: Was einen Bauer reizt, macht keine Regel schlecht;  
Denn in ihm wirkt ihr Trieb noch unverfälschlich echt.

Lessing I, 250.

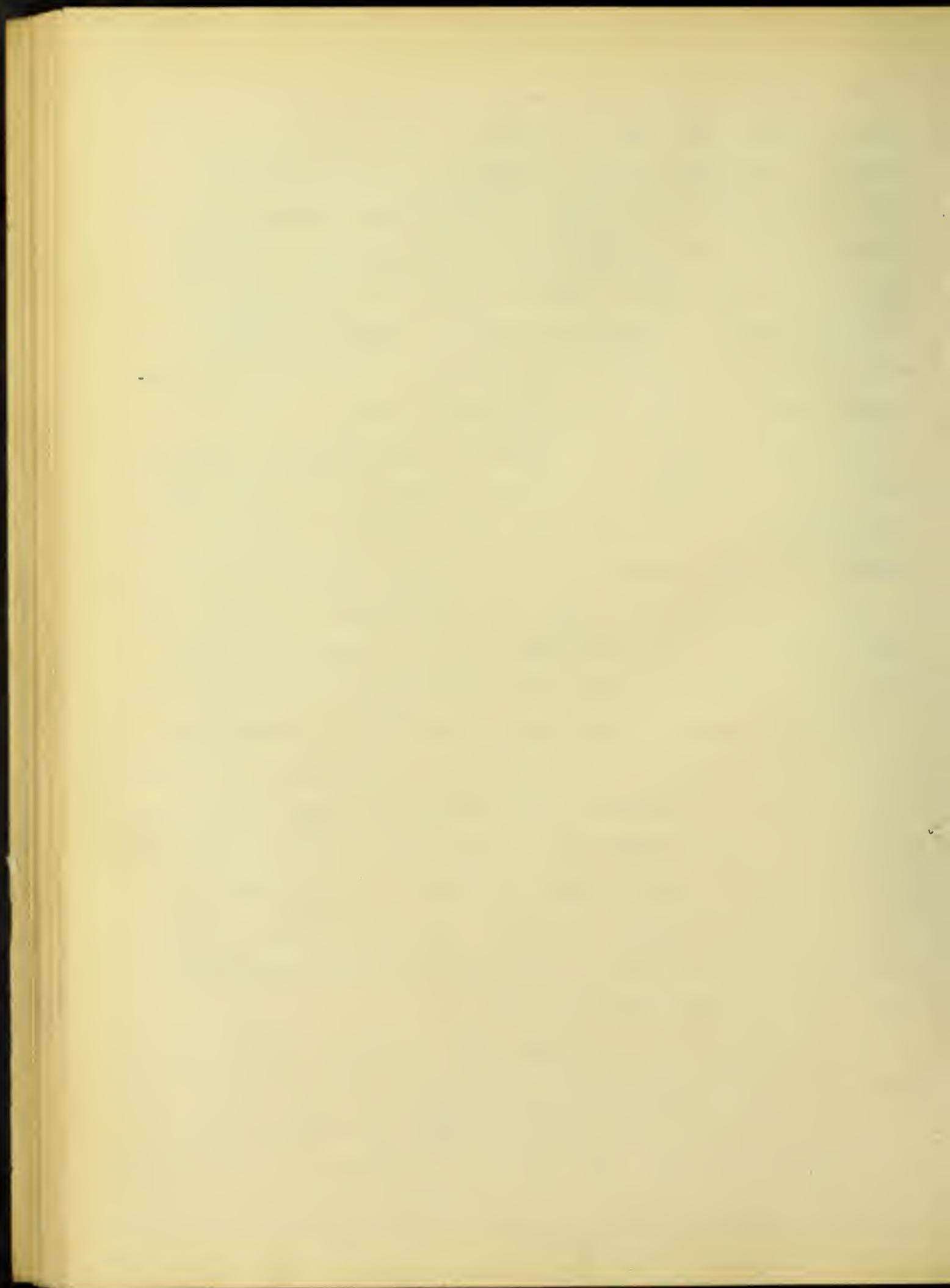
Young defines genius in a vague, flowery manner as the ability to



produce literary compositions that are more than translations or imitations: compositions that are wholly new, that is, original contributions to literature. He says in one place of the "Conjectures". p. 2, l. 29ff., "But there are who write with vigor and success, to the world's delight and their own renown. These are the glorious fruits where genius prevails. The mind of a man of genius is a fertile and pleasant field, pleasant as Elysium and fertile as Tempe; it enjoys a perpetual spring. Of that spring originals are the fairest flowers; imitations are of a quicker growth, but fainter bloom"

These ideas of genius and originality were familiar to Lessing as early as 1747: "Umsonst habe ich mich bestrebt, nur mit Genies, nur mit originellen Geistern umzugehen." And these ideas had many sources and champions in Germany besides the "Conjectures". Compare carefully as to this the following note from Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, p. 245: "Unter andern (die nebst Gerard über das Genie geschrieben haben) wären hier zu erwähnen: Bouhours, Rapin, Fontenelle, Perrault, Sir W. Temple, Shaftesbury, Addison, Dubos, Trublet, Condillac, Louis Racine, Baumgarten, Meier, Hurd, Trescho, d'Alembert, Diderot, Sulzer, Helvetius, Young, Resewitz, Hamann, J. G. Zimmermann, Abbt, Lessing Mendelssohn, Flögel, Gerstenberg, Duff, Lindner, Herder, Garve, J. A. Schlegel, Voltaire, Platner. (Gerard), Lenz, Eberhard, Lavater, M. Engel, J. Ch. König. Wenn Kant auch nicht jeden einzelnen von diesen Autoritäten konsultiert hat, so ist doch anzunehmen, dass die von ihnen ausgehenden z. T. weitreichenden Einflüsse bis zu ihm durchgedrungen sind".

Both the term and the idea "Genie" came into Germany mainly from France and from England, and were established and widely spread first by Gellert through his far reaching lectures, (see Grimms deutsches Wörterbuch, Genie (9)). Then there sprung up in Germany and still poured in from without a multitude of literary and aesthetic treatises



similar to the "Conjectures", and came partly before and partly after them. And of these discourses about genius the "Conjectures" are not one of those which are most frequently mentioned by the Germans who wrote before and during the Storm and Stress period.

Comparing a literary genius to a magician and also quoting the assertion by Seneca that nobody ever became a great man "sine aliquo afflatu divino", Young says in particular praise of genius that it "has ever been supposed to partake of something divine" (Conject. p. 5, l. ff.). But this ancient conception of poetical genius and inspiration was too much common property among the Germans to be much effected by Young's essay. In the following places the idea of genius as something divine occurs, but not in such ways as if the "Conjectures"

might have done much to establish it in Germany.

1766: Homer, vermöge seines göttlichen Genies, ---. Lessing IX, 118.

1779: Wenn der menschliche Geist in etwas den Funken seiner Göttlichkeit spürt, so ists in Gedanken, womit er Himmel und Erde umfasst, die Sterne wägt, den Sonnenstrahl spaltet, sich in die Geheimnisse der Tiefe wagt, die Körper teilt, die Gesetze der Natur errät und die Unendlichkeit berechnet.

Herder IX, 351f.

1746: "---des génies presque divins".

Batteux Les beaux arts, 159.

1746: C'est ce que Cicéron appelle, mentibus viribus excitari, divino spiritu afflari. Voilà la fureur poétique: voilà l'enthousiasme: voilà le dieu que le poète invoque dans l'épopée, qui inspire le héros dans la tragédie---. Mais, qu'est-ce que l'enthousiasme? Il ne contient que deux choses: une vive représentation de l'objet dans l'esprit, et une émotion du cœur proportionnée à cet objet---. Dans les occasions qui demandent de l'enthousiasme, le dieu n'enlève pas l'homme qu'il fait agir, dit Plutarque, il ne fait que lui donner des idées vives, lesquelles idées produisent des sentiments qui leur répondent.

Batteux, Les beaux arts, 36f.

1735: One age, and that at no great distance of years, produced Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, men of a divine genius.

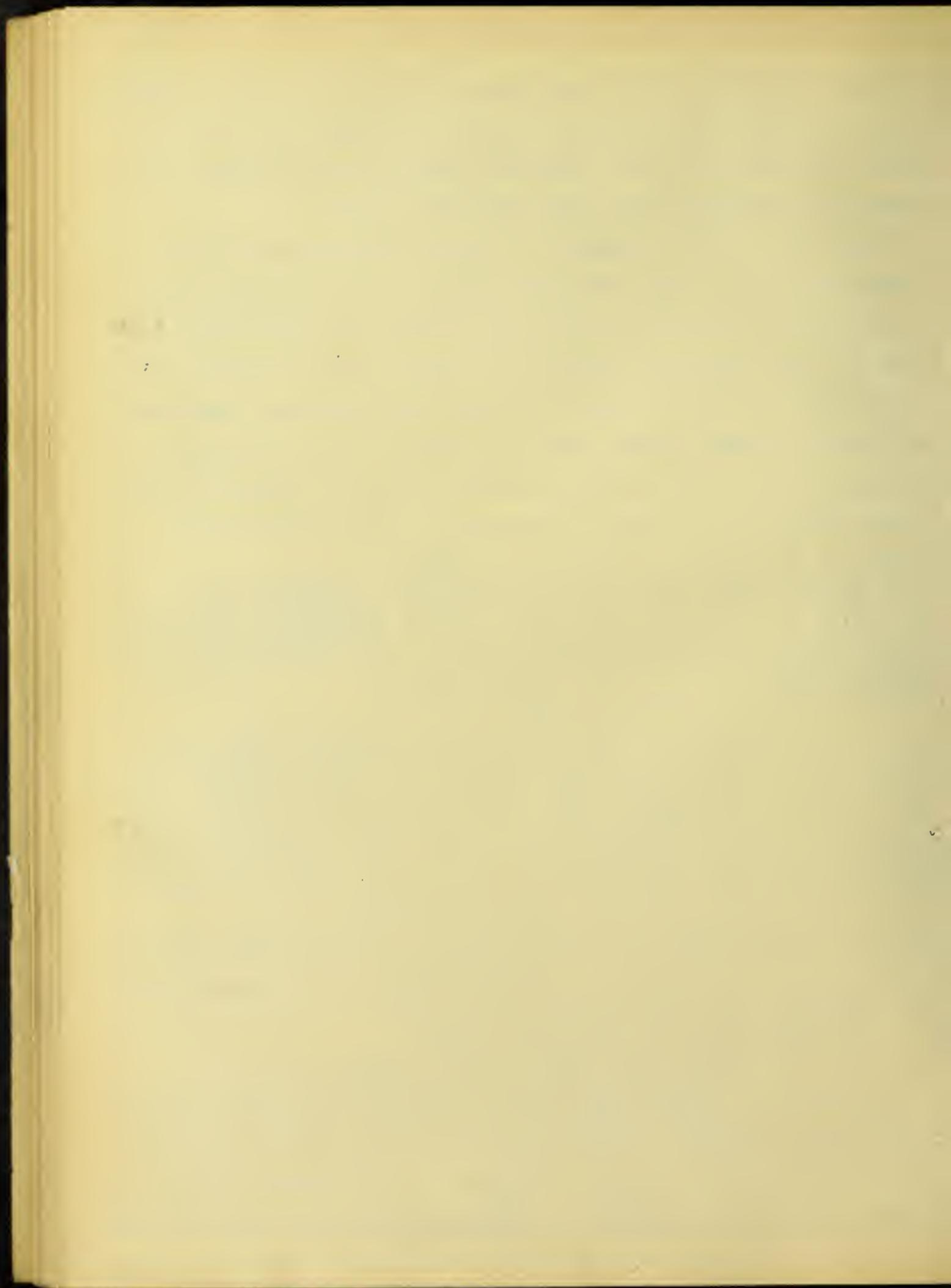
Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 74.

1527: Whatever power the glorious gift bestow'd,  
We trace the certain footsteps of a god;  
By thee inspired, the daring poet flies  
His soul mounts up, and towers above the skies.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets XIX, 638.

In speaking of the devinely inspired enthusiast as quoted hereafter

Young repeats that most ancient conception of the devinely inspired poet, singer, actor, or orator, but limits it in a modern critical manner to the "adult genius", the naturely gifted poet. That he is



not speaking of transcendental divine inspiration as Addison and others do, is shown by the context and by those other passages in the "Conjectures" which deny such inspiration of modern authors. But this conception of the poet as a divinely inspired enthusiast appears so early, so general, and in such versions among the Germans that they do not seem to have been influenced as to it by the "Conjectures". They state it either in the version of the Bible or of Plato or of the ancient poets, as seen by the following comparison.

Conjecture p. 11, l. 14 ff.: This is the difference between those two luminaries in literature, the well-accomplished scholar and the divinely-inspired enthusiast; the first is as the bright morning-star; the second as the rising sun.

1767: Platos Io: Alle vortrefflichen Dichter singen nicht durch Künstelei, sondern durch göttliche Begeisterung; --- sobald sie in die verschlungenen Labyrinth der Harmonie geraten, so rasen sie, schwärmen gleich den unsinnigen Bachanten --- Wahrlich, ein Dichter ist ein flüchtiges, ein heiliges Geschöpf, das nicht eher singen kann bis es von einem Gott ergriffen ausser sich gesetzt. Alsdenn singt jener Lobgesänge, dieser Dithyramben. "In der Tat ich wollte lieber diese wenigen Worte gefühlt, als alle zehn Dithyramben gesungen haben.

Herder I, 324.

1767: Ich setze das Kennzeichen des poetischen Genies in die Illusion einer höhern Eingebung. Um diese Illusion hervorzu bringen, sage ich, muss der Dichter die beobachteten Gegenstände bildlich denken, und mit Wirkung ausdrücken können, welches zusammen ich unter Nachbildung begreife. Schlesw. Litbriefe., D. Litdenkm. 29/30, 225.

1767: Pindars Gang ist der Schritt der begeisterten Einbildungskraft, die, was sie sieht, und wie sie es sieht, singt; aber die Ordnung der philosophischen Methode, oder der Vernunft, ist der entgegengesetzte Weg, da man, was man denkt, aus dem, was man sieht, beweiset.

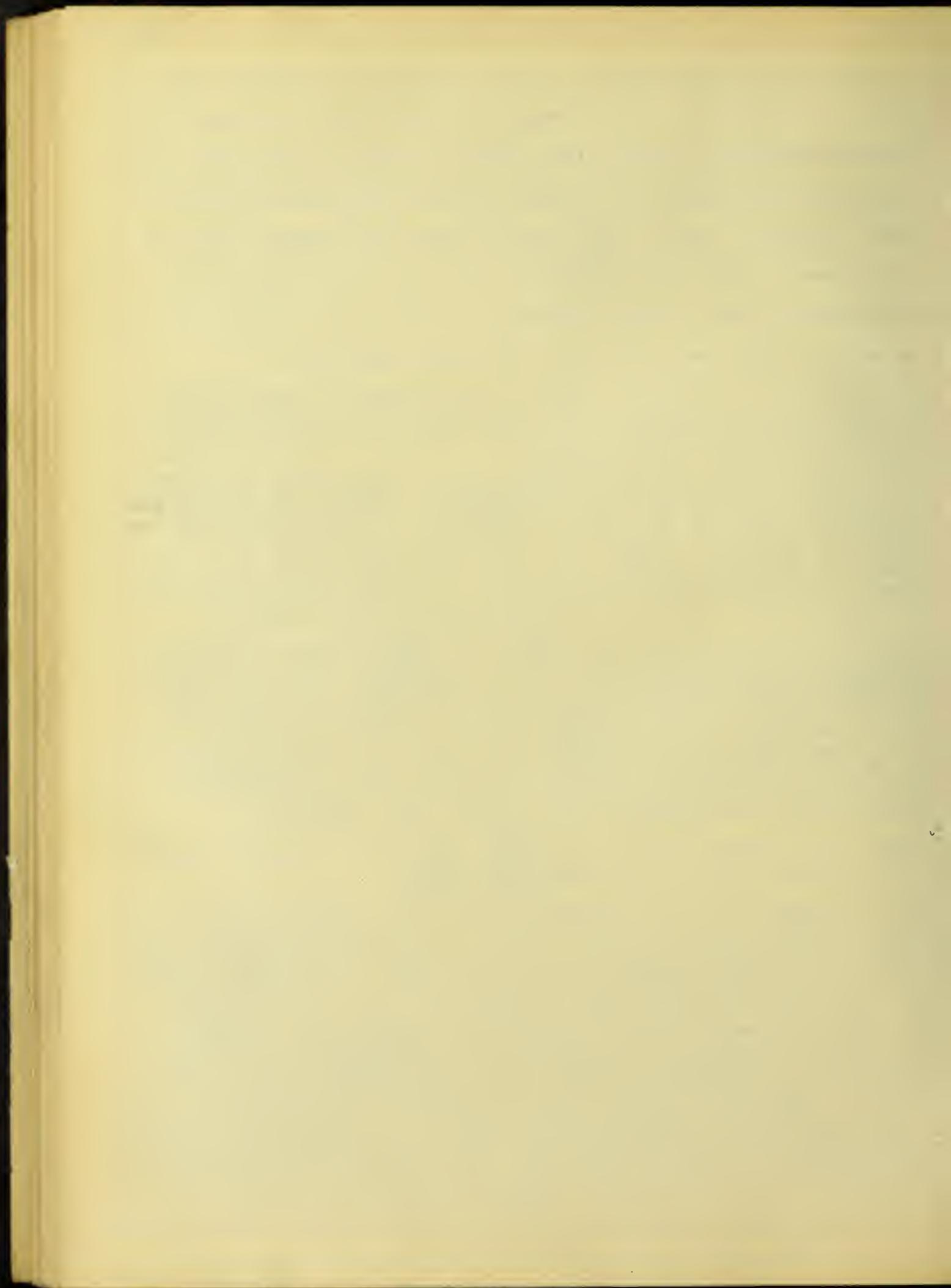
Herder I, 325.

1773: --- der Messias voll der unmittelbarsten Empfindung und einer Einbildung, die sich oft der Inspiration nähert.

Herder V, 258.

1774: Dichtkunst, sie ist ursprünglich Theologie gewesen, und die edelste höchste Dichtkunst wird wie die Tonkunst ihrem Wesen nach immer Theologie bleiben. Sänger und Propheten, die erhabensten Dichter des Alten Testaments schöpften Flammen aus heiligem Feuer. Die ältesten ehrwürdigsten Dichter des Heidentums --- sangen die Götter und beseligten die Welt. Was die Miltons und Klopstocks, Fenelons und Racine in ihren reinsten Sonnenaugenblicken empfunden, war Religion, war nur Nachhall göttlicher Stimme in der Natur und Schrift! Die erhabenste und zerschmelzendste Beredsamkeit Bossuets und Fenelons, die stärkste Gedankenseele Pascals und die sanfteste Empfindungshelle Fenelons und die treue Herzenssprache Luthers und die einfältige ruhige Würde Spaldings und die engelzarte Vorempfindung des Engels in uns, bei meinem Freunde Lavater und wiederum die dunkle Heburghöhe Young's im Trompetenklang der Mitternacht- Religion! Religion! ferner Nachhall und Nachklang der Offenbarung! - und o Quelle, was liegen in dir noch für Ströme!

Herder VII, 300.



1775: Ein Mensch aber fühle Wahrheit mit inniger Empfindung; gerade nach Mass dieser Empfindung ist er Genie.---Ist sein Gefühl inniger, es wird tiefer Verstand, inniges, vielleicht langsames Gedächtnis, glühende, nicht aufwallende Einbildung, eine Art tiefsinnigen Witzes und Scharfsinnes.  
Herder VIII, 322.

1753: Lobt sein göttliches Feuer, Zeit und Afterzeit.  
Lessing I, 62.

1753: The origin and first use of poetical language are undoubtedly to be traced into the vehement affections of the mind. For what is meant by that singular frenzy of poets, which the Greeks, ascribing to divine inspiration, distinguished by the appellation of enthusiasm, but a style and expression directly prompted by nature itself, and exhibiting the true and express image of a mind violently agitated?

Lowth, Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, p. 39.

1751: Chalieu ist einer von den seltenen Dichtern, welche einzig die Natur und eine herrschende Neigung zur Wollust gebildet haben. Er sang mit derjenigen leichten Anmut, demjenigen göttlichen Feuer, welches niemals die Wirkung der Kunst sein kann. Was er sang, war Wollust, und all sein Witz war Natur. Diese Wollust, die ihn belebte, ist nicht, wie man sich gemeiniglich einbildet, eine besondere Leidenschaft; sie ist eine seltene und kostbare Verbindung aller der Leidenschaften, die unser Leben zu einem glücklichen Leben machen können, wenn man sie in den gehörigen Schranken zu halten weiss, und wovon die einen an sich selbst unschuldig sind, und die andern durch die angewandte Mässigung unschuldig werden. Zu diesem Begriffe kommt noch eine feurige Einbildungskraft welche fähig ist, die schönsten Gegenstände noch zu verschönern.  
Lessing IV, 207.

1735: "We reap, says the philosopher (Plato), notable advantages from madness, which comes to us as a gift of the gods.---But the most beautiful madness and amiable possession is when the love of the muses seizes upon a soft and susceptible mind; it is then that it exalts the soul, and throwing it into hymns and songs and other kinds of poesy.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, p. 157f.

1624: Denn ein Poet kann nicht schreiben, wenn er will, sondern wenn er kann und ihn die Regung des Geistes, welchen Ovid und andere vom Himmel her zu kommen vermeinen, treibet.

Opitz, Buch von der deutschen Poeterei, p. 13.

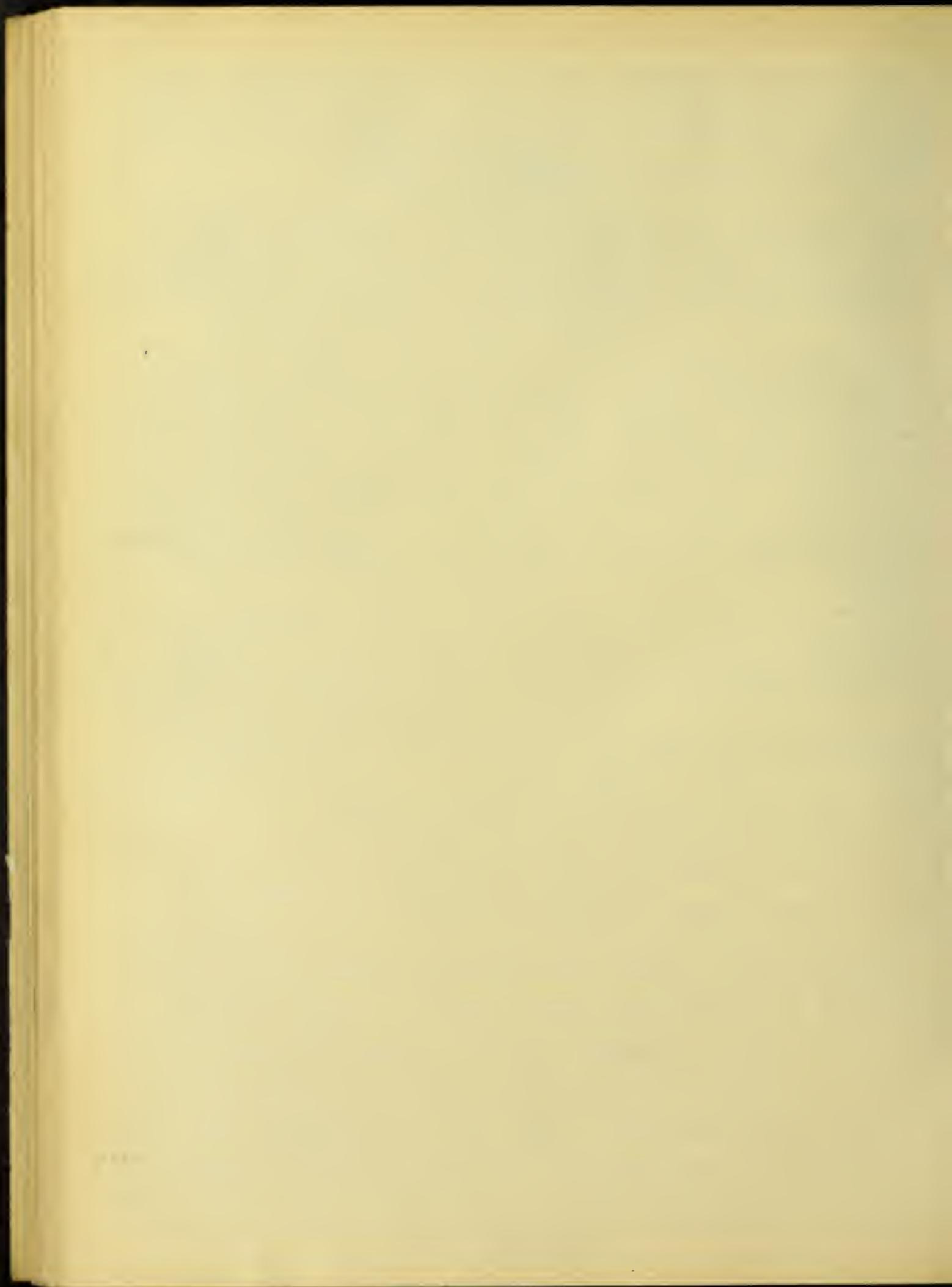
1527: Look down propitious, and my thoughts inspire;  
Warm my chaste bosom with thy sacred fire!  
Let all thy flames with all their raptures roll,  
Deep in my breast, and kindle all my soul.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets XIX, 651.

And ask the gods his numbers to inspire,  
With like invention, majesty and fire.

Ibid. p. 634.

Speaking again of inborn versus acquired literary ability, Young continues, Conjectures p. 5. 1. 37ff., "Genius is a master-workmar, learning is but an instrument;---what, for the most part, mean we by genius but the power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end? A genius differs from a good understanding as a magician from a good architect; that raises his structure by means invisible; this by the skilful use of common tools."



This comparison of the genius to the magician appealed strongly to Herder; he uses it repeatedly. Whether he got it from Young's essay or from other, perhaps earlier sources, he does not say. After showing how he uses it, several other possible sources will be quoted.

1767: Vielleicht wird er die Nachbildungen der Alten gegen ihr Original und ihre Nebengemälde halten und den grossen Zweck ausführen: ein Odengenie in die magische Werkstatt des Apolls und in den Geist seiner Muster einzuführen. Herder I, 466.

1768: Seine Einbildungskraft ist reich, fruchtbar, rhapsodisch und auf eine edle Art unbändig: nicht immer ein Baumeister, der wohlgeordnete Gebäude errichtet; aber eine Zauberin, die an den Boden schlägt, und siehe! plötzlich sind wir mitten unter prächtigen Materialien. Sie rührt sie an, und siehe! diese bewegen sich, heben sich, verbinden sich, ordnen sich: und o Wunder! da entsteht wie von selbst, oder vielmehr durch eine unsichtbare Kraft vor unsern Augen ein Pallast, prächtig, gross, bezaubernd, nur nicht nach der Kunst der Vitruve und Vicenti. Herder II, 291.

1769: Göttliche Poesie! geistige Kunst des Schönen! Königin aller Ideen aus allen Sinnen! ein Sammelplatz aller Zaubereien aller Künste! Herder IV, 167.

1756: Die magische Kunst (des Dichters), jede Leidenschaft vor unsern Augen entstehen, wachsen und ausbrechen zu lassen, ---.

Lessing VII, 67.

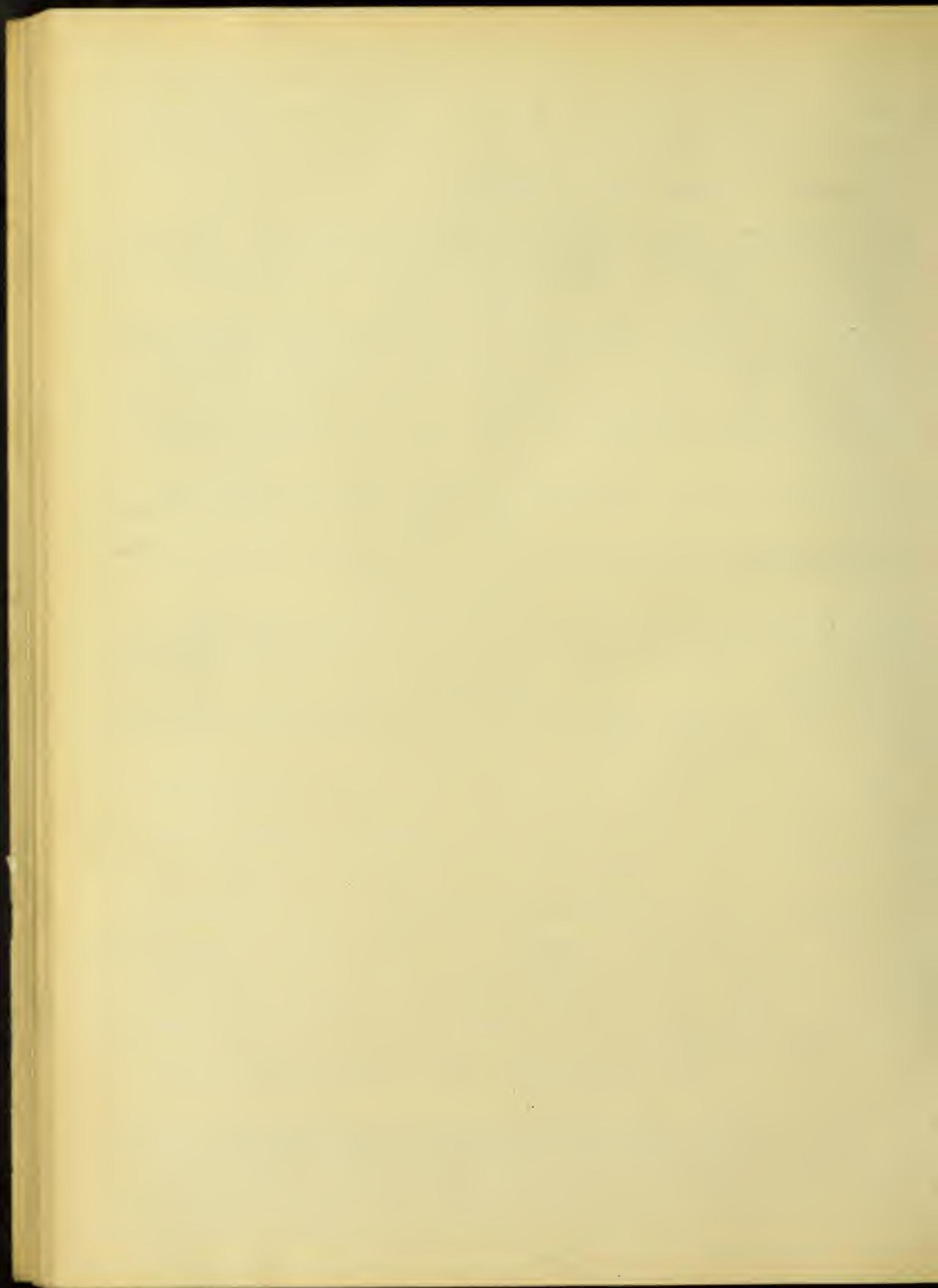
1755: Durch diese Zauberei der dichterischen Farben verschwinden dessen Vergehungen, und derjenige, welcher ihn mit dem Feuer, worin er gedichtet, lesen kann, wird durch die göttliche Harmonie in solche Entzückung mit fortgerissen, dass er nicht Zeit hat, an das, was anstössig ist, zu denken. Winkelmann I, 91.

1754: Allein die Fehler seines Werkes strahlen gleichfalls durch und können trotz der Bezauberung, die das Genie des Werkmeisters angebracht hat, mit Grund getadelt werden. Lessing VI, 14.

But Young's definition of genius as "the power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end", which he gives in connection with that comparison of the poet to the magician, was not repeated so directly by Herder or by any of the other German writers. And this is the only instance in which Young speaks directly of 'what we mean by genius', and in this case as in every other he stops short of any actual analysis of genius. Herder, defines it for example, much more significantly and in connection and accord with other critics.

1767: Allein zur Erweckung der Genies trägt dies Zergliedern nichts bei: bei aller Mühe bleibt die \*) *vivida vis animi* so unangetastet als der Rector Archaeus bei den Scheidekünstlern: Erde und Wasser bleibt ihnen; die Flamme verflieg, und der Geist blieb unsichtbar; --- Je mehr Seelenkräfte der Weltweise herzählt, die zum Genie gehören,

\*) Cf. Pope's Homer, introduction.



je mehr Ingredienzien er in diesem \*)Salböl der Geister antrifft, je mehr kann ich zweifeln, ob mir nicht eine davon entging.

Herder I, 255.

1778: Nun sind der Gaben so viel als Menschen auf der Erde sind, und in allen Menschen ist gewissermassen auch nur eine Gabe, Erkenntnis und Empfindung, d. i. inneres Leben der Apperception und Elasticität der Seele. Wo dies da ist, ist Genie, und mehr Genie, wo es mehr, und weniger, wo es weniger ist. Nur dies innere Leben der Seele gibt der Einbildung, dem Gedächtnis, dem Witz, dem Scharfsinn, und wie man weiter zähle, Ausbreitung, Tiefe, Energie, Wahrheit. Herder VIII, 222f.

We have one of the most significant arguments in the "Conjectures" where Young says that genius has in the realm of fancy a creative power. The idea that the non-imitative, the original poet is a maker, a creator, was much repeated before and during the Storm and Stress period. Herder discusses it more fully and frequently than any other writer of his time.

First we shall compare Young's statement of this doctrine and Herder's many versions of it, and then we shall see whether the latter have sprung from the former.

Conjectures p. 7, l. 54ff.: In the fairyland of fancy genius may wander wild; there it has a creative power, and may reign arbitrarily over its own empire of chimeras. The wide field of nature also lies open before it, where it may range unconfined, make what discoveries it can, and sport with its infinite objects uncontrolled, as far as visible nature extends, painting them as wantonly as it will.

1766: --- allein das wird man auch nicht verkennen, dass eine reiche Einbildungskraft und ein schöpferischer Geist zu Erdichtungen nicht seine grössten Talente gewesen. Herder IV, 239.

1767: --- mit einer neuen, schöpferischen, fruchtbaren und kunstvollen Hand. Herder I, 429.

1767: --- die Einkleidung poetisch täuschend und schöpferisch ist. Herder I, 438.

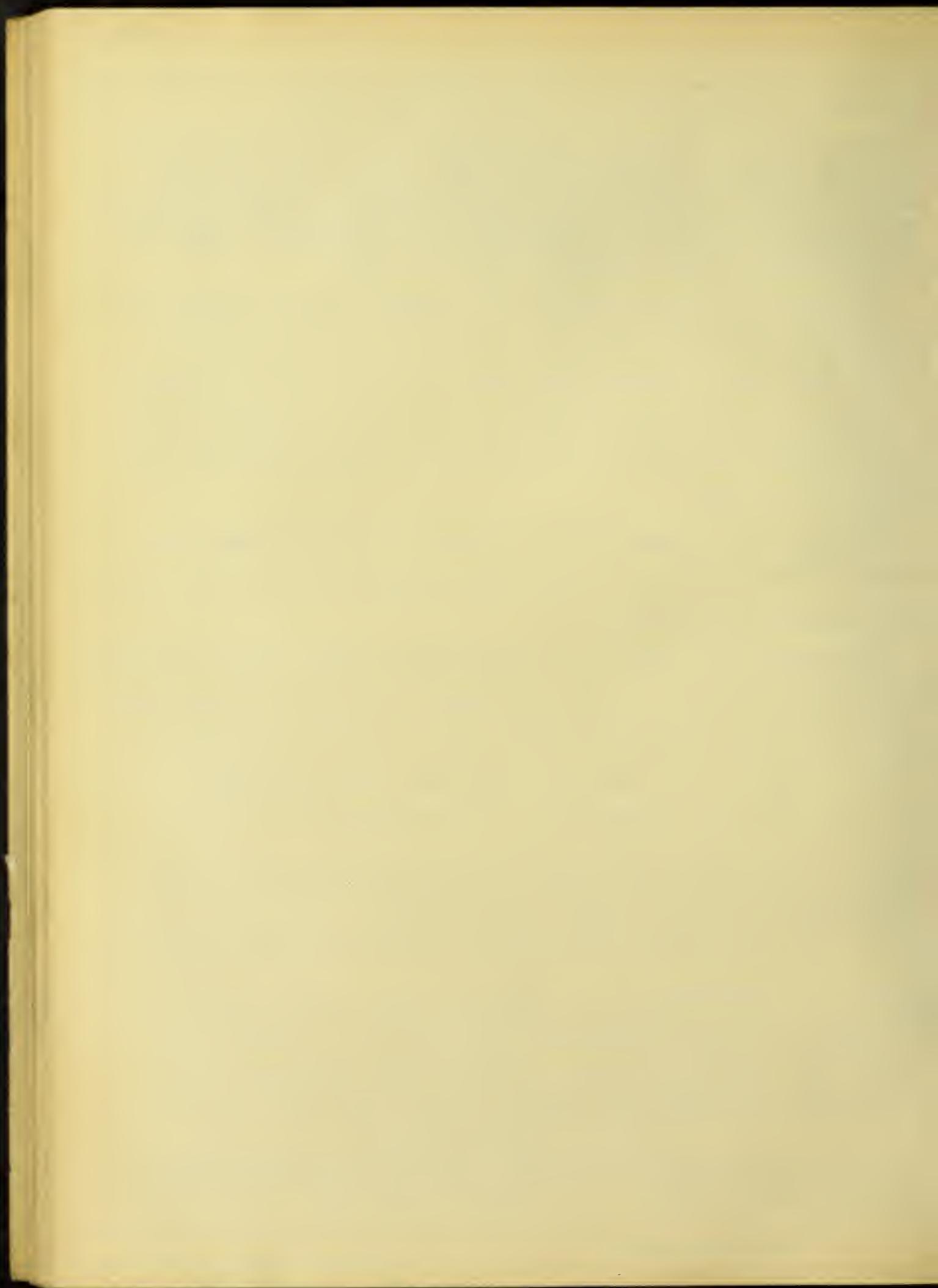
1767: Eine gewisse Mittelmässigkeit, die sich nicht zu Genies und Geistschöpfen hebt. Herder I, 381f.

1768: --- von einer feurigen und oft wilden Einbildungskraft gemalt, die allemal die Zeugin eines grossen Dichters ist: warme Abdrücke dieser brennenden Phantasie: enlargements of mind.

Herder II, 184.

1768: Die Amazone ist ein poetisches Geschöpf, ohne Zeit und Ort, --- eine Tochter der Phantasie voll Leben und Glanz und wildem, beinahe Shakespearischem Feuer! Herder II, 187.

\*) Cf. Klopstock.



1768-69:---im Feuer des poetischen Gesichts wirklich durchschauen, wie Seele und Körper wirken! Auch da ist jedesmal Leidenschaft und Einbildung Schöpferin der menschlichen Natur; sie bildet und entbildet sie wie eine Wachsgestalt, schaut durch, wie Ps. 139 oder Shakespeare in der Johannisnacht das rollende Auge des Dichters etc.

Herder VIII, 112.

1773:---die schöpferische Kraft des Dichters (=Shakespeare).

Herder V, 238.

1773: "das schöpferische Genie Shakespeares,"

Herder V, 247.

1773: Shakespeare---nahm Geschichte, wie er sie fand, und setzte mit Schöpfergeist das verschiedenartigste Zeug zu einem Wunderganzen zusammen.

Herder V, 218f.

1775: Shakespeare vermochte nicht auf dem Theater einmal, geschweige auf der Bühne seines Lebens die Furien zu spielen, die er auf jenem mit Schöpferallmacht handeln machte. Auf seinem Antlitz ist der simple, ungefärbte, ruhige Gottesstrahl, der "Werde! spricht und "es wird"---

Herder VIII, 329.

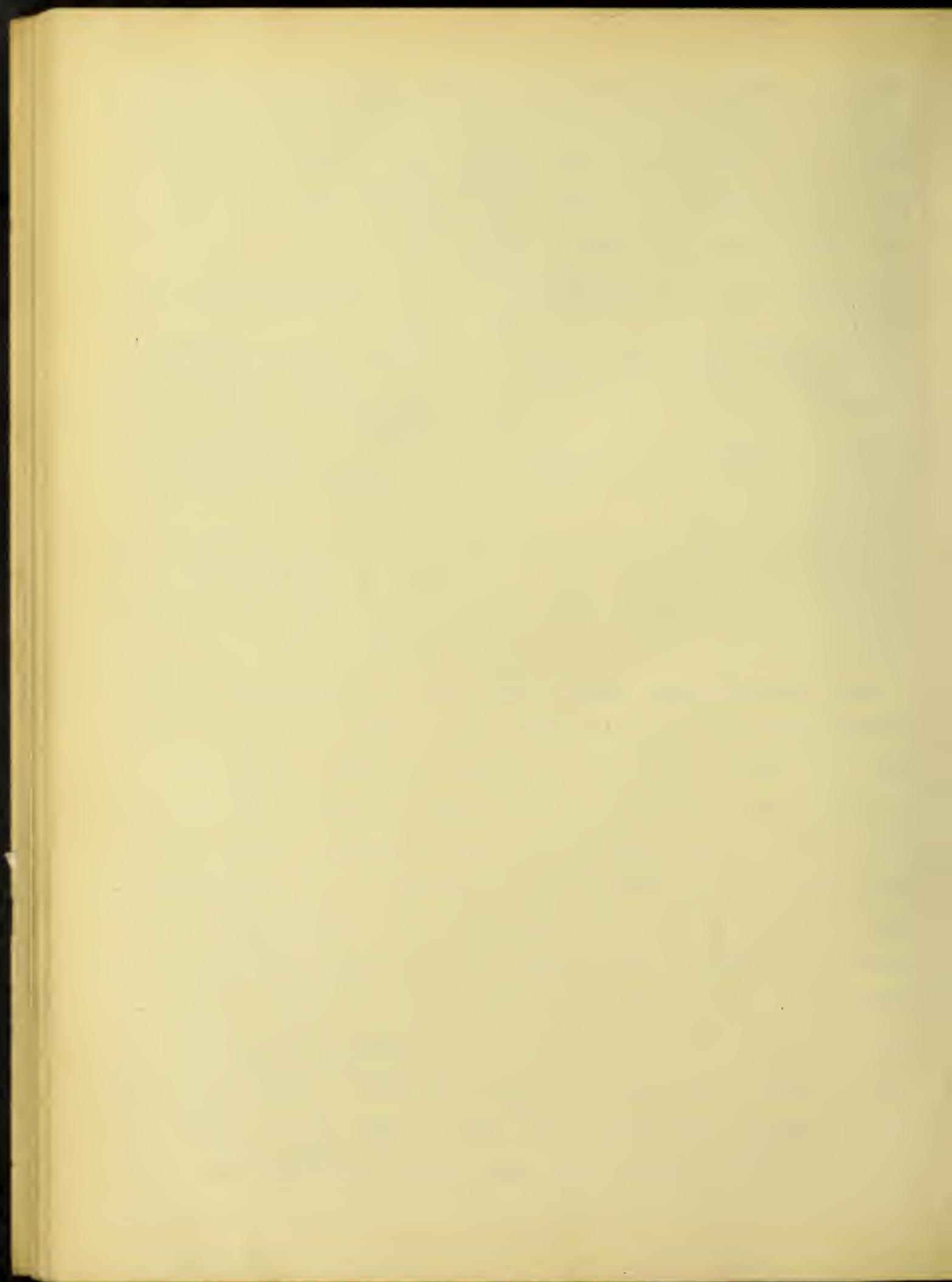
1775: Wir sind geboren, Glückseligkeit der Menschen zu schaffen: Genies schafft der Schöpfer, und aus Genies bildet sich der Geschmack von selbst. Wir müssen nur, wie die Ärzte oder Hebammen (nach Sokrates Gleichnis), der immer schaffenden, bildenden, regelnden und wieder zerstörenden Natur folgen.

Herder V, 648.

1778: Jener kennt gar keine Grenzen, als die ihm der Flug seiner Phantasie und die Schöpfersmacht, die in ihm wohnt, zeichnen. Sein Auge wie der unendliche Shakespeare sagt, in a fine frenzy rolling, doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heav'n, and as imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown, the poet's pen turns them to shape and gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.

Herder VIII, 77.

These passages agree rather fully with the "Conjectures" as to creative power of the poet's imagination. They do not prove, however, that Herder derived this teaching from Young. Herder does not seem to have taken over from any source the idea of the creative power of the poetical imagination fully developed as found in the "Conjectures". In 1767 he begins to mention it, but only incidentally. In the course of the following years he develops it and advocates it ardently, particularly in his praising discussions of Shakespeare. And he refers to various sources in these discussions, but not to the "Conjectures". And there existed indeed numerous other sources which he might have used. Among the earliest were the French discussions of the topic. Then came the English. And of the latter he quotes many, and quotes them frequently,



both before and during the years in which he develops his ideas about the poet's imagination. And Herder's own countrymen Bodmer and Bréi-tinger had embodied this doctrine directly from Addison's Spectator essays on the imagination in their critical writings long before Young's essay appeared.

Another man who mentions Young sometimes and agrees with him as to the creative power of a poetical imagination is Kant. But he learns his doctrine, as he tells us, primarily from Gerard.

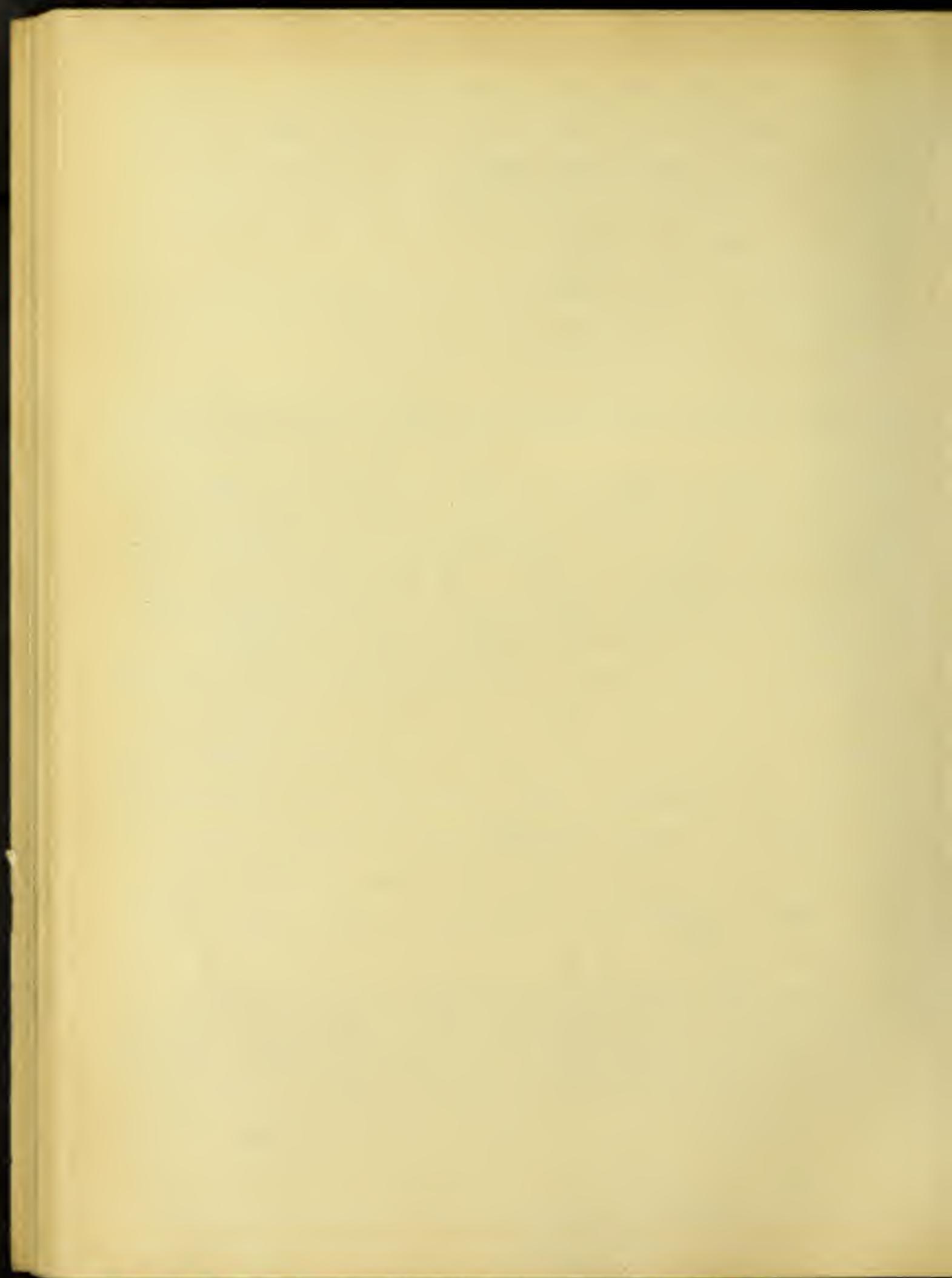
1775: "Alles Genie hat zum Talente eine schöpferische Imagination; diese gibt uns allerlei Verbindungen von Ideen, worunter der Verstand wählen kann." Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 253.

1775: Das Produktionsvermögen ist schöpferisch und bringt Dinge hervor, die vorher in unseren Sinnen nicht waren. Gerard, ein Engländer, sagt, die grösste Eigenschaft des Genies sei die produktive Einbildungskraft; denn Genie ist vom Nachahmungsgeist am meisten verschieden, so dass man glaubt, der Nachahmungsgeist sei die grösste Unfähigkeit, sich dem Genie zu nähern. Das Genie gründet sich also nicht auf die reproduktive, sondern auf die produktive Einbildungskraft, und eine fruchtbare Einbildungskraft in Hervorbringung der Vorstellungen gibt dem Genie vielen Stoff, darunter zu wählen. Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 264.

And there are still others who say the same about the poet's imagination. Not one of them however, mentions the "Conjectures" as his source. Lessing speaks of poets as "schöpferische Geister" many years before the appearance of the "Conjectures", and in the year of their publication he quotes this ideal in its most emphatic version from Joseph Warton's essay on Pope. Winkelmann, Blackwell, Vida, and particularly Batteux are to be noted as possible sources of the doctrine in question.

1760: Quoting Thomas Warton's "Observations on the Fairy Queen": Gibt es ein Gedicht, das uns durch die Stärke und durch die wunderbare Kraft einer schöpferischen Imagination zu Entzückungen hinreissen kann, selbst da, wo diese Stärke durch keine überlegten Anstalten der Urteilskraft unterstützt wird, - so ist es gewiss das Spencersche. Wenn hier der Kunstrichter zuweilen die Stirne runzelt, so wird doch der Leser bezaubert.

Schles. Litbr. D. T. itdenkm. 29/30, 42.



I762: Farther, man is endued with a sort of creative power: he can fabricate images of things that have no existence. The materials employed in this operation are ideas of sight, which he can take to pieces and combine into new forms at pleasure: their complexity and vivacity make them fit materials. - - - This singular power of fabricating images without any foundation in reality is distinguished by the name of imagination.

Home, Elements of Criticism, 480.

I762: Natur und Schrift also sind die Materialien des schönen, schaffenden, nachahmenden Geistes.

Hamann II, 292 f..

I767: Homers Worte selbst sind, nach Aristoteles Ausdrucke, lebende Worte, Ausschwünge der redenden Gottheit oder Muse, die die Dinge durch Worte um sich her erschafft, und uns zu Zuschauern ihrer Schöpfung zulässt.

Gerstenberg, Schlesw. Litbr.,  
29/30, 223

I768: Das Ganze dieses sterblichen Schöpfers (Dichter) sollte ein Schattenriss von dem Ganzen des ewigen Schöpfers sein.

Lessing X, 120.

I770: Der Geist, der immer um die Eleganz buhlt, schwächt sich und verliert die grosse Schöpferkraft des Genies.

D. Litdenkm. 29/30, 347.

I772: Das Meisterstück des schöpferischen Pinsels.

Hamann IV, 30.

I759: "Ein poetisches Genie" sagt einer von den ersten (J. Warton, On the Writings and Genius of Pope), den ich eben vor mir liegen habe, ist so ausserordentlich selten, that no country in the succession of many ages has produced above three or four persons that deserve the title. The man of rimes may be easily found; but the genuine poet, of a lively, plastic imagination, the true maker or creator, is so uncommon a prodigy, that one is almost tempted to subscribe to the opinion of Sir William Temple, where he says: That of all numbers of mankind that live within the compass of a thousand years, for one man that is born capable of making as great generals, or ministers of state, as the most renowned in history."

Lessing VIII, 230.

I756-59: - - so lernet hier, wie die Hand eines schöpferischen Meisters die Materie geistig zu machen vermögend ist.

Winkelman I, 230f.

I751: Ein Stück, durch welches unser Vaterland die Ehre, schöpferische Geister zu besitzen verteidigen kann.

Lessing IV, 302.

I746: Selon Platon, pour être poète, il ne suffit pas de raconter, il faut feindre et créer l'action qu'on raconte.

Batteux, Les beaux arts, 18.

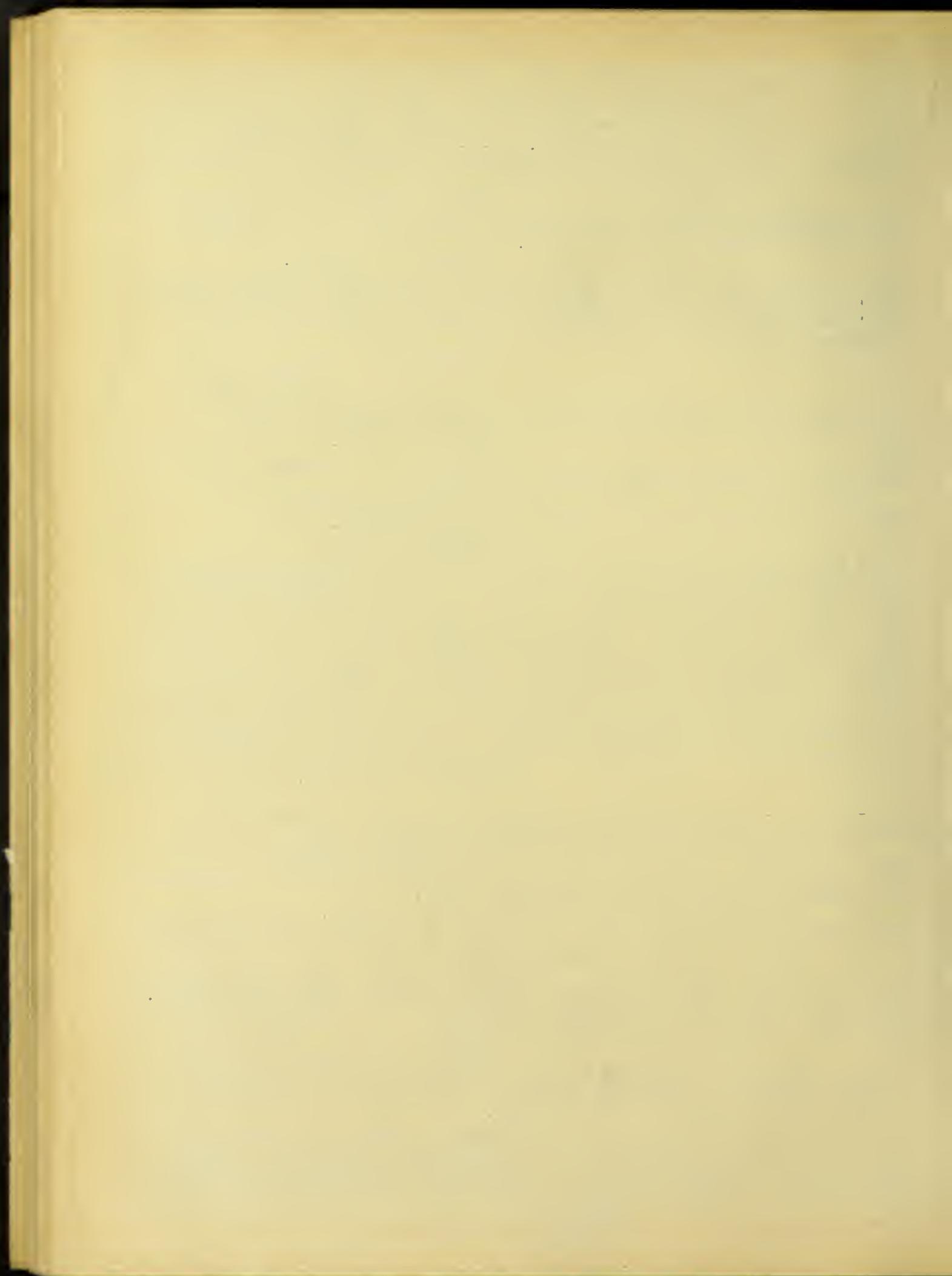
I746: cependant quelle invention! quelle poésie dans son ouvrage! la disposition, les attitudes, l'expression des sentiments, tout cela était réservé à la création du génie.

Batteux, Les beaux arts, 29.

I746: L'épopée est le plus grand ouvrage que puisse entreprendre l'esprit humain. C'est une espèce de création qui demande en quelque sorte un génie tout-puissant.

Batteux, Les beaux arts, 200.

I746: - - comme l'imagination des hommes sait créer des êtres à sa manière et que ces êtres peuvent être beaucoup plus parfaits que ceux de la simple nature - - Batteux, Les beaux arts, 63.



1735: For ever the je ne sais quoi was rightly applied, it is to the powers of mythology, and the faculty that produces them. To go about to describe it would be like attempting to define inspiration, or that glow of fancy and effusion of soul which a poet feels while in his fit; a sensation so strong that they express it only by exclamations, adjurations, and rapture!---The torrent of the poetic passion is too rapid to suffer consideration and drawing of consequences.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, p.151.

1527: A new creation seems our praise to claim;

Hence Greece derives the sacred poet's \*)name.

\*)  $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\upsilon$

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets XIX, 643.

Here is another passage of the "Conjectures" which is said to have done so much to produce the Storm and Stress period. It continues Young's praise of a fiery imagination. He says, "Conjectures" p.18, l.44 ff. , "However, as it (Addison's Cato) is, like Pygmalion, we cannot but fall in love with it and wish it <sup>were</sup> alive. How would a Shakespeare, or an Otway, have answered our wishes? They would have outdone Prometheus, and with their heavenly fire, have given him not only life, but immortality" And Herder is again the one in whose writings this thought occurs most frequently. But he seems to be indebted <sup>more</sup> to Shaftesbury than to Young for it, as Walzel shows convincingly in his treatise "Das Prometheussymbol etc." Also Winkelmann and Vida promulgate the idea in question widely in Germany before the days of Young's discourse. The following data will reveal as far as possible the circumstances as they prevailed at the time.

1768-69: Die Statue mit zusammen stehenden Füßen, anliegenden Händen, geradem, bewegungslosem Leibe, kann auch der unbeseelte Leim sein, aus dem Prometheus noch erst einen Menschen schaffen will.

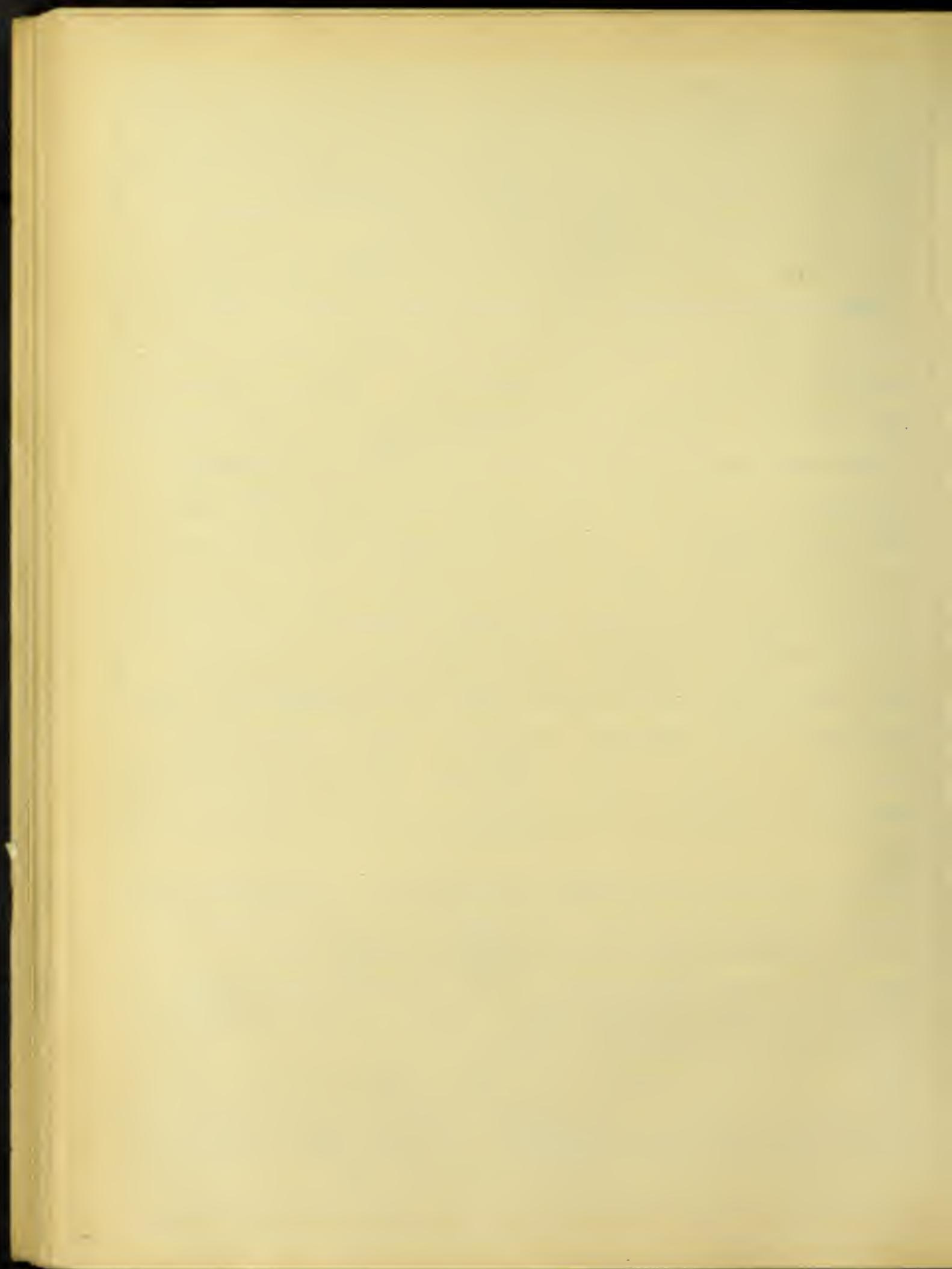
Herder VIII, 100

1767: Weil es aber gefährlich ist, als ein zweiter Prometheus den elektrischen Funken vom Himmel selbst zu holen; weil es schwerer ist, Künstler als ein Sophist über die Kunst zu sein, - - - so ist der Mittelwege die gewöhnliche Strasse.

Herder I, 256.

1769: - -der Poet bezaubert mich, dass, so lange ich lese, ich ein solches Wesen glaube. - - -das tut ihr nicht! Ihr malet, ihr schildert; und so lese ich euch auch, als Maler als Schilderer; nicht als Dichter, nicht als zweiter Prometheus nicht als Schöpfer unsterblicher Götter und sterblicher Menschen.

Herder III, 103



1770: Pindar ist ein Beispiel, was aus einer Sache wird, wenn sie ein Dichter behandelt. Das Zeug, das er bearbeitete, war nichts weniger als erhaben. Er aber schuf Gottheiten aus Leim und hauchte sie an mit dem warmen Leben seiner Seele. Ich werde zufrieden sein, wenn dieser Feuergeist nicht ganz aus meiner Uebersetzung erloschen ist.

D. Litdenkm. 29/30.345.

1771-72: Die menschliche Seele hat hier (in der Naturlehre) ihre Wunderkraft und Prometheusgabe gezeigt.

Herder VI, 140.

1778: Hallers physiologisches Werk zur Psychologie erhoben und die Pygmalions Statue mit Geist belebt - alsdenn können wir etwas Übers Denken und Empfinden sagen.

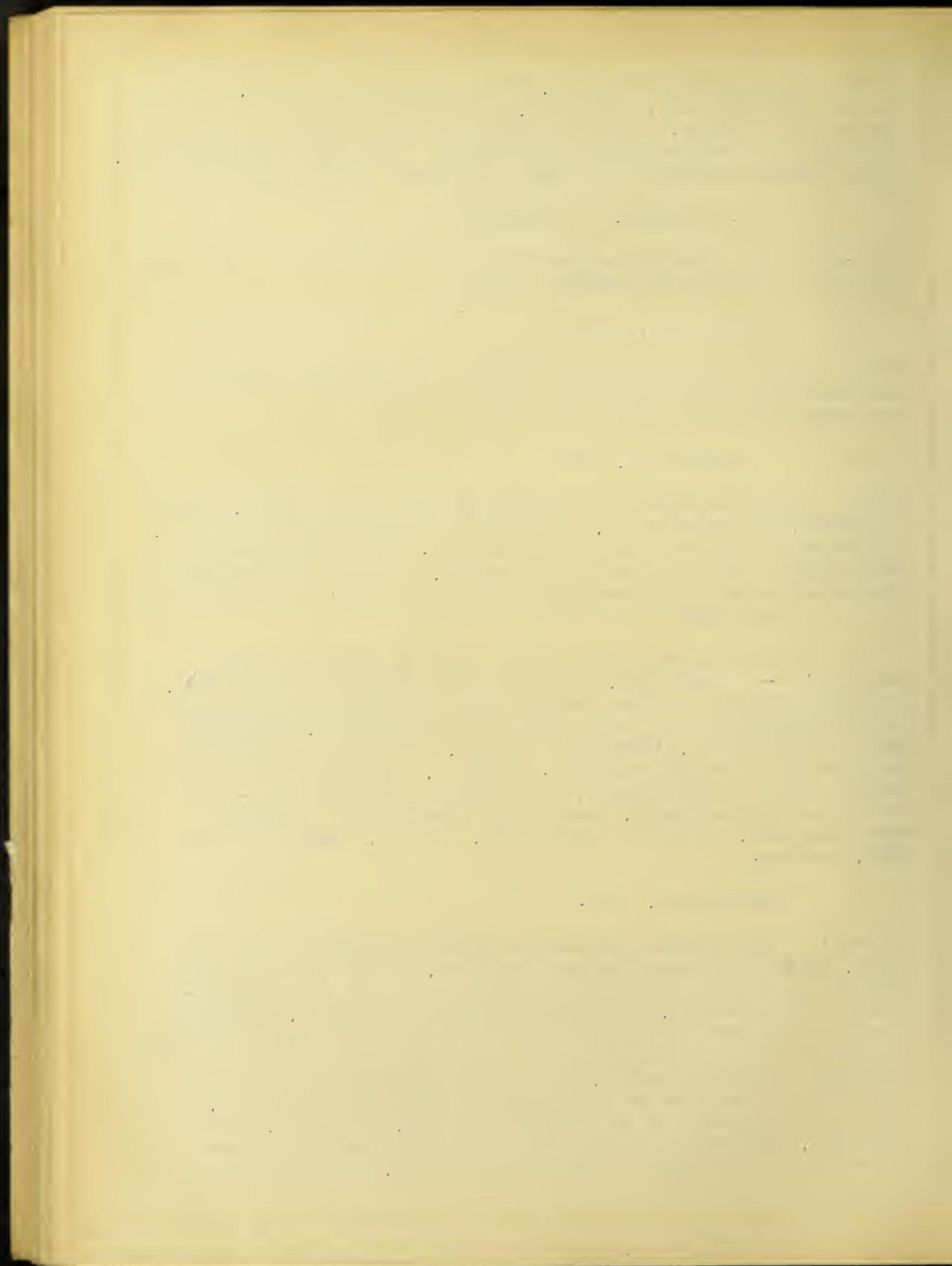
Herder VIII, 180.

1778: Am ersten Genie, das den Funken vom Himmel stahl, nahte der Geier, und jene Genies, die gar den Himmel bestürmen wollten, liegen unter dem Aetna und anderen Bergen. Sie hatten zum Teil auch hundert Hände und Schlangenschwänze, wie die himmelstürmenden Genies und neuen Religionsschöpfer unserer Zeiten; aber Vater Zeus war ihnen gewachsen.

Glücklich, den frühe die Natur für solche Geniesucht bewahrte! --- Lasset us, da ich's nicht von mir erhalten kann, diese Gattung feindseliger Genien des Menschengeschlechts nach allen Prädikamenten und Attributen von Begeisterung, Schöpferskraft, Originalität, himmelaufstrebender, sich aus sich selbst entwickelnder Urmacht und dergl. zu loben, lieber die Flügel falten, und das "wahre Genie, das sich nur durch seine Bescheidenheit auszeichnet," aus seiner Bescheidenheit gemäss mehr durch das, wovon es nichts weiss, als das, wovon die Welt tönt, preisen.

Herder VIII, 225.

1755-59: Die Belebung des Körpers durch die Einflössungen der Seele, einer der abgesondertsten Begriffe, ist durch die lieblichsten Bilder sinnlich und zugleich dichterisch von den Alten gemalt. Ein Künstler, der seine Meister nicht kennet, würde zwar durch die bekannte Vorstellung der Schöpfung eben dieses anzudeuten glauben; sein Bild aber würde in aller Augen nicht anders als die Schöpfung selbst vorstellen, und diese Geschichte erscheinet zur Einkleidung eines blos philosophischen menschlichen Begriffs, und zur Anwendung desselben an ungeweihten Orten, zu heilig, zu geschweigen, dass er zur Kunst nicht dichterisch genug ist. --- Prometheus bildet einen Menschen aus dem Tone, von welchem man



noch zu Pausanias Zeiten grosse versteinerte Klumpen in der Landschaft Phocis zeigte.\*

\*Pausan I, 10 (Cap. 4 #3).

Winkelmann I, 165 f.

1755: Ich glaube, es sei nicht zu viel gesagt, wenn man behauptet, Fiamingo habe, als ein neuer Prometheus, Geschöpfe gebildet, dergleichen die Kunst wenige vor ihm gesehen hat.

Winkelmann I, 79.

1755: Hat er (der Künstler) einen Vorwurf, den er selbst gewählt, oder der ihm gegeben worden, welcher dichterisch gemacht, oder zu machen ist, so wird ihn seine Kunst begeistern, und wird das Feuer, welches Prometheus den Göttern raubte, in ihm erwecken.

Winkelmann I, 56.

1746: Il y a donc des moments heureux pour le génie, lorsque l'âme enflammée comme d'un feu divin se représente toute la nature; et répand sur les objets cet esprit de vie qui les anime, ces traits touchants qui nous séduisent ou nous ravissent. Cette situation de l'âme se nomme enthousiasme, terme que tout le monde entend assez, et que presque personne ne définit.

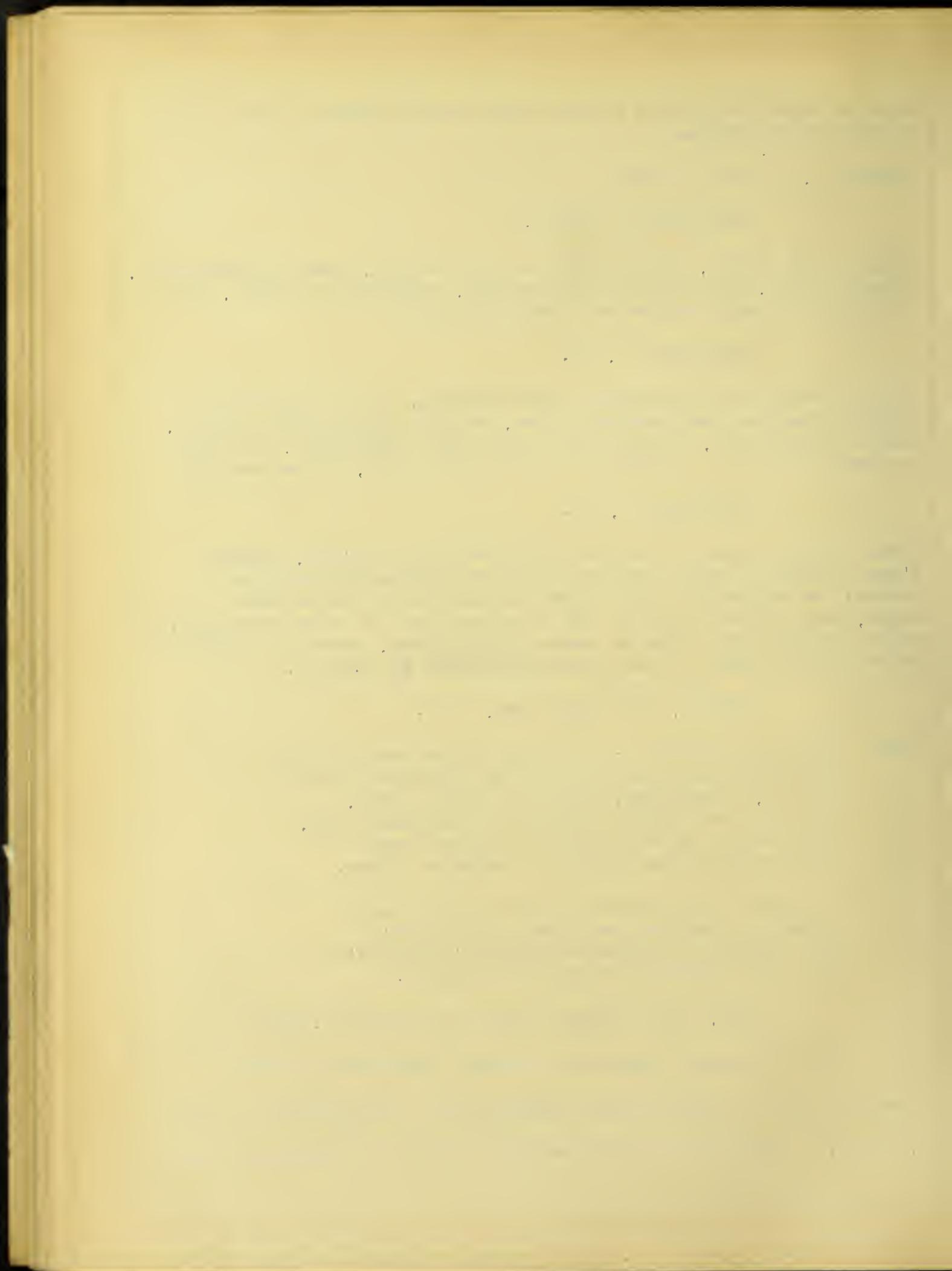
Batteux, Les Beaux Arts, 31 f.

1527: Fly, ye profane; - the sacred Nine were given  
To bless these lower worlds by bounteous Heaven:  
Of old, Prometheus, from the realms above,  
Brought down these daughters of almighty Jove,  
When to his native earth the robber came  
Charg'd with the plunder of ethereal flame.

-----  
A prize! the noblest gift he could bestow  
(Next to the fire) on human race below;  
At length th' immortals reconcil'd resign'd  
The fair celestial sisters to mankind.

Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets XIX, 638.

The following lines are a further exaltation of the creative power of the poetical imagination: "Conjectures" p. 14, l. 17 ff.: "Moreover so boundless are the bold excursions of the



human mind, that in the vast void beyond real existence, it can call forth shadowy beings, and unknown worlds, as numerous as bright, and perhaps as lasting, as the stars; such quite original beauties we may call Paradisaical." "This thought was repeated in Germany after the coming of the "Conjectures" by Kant and Herder as follows:

1765: Heute zimmere ich den glänzendsten Entschluss, und freue mich über dies Gebäude meiner Fantasie, wie Nebukadnezar über sein Babel; - - - sonst beschiffe ich mit Flügeln, die mir nicht die Natur gab, das luftige Reich der Möglichkeit.

Herder I, 11.

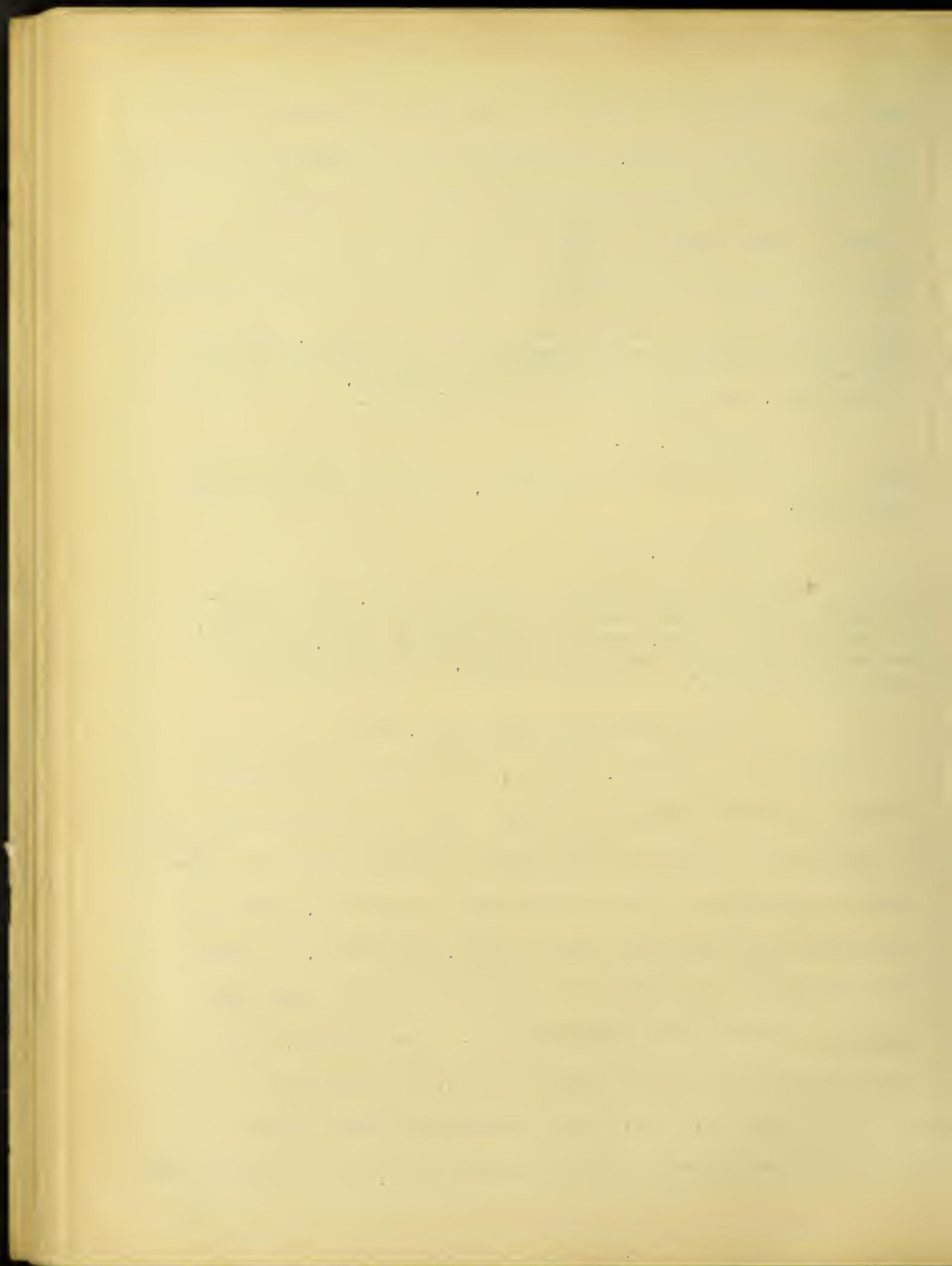
1768: --- eine neue Welt voll Materie, Interesse und poetischer Bezauberung.

Herder II, 188.

1775-90: "Herrscht aber Wahrheit in dem Gedichte, oder die Erdichtungen sind der Natur und der menschlichen Vernunft gemäss, so ärgert es mich nicht, wenn ich auch gerührt werde, denn ich sehe mich in das Land der Möglichkeiten, der Erdichtung und Imagination gesetzt."

Schlapp, Kants Lehre vom Genie, 168.

There is no evidence, however, which proves that these passages originated from Young's essay. But it is certain that this thought was long and widely known in Germany before the time of the "Conjectures". With the teachings of Leibnitz, about the "möglichen Welten" as their basis, Bodmer, Breitinger, and Baumgarten assigned to the poet as his special realm the "möglichen Welten" and the "Land der Möglichkeiten". See Schlapp, "Kants Lehre vom Genie", p. 168, and Franz Servaes, "Die Poetik Gottscheds und der Schweizer", p. 93ff. Other exponents of this doctrine who were likewise extensively read in Germany prior to the "Conjectures"



were Lessing and Batteux and even Opitz, and they also demand consideration as possible sources. So we shall have also a word from them.

1748: Der Dichtern nötige Geist, der Möglichkeiten dichtet, und sie durch seinen Schwung der Wahrheit gleich entrichtet, Der schöpferische Geist, der sie beseelen muss.

Lessing I, 247.

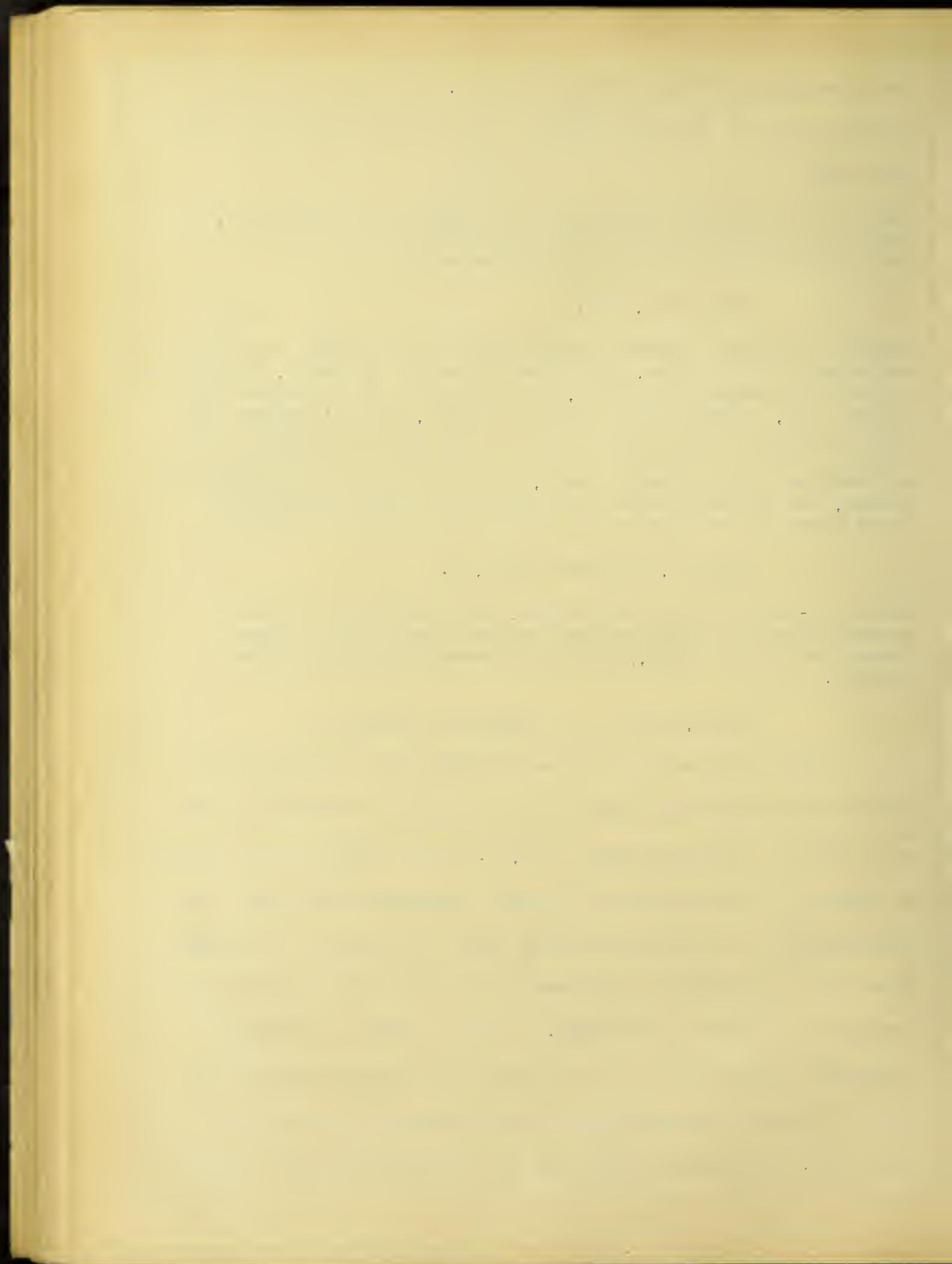
1746: La poésie embrasse toutes sortes de matières: --- Si ce monde ne lui suffit pas, elle crée des mondes nouveaux, qu'elle embellit de demeures enchantées, qu'elle peuple de mille habitants divers. Là, composant les êtres à son gré, elle n'engante rien que de parfait: elle enchérit sur toutes les productions de la nature. C'est une espèce de magie: elle fait illusion aux yeux, à l'imagination, à l'esprit même, et vient à bout de procurer aux hommes, des plaisirs réels, par des inventions chimeriques. C'est ainsi que la plupart des auteurs ont parlé de la poésie.

Batteux, Les beaux arts, 2.

1624: ----und soll man auch wissen, dass die ganze Poeterei im Nachäffen der Natur bestehe, und die Dinge nicht so sehr beschreibe wie sie sein, als wie sie etwa sein könnten oder sollten.

Opitz, Buch v. d. deutschen Poeterei 13.

In the following lines we learn what the "Conjectures" on Original Composition" mean by an original in distinction from an imitation. "Conjectures" p. 4, l. 54 ff: "As far as a regard to nature and sound sense will permit a departure from your great predecessors: so far ambitiously depart from them; the farther from them in similitude, the nearer you are to them in excellence, you rise by it into an original." Here we have in a definite statement Young's idea of an original as a literary composition that is neither a translation nor an imitation of some other work, but a new, independent production of a literary genius. And it



has been asserted repeatedly that the great prevalence of the term in this sense before and during the Storm and Stress period is due to the influence of the "Conjectures". The fact is, however, that it was overwhelmingly frequent in the multitude of French and English critical writing dealing with the quarrel over the moderns and the ancients and being widely read in Germany before and during the "Genieperiode". And most of them preceded the "Conjectures". So they made Young's essay quite negligible as to this point.

To give an example or two to show how the term and this sense of it preceded Young's essay in Germany, the following lines from a very widely read German critic may be noted:

1755: ---denn"derjenige, welcher beständig anderen nachgehet, wird niemals vorauskommen; und welcher aus sich selbst nichts Gutes zu machen weiss, wird sich auch der Sachen von anderen nicht gut bedienen," wie Michael Angelo sagt.

Seelen, denen die Natur hold gewesen,  
- - - - - quibus arte benigna

Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan  
haben hier den Weg vor sich offen, Originale zu werden.

Winkelmann I, 22f.

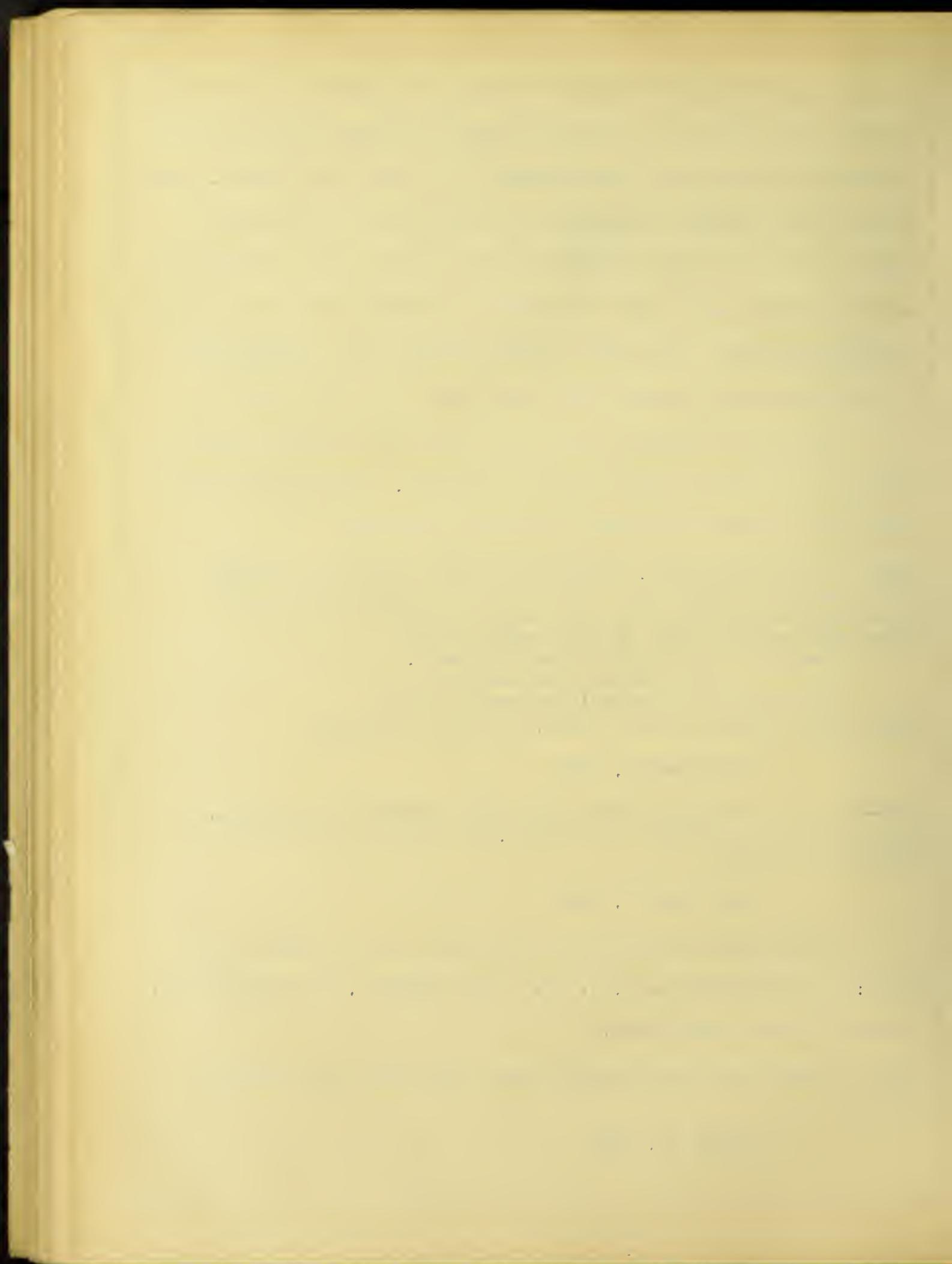
1756-59: Er wollte alle Teile der Kunst umfassen, war Maler, Baumeister und Bildhauer, und suchte, als dieser, vornehmlich ein Original zu werden.

Winkelmann I, 224.

Of the following parallels one seems to be a copy of the other: "Conjectures" p. 5, l. 3f.: "All eminence, and distinction, lies out of the beaten road."

1762: Denn, wer keine Ausnahme macht, kann kein Meisterstück liefern.

Hamann II, 405.



But we are not certain that the latter of these passages resulted from the former. Hamann might as well have been influenced by other sources as to this thought, if by any. He knew early and well and quoted often the French critic Batteux and may have based the foregoing passage on the following lines:

1746: Tout ce qui est commun, est ordinairement médiocre. Tout ce qui est excellent, est rare, singulier et souvent nouveau.

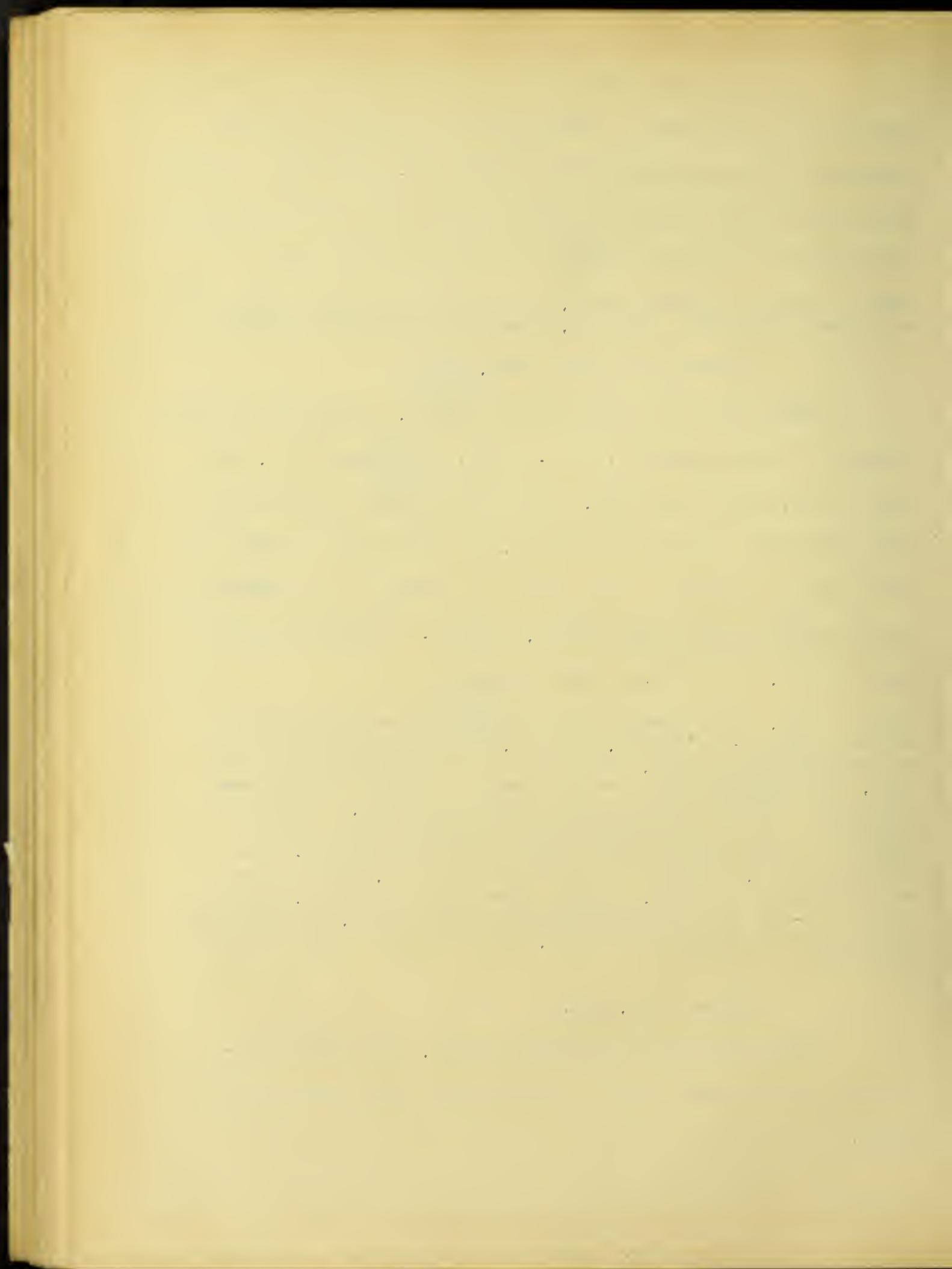
Batteux, Les beaux arts, 86

Again praise for the original writer, and censure for the imitator: "Conjectures" p. 2. l. 40 ff. "Originals are, and ought to be, great favorites, for they are great benefactors; they extend the republic of letters, and add a new province to its dominion. Imitators only give us a sort of duplicates of what we had, possibly much better, before". Herder repeats this thought, but from some other source:

1775: Bako, der grosse Feind des herrschenden Scharfsinns seiner Zeit, ---: "Einige, sagt er, besitzen einen trocknen und deutlichen Verstand, eine kalte Einbildungskraft und die Gabe, sich anzustrengen. --- Zur zweiten Klasse aber gehören diejenigen, welche eine feurige Einbildungskraft, erhabne Gedanken und eine weitläuftige Wissenschaft besitzen. Diese können die Aehnlichkeiten der Dinge leicht wahrnehmen. Sie werden Dichter, Schöpfer in den Wissenschaften, Erfinder in den Künsten und bringen, wo sie ihren Blick hinwerfen, neues Licht." --- Es ist der Schöpfersvorzug des Genies, auf welchem Punkt einer Seelenkraft es stehe, in und aus ihm eine Welt zu schaffen.

Herder VIII, 329.

Gerstenberg said something similar, but without mentioning any authority for it. He may have been influenced by Young.



766: Sie (die Deutschen) empfinden nach Regeln. --- Immerhin mag die Imagination an den berühmtesten nützlichsten Erfindungen, deren die menschliche Gesellschaft sich rühmen kann, den wichtigsten Anteil nehmen: auf den deutschen Universitäten, wo ihr der Rang in der Klasse der untern Seelenkräfte angewiesen ist, macht sie eine sehr schlechte Figur, und hier gilt keine Erfindung, die nicht durch die kombinatorische Kunst, durch die syllogistische Kunst, durch die Bestimmungskunst hervorgebracht worden; edle Kunst der oberen Seelenvermögen, vor denen der gemeine Menschenverstand, der sich grösstenteils an den niedrigern oder untern begnügen muss, sich demütig beugt, und an welche sich das Genie, das daher auch an diesen Orten wenig Verehrer findet, nur selten Anspruch machen darf.

Schles. Litbr., D. Litdenkm., XXIX, 16.

Lessing, however, expresses the idea under discussion several years before the "Conjectures" were published.

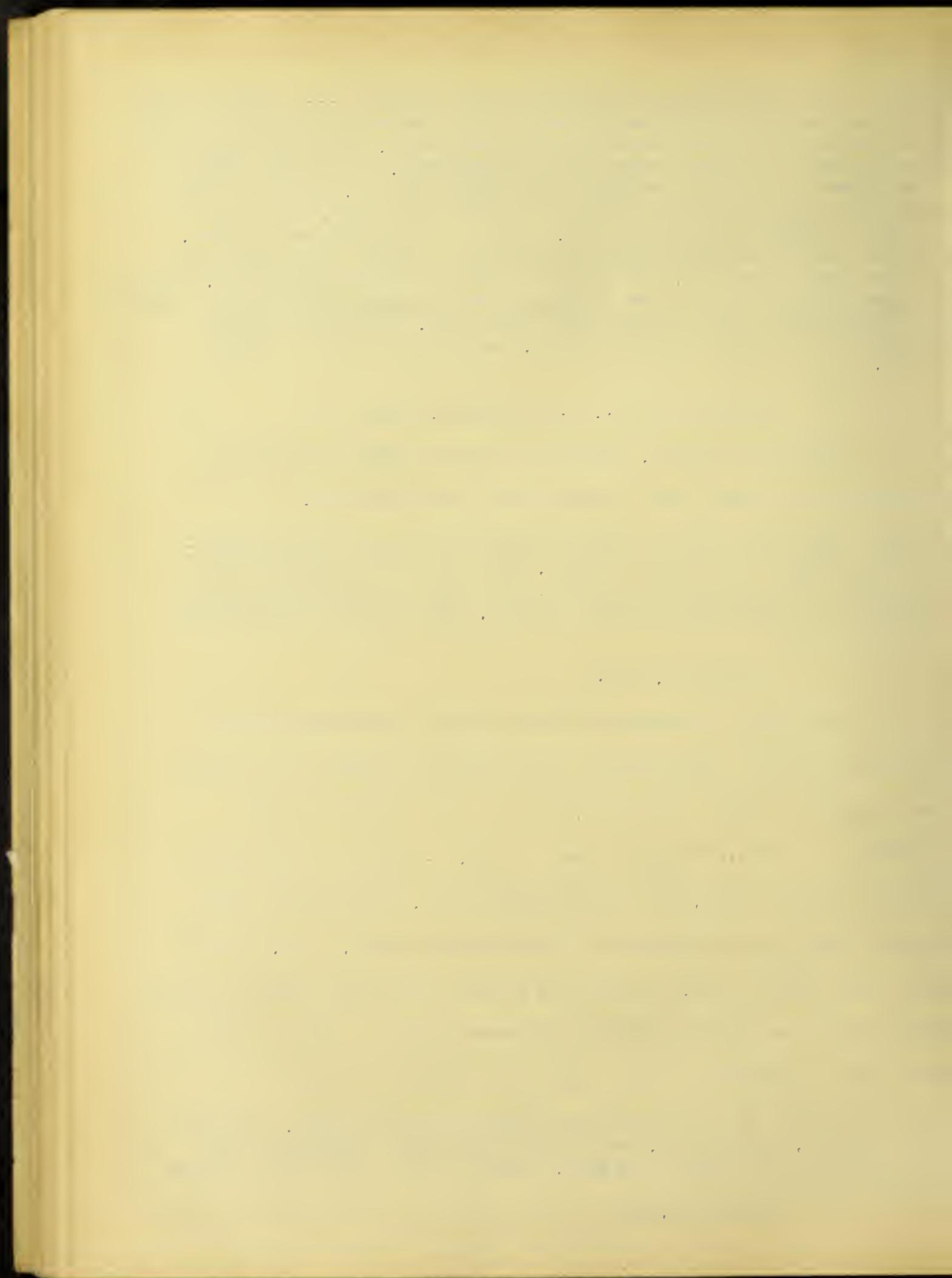
1754: Besonders wird es jeder Vernünftige ihren (der Hamburgischen Beiträge) Verfassern danken, dass sie in Ermanglung guter Originalstücke sich nicht schämen, das Beste den Ausländern abzuborgen; nur Erweiterer können glauben, dass sie zum Uebersetzen zu gross sind.

Lessing V, 418.

Also the following strikingly similar passages must be somehow related. Both may owe their origin to Bacon. But there is no proof of this; so it may be that Gellert is here indebted to Young. "Conjectures" p. 14, l. 12ff.: "Nor have I Bacon's opinion only, but his assistance too, on my side. His mighty mind traveled around the intellectual world; and, with a more than eagle's eye, saw and has pointed out blank spaces or dark spots in it on which the human mind never shone. Some of these have been enlightened since; some are benighted still:"

1767: Es gibt in dem Reiche der schönen Wissenschaften, wie auf der Erdkugel, unangebaute, auch ganz unentdeckte Gegenden; und kein grosses Genie darf verzagen, dass es nicht Neues werden unternehmen können.

Gellert X, 81.



The following statement made about Pope's rimed translation of Homer, seems rather as if it had been copied from the Germans than by them. "Conjectures" p. 11, l. 55ff.: "What a fall is it from Homer's numbers, free as air, lofty, and harmonious as the spheres, into childish shackles, and tinkling sounds!" Rime was one of the things against which the Storm and Stress writers fought as but an impediment to genius. Klopstock's abandonment of rime in poetry, however, preceded the "Conjectures" by many years. And the loose of the drama form, during the decade following the publication of Young's essay arose in imitation of Shakespeare. And the critic who argued most strongly against the shackles of form, and that previously to the "Conjectures" and also later, was Lessing. The following instances may be noted:

1755: Denn ist es wohl glaublich, dass ein Mann, welcher dem Zwange des Silbenmaszes und des Reimes zum Trotze, überall lehrreich, rührend, feurig und erhaben ist, alles dieses zu sein aufhören sollte, wenn er jener Fesseln entbunden ist?

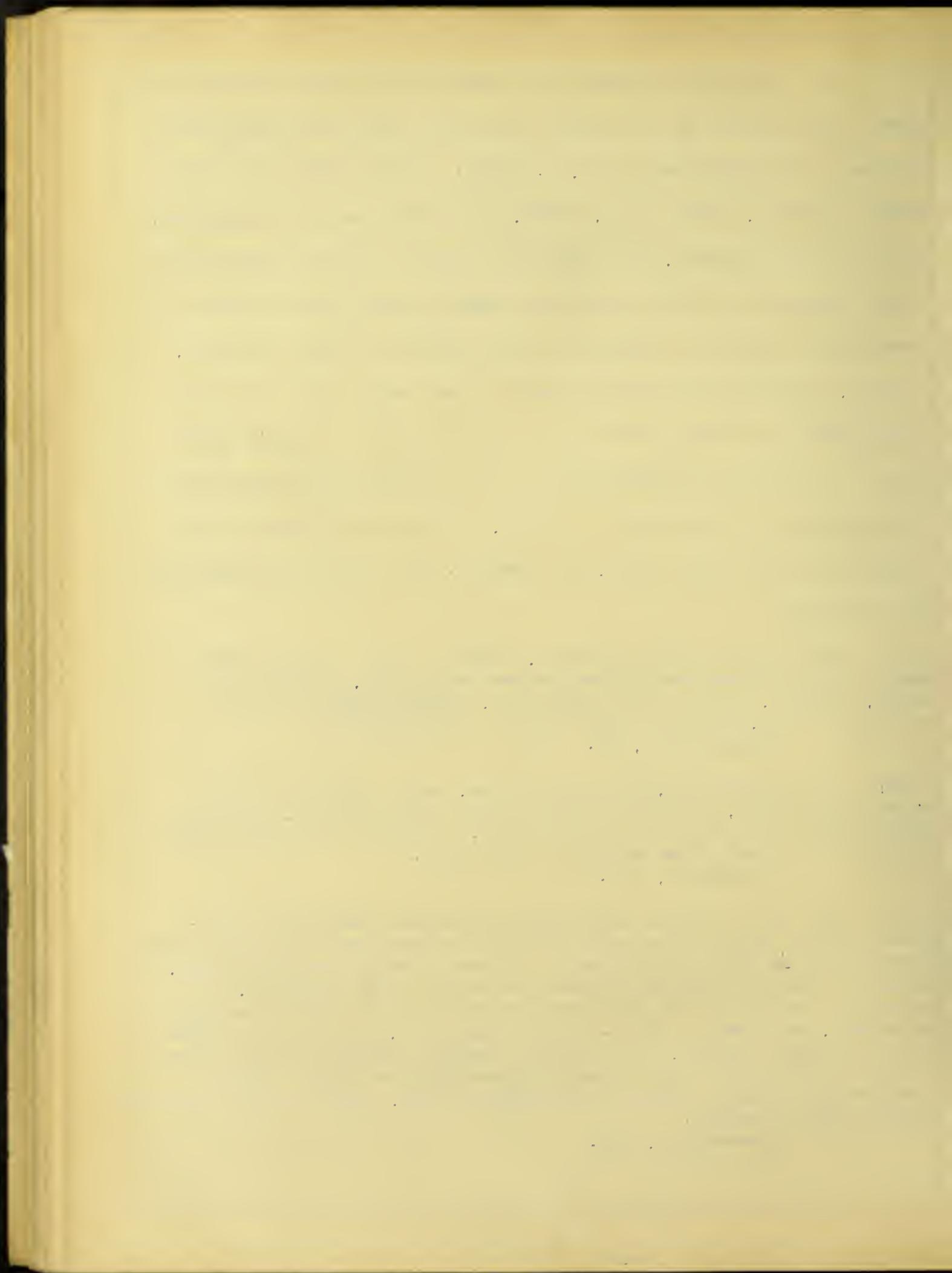
Lessing VII, 32.

1753: Es scheint mir, dass diejenigen, welche gegen den Reim unerbittlich sind, sich vielleicht an ihm rächen wollen, weil er ihnen niemals hat zu Willen sein wollen. Ein kindisches Geklimper nennen sie ihn mit einer verächtlichen Miene.

Lessing V, 72f.

1751: Die Reime für ein notwendiges Stück der deutschen Dichtkunst halten, heisst einen sehr gothischen Geschmack verraten. Man lasse einem Dichter die Freiheit, Ist sein Feuer anhaltend genug, dass er unter den Schwierigkeiten des Reimes nicht erstickt, so reime er. Verliert sich die Hitze seines Geistes während der Ausarbeitung, so reime er nicht. Es gibt Dichter, welche ihre Stärke viel zu lebhaft fühlen, als dass sie sich der mühsamen Kunst unterwerfen sollten, und diese offendit limae labor et mora. Ihre Werke sind Ausbrüche des sie treibenden Gottes, quos nec multa dies nec multa litura coercuit.

Lessing IV, 345.



1751: Es gibt nur allzu viele, welche glauben, ein hinkendes heroisches Silbenmass, einige lateinische Wortfügungen, die Vermeidung des Reims wären zulänglich, sie aus dem Pöbel der Dichter zu ziehen.

Lessing IV, 397f.

1751: Der Reim ist es, gegen welchen diese Herren am unbittlichsten sind, -- Ein kindisches Geklimper nennen sie ihn.

Lessing IV, 398.

We have already heard much praise of the imagination as a principal factor in literary composition; here we hear still more: "Conjectures" p. 3, l. 15ff: "But if an original, by being as excellent as new, adds admiration to surprise, then are we at the writer's mercy; on the strong wing of his imagination we are snatched from Britain to Italy, from climate to climate, from pleasure to pleasure; we have no home, no thought, of our own; till the magician drops his pen and then falling down into ourselves, we awake to flat realities, lamenting the change, like the beggar who dreamed himself a prince." Of the effect of these lines on German literature, however, I find no positive proof. Something very similar to them occurs in Herder and Gerstenberg, but without seeming to have arisen from the "Conjectures". These men seem rather, if at all, to have drawn from such other foreign or earlier German sources as will be quoted:

1762: The force of language consists in raising complete images; which have the effect to transport the reader as by magic into the very place of the important action, and to convert him as it were into a spectator, beholding everything that passes.

Home, Elements of Criticism, 393.

1767: Homerischen Helden, nicht etwa blosser Partei, die sich durch einen Dritten etwas erzählen lässt; der Geist des Dichters reisst ihn mitten unter die Versammelten; die Gegenstände frappieren ihn so sehr, dass er sie nicht zu hören und zu sehen

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines across the page.]

scheint, sondern sie wirklich hört und sieht.

Gerstenberg, Schlesw. Litbr., 29/30. 223.

1768: ---nie doch weiss er uns dahin zu zaubern, wie Homer mitten in seine Ratsversammlungen, in seine Schlachten, auf die Schiffe seines Achills. Die Muse desselben ist wirkliche Begeisterung: ἔνθεος; die Muse Bodmers ist eine Künstlerin, nichts mehr.  
Herder II, 173.

1751: So erzählen, dass man die Sache nicht allein versteht, sondern dass man glaubt sie selbst zu sehen, und ein Zeuge davon zu sein, das heisst lebhaft erzählen.

Herder I, 87.

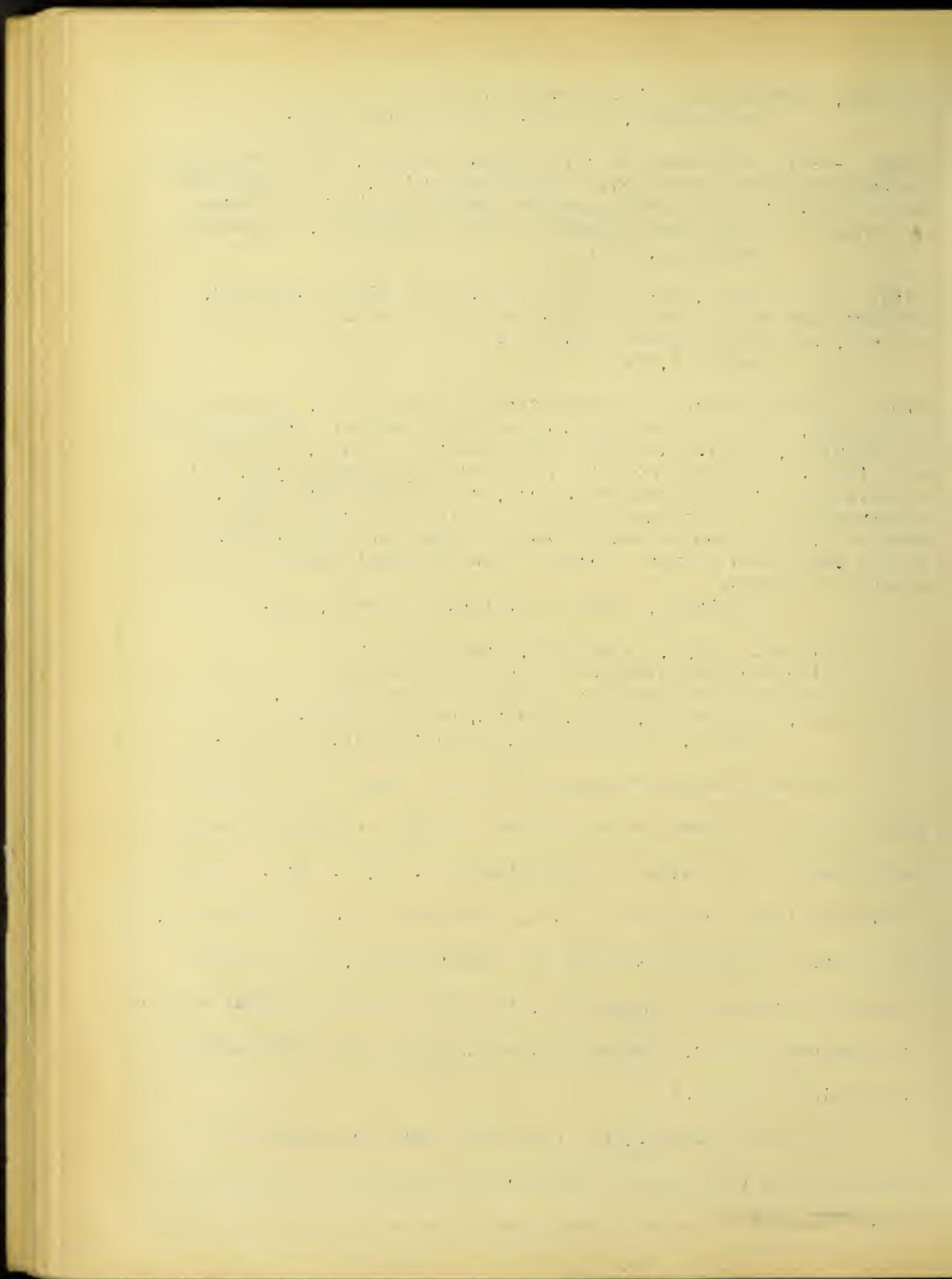
1735: By this means he (Homer) fixes our attention, commands our admiration, and enchants our fancy at his pleasure. He plays with our passions, raises our joys; fills us with wonder, or damps us with fears. Like some powerful magician he points his rod, and spectres rise to obey his call. Nay, so potent is his spell, that hardly does the enchantment vanish; it is built upon truth and made so like it that we cannot bear to think the delightful story should ever prove untrue. His work is the great drama of life acted in our view.

Blackwell, Life and Writings of Homer, 334.

'Tis not enough, ye writers, that ye charm  
With ease and elegance; a play should warm  
With soft concernment; should possess the soul,  
And, as it wills, the listening crowd control.  
Horace, Art of Poetry, English Poets, XIX, 743.

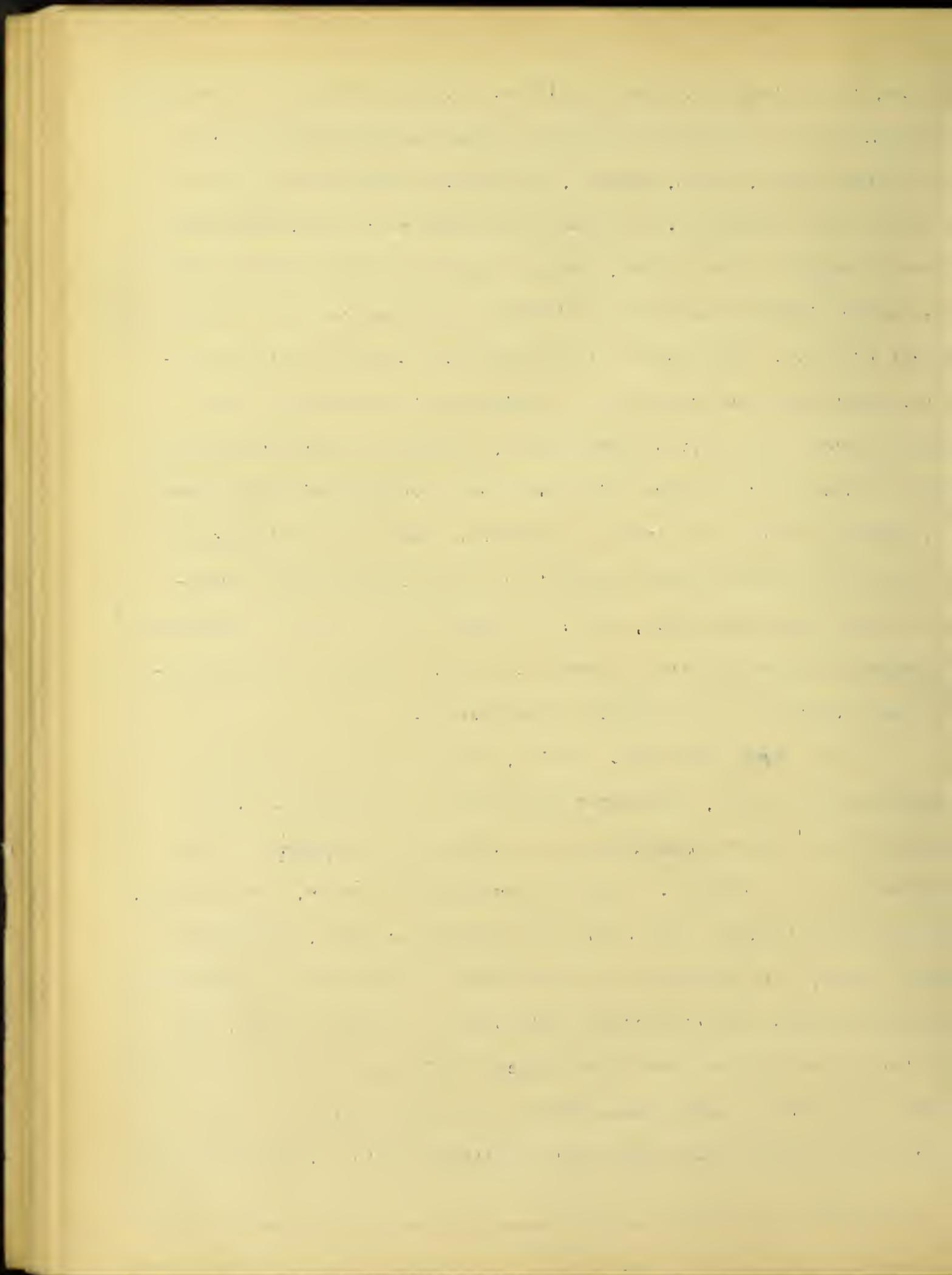
In the subsequent passages from the essay the statement about setting our passions on fire as a factor in composition is particularly to be noted. "Conjectures" p. 14, l. 42ff. "Since a marvelous light, unenjoyed of old, is poured on us by revelation, with larger prospects extending our understanding, with brighter objects enriching our imagination, with an inestimable prize setting our passions on fire, thus strengthening every power that enables composition to shine."

That the passions, or intensified emotions, assist the imagination of the poetical genius in its creatively combinative



work, is an idea of ancient origin and frequent revival. It is based on emotional or passionate fire or enthusiasm experienced by the ancient singers, poets, orators, and actors themselves and by their hearers and spectators. It was interpreted as a divine phenomenon most frequent in the priest, the poet and the orator and was defined as divine inspiration with the farthest reaching and still living effect by Plato. And later it was interpreted anew by religious enthusiasts and also by poets and critics as the prompting of the Holy Ghost. It is not so interpreted, however, in the "Conjectures" and in the other writings which have most strongly effected German literature during the period in question. Here it is discussed in a scientific psychological way and is experienced, not as a transcending divine phenomenon, but as the activity of rightly privileged powers of the whole man; it was felt as the employment of the emotional powers on a par with the intellectual.

The Storm and Stress period, being largely a reaction against rationalism, emphasized emotionalism continually. This phase of the movement was begun by Bodmer and Breitinger in their opposition to Gottsched. With such English critics as, for instance, Addison and Akenside, and with such examples as Homer, Shakespeare, and Milton, they stressed the significance of imagination intensified by astonishment and passion and enthusiasm. And still later, yet prior to the "Conjectures" such French critics as Batteux and Helvetius who were known to most German writers, go still farther in this defense and praise of the emotional faculties of man. They even coin



the much repeated phrase "language of the passions".

Young's discourse came too late and restated the argument too feebly to effect much influence in Germany with the passage in question. A consideration of these facts and of the data here following will make this abundantly clear.

1762: Leidenschaft allein gibt Abstraktionen sowohl als Hypothesen Hände, Füsse, Flügel;- Bildern und Zeichen Geist, Leben und Zunge. -- Wo sind schnellere Schlüsse? Wo wird der rollende Donner der Beredsamkeit erzeugt, und sein Geselle - der einsilbige Blitz? (Midsummernight's Dream quoted)  
Hamann II, 87.

1762: The enthusiasm of passion may have the effect to prolong passionate personification.  
Home, Elements of Criticism, 358.

1762: Empfängnis und Geburt neuer Ideen und neuer Ausdrücke - liegen im fruchtbaren Schosse der Leidenschaften vor unseren Sinnen vergraben.  
Hamann II, 88.

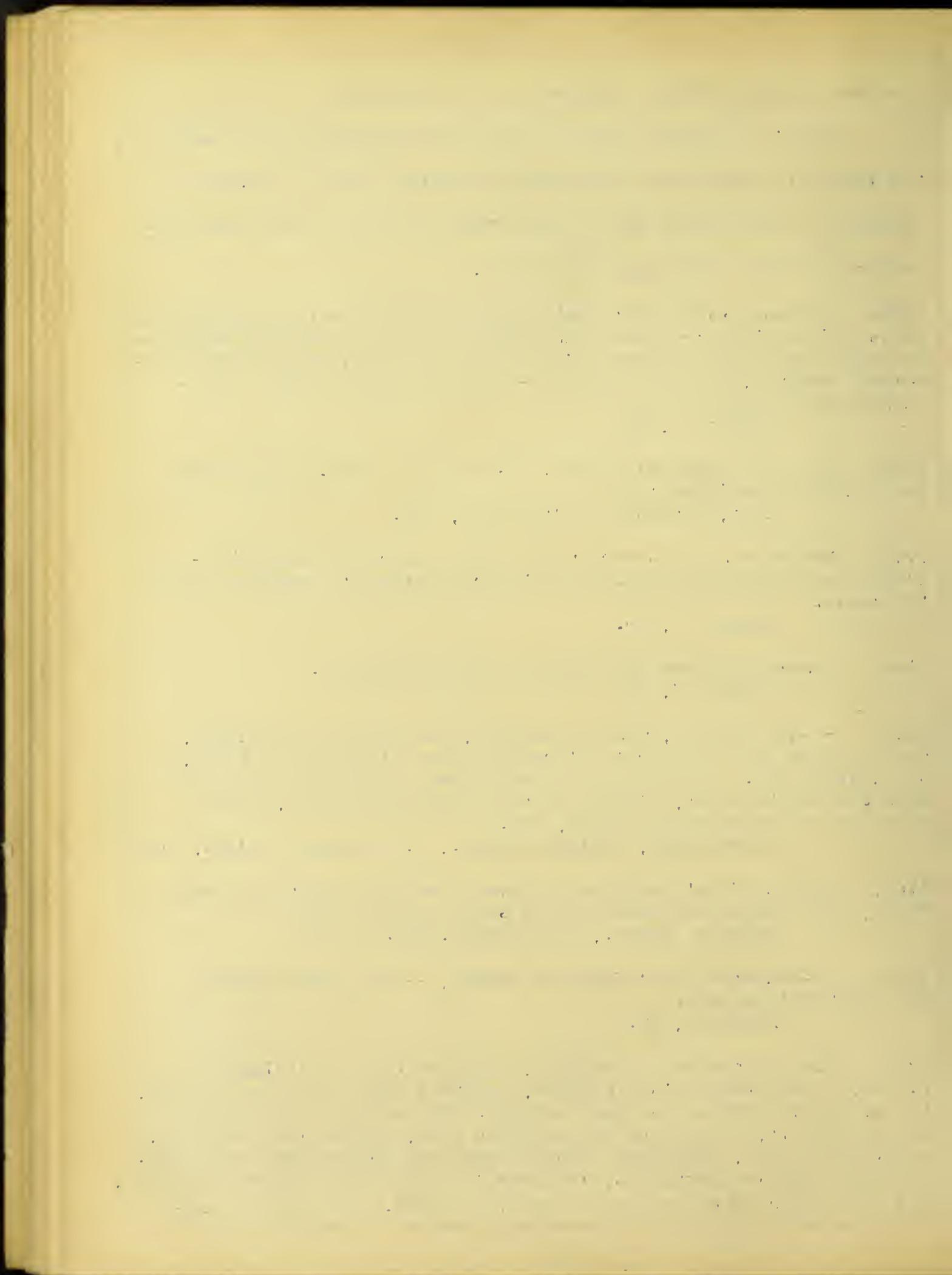
1765: Lukrezens wilde und feurige Einbildungskraft.  
Herder IV, 92.

1766: ---und ich bin, wenn Sie wollen, der erste zu behaupten, dass niemand in den Leidenschaften grössere Talente haben könne, als Shakespeare. Ich glaube mit dem vorher angeführten Lord Kames dass die starke Natur, die man an den Stellen wahrnimmt, wo er die Leidenschaften wirken lässt, etc.  
Gerstenberg, Schlesw. Litbr., D. Litdenkm. 29/30, 125.

1766: Quoting Pope's preface to Homer: -- aber jenes poetische Feuer, jene vivida vis animi findet sich überall selten.  
Schlesw. Litbr., D. Litdenkm. 29/30, 18.

1766: ---Munterkeit und Feuer im Denken, -- ein empfindbares und gefühlvolles Herz.  
Herder I, 53.

1767: Das Frauenzimmer überhaupt, sagt Rousseau (à d'Alembert p. 193) liebt keine einzige Kunst, versteht sich auf keine einzige, und an Genie fehlt es ihm ganz und gar. Es kann in kleinen Werken glücklich sein, die nichts als leichten Witz, nichts als Geschmack, nichts als Anmut, höchstens Gründlichkeit und Philosophie verlangen. Es kann sich Wissenschaften, Gelehrsamkeit, und alle Talente erwerben, die sich durch Mühe und Arbeit erwerben lassen. Aber jenes himm-



lische Feuer, welches die Seele erhitzt und entflammt, jenes um sich greifende verzehrende Genie, jene brennende Beredsamkeit, jene erhabene Schwünge, die ihr Entzückendes dem Innersten des Herzens mitteilen, werden den Schriften des Frauenzimmers allezeit fehlen."  
Lessing X, 4.

1767: Zwar die Regeln selbst waren leicht zu machen; sie lehren nur, was geschehen soll, ohne zu sagen, wie es geschehen soll. Der Ausdruck der Leidenschaften, auf welchen alles dabei ankommt, ist nur einzig das Werk des Genies.  
Lessing IX, 293.

1767: Was ein Genie bildet, ist vorzüglicher im Theokrit: Leidenschaft und Empfindung, was uns Gessner zeigen kann, ist mehr Kunst und Feinheit: Schilderung und Sprache.  
Herder I, 349.

1767: So lange unsere Scribenten, ohne vom Feuer des Genies getrieben zu werden, ihre Sprache etc.  
Schlesw. Litbr., D. Litdenkm. 29/30. 273.

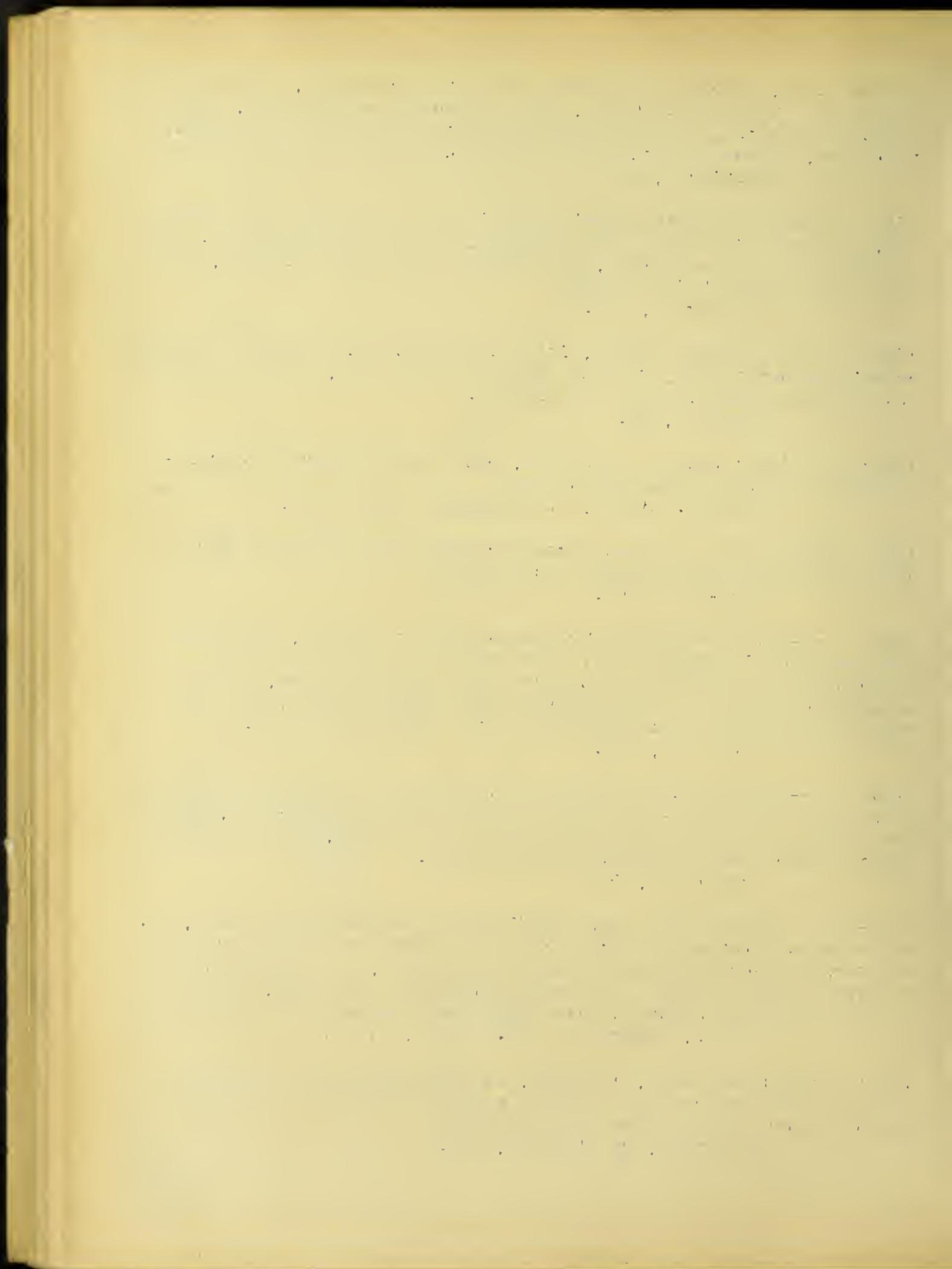
1767: Lukrez ist in meinen Augen nach dem Feuer seiner Bilder einer der ersten Genies unter den Römern.  
Herder I, 470f.

1769: ---und es ward eine Wundermusik aller Affekte, eine neue Zaubersprache der Empfindung. Hier fand der erste begeisterte Tonkünstler tausendfachen Ausdruck aller Leidenschaften, den die menschliche Zunge in Jahrhunderten hatte hervorbringen, den die menschliche Seele in Jahrhunderten hatte empfinden können.  
Herder IV, 118.

1769: ---und wie ist die ganze Schilderung mit solchen ausgemalten Nebenzügen überladen - beinahe ein untrügliches Wahrzeichen, dass der Dichter nach der Hand eines anderen bearbeitet, dass er nicht aus dem Feuer seiner Fantasie geschrieben.  
Herder III, 70.

1771-74: Der Mann von Genie empfindet ein begeistertes Feuer, das seine ganze Wirksamkeit rege macht; er entdeckt in sich selbst Gedanken, Bilder der Fantasie und Empfindungen, die andere Menschen in Verwunderung setzen; er selbst bewundert sie nicht, weil er sie ohne mühsames Suchen in sich mehr wahrgenommen als erfunden hat.  
Sulzer, Theorie d. sch. Künste, Genie.

1758: Les passions sont, en effet, le feu céleste qui vivifie le moral; c'est aux passions que les sciences et les arts doivent leurs découvertes et l'âme son élévation.  
Helvétius, De l'esprit, 364.



1758: ---en general tous les moyens dont se sont servis les grands hommes, pour échauffer les âmes du feu de l'enthousiasme, ne leur aient été inspirés par les passions?

Helvétius, De l'esprit, 351.

1756-59: -- und seine Einbildung war zu feurig zu zärtlichen Empfindungen und zu lieblichen Grazien.

Winkelmann I, 223.

1756-59: Man muss mit Feuer entwerfen und mit Phlegma (= verstandesmäßiges Fleisse) ausführen.

Winkelmann I, 215.

1756: Nun ist aber das wahre poetische Genie sich Überall ähnlich. Ein Sturm ist ihm ein Sturm. Er mag in der grossen, oder in der kleinen Welt entstehen; es mag ihm dort das aufgehobene Gleichgewicht der Luft, oder hier die gestörte Harmonie der Leidenschaften verursachen. Vermittelt einerlei scharfen Aufmerksamkeit, vermittelt einerlei feurigen Einbildungskraft, wird der Dichter, der diesen Namen verdient, dort ein stilles Tal, und hier die ruhige Sanftmut- - - allemal gleich wahr und gleich glücklich schildern.

Lessing VII, 67.

1754: Einige Kunstrichter haben angemerkt, dass die Charaktere in seinen (Thomsons) Tragödien mehr durch Beschreibung als durch tätige Leidenschaften ausgedrückt werden; dass die aber alle einen Ueberfluss an den seltensten Schönheiten, an Feuer, an tiefen Gedanken, und an edelen Empfindungen haben, und in einem nervenreichen Ausdrücke geschrieben sind.

Lessing VI, 63f.

1754: Ein Schauspieler muss Empfindung und Feuer haben.

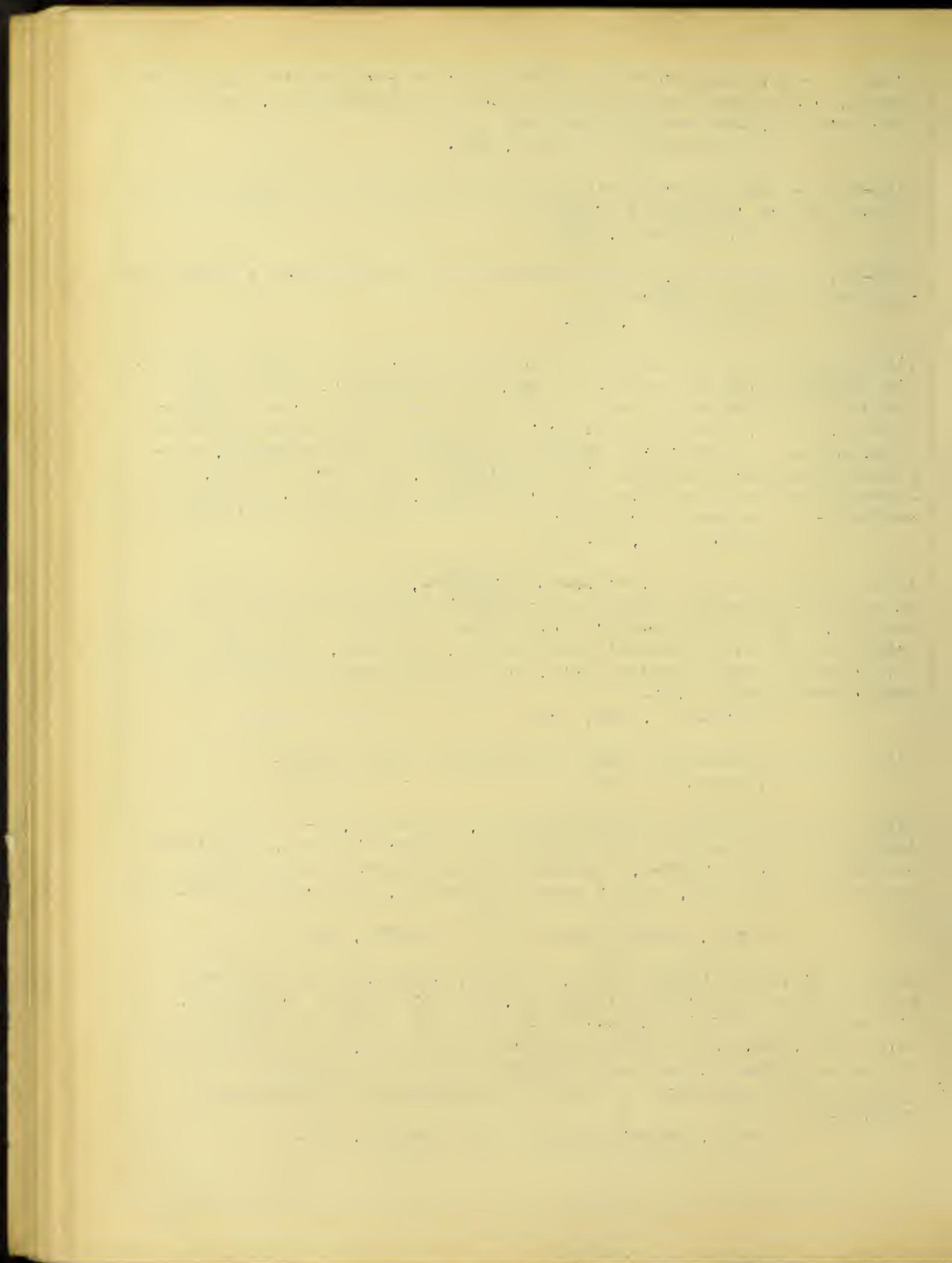
Lessing VI, 124.

1753: The language of reason is cool, temperate, --- The language of the passions is totally different: The conceptions burst out into a turbid stream, expressive in a manner of the internal conflict; in a word, reason speaks literally, the passions poetically.

Lowth, Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, 150.

1753: In the strictest sense, however, sublimity of sentiment may be accounted a distinct quality, and may be said to proceed, either from a certain elevation of mind, and a happy boldness of conception, or from a strong impulse of the soul, when agitated by the more violent affections. The one is called by Longinus Grandeur of Conception. The other vehemence, or enthusiasm of passions.

Lowth, Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, 168.



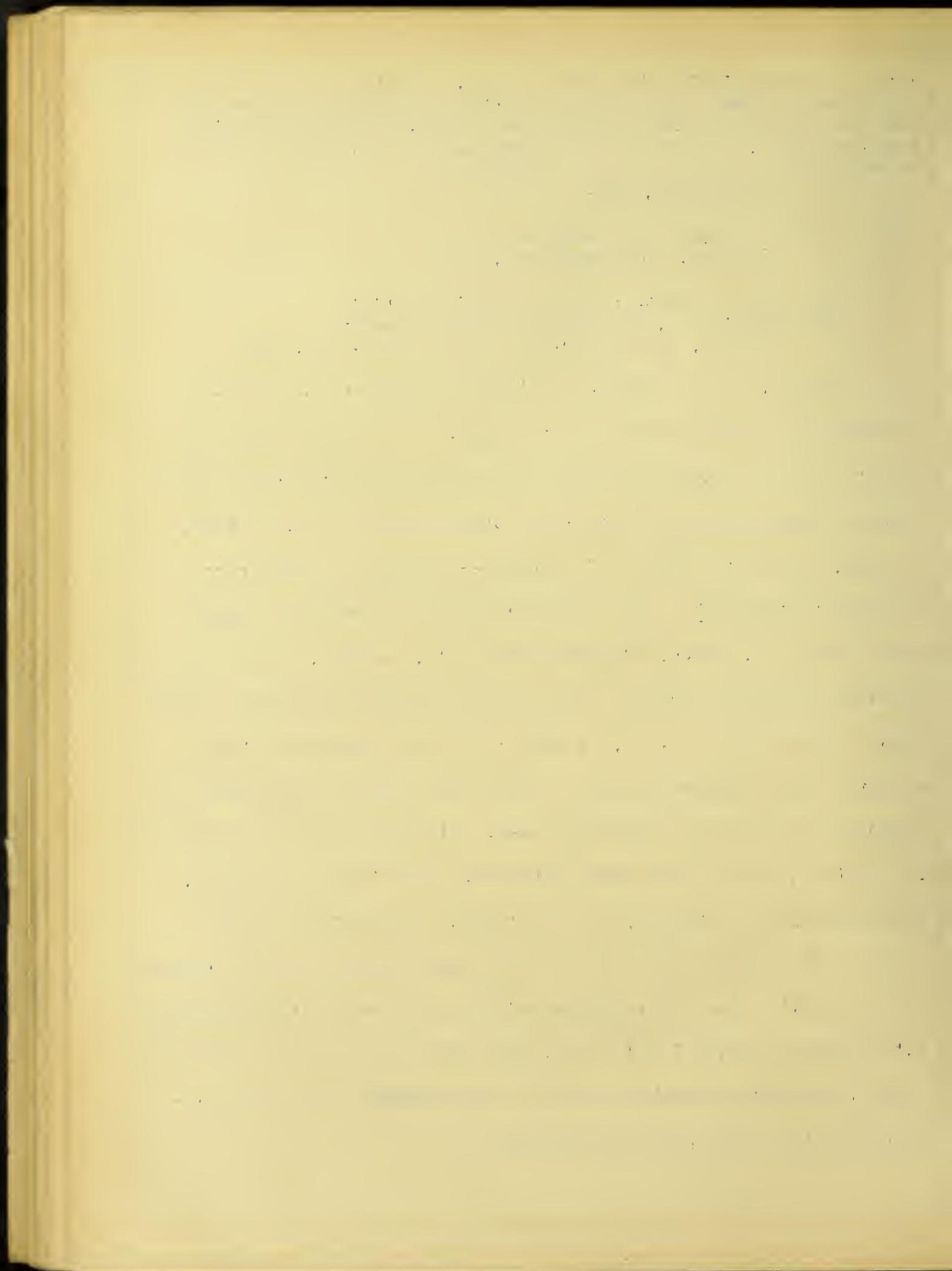
1751: Unbekannt mit demjenigen Geiste, welcher die erhitzte Einbildungskraft über diese Kleinigkeiten zu den grossen Schönheiten der Vorstellung und Empfindung reisst, bemühen sie sich, anstatt erhaben dunkel, anstatt neu verwegen, anstatt rührend romanenhaft zu schreiben.

Lessing IV, 398.

1746: - le langage de la passion.  
Batteux, Les beaux arts, 142.

For nature to each change of fortune forms  
The secret soul, and all its passions warms.  
Horace, Art of Poetry, English Poets XIX, 743.

Here is a continuation of Young's argument in favor of the emotional powers versus the rational. He asserts repeatedly that the heart is even of greater importance than the head in some kinds of literature. In one place "Conjectures" p. 16, l. 45ff, he says, "The noble nature of tragedy--- demands the heart,--- Let epic poets think; the tragedians point is rather to feel". And he says of Addison, "Conjectures" p. 17, l. 32f., that he had "a warm and feeling heart". But his most emphatic statement reads thus, "Conjectures", p. 17, l. 12ff.: "As what comes from the writer's heart reaches ours; so what comes from his head sets our brains at work and our hearts at ease. It makes a circle of thoughtful critics, not of distressed patients." And these statements, particularly the last one, have been held up repeatedly as the cause of the emphasis laid by several German writers on the "language of the heart". Due consideration of the universal reaction against rationalism in general and to the following data in particular will prove the theory untenable that the "Conjectures" were widely influential as to the point in question.



1764-66: Sein Stil --- ist im Feuer der Einbildungskraft hingeworfen, und eben dasselbe Gefühl, damit der Schriftsteller seine Materie empfand, glüht auch den Leser an.

Herder I, 80.

1767: Das Feuer der Fantasie, in dem der Verfasser dachte und schrieb, aber nicht hätte lesen sollen, glüht jeden Leser an, der es versteht, ein Buch in eine Person, und tote Buchstaben in Sprache zu verwandeln; alsdann hört man und denkt und fühlt mit dem Autor.

Herder I, 222.

1767: Aber wie viel leichter ist es, eine Schnurre zu übersetzen, als eine Empfindung. Das Lächerliche kann der Witzige und Unwitzige nachsagen; aber die Sprache des Herzens kann nur das Herz treffen.

Lessing IX, 265.

1767: Der einzige unverzeihliche Fehler eines tragischen Dichters ist dieser, dass er uns kalt lässt; er interessiere uns und mache mit den kleinen mechanischen Regeln, was er will.

Lessing IX, 250.

1757: --die Sprache des Herzens, die lebhafteste, gedrungene, feurige und doch stets verständliche Sprache.

Gellert II, 15.

1754: Ein Dichter muss die Empfindung, die er erhalten will, in sich selbst zu haben scheinen; er muss scheinen aus der Erfahrung und nicht aus der blossen Einbildungskraft zu sprechen.

Lessing V, 283.

1751: Aber die Sprache des Herzens wollte sich in keine Chrie zwingen lassen.

Gellert I, 51.

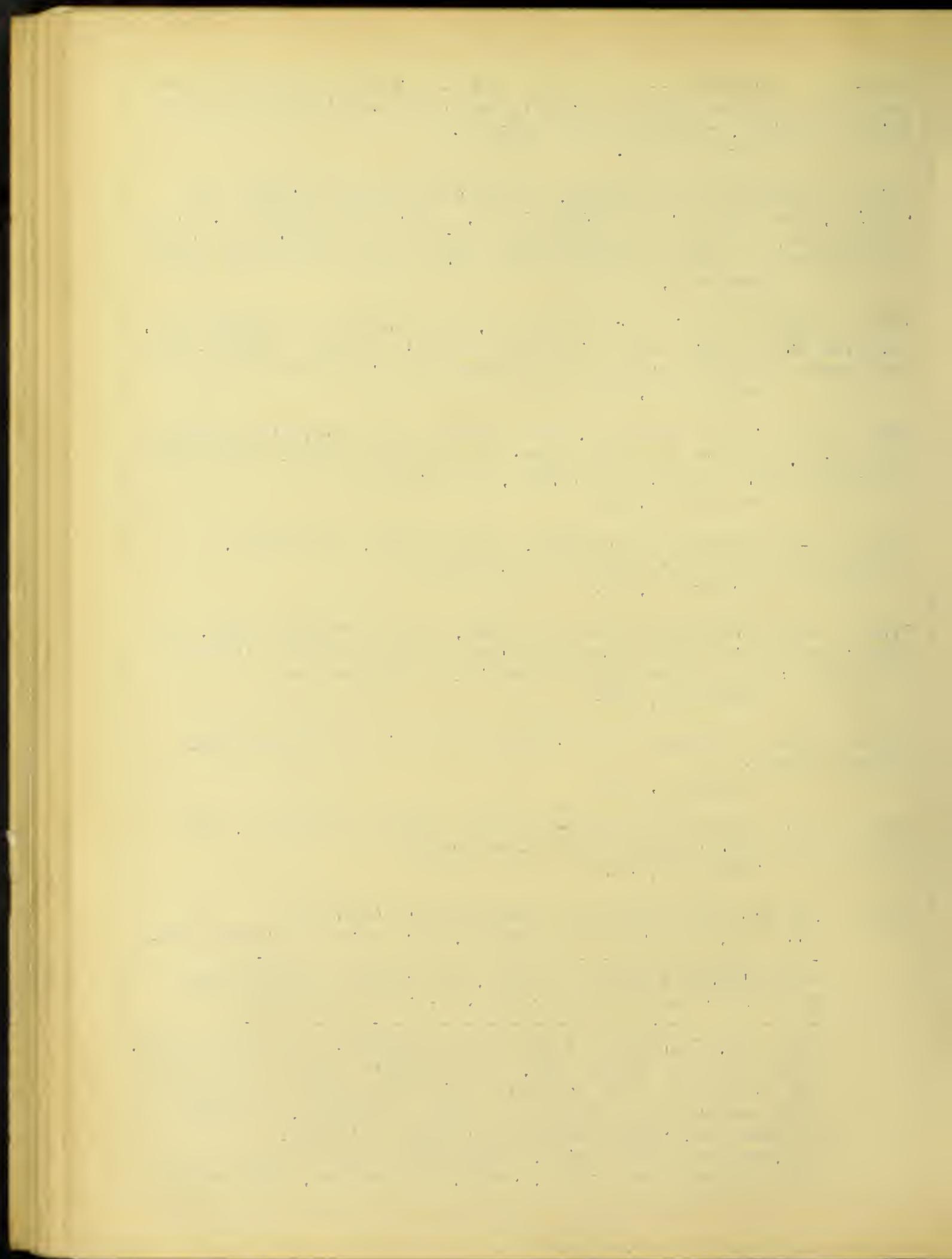
1751: Die Einfalt und Richtigkeit der Gedanken lehrt uns, dass Cicero ohne Kunst sein Herz hat reden lassen.

Gellert I, 41.

1749: Die grübelnde Vernunft dringt sich in alles ein  
Und will, wo sie nicht herrscht, doch nicht entbehret sein,

-----  
Gebiet'risch schreibt sie vor, was unseren Sinnen taugt,  
Macht sich zum Ohr des Ohrs und wird des Auges Auge.

-----  
Hier lass Vernunft, dein Licht uns unseren Feind erblicken,  
Hier herrsche sonder Ziel, hier herrsch' uns zu beglücken.  
Und steigst du dann und wann, voll Schwindel aus den Höhen,  
Zufrieden mit dir selbst, wie hoch du stiegst, zu sehen,  
So kommst du, statt ins Herz, in einen Kritikus,  
Der, was die Sinne reizt, methodisch mustern muss.  
Und treibst durch Regeln, Grund, Kunstwörter, Lehrgebäude,



Aus Lust die Quintessenz, rectificierst die Freude,  
 Und schaffst, wo dein Geschwätz am schärfsten überführt,  
 Dass viel nur halb ergötzt und vieles garnicht rührt;  
 Das Fühlen wird verlernt, und nach erkiesten Gründen,  
 Lernt auch ein Schüler schon des Meisters Fehler finden.  
 Lessing I, 248f.

1746: --elles sont plutôt le langage de l'esprit que celui du  
 coeur.

Batteux, Les beaux Arts, 276.

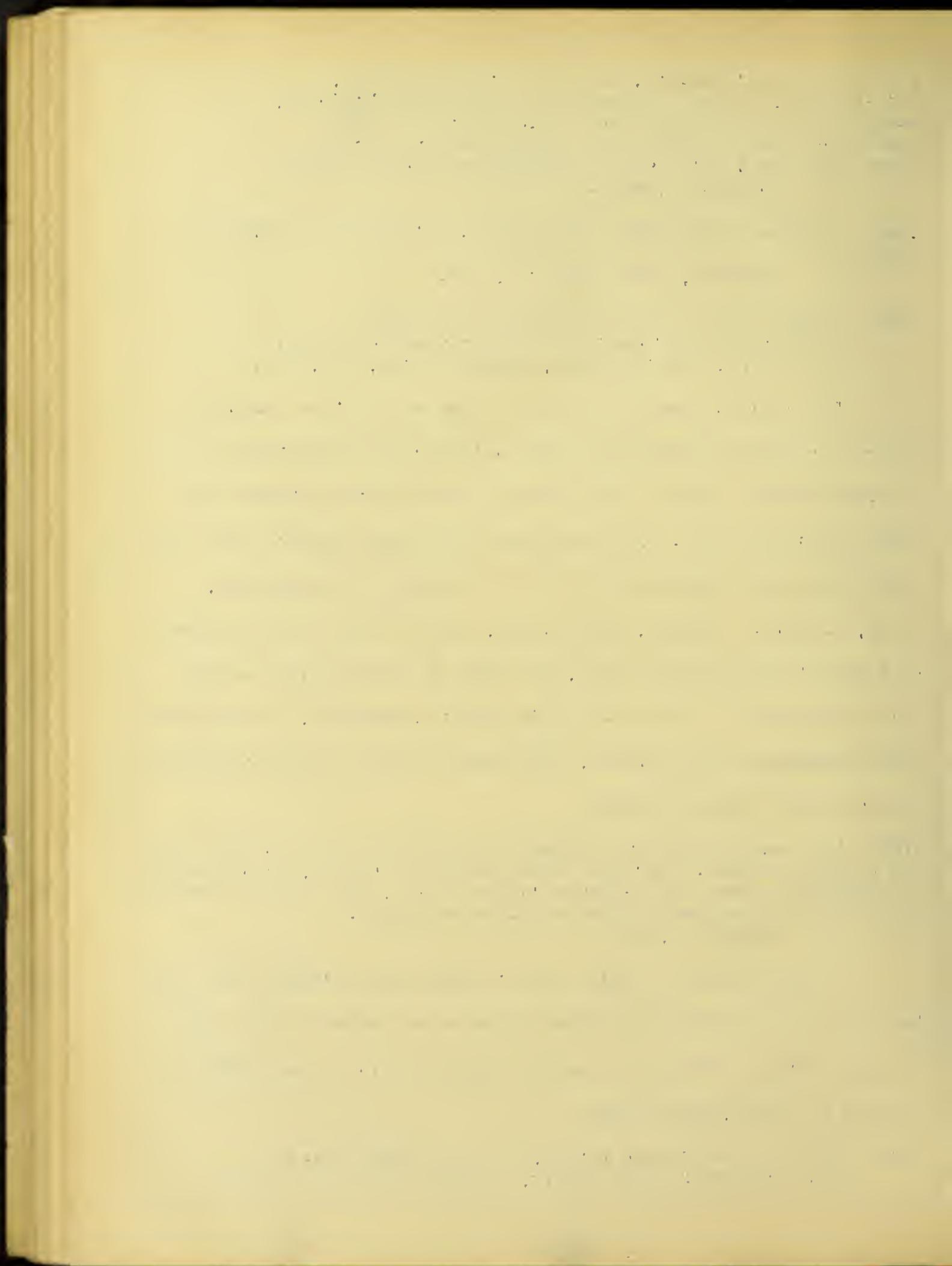
1527: See! how the bard triumphant in his art,  
 Sports with our passions and commands the heart.  
 Vida, Art of Poetry, English Poets, XIX, 640.

The English people considered Young as a rather insincere  
 and even wicked character and would not take him seriously as a  
 literary critic. Some of the leading German writers thought and  
 spoke likewise of him. Nevertheless it has been asserted that the  
 following lines were very effective in Germany: "Conjectures,  
 p. 15, l. 56ff.: "Tully, Quintillian, and all true critics allow,  
 that ~~the~~ virtue assists genius, and that the writer will be more  
 able when better is the man." It has been asserted, and with more  
 comical than convincing effect, that these lines of Young influenced  
 the following lines of Hamann:

1762: Man kann allerdings ein Mensch sein, ohne dass man nötig hat,  
 ein Autor zu werden. Wer aber guten Freunden zumutet, dass sie den  
 Schriftsteller ohne den Menschen denken sollen, ist mehr zu dichterischen  
 als philosophischen Abstraktionen aufgelegt.  
 Hamann II, 267.

I find neither in the works of Hamann nor elsewhere any certain  
 traces of influence by those lines in our essay. But I find  
 to the contrary that those lines of Young were fully anteceded in  
 Germany by Lessing as follows:

1755: Du, die der Reimer flieht, die der Pedant entehrt,  
 Du, Wahrheit! bist allein, die Weise schreiben lehrt.



Ein Mann, der niedrig denkt, schreibt allzeit matt und schlecht.

-----  
 O Tugend, lehre mich erst leben, und dann schreiben  
 Beim Ernst noch angenehm, beim Scherz noch edel bleiben.

-----  
 Nicht Wissenschaft, nicht Witz, das Herz macht unseren Wert.

Lessing VII, 55.

1753: O Muse, lach' ihn an,  
 Damit er Feu'r und Witz dem Edelmut verbindet,  
 Poet und braver Mann.  
 Lessing I, 144.

The dispute over literary rules in Germany during the eighteenth century dates back to the days of Gottsched's literary supremacy. He ruled through his championship of the principles of ancient classical literature as interpreted and practiced by the French. Finally this pseudo-classicism was overthrown by Bodmer, Breitinger and Lessing, who fought on <sup>the</sup> side and with the weapons of that party in the quarrel over the ancients and the moderns, which favored the latter. And one of these weapons, used most ~~most~~ effectively by Lessing in the defeat of Gottsched and the defence of liberty as to literary rules, was the argument that the earliest and most excellent ancients wrote before the existence of critical rules, and that the latter were only afterwards abstracted from their works, and that the most successful method of composition is therefore the very contrary of the French way of writing only according to preëstablished examples and rules.

This opposition to literary rules thus begun, was intensified by the "return to nature" movement, which was represented by the romanticist in England, by such men as Rousseau in France and by Haller and Hagedorn in Germany. And this opposition received

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several paragraphs and is too light to transcribe accurately.

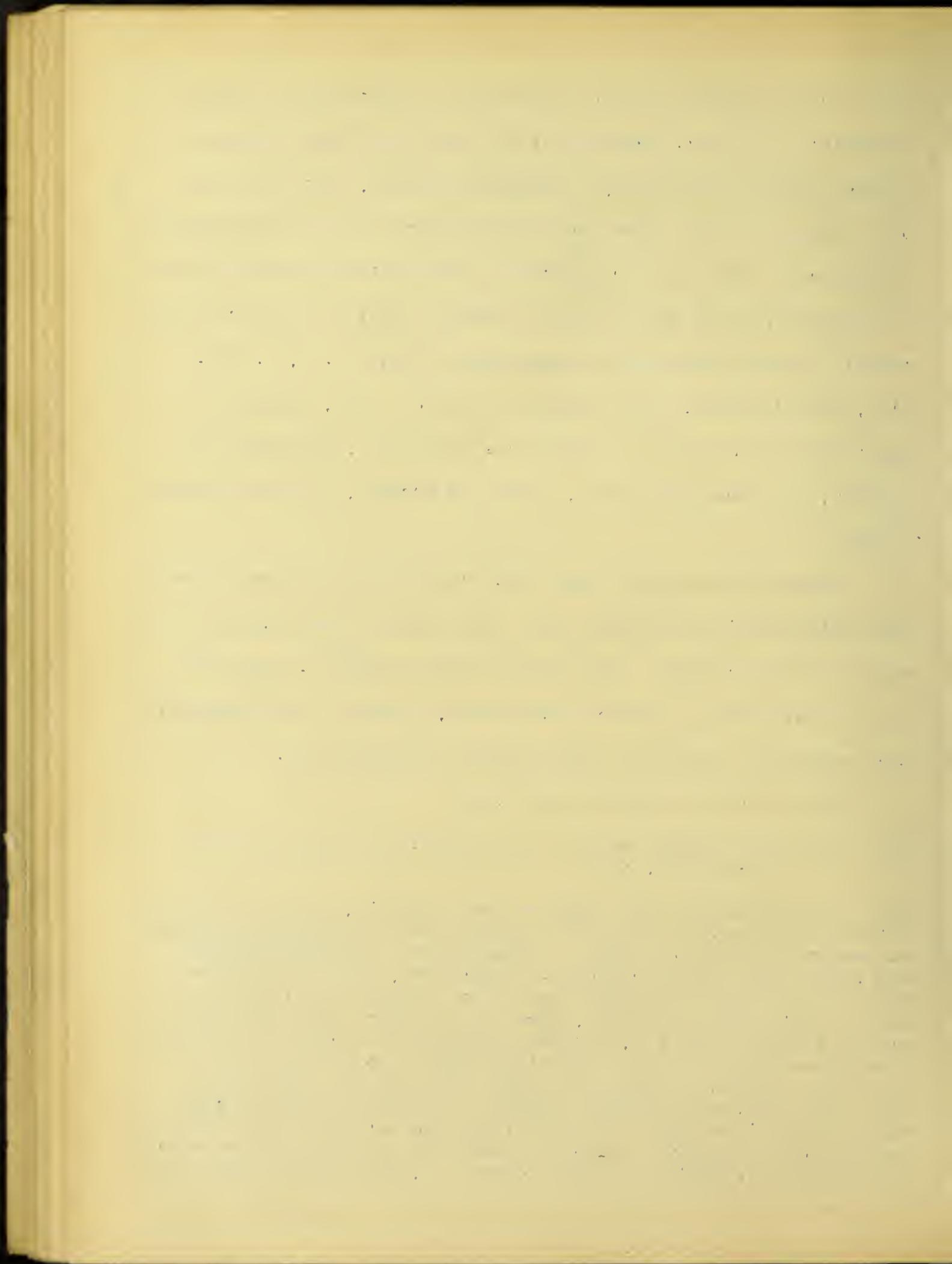
still further impetus from the defenders of Shakespeare's "Regellosigkeit" and by such admirers of the Bible and other irregular oriental poetry as for example Hamann and Herder, lead on by Dr. Lowth through his "De sacra poesia Hebraeorum" and by other English orientalist. These various currents of thought were started before the "Conjectures" appeared, and the movement against literary rules was well on foot when Young's essay came and said, p. 6, l. 8ff. , "Rules, like crutches, are a needful aid to the lame, though an impediment to the strong. A Homer cast them away, and like his Achilles, Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat, by native force of mind."

These lines ~~are~~ have some close parallels in several German works chronologically following them. But whether these parallels are copies of Young's lines, could not be either proven or disproven. The circumstances as sketched before show, however, that they would have been easily possible without Young's "Conjectures".

Some of these parallels read thus:

1767: Das Genie lacht über all die Grenzscheidungen der Kritik.  
Lessing IX, 210.

1768: Wir haben das auch lange so fest geglaubt, dass bei unseren Dichtern den Franzosen nachahmen, ebenso viel gewesen ist, als nach den Regeln der Alten arbeiten. Indess konnte das Vorurteil nicht ewig gegen unser Gefühl bestehen. Dieses war, glücklicherweise, durch einige englische Stücke aus seinem Schlummer erweckt und wir machten endlich die Erfahrung, dass die Tragödie noch einer ganz anderen Wirkung fähig sei, als ihr Corneille und Racine zu erteilen vermochten. Aber geblendet von diesem plötzlichen Strahle der Wahrheit, prallten wir gegen den Rand eines anderen Abgrundes zurück. Den englischen Stücken fehlten zu augenscheinlich gewisse Regeln, mit welchen uns die Französischen so bekannt gemacht hatten. Was schloss man daraus? Dieses: dass sich auch ohne diese Regeln der Zweck der Tragödie erreichen lasse; ja, dass diese Regeln wohl



gar schuld sein könnten, wenn man ihn weniger erreiche. Und das hätte noch hingehen mögen! - Aber mit diesen Regeln fing man an, alle Regeln zu vermengen, und es überhaupt für Pedanterie zu erklären, dem Genie vorzuschreiben, was es tun und was es nicht tun müsse. Kurz, wir waren auf dem Punkte, uns alle Erfahrungen der vergangenen Zeit mutwillig zu verscherzen; und von den Dichtern lieber zu verlangen, dass jeder die Kunst auf's Neue für sich erfinden solle.

Lessing X, 215.

1768: Denn die Perspektive ist keine Sache des Genies, sie beruht auf Regeln und Handgriffen, die, wenn sie einmal festgesetzt und bekannt sind, der Stümper ebenso leicht befolgen und ausüben kann, als das grösste Genie.

Lessing X, 258.

1768: -- denn einen ganzen tragischen Plan gleichsam a priori zu erfinden und von der Leidenschaft philosophisch zu abstrahieren, ist nicht der ordentliche Weg, den unsere Einbildungskraft nimmt. Vielleicht ist dies die Ursache, warum Regeln kein Genie wecken, noch weit weniger schaffen können; ja warum sogar die grössten Genies zügel- und regellos sind.

Herder II, 231.

1768: Das Genie ist nicht gestorben, aber es wird von Regeln, Mustern, von dem Idealunsrer feinen, kunstrichterischen und sittlichen Zeit gefangen gehalten. Ermattet in diesen Banden, in den Armen der Kalypso verweibet, hat es nicht die Nerven seiner Stärke, Lust und Mut hat es verloren, sie anzustrengen, und auch wider Willen der blossen Kunstregeln: im Angesicht aller Censoren von Geschmack, nicht wie sie und andre, sondern ein grosses Selbst zu werden.

Herder I<sup>A</sup>, 179.

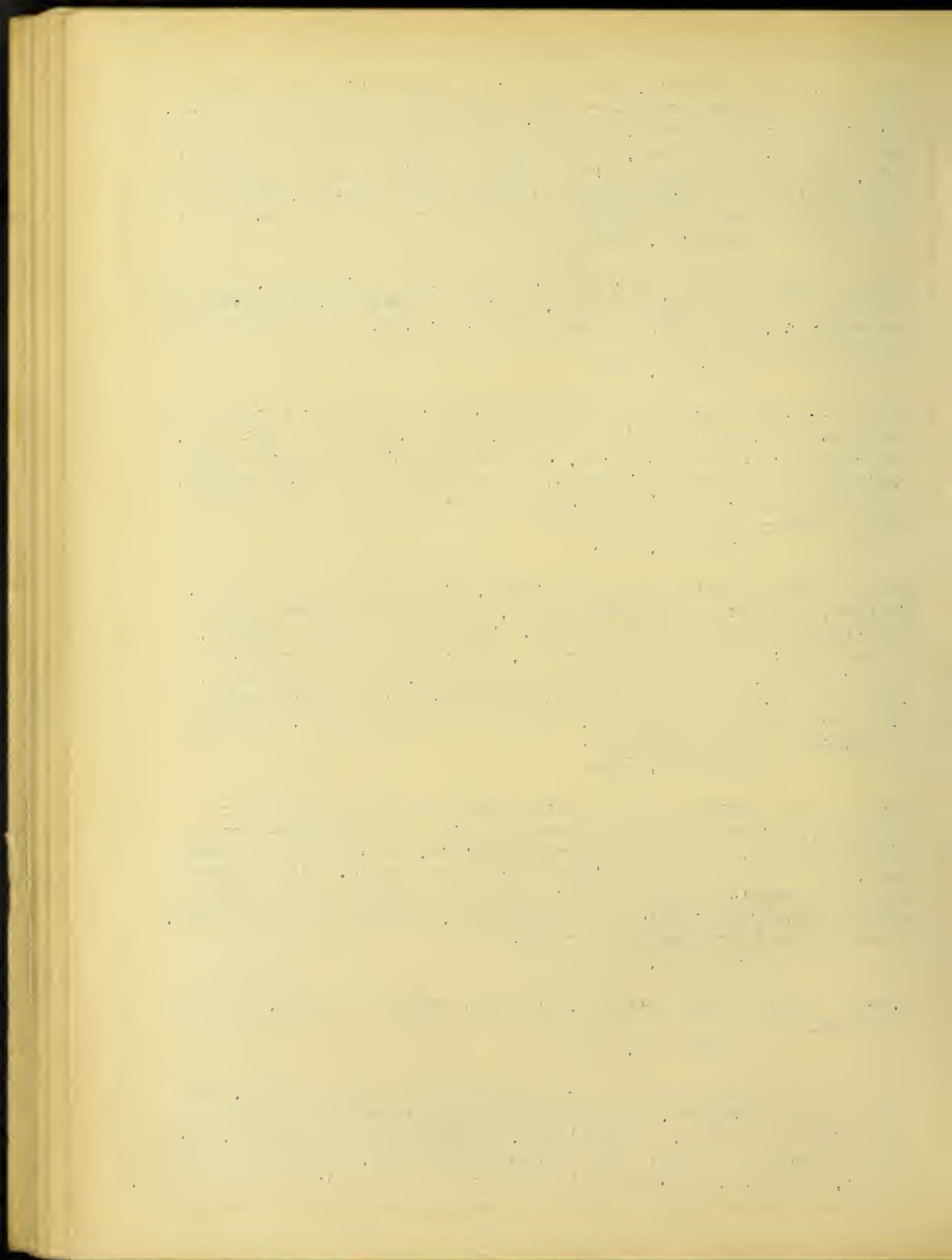
1769: "Die Regeln, die der Kunstlehrer aus der Iliade aufblättert, für wen sollen sie Regeln sein?" Für keinen! --- Für kein Genie, das sich Laufbahn eröffnen, Originalflug nehmen kann, und wie die Geistercabbalistik weiter lautet: Sie sollen gar nicht Regeln, Beobachtungen sollen sie sein: aufklärende, entwickelnde Philosophie für Philosophen, nicht für Dichterlinge, nicht für selbstherrschende Genies.

Herder IV, 19.

1774: Unglücklicher Gedanke, der nach Regeln schreibt, der ist ein Poet.

Gellert VII, 136.

1778: Die besten Gedichte der Griechen sind aus der Zeit, da noch keine Buchstaben, viel weniger geschriebene Regeln waren, - Der Dichter sah treu, dachte lange, trugsmith sich im Herzen, als sein liebes Kind umher; Nun öffnet er den Mund, nun spricht er Wunder, Wahrheit, schaffende Göttersprüche. Und die Sprache klingt,



tönt: alle Musen helfen ihm den Gesang vollenden. So sang Homer.

Herder VIII, 376.

Now we shall note also several parallels to those lines of Young which are certainly not copies of them but forerunners, and it will be seen that Young's lines did not bring something new.

1759: Was ersetzt bei Homer die Unwissenheit der Kunstregeln, die ein Aristoteles nach ihm erdacht, und was bei einem Shakespeare die Unwissenheit oder Uebertretung jener kritischen Gesetze? Das Genie, ist die einmütige Antwort.

Hamann II, 38

1759: Von diesem Kunststücke werden aber freilich diejenigen nichts wissen wollen, die nur an einem correcten Racine Geschmack finden, und so unglücklich sind, keinen Shakespeare zu kennen.

Lessing VIII, 145.

1758: In der Bibel finden wir eben die regelmässige Unordnung, die wir in der Natur entdecken. Alle Methoden sind als Gängelwagen der Vernunft anzusehen und als Krücken derselben. Die Einbildungskraft der Dichter hat einen Faden, der dem gemeinen Auge unsichtbar ist, und den Kennern ein Meisterstück zu sein scheint. Alle verborgene Kunst ist bei ihm Natur. Die heilige Schrift ist in diesem Stücke das grösste Muster und der feinste Probestein aller menschlichen Kritik.

Hamann I, 118.

1759: Die Franzosen haben ihre poetische Sprache unter allen am wenigsten von der prosaischen unterschieden. Einige von ihren Genies haben selbst über die Fesseln geklagt, die sich die Nation von ihren Grammatikern und von ihren Petitsmaitres hat anlegen lassen.

Lessing VIII, 143f.

1754: Er hat dem Herrn Glover die Verabsäumung einiger dramatischen Regeln vorgerückt; und Sie wissen wohl, mein Herr, was die Regeln in England gelten. Der Britte hält sie für eine Sklaverei und sieht diejenigen, welche sich ihnen unterwerfen, mit eben der Verachtung und mit eben dem Mitleid an, mit welchem er alle Völker, die sich eine Ehre daraus machen, Königen zu gehorchen, betrachtet.

- - Doch ich zweifle, ob Herr Mylius zu einer wichtigen Kritik aufgelegt war; sein Geist war in Gottscheds Schuhe zu mechanisch geworden.

Lessing VI, 405.

1749: Der Schwätzer hat den Ruhm: dem Meister bleibt die Mühe.

Das ist der Regeln Schuld und darum tadl' ich sie.

Doch meint man vielleicht, dass sie dem Meister nützen?

Man irrt; das hiess die Welt mit Elephanten stützen.

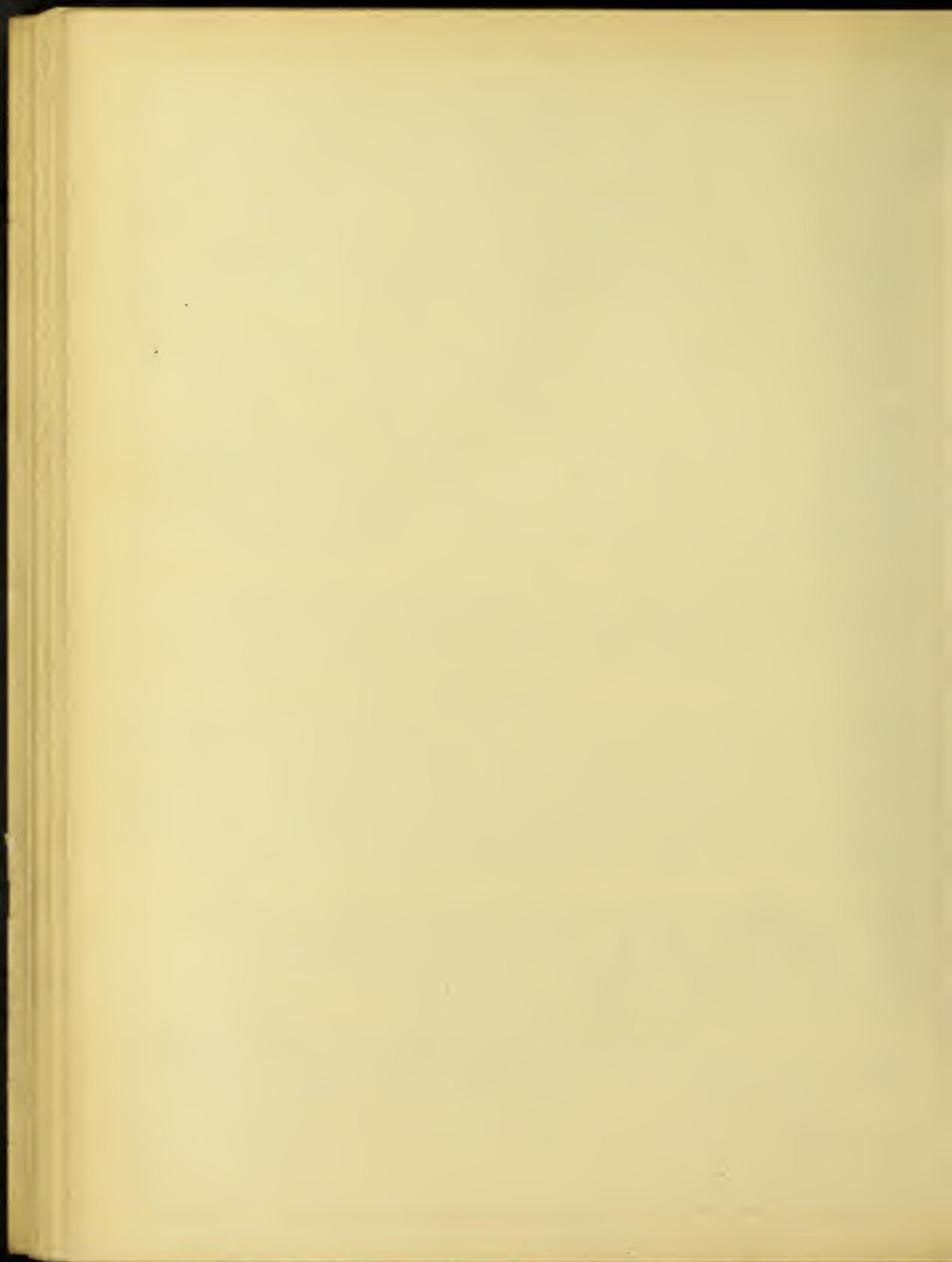
Ein Adler hebet sich von selbst der Sonne zu;

Sein ungelernter Flug erhält sich ohne Ruh.

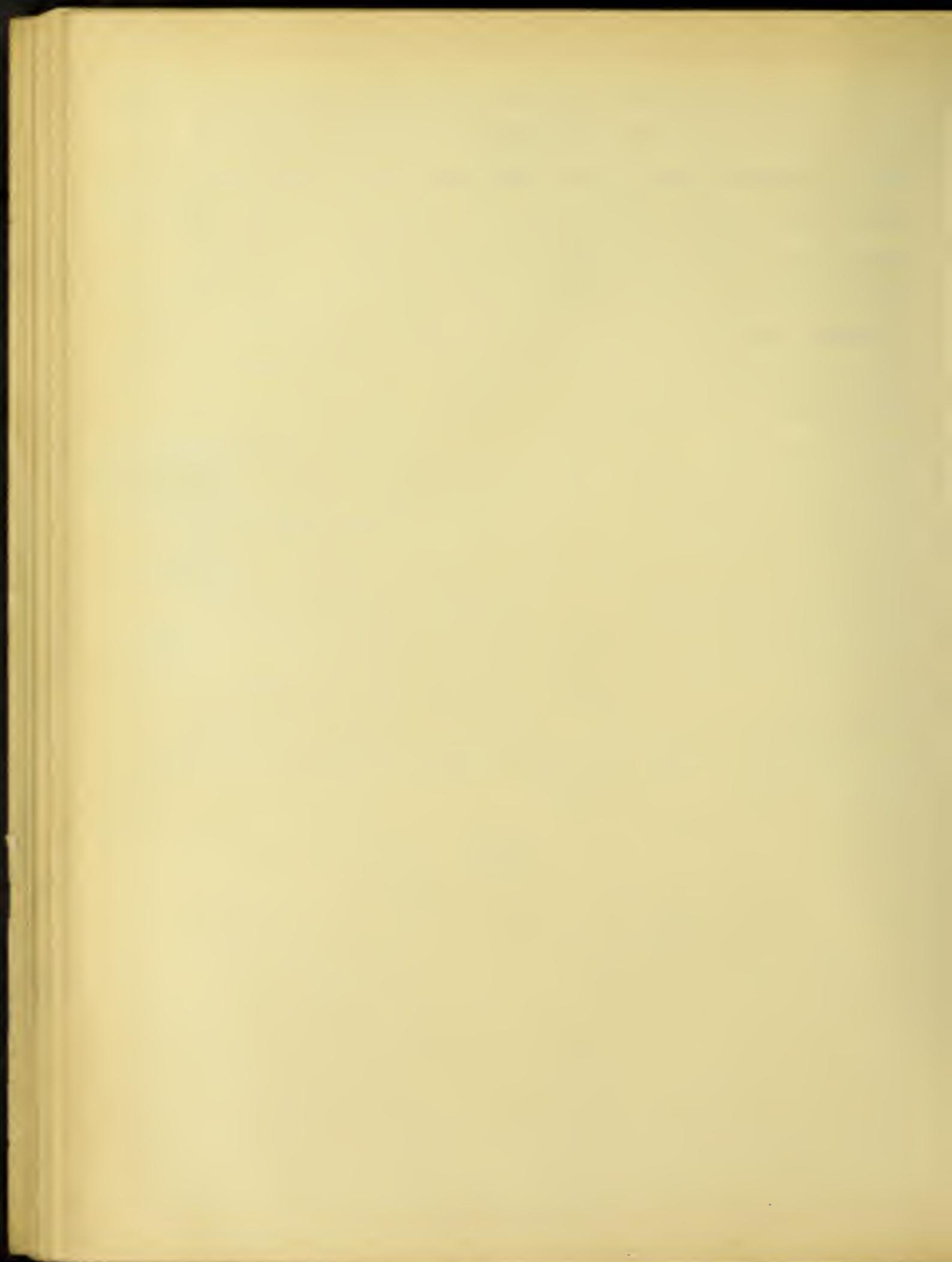
Lessing I, 253.

1624: - - bin ich doch solcher Gedanken keineswegs, dass ich ver-  
meine, man könne jemanden durch gewisse Regeln und Gesetze zu  
einem Poeten machen.

Opitz, Buch v. d. deutschen Poeterei, 8.



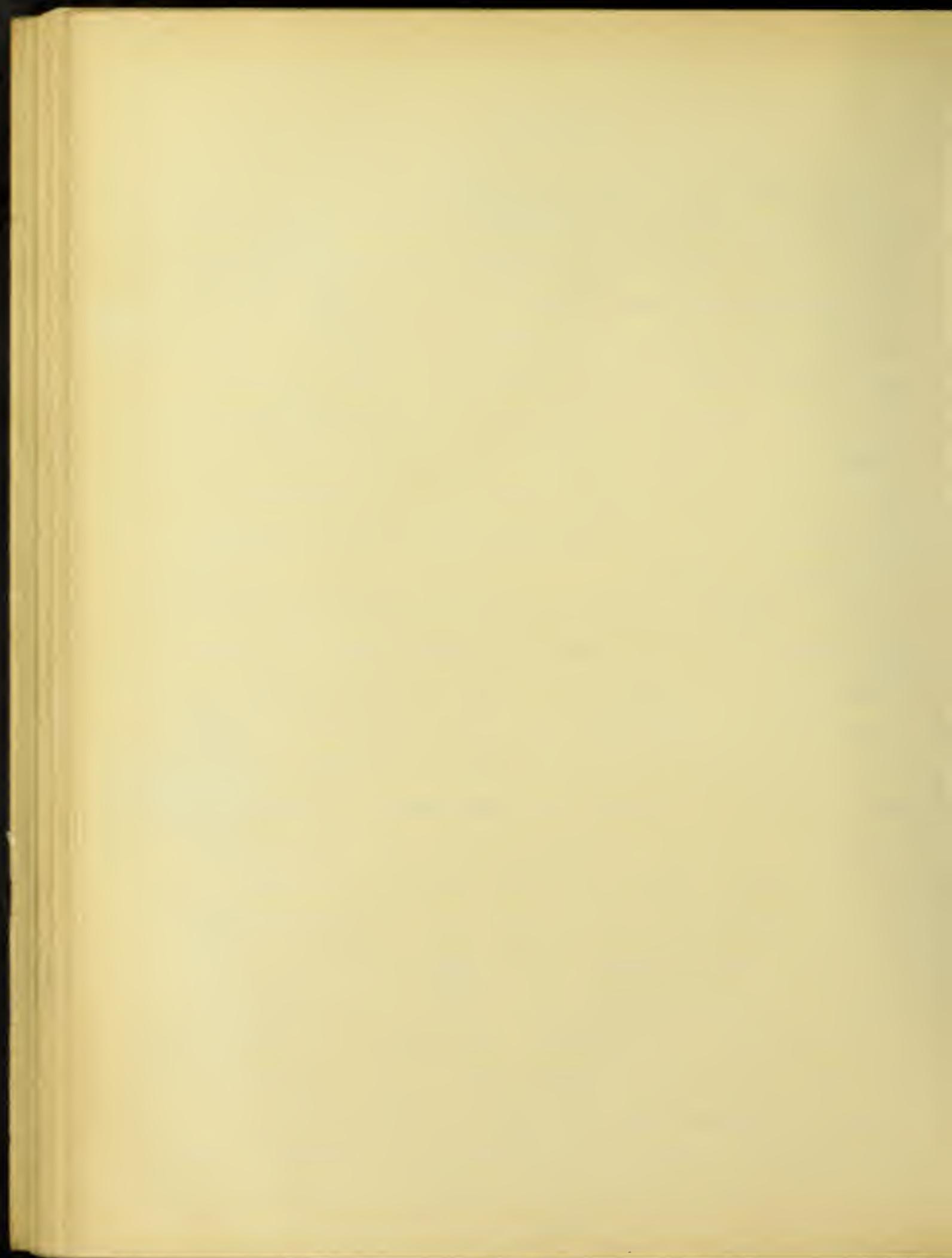
Such are the facts as I find them concerning the relation of the ideas contained in Young's "Conjectures on Original Composition" to German literature. Nearly all of those ideas repeat themselves in Germany. This had already been verified by others, although only to a small extent. Their evidence is presented, however, as certain proof of influence from the "Conjectures", and to call mere similarity between statements influence, without inquiring whether the later were not developed independently of sources or derived from some other precedent, is not genuine scholarship, even if the conclusion happens to be true. So the similarity in the various instances between Young's discourse and later German writings has been set forth first, and more completely than has ever been done before. Then it has been shown that those passages in German literature which seem to be copies of passages in the "Conjectures" are in most cases just as probably copies of other originals, and that the other possible sources of these ideas are so numerous and that they are mentioned as sources so much more frequently, that the "Conjectures" cannot have exerted such paramount influence in Germany as is often ascribed to them.



## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was, as already mentioned, to trace as extensively and accurately as possible the origin and the influence of Young's essay "Conjectures on Original Composition". So the first part of my disquisition came finally to be a collection and application of all facts bearing on the meaning and the history of the various statements about literary composition as found in Young's essay. and the second part consists of an investigation which gives as completely as possible the parallels to these statements as they appear in later German literature, and which shows also in which cases they sprung from the "Conjectures" and in which cases and how they originated otherwise.

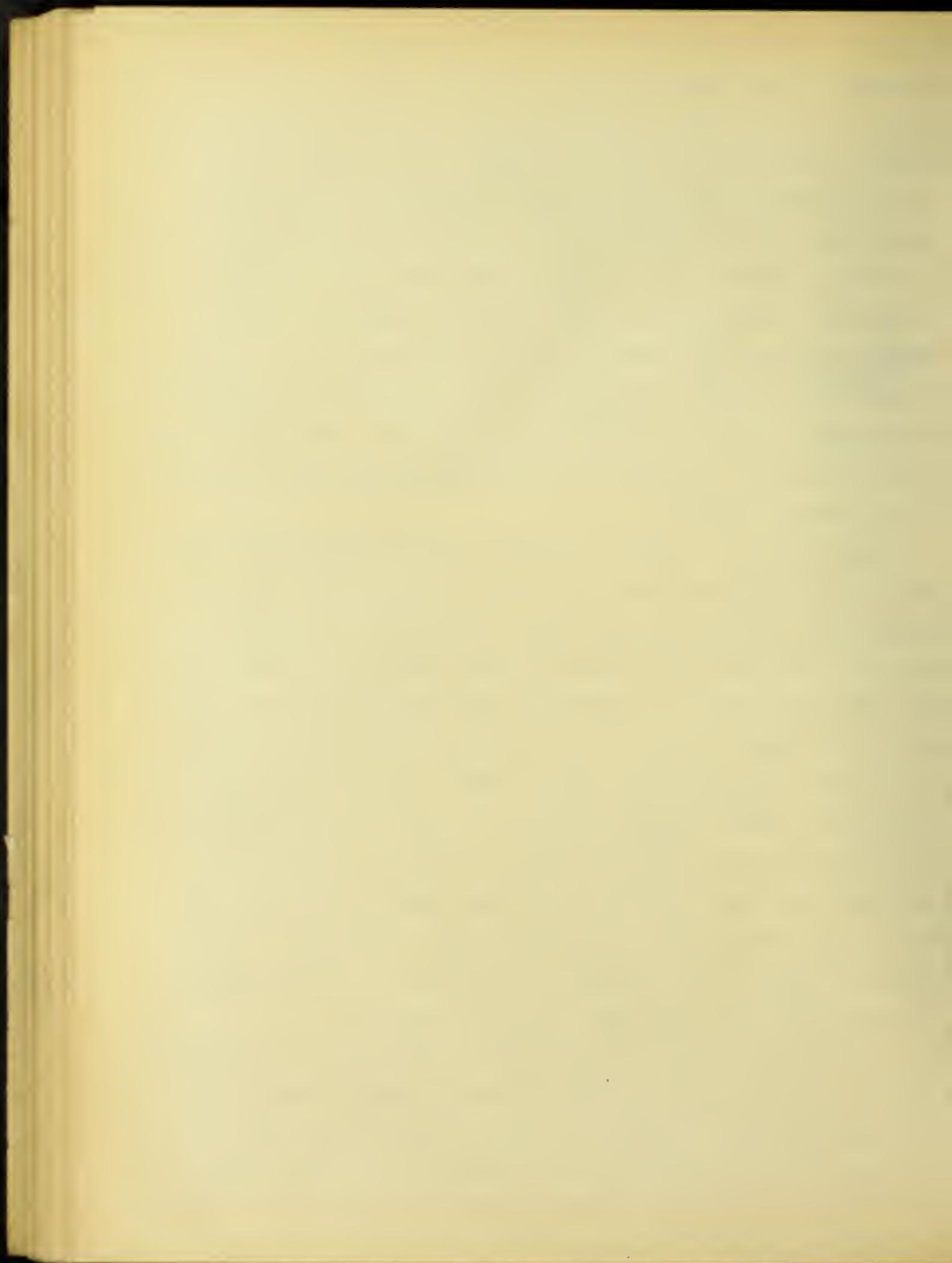
First I supposed that Young's statements concerning divine poetical inspiration had been developed directly out of the doctrine of occasional divine inspiration of every true Christian as taught by some sects previously flourishing in England and owing their origin in some cases to such German mystics as Andreae, Weigel, and Boehme. I expected to discover that this current of mystical thought was applied by Young in a secularized form in the field of poetry. But I find that his literary criticism grew out of his study of the ancient and the earlier English critics and out of his participation in the strife over the ancient and the modern writers and in the struggle of the neo-classicists against the preceding Italian school of poets and out of the Spenserian, Shakespearean, and Miltonic movements, which constituted the earlier part of the English romantic movement. His doctrine about the poet as a creator proves to be based mostly on the essays of his favorite author Addison on the



"Pleasures of the Imagination" and on Milton. And the doctrine that a poet creates by means of his imagination, which had already been taught by much earlier English and foreign critics, grew up anew out of the spreading praise and emulation of Spenser's, Shakespeare's, and Milton's poetic creations of such beings and circumstances as are not found in reality. So the "Conjectures" prove to be neither a climax and a consummation of German mystical teachings centering around the doctrine of immediate divine inspiration, nor to be an outcome of the doctrine of divine poetical inspiration as professed by such Platonists as Dr. Henry More and by Milton, nor to be as highly and definitely developed a doctrine of divine poetical inspiration as set forth by Addison.

My study of the origin of the "Conjectures" finally resulted in about such a history of them as Professor Brandl spoke of and even began in his discussion of the essay in Vol. XXXIX of the Shakespeare Jahrbuch. And this history reveals in what manner and in what spirit the essay was written. The statements which Young makes in it about writing are nearly without exception not his own independent observations and conclusions. The opinion that the essay contributed new influential ideas to English literary criticism is erroneous. All of its important ideas have been located in earlier treatises, and it has been shown that Young was a voracious reader of such writings, and that he was actually acquainted with the most abundant of the possible sources of his statements. So the essay is only a summary of things previously said about literary composition.

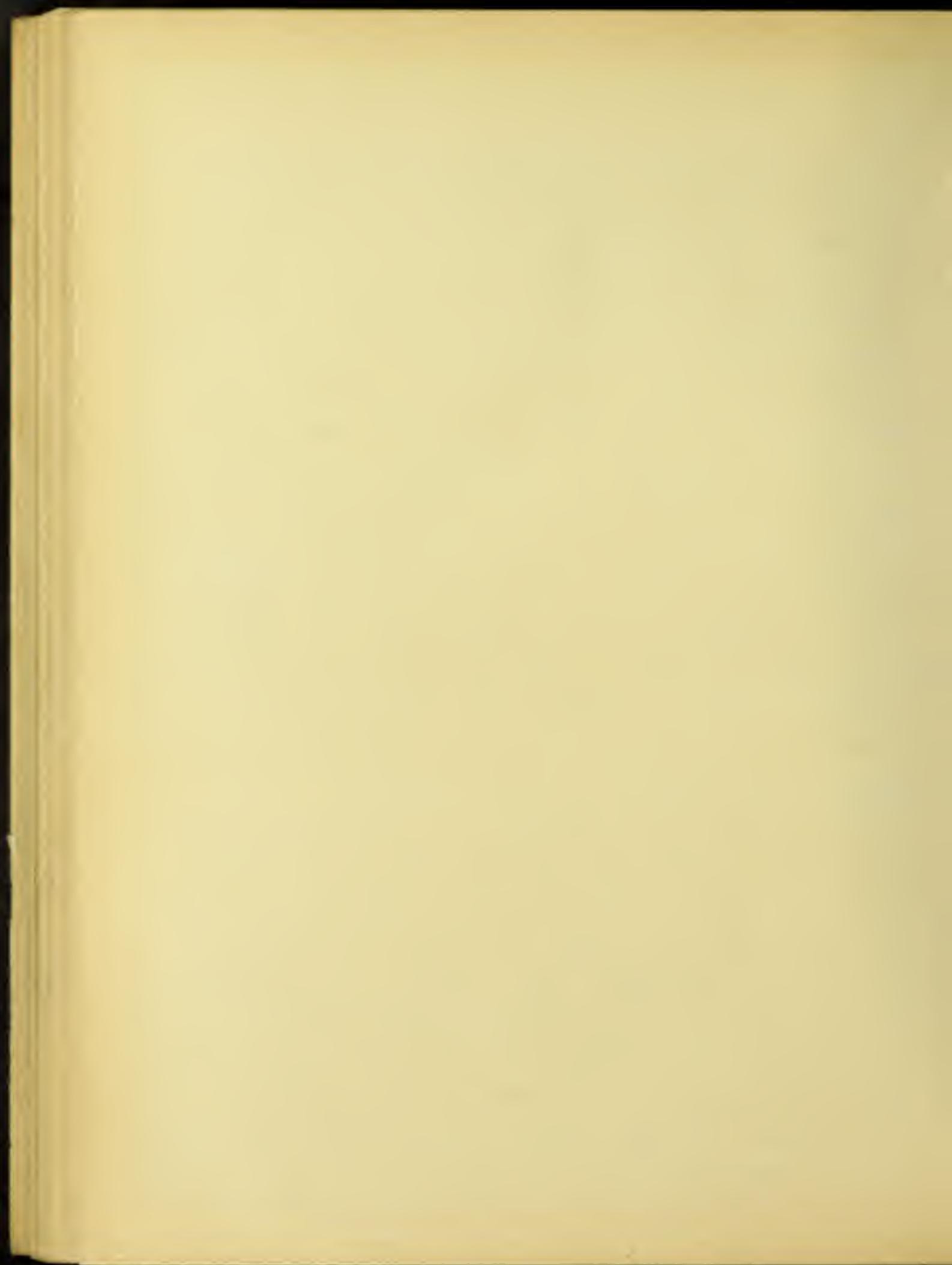
And even as a summary of old ideas it might have been phenomenal, but it is not. It does not deepen and develop them; it weakens and restricts them; it contradicts the most forceful claims that had been made for the creative power of genius. It was not the most



forceful and not nearly the most widely read treatment of its contents.

But in those earlier disquisitions in favor of the moderns and in the "Conjectures" most arguments center about the point that modern genius ought to produce contributions to literature which are at least as unprecedented and as excellent as the masterpieces of the ancients. So the history of the "Conjectures" might have been expected to result in a systematic exposition of the origin and the gradual development of the conception of genius. And such it was first intended to be. It was discovered, however, that Young's essay does not form a final stage in a closed chain of others in the development of this conception, and that it is not the climax of a unified conception that could be traced back through directly connected stages of development to some first source. And since the "Conjectures" are not a consummate outcome of a gradual growth, none such was to be set forth in the history of them. Only the process by which Young procured and framed his statements about original composition was to be revealed, and this has been done in the first part of this dissertation, and as fully and thoroughly as possible.

In the second part the relation of the "Conjectures" to the German literature of the two decades following their publication has been investigated. It had been asserted repeatedly that Young's essay was the most potent cause of the "Sturm= und Drangperiode" (1770-1780). My investigation shows, however, that such was not the case. The thoughts in the "Conjectures" reappear extensively in later German writings, but very rarely with reference to Young, and frequently with reference to other authorities. They appear to a remarkable extent also in German writings of an earlier date. And they all appear in those other English and the French critical writings that

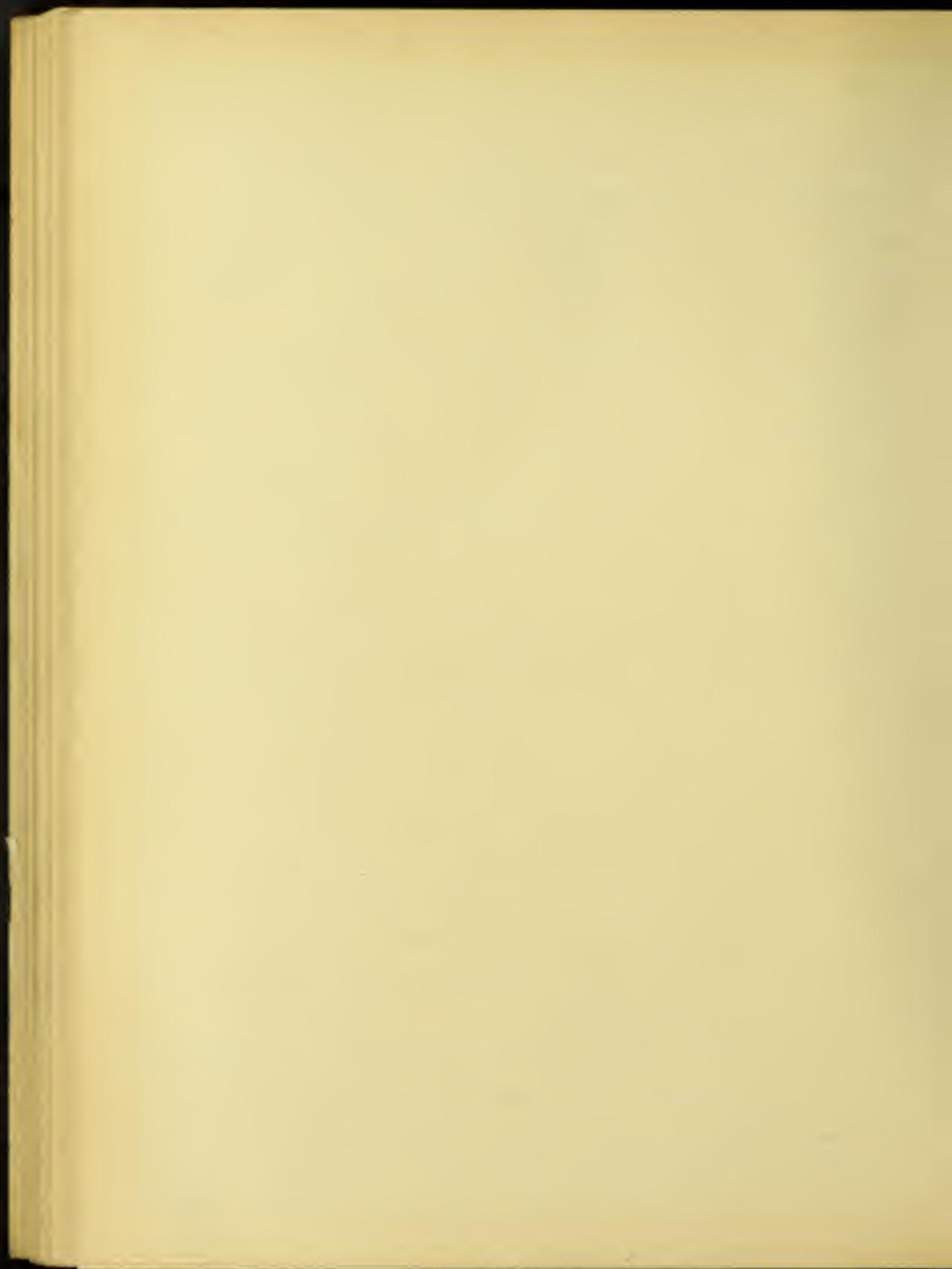


were read in Germany before and during the days of the "Conjectures", and which were read and quoted more generally. Young's most plentiful sources for his discourse had been read by the originators of the "Genieperiode". And these English and French literary disquisitions have occupied the Germans from the days of Gottsched on for the three decades preceding the Storm and Stress period, or for twenty years before and ever after the publication of Young's essay.

For a complete understanding of the situation it is also to be recalled that the Storm and Stress period consisted of numerous different currents of thought which sprung to a large extent from foreign sources. Bodmer, Breitinger, and Lessing were of the first to start these currents of thought from these sources. Gellert, Hamann, Kant, and Herder were others who drew from these same and still more, particularly later fountains.

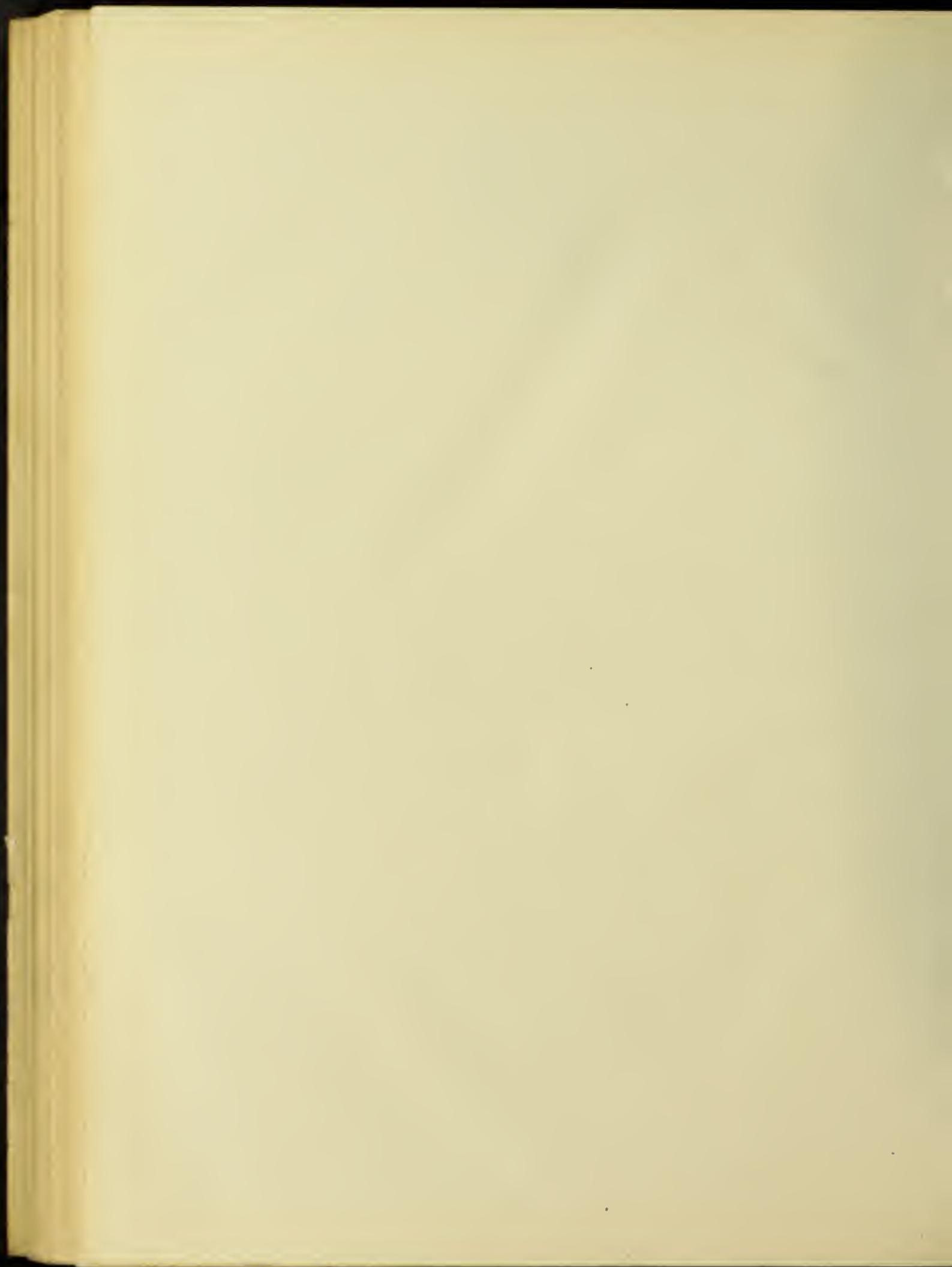
This movement was slowly forming for thirty years and largely as a result of these foreign influences before it was recognized as a literary school. And Young's essay was but one of these foreign influences. It was, moreover, one of the later ones; yet it was already ten years old when the so called Storm and Stress period began, and is not its immediate forerunner. But although it was not new as to contents, and owed the attention which it received largely to its rhetoric, it must be counted as one of these influences. It was read and discussed and has contributed, if not wholly new material, then at least momentum to the currents of thought which ultimately united into the Storm and Stress movement.

Thus the effect of Young's essay in Germany has been ascertained as precisely as possible. It has been proven that its arguments are paralleled both in German and in French and in other English writings before and after its publication. The cases in which the essay is



quoted or at least referred to, have been recorded. Those cases where influence of the essay is highly probable, although not certain, have been pointed out. And it has been duly emphasized that the significance of Young's discourse cannot be exactly ascertained in cases where its contents appears in subsequent German writings without reference to its origin, because there existed many equally probable sources. To go beyond this result would be to depart from the domain of facts into the realm of fiction.

So the "Conjectures" are not an original composition, although their author and some of his admirers say so. And they are not a final link of an organic evolution in England of the conception of creative genius. Neither are they the principal medium through which the ideas contained in them passed into German literature. And they are not the most potent cause of the "Genieperiode". German literature would not be poorer in thought and it would not have taken a wholly different course of development without Young's "Conjectures on original Composition".



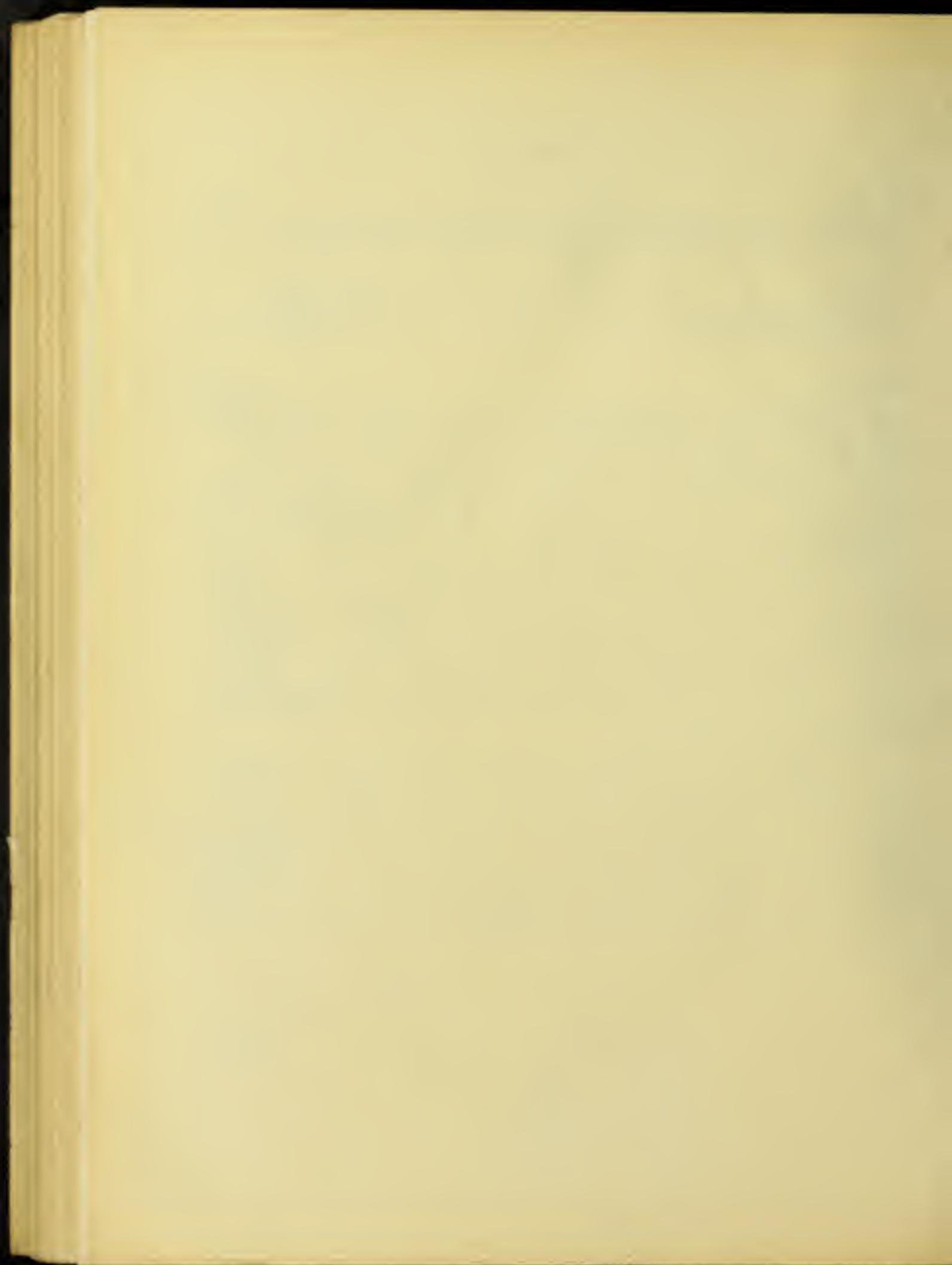
## APPENDIX

Contents:	Page
(1) The Ideas Contained in the "Conjectures" Compared with their Parallels found in Earlier Writings . . . .	169
(2) The Literary Relation of Young to Books and to His Contemporaries . . . . .	215

## Note:

My comparison of the ideas contained in the "Cojectures" with their parallels as I found them in earlier works is here added to answer as fully as possible the question whether Young's essay really possesses that originality which he claims for it in its introduction. Several of its ideas had already been located in earlier writings by Professor Brandl, (Shakespeare Jahrbuch, XXXIX, 1-4). But my chapter records parallels from earlier works to all the principal ideas in the essay. It is not being proven by this that Young copied in every instance of similarity, but it is being proven that he might have done so, and that his essay is not a contribution of new thought to literary criticism. And with these striking similarities to these probable models at hand, and with the imitative nature of most of his other works in mind, it must be concluded that he practiced his own precept, "no writer famed in your own way pass o'er" (Works II, 42), and that the relation between the "Conjectures" and their predecessors is more than mere accidental parallelism in thought and expression.

The chapter about Young's literary relation to books and to his contemporaries is modeled after Erich Poetzsche's dissertation "Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit", and attempts a literary orientation of our author. All of his quotations from other authors, and all references to them, and all statements about them, are here recorded, and his relation to his contemporary men of letters has been revealed as far as possible. In this way some new light is being thrown on his literary descent and connections, including those relations of his to other works and writers that may have had something to do with the "Conjectures".



THE IDEAS CONTAINED IN THE CONJECTURES COMPARED  
WITH THEIR PARALLELS FOUND IN EARLIER WRITINGS.

I begin with original composition; and the more willingly, as it seems an original subject to me, who have seen nothing hitherto written on it.

Conject. p. 1, l. 25 ff.

1756: "I do not know whether my poem will have all the qualities requisite to satisfy a reader: but I dare flatter myself, that it will at least be allowed to have the grace of novelty."

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 206, quoting from Boileau.

1742: Why doubt me then, the glorious truth to sing,  
Though yet unsung, as deem'd perhaps too bold?  
Angels are men of a superior kind;

Young I, 59.

1741: I may be looked upon as an original in my way.

Richardson, Pamela, (1824) I, XLIX, 379. Oxf. Dic.: Original

1728: The design (of his "True Estimate of Human Life") is of great consequence, and, I think, new.

Young II, 323.

1711: My design in this paper is to consider what is properly a great genius, and to throw some thoughts together on so uncommon a subject.

Addison, Spect. No. 169.

1695: I believe the subject (concerning Humor in Comedy) is entirely new, and was never touched upon before.

William Congreve, Concerning Humor in Comedy, ed. Spingarn, III, 251.

1685: 'Tis sufficient to observe that his (Lord Rochester's) poetry, like himself, was all original, and has a stamp so particular, so unlike anything that has been writ before, that, as it disclaimed all servile imitation and copying from others, so neither is it capable, in my opinion, of being copyed, any more than the manner of his discourse could be copyed.

Robert Wolseley, Preface to Valentinian, ed. Spingarn, III, 8

1683: Of this treatise, I shall only add, 'tis an original.

D.A. Art of Converse, Pref., Oxf. Dic.: Original.

1677-79(?) Whom refin'd Etherege copies not at all,  
But is himself a sheer original.

John Wilmot, An Allusion to Horace, ed. Spingarn, III, 283.

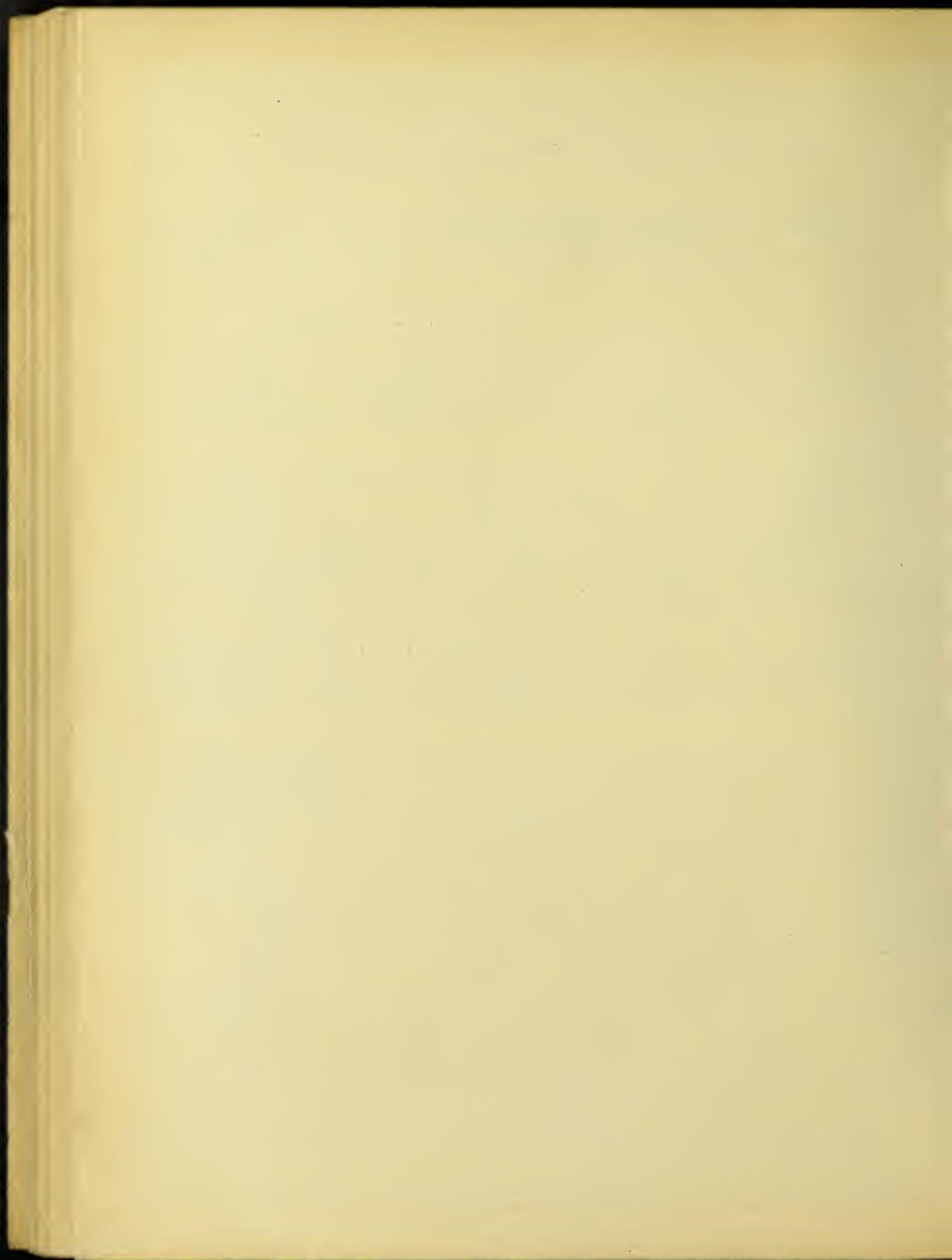
1676: I hate imitation, to do anything like other people. All that know me do me the honor to say, I am an original.

Wycherley, Plain Dealer, II, I., Oxf. Dic.: Original.

1622: He (Lydgate) spent most part of his time in translating the works of others, having no great invention of his own.

Henry Peacham, Of Poetry, ed. Spingarn, I, 133.

Wit, indeed, however brilliant, should not be permitted to gaze self-enamoured on its useless charms, in that fountain of folly (if so it)



may call the press), if beauty is all that it has to boast; but like the first Brutus, it should sacrifice its most darling offspring to the sacred interests of virtue, and real service of mankind.

Conject. p.1, l. 30 ff.

1744: He that writes popularly and well, does most good; and he that does most good, is the best author. Young I, 7, XXXVI.

1714: How empty learning, and how vain is art,

But as it mends the life, and guides the heart! Young I, 273

1712: Milton's poem ends very nobly. The last speeches of Adam and the archangel are full of moral and instructive sentiments.

Spectator No. 369.

1712: Besides this great moral, which may be looked upon as the soul of the fable, there are an infinity of under-morals which are to be drawn from the several parts of the poem, and which makes this work more useful and instructive than any other poem in any language.

Spectator No. 369.

1711: Thus beauty and truth are plainly joined with the notion of utility and convenience, even in the apprehension of every ingenious artist, the architect, the statuary, or the painter.... What is beautiful is harmonious and proportionable; what is harmonious and proportionable is true; and what is at once both beautiful and true is, of consequence, agreeable and good.

Shaftesbury, Characteristics, II, 268-69.

Now as regards the manifestations of the sublime in literature, in which grandeur is never, as it sometimes is in nature, found apart from utility and advantage, it is fitting to observe, etc.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 135.

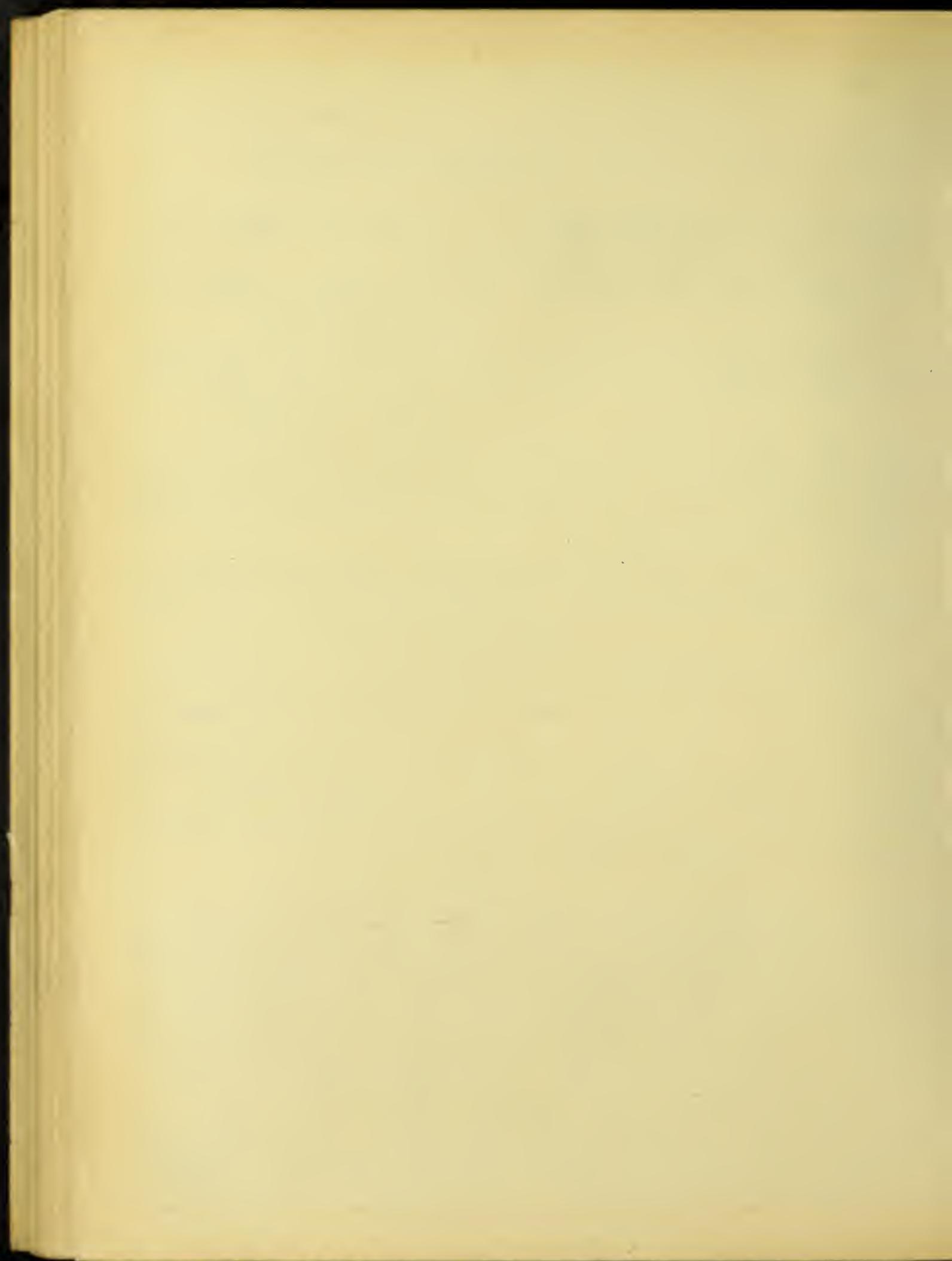
But there are who write with vigor and success to the world's delight and their own renown. These are the glorious fruits where genius prevails. The mind of a man of genius is a fertile and pleasant field, pleasant as Elysium and fertile as Tempe; it enjoys a perpetual spring. Of that spring originals are the fairest flowers: imitations are of quicker growth, but fainter bloom.

Conject. p. 2, l. 29 ff.

1715-25: Our author's (Homer's) work is a wild paradise where if we cannot see all the beauties so distinctly as in an ordered garden, it is only because the number of them is infinitely greater. It is like a copious nursery which contains the seeds and first productions of every kind out of which those who followed him have but selected some particular plants, each according to his fancy, to cultivate and beautify. If some things are too luxuriant, it is owing to the richness of the soil; and if others are not arrived to perfection or maturity, it is only because they are over-run and oppressed by those of a stronger nature.

Pope, Homer, Preface.

1711: The genius in both these classes of authors may be equally great, but shows itself after a different manner. In the first it is like a rich soil in a happy climate, that produces a whole wilderness of noble plants, rising in a thousand beautiful landscapes, without any certain order or regularity. In the other it is the same rich



soil under the same happy climate, that has been laid out in walks and parterres, and cut into shape and beauty by the skill of the gardener.

Addison, Spect. No. 130.

1711: This the miscellaneous manner of writing, it must be owned, has happily effected.--- From every field, from every edge or hillock, we now gather as delicious fruits and fragrant flowers as of old from the richest and best cultivated gardens. Shaftesbury, Characteristics, II, 158.

1591: I presume to offer to your Highness the first fruit of the little garden of my slender skill. It hath been the longer in growing, and is less worthy the gathering, because my ground is barren and too cold for such dainty Italian fruits.

John Harrington, Orlando Furioso, Introduction.

Originals are, and ought to be, great favorites, for they are great benefactors; they extend the republic of letters, and add a new province to its dominion:

Conject. p.2, l. 40 ff.

1709: And forasmuch as this golbe is not trodden upon by mere drudges of business only, but that men of spirit and genius are justly to be esteemed as considerable agents in it, etc. Steele, Tatler, No. I.

1679: Bossu, the best of modern critics, answers thus in general: that all excellent arts, and particularly that of poetry, have been invented and brought to perfection by men of transcendant genius.

Dryden, Preface to Troilus and Cressida.

1620: Now the true and lawful goal of the sciences is none other than this: that human life be endowed with new discoveries and powers.

Bacon, Novum Organum, I, LXXXI.

The pen of an original writer, like Armida's wand, out of a barren waste calls a blooming spring.

Conject. p. 2, l. 5 f.

1754: Let these gentle hints, like the touch of a magic wand, make you shrink from your vernal bloom, and wither atleast to the decencies of fourscore.

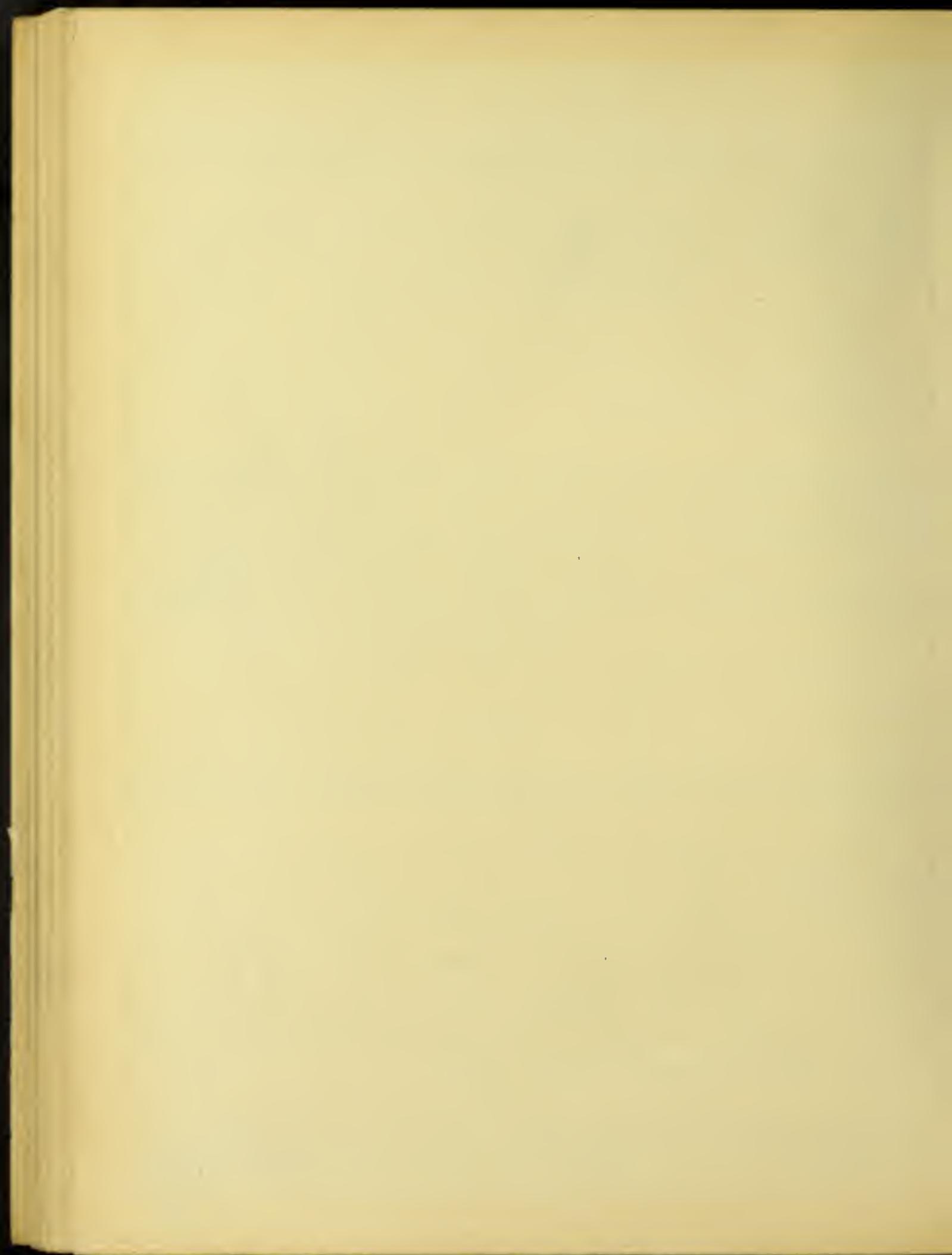
Young II, 451.

But if an original, by being as excellent as new, adds admiration to surprise, then are we at the writer's mercy; on the strong wing of his imagination we are snatched from Britain to Italy, from climate to climate, from pleasure to pleasure; we have no home, no thought of our own; till the magician drops his pen: and then falling down into ourselves, we awake to flat realities, lamenting the change, like the beggar who dreamt himself a prince.

Conject. p. 3, l. 15 ff.

1756: Astonishment, as I have said, is the effect of the sublime in the highest degree; the inferior effects are admiration, reverence, and respect.

Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful, p. 130.



1754: The world is worn out to us. ---- Where are its formerly sweet delusions, its airy castles, and glittering spires? -- shall not the dissolved enchantment set the captive free? Young II, 501.

1753: The poet (Shakespeare) is a more powerful magician than his own Prospero: we are transported into fairyland; we are wrapt in a delicious dream, from which it is misery to be disturbed; all around is enchantment! The Adventurer, No. 93

1739: 'Tis difficult for us to withhold our assent from what is pointed out to us in all the colors of eloquence; and the vivacity produced by the fancy is in many cases greater than that which arises from custom and experience. We are hurried away by the lively imagination of our author or companion; and even he himself is often a victim to his own fire and genius. Hume, Treatise on Human Nature p. 420.

1715-25: It is to the strength of this amazing invention we are to attribute that unequalled fire and rapture, which is so forcible in Homer that no man of a true poetical spirit is master of himself while he reads him. What he writes is of the most animated nature imaginable: evrything moves, everything lives, and is put in action; --- the reader is hurried out of himself by the force of the poet's imagination and turns in one place to a hearer, and in another to a spectator. Pope, Preface to Homer.

1712: Everything that is new or uncommon raises a pleasure in the imagination, because it fills the soul with an agreeable surprise, gratifies its curiosity, and gives it an idea of which it was not before possessed. Addison, Spect. 412.

1712: Milton - - - concludes his description with a circumstance which is altogether new, and imagined with the greatest strength of fancy. Addison, Spect. No. 327.

1712: --- is described with the utmost flights of human imagination. Addison, Spectator No. 333.

1712: If I were to name a poet that is a perfect master in all these arts of working on the imagination, I think Milton may pass for one: and if his Paradise Lost falls short of the Aeneid of Iliad in this respect, it proceeds rather from the fault of the language in which it is written than from any defect of genius in the author. --- No other subject could have furnished a poet with scenes so proper to strike the imagination, as no other poet could have painted those scenes in more strong and lively colors. Spectator No. 417.

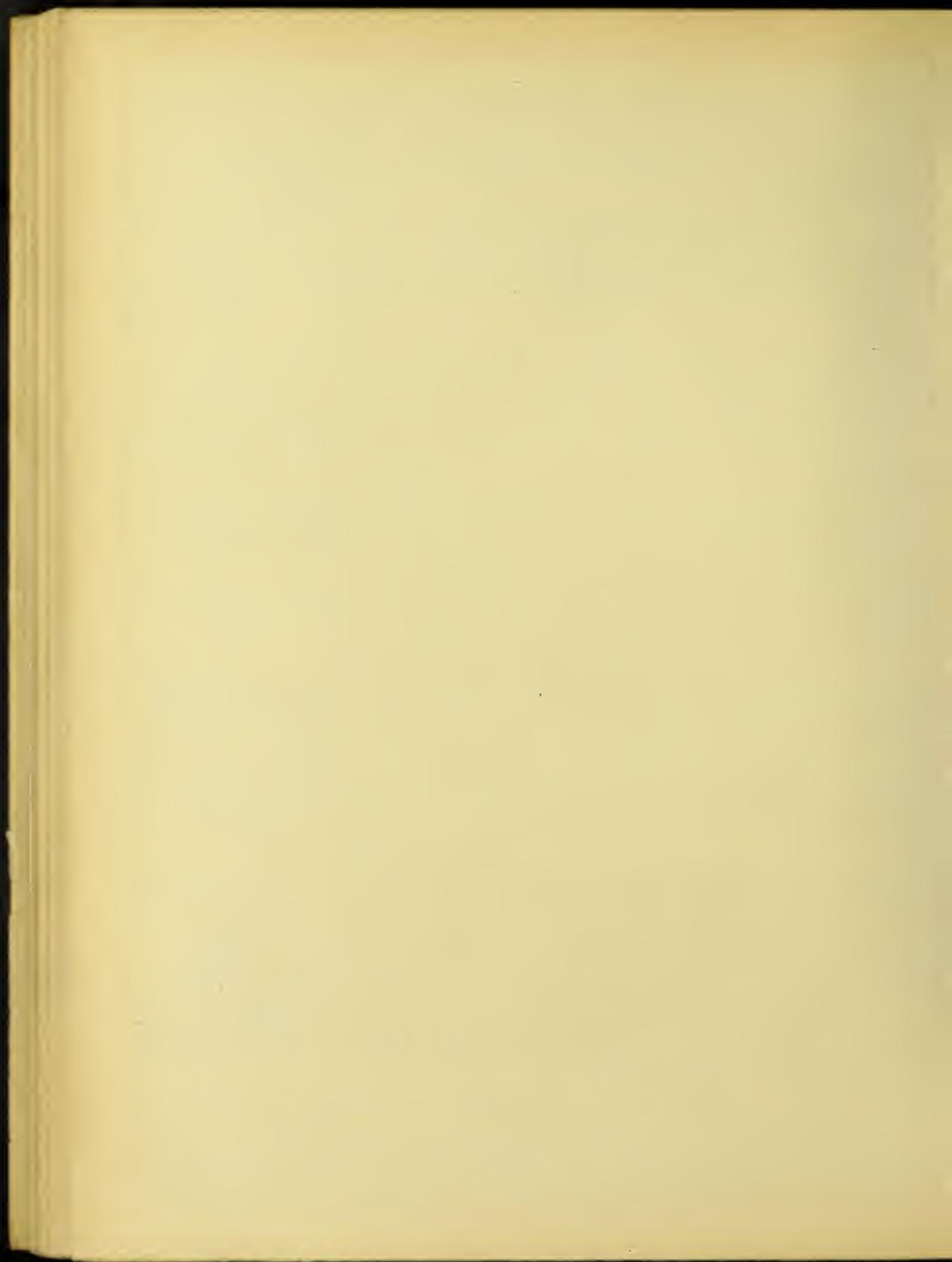
1712: Whatever is new or uncommon is apt to delight the imagination. Addison, Spect. No. 421.

1712: In short, our souls are at present delightfully lost and bewildered in a pleasing delusion, and we walk about like the enchanted hero of a romance, who sees beautiful castles, woods and meadows; and at the same time hears the warbling of birds and the purling of streams; but upon the finishing of some secret spell, the fantastic scene breaks up, and the disconsolate knight finds himself on a barren heath, or in a solitary desert. Addison, Spect. No. 413.

1674: Imaging is, in itself, the very height and life of poetry. It is, as Longinus describes it, a discourse which, by a kind of enthusiasm, or extraordinary emotion of the soul, makes it seem to us that we behold those things which the poet paints, so as to be pleased with them, and to admire them.

Dryden, The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic License, p. 186.

Images, moreover, contribute greatly, my young friend, to dignity, elevation, and power as a pleader. In this sense some call them mental representations. In a general way the name of image or imagination is applied to every idea of the mind, in whatsoever form



it presents itself, which gives birth to speech. But at the present day the world is predominantly used in cases where, carried away by enthusiasm and passion, you think you see what you describe, and you place it before the eyes of your hearers. Further, you will be aware of the fact that an image has one purpose with the orators and another with the poets, and that the design of the poetical image is enthrallment, of the rhetorical-vivid description. Both, however, seek to stir the passions and the emotions. Longinus, On the Sublime, 85

Sublimity is a certain distinction and excellence in expression, and that it is from no other source than this that the greatest poets and writers have derived their eminence and gained an immortality of renown. The effect of elevated language upon an audience is not persuasion, but transport. --- Our persuasions we can usually control, but the influences of the sublime bring power and irresistible might to bear, and reign supreme over every hearer. --- sublimity flashing forth at the right moment scatters everything before it like a thunder-bolt, and at once displays the power of the orator in all its plenitude. Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 43.

We may as well grow good by another's virtue, or fat by another's food, as famous by another's thought. The world will pay its debt of praise but once; and instead of applauding, explode a second demand as a cheat.

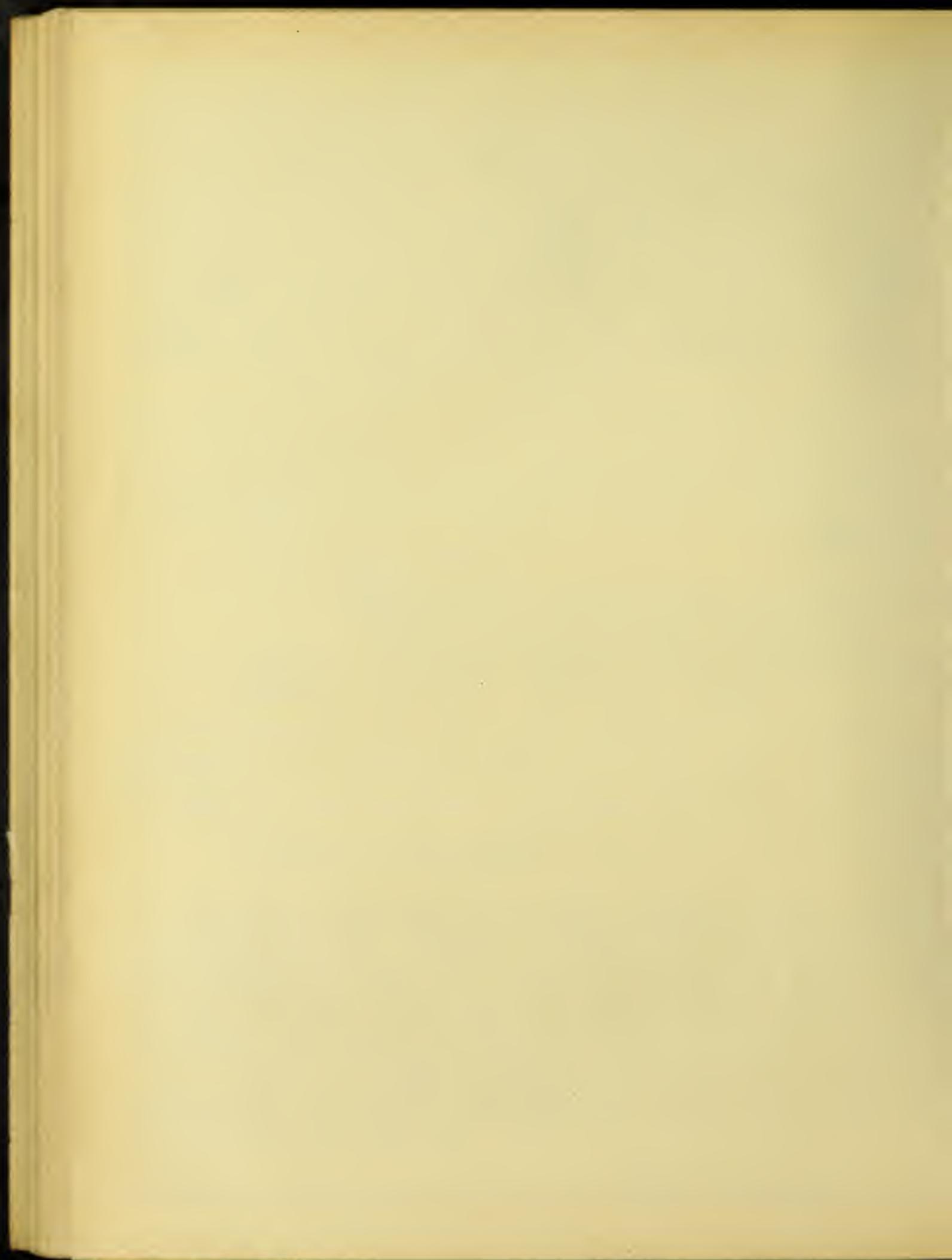
Conject. p.3, l. 31 ff.

- 1728: Some, for renown, on scraps of learning dote  
And think they grow immortal as they quote.  
To patch-work learn'd quotations are allied:  
Both strive to make our poverty our pride. Young I, 350.
- 1520: Many fresh wits by that blind imitation were deceived.  
Whittington, Vulg., (1527), 3. Oxf. Dic.: Imitation.

So few are our originals, that, if all other books were to be burnt, the lettered world would resemble some metropolis in flames, where a few incombustible buildings, a fortress, temple, or tower, lift their heads, in melancholy grandeur, amid the mighty ruin.

Conject. p. 3, l. 51 ff.

- 1753: The number of original writers, of writers who discover any traces of native thought, or views of new expression, is found to be extremely small, in every branch of literature. Few possess ability or courage to think for themselves, to trust to their own powers, to rely on their own stock; and, therefore, the generality creeps tamely and cautiously in the track of their predecessors. The quintessence of the largest libraries might be reduced to the compass of a few volumes, if all the useless repetitions, and acknowledged truths were to be omitted in this process of chemical criticism. A learned Frenchman informs us, that he intended to compile a treatise, *περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ εἰρημέων* "concerning things which had been said but once", which I fancy would have been contained in a small pamphlet. The Adventurer, No. 63.



"Must we then", you say, "not imitate ancient authors?" Imitate them, by all means; but imitate aright. He that imitates the divine Iliad does not imitate Homer; but he who takes the same method which Homer took for arriving at a capacity of accomplishing a work so great.  
Conject. p. 4, l. 40 ff.

1729: No man can be like Pindar by imitating any of his particular works, any more than like Raphael by copying the Cartoons. The genius and spirit of such great men must be collected from the whole; and when thus we are possessed of it, we must exert its energy in subjects and designs of our own. Nothing is so un-Pindarical as following Pindar on foot. Pindar is an original; and he must be so, too, who would be like Pindar in that which is his greatest praise. Nothing so unlike as a close copy and a noble original. Young II, 2.

1728: And we should rather imitate the example of the ancients in the general motives and fundamental methods of their working, than in their works themselves. This is a distinction, I think, not hitherto made, and a distinction of consequence. For the first may make us their equals; the second must pronounce us their inferiors even in our utmost success. Young I, 418.

1693: I take imitation of an author, in their (Durham's and Cowley's) sense, to be an endeavor of a later poet to write like one who has written before him, on the same subject; that is, not to translate his words, or to be confined to his sense, but only to set him as a pattern, and to write, as he supposes that author would have done, had he lived in our age, and in our country.

Dryden, Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistles, P. 239

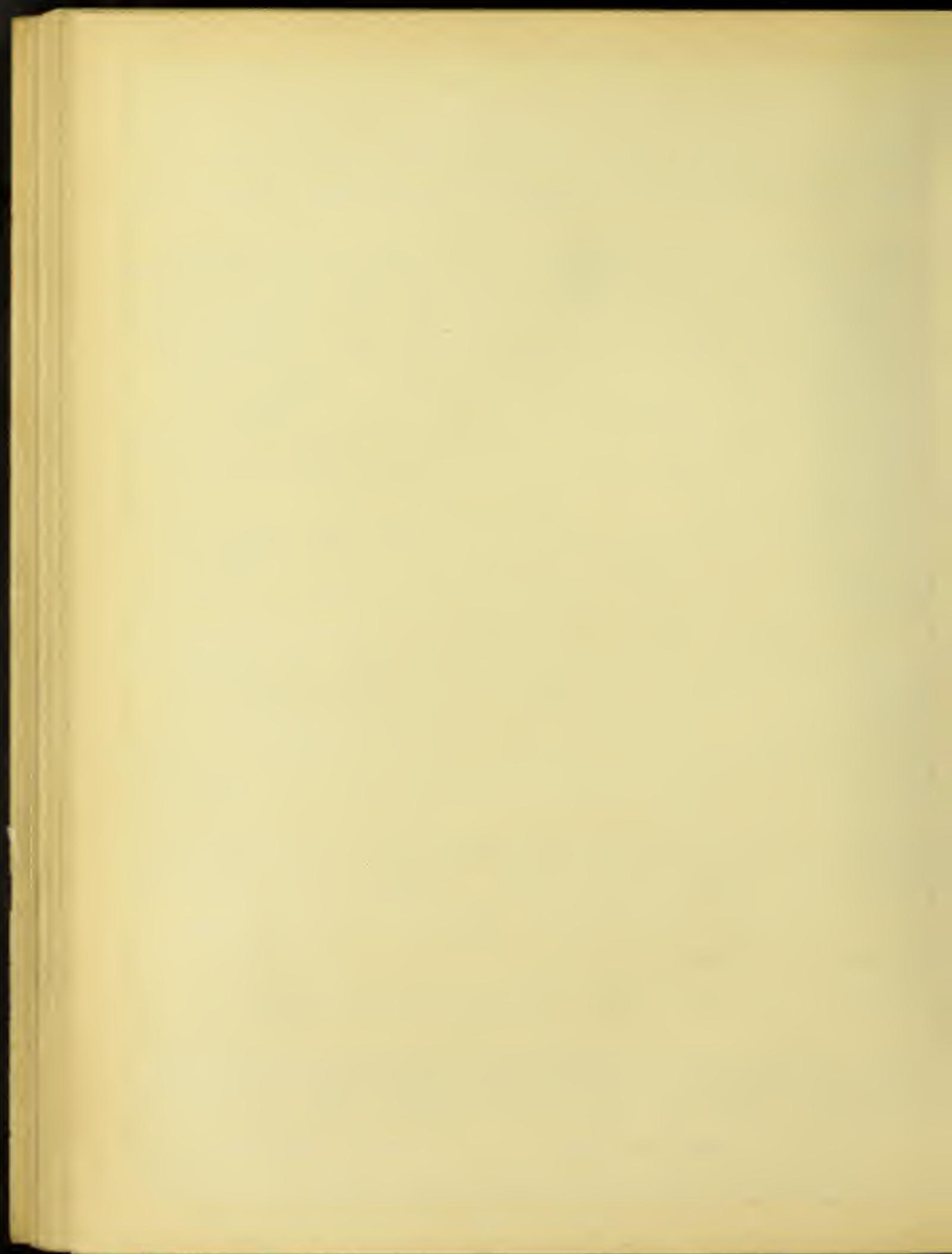
Accordingly it is well that we ourselves also, when elaborating anything which requires lofty expression and elevated conception, should shape some idea in our minds as to how perchance Homer would have said this very thing, or how it would have been raised to the sublime by Plato or Demosthenes or by the historian Thucydides. For those personages, presenting themselves to us and inflaming our ardor and as it were illuminating our path, will carry our minds in a mysterious way to the high standards of sublimity which are imaged within us.

Still more effectual will it be to suggest this question to our thoughts, 'What sort of hearing would Homer, had he been present, or Demosthenes, have given to this or that, when said by me, or how would they have been affected by the other?' Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 83

All eminence, and distinction, lies out of the beaten road; excursion and deviation are necessary to find it; if like poor Gulliver ... you fall not into a ditch in your way to glory.  
Conject. p. 5, l. 3 ff.

1728: It holds true in the province of writing, as in war, "The more danger, the more honor." It must be very enterprising: it must, in Shakespeare's style, have "hair-breadth 'scapes", and often tread the very brink of error. Young I, 416.

For by the bounty of nature we are as strong as our predecessors and by the favor of time --- we stand on higher ground.



Conject. p. 5, l. 12 ff.

1754: It is this superior ground on which he stands which imparts that inimitable sweetness of air, etc. Young II, 463.

1730: - - - - - ; we stand on higher ground:

What scenes we see! - Exalted aim!

With ardors new our spirits flame. Young II, 46.

Are not our minds cast in the same mould with those before the flood?

Conject. p. 5, l. 15 f.

1725-28: As if men now were of another cast,  
They meanly live on alms of ages past.  
Men still are men; and they who boldly dare  
Shall triumph o'er the cares of cold despair. Young I, 363

It is by a sort of noble contagion, from a general familiarity with their writings, and not by any particular sordid theft, that we can be the better for those who went before us.

Conject. p. 5, l. 25 ff.

Of the ancients enough remains to excite our emulation and direct our endeavors. Johnson.

1605: Antiquity deserveth that reverence that men should make a stand thereupon and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progress.

Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 38.

Genius is a master-workman, learning is but an instrument; --- for what, for the most part, mean we by genius, but the power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end? A genius differs from a good understanding, as a magician from a good architect; that raises his structure by means invisible; this by the skilful use of common tools. Hence genius has ever been supposed to partake of something divine. Nemo unquam vir magnus fuit, sine aliquo afflatu divino.

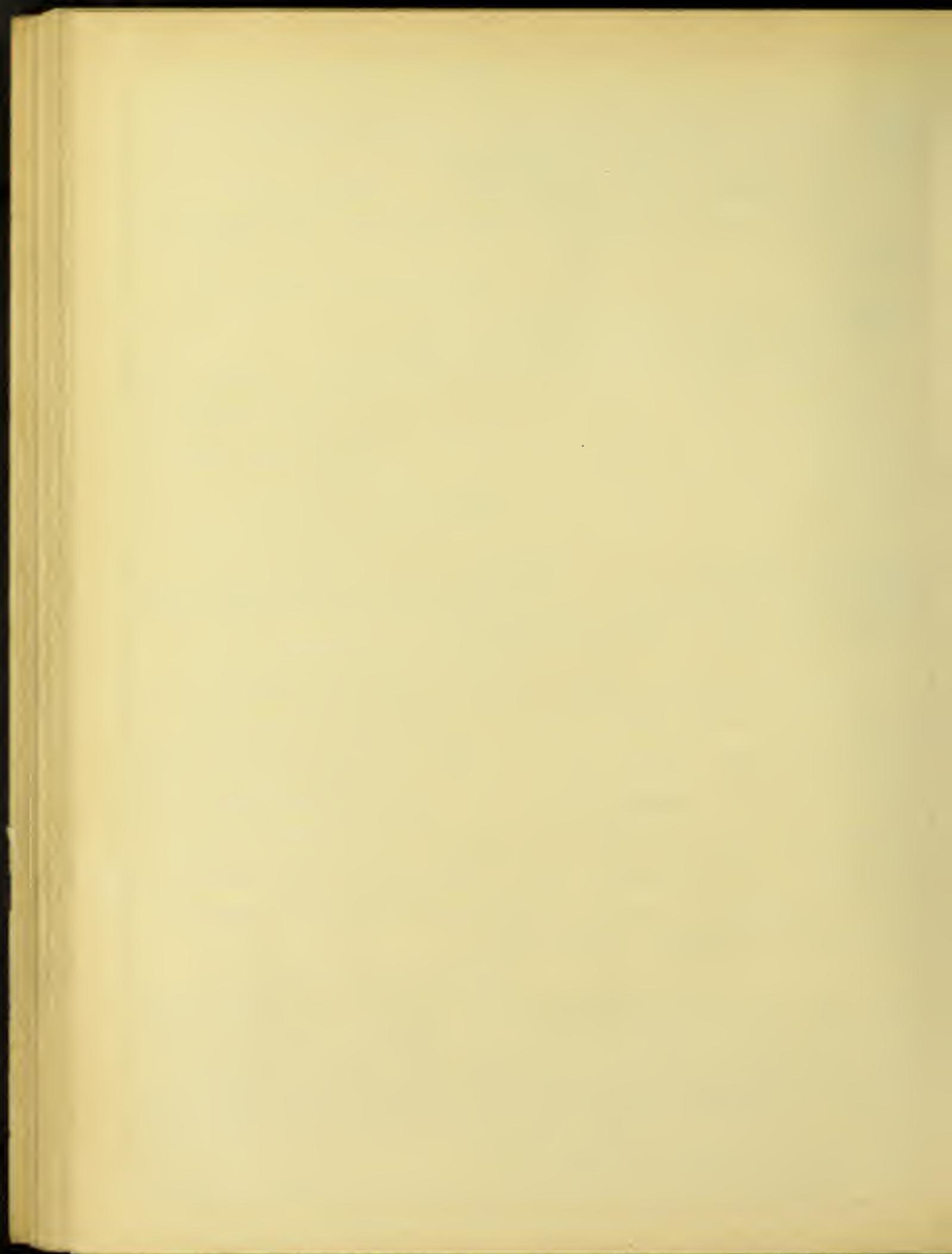
Conject. p. 5, l. 37 ff.

1754: And as in some words there was once imagined to reside a magic power over demons themselves, that opinion might still prevail, if the design of these letters, etc. Young II, 534.

1754: This fable of Saturn and Ops means, that jealous Conscience, the soul's lawful wife, will ever disturb licentious pleasure; - - - This and the following explanation of the mystical part of antiquity have been overlooked by former commentators, though Bacon was among them. Young II, 418.

1730: For A his magic pen evokes an O,

And turns the tide of Europe on the foe: Young II, 36.



1712: But when we are in the Metamorphoses, we are walking on enchanted ground, and see nothing but scenes of magic lying round us.

Addison, Spect. No. 417.

1711: 'Tis remarkable that in the politest of all nations the writings looked upon as most sacred were those of their great poets, whose works, indeed, were truly divine in respect of art and the perfection of their frame and composition. --- Even the philosophers who criticised them with most severity were not their least admirers, when they ascribed to them that divine inspiration or sublime enthusiasm.

Shaftesbury, Characteristics, II, 298 f.

1690: From this ("a certain noble and vital heat of temper ---, that celestial fire") arises that elevation of genius which can never be produced by any art or study, by pains or by industry, which cannot be taught by precepts or examples, and therefore is agreed by all to be the pure and free gift of heaven or of nature; and to be a fire kindled out of some hidden spark of the very first conception.

Sir William Temple, Of Poetry, ed. Spingarn, III, 80.

1675: I pitch upon one faculty first which, nor more by chance than inclination, falls out to be that of the poet's a science certainly of all others the most noble and exalted, and not unworthily termed divine, since the height of poetical rapture hath ever been accounted little less than divine inspiration.

Edward Phillips, Theatrum Poetarum, Preface.

1655: Those crude and rude orators of the old time --- were wont to say (he quotes Tullie's authority for it): Deum tunc affuisse: that is that God assisted them.

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 187.

1655: So much for the first kind of inspired poets, whom Scaliger doth call  $\delta\epsilon\omicron\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 205.

1632: Democritus --- says it was impossible but Homer, to have composed so wonderful works, must have been indued with a divine and inspired nature.

Henry Reynolds, Mythomystes, ed. Spingarn, I, 157.

1605: So as it appeareth that poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation. And therefore it was ever thought to have some participation of diviness, because it doth raise and erect the mind by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind, whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things.

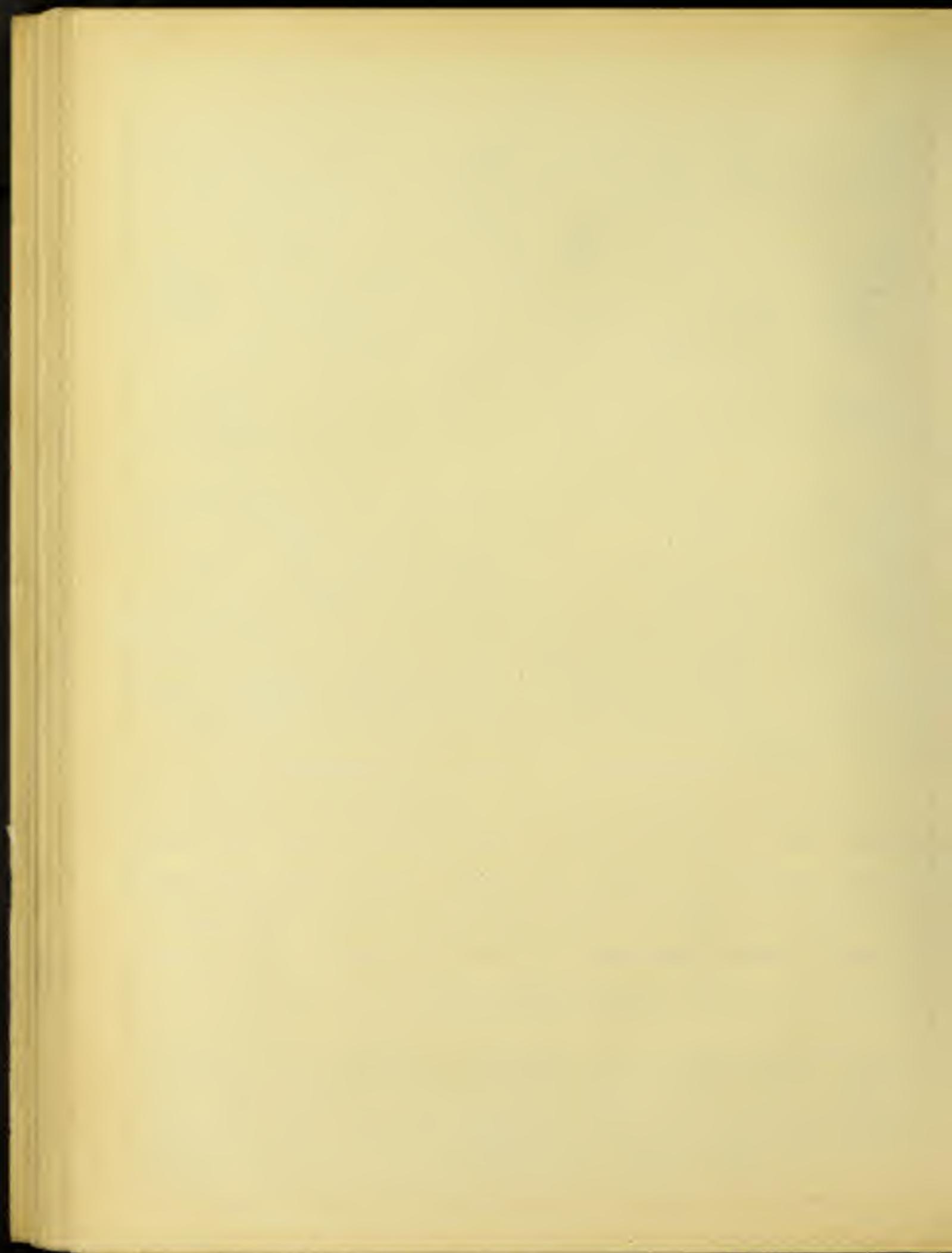
Bacon, Advancement of Learning, ed. Spingarn, I, 6.

Learning, destitute of this superior aid, is fond and proud of what has cost it much pains; it is a great lover of rules, and boaster of famed examples: As beauties less perfect, who owe half their charms to cautious art, learning inveighs against natural unstudied graces, and small harmless indecorums, and sets rigid bounds to that liberty to which genius often owes its supreme glory.

Conject. p. 5, l. 52 ff.

1754: Few poets appear to have composed with greater rapidity than Spenser. Hurried away by the impetuosity of imagination, he frequently cannot find time to attend to the niceties of construction; --- A review of these faults, which flow, perhaps, from that cause which produces his greatest beauties, will tend to explain many passages in particular, and to bring us acquainted with his manner in general.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I, 312.



1754: But it is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to. We who live in the days of writing by rule, are apt to try every composition by those laws which we have been taught to think the sole criterion of excellence. -- Spenser, and the same may be said of Ariosto, did not live in an age of planning. His poetry is the careless exuberance of a warm imagination and a strong sensibility. It was his business to engage the fancy, and to interest the attention by bold and striking images, in the formation and disposition of which little labor or art was applied. The various and the marvelous were the chief sources of delight.

Hence we find our author ransacking alike the regions of reality and romance, of truth and fiction, to find the proper decoration and furniture for his fairy structure.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I, 21 f.

1754: Allegory, notwithstanding, unexpectedly rekindled some faint spark of its native splendor, in the Purple Island of Fletcher, with whom it almost as soon disappeared; when a poetry succeeded, in which imagination gave way to correctness, sublimity of description, to delicacy of sentiment, and majestic imagery to conceit and epigram. Poets began now to be more attentive to words than to things and objects. The nicer beauties of happy expression were preferred to the daring strokes of great conception.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, II, 105 f.

1728: And, indeed, this may be said in general,-- that great subjects are above being nice; that dignity and spirit ever suffer from scrupulous exactness; and that the minuter cares effeminate a composition. Great masters of poetry, painting, and statuary, in their nobler works, have even affected the contrary; and justly; for a truly masculine air partakes more of the negligent than of the neat, both in writings and in life: Grandis oratio habet majestatis suae pondus. A poem like a criminal, under too severe correction, may lose all its spirit and expire.

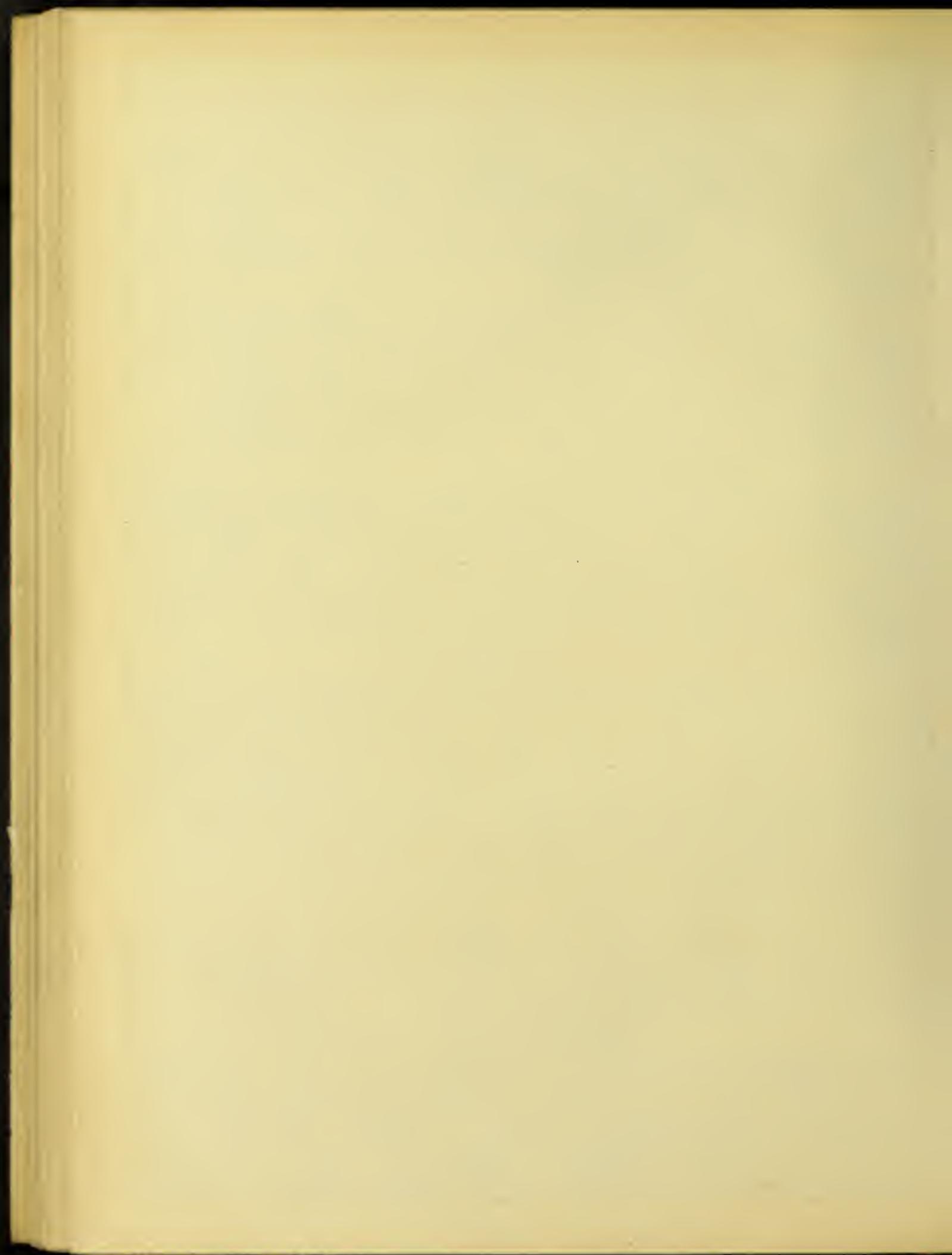
Young I, 419.

1727: It is not unlikely, it may be expected, that in an introduction to a collection of poems of a various kind --- I should say something of the maxims and rules, in general, of poetry. Some authors, I take it, do this by way of key to the beauties of their productions, which method does not yet always answer their expectation, or much promote the view they have of it. --- All the ancients, or the moderns copying after them, have written on this scheme, is no more than a set of very obvious thoughts and observations, which every man of good sense naturally knows without being taught, and which never made a good poet, nor mended a bad one; nor have they, I may venture to affirm, been of any other service to mankind, than to furnish out multitudes of pretenders in poetry, that otherwise had never teased the public with their spiritless performances. Those observations or rules were primarily formed upon and designed to serve only as comments to the works of certain great authors, who composed those works without any such help; the mighty originals from whence they were drawn were produced without them; and unluckily for all rules, it has commonly happened since, that those writers have succeeded the worst who have pretended to have been most assisted by them.

Leonard Welsted, A Dissertation, p. 16.

1712: If we consider the works of nature and art, as they are qualified to entertain the imagination, we shall find the last very defective, in comparison of the former. --- There is something more bold and masterly in the rough, careless strokes of nature than in the nice touches and embellishments of art. Addison, Spect. No. 414.

1712: There is sometimes a greater judgment shown in deviating from the rules of art than in adhering to them; and -- there is more beauty in the works of a great genius who is ignorant of all the rules



of art, than in the works of a little genius who not only knows, but scrupulously observes them. Addison, Spect. No. 592.

There appears something nobly wild and extravagant in these great natural geniuses that is infinitely more beautiful than all the turn and polishing of what the French call a bel esprit, by which they would express a genius refined by conversation, reflection, and the reading of the most polite authors. Addison, Spect. No. 160.

1711: Some beauties yet no precepts can declare.

-----  
 Music resembles poetry; in each  
 Are nameless graces which no methods teach,  
 And which a master hand alone can reach.

-----  
 Great wits sometimes may gloriously offend,  
 And rise to faults true critics dare not mend:  
 From vulgar bounds with brave disorder part,  
 And snatch a grace beyond the reach of art,  
 Which, without passing through the judgment, gains  
 The heart, and all its end at once attains.

Pope, Essay on Criticism, p. 42 f.  
 1690: After all, the utmost that can be achieved or, I think, pretended by any rules in this art is but to hinder some men from being very ill poets, but not to make any man a very good one.

Sir William Temple, Of Poetry, ed. Spingarn, III, 84.

1688: What a prodigious difference there is between a work that is beautiful and one that is merely regular and without faults! --- It is easier for a great genius to attain sublimity and grandeur than to avoid every trifling fault. --- When the reading of a book elevates the mind, and inspires brave and noble sentiments, seek no other rule by which to judge it; it is good, and made by the hand of a true workman.

La Bruyère, Caractères, Des Ouvrages de l'Esprit, Spingarn, Intro. p. XCVIII.

Rules, like crutches, are a needful aid to the lame, though an impediment to the strong. A Homer casts them away; and like his Achilles,

Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat,

by native force of mind.

Conject. p. 6, l. 8 ff.

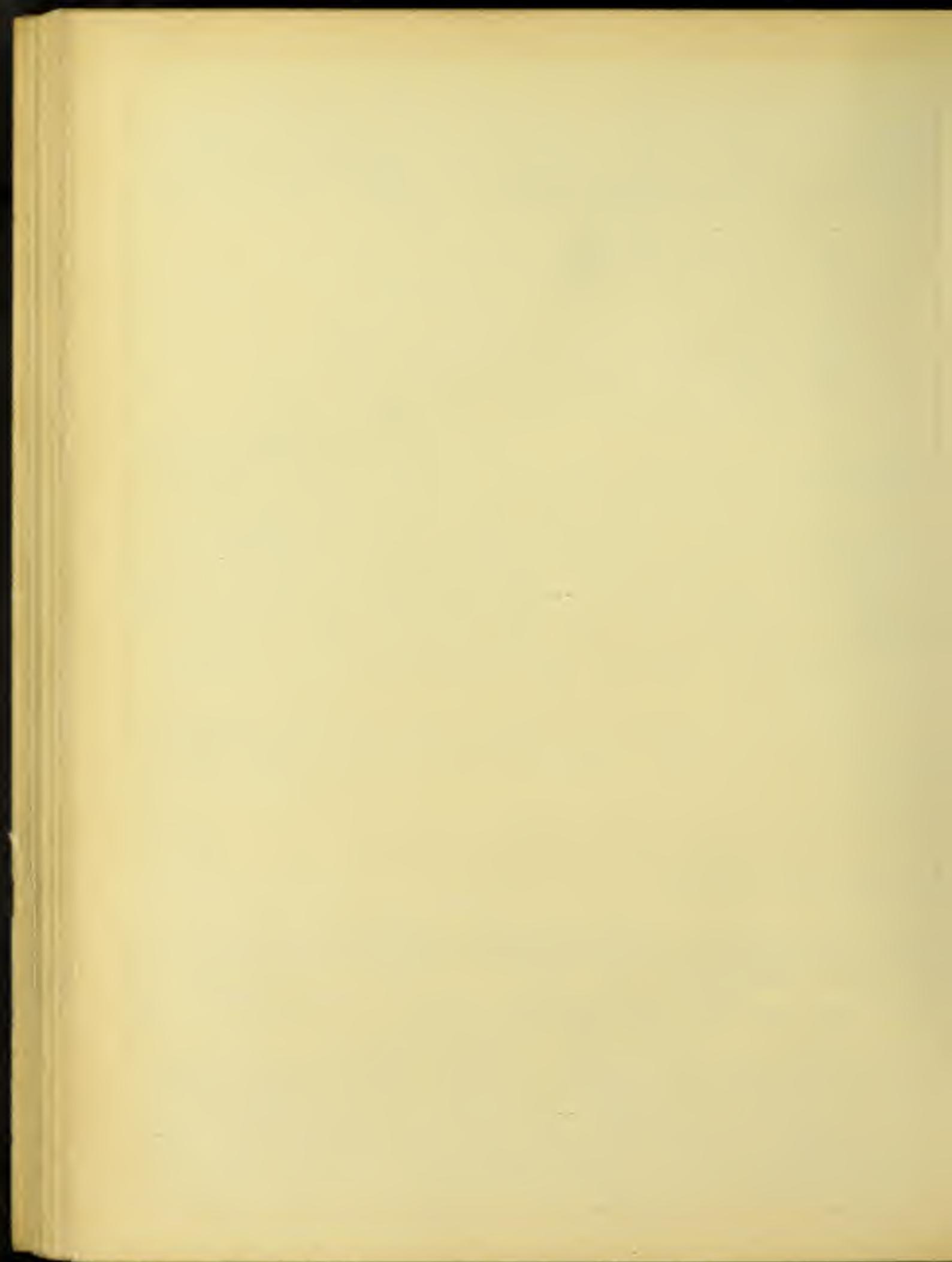
1754: Spenser's native force of invention would not suffer him to pursue the letter of a prescribed fiction with scrupulous observation and servile regularity.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I, 93

1754: Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat.

Quoted also, Young II, 515.

1698: Elegance of thought is what we commonly call wit, which adds to propriety, beauty, and pleases our fancy, while propriety entertains our judgment. This depends so much on genius, that it is impossible to teach it by rules. --- to attend to a great many rules whilst you are writing, is the way to make your style stiff and constrained, whereas elegance consists very much in a genteel ease and freedom of expression. John Hughes, Style, vol. 1, p. 251.



There is something in poetry beyond prose-reason; there are mysteries in it not to be explained, but admired.

Conject. p. 6, l. 12 f.

1739: Besides all these qualities which render a person lovely or valuable, there is also a certain *je-ne-sais-quoi* of agreeable and handsome, that concurs to the same effect. In this case, as in that of wit and eloquence, we must have recourse to a certain sense, which acts without reflexion, and regards not the tendencies of qualities and characters. Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, p. 366.

Genius often then deserves most to be praised when it is most sure to be condemned; that, when its excellence, from mounting high, to weak eyes is quite out of sight.

Conject. p. 6, l. 15 ff.

1712: The most exquisite words and finest strokes of an author are those which very often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable to a man who wants a relish for polite learning; and they are these which a sour, undistinguishing critic generally attacks with the greatest violence.

Addison, *Spect.* No. 291.

Genius, therefore, leaves but the second place, among men of letters, to the learned. It is their merit and ambition to fling light on the works of genius, and point out its charms.

Conject. p. 6, l. 24 ff.

1714: The ancient critics are full of the praises of their contemporaries; they discover beauties which escaped the observation of the vulgar, and very often find out reasons for palliating and excusing such little slips and oversights as were committed in the writings of eminent authors.

Addison, *Spect.* No. 592.

1711: The first race of authors, who were the great heroes in writing, were destitute of all rules and arts of criticism; and for that reason though they excel later writers in greatness of genius, they fall short of them in accuracy and correctness. ... When the world was furnished with these authors of first eminence, there grew up another set of writers who gained themselves a reputation by the remarks which they made on the works of those who preceded them.

Addison, *Spect.* No. 61.

1711: Survey the whole, nor seek slight faults to find

Where nature moves, and rapture warms the mind.

Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, p. 235 f.

1701: Imperfect, partial, prejudiced critics have judgment enough to discover faults, but want discernment to find out beauties ... your lordship easily found that he had beauties which overweighed all faults.

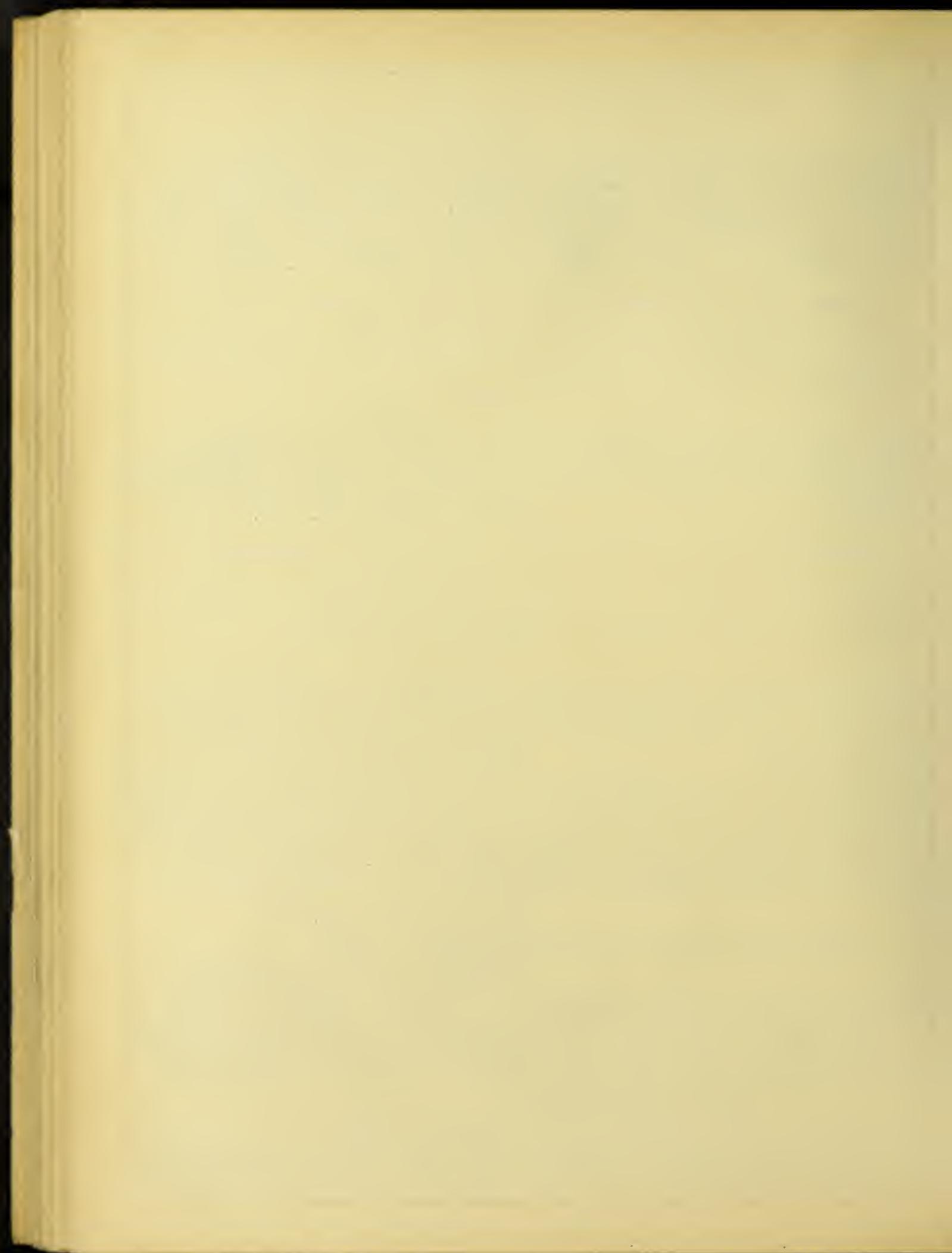
John Dennis, *Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry*, preface.

1693: Ill writers are usually the sharpest censors; for they, as the best poet and the best patron said,

When in the full perfection of decay,

Turn vinegar, and come again in play.

Thus the corruption of a poet is the generation of a critic; I mean of a critic in the general acceptation of this age; for formerly they were quite another species of men. They were defenders of poets,



and commentators on their works;- to illustrate obscure beauties; to place some passages in a better light; to redeem others from malicious interpretations; to help out an author's modesty, who is not ostentatious of his wit; and in short, to shield him etc. --- Are our auxiliary forces turned our enemies? --- or, to speak in the most honorable terms of them, are they, from our seconds become principals against us?

Dryden, Dedication, Translations from Ovid's Metamorphoses, XII, 54  
1674: In the first place, I must take leave to tell them, that they wholly mistake the nature of criticism who think its business is principally to find fault. Criticism, as it was first instituted by Aristotle, was meant a standard of judging well; the chiefest part of which is to observe those excellencies which should delight a reasonable reader. If the design, the conduct, the thoughts, and the expressions of a poem, be generally such as proceed from a true genius of poetry, the critic ought to pass his judgment in favor of the author. 'Tis malicious and unmanly to snarl at the little lapses of a pen, from which Virgil himself stands not exempted. Horace acknowledges, that honest Homer nods sometimes. --- And Longinus, who was undoubtedly, after Aristotle, the greatest critic amongst the Greeks, in his twenty-seventh chapter *Περί Ὑψους* has judiciously preferred the sublime genius that sometimes errs, to the meddling or indifferent one, which makes a few faults, but seldom or never rises to any excellence.

Dryden, The Author's Apology for Heroic poetry and Poetic Licence, 179 ff

A star of the first magnitude among the moderns was Shakespeare; among the ancients, Pindar; who (as Vossius tells us) boasted of his no-learning, calling himself the eagle, for his flight above it. And such geni as these may, indeed, have much reliance on their own native powers. For genius may be compared to the body's natural strength, learning to the superinduced accoutrements of arms: if the first is equal to the proposed exploit, the latter rather encumbers, than assists; rather retards, than promotes, the victory.

Conject. p. 6, l. 30 ff.

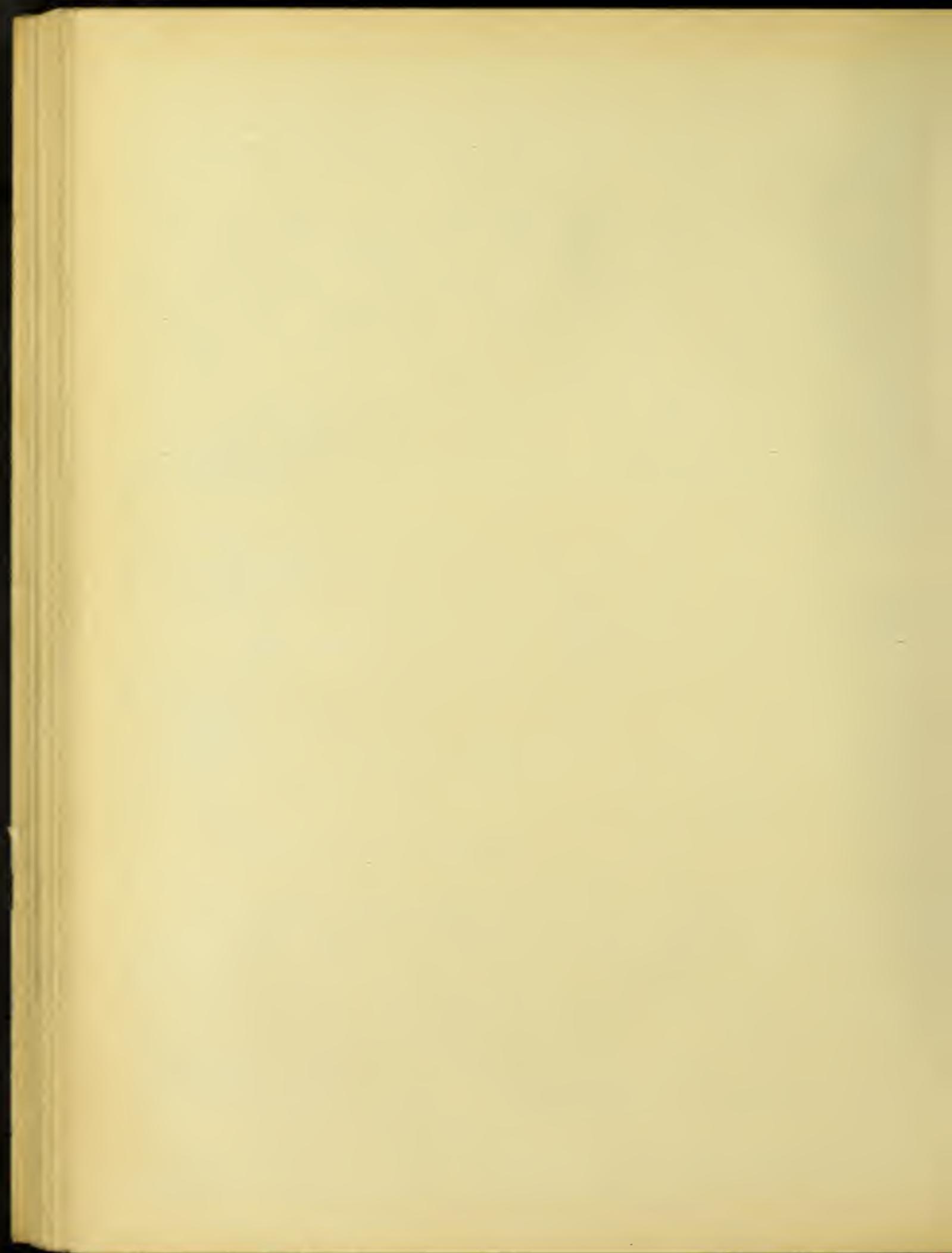
1753: The fables of pagan mythologists may, therefore, be considered as a cluster of stars of the first magnitude, which, though they shine with a distinct influence, may be taken as one constellation: but like stars, they only break the obscurity of night; they do not diffuse round us the splendors of day: it is by the sun of righteousness alone, that we discover completely our duty and our interest, and behold that pattern of divine perfection which the Christian aspires to imitate.

The Adventurer, No. 18.

1752: With respect to the productions of imagination and wit, a mere determination of the will is not sufficient; there must be a disposition of the mind which no human being can procure, or the work will have the appearance of a forced plant, in the production of which the industry of art has been substituted for the vigor of nature.

The Adventurer, No. 2.

1721: Shakespeare was one of the greatest geniuses that the world ever saw for the tragic stage. Though he lay under greater disadvan-



tages than any of his successors, yet had he greater and more genuine beauties than the best and greatest of them. And what makes the brightest glory of his character, those beauties were entirely his own, and owing to the force of his own nature; whereas his faults were owing to his education, and to the age that he lived in.

Dennis, Letters, II, 371.

1712: Among the English, Shakespeare has incomparably excelled all others. That noble extravagance of fancy, which he had in so great perfection, thoroughly qualified him to touch this weak superstitious part of his reader's imagination; and made him capable of succeeding, where he had nothing to support him besides the strength of his own genius.

Addison, Spect. No. 419.

1693: I confess, there are some men's constitutions of body and mind so vigorous, and well framed by nature, that they need not much assistance from others; but by the strength of their natural genius, they are, from their cradles, carried towards what is excellent; and, by the privilege of their happy constitutions, are able to do wonders

Locke, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, IX, 6.

1690: But after all, I do not know whether the higher flights of wit and knowledge, like those of power and of empire in the world, may not have been made by the pure native force of spirit or genius in some single men, rather than by any derived strength among them, however increased by succession, and whether they might not have been the achievements of nature, rather than the improvements of art.

Sir William Temple, On Ancient and Modern Learning.

Sacer nobis inest deus, says Seneca. With regard to the moral world, conscience, with regard to the intellectual, genius, is that god within.

Conject. p. 6, l. 37 ff.

1742-45: Who conscience sent, her sentence will support,  
And God above assert that God in man. Young I, 191.

1655: But if a man will make an observation upon words and language, he might further observe that heathens did not only use the word ardor to express their heat in this kind; but even the word spirit. So

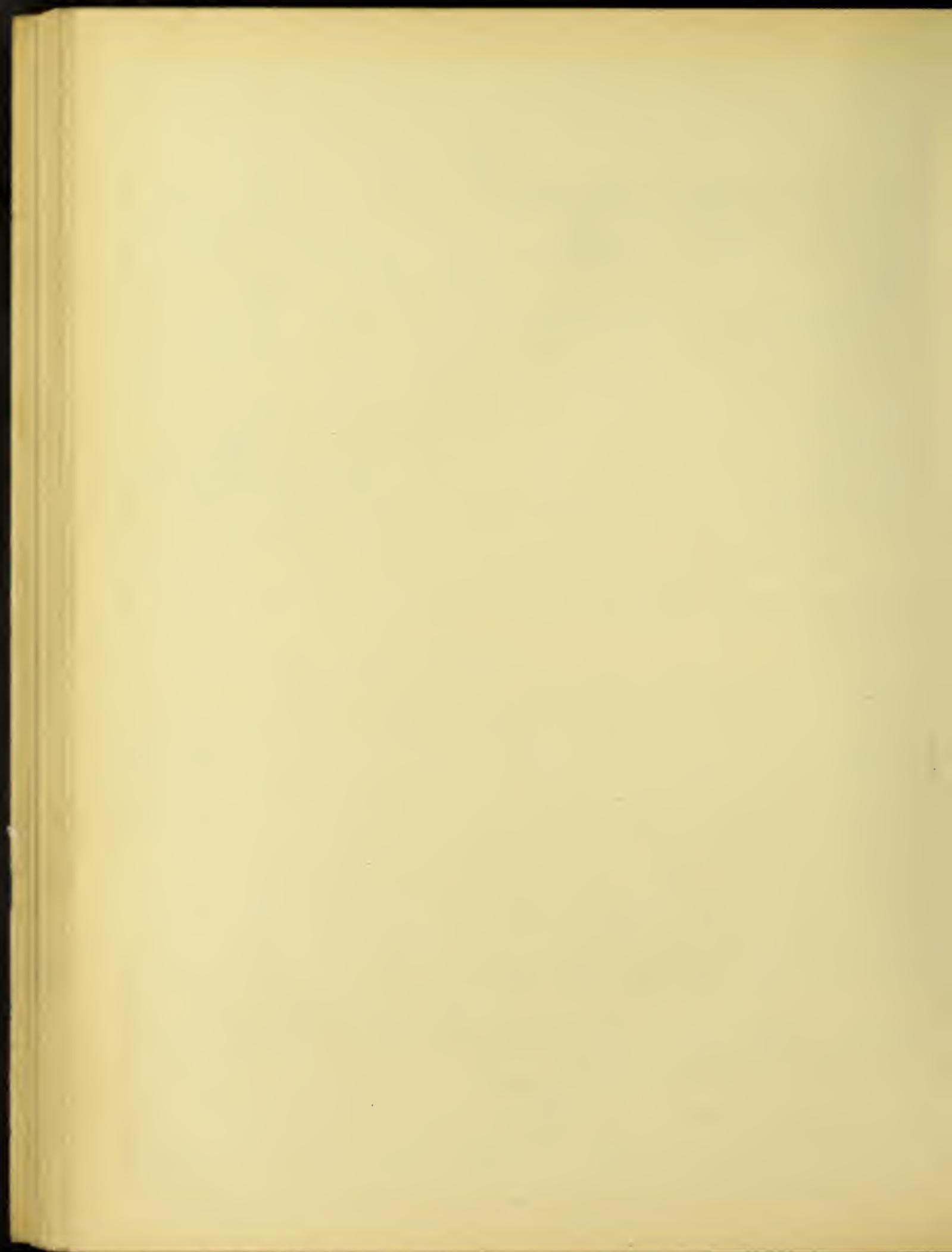
Ovid: At Sacri vates, etc. Sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit. And again: Sic ubi nota calent sacro mea pectora thyrso; altior humani spiritus ille malo est. And this spirit is no less than a very God unto him, elsewhere, Est Deus in nobis, etc. as afterwards, in its proper place, out of him, or some other of greater authority than he, shall be declared. But we give it place here, because this ardor, heat, or spirit, that possesseth orators and poets, yea soldiers and others, was by divers heathens deemed but one and the same, in its nature though working so differently, as hereafter shall be showed. Now on the other side, that ardor mentis is sometimes used by Christian writers for spiritus sanctus, is observable too.

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 65.

1634 (?) Which doth confirm me in my first opinion, that every author has his own genius, directing him by a secret inspiration to that wherein he may most excel.

Sir William Alexander, Anacrisis, ed. Spingarn, p. 185.

Of genius there are two species, an earlier, and a later; or call them infantine, and adult. An adult genius comes out of nature's



hand, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth, and mature:  
 Shakespeare's genius was of this kind: on the contrary, Swift stumbled  
 at the threshold, and set out for distinction on feeble knees: his  
 was an infantine genius; a genius which, like other infants, must be  
 nursed and educated, or it will come to nought. Learning is its  
 nurse and tutor.

Conject. p. 6, l. 45 ff.

1756: Different geniuses unfold themselves at different periods of  
 life. In some minds the ore is a long time in ripening.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p.76.

1711: This second class of great geniuses are those that have formed  
 themselves by tools, and submitted the greatness of their natural  
 talents to the corrections and restraints of art.

Addison, Spect. No. 160.

1690: But though invention be the mother of poetry, yet this child is  
 like all others born naked, and must be nourished with care, clothed  
 with exactness and elegance, educated with industry, instructed with  
 art, improved by application, corrected with severity, and accomplish-  
 ed with labor and with time, before it arrives at any great perfec-  
 tion or growth. ---

Sir William Temple, Of Poetry, Ed. Spingarn, III, 80.

... a genius which, like other infants must be nursed and edu-  
 cated, or it will come to nought. Learning is its nurse and tutor;  
 but this nurse may overlay with an indigested load, which smothers  
 common sense; and this tutor may mislead, with pedantic prejudice,  
 which vitiates the best understanding.

Conject. p. 6, l. 50 ff.

1742-45: Voracious learning, often over-fed,  
 Digests not into sense her motley meal.  
 This book-case, with dark booty almost burst,  
 This forager on other's wisdom, leaves  
 Her native farm, her reason, quite untill'd.

Young I, 73.

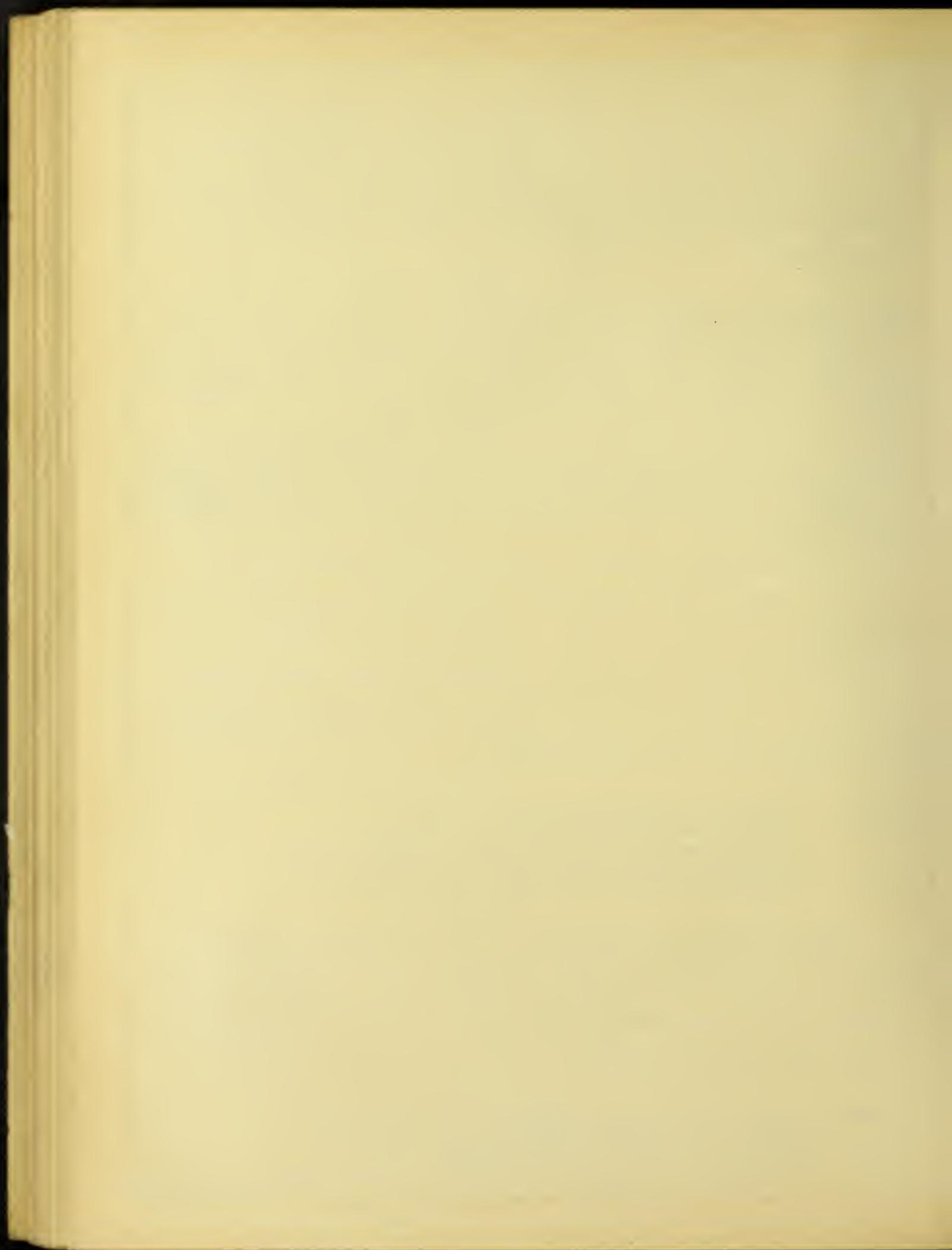
Some are pupils of nature only, nor go farther to school:

From such we reap often a double advantage: they not only rival the  
 reputation of the great ancient authors, but also reduce the number  
 of mean ones among the moderns.

Conject. p. 7, l. 8 ff.

1742-45: Poor Machiavel! who labour'd hard his plan,  
 Forgot that genius need not go to school;  
 Forgot that man, without a tutor wise,  
 His plan had practis'd long before 'twas writ.

Young I, 160



Learning we thank, genius we revere; that gives us pleasure,  
this gives us rapture; that informs, this inspires, and is itself  
inspired; for genius is from heaven, learning from man.

Conject. p. 7, l. 40 ff.

1725-28: Poets may be praised, good-nature is adored.

Young I, 358.

1725-28: And yet what real learning, judgment, fire!

She (Stella) seems inspired, and can herself inspire.

Young I, 379.

1719: Yet few, how few, with lofty thoughts inspired,

With quickness pointed, and with rapture fired.

Young, I, 337.

Genius is from heaven, learning from man: This sets us above  
the low and illiterate; that, above the learned, and polite. Learn-  
ing is borrowed knowledge; genius is knowledge innate, and quite our  
own. Therefore, as Bacon observes, it may take a nobler name, and be  
called wisdom; in which sense of wisdom, some are born wise.

Conject. p. 7, l. 42 ff.

1714: When I was a boy I made some good progress in learning, and  
lost it all again before I came to be a man; nor was I rightly sensi-  
ble of my loss therein until I came amongst the Quakers. But then,  
I both saw my loss and lamented it; and applied myself with utmost  
diligence, at all leisure times, to recover it: so false I found that  
charge to be which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the  
Quakers that "they despised and decried all human learning because  
they denied it to be essentially necessary to a gospel ministry;  
which was one of the controversies of those times.

Thomas Ellwood, Autobiography.

1712: It is one of the great beauties of poetry to make hard things  
intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of itself in such easy  
language as may be understood by ordinary readers: besides, that the  
knowledge of a poet, should rather seem born with him, or inspired,  
than drawn from books and systems.

Addison, Spect. No. 297.

1712: It would be in vain to inquire whether the power of imagining  
things strongly proceeds from any greater perfection in the soul, or  
from any nicer texture in the brain, of one man than of another.  
But this is certain that a noble writer should be born with this  
faculty in its full strength and vigor.

Addison, Spect. No. 471.

1694: (Time, place, and action, may with pains be wrought,

But) genius must be born; and never can be taught.

Dryden, Letter X, To Congreve, On the Double Dealer.

1694: Our age was cultivated thus at length;

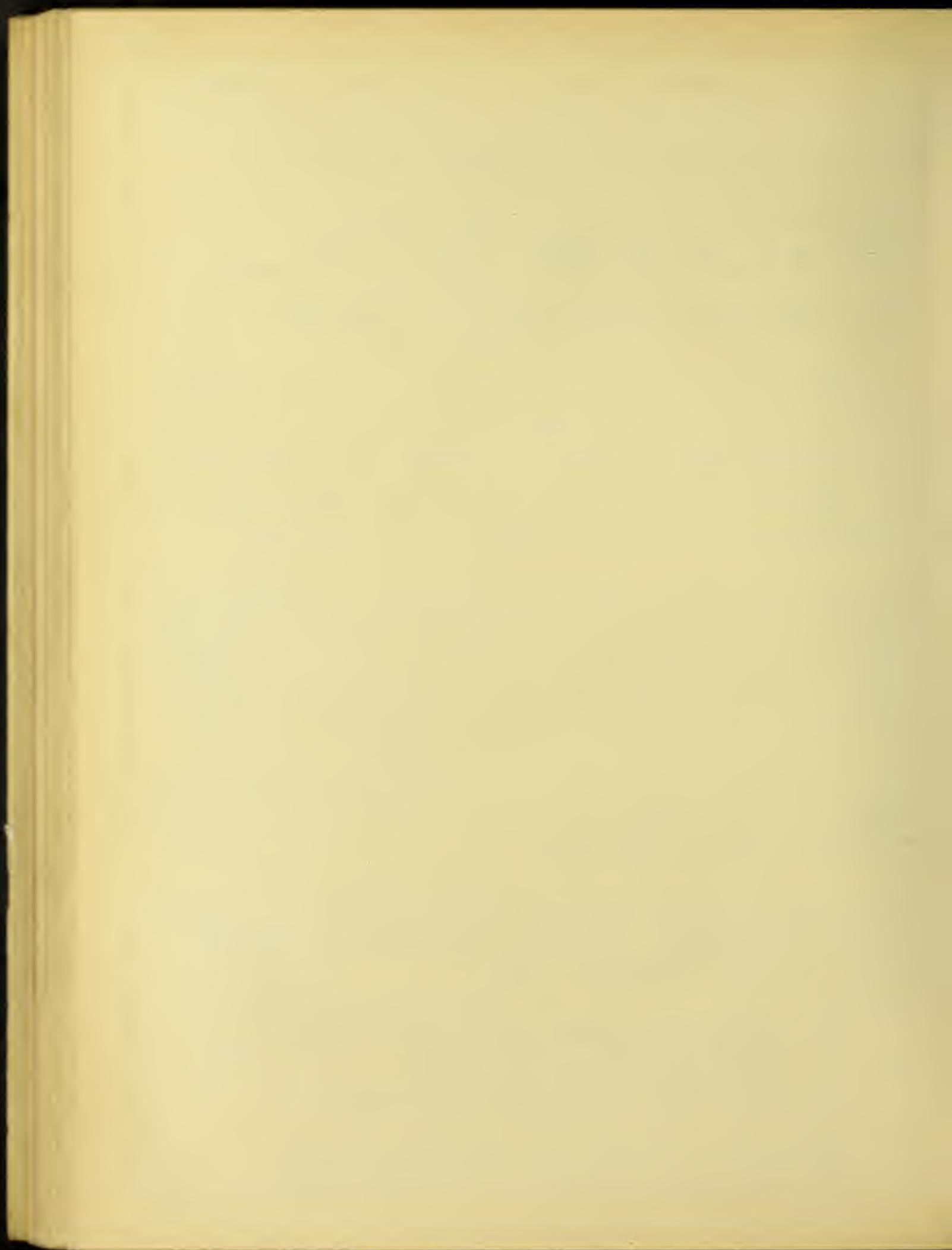
But what we gained in skill we lost in strength.

Our builders were with want of genius curst,

-----  
Time, place, and action may with pains be wrought,

But genius must be born, and never can be taught.

John Dryden, To Congreve on the Double Dealer.



1655: But Aristides on the other side, --- who fancied Gods in every dream, and tells us of so many wonderful cures by nocturnal sights and revelations: he not only of himself particularly, in his *Περὶ τῶν παρὰ θεῶν μὲν τῶν* speaks very positively and peremptorily, as inspired by God, in his orations; but of rhetoric in general, in his I. Contra Platonem, as positively and confidently maintaineth, not only that it is the gift of God, --- but also, if right and excellent, that it comes by immediate inspiration, as oracles and prophecies; without study or learning, or so much as nature.

Casaubon, *Enthusiasm*, p. 143.

1655: He (Julius Caesar Scaliger) delivers it at first as out of Plato and Aristotle, that some are born poets; by nature, without art or study, endowed with all parts and faculties necessary to that profession. Others, though born simple and ignorant, yea dull and stupid, to become poets by immediate inspiration. As for matter of inspiration, it is Plato's doctrine, I confess, in more than one place; but disputed and maintained at large in a peculiar dialogue, inscribed by him *Ion*, ἡ περὶ Ἰλίουθεῶ where he doth only dispute that all true poetry is by immediate inspiration; immediate divine inspiration, in the most proper and literal sense; using all the words that the Greek tongue can afford, to express inspiration, and repeating them often: --- So that Plato, may God himself, he saith, would not have us doubt but that it is.

Casaubon, *Enthusiasm*, p.

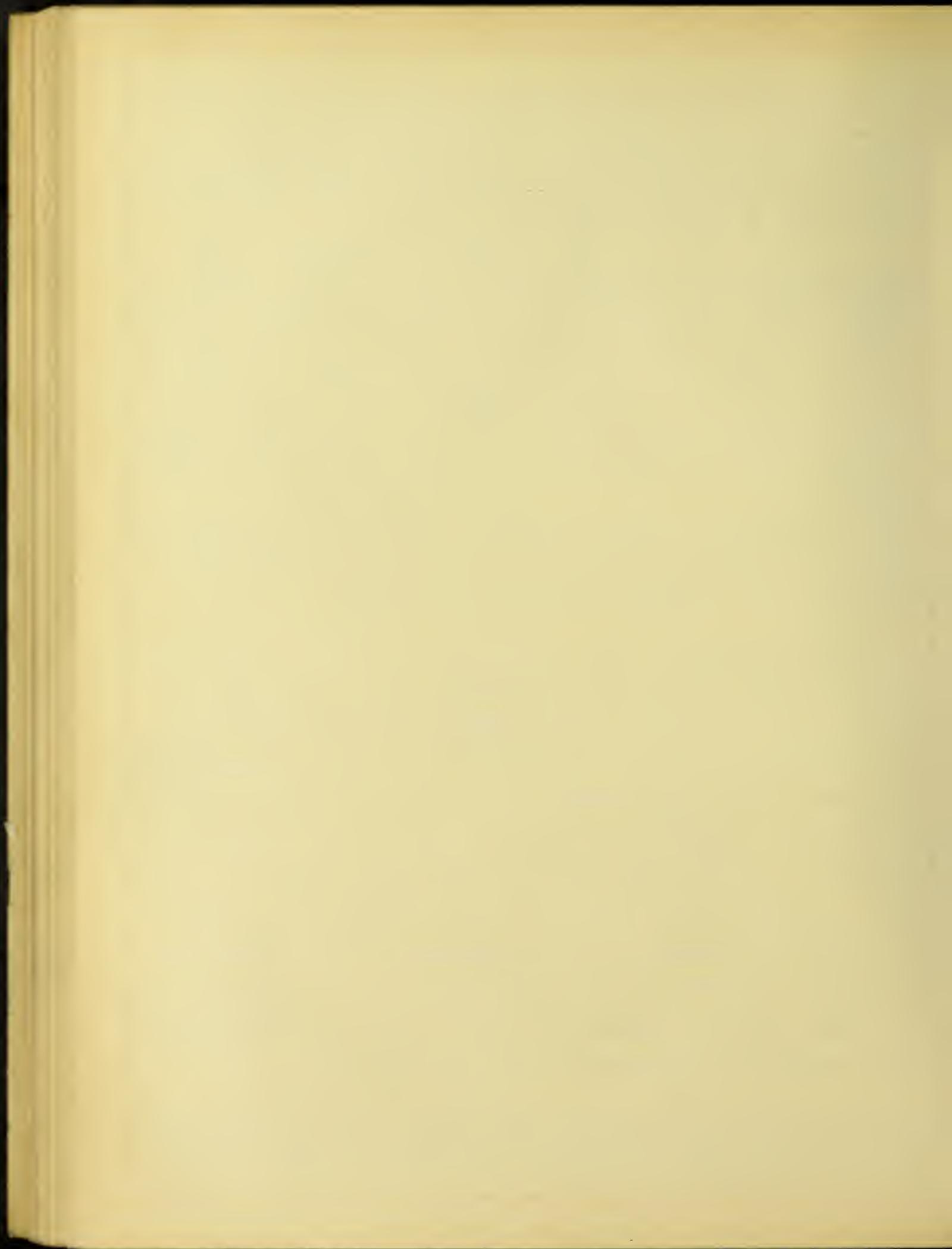
1605: This excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish to oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed, as universities, colleges, and schools for the receipt and comforting of the same.

Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 77

In the fairyland of fancy genius may wander wild; there it has a creative power, and may reign arbitrarily over its own empire of chimeras. The wide field of nature also lies open before it, where it may range unconfined, make what discoveries it can, and sport with its infinite objects uncontrolled, as far as visible nature extends, painting them as wantonly as it will: But what painter of the most unbounded and exalted genius can give us the true portrait of a seraph? He can give us only what by his own or others' eyes has been seen; though that indeed infinitely compounded, raised, burlesqued, dishonored, or adorned: In like manner, who can give us divine truth unrevealed? Much less should any presume to set aside divine truth when revealed, as incongruous to their own sagacities.

Conject. p. 7, l. 54 ff.

1756: It has been the lot of many great names, not to have been able to express themselves with beauty and propriety in the fetters of verse, in their respective languages, who have yet manifested the



force, fertility, and creative power of a most poetic genius in prose.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 265 f. 1756: We do not, it would seem, sufficiently attend to the difference there is betwixt a man of wit, as a man of sense, and a true poet. Donne and Swift were undoubtedly men of wit, and men of sense, but what traces have they left of pure poetry? It is remarkable that Dryden says of Donne, 'He was the greatest wit, though not the greatest poet, of this nation. --- a clear head, and acute understanding, are not sufficient alone, to make a poet: the most solid observations on human life, expressed with the utmost elegance and brevity, are morality, and not poetry; --- it is a creative and glowing imagination, "acer spiritus ac vis", and that alone, that can stamp a writer with this exalted and very uncommon character, which so few possess, and of which so few can properly judge.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, Dedication 1756: The "man of rhymes" may be easily found; but the genuine poet, of a lively plastic imagination, the true maker or creator, is so uncommon a prodigy, that one is almost tempted to the opinion of Sir William Temple, when he says, "That of all the numbers of mankind that live within the compass of a thousand years, for one man that is born capable of making a great poet, there may be a thousand born capable of making as great generals, or ministers of state, as the most renowned in story."

Joseph Warton, Essay on the genius and Writings of Pope, p. 108 f. 1754: We are for joys, not of man's native growth, but forced up by luxurious art, --- shone on, not by the Divine favor, but a strong imagination, --- We are in a word, for joys of our own creation, the seeds of which Heaven never sowed in our hearts. Young II, 143.

1754: The author of the "Arte of English Poesy" generally uses maker for poet, ποιητής, and if we believe Sir J. Harrington, it was that author who first brought this expression, the significance of which is much commended by Sir P. Sidney, and Jonson, into fashion about the age of Queen Elizabeth. "Nor to dispute how high and supernatural the name of maker is, so christened in English, by that unknown godfather that this last year, save one, viz. 1589, set forth a book called the Arte of English Poesy." His name is Pottenham.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, II, 63.

1754: We feel a sort of malicious triumph in detecting the latent and obscure source, from whence an original author has drawn some celebrated description: yet this, it must be granted, soon gives way to rapture that naturally results from contemplating the chemical energy of true genius, which can produce so noble a transmutation, and whose virtues are not less efficacious and vivifying in their nature, than than those of the miraculous water here displayed by Spenser.

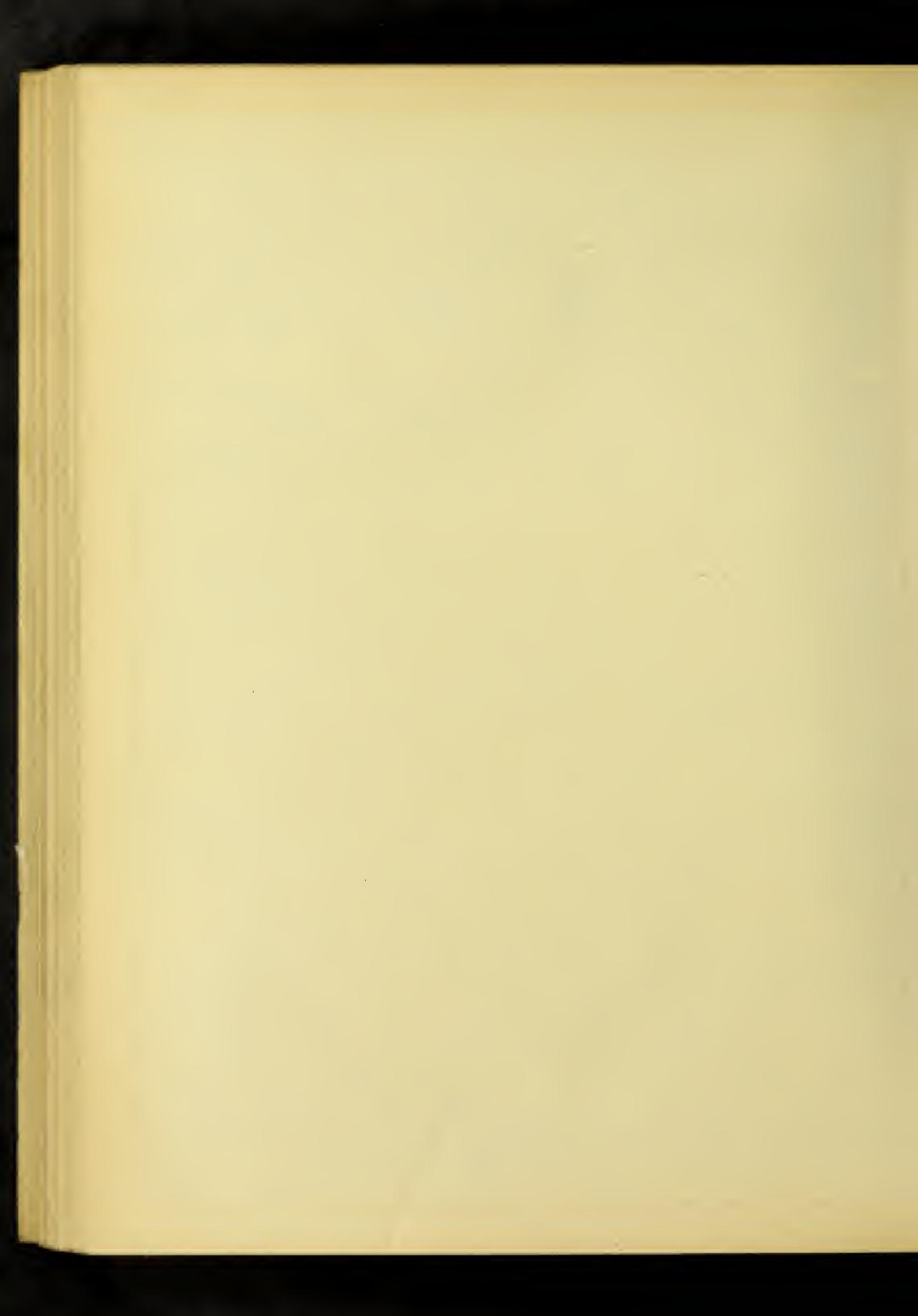
Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I, 75.

1754: If there be any poem whose graces please, because they are situated beyond the reach of art, and where the force of faculties of creative imagination delight, because they are unassisted and unrestrained by those of deliberate judgment, it is this. In reading Spenser, if the critic is not satisfied, yet the reader is transported.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I, 23 f.

1753: It is the peculiar privilege of poetry, not only to place material objects in the most amiable attitudes, and to clothe them in the most graceful dress, but also to give life and motion to immaterial beings, and form and color, and action, even to abstract ideas... Prosopopoeia, therefore, or personification, conducted with dignity and propriety, may be justly esteemed one of the greatest efforts of the creative power of a warm and lively imagination.

The Adventurer No. 57.



1753: A few observations on the writings of Shakespeare will not be deemed useless or unentertaining because he exhibits more numerous examples of excellencies and faults, of every kind, than are perhaps to be discovered in any other author, ... his characteristic excellencies may possibly be reduced to three general heads: his lively creative imagination; his strokes of nature and passion; and his preservation of the consistency of his characters"... Of all the plays of Shakespeare the *Tempest* is the most striking instance of his creative power. He has there given the reins to his boundless imagination, and has carried the romantic, the wonderful, and the wild, to the most pleasing extravagance. The Adventurer, No. 93.

1753: The description of Eden in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*, and the battle of the angels in the sixth, are usually selected as the most striking examples of a florid and vigorous imagination: ... The glaring picture of Paradise is not, in my opinion, so strong an evidence of Milton's force of imagination, as his representation of Adam and Eve when they left it, and of the passions with which they were agitated on that event ... I think the sublimity of his genius much more visible in the first appearance of the fallen angels: ... the following passage in the Revelations afforded him a hint from which his creative fancy might have worked up a striking picture.

The Adventurer, No. 101.

1742-45: What wealth in senses such as these! What wealth  
In fancy fired to form a fairer scene  
Than sense surveys! in memory's firm record!

Young, I, 104.

1742-45: Fairy field of fiction. Young I, 68.

1742-45: The visionary mind with gay chimeras

Young I, 153.

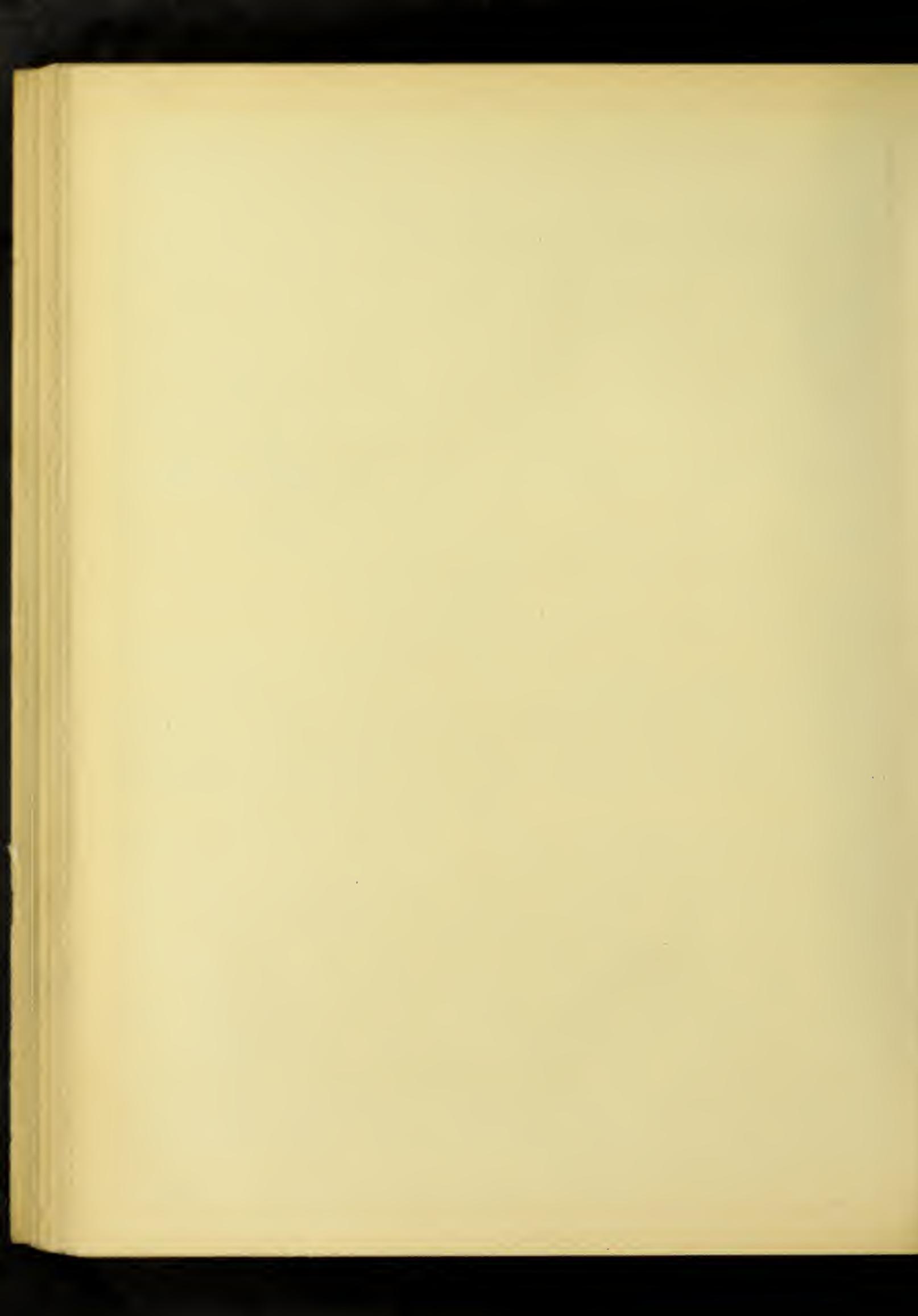
1740: Nommez-moi un esprit créateur sur votre Parnasse; c'est à dire nommez-moi un poète allemand qui ait tiré de son propre fond un ouvrage de quelque réputation.

Eleazar Mouvillon, *Lettres Française et Germaniques*. (London 1740, p. 762)

1727: The English language has worn off its Teutonic rust, has added riches from French and Italian and has reached its greatest perfection. ... What we need is the genius to create in our highly perfected language. Leonard Welsted, *A Dissertation concerning the Perfection of the English Language* etc., p. 12.

1715-26: Homer is universally allowed to have had the greatest invention of any writer whatever, ... nor is it a wonder if he has ever been acknowledged the greatest of poets, who most excelled in that which is the very foundation of poetry. It is the invention that in different degrees distinguishes all great geniuses: the utmost stretch of human study, learning, and industry, which masters everything besides, can never attain to this. It furnishes art with all her materials, and without it judgment itself can at best but steal but wisely; for art is only like a prudent steward that lives on managing the riches of nature. Whatever praises may be given to works of judgment, there is not even a single beauty in them to which the invention must not contribute: as in the most regular gardens, art can only reduce the beauties of nature to more regularity, and such a figure which the common eye may better take in, and is therefore more entertained with. And perhaps the reason why common critics are inclined to prefer a judicious and methodical genius to a great and fruitful one, is because they find it easier for themselves to pursue their observations through a uniform and bounded walk of art, than to comprehend the vast and various extent of nature.

Pope, Homer, preface.



1713: And yet in Shakespeare something still I find  
That makes me less esteem all human-kind.  
He made one nature, and another found:  
Both in his page with master-stroke abound:  
His witches, fairies, and enchanted isle  
Bid us no longer at our nurses smile;  
Of lost historians we almost complain,  
We think it the creation of his brain.

Young I, 307.

1712: Claudian ... has given full scope to that wildness of imagination which was natural to him. Addison, Spect. No. 233.

1712: As the writers in poetry and fiction borrow their several materials from outward objects, and join them together at their own pleasure, there are others who are obliged to follow nature more closely, and to take entire scenes out of her. Such are historians, natural philosophers, travellers, geographers, and in a word, all who describe visible objects of real existence.

Addison, Spect. No. 420.

1712: Milton would never have been able to have built his Pandemonium, or to have laid out his Paradise, had not he seen the palaces and gardens of Italy.

Addison, Spectator, No. 417.

1712: But because the mind of man requires something more perfect in matter than what it finds there, and can never meet with any sight in nature which sufficiently answers its highest ideas of pleasantness: or, in other words, because the imagination can fancy to itself things more great, strange, or beautiful, than the eye ever saw, and is still sensible of some defect in what it has seen; on this account it is the part of a poet to humor the imagination in its own notions, by mending and perfecting nature where he describes a reality, and by adding greater beauties than are put together in nature, where he describes a fiction. He is not obliged to attend her in the slow advance which she makes from one season to another, or to observe her conduct, in the successive production of plants and flowers. He may draw into his description all the beauties of the spring and autumn, and make the whole year contribute something to render it more agreeable. ... If all this will not furnish out an agreeable scene, he can make several new species of flowers, with richer scents and higher colors, than any that grow in the garden of nature. ... In a word, he has the modelling of nature in his own hands, and may give her what charms he pleases, provided he does not reform her too much, and run into absurdities, by endeavoring to excel.

Addison, Spect. No. 418.

1712: It is this sense (sight) which furnishes the imagination with its ideas; so that by the pleasures of the imagination or fancy (which I shall use promiscuously) I here mean such as arise from visible objects, either when we have them actually in our view, or when we call up their ideas into our minds by paintings, statues, descriptions, or any the like occasion. We cannot indeed have a single image in the fancy that did not make its first entrance through the sight; but we have the power of retaining, altering and compounding those images which we have once received into all the varieties of picture and vision that are the most agreeable to the imagination; for by this faculty a man in a dungeon is capable of entertaining himself with scenes and landscapes more beautiful than any that can be found in the whole compass of nature.

Addison, Spect. No. 411

1712: Satan's walk upon the outside of the universe (Paradise Lost III 136-143) ... is natural and noble. As his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation ... strikes the imagination with something



astonishingly great and wild.

Addison, Spect. No. 315.

1712: It is in the power of the imagination, when it is once stocked with particular ideas, to enlarge, compound, and vary them at her own pleasure.

Addison, Spect. No. 416.

1712: I cannot think that persons of such a chimerical existence are proper actors in an epic poem.

Spectator, No. 273.

1712: The great art of a writer shows itself in the choice of pleasing allusions, which are generally to be taken from the great or beautiful works of art or nature. ... Allegories when well chosen, are like so many tracks of light in a discourse, that make everything about them clear and beautiful. A noble metaphor, when it is placed to an advantage, casts a kind of glory round it, and darts a lustre through a whole sentence. ... It is this talent of affecting the imagination, that gives an embellishment to good sense, and makes one man's compositions more agreeable than another's. It sets off all writings in general, but is the very life and highest perfection of poetry... It has something in it like creation: it bestows a kind of existence, and draws up to the reader's view several objects which are not to be found in being. It makes additions to nature, and gives a greater variety to God's works. In a word, it is able to beautify and adorn the most illustrious scenes in the universe, or to fill the mind with more glorious shows and apparitions than can be found in any part of it.

Addison, Spect. No. 421.

1709-11: Shakespeare ... according to his agreeable wildness of imagination.

Tatler, No. 111.

1690: There must be a universal genius of great compass as well as great elevation. There must be a spritely imagination or fancy, fertile in a thousand productions, ranging over infinite ground, piercing into every corner, and by the light of that true poetical fire discovering a thousand little bodies or images in the world, and similitudes among them, unseen to common eyes, and which could not be discovered without the rays of that sun.

Sir William Temple, ed. Spingarn, III, 81.

1675: A fourth (virtue) is elevation of fancy, which is generally taken for the greatest praise of heroic poetry, and is so when governed by discretion. For men more generally affect and admire fancy than they do either judgment or reason or memory or any other intellectual virtue, and for the pleasantness of it, accounting reason and judgment but for a dull entertainment. For in fancy consisteth the sublimity of a poet, which is the poetical fury which the readers for the most part call for. It flies abroad swiftly to fetch in both matter and words; but if there be no discretion at home to distinguish which are fit to be used and which are not, which decent and which undecent, for persons, times, and places, their delight and grace are lost. But if they be discreetly used, they are greater ornaments of a poem by much than any other.

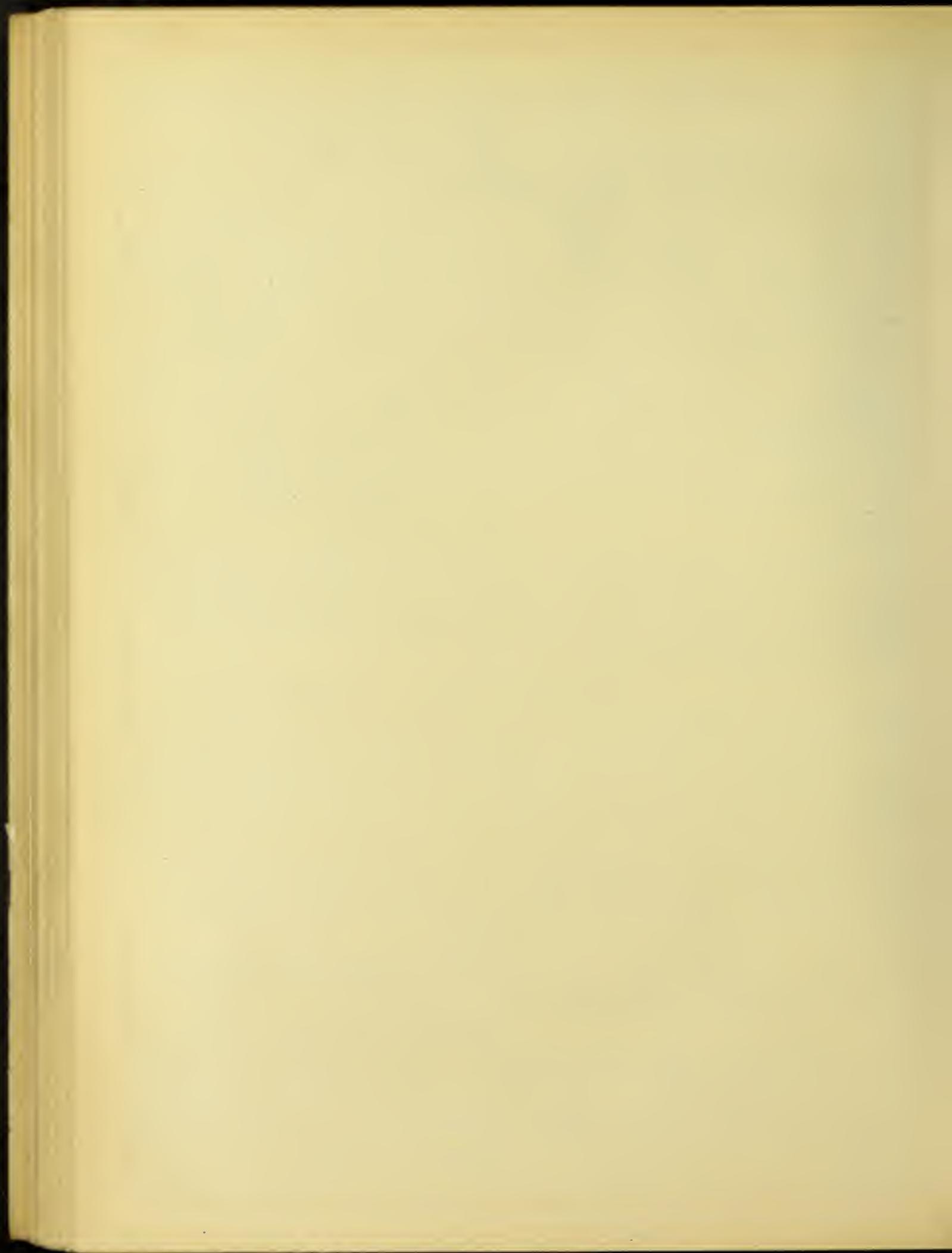
Thomas Hobbes, Homer, preface.

1635: They are seldom good poets, that can be poets when they will. ... But he had need to have good store of good blood, or a very strong fancy; which alone is able to raise spirits.

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 207.

1651: Judgment and fancy may have place in the same man; but by turns as the end which he aimeth at requireth. As the Israelites in Egypt were sometimes fastened to their labor of making bricks, and other times were ranging abroad to gather straw; so also may the judgment sometimes be fixed upon one certain consideration, and the fancy at another time wandering about the world.

Hobbes, Leviathan, p. 712.



1620-35: He (Shakespeare) ... had an excellent phantasy.

Ben Jonson, Timber, or Discoveries, ed. Spingarn, I, 19.

1633: Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,

Warble his native wood-notes wild.

Milton, L'Allegro.

1620-35: A poet is that which by the Greeks is called *παιδείξις οὐχ ἡρ,*  
*ὁ ποιητής*, a maker, ... from the word *ποιεῖν*, which signifies  
to make. Ben Jonson, Timber, or Discoveries, ed. Spingarn, I, 50.

1620: Meantime, let no man be alarmed at the multitude of particulars,  
but let this rather encourage him to hope. For the particular phe-  
nomena of art and nature are but a handful to the inventions of the  
wit, when disjoined and separated from the evidence of things.

Bacon, Novum Organum, I, CXII.

1581: Only the poet..lifted up with the vigor of his own invention,  
doth grow in effect another nature in making things either better  
than nature bringeth forth, or quite a new form, such as never was in  
nature.

Sidney, Apol. Poetry, 25, Oxf. Dic.: Poet.

Having put in a caveat against the most fatal of errors, from  
the too great indulgence of genius, return we now to that too great  
suppression of it.

Conject. p. 8, l. 11 ff.

1754: This putting in a caveat against the ridicule of infidels may  
be called heroic faith.

Young II, 430.

And since copies surpass not their originals, as streams rise  
not higher than their spring, rarely so high; hence, while arts  
mechanic are in perpetual progress, and increase, the liberal are in  
retrogradation, and decay.

Conject. p. 8, l. 3 ff.

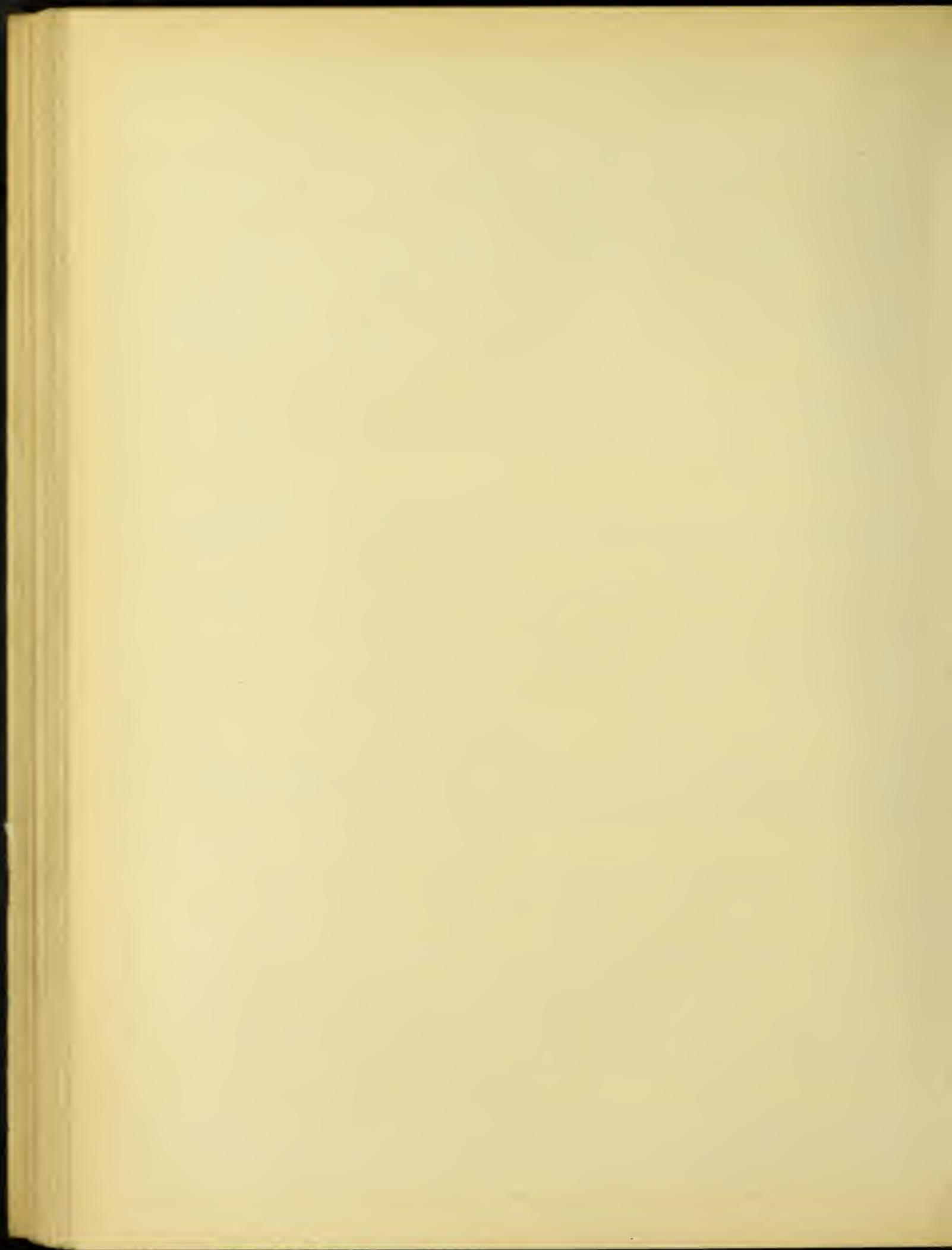
1605: For as water will not ascend higher than the level of the first  
springhead from whence it descended, so knowledge derived from  
Aristotle, and exempted from liberty of examination, will not rise  
again higher than the knowledge of Aristotle.

Bacon, Advancement of Learning, I, 37

Born originals, how comes it to pass that we die copies? That  
meddling ape imitation, as soon as we come to years of discretion  
(so let me speak), snatches the pen, and blots out nature's mark of  
separation, cancels her kind intention, destroys all mental individ-  
uality; the lettered world no longer consists of singulars, it is a  
medley, a mass; and a hundred books, at bottom, are but one.

Conject. p. 8, l. 53 ff.

1753: It is often charged upon writers that with all their pretensions  
to genius and discoveries, they do little more than copy one another;  
and that compositions obtruded upon the world with the pomp of



novelty, contain only tedious repetitions of common sentiments, or at best exhibit a transposition of known images, and give a new appearance to truth only by some slight difference of dress and decoration. ... The complaint, therefore, that all topics are pre-occupied, is nothing more than the murmur of ignorance or idleness, by which some discourage others and some themselves: the mutability of mankind will always furnish writers with new images, and the luxuriance of fancy may always embellish them with new decorations.

The Adventurer, No. 95.

1730: Can others write like you? Your task give o'er;

'Tis printing what was published long before.

If nought peculiar through your labors run,

They're duplicates, and twenty are but one.

Young II, 43.

1685: The most revered authors of antiquity have not been able to escape the conceitedness of essayers, nor Hudibras himself, that admirable original, his little apers, though so artless in their imitations, so unlike and so lifeless are their copies, that it were impossible to guess after what hands they drew, if their vanity did not take care to inform us in the title-page.

Robert Wolesley, Preface to Valentinian, ed. Spingarn, III, 13

But notwithstanding these disadvantages of imitation, imitation must be the lot (and often an honorable lot it is) of most writers.

If there is a famine of invention in the land, like Joseph's brethren, we must travel far for food; we must visit the remote and rich ancients; but an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenished from within; and affords us a miraculous delight. Whether our own genius be such, or not, we diligently should inquire; that we may not go a begging with gold in our purse. For there is a mine in man, which must be deeply dug ere we can conjecture its contents.

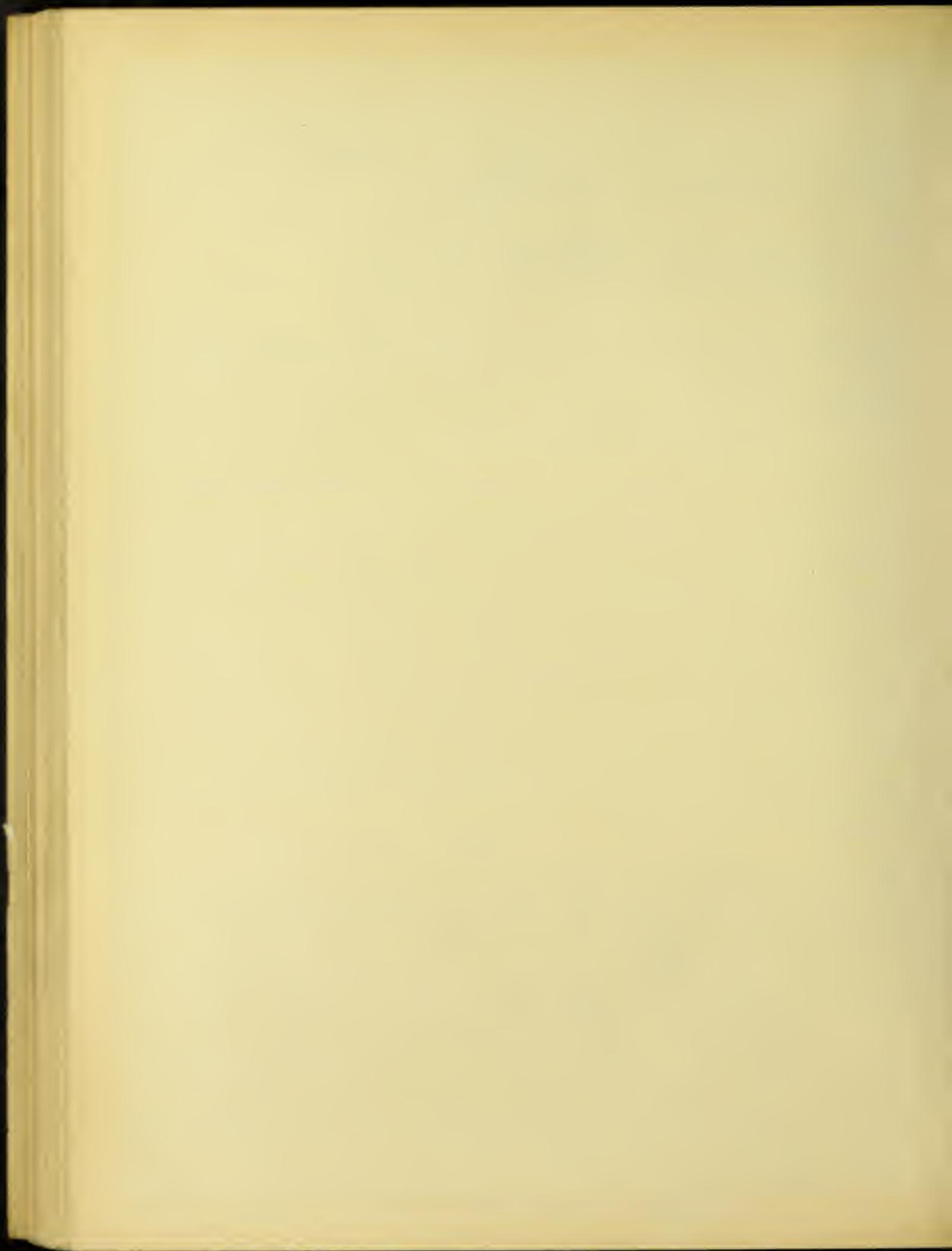
Conject. p. 9, l. 16 ff.

1756: I am sensible of the difficulty of distinguishing resemblances from thefts; and well know that a want of seeming originality arises frequently not from a barrenness and timidity of genius, but from invincible necessity, and the nature of things: that the works of those who profess an art whose essence is imitation, must needs be stamped with a close resemblance to each other, since the objects material or animate, extraneous or internal, which they all imitate, lie equally open to the observation of all, and are perfectly similar.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 80f

1753: It happens unfortunately in poetry, which principally claims the merit of novelty and invention, that this want of originality arises frequently not from barrenness and timidity of genius, but from invincible necessity and the nature of things. The works of those who profess an art whose essence is imitation, must needs be stamped with a close resemblance to each other.

The Adventurer No. 63.



- 1742-45: Shall God be less miraculous than what  
His hand has form'd? Shall mysteries descend  
From unmysterious? Young I, 206.
- 1742-45: Of man's miraculous mistakes, this bears  
The palm. Young I, 12
- 1742-45: Are there on earth (let me not call them men)  
Who lodge a soul immortal in their breasts;  
Unconscious as the mountain of its ore;  
Or rock, of its inestimable gem?  
Young I, 109.
- 1712: As the miraculous workmanship of Milton's gates, etc.  
Addison, Spect. No. 327.

The modern powers are equal to those before them. ... Reasons there are why talents may not appear, none why they should not exist, as much in one period as another. An evocation of vegetable fruits depends on rain, air, and sun; an evocation of genius no less depends on externals. ... Virgil and Horace owed their divine talents to heaven; their immortal works to men; thank Maecenas and Augustus for them.

Conject. p. 9, l. 37 ff.

1756: Not only inclination, but opportunity and encouragement, a proper subject, or a proper patron, influence the exertion or the suppression of genius.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 76.

1694: Upon the whole matter one may positively say that where anything wherein oratory can only claim a share has been equally cultivated by the moderns as by the ancients, they have equalled them at least, if not outdone them, setting aside any particular graces which might as well be owing to the languages in which they wrote as to the writers themselves.

William Wotton, Ancient and Modern Learning, ed. Spingarn, III, 216.

1622: But while we look back to antiquity, let us not forget our later and modern times (as imagining nature hath heretofore extracted her quintessence and left us the dregs), which produce as fertile wits as perhaps the other; yea, and in our Britain.

Henry Peacham, Of Poetry, ed. Spingarn, I, 128.

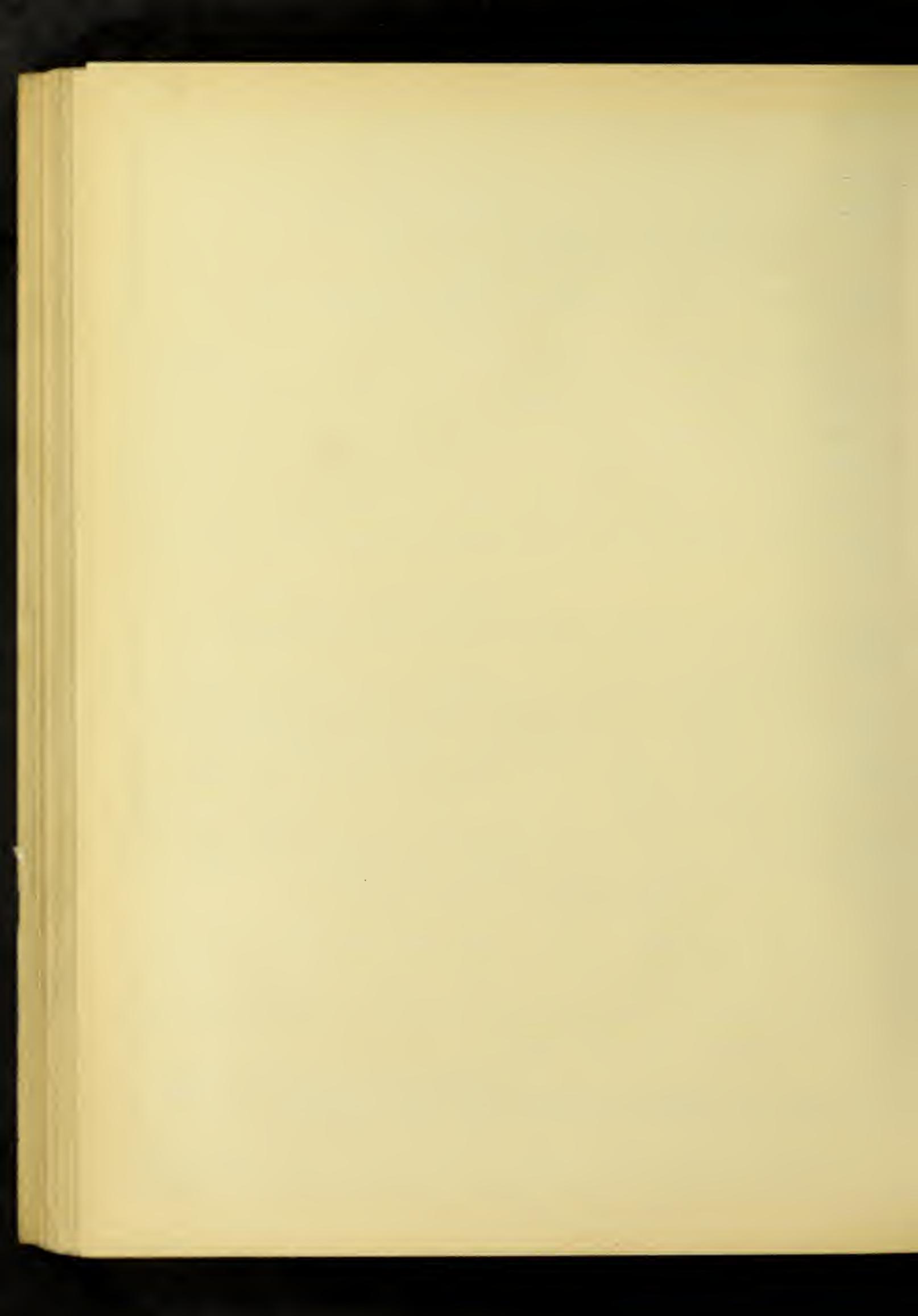
Who hath fathomed the mind of man? Its bounds are as unknown as those of the creation; since the birth of which perhaps, not one has so far exerted as not to leave his possibilities beyond his attainments, his powers beyond his exploits.

Conject. p. 10, l. 6 ff.

1712: It is a remark made by a celebrated French author that no man ever pushed his capacity as far as it was able to extend.

Spect. No. 554.

Genius, in this view, is like a dear friend in our company under



disguise who, while we are lamenting his absence, drops his mask, striking us at once, with equal surprise and joy. This sensation, which I speak of in a writer, might favor and so promote the fable of poetic inspiration: A poet of a strong imagination and a stronger vanity, on feeling it, might naturally enough realize the world's mere compliment and think himself truly inspired. Which is not improbable, for enthusiasts of all kinds do no less.

Conject. p. 10, l. 34 ff.

1739: They think themselves inspired by God, and are not. But false, imaginary inspiration is enthusiasm. I have often wished that all calm and impartial men would consider what is advanced by another writer in a little dissertation concerning enthusiasm or religious delusion, published about this time.

Wesley's Journal (Aug. 12, 1733-Nov. 1, 1739)

1718: The enthusiast dreams of nothing but gifts and commissions from heaven. ... He alone converses with Heaven; he sees God, he is a prophet; he feels the Divine Spirit within him.

The Free Thinker, No. 22.

1718: When a heated imagination concurs with a profound ignorance of the nature of God, it immediately erects every production of its own into the divine inspiration. A person thus justified never inquires whether his warm conceptions be right or wrong; nor coolly examines whether he has any reason to believe his instigation from God.

The Free Thinker, No. 22.

1718: Enthusiasm, therefore, is a kind of irregular and almost unaccountable madness.

The Free thinker. No. 22.

1718: Enthusiasm is a kind of overweening and groundless persuasion of being inspired from thence with every wild fancy that happens to spring up in a warm and distempered brain.

The Free Thinker, No. 22.

1711: Enthusiasm is wonderfully powerful and extensive; ... Nor can divine inspiration, by its outward marks, be easily distinguished from it. For inspiration is a real feeling of the Divine Presence, and enthusiasm a false one. But the passion they raise is such alike

Shaftesbury, Characteristics, I, 37.

1769: The melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration.

Junius, Letters, VII, 30.

1655: A heat, a fervent heat, a fire; which powerful orators found in themselves, not at the uttering, though then greatest, but upon another consideration; but in conceiving and composing their speeches: so generally observed and acknowledged, that some have thought that no other art or thing was necessary to make a perfect orator: that heat, that fervent heat, that fire, hath been the ignis fatuus, we say, that hath infatuated many speakers into that opinion of divine inspiration. Ardor and impetus, are the words by Latin authors to this purpose, Nulla me ingenii, sed magna vis animi inflammat, ut me ipse non teneam, saith Cicero of himself.

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 163.

1655: Enthusiasm, say I, is either natural or supernatural. By supernatural I understand a true and real possession of some extrinsical superior power, whether divine, or diabolical, producing effects and operations altogether supernatural.



... By natural enthusiasm, I understand an extraordinary, transcendent but natural fervency, or pregnancy of the soul, spirits, or brain producing strange effects, apt to be mistaken for supernatural.

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 17

1655: We are commonly told that Mahomet did assume to himself divine authority by feigned enthusiasms, by false, we are sure enough, as to divine authority; but whether feigned, I make some question: and whether himself and those about him that helped to promote his frenzies, were not at first really beguiled themselves, before they began to seduce others.

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 11.

So it is with some of the expressions of Callisthenes which are not sublime but high-flown, and still more with those of Cleitarchus, ... for often when these writers seem to themselves to be inspired they are in no true frenzy (οὐ βάρχεύουσι γ) but are simply trifling (ἀλλὰ παύφουσι γ).

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 47.

... let thy genius rise (if a genius thou hast) as the sun from chaos; and if I should then say, like an Indian "Worship it", (though too bold) yet should I say little more than my second rule enjoins; namely, "Reverence thyself".

Conject. p. 10, l. 59 ff.

1751: It (the dignity of man) inspires a reverence for ourselves.

Young II, 523.

1742-45: These pompous sons of Reason idolized,  
And vilified at once: - - - - -

Spike up their inch of reason on the point  
Of philosophic wit, call'd argument,  
And then, exulting in their taper, cry,  
"Behold the sun!" and, Indian-like, adore.

Young I, 64.

Know thyself ... dive deep into thy bosom; learn the depth, extent, bias, and full fort of thy mind; contract full intimacy with the stranger within thee; excite and cherish every spark of intellectual light and heat, however smothered under former negligence, or scattered through the dull, dark mass of common thoughts; and collecting them into a body, let thy genius rise (if a genius thou hast) as the sun from chaos.

Conject. p. 10, l. 51 ff.

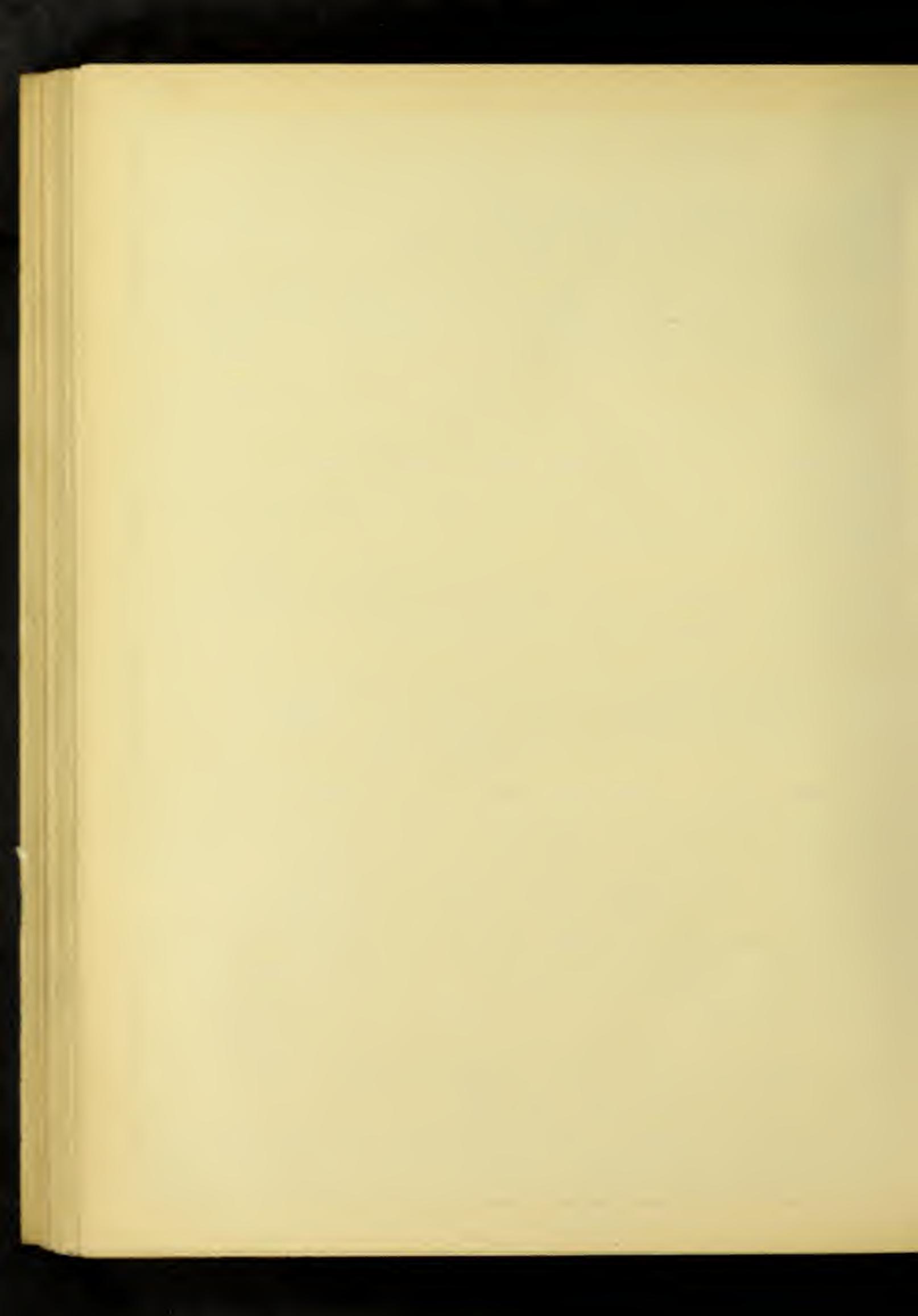
1754: A label inscribed, as was the temple of Apollo, with Γυῶ δὲ σεαυτοῦ.

Young II, 120.

1712-45: Thyself, first, know; then love.

Young I, 172.

1711: The greater danger in these latter kind of geniuses is, lest they cramp their own abilities too much by imitation, and form themselves altogether upon models, without giving the full play to their



own natural parts.

Addison, Spect. No. 130.

1609: For men ought to take an impartial view of their own abilities and virtues; and again of their wants and impediments; accounting these with the most, and those other with the least.

Bacon, Advancement of Learning, 231.

This is the difference between these two luminaries in literature, the well-accomplished scholar and the divinely-inspired enthusiast; the first is as the bright morning-star; the second as the rising sun.

Conject. p. 11 l. 11 ff.

1735: It (The House of Nassau, an ode by John Hughes) abounds with noble similies, sublime sentiments, and happy allusions to some of the most beautiful passages in Horace and Virgil. Here it is that our author's genius shines in its full lustre. ... Tho' he enjoyed all that fire of imagination and divine enthusiasm for which some of the ancient poets are so deservedly admired, yet did his fancy never run away with his reason, but was always guided by a superior judgment.

William Duncombe, in his preface to the poems of John Hughes

1712: The Morning Hymn (in Paradise Lost) is written in imitation of one of those Psalms where, in the overflowings of gratitude and praise, the Psalmist calls not only upon the angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimated creation to join with him in extolling their common maker. Invocations of this nature fill the mind with glorious ideas of God's works, and awaken that divine enthusiasm which is so natural to devotion.

Spectator No. 327.

1711: Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit. (The man is either raving or composing. Hor. Sat., II, VII, 118).

Composing and raving must necessarily, we see, bear a resemblance  
Shaftesbury, Characteristics, I, 108.

1684: Before the radiant sun a glimmering lamp,  
Adult'rate metals to the sterling stamp,  
Appear not meaner than mere human lines,  
Compared with those whose inspiration shines.

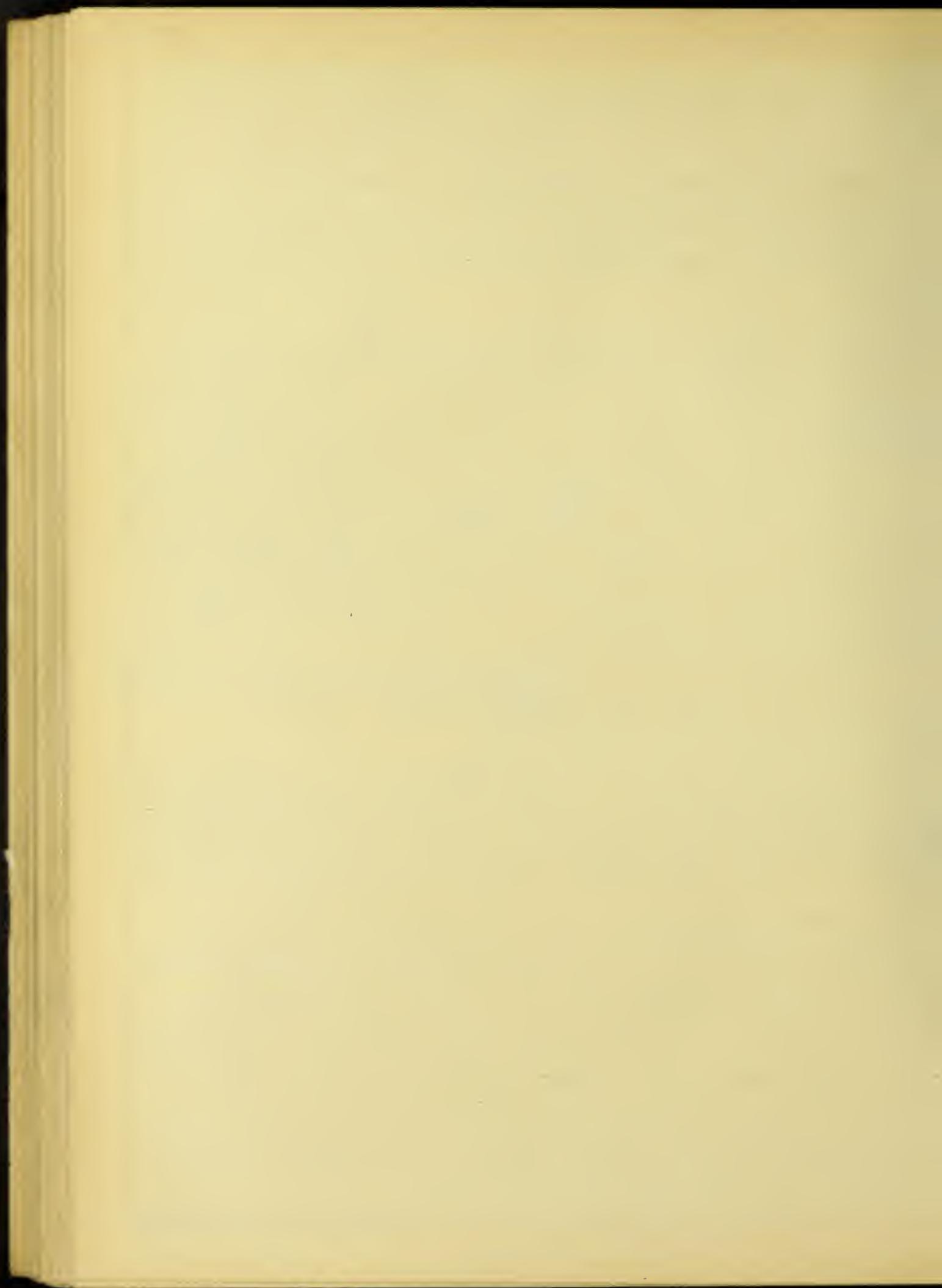
Wentworth Dillon, An Essay on Translated Verse, ed. Spingarn, II, 206.

1655: I believe Aristotle, here quoted by Seneca, that all transcendent wits are subject to some mixture: neither do I believe that ever any great work, that was a fruit of the brain, and that begot admiration, was achieved, but was also the fruit of some natural enthusiasm.

Casaubon, Enthusiasm, p. 115.

The writer who neglects these two rules above ("Know thyself", "Reverence thyself") will never stand alone; he makes one of a group, and thinks in wretched unanimity with the throng: incumbered with the notions of others, and impoverished by their abundance, he conceives not the least embryo of new thought; opens not the least vista through the gloom of ordinary writers into the bright walks of rare imagination, and singular design; while the true genius is crossing all public roads into fresh untrodden ground.

Conject. p. 11, l. 17ff.



1756: Bacon in his *Novum Organum*, divides the human genius into two sorts: Men of dry distinct heads, cool imaginations, and keen application. ... The second sort of men, of warm fancies, elevated thought, and wide knowledge; they instantly perceive the resemblances of things, and are poets, or masters in science, invent arts, and strike out new light wherever they carry their views.

Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*. p. 115.

1754: I am still further to hope, that together with other specimens of absolute literature in general, hinted at before, the many references I have made, in particular to romances, the necessary appendage of ancient chivalry, will also plead their pardon. For however monstrous and unnatural these compositions may appear to this age of reason and refinement, they merit more attention than the world is willing to bestow. ... Above all, such are their terrible graces of magic and enchantment, so magnificently marvelous are their fictions and failings, that they contribute in a wonderful degree, to rouse and invigorate all the powers of imagination to store the fancy with those sublime and alarming images, which true poetry best delights to display.

Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, II, 323 f.

1746: The public has been so much accustomed of late to didactic poetry alone, and essays on moral subjects, that any work where the imagination is much indulged, will perhaps not be relished or regarded. The author therefore of these pieces is in some pain lest certain austere critics should think them too fanciful and descriptive. But as he is convinced that the fashion of moralizing in verse has been carried too far, and as he looks upon invention and imagination to be the chief faculties of a poet, so he will be happy if the following odes may be looked upon as an attempt to bring back poetry into its right channel.

Joseph Warton, Advertisement prefacing his "Odes on Various Subjects".

1712: It required great pregnancy of invention, and strength of imagination to fill this battle with such circumstances as should raise and astonish the mind of the reader; and, at the same time, an exactness of judgment to avoid everything that might appear light or trivial.

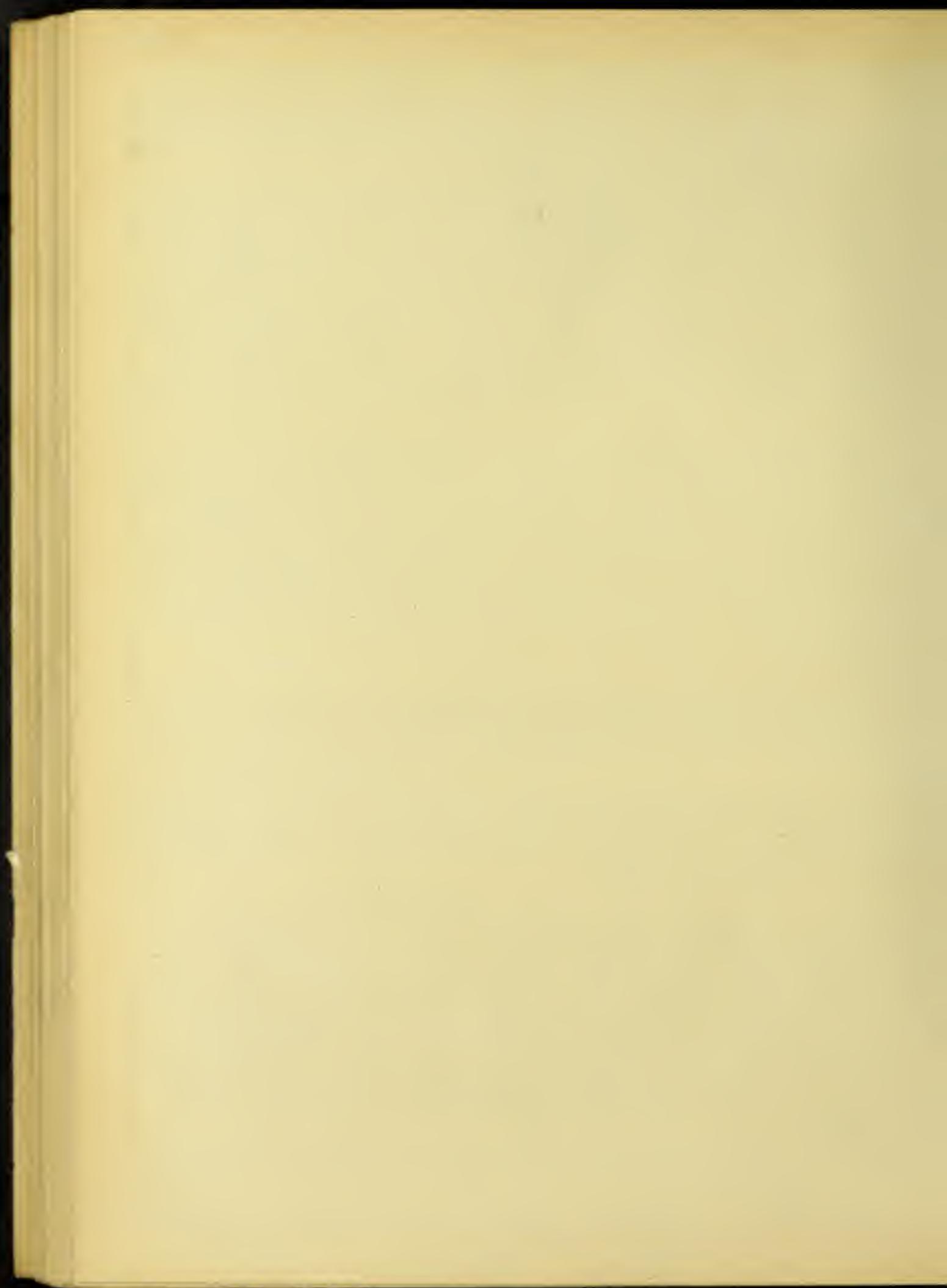
*Spectator*, No. 323.

1703: If we survey the ten pastorals in a general view, it will be found that Virgil can derive from them very little claim to the praise of an inventor. ... Yet though I would willingly pay to Theocritus the honor which is always due to an original author, I am far from intending to depreciate Virgil:

*The Adventurer*, No. 22.

1699: Nay, it is possible men may lose rather than gain by them (the ancients), may lessen the force and growth of their own genius by constraining and forming it upon that of others, may have less knowledge of their own for contenting themselves with that of those before them. Besides, who can tell whether learning may not even weaken invention in a man that has great advantages from nature and birth, whether the weight and number of so many other men's thoughts and notions may not suppress his own or hinder the motion and agitation of them from which all invention arises; as heaping on wood, or too many sticks, or too close together, suppresses and sometimes quite extinguishes a little spark that would otherwise have grown up to a noble flame.

Sir. William Temple, *On Ancient and Modern Learning*, ed Spingarn, III. 48.



What a Fall is it from Homer's numbers, free as air, lofty, and harmonious as the spheres, into childish shackles and tinkling sounds.

Conject. p. 11, l. 55ff

1754: It is indeed surprising, upon the whole that Spenser should execute a poem of uncommon length with so much spirit and ease, laden as he was with so many shackles, and embarrassed with so complicated a bondage of rhyming.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I, 168.

1690: My Lord Roscommon was more impartial, no man ever rhymed truer and evener than he; yet he is so just as to confess that it is but a trifle, and to wish the tyrant dethroned, and blank verse set up in its room. There is a third person (Mr. Dryden) the living glory of our English poetry, who has disclaimed the use of it upon the stage, though no man ever employed it there so happily as he. It was the strength of his genius that first brought it into credit in plays, and it is the force of his example that has thrown it out again. In other kinds of writing it continues still, and will do so till some excellent spirit arises that has leisure enough, and resolution, to break the charm, and free us from the troublesome bondage of rhyming, as Mr. Milton very well calls it and has proved it so well by what he has wrote in another way.

"Preface to the second part of Mr. Waller's Poem, printed in the year 1690".

1667: The learned languages have certainly a great advantage of us, in not being tied to the slavery of any rime.

Dryden, Preface to Annus Mirabilis, p. 12.

1667: Thus, you see, your rime is incapable of expressing the greatest thoughts naturally, and the lowest it cannot with grace: for what is more unbecoming the majesty of verse, than to call a servant, or bid a door be shut, in rime?

Dryden, An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, p. 92.

How much nobler, if he (Pope in his translation of Homer) had resisted the temptation of that Gothic demon (rime), which modern poesy tasting, became mortal? O how unlike the deathless, divine harmony of three great names (how justly joined!) of Milton, Greece, and Rome.

Conject. p. 10, l, 11 ff.

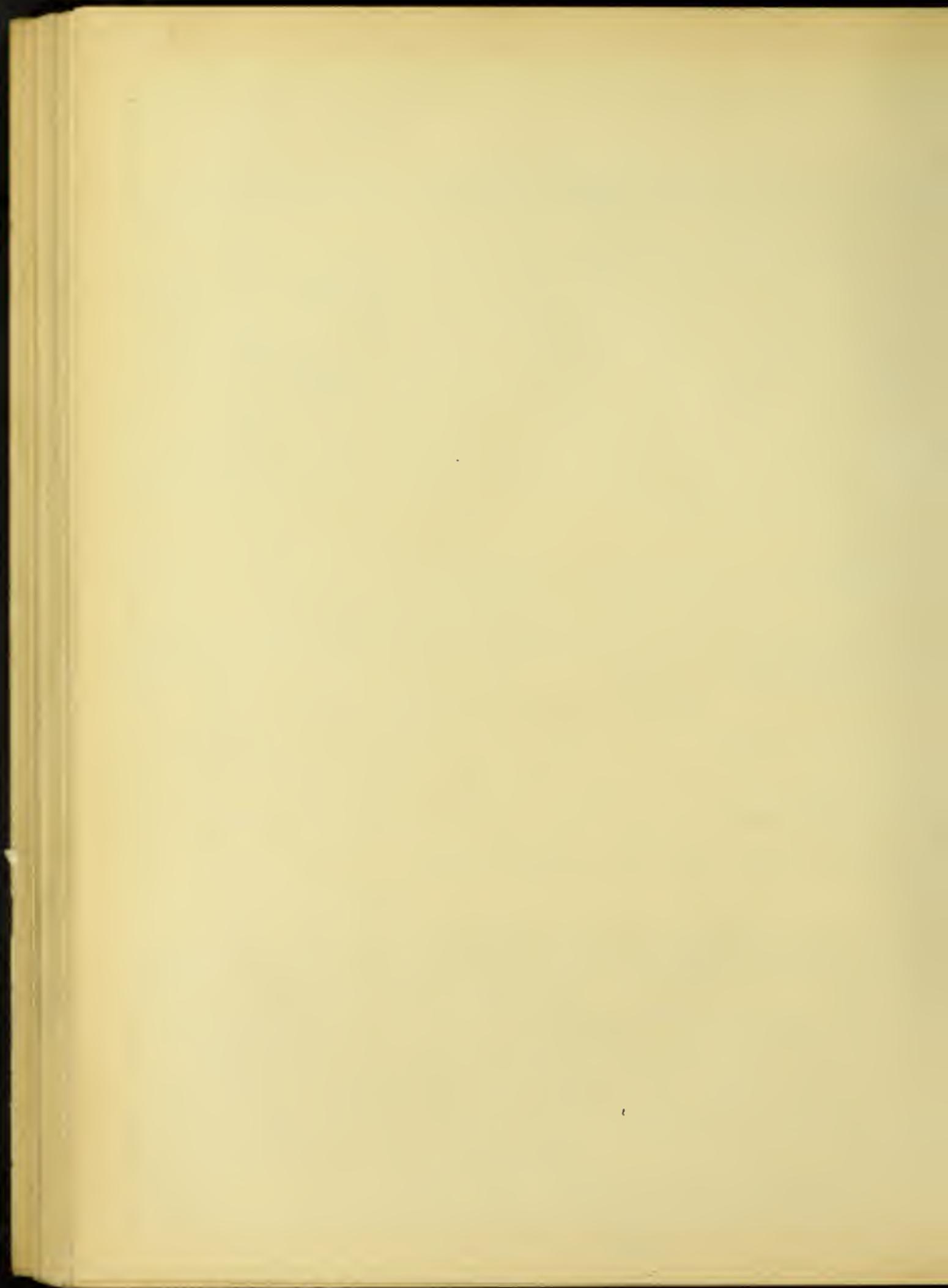
1711: To their eternal honor they (Shakespeare, Fletcher, Jonson and Milton) have withal been the first of Europeans who, since the Gothic model of poetry, attempted to throw off the horrid discord of jingling rime.

Shaftesbury, Characteristics, I, 140.

1711: But so much our British poets are taken up in seeking up that monstrous ornament which we call rime, that it is no wonder if other ornaments and real graces are unthought of and left unattempted. However, since in some parts of poetry (especially in the dramatic) we have been so happy as to triumph over this barbarous taste, it is unaccountable that our poets, who from this privilege ought to undertake some further refinements, should remain still upon the same level as before.

Shaftesbury, Characteristics, II, 223ff

1684: Of many faults rime is perhaps the cause;  
Too strict to rime, we slight more useful laws;  
For that in Greece or Rome was never known,



Till, by barbarian deluges o'erflown,  
 Subdu'd, undone, they did at last obey,  
 And change their own for their invaders way.

Wentworth Dillon, An Essay on Translated Verse, ed. Spingarn, II. 302.  
 1675: That poetry was in small price... is manifest and no great marvel, for even that light of Greek and Latin poets which they had, they much contemned, as appeareth by their rude versifying which of long time was used (a barbarous use it was) wherein they converted the natural property of the sweet Latin verse to be a bald kind of rime, thinking nothing to be learnedly written in verse which fell not out in rime, that is in words whereof the middle word of each verse should sound alike with the last, of of two verses, the end of both should fall in the like letters... The truth is, the use of measure alone would give far more ample scope and liberty, both to style and fancy, than can possibly be observed in rime.

Edwards Phillips, Theatrum Poetarum.  
 1668: The measure is English heroic verse with rime, ... rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame meter, ... the jingling sound of like endings a fault avoided by the learned ancients, both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage riming.

Milton, Preface to Paradise Lost, ed. Spingarn, I, 206.  
 1586: Which rude kind of verse (equal number of syllables and rime) though it rather discrediteth our speech as borrowed from the barbarians, then furnisheth the same with any comely ornament: yet being so ingrafted by custom, and frequented by the most part, I may not utterly disallow it, lest I should seem to call into question the judgment of all our famous writers, which have won eternal praise by their memorable works compiled in that verse. For my part therefore, I can be content to esteem it as a thing the perfection whereof is very commendable.  
 William Webbe, Discourse, p. 56.

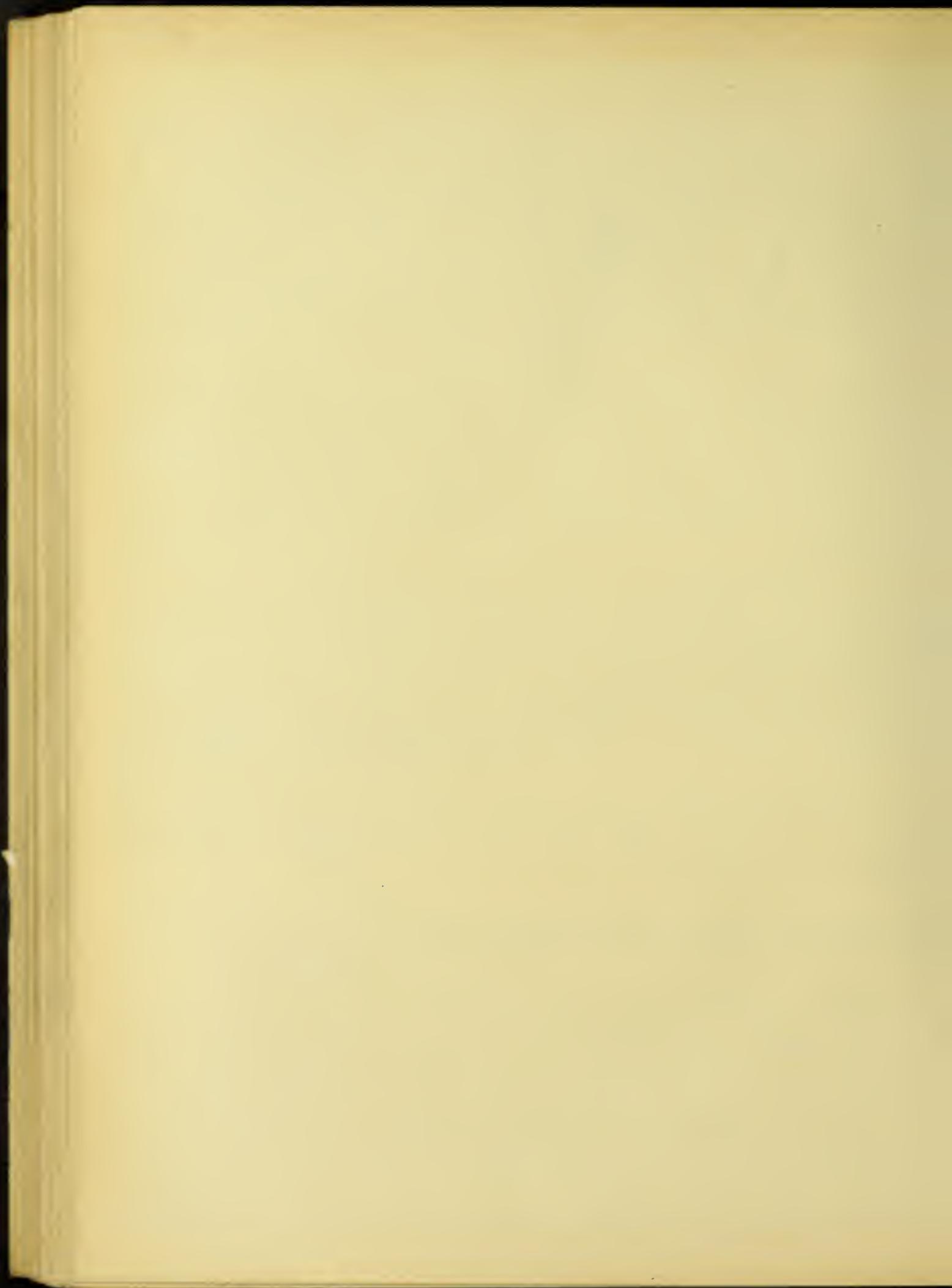
But supposing Pope's Iliad to have been perfect in its kind; yet it is a translation still; which differs as much from an original as the moon from the sun.

Conject. p. 12, l. 6ff.

1728: Originals only have true life, and differ as much from the best imitations as men from the most animated pictures of them.

Young I, 118.

Harmony as well as eloquence is essential to poesy; and a murder of his music is putting half Homer to death. Blank is a term of diminution; what we mean by blank verse, is verse unfallen, uncurs'd; verse reclaimed, reenthroned in the true language of the gods; who never thundered, nor suffered their Homer to thunder, in rime; and therefore, I beg you, my friend, to crown it with some nobler term;



nor let the greatness of the thing lie under the defanation of such a name.

Conject. p. 12, l. 28ff

1711: Aristotle observes that the iambic verse in the Greek tongue was the most proper for tragedy; because at the same time that it lifted up the discourse from prose, it was that which approached nearer to it than any other kind of verse. "For (says he,) we may observe that men in ordinary discourse very often speak iambics without taking notice of it". We may make the same observations of our English blank verse, which often enters into our common discourse, though we do not attend to it, and is such a due medium between rime and prose, that it seems wonderfully adapted to tragedy.

Addison, Spect. No. 39.

1701: We have blank verse which is not inharmonious.

Dennis, Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry, preface.

1667: First, then, I am of opinion, that rime is unnatural in a play because dialogue there is presented as the effect of sudden thought; for a play is the imitation of nature; and since no man without premeditation speaks in rime, neither ought he to do it on the stage... For this reason, says Aristotle, 'tis best to write tragedy in that kind of verse which is the least such, or which is nearest prose: and this amongst the ancients was the iambic, and with us is blank verse, as the measure of verse kept exactly without rime.

Dryden, An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, p. 91.

1665: Another way of the ancients which the French follow, and our stage has now lately practiced, is to write in rime; and this is the dispute betwixt many ingenious persons, whether verse in rime, or verse without the sound, which may be called blank verse (though a hard expression), is to be preferred? But take the question largely, and it is never to be decided, but by right application I suppose it may; for in the general they are both proper, that is, one for a play, the other for a poem or copy of verses, - a blank verse being as much too low for one as rime is unnatural for the other.

Sir Robert Howard, Pref. to four new Plays, ed. Spingarn, II, 101.

1602: In those lack-learning times, and in barbarized Italy, began that vulgar and easy kind of poesy which is now in use throughout most parts of Christendome which we abusively call rime and meter, of rithmus and metrum. ... The facility and popularity of rime creates as many poets, as a hot summer flies.... The noble Grecians and Romans, whose skillful monuments outlive barbarism, tied themselves to the strict observation of poetical numbers so abandoning the childish titillation of riming, that it was imputed a great error to Ovid for setting forth this one riming verse,

Quot caelum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas.

Thomas Campion, Observations p. 4 f.

1586: Rime was tried by the Greek Symias Rhodias, but he was not admitted as an author on account of it.... It was later practiced by the Goths and Huns, and by them introduced into Italy.

William Webbe, Discourse, p. 57.

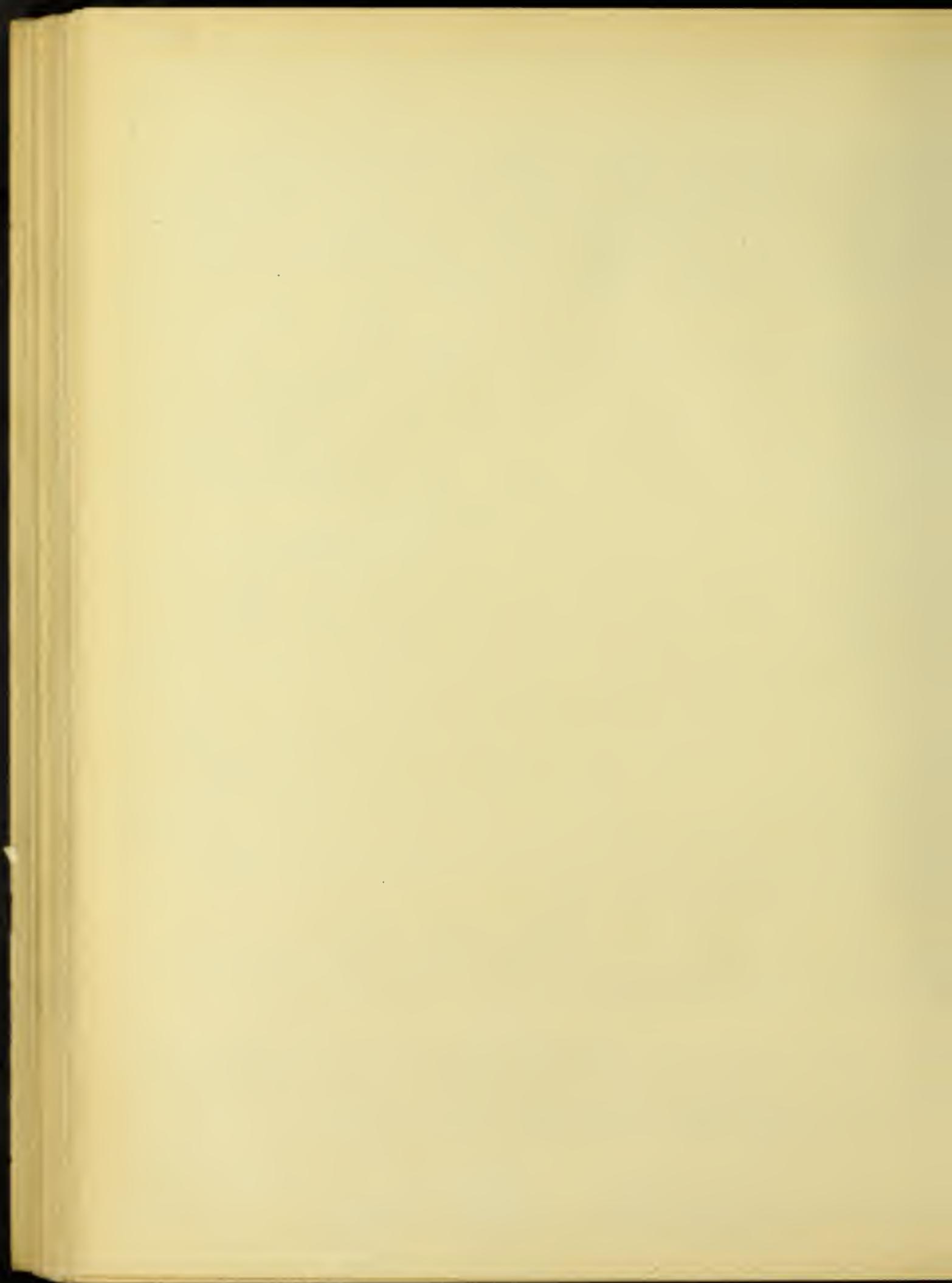
1586: Unrime poetry "that commendable kind of writing in true verse"

William Webbe, A Discourse of English Poetry, p. 68.

1856: Pierce Ploughman was the first that I have seen that observed the quality of our verse without the curiosity of rime.

William Webbe, A Dissertation on English Poetry, p. 33.

Lucian, who was an original, ... replied, 'I am indeed the inventor of new work, the model of which I owe to none'.



1756: Pope was a most excellent improver, if no great original inventor.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 295.

1756: If it should be objected that the barrenness of invention, imputed to Pope from a view of his Pastorals, is equally imputable to the Bucolics of Virgil, it may be answered, that, whatever may be determined of the rest, yet the first and last Eclogues of Virgil, are indisputable proofs of true genius, and power of fancy.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 9.

1754: Gower and Chaucer were justly reputed the first English poets, because they were the first, of any note at least, who introduced invention into our poetry.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, II. 94.

1754: However, in the reign of Henry VII. this interval of darkness was happily removed by Stephen Hawes, a name generally unknown and not mentioned by any compiler of the lives of English poets. This author was at this period the restorer of invention, which seems to have suffered a gradual degeneracy from the days of Chaucer.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, II, 96 f.

1735; Mr. Hughes, when he was but nineteen, writ a tragedy entitled Amalasant, Queen of the Goths, which displays a fertile genius, and a masterly invention.

John Hughes, Poems, Preface by William Duncombe.

1712: A poet of less judgment and invention than this great author (Wilton) would have found it very difficult to have filled these tender parts of the poem with sentiments proper for a state of innocence to have described the warmth of love and the profession of it without artifice or hyperbole.

Spectator, No. 331.

1712: Addison and Eve, before the fall, are a different species from that of mankind who are descended from them; and none but a poet of the most unbounded invention and the most exquisite judgment could have filled their conversation and behaviour with such beautiful circumstances during their state of innocence.

Addison Spect. No. 276.

1706; 'Tis a new invented kind of fable, very different from anything which had ever been written before, and therefore it may justly be esteemed an original.

John Hughes, in his preface to Political Touchstone of Trajano Boccacini.

1675: If invention be the grand part of a poet, or maker, and verse the least, then certainly the more sublime the argument, the nobler the invention, and by consequence the greater the poet.

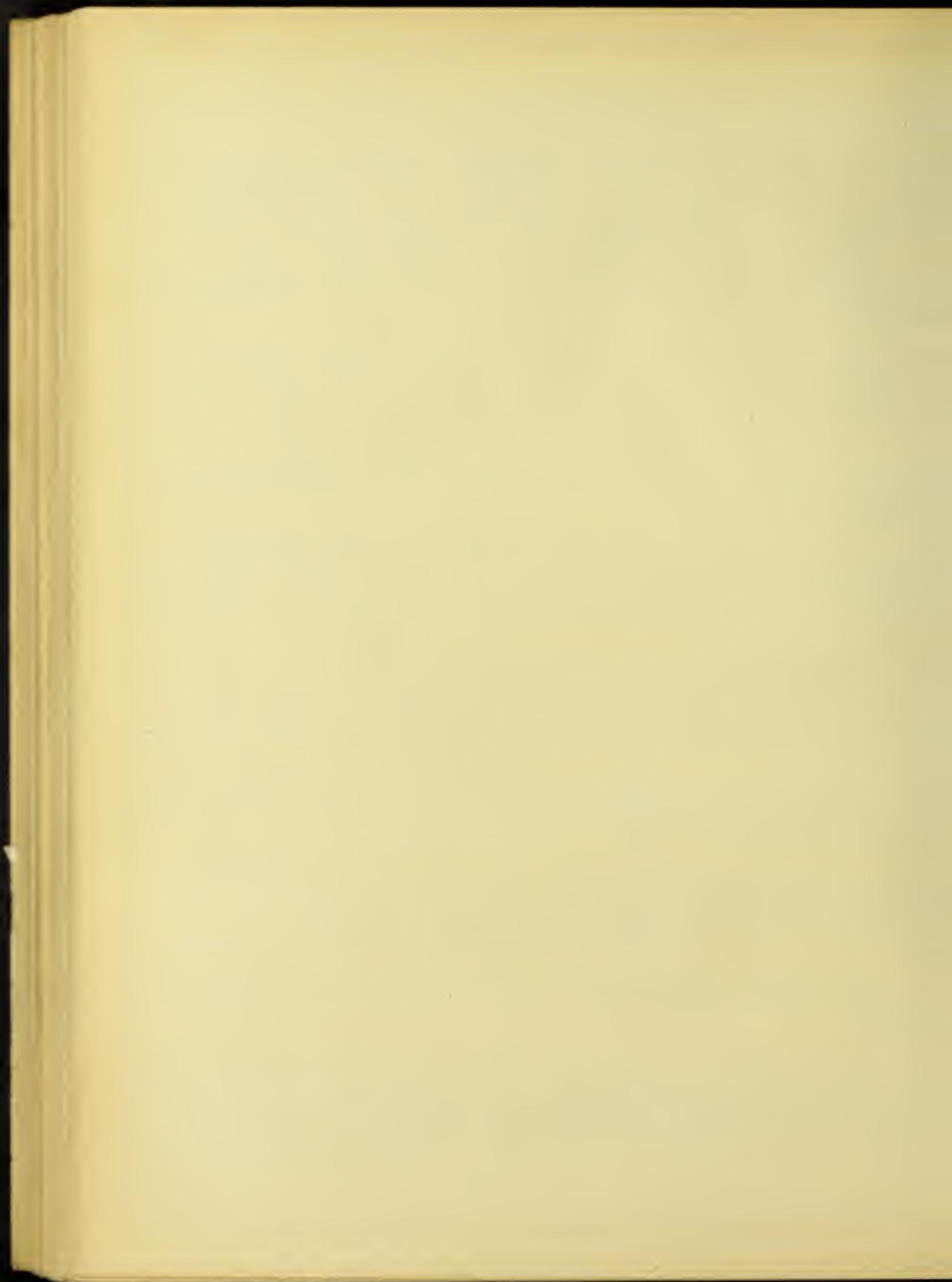
Edward Phillips, Theatrum Poetarum.

Would not his friend Pope have succeeded better in an original attempt?

Conject. p. 12, l, 21f.

1728: Above all, in this (the ode), as in every work of genius, somewhat of an original spirit should be at least attempted: otherwise the poet, whose character disclaims mediocrity, makes a secondary praise his ultimate ambition; which has something of a contradiction in it.

Young I, 418.



Imitation is inferiority confessed; emulation is superiority contested, or denied; imitation is servile, emulation generous; that fetters, this fires; that may give a name, this a name immortal: This made Athens to succeeding ages the rule of taste, and the standard of perfection. Her men struck fire against each other; and kindled, by conflict, into glories no time shall extinguish.

Conject. p. 13, l. 27ff

1728: Emulation is an exalted and glorious passion, ... Its generous food is praise; its sublime profession, transcendence; and the life it pants after, immortality. It kindles at all that is illustrious, and, as it were, lights its torch at the sun.

Young II, 351.

1726: To emulate a generous warmth implies,  
To reach the virtues that make great men rise.

Young II, 77.

1634: I conversed with some of the modern as well as with the ancient kindling my fire at those fires which do still burn out of the ashes of ancient authors.

Sir William Alexander, Anacrisis, ed. Spingarn, I, 181.

Another way (beyond anything we have mentioned) leads to the sublime....It is the imitation and emulation. And let this, my dear friend, be an aim to which we steadfastly apply ourselves. For many men are carried away by the spirit of others as if inspired... Similarly from the great natures of the men of old there are borne in upon the souls of those who emulate them (as from sacred caves) what we may describe as effluences, so that even those who seem little likely to be possessed are thereby inspired and succumb to the spell of the others' greatness.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 81.

True poesy, like true religion, abhors idolatry; and though it honors the memory of the exemplary, and takes them willingly (yet cautiously) as guides in the way to glory; real (though unexampled) excellence is its only aim; nor looks it for any inspiration less than divine.

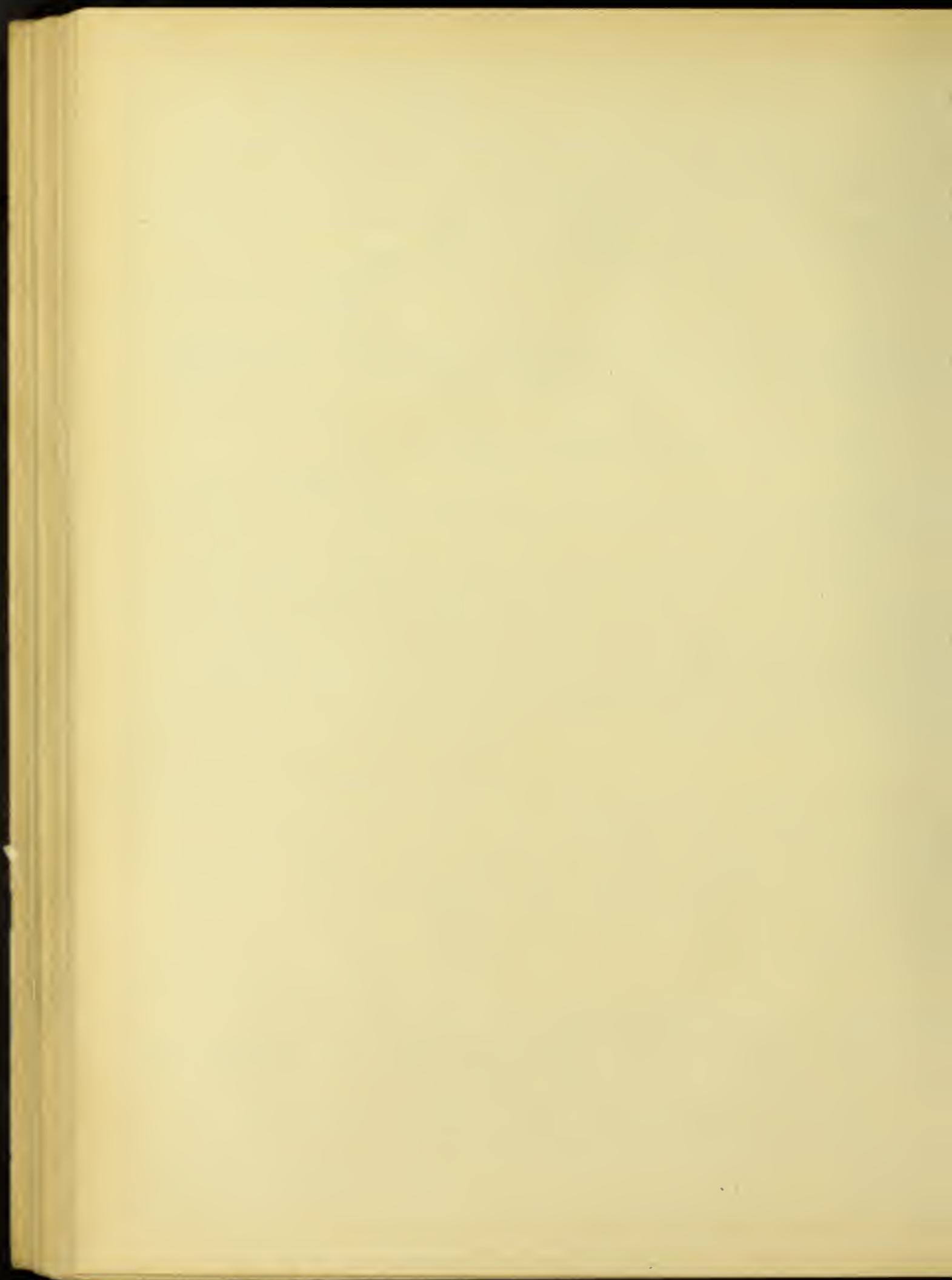
Conject. p. 13, l. 47ff

1684: When, by impulse from heaven, Tyrtæus sung,  
In drooping soldiers a new courage sprung.

Wentworth Dillion, Essay on Translated Verse, Ed Spingarn II, 307.

1671: Thou Spirit, who led'st this glorious Eremite  
Into the desert, his victorious field,  
Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence,  
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,  
As thou art want, my prompted song.

Paradise Regained, I, 1-12.



Though Pope's noble muse may boast her illustrious descent from Homer, Virgil, Horace, yet is an original author more nobly born. As Tacitus says of Curtius Rufus, an original author is born of himself, is his own progenitor, and will probably propagate a numerous offspring of imitators, to eternize his glory; while rule-like imitators die without issue. Therefore we stand much obliged for his giving us a Homer, yet had he doubled our obligation by giving us - a Pope. Had he a strong imagination and the true sublime? That granted, we might have had two Homers instead of one, if longer had been his life for I heard the dying swan talk over an epic plan a few weeks before his decease.

Conject. p. 13, l. 52ff

1756: Perhaps the *Inferno* of Dante is the next composition to the *Iliad*, in point of originality and sublimity; and with regard to the pathetic, let this tale stand a testimony of his abilities: for my own part, I truly believe it was never carried to a greater height.

Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, p. 252 f.  
 1756: Whatever censures we have here too boldly, perhaps, ventured to deliver on the professed poetry of Addison, yet we must candidly own, that in various parts of his prose essays are to be found many strokes of genuine and sublime poetry; many marks of a vigorous and exuberant imagination.

Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, p. 265.  
 1756: Pope, it is said, had framed a design of writing an epic poem on a fact recorded in our old annalists, and therefore more engaging to an Englishman; on the Arrival of Brutus, the supposed grandson of Aeneas, in our island, and the settlement of the first foundations of the British monarchy. A full scope might have been given to a vigorous imagination, to embellish a fiction drawn from the bosom of the remotest antiquity. ... But shall I be pardoned for suspecting that Pope would not have succeeded in his design; that so didactic a genius would have deficient in that sublime and pathetic, which are the main nerves of the epopee; .... that Pope's close and constant reasoning had impaired and crushed the faculty of imagination; that the political reflections, in this piece, would, in all probability, have been more numerous than the affecting strokes of nature; ... in a word, that this composition would have shown more of the philosopher than of the poet. Add to all this that it was to have been written in rhyme; a circumstance sufficient of itself alone to overwhelm and extinguish all enthusiasm, and produce sudden tautologies and circumlocutions.

Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, p. 275f.  
 1756: The sublime and the pathetic are the two chief nerves of all genuine poesy. What is there transcendently sublime or pathetic in Pope?... Our English poets may, I think, be disposed in four different classes and degrees. In the first class I would place our only three sublime and pathetic poets: Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton.



Joseph Warton, On the Genius and Writings of Pope, Dedication.

1730: We have more specimens of good writing in every province than in the sublime; our two famous epic poems excepted. Young II. 1 f.

1730: In life or song how rare the true sublime!. Young II. 30.

1712: Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. Spectator No. 276.

1712; Milton's sentiments and ideas were so wonderfully sublime etc. Addison Spect. No. 297.

1712: It would be in vain to inquire whether the power of imagining things strongly proceeds from any greater perfection in the soul or from any nicer texture in the brain of one man than of another. Put this is certain, that a noble writer should be born with this faculty in its full strength and vigor, so as to be able to receive lively ideas from outward objects, to retain them long, and to range them together, upon occasion, in such figures and representations as are most likely to hit the fancy of the reader. A poet should take as much pains in forming his imagination as a philosopher in cultivating his understanding. He must gain a due relish of the works of nature, and be thoroughly conversant in the various scenery of a country. ... Such advantages as these help to open a man's thoughts, and to enlarge his imagination, and will therefore have their influence on all kinds of writing, if the author knows how to make right use of them.

Spectator No. 117.

1712: Milton's exuberance of imagination. Addison, Spect. No. 270.

1712: For to have a true relish and form a right judgment of a description, a man should be born with a good imagination. ... The fancy must be warm to retain the print of these images it hath received from outward objects; and the judgment discerning, to know what expressions are most proper to clothe and adorn them to the best advantage.

Addison, Spect. No. 416.

1712: "set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant imagination".

Addison, Spect. No. 215.

1709: The most active principle in our mind is the imagination: to it a good poet makes his court perpetually, and by this faculty takes care to gain it first. Our passions and inclinations come over next; and our reason surrenders itself with pleasure in the end.

The Tatler, No. 23.

For, as if instinctively, our soul is uplifted by the true sublime; it takes a proud flight, and is filled with joy and vaunting, as though it had itself produced what it has heard.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 55.

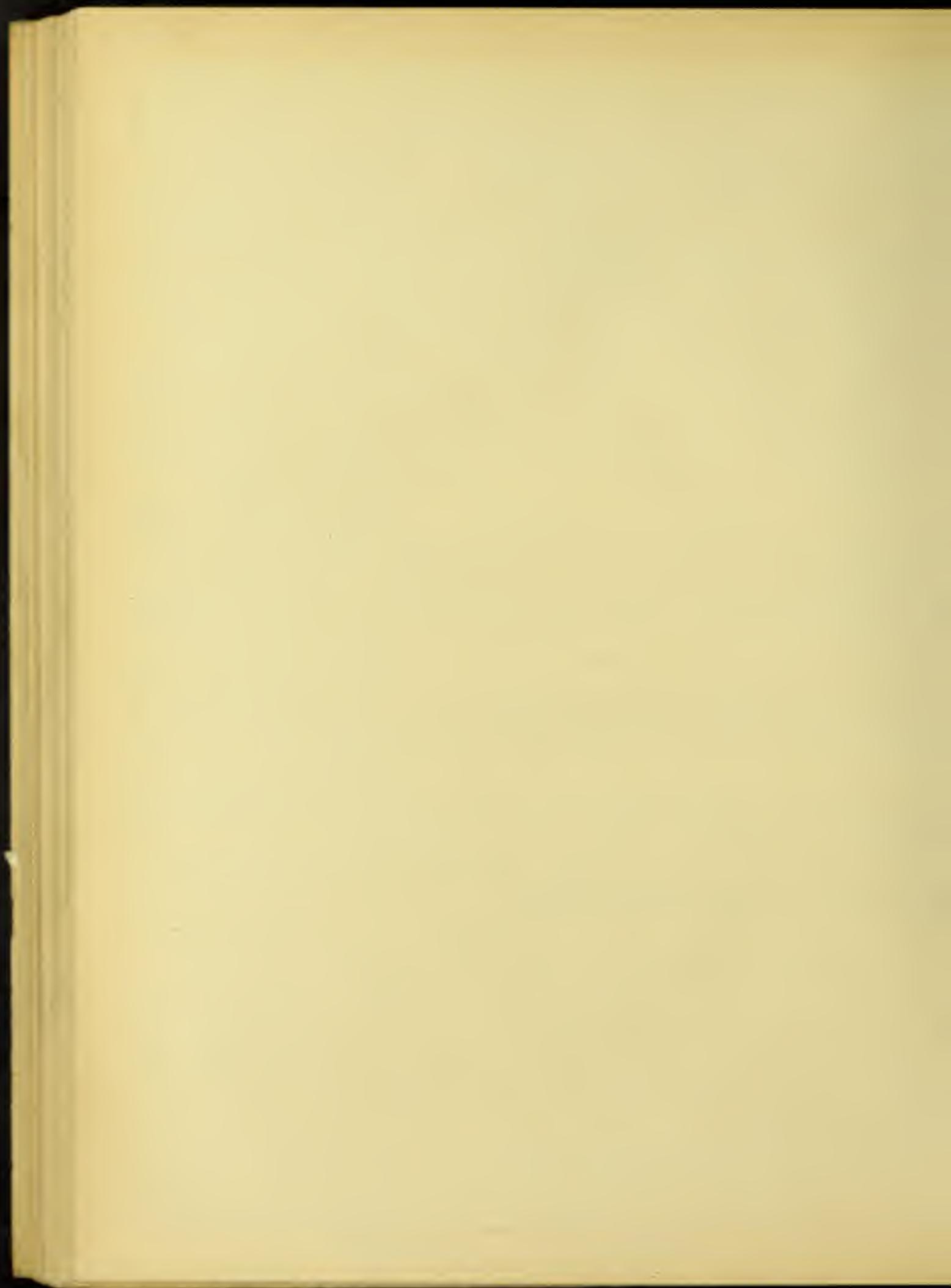
: If you take away the sublime, you will remove as it were the soul from the body, ... sublimity consists in elevation, while amplification embraces a multitude of details.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 75-77.

Moreover, so boundless are the bold excursions of the human mind, that, in the vast void beyond real existence, it can call forth shadowy beings, and unknown worlds, as numerous, as bright, and perhaps as lasting, as the stars; such quite-original beauties we may call paradisaical.

Natos sine serine flores. Ovid.

Conject. p. 11, 1, 17ff.



1754: Ariosto was Spensers favorit;..he was naturally biassed to prefer that plan which would admit the most extensive range for his unlimited imagination.

T.Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I. 6.

1750: "Whoever ventures", says Horace, "to form a character totally original, let him endeavor to preserve it with uniformity and consistency: but the formation of an original character is a work of great difficulty and hazard". In this arduous and uncommon task, however, Shakespeare has wonderfully succeeded in his Tempest: the monster Caliban is the creature of his own imagination, in the formation of which he could derive no assistance from observation or experience.

The Adventurer, No. 97.

1742-45: And the vast void beyond, applause resounds.

Young I, 191.

1742-45: Worlds beyond number, worlds conceal'd by day,

Behind the proud envious star of noon! Young I. 220.

1713: So we may observe that our first parents seldom lose sight of their happy station in anything they speak or do; and, if the reader will give me leave to use the expression, that their thoughts are always paradisaical.

Addison, Spect. No. 320.

1712: There is another sort of imaginary beings that we sometimes meet with among the poets, when the author represents any passion, appetite, virtue, or vice, under a visible shape, and makes it a person or an actor in his poem. Of this nature are the descriptions of Hunger and Envy in Ovid, of Fame in Virgil, and of Sin and Death in Milton. We find a whole creation of the like shadowy persons in Spenser, who had an admirable talent in representations of this kind.

Addison, Spect. No. 119.

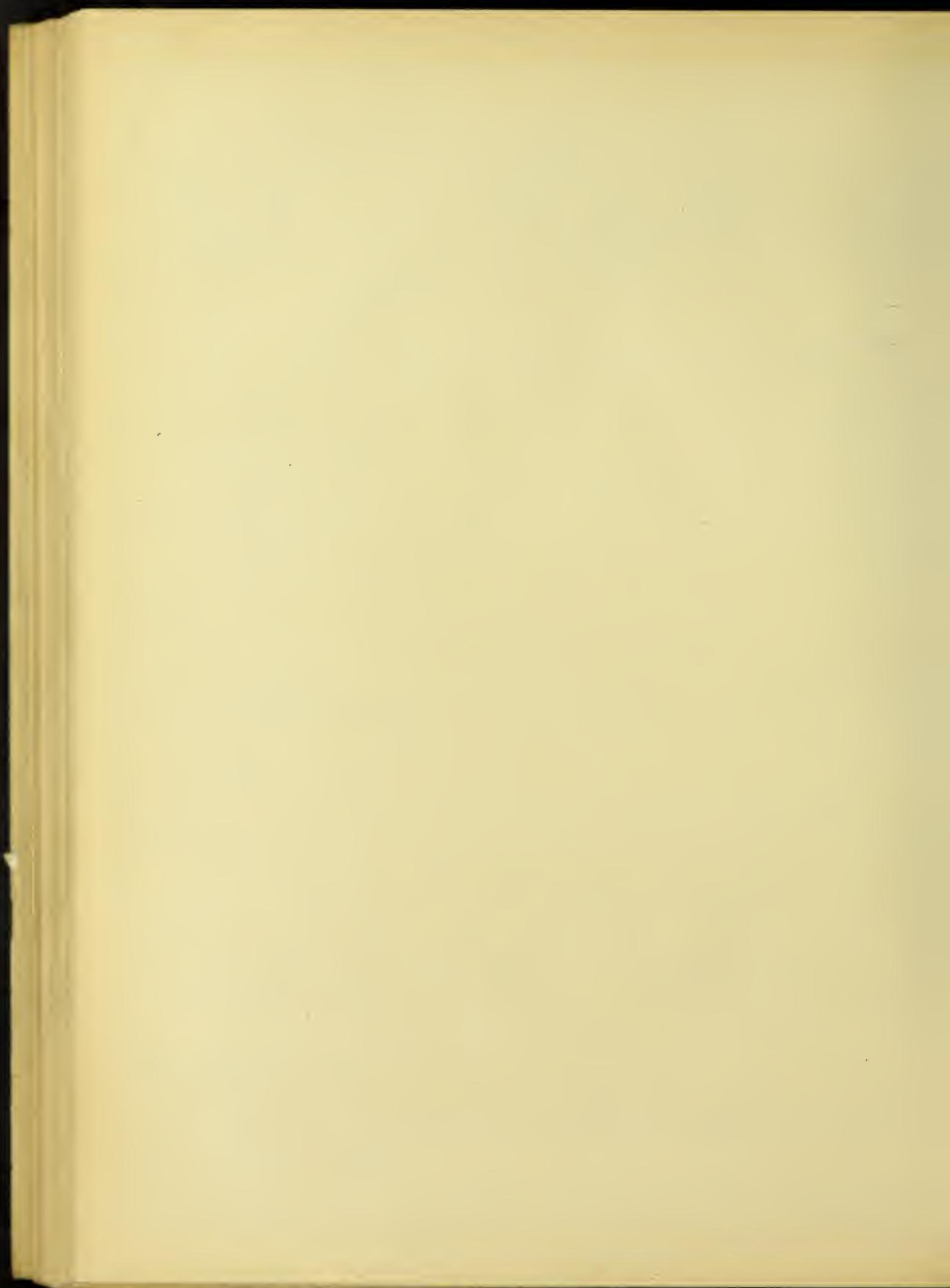
1712: There is a kind of writing wherein the poet quite loses sight of nature, and entertains his reader's imagination with the characters and actions of such persons as have many of them no existence but what he bestows on them; such are fairies, witches, magicians, demons and departed spirits. This Mr. Dryden calls the fairy way of writing which is, indeed, more difficult than any other that depends on the poet's fancy, because he has no pattern to follow in it, and must work altogether out of his own invention. There is a very odd turn of thought required for this sort of writing, and it is impossible for a poet to succeed in it who has not a particular cast of fancy, and an imagination naturally fruitful and superstitious. ... We are pleased with surveying the different habits and behaviours of foreign countries, how much more must we be delighted and surprised when we are led, as it were, into a new creation, and see the persons and manners of another species? Men of cold fancies and philosophical dispositions, object to this kind of poetry, that it has not probability enough to affect the imagination. But to this it may be answered that we are sure, in general, there are many intellectual beings in the world besides ourselves, and several species of spirits, who are subject to different laws and economies from those of mankind; when we see, therefore, any of these represented naturally, we cannot look upon the representation as altogether impossible.

Addison, Spect. No. 412.

1712: Thus we see how many ways poetry addresses itself to the imagination, as it has not only the whole circle of nature for its province but makes new worlds of its own, shows us persons who are not to be found in being, and represents even the faculties of the soul, with her several virtues and vices, in a sensible shape and character.

Addison, Spect. No. 419.

1712: The supernatural and alligorical persons, which may on some occasions be introduced in it (an opera), though not allowed in



tragedy, are amusing to the imagination; and though they are characters formed beyond the bounds of nature and reality, there is a kind of poetical nature that presides here, and ought to regulate the poet's invention and conduct.

John Hughes, Preface to Calypso and Telerachus. 1711: Nor must we omit one consideration which adds to his Honor and reputation. Homer and Virgil introduced persons whose characters are commonly known among men, and such as are to be met with either in history, or in ordinary conversation. Milton's characters, most of them, lie out of nature and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It shows a greater genius in Shakespeare to have drawn his Caliban, than his Hotspur or Julius Caesar: The one was to be supplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history or observation.

Addison, Spect. No. 276  
: Not even the entire universe suffices for the thought and contemplation within the reach of the human mind, but our imaginations often pass beyond the bounds of space.....

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 135.

When such an ample area for renowned adventure in original attempts lies before us, shall we be as mere leaden pipes, conveying to the present age small streams of excellence from its grand reservoir in antiquity; and those too, perhaps, muddied in the pass?

Conject. p. 11, l. 23ff.

1730: Behind the curtain lurks the fountain-head  
That pours his politics through pipes of lead,

Young II, 36.

Originals shine, like comets; have no peer in their path; are rivaled by none, and the gaze of all.

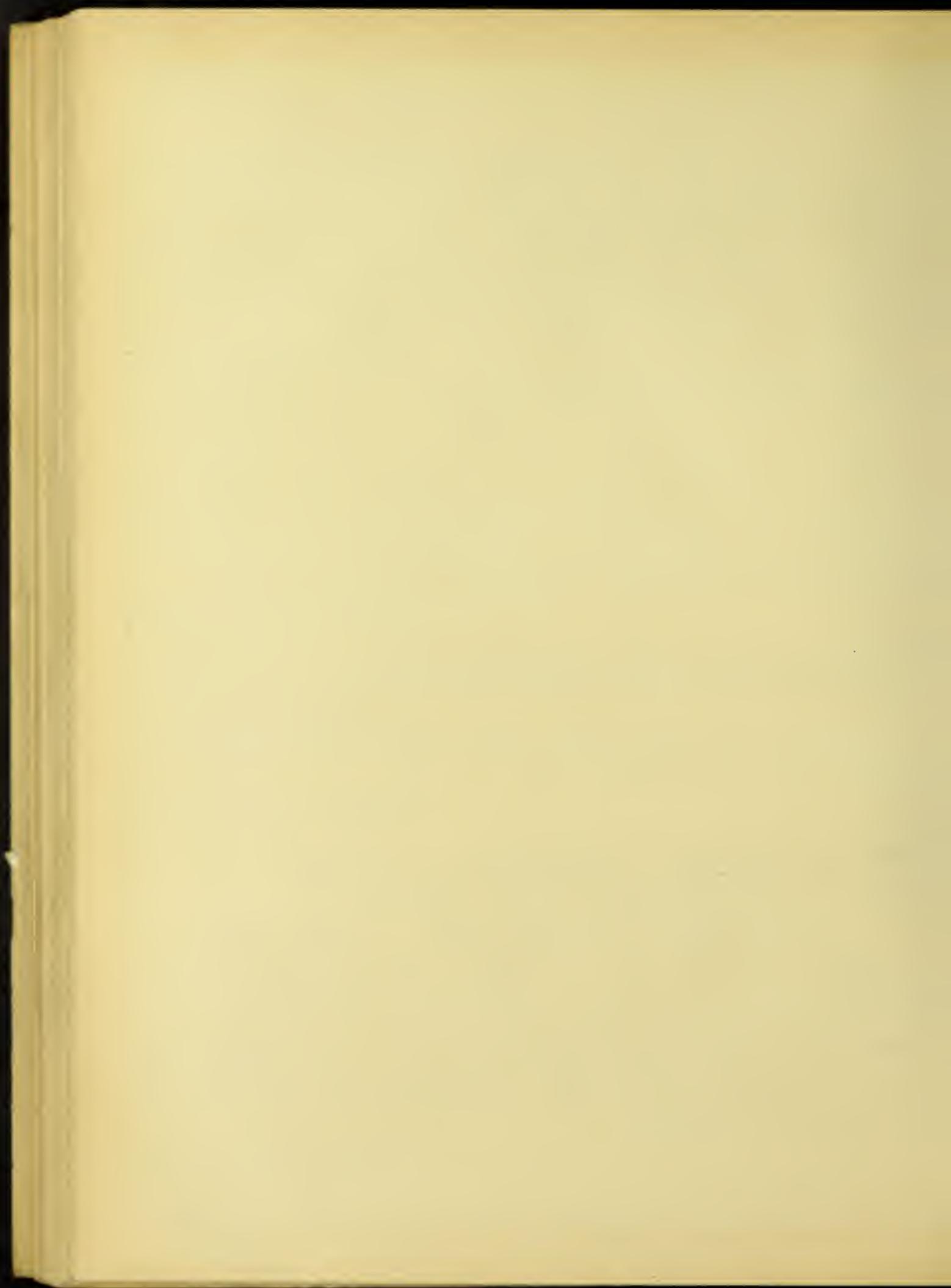
Conject. p. 14 l. 27 f.

1742-45: O how portentous is prosperity!  
How, comet-like, it threatens while it shines!

-----  
Set up in ostentation, made the gaze,  
The gaudy centre of the public eye. Young I. 88.

Since a marvelous light, unenjoyed of old, is poured on us by revelation, with larger prospects extending our understanding, with brighter objects enriching our imagination, with an inestimable prize setting our passions on fire, thus strengthening every power that enables composition to shien;

Conject. p. 14, l. 42ff.



1754: If the imagination be lively, the passions will be strong. True genius seldom resides in a cold and phlegmatic constitution.

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 109

1712-15: Condemn me not, cold critic! but indulges

The warm imagination. Why condemn?

Why not indulge such thoughts as swell our hearts

With fuller admiration of that Power

Who gives our hearts with such high thought to swell?

Young I. 223.

1739: 'Tis however certain that in the warmth of a poetical enthusiasm a poet has a counterfeit belief, and even a kind of vision of his objects: And if there be any shadow of argument to support this belief, nothing contributes more to his full conviction than a blaze of poetical figures and images, which have this effect upon the poet himself, as well as upon his readers.

Hume, Treatise of Human Nature, p. 123.

1712: The author's (Milton's) imagination was so inflamed with this great scene of action that wherever he speaks of it he rises, if possible, above himself.

Spectator No. 333.

1711: Many of these (common great talkers) have a sprightly genius, attended with a mighty heat and ebullition of fancy.

Shaftsbury, Characteristics I.3.

1695: 'Tis therefore no wonder that so wise a state as that of Athens should retain the poets on the side of religion and government. ... The poets were looked on as divine, not only on account of that extraordinary fury and heat of imagination wherewith they are thought to be inspired, but likewise upon...their business being to represent vice as the most odious, and virtue as the most desirable thing in the world.

Sir Richard Blackmore, Preface to Prince Arthur, ed. Spingarn III. 227f.

1685: From this sublime and daring genius of his (speaking of Lucrctius) it must of necessity come to pass, that his thoughts must be masculine, full of argumentation, and that sufficiently warm. From the same fiery temper proceeds the loftiness of his expressions, and the perpetual torrent of his verse, where the barrenness of his subject does not too much constrain the quickness of his fancy.

Dryden, Preface to Sylvae, p. 260.

1682: A higher flight, and of a happier force,  
Are odes, the muses most warily horse,  
That bounds so fierce the rider has no rest,  
But foams at mouth, and speaks like one possessed,  
The poet here must be indeed inspired,  
And not with fancy, but with fury fired.

John Sheffield, An Essay upon Poetry, ed. Spingarn II. 260.

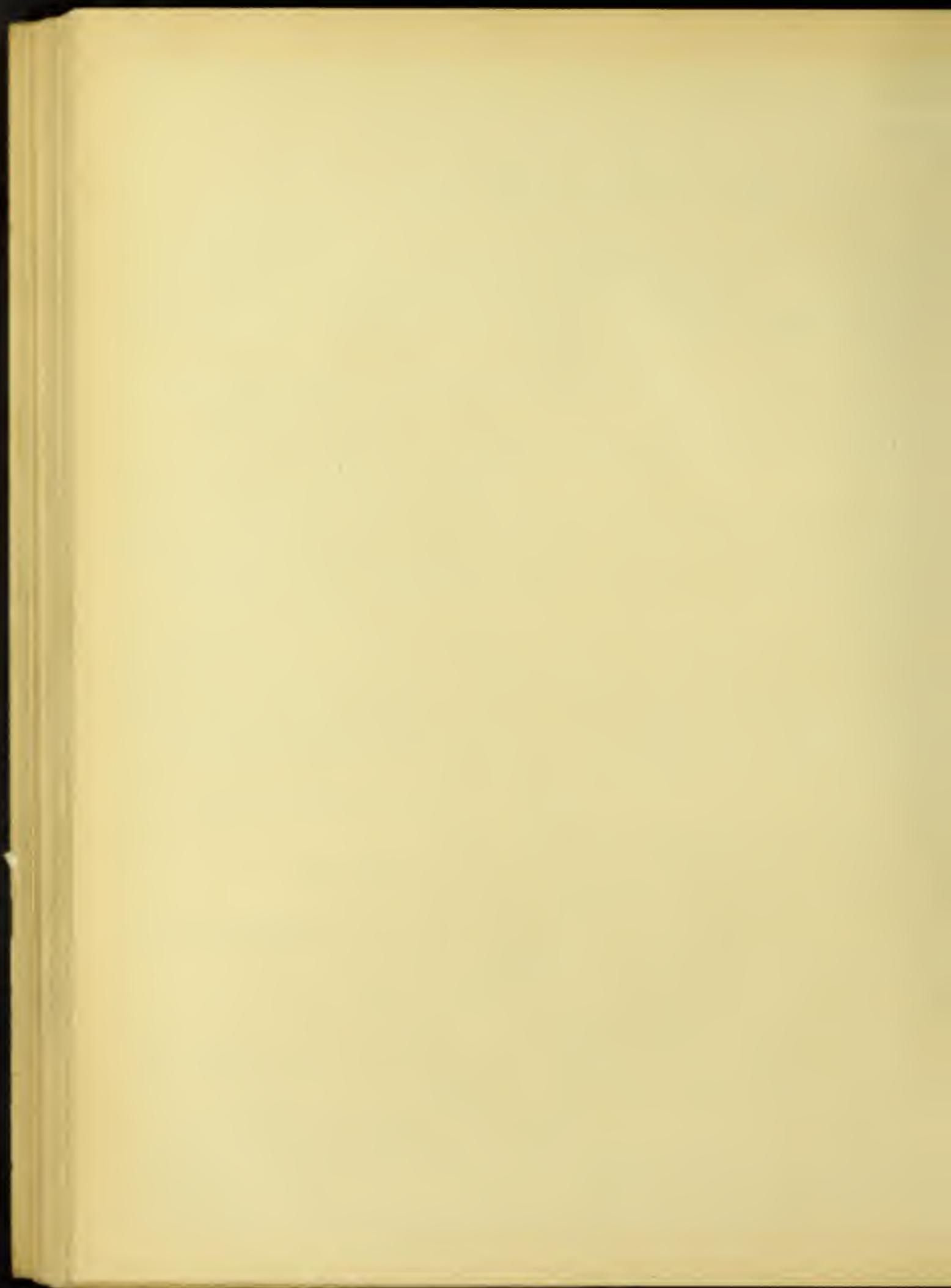
1598: Next Marlow, bathed in the Thespian springs,  
Had in him those brave translunary things  
That the first poets had, his raptures were  
All air and fire, which made his verses clear;  
For that fine madness still he did retain,  
Which rightly should possess a poets brain.

Michael Drayton, Epistle to Reynolds, ed. Spingarn, p. 137.

1590: The poets eye in a fine frenzy rolling,  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven.

Shakespeare, Midsummer Nights Dream.

: There are, it may be said, five principle sources of elevated language. ... First and most important is the power of forming great conceptions, as we have elsewhere explained in our remarks on Xenophon. Secondly, there is vehement and inspired passion. These two



components of the sublime are for the most part innate. Those which remain are partly the product of art.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 57.

: I would affirm with confidence that there is no tone so lofty as that of genuine passion, in its right place, when it bursts out in a wild gust of mad enthusiasm and, as it were, fills the speaker's words with frenzy.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 50.

Tully, Quintillian, and all true critics allow, that virtue assists genius, and that the writer will be more able, when better is the man.

Conject. p. 11,1, 50ff.

1739: Such writers have we! all but sense they print;

Reform your lives before you thus aspire. Young II, 31.

1739: Would you restore just honors to the pen?

From able writers rise to worthy men. Young II, 41.

1739: The character of honest men comprehends the whole. That gives great authority where there is not great ability; and where there is, breathes something divine.

Young II, 38f.

1695: For if men will impartially, and not asquint, look toward the offices and function of a poet, they will easily conclude to themselves the impossibility of any man's being the good poet without first being a good man.

Ben Jonson, Dedicatory Epistle to Valpone, ed. Spingarn, p. 12.

: For it is not possible that men with mean and servile ideas and aims prevailing throughout their lives should produce anything that is admirable and worthy of immortality.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 31.

It is prudence to read, genius to relish, glory to surpass, ancient authors; and wisdom to try our strength in an attempt in which it would be no great dishonor to fail.

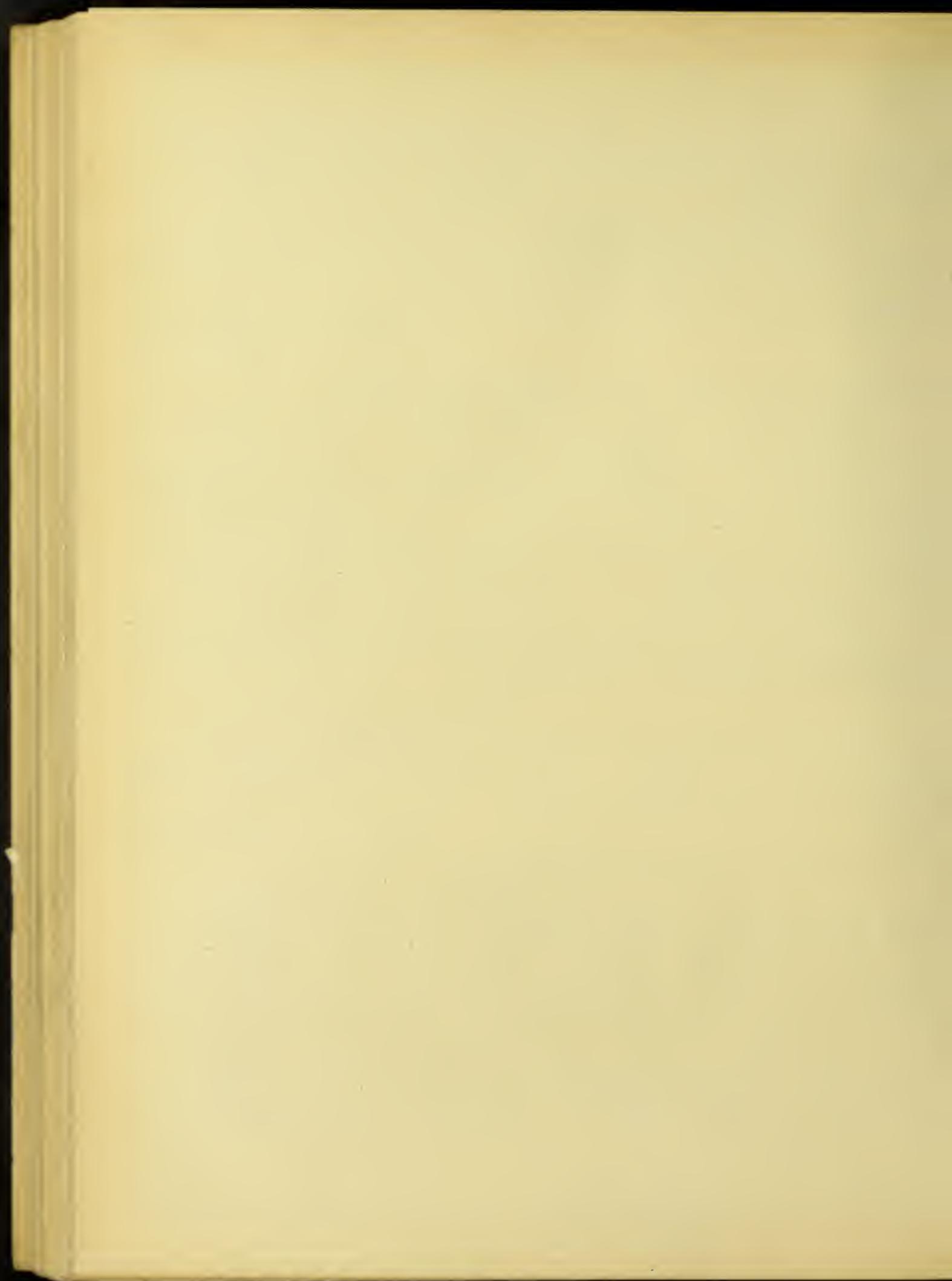
Conject. p. 15,1, 43 ff.

: Failure in a great attempt is at least a noble error.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 40.

: And it seems to me that there would not have been so fine a bloom of perfection on Plato's philosophical doctrines, and that he would not in many cases have found his way to poetical subject-matter and modes of expression, unless he had with all his heart and mind struggled with Homer for the primacy, entering the lists like a young champion matched against the man whom all admire, and showing perhaps too much love of contention and breaking a lance with him as it were, but deriving some profit from the contest none the less. For, as Hesiod says, "This strife is good for mortals". and in truth that struggle for the crown of glory is noble, and well deserves the victory in which even to be worsted by one's predecessors brings no discredit.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 31.



Something new may be expected from Britons particularly; who seem not to be more severed from the rest of mankind by the surrounding sea, than by the current in their veins; and of whom little more appears to be required, in order to give us originals, than a consistency of character, and making their compositions of a piece with their lives.

Conject. p. 15, l, 18ff

1754: It it be urged, that the nature of modern politics and laws excludes the pathetic and the sublime, and confines the speaker to a cold argumentative method, and a dull detail of proof and dry matters of fact; yet, surely, the religion of the moderns abounds in topics so incomparably noble and exalted as might kindle the flames of genuine oratory in the most frigid and barren genius; much more might this success be reasonably expected in such geniuses as Britain can enumerate; yet no piece of this sort, worthy applause or notice, has ever yet appeared.

The Adventurer, No. 127.

1727: Everything, my lord, our trade, our peace, our liberty, the complexion of our language and of our government, and the disposition of spirit of the Britons, admirably turned by nature for succeeding in poetry, all would conspire to make this nation the rival of the most renowned among the ancients for works of wit and genius.

Leonard Welsted, A Dissertation, p. 15

1713: Nor fear I mention of the court of France,

When I the British genius would advance:

-----  
Our genius more affects the grand than fine;  
Our strength can make the great plain action shine.

-----The Gallic doubt and care;

We heighten into terror and despair;

Strike home, the strongest passions boldly touch,

Nor fear our audience should be pleas'd too much.

What's great in nature we can greatly draw,

Nor thank for beauties the dramatic law. Young I. 296.

1712: Among all the poets of this kind our English are such the best, by what I have yet seen, whether it be that we abound with more stories of this nature, or that the genius of our country is fitter for this sort of poetry. For the English are naturally fanciful, and very often disposed by that gloominess and melancholy of temper, which is so frequent in our nation, to many wild notions and visions, to which others are not so liable.

Addison, Spect. No. 110.

1711: I can readily allow to our British Genius what was allowed to the Roman heretofore:-

Natura sublimis et acer:

Nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audit.

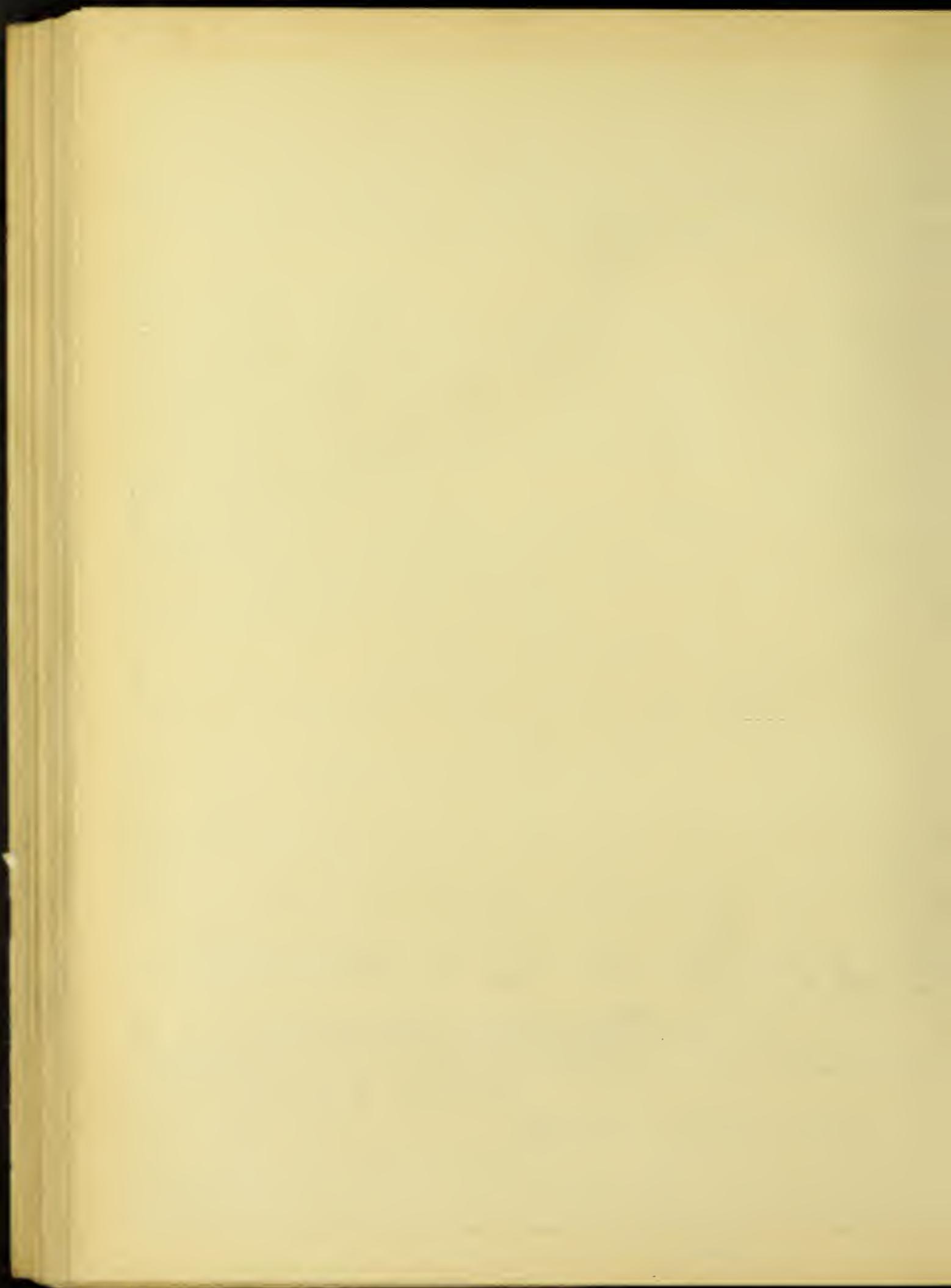
("By nature full of elevation and passion; for he has tragic inspiration enough and happy boldness".-Hor. Arist. II, 1, 105, 100).

Shaftesbury, Characteristic, I. 310.

1690: I can say very impartially that I have not observed among any so much true genius as among the English.

Sir William Temple, Of Poetry, ed. Spingarn, III. 105.

1607: And it is a good sign that nature will reveal more of its secrets to the English than to others, because it has already furnished them with a genius so well proportioned for the receiving and retaining it.



mysteries.

Thomas Sprat, *Life and Writings of Cowley*, ed. Spingarn, II. 119.

In polite composition, in natural and mathematical knowledge, we have great originals already; Bacon, Newton, Shakespeare, Milton, have showed us that all the winds cannot blow the British flag farther than an original spirit can convey the British fare.

V Conject. p. 15, 1, 25ff

1753: They (ancient poets and actors) seem to have held that divinity, nay, universality, of excellence, at which the moderns frequently aim, to be a gift unattainable by man. We, therefore, of Great Britain, have, perhaps, more reason to congratulate ourselves on two very singular phenomena; I mean Shakespeare's being able to portray characters so very different as Falstaff and Macbeth; and Garrick's being able to personate so inimitably a Lear or an Abel Druggier. Nothing can more fully demonstrate the extent and versatility of these two original geniuses.

Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, p. 112.

1754: This observation by no means affects the merit of Milton's original genius.

Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, II. 122.

Consider in those ancients what is it the world admires? Not the fewness of their faults, but the number and brightness of their beauties; and if Shakespeare is their equal (as he doubtless is) in that which in them is admired, then is Shakespeare as great as they; ... A giant loses nothing of his size though he should chance to trip in his race.

Conject. p. 15, 1, 51ff

1753: If an apology should be deemed necessary for the freedom here used with our inimitable bard (Milton), let me conclude in the words of Longinus: "Whoever was careful to collect the blemishes of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato, and of other celebrated writers of the same rank, would find they bore not the least proportion to the sublimities and excellencies with which their works abound".

The Adventurer, No. 101.

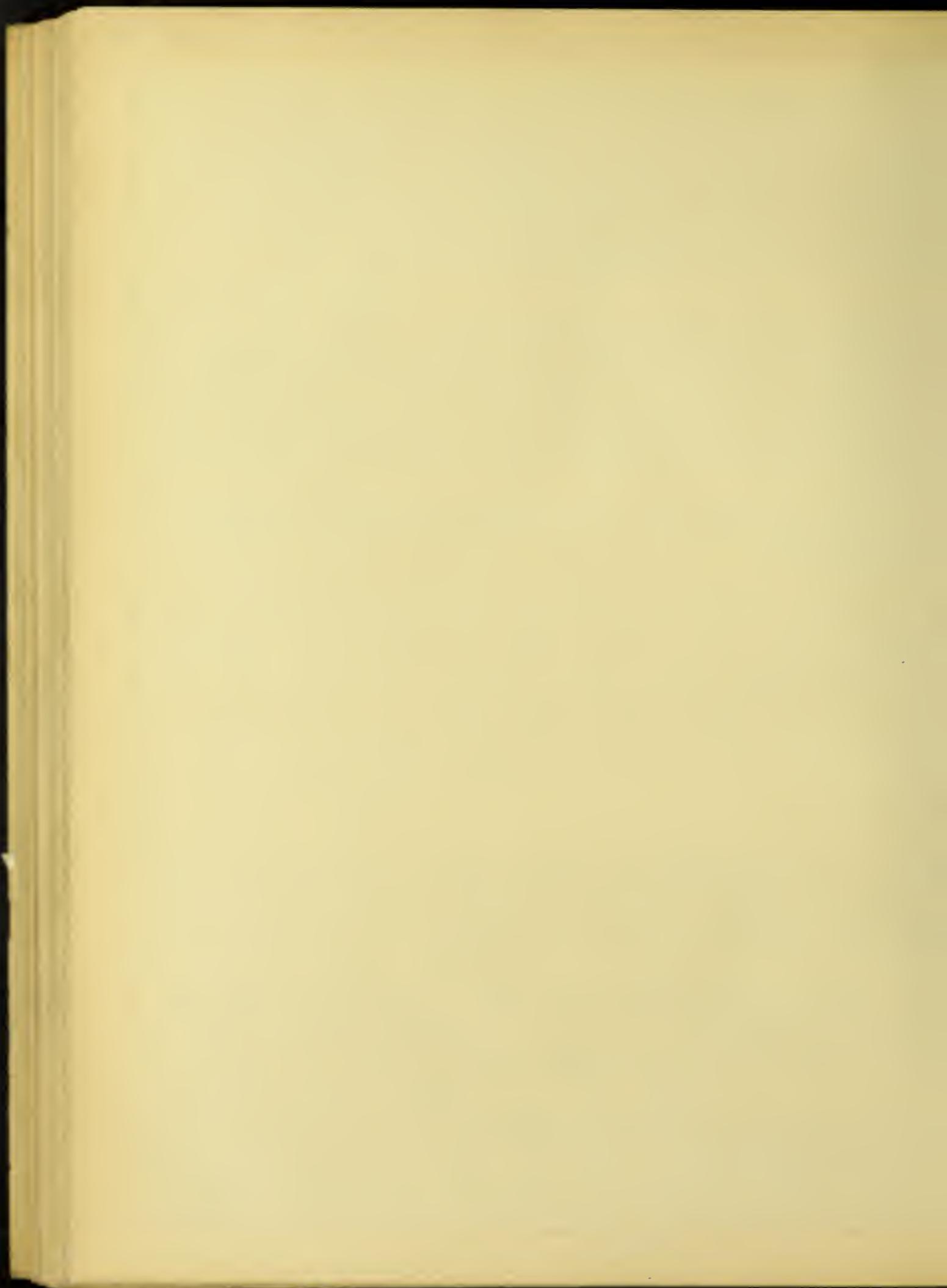
1721: I could not but conclude that with all their faults they (his works) were not altogether deprived of that noble fire, which alone can make them pleasing.

Dennis, Letters, I. 95.

1721: Wherever genius runs through a work, I forgive its faults, and wherever that is wanting no beauties can touch me.

Dennis, Letters, II. 222.

1715-26: Exact disposition, just thought, correct diction, polished numbers, may have been found in a thousand; but the poetical fire, this *vivida vis animi*, in a very few. Even in a work where all these are imperfect or neglected, this can overpower criticism; and make us admire even while we disapprove. Nay, where this appears, though attended with absurdities, it brightens all the rubbish about it,



till we see nothing but its own splendor. This fire is discerned in Virgil, but discerned as through a glass, reflected from Homer. .... In Milton it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardor, by the force of art: in Shakespeare it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from heaven. Pope, Homer, preface.

1714: Those who have surveyed the noblest pieces of architecture and statuary, both ancient and modern, know very well that there are frequent deviations from art in the works of the greatest masters, which have produced a much nobler effect than a more accurate and exact way of proceeding could have done. This often arises from what the Italians call the gusto grande in these arts, which is what we call the sublime in writing. Addison, Spect. No. 502.

1713: The truth of it is, there can be no more a perfect work in the world than a perfect man. To say of a celebrated piece that there are faults in it, is in effect to say no more than that the author of it was a man. For this reason I consider every critic that attacks an author in high reputation, as the slave in the Roman triumph, who was to call out to the conqueror, "Remember, sir, that you are a man." I speak this in relation to the following letter, which criticises the works of a great poet whose very faults have more beauty in them than the most elaborate compositions of many more correct writers. Addison, Guardian, No. 110.

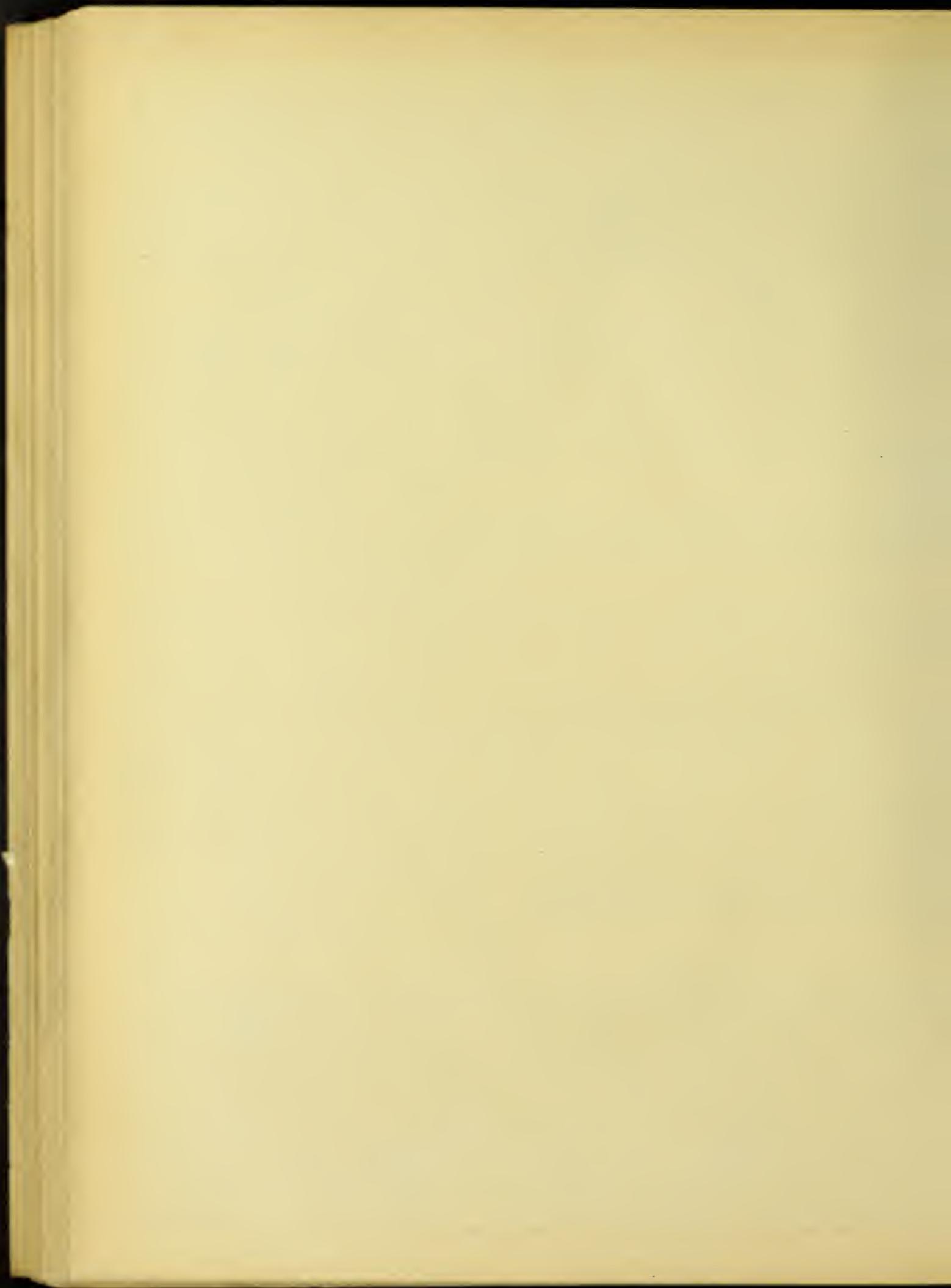
1712: I must also observe with Longinus that the production of a great genius, with many lapses and inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to the works of an inferior kind of author, which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the rules of correct writing. Addison, Spectator, No. 291.

1712: A true critic ought to dwell rather upon excellencies than imperfections, to discover the concealed beauties of a writer, and communicate to the world such things as are worth their observation. Addison, Spectator, No. 291.

: Now as regards the manifestations of the sublime in literature, ...it is fitting to observe at once that, though writers of this magnitude are far removed from faultlessness, they non the less all rise above what is mortal; that all other qualities prove their possessors to be men, but sublimity raises them near the majesty of God; and that while immunity from errors relieves from censure, it is grandeur that excites admiration. What need, to add thereto that each of these supreme authors often relieves all his failures, by a single sublime and happy touch, and (most important of all) that if one were to pick out and mass together the blunders of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato, and all the rest of the greatest writers, they would be found to be a very small part, nay an infinitesimal fraction, of the triumphs which those heroes achieve on every hand?

Longinus, On the Sublime, pp.195-197.

: Is it not worth while, on this very point, to raise the general question whether we ought to give the preference, in poems and prose writings, to grandeur with some attendant faults, or to success which is moderate but altogether sound and free from error? Aye, and further, whether a great number of excellences, or excellences higher in quality, would in literature rightly bear away the palm?...For my part, I am well aware that lofty genius is far removed from flawlessness; for invariable accuracy incurs the rich of pettiness, and in the sublime, as in great fortunes, there must be something which is overlooked. It may be necessarily the case that low and average natures remain as a rule free from failing and in great safety because they never run a risk or seek to scale the heights, while great endowments prove insecure because of their very greatness. ... I have myself noted not



a few errors on the part of Homer and other writers of the greatest distinction, and the slips they have made afford me anything but pleasure. Still I do not term them wilful errors, but rather oversights of a random and casual kind, due to neglect and introduced with all the heedlessness of genius. Consequently I do not waver in my view that excellences higher in quality, even if not sustained throughout, should always on a comparison be voted the first place, because of their sheer elevation of spirit if for no other reason, ... Again: does Eratosthenes in the *Frigo* (a little poem which is altogether free from flaw) show himself a greater poet than Archilochus with the rich and disorderly abundance which follows in his train and with that outburst of the divine spirit within him which it is difficult to bring under the rules of law? Longinus, *On the Sublime*, pp. 127-129.

Who knows if Shakespeare might not have thought less if he had read more? Who knows if he might not have labored under the load of Jonson's learning, as Enceladus under Aetna? His mighty genius, indeed, through the most mountainous oppression would have breathed out some of his inextinguishable fire; yet, possibly, he might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight.

Conject. p. 13, l. 21ff

1754: When all our hopes and fears are confined within this narrow scene, ... what demi-gods does it make our superiors, who can bestow what we most value! We tremble before them. Young II, 475.

1725-28: You give protection, I a worthless strain.

You love and feel the poet's sacred flame,

And know the basis of a solid fame. Young I. 302.

1711: Among great geniuses there few draw the admiration of all the world upon them and stand as the prodigies of mankind who by mere strength of natural parts and without any assistance of art or learning have produced works that were the delight of their own times, and the wonder of posterity. Addison, *Spect.* No. 100

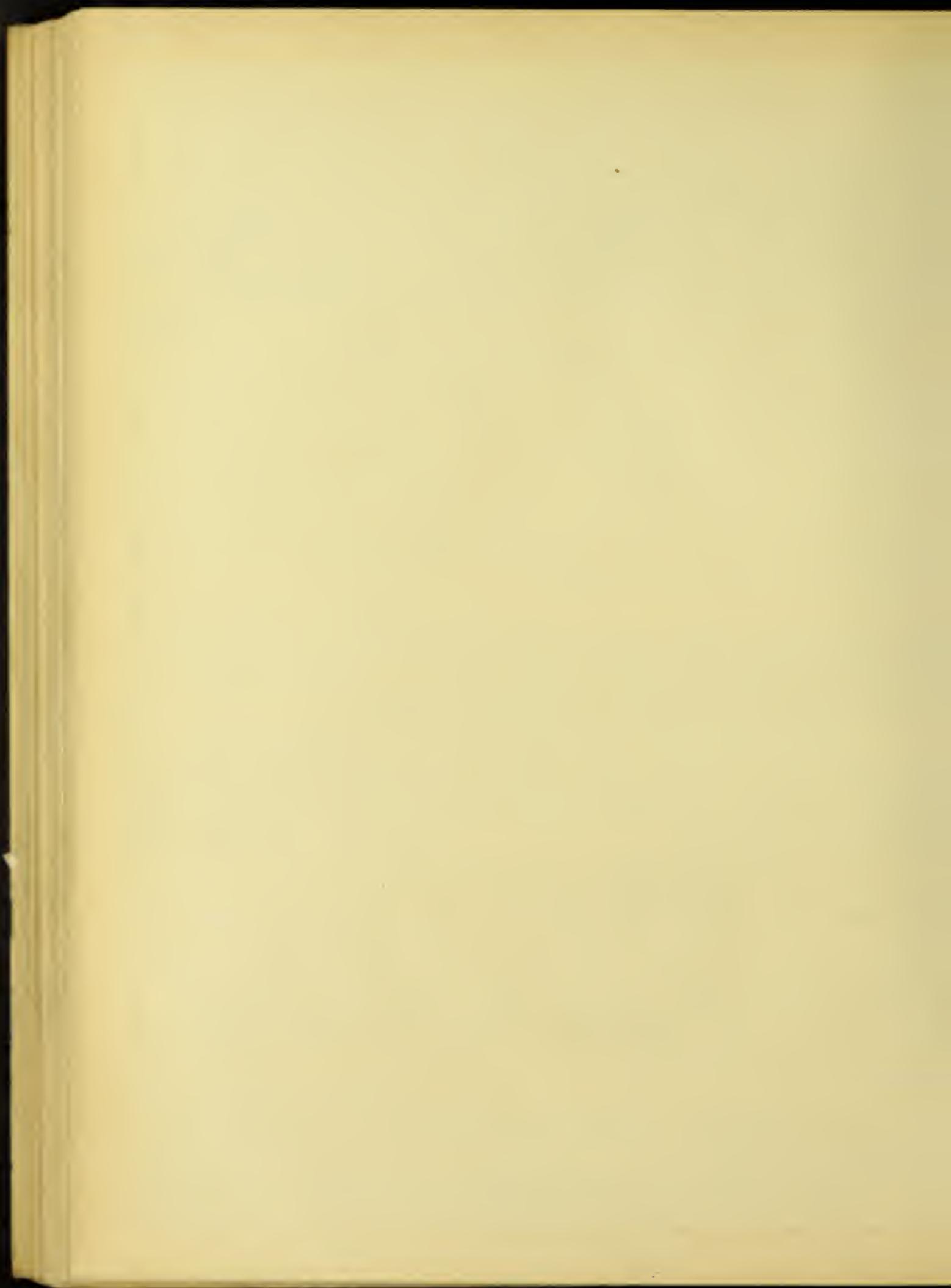
Shakespeare...was master of two books, unknown to many of the profoundly read, though books, which the last conflagration alone can destroy; the book of nature and that of man. These he had by heart, and has transcribed many admirable pages of them into his immortal works. These are the fountain-head whence the Castalian streams of original composition flow;

Conject. p. 13, l. 22ff

1756: Wit and satire are transitory and perishable, but nature and passion are eternal.

Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, p. 330

1752: The description of Andromache parting with Hector in the *Iliad*, and... are as great efforts of the imagination of Homer as the



dreadful picture of Achilles fighting with the rivers, ... the natural is as strong an evidence of true genius, as the sublime.

The Adventurer, No. 60.

1742-45; Sprinkled with dews from the Castalian font,

Young I. 152.

1712: To claim attention, and the heart invade,

Shakespeare but wrote the play the Almighty made.

Young I. 306.

1697: To begin, then, with Shakespeare. He was the man who of all modern, and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them not laboriously, but luckily; when he describes anything, you more than see it, you feel it too. Those who accuse him to have wanted learning, give him the greater commendation; he was naturally learned; he needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwardly, and found her there.

Dryden, An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, p. 79f.

Dryden had a great, but a general, capacity; and as for a general genius, there is no such thing in nature. A genius implies the rays of the mind concentrated and determined to some particular point: when they are scattered widely, they act feebly, and strike not with sufficient force to fire or dissolve the heart.

Conject. p. 17, 1, 7ff.

1754: What is this world but a machine played on us by our great enemy for the dissipation of human thought, whose scattered rays must be collected, as it were, to a focal point, in order to duly warm our devotion, and set a pious heart on fire? Young II, 505.

As what comes from the writer's heart reaches ours; so what comes from his head, sets our brains at work, and our hearts at ease.

Conject. p. 17, 1, 10ff.

1754: If the Fairy Queen be destitute of that arrangement and economy which epic severity requires, yet we scarcely regret the loss of these, while their place is so amply supplied by something which more powerfully attracts us: something which engages the affections, the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head.

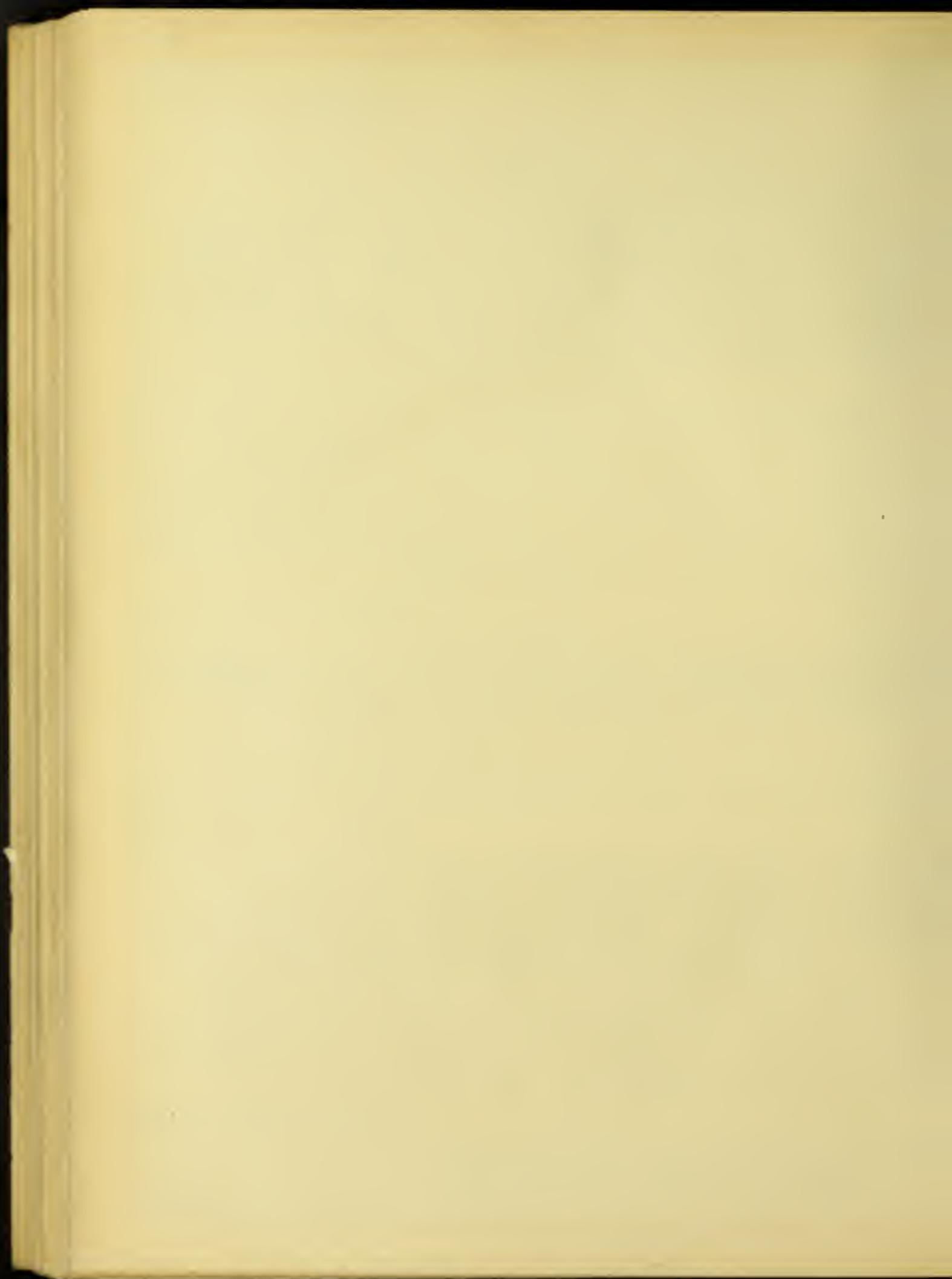
Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen, I. 22.

As his celebrated Cato, few tears are shed, but Cato's own; which, indeed, are truly great, but uneffecting, except to the noble few, who love their country better than themselves.

Conject. p. 17, 1, 33ff.

1726: When no distinction, where distinction's due,  
Marks from the many the superior few.

Dodington, Young's Works, II. 77.



1635: ...The private diversion of those happy few whom he used to charm with his company and honor with his friends' lip.

Robert Wolesley, Preface to *Valentian*, ed. Spingarn, III.27

This (Addison's *Cato*), in many views, is an exquisite piece. But there is so much more of art than nature in it, that I can scarcely forbear calling it an exquisite piece of statuary,

"Where the smooth chisel all its skill has shown,

To soften into flesh the rugged stone". - Addison.

That is, where art has taken great pains to labor undramatic matter into dramatic life; which is impossible. However, as it is, like *Pygmalion*, we cannot but fall in love with it, and wish it was alive. How would a Shakespeare or an *Otway* have answered our wishes? They would have outdone Prometheus, and, with their heavenly fire, have given him not only life, but immortality.

Conject. p. 13, l. 27ff.

1734: His paintings (speaking of Eusebius) have beauties unborrowed from the pencil; and his statues in his eyes appear, like *Pygmalion's* to live; though mere marble in theirs. His all-animating joy within gives graces to art and smiles to nature, invisible to common eyes. Objects of sense and imagination, for their greater power of pleasing are indebted to the goodness of his heart. For as the sun is itself the most glorious of objects, and makes all others shine, so virtue itself is the greatest of pleasures, and of all other pleasures redoubles the delight.

Young II, 160.

1733: The flame of his genius (speaking of Horace) in other parts, though somewhat dimmed by time, is not totally eclipsed.

*The Adventurer*, No. 58.

1742-45: I'll try if I can pluck thee from thy rock,  
Prometheus! From this barren ball of earth:  
If reason can unchain thee, thou art free.

Young I, 162.

1742-45: Come, my Prometheus, from thy pointed rock  
Of false ambition if unchain'd, we'll mount;  
We'll innocently steal celestial fire.  
And kindle our devotion at the stars;  
A theft that shall not chain, but set thee free.

Young I, 160.

1742-45: Speech ventilates our intellectual fire.

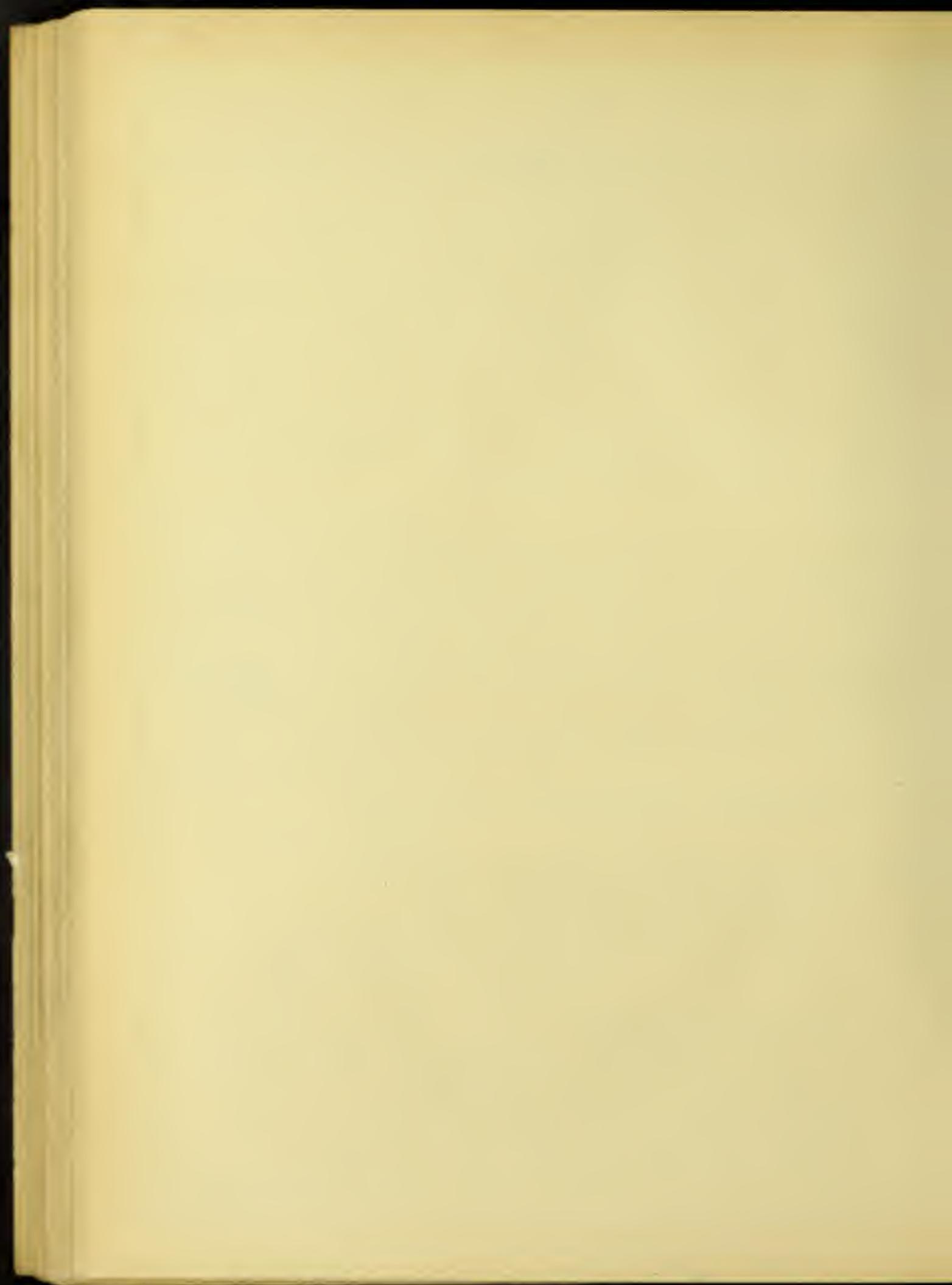
Young I, 25.

1742-45: Shall Pagan pages glow celestial flame,  
And Christian languish? Young I, 51.

1730: Such writers have we! all, but sense, they print;  
Reform your lives before you thus aspire,  
And steal (for you can steal) celestial fire.  
O the just contrast, O the beautiful strife,  
'Tixt their cool writings and Pindaric life!  
They cheat the lender, and their works the buyer.

Young II, 51.

1728: Pindar, who has as much logic at the bottom as Aristotle or



Euclid, to some critics has appeared as mad; and must appear so to all who enjoy no portion of his own divine spirit.

Young I, 416.

1713: For who, not void of thought, can Granville name,

Without a spark of his immortal flame? Young I, 298.

1685: True genius, like the amina mundi which some of the ancients believed will enter into the hardest and driest thing, enrich the most barren soil, and inform the meanest and most uncomely matter; nothing within the vast immensity of nature is so devoid of grace or so remote from sense but will obey the formings of his plastic heat and feel the operations of his vivifying power, which, when it pleases, can enliven the deadest lump, beautify the vilest dirt, and sweeten the most offensive filth; this is a spirit that blows where it lists, and like the philosopher's stone converts into itself whatsoever it touches. Nay, the baser, the emptier, the obscurer, the fouler, and and less susceptible of ornament the subject appears to be, the more is the poet's praise, who can infuse dignity and breathe beauty upon it, who can hide all the natural deformities in the fashion of his dress, supply all the wants with his own plenty, and by a poetical daemonianism possess it with the spirit of good sense and gracefulness, or who, as Horace says of Homer, can fetch light out of smoke, roses out of dunghills, and give a kind of life to the inanimate, by the force of that divine and supernatural virtue which, if we will believe Ovid, is the gift of all who are truly poets:

Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo,  
Sedibus aetheris spiritus ille venit.

Robert Wolesley, Preface to Valentinian, ed. Spingarn, III, 16.

: It is obvious to remark among many other things, that in art the utmost exactitude is admired; grandeur in the works of nature; and that it is by nature that man is a being gifted with speech. In statues likeness to man is the quality required; in a discourse we demand, as I said, that which transcends the human.

Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 137.

At their dramas (such is the force of nature) the poet is out of sight, quite hid behind his Venus, never thought of till the curtain falls. Art brings our author forward, he stands before his piece; splendidly, indeed, but unfortunately; for the writer must be forgotten by his audience, during the representation, if for ages he would be remembered by posterity.

Conject. p. 18, l, 48ff.

1713: Our neighbor's stage, art too bare-faced betrays,

'Tis great Carneille at every scene we praise:

On nature's surer aid Britannia calls:

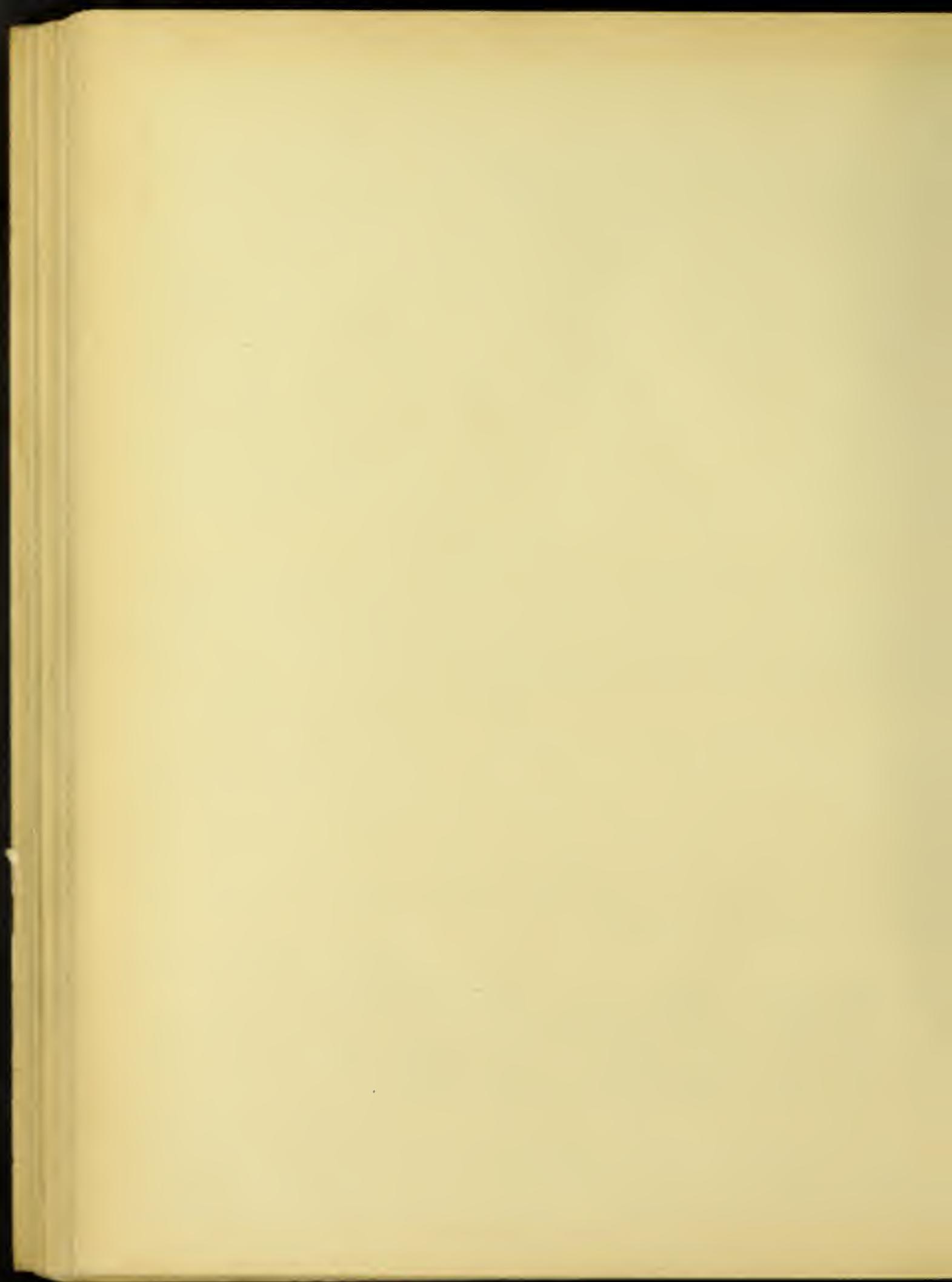
None think of Shakespeare till the curtain falls;

Then with a sigh returns our audience home

From Venice, Egypt, Persia, Greece, or Rome.

Young I, 303.

To close our thoughts on Cato: he who sees not such beauty in it, has no taste for poetry; he who sees nothing else, has no taste



for the stage. While it justifies censure, it extorts applause.

It is much to be admired, but little to be felt.

Conject. p. 19, l. 11ff.

1756: A stroke of nature is, in my opinion, worth a hundred such thoughts as, "When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,  
The post of honor is a private station."

Cato is a fine dialogue on liberty, and the love of one's country; but considered as a dramatic performance, nay, as a model of a first tragedy, as some have affectually represented it, it must be owned to want action and pathos; the two hinges, I presume, on which a just tragedy ought necessarily to turn, and without which it cannot subsist".

Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 257.

1685: For as nothing is more disagreeable either in verse or prose than a slovenly looseness of style, so on the other hand too nice a correctness will be apt to deaden the life, and make the piece too stiff.

Robert Wesley, Preface to Valentinian, ed. Spingarn, III, 8.

Swift is a singular wit, Pope a correct poet, Addison a great author.

Conject. p. 19, l. 27f.

1756: Pope owed much to Walsh: it was he who gave him a very important piece of advice in his early youth; for he used to tell our author, that there was one way still left open for him, by which he might excel any of his predecessors, which was, by correctness: that though, indeed, we had several great poets, we as yet could boast of none that were perfectly correct, and that, therefore, he advised him to make this quality his particular study.

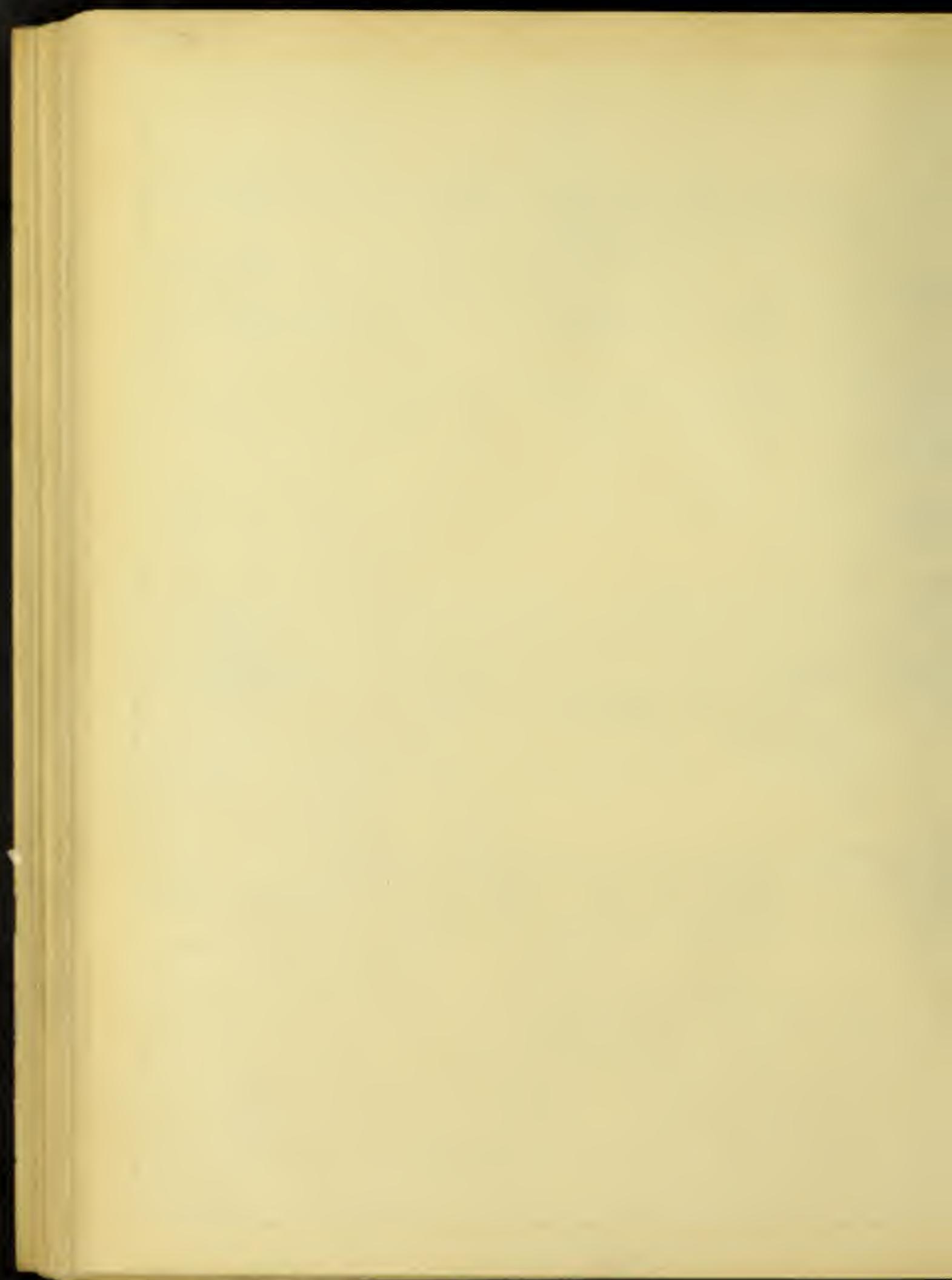
Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 195.

A truth which in such an age of authors should not be forgotten.

Conject. p. 22, l. 26f.

1758: The present age, if we consider chiefly the state of our own country, may be styled with great propriety the Age of Authors; for, perhaps, there never was a time in which men of all degrees of ability, of every kind of education, of every profession and employment, were posting with ardor so general to the press.

The Adventurer, No. 115.



THE LITERARY RELATION OF YOUNG TO BOOKS  
AND TO HIS CONTEMPORARIES

I. English Literature.

Addison (1672-1719).	Johnson (1709-1784).
Bacon (1561-1626).	Jonson (1573-1637).
Bancks (1709-1751).	Milton (1608-1674).
Blackwell (1701-1757).	Newcomb (1672-1762).
Chesterfield (1694-1773).	Otway (1652-1685).
Cibber (C) (1671-1757).	Pope (1688-1744).
Cibber (T) (1703-1758).	Richardson (1689-1761).
Dryden (1631-1700).	Shakespeare (1564-1616).
Fielding (1710-1768).	Swift (1667-1745).
Frazer's Magazine (ca.1759).	Thomson (1700-1748).
Granville (1667-1735).	Tickell (1686-1740).
Guardian (1713).	Tristram (?)
Hartley (1709-1784).	Walpole (1717-1797).
Hervy (?)	Wharton (1698-1731).
Hogarth (1697-1764).	

Joseph Addison (1672-1719).

Among the brightest of the moderns Mr. Addison must take his place. (II. 575).

Addison was a great author. (II. 578).

"While yet I live, let me not live in vain." - Cato (II. 581).

I never read him (Addison) but I am struck with such a disheartening idea of perfection, that I drop my pen. (II. 597).

"our scale might descend; and that of antiquity (as a modern match for it strongly speaks) might kick the beam." (Spectator No. 463) (II. 570).

"Where the smooth chisel all its skill has shown,  
To soften into flesh the rugged stone". - Addison. (II. 577).

"To Mr. Addison, on the Tragedy of Cato". (1713). (I. 313).

Francis Bacon (1561-1626).

Bacon, under the shadow of whose great name I would shelter my present attempt in favor of originals, says, "Men seek not to know their own stock and abilities, but fancy their possessions to be greater, and their abilities less, than they really are". (II. 569).

---"genius is knowledge innate and quite our own. Therefore as Bacon observes, it may take a nobler name and be called 'wisdom'". (II. 559).

John Bancks (1709-1751).

To the Author, on his "Last Day" and "Universal Passion".  
J. Bancks.

Thomas Blackwell (1701-1757).

But I think it (the inferiority of the modern authors) is no necessary inferiority; that it is not from divine destination but



from some cause far beneath the moon<sup>1)</sup>

Earle of Chesterfield (Philip Stanhope) (1694-1773).

A half Chesterfield is quite a fool. (I. 181).

Colley Cibber (1671-1757) or Theophilus Cibber (1703-1758).

Letter to Richardson, March 14, 1754.

Pray ask Mr. Cibber from me, where now are the fine gentlemen of the stage? Sir Charles has entered a caveat against their wonted applause; and Mr. Cibber signs it, or incurs the mentioned guilt.

Works I, XCIV.

Letter to Richardson,

November 11, 1746.

This is too strictly expressed, but very near the truth. Ask Mr. Cibber if he is of my opinion.

Works I, XCI.

John Dryden (1631-1700).

"Assumes the god,

Affects to nod

And Seems to shake the spheres".

Dryden, "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day".

Dryden, destitute of Shakespeare's genius, had almost as much learning as Jonson, and, for the buskin, quite as little taste.

(II. 574).

But Dryden has his glory, though not on the stage. What an inimitable original is his ode!

(II. 575).

Dryden had a great, but a general capacity; and as for a general genius, there is no such thing in nature. A genius implies the rays of the mind concentrated, and determined to some particular point.

(II. 575).

Dryden ... was a stranger to the pathos; and, by numbers, expression, sentiment, and every other dramatic cheat, strove to make amends for it.

(II. 574).

Miss Sarah Fielding (1710-1768).

Letter to Richardson,

July 9, 1744.

Caroline and I by no means forget the respects we owe in Salisbury-court; yet must I particularly insist that, when you go to North-End, you let Cleopatra and Octavia<sup>2)</sup> know, that by their favor I was so happy, that in their company and in so sweet a retirement, I thought, with Antony, the world well lost.

Letter to Richardson,

November 5, 1749.

I have read Miss Fielding with great pleasure.

Works I. XCIV.

Frazer's Magazine.

Perhaps no man ever wrote so much, and yet borrowed so little (as Dr. Young). His materials, like his style, belong to himself alone. Unlike his great predecessor Milton, his footsteps are scarcely or never to be traced in the paths of the old mythology or among the flowers of the old Tuscan song. His illustrations are all furnished by deep meditation, and watchful observance of manners and life. He is one of the most original, because one of the most

1) Inquiry into the Life of Homer, p. 76.

2) The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia, written by Miss Fielding.

Works I, 7 XXXVI.



thoughtful, of poets", Frazer's Magazine, vol. XIV. p. 674.

With all his faults of taste, and they were many, Young was a striking, a noble, an original writer. He is the greatest didactic poet in our language; and, after Shakespeare and Milton, the most sublime. His fertility is exhaustless, his brilliancy is unquenchable, his strength invincible by fatigue. He has (so to speak) the same unyielding gait that marks the intellectual motion of Ben Jonson. But, like that illustrious dramatist, he has also the giant's stature. His poem - for when we speak of Young, we speak of the author of the Night Thoughts - is a mine of gold: dig where we will, a rich vein rewards our toil", Frazer's Magazine, vol. XXIII. p. 415. Works (I, 7 XXXIII.)

George Granville, Baron Lansdowne (1667-1735).  
Read Seneca grown rich in Granville's hand.<sup>1</sup> (I. 310).

Guardian (1713).  
There is an excellent critique on it in the "Guardians".

Thomas Hartley (1709-84).  
Letter to Richardson, May, 1749.  
When I was in town, I asked you if you had read Dr. Hartley's book. ... I have since read it a second time, and with great satisfaction. It is certainly a work of distinction. (I. XCIII.)

Hervy (?).  
The book of Meditations I have read, and more than once; and I shall never lay it far out of my reach: for a greater demonstration of a sound head and sincere heart I never saw. (I. CV.)  
Letter to Richardson, December 10, 1745.  
Caroline begs her best respects to Mrs. Richardson and yourself; and many thanks for the present<sup>2</sup> I brought her from you. (I. 7XXXIX.)

William Hogarth (1697-1764).  
I wish I knew Hogarth, or your friend Mr. Hymore (Highmore).  
Letter to Richardson, August 12, 1754. (II. 416.)

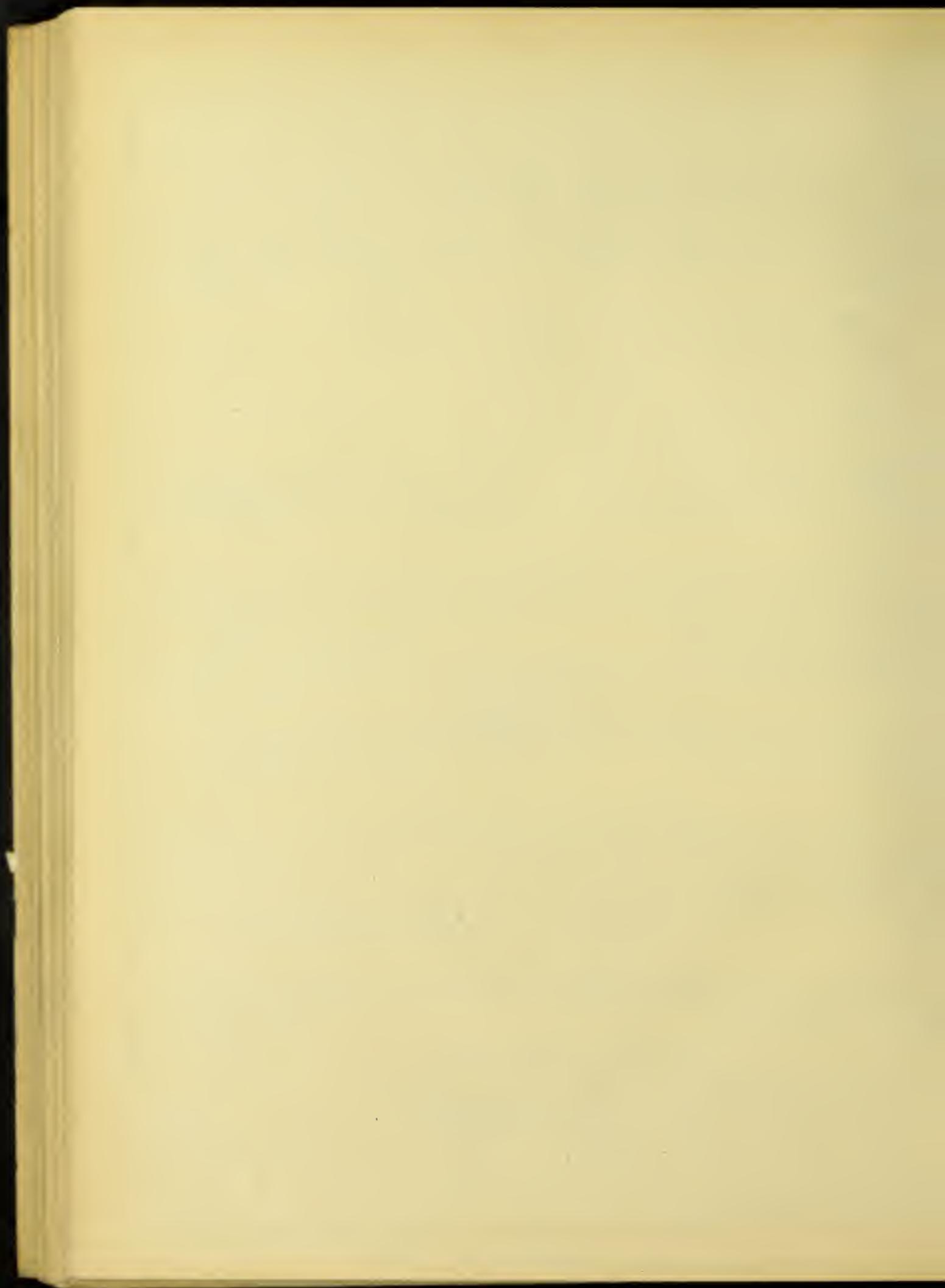
Samuel Johnson (1709-1784).  
...the well-written letter on "Original Composition", addressed to Richardson, at whose house Young read it in presence of Johnson, whom he met there for the first time. (I. 7 XXII).  
Johnson, however, seems only to have met him (Young) at Richardson's house to discuss the letter on 'Original Composition'.  
Dictionary of National Biography, see Young, E.

Ben Jonson (1573-1637).  
Jonson, in the serious drama, is as much an imitator as Shakespeare is an original. (II. 573).

John Milton (1608-1674).  
O Fairest creation! last and best  
Of all God's works! creature in whom excell'd  
Whatever can to sight or thought be foun'd  
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!  
How art thou lost! - Milton. (I. 376).

1) See his Lordship's tragedy entitled "Heroic Love".

2) Hervy's Meditations.



"What there thou seest, fair creature, is thyself." - Milton.

(II. 564).

What a monster hast thou made of the "human face divine"! 1)

(II. 567).

And glory, "at one entrance quite shut out". - Milton.

(I. 361).

Or, Milton, thee! Ah! could I reach your strain!

(I. 13).

"Nor appears

Less than archangel ruin'd, and the excess of glory obscured". -

Milton. (II. 566).

Like Milton's Eve, when gazing on the lake,

Man makes the matchless image man admires.

Works, I, 104.

If Milton had spared some of his learning, his muse would have gained more glory than he would have lost by it. (II. 574).

Thomas Newcomb (1672-1762).

Letter to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Newcomb. November 25, 1762.

I am pleased with the stanzas you sent me. There is nothing in them of eighty-seven; and if you have been as young in your attempt on the death of Abel, it will do you credit. That work I have read, and think it deserves that reception it has met with all.

(I. CVI).

Thomas Otway (1652-1685).

Letter to Richardson, 1744.

Your critics, on seeing the first two or three acts of Venice preserved, The Orphan, and Theodosius, would have advised that the innocent and amiable Belvidera, Monimia, and Athenais should be made happy; and thus would have utterly ruined our three best plays.

(I. LXXXVI).

How would a Shakespeare or an Otway have answered our wishes? They would have outdone Prometheus, and, with their heavenly fire, have given him not only life, but immortality. (II. 577).

Alexander Pope (1688-1744).

Pope was a correct poet. (II. 518).

But, supposing Pope's Iliad to have been perfect in its kind, yet it is a translation still; which differs as much from an original, as the moon from the sun. (II. 567).

Therefore, though we stand much obliged for his giving us a Homer, yet had he doubled our obligation by giving us - a Pope. Had he a strong imagination, and the true sublime? That granted, we might have had two Homers instead of one. (II. 569).

Such is emulation's high-spirited advice, such her immortalizing call. Pope would not hear, pre-engaged with imitation, which blessed him with all her charms. (II. 569).

"O thou worst guide, philosopher, and friend!

Say, for thou know'st, What is it to be wise?" "Essay on Man".

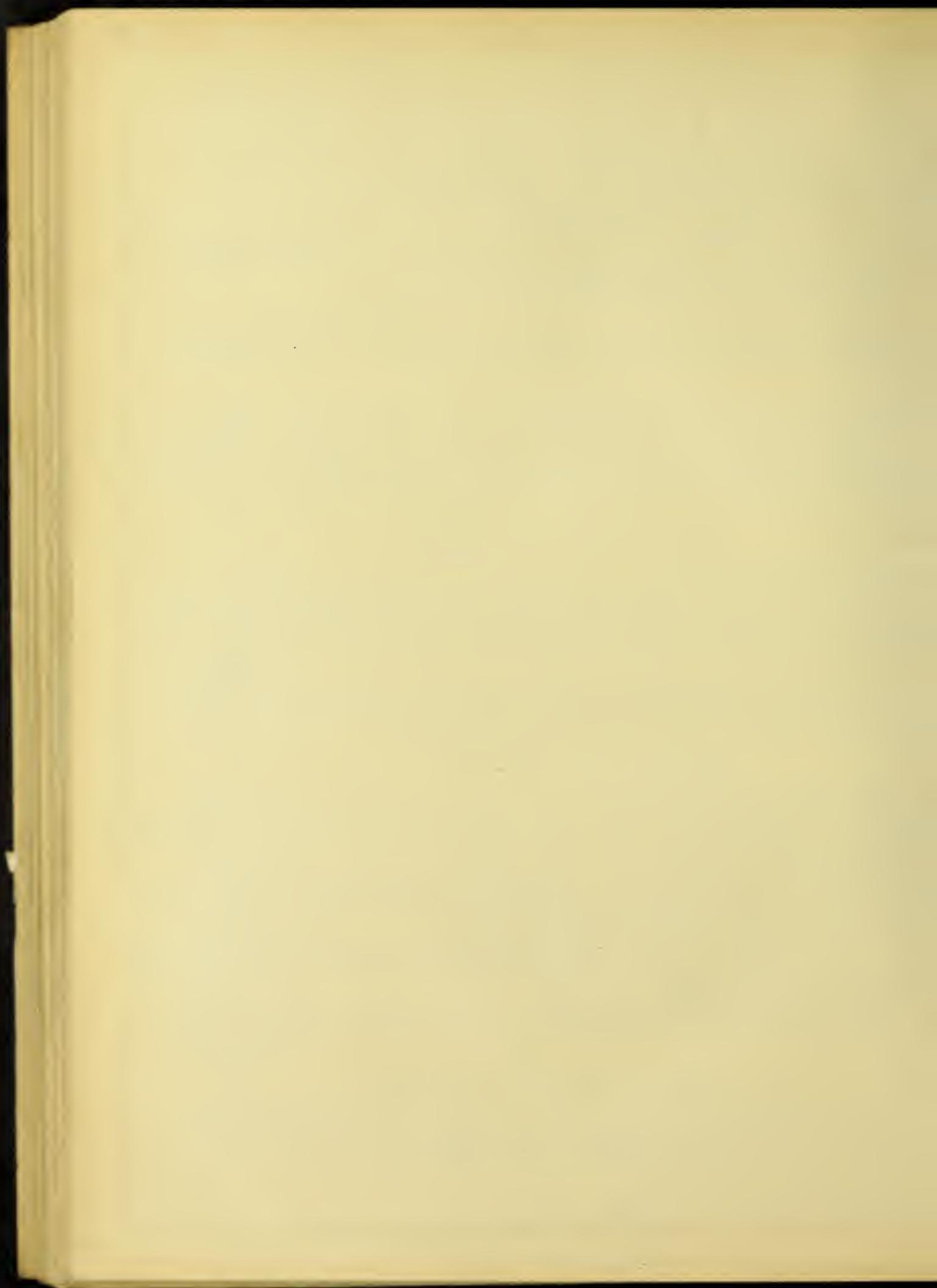
(II. 529).

Samuel Richardson (1689-1761).

Letter to Richardson, November 26, 1745.

So all-sufficient is religion, that you could not draw, in Clarissa, the strongest object of pity without giving us in it (thanks to her religion) an object of envy too.

1) Milton.



Your truly affectionate, humble servant, and Clarissa's admirer,  
E. Young. (I. IXXXVIII).

Letter from Richardson to Young, November 19, 1747.

What contentions, what disputes have I involved myself in with my poor Clarissa, through my own diffidence, and for want of a will! I wish I had never consulted anybody but Dr. Young, who so kindly vouchsafed me his ear, and sometimes his opinion.

Richardson Carr. II. 24).

Letter to Richardson,

November 10, 1746.

I consider Clarissa my lost amour; I am as tender of her welfare as I am sensible of her charms. (I. XC).

Letter to Richardson,

July 17, 1746.

In a word, I love you, and delight in your conversation, which permits me to think something more than what I see. (I. XC).

A friend<sup>1)</sup> of mine has obeyed that injunction: he has relied on himself; and with a genius, as well moral as original, (to speak in bold terms,) has cast out evil spirits; has made a convert to virtue of a species of composition once most its foe. (II. 572).

William Shakespeare (1564-1616).

A star of the first magnitude among the moderns was Shakespeare. (II. 557).

Who knows whether Shakespeare might not have thought less if he had read more? ... His mighty genius, indeed, through the most rountainous oppression would have breathed out some of his inextinguishable fire; yet, possibly, he might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight. (II. 574).

Shakespeare mingled no water with his wine, lowered his genius by no vapid imitation. Shakespeare gave us a Shakespeare; nor could the first in ancient fame have given us more. Shakespeare is not their son, but their brother; their equal, and that in spite of all his faults. (II. 573).

Jonathan Swift (1667-1745).

For I remember, as I and others were taking with him (Swift) an evening's walk, about a mile out of Dublin, etc. (II. 568).

... "if like poor Gulliver ... you fall not into a ditch in your way to glory". (II. 555).

This writer (Swift) has so satirized human nature, as to give a demonstration in himself that it deserves to be satirized. (II. 567).

Swift is not commended for this piece (Gulliver's Travels), but this piece for Swift. (II. 567).

Swift accounted for such bombast by saying that Young and the paid writers of the court "could not err on flattery's side". And as for the absurd imagery of the dedication (of the Last Day), why, said the dean,

"Young must torture his invention

To flatter knaves, or lose his pension". (II. XXII).

Swift is a singular wit ... Swift looked on wit as the jus divinum to dominion and sway in the world, and considered as usurpation all power that was lodged in persons of less sparkling understanding. This inclined him to tyranny in wit. (II. 578 f).

James Thomson (1700-1748).

Letter to the Rev. Joseph Spence, A.M., professor of poetry in Oxford

<sup>1)</sup>Richardson Edit.



I promised my friend Mr. Thomson, who is now finishing his subscription in Oxford, all the advantages I could give him: for which reason I beg leave to introduce him to so valuable an acquaintance as yours.  
(I. C).

Thomas Tickell (1686-1740).

One of his (Young's) closest friends was Thomas Tickell, who in 1710 became a fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and was soon afterwards one of Addison's "little senate". Young was admitted to the same literary circles.

Dictionary of National Biography, see Young, Edward.

"He taught us how to live; and, O, too high  
A price for knowledge, taught us how to die". - Tickell.  
(II. 582).

T. Tristram ( ).  
To a Lady, With "The Last Day". T. Tristram.

Horace Walpole (1717-1797).

On Walpole thus may pleased Britannia view  
At once her ornament, and profit too. (I. 341).

At this the Muse shall kindle, and aspire:  
My breast, O Walpole, glows with grateful fire:  
The streams of royal bounty, turn'd by thee,  
Refresh the dry domains of poesy.

My fortune shows, when arts are Walpole's care,  
What slender worth forbids us to despair. (I. 341).

The "Instalment" ... was addressed to Walpole. Sir Robert had been the patron of Young, and Young now became the pensioner of the court.  
(I. XXXVI).

Philip (Duke of) Wharton (1698-1731).

To a man who had run through such a career as the Duke of Wharton's how applicable are most of the lines in the "Night Thoughts" which have reference to Lorenzo!  
(I. 7VII).

## II. Foreign Literature.

### 1. The Bible.

Letter to Richardson, February 18, 1745.

An even mind, undejected, by ill, unrelated by good, is an advice the wise heathens inculcated as much, if not more, than any other. Nor has Scripture shown it less regard. No single piece of wisdom seems to me so strongly guarded there as this equanimity. Two noble barriers are erected against our deviation on either hand; one, in the history of Solomon, who, to suppress elevation, assures us, that the best is vain; one in the history of Job, who tells us, the worst is supportable.  
(I. LXXXVII).

Letter to Richardson, July 21, 1757.

And your saying that our friend Watson innocently betrayed you into it, makes me think that what Solomon says of enemies and friends may be applied to fools and the wise: "Seperate thyself from fools, and take heed of the wise".  
(I. XCVII).

If there is a famine of invention in the land, like Joseph's brethern, we must travel far for food; we must visit the remote and rich ancients.  
(II. 562).

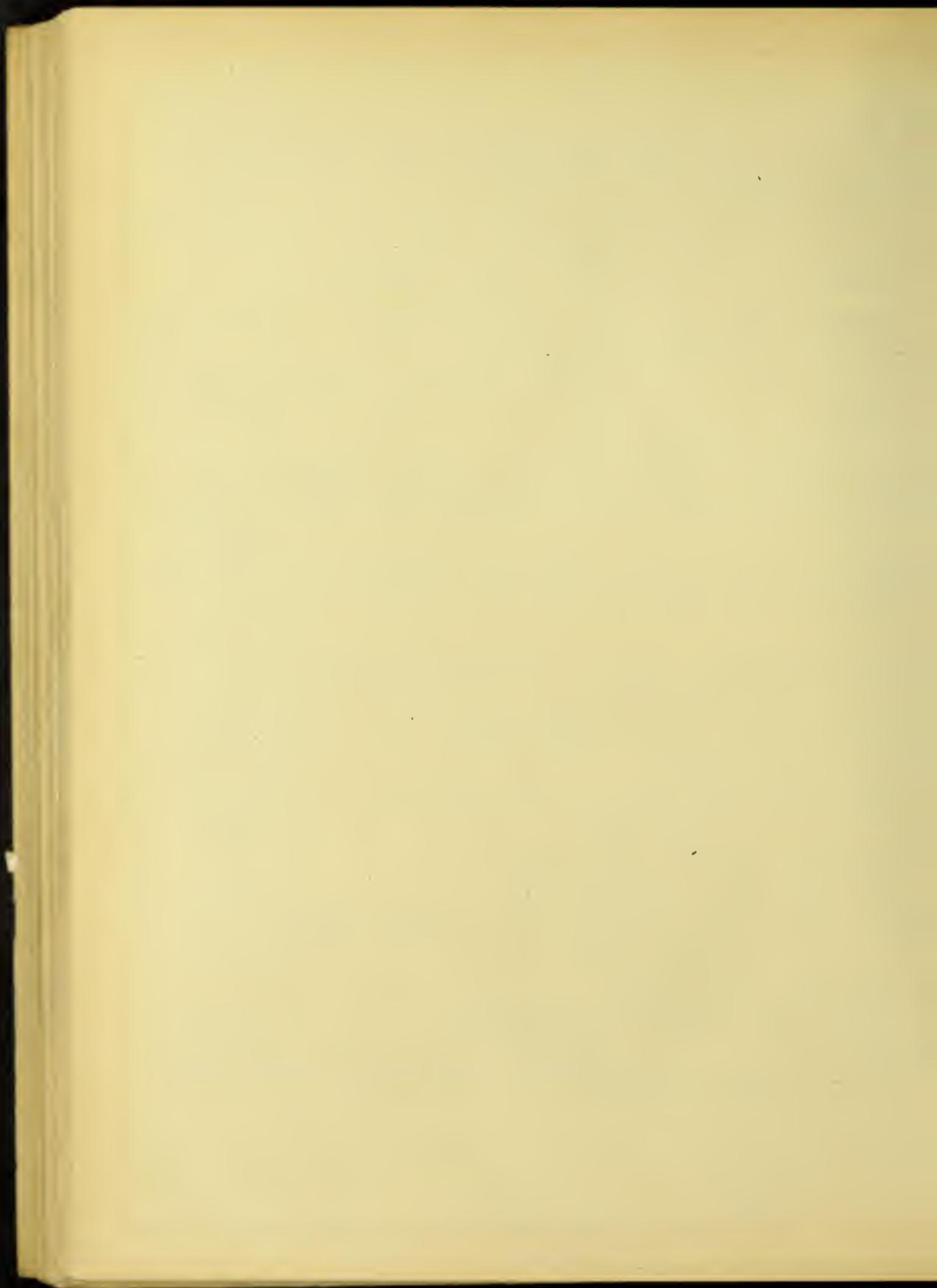


- ... "making themselves a name" (as the Scripture speaks)...  
(II. 552 f).
- He (Jonson) was very learned, as Samson was very strong, to his own hurt.  
(II. 573).
- But an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenish from within, and affords us a miraculous delight.  
(II. 562).
- "A Paraphrase on Part of the Book of Job". (1719).  
(I. 245-259).
- "A man the fellow of the Almighty", (Zeck. XIII. 7.).  
(II. 526).
- Thunder also ... has the same effect, (Psalm XXIX. 9).  
(II. ).
- Frequent before the law were the appearance of the Almighty after this manner, (Exod. XIX; Ezek. I., etc.)  
(II. ).
- This passage yields in sublimity to that of "Let there be Light", etc., so much only as the absolute government of nature yields to the creation of it.  
(I. 249).
- Pursuing their prey by night is true of most wild beasts, particularly the lion, (Psalm CIV. 20).  
(II. ).
- ... in this description, as in other parts of this speech, our vulgar translation has much more spirit than the Septuagint; it always takes the original in the most poetic and exalted sense; so that most commentators, even on the Hebrew itself, fall beneath it.  
(I. 254).
- It is easy to see how the Egyptians should be both readers and admirers of the writings of Moses, whom I suppose to be the author of this poem, (The Book of Job).  
(I. 258).
- "The secret of the Lord is with those that fear him."  
(II. 435).
- ... "a man without religion is really a beast; and such is he pronounced in Scripture, where it is said that "he also is flesh", (Gen. VI.), that is, a brute!  
(II. 534).
- Almost the whole Book of Ecclesiastes might be transcribed as a Scriptural support of what is here said.  
(II. 376).
- "The heavens declare the glory of the Lord, and the firmament showeth his handy-work".  
(II. ).
- Doth he not speak parables" (Ezek. XX. 49).  
(II. 415).
- "Let the sea make a noise: let the floods clap their hands".  
(I. 420).
- Psalm XCVIII. 7, 8.  
(II. 18).
- A flood of treasure swells the cave.<sup>1)</sup>
- Is there a charm in dying groans?  
See yonder vale of human bones!<sup>2)</sup>  
(II. 58).
- "My soul shall be satisfied, even as it were with marrow and fatness: when my mouth praiseth Thee with joyful lips."  
(Psalm 7XIII. 6).  
(II. 84).
- An humble heart, God's other seat,<sup>3)</sup>  
The rival of His throne!  
While I mount upward on a strong desire,  
Burne, like Elijah, in a car of fire.  
(I. 267).

1) Vast treasure taken from Solomon's tomb thirteen hundred years after his death. - Young.

2) Ezek. XXXVII.

3) Isaiah 7VII. 15.



"The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath"; (Prov. XV. 24). (II. 328).

Though a shorter quotation would have satisfied my present purpose, yet, since I designed this likewise as a specimen of a work that endeavors to show, in a manner yet unattempted, the genius and eloquence of the Psalms, Prophets, and Job superior to that of all other authors, I hope the length will be excused. Prejudice on one hand, and implicit admiration and ecstasy on the other, have left room and occasion of farther adjusting the degree of estimation due to these compositions, as compositions; some parts of which have marked such a height of perfection, that human nature has not ideas to carry her to a conception of any thing beyond it. Two instances of this truth, among many are, I think, the six last chapters of Job, and Psalm CIV. (II. 362).

...but let it be remembered that, in the most renowned ages of the most refined Heathen wisdom, ... "the world by wisdom knew not God";... (II. 560).

..."we are so carnalized by our lusts, that our heavenly mother (Gal IV. 26), in our esteem has no blessing for us." (II. 521).

"Then Pilate said unto them, Why, what evil hath he done? And they cried out the more exceedingly, Crucify him". - Mark, XV. 14. (II. 541).

"With the Lord there is mercy, therefore shall he be feared". (II. 499).

For, "God is love". (II. 497).

"Rejoice always; and again I say, Rejoice". (II. 435).

And, indeed, far from humiliation, and even common modesty, must he be who hopes to give light to those mysteries which St. Paul, with all his learning, eloquence and inspiration, pronounced to be "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and the Greeks", those most subtle of men, "foolishness". (II. 432).

"Honor the king", - 1 Peter II, 17. (II. 386).

Sound heads salvation's helmet seek;<sup>1)</sup>

Resplendent are its rays. (II. ).

"Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth." Colossians III. 2. (II. 327).

"Set your affection"...signifies...to think (Rom. XII.), to judge (XIV. 6.), and to love. (II. 328).

...in the seasons assigned for such contemplation, we should always guard our thoughts with that petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Deliver us from evil". (II. 331).

..."we find him (the devil) charged with this very fact of snatching away good thoughts from the heart of man. (Matt. XIII. 19). (II. 330 f).

## 2. Latin Literature.

Aquinas (1225-1274).

Cicero (106- 43).

Claudian (b. 365 A.D.).

Florus (ca. 100 A.D.)

Horace (65-8 B.C.)

Juvenal (?-ca. 130)

Lucian (b. ca. 120 A.D.).

Martial (ca.40-ca.102).

Ovid (43 B.C.-17 A.D.).

Petronius (ca. 60 A.D.).

Pliny (23-79).

Quintilian (45(?)-118(?)).

Sallust (86 B.C.-34 B.C.).

Seneca (4 B.C. - 65 A.D.).

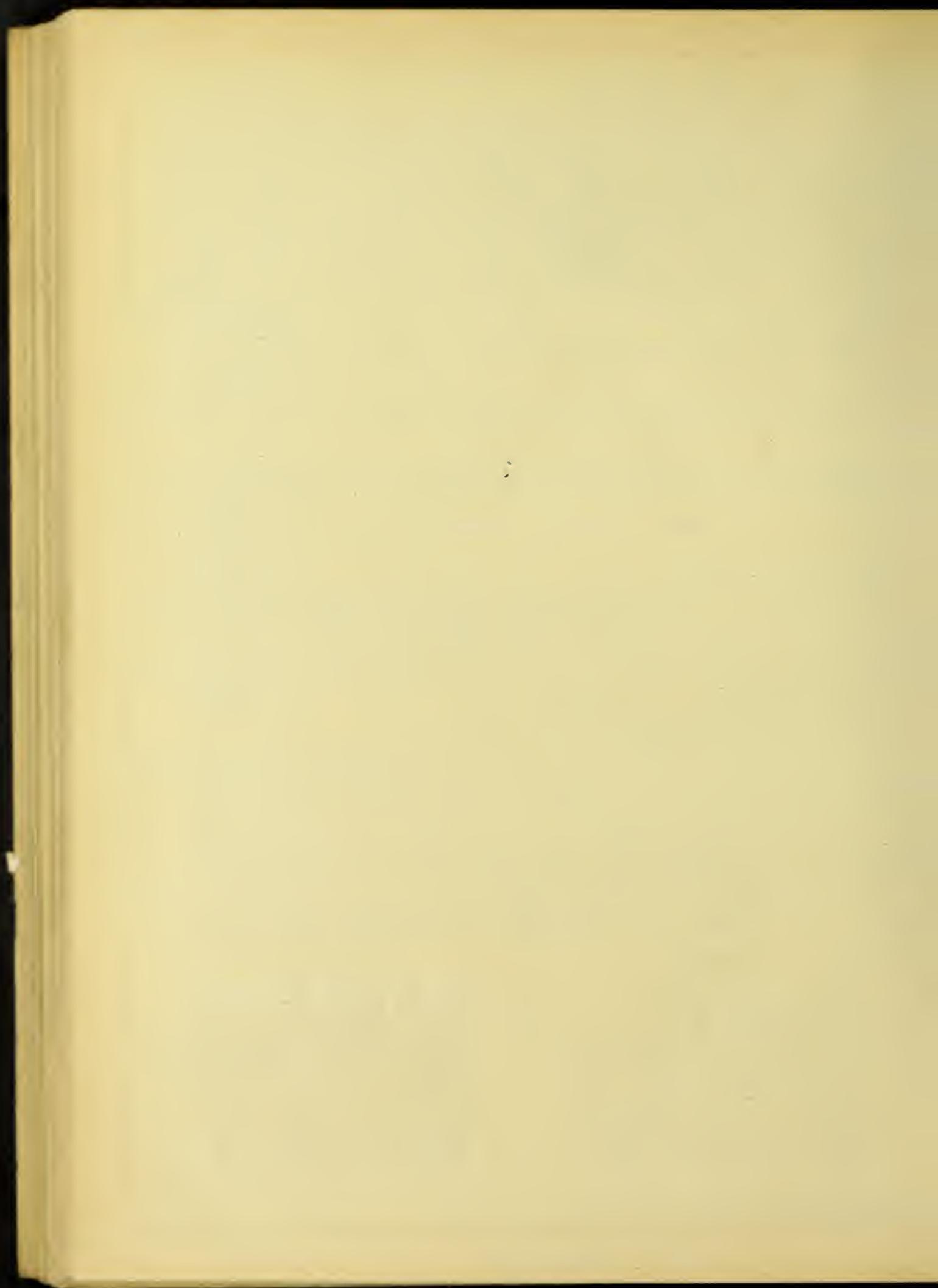
Statius (ca.60-ca.100).

Tacitus (ca. 100 A.D.).

Terence (?-159).

Virgil (70 - 19 B.C.)

1) Ephesians XI. 17.



Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274).

Who would expect to find Pindar and Scotus, Shakespeare and Aquinas,<sup>1)</sup> of the same party? Both equally show an original, unindebted energy; the vigor igneus and coelestis origo, burn in both. (II. 559).

Cicero (106-43).

Si habet aliquod tanquam pabulum studii, et doctrinae, otiosa senectute nihil est jucundius. - Cic. (II. 547).

Claudian (B. 365 A.D.).

Phocden aliene jus erat igne  
Impleri, solerque sub, - Claudio. (II. 567).

...Stat lumine clauso Ridendum revoluta caput  
creditque latere quem non ipsa videt.

Claudianus, In Eutropium, lib. II. 314. (I. 252).

Vasta velut Libyae venantum vocibus ales  
Cum perimitur, calidas cursu transmittit arenas,  
Inque modum veli sinuatis flamine pennis  
Pulverulenta volat.

Claudianus, In Eutropium, lib. II. 310. (I. 252).

Qui spiris tegetet montes, hauriret hiantu  
Flumina, etc. -

Claudianus, In Rufinum, Praef. ad. lib. I. 3. (I. 256).

Geminique facit commercia regni. - Claudianus. (II. 487).

Lucius Florus (ca. 100 A.D.).

Annalium nostrorum laboravit fides. (Lucius Florus). (II. 488).

Horace (65-8 B.C.).

Neve minor, neu sit quinto productior actu fabula.  
So says Horace, etc. (II. 558).

...it is something to say with Horace, -  
Meo sum pauper in aere. (II. 552).

Versus inopes rerum, megaeque canorae.  
Horatius DeArte Poetica, 322 (II. )

Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat. - Horatius. (II. 515).

Gaulia curis. - Hor. (I. 331).

Quaesitam meritis. - Horatii Carm. lib. III. od XXX. 15. (I. 340).

Interdum tamen et vacem Comoedia tollit.  
Horatius DeArte Poetica, 93. (I. 389).

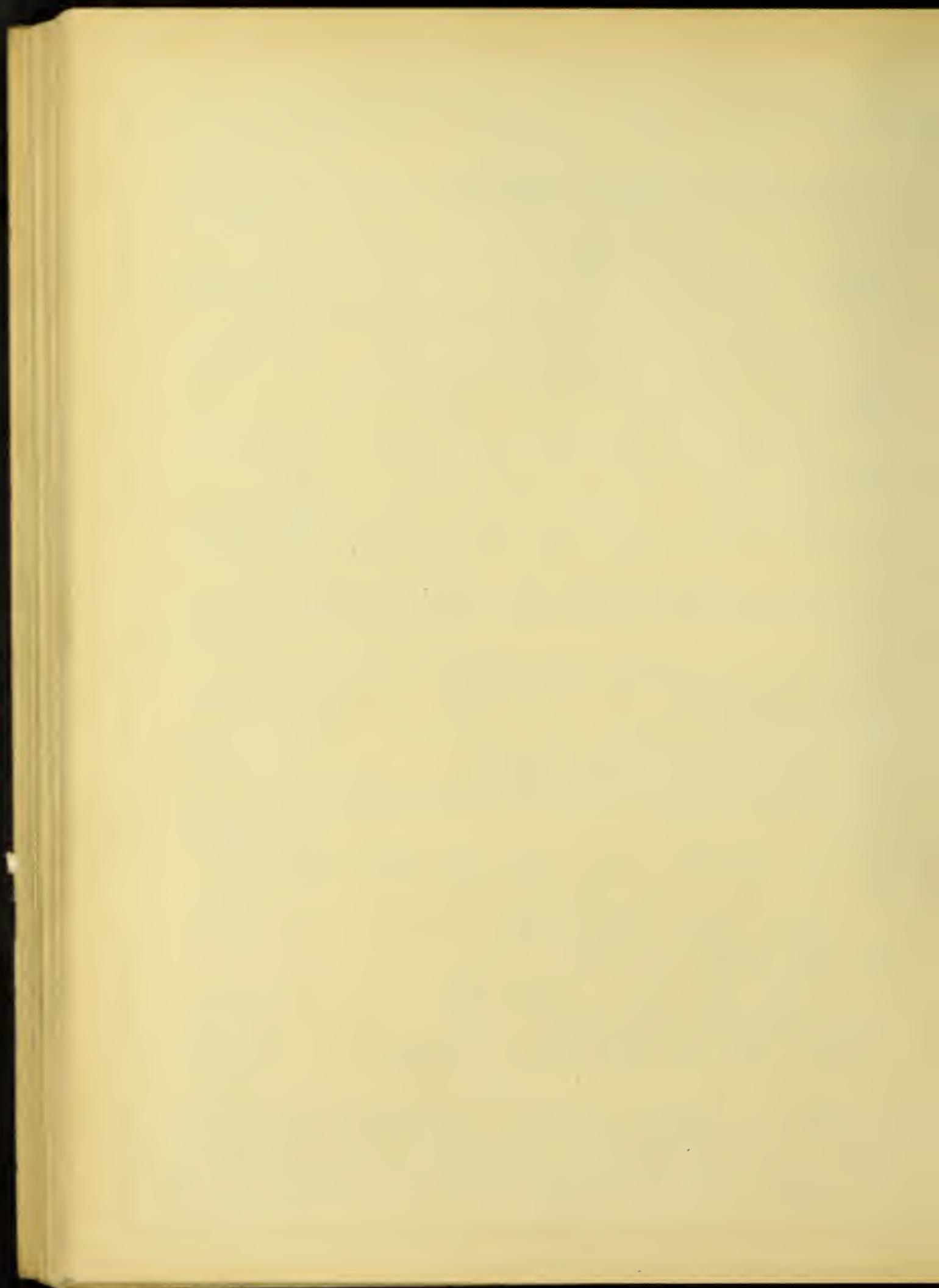
...Tulgente trahit constrictos gloria curru  
Non minus ignotos generosis. -

Horatii Serm. lib. I. sat. VI. 23. (I. 344).

... "as your friend Horace assures you:  
Solve senescentem mature sanus equumne,  
Peccet ad extremum ridendus". (II. 541).

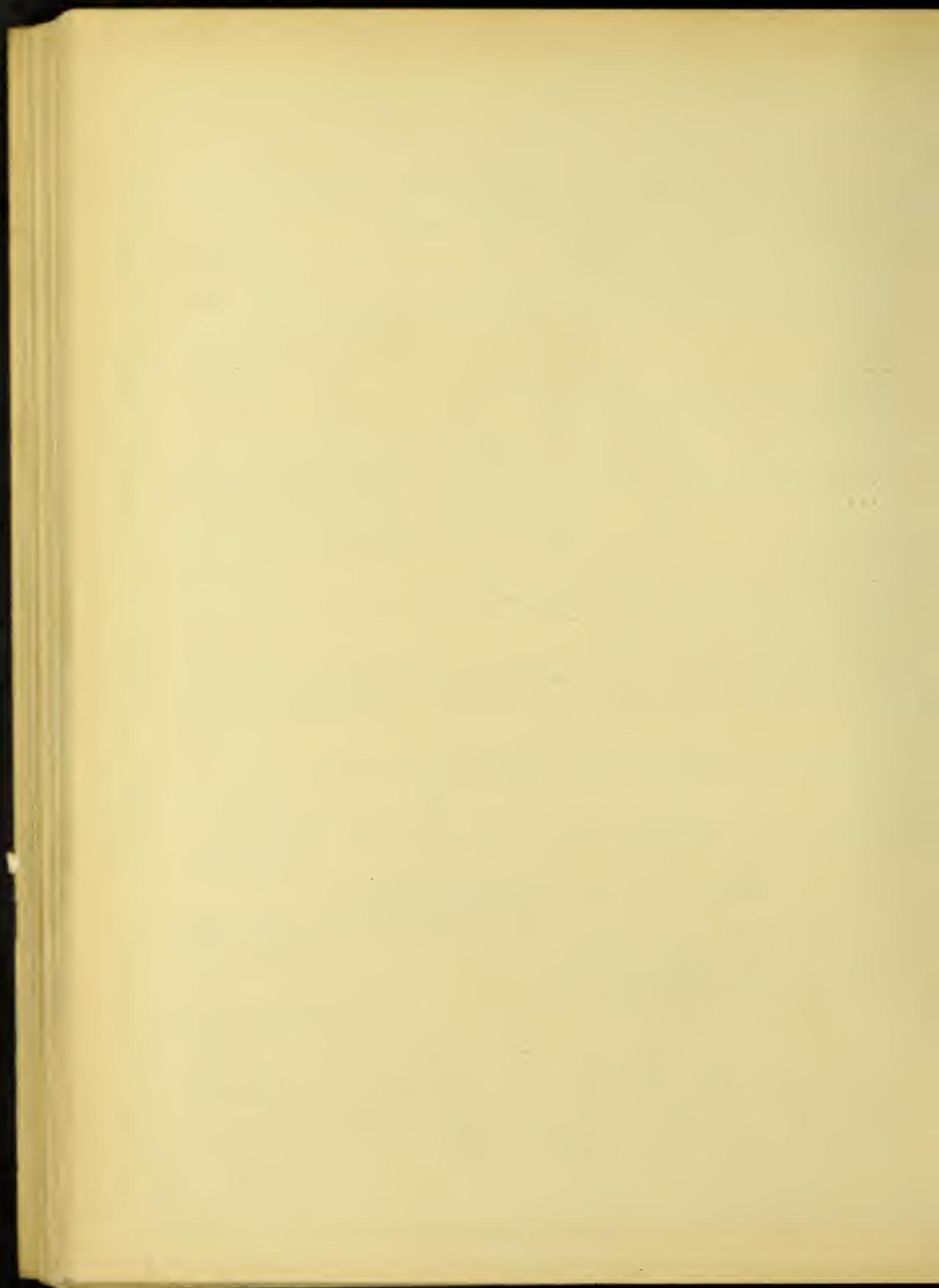
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus;  
Horatii Epist. lib. I. ep. III. 10. (I. 417).

<sup>1)</sup>This paragraph furnishes a semblance of confirmation to the curious anecdote, related by Ruffhead, (whose materials were furnished by Warburton), of Young having been persuaded by Pope to study the writings of Thomas Aquinas, as the best course of preparation to be pursued by a candidate for Holy Orders in the Church of England-Doran. (II. 559).



- Quina ponere totum nescius.  
 Horatius DeArte Poetica, 34. (I. 419).  
 Concines laetosque dies, et urbis  
 Publicum ludum, super impetrato  
 Fortis Augusti reditu. -  
 Horatii Carm. lib. IV. od. II. 41. (II. 1.).  
 If you mistake, and pity these poor men, Est Ulubris,<sup>1)</sup> they cry,  
 and write again. (II. 35).  
 Musa dedit fidibus divos, puerosque dearum.  
 Horatius, DeArte Poetica, 83. (I. 415)& (II.52).  
 Quae censet amiculus, ut si  
 Caecus iter monstrare velit. -  
 Horatii Epist. lib. I. ep. XVII. 3. (II. 75).  
 Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat, (Horat.). (II. 557).  
 Horace says, Quanto tibi negaveris, a diis plura feres.  
 Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres (I. CI.).  
 Quem super natas aluere ripas,  
 Fervet immensusque ruit profundo / Pindarus ore, (II,1)  
 Juvenal (? - ca. 130).  
 May our genius shine, and proclaim us in that noble view, -  
 ...minima contentos nocet Britannos! - Juvenal. (II. 572).  
 ...Tanto major Faenae sitis est, quam Virtutis. - Juvenalis  
 Sat. X. 140. (I. 347).  
 Is it not an old tragi-comedy read over and over, which by no  
 means,  
 ...decies repetita placebit? - Juv. (II. 504).  
 Nemo repente fuit turpissimus. - Juv.  
 Facem praeferre pudendis, - Juv. (II. 459).  
 ...Quicquid Graecia mendax  
 Audet in historia; - Juv. (II. 432).  
 As Juvenal says of a boxing-match, I think it is a blessing,  
 paucis cum dentibus to escape out of the hands of Galleni.  
 (I. XCVII).
- Lucian (B. ca. 120 A.D.).  
 Extremumque diam vitae inter munera ponit. - Lu. (II. 462).  
 Martial (ca. 40 - ca 102).  
 Stat contra, dicitque tibi tua pagina, Fur es. - Mart. (II. 556).  
 An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires? (Martial). (II.577).  
 Cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti? - Martial. (II. 576).  
 Of ourselves it may be said, as Martial says of a bad neighbor,  
 Nil tam prope, tam proculque nobis. (II. 564).  
 Martial says to his old woman,  
 Cum comparatitibus tuis ura  
 Niliacus habeat crocodilus angusta. Lib. III. Epig. XCIII. 6.  
 (II. ).
- Ovid (43 B.C. - 17 A.D.).  
 Natos sine semine flores. - Ovid. (II. 570).  
 Veteris vestigia formae. - Ov. (II. 510).  
 Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur, affore tempus,  
 Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regis coeli  
 Ardeat; et mundi moles operosa laboret.  
 Ovid. Met. lib. I. 256. (I. 279).

<sup>1)</sup>Horatii Epist. lib. I. ep. XI. 30.



Nunc ipsa pericula jungunt:- Ovid. (II, 506)

Have not some sevenfold volumes put us in mind of Ovid's  
sevenfold channels of the Nile at the conflagration?

Ostia septem  
Pulverulenta vacant septem sine flumine valles. (II, 561)

Petronius (ca. 60 A.D.)

"For a truly masculine air partakes more of the negligent than  
of the neat, both in writings and in life: Grandis oratio haberet ma-  
jestatis suae pondus.

Petronii Arbitri Satyricon, cap.4, (I, 419)

Pliny the Younger (61 A.D. - 115 A.D.)

O triste plane acerbumque fumus! O morte ipsa mortis tempus in-  
dignius! Jam destinata erat egregio juveni jam electus nuptiarum dies;  
quod gaudium quo maerore mutatum est.- Plinii Epist.

The crocodile's mouth is exceeding wide. When he gapes, says  
Pliny, fit totum os. (II, 129)

Expandit colores adverso maxime sole, quia sic fulgentius  
radiant. (I, 257)

Plinii Hist. Nat. lib.X. cap. 20. (I, 253)

-Pliny the younger, who says, In uxoris infirmitate, et amicorum  
periculo, aut morte turbatus, ad studia, unicum doloris levamentum,  
confugio. (II, 551)

Quintilian (45 (?) - 118 (??))

--"Quintilian, and all true critics allow that virtue assists  
genius, and that the writer will be more able, when better is the man".  
(II, 571.)

-: in the very strangest things there may be truth, and in things very  
credible a lie. Quintil. Institut. 1.IV C.2. (II, 431)

Sallust ( )

That is, he is so fond of riches, (which a good judge tells us,  
Nemo bonus unquam concupivit, 1)) etc. (II, 464)

Is demum vivere, atque anima frui videtur, qui alicui intentus  
negotio, aut artis bonae, aut praeclari facinoris, famam quaerit.  
Sallust.- (II, 445)

An age which particularly may be said, with Sempronia, Psallere,  
et saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae. Pecuniae, an famae  
minus parceret, haud facile discerneres.- Sallust. (II, )

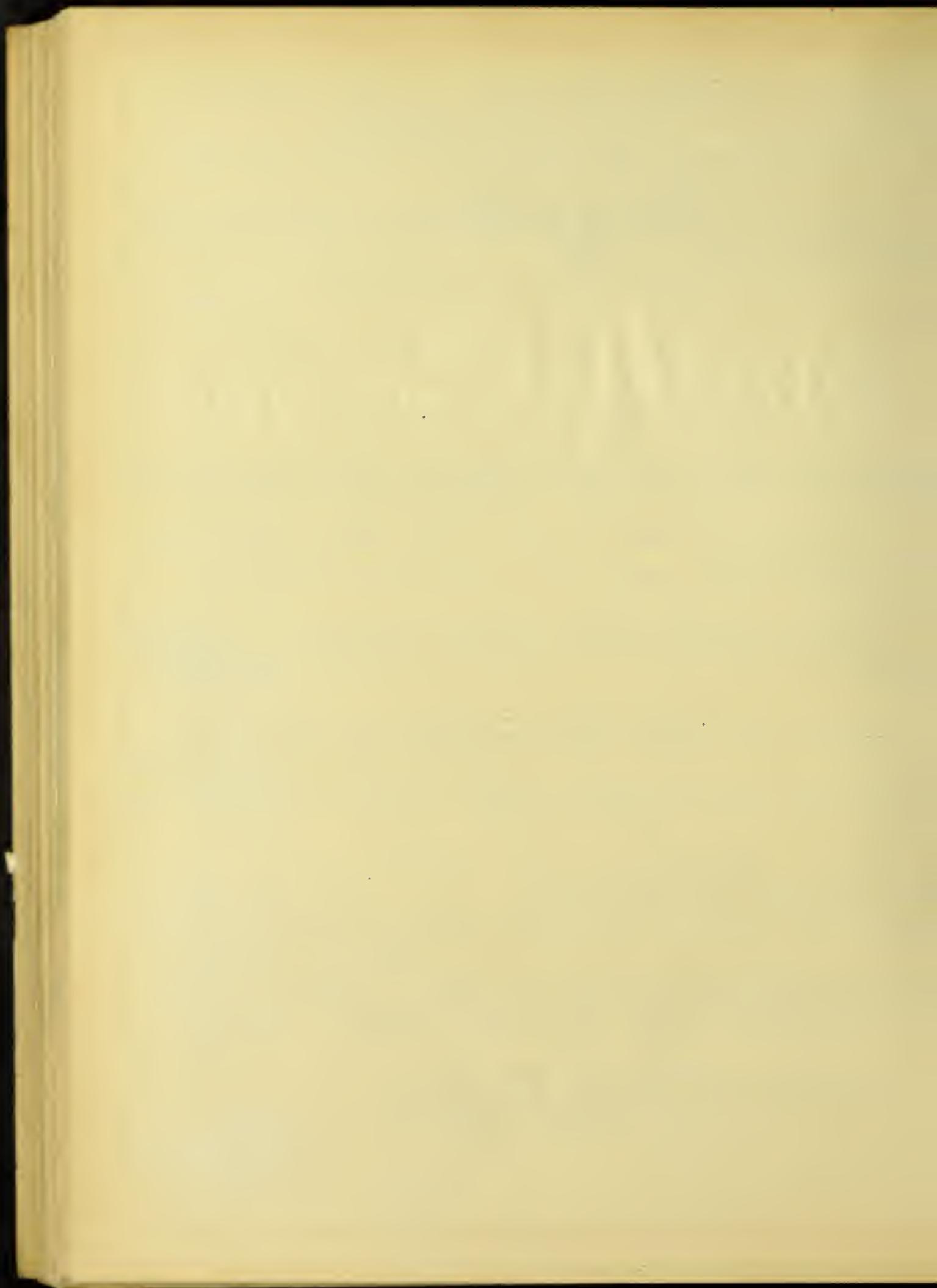
Deos negligere, omnia venalia habere. (Sallust) (II, 426)

Statius (ca. 60-ca.100)

Cephissiglaciale caput, quo suetus anhelam  
Ferre sitim Python amnemque avertere ponto.

Statii Thebais, lib.XII.349. ( )

1) Sallust.



Seneca (4 B.C. - 65 A.D.)

Sacer nobis inest Deus, says Seneca. (II, 557)

Tacitus (ca. 100 A.D.)

As Tacitus says of Curtius Rufus, an original author is born of himself, etc. (II, 569)

Terence ( ? - 159)

As it is said in Terence, Pecuniam negligere interdum maximum est lucrum. (II, 557)

Tully = Cicero. (106 - 43)

Haec imitamini, says Tully; per deos immortales, haec ampla sunt, haec divina, haec immortalia, haec fama celebrantur, momentis annalium mandantur, posteritati propagantur. (II, 352)

- "Tully, Quintilian, and all true critics allow that virtue assists genius. (II, 571)

Virgil (70 - 19 B.C.)

- nota major imago? - Virg. (II, 582)

-- volentes

Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo.- Virg. (II, 579)

-- Parnassia laurus

Parva sub ingenti matris se subjicit umbra.

Virgilii Georg. lib. II, 18. (I, )

-- Cynthus aurem vellit; (Virg.)

(II, 566)

--- it is outward, accidental circumstances, that, with regard to genius either in nation or age,

Collectas que fugat nubes, solemque reducit.- Virg.

(II, 563)

Fatis contraria fata rependens.

(I, 186)

Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes.

(I, 32)

Collectur que premens volvit sub naribus ignem.

Virgilii Georg. lib. III, 85. (I, 365) & (II, 515)

Venit summa dies.- Virgilii Aeneid. lib. ii, 324.

(I, 260)

Ipse pater, media nimborum in nocte, corusca

Fulmina molitur dextra: quo maxima motu

Turra tremit: fugere ferae, et mortalia corda

Per gentes humilis stravit pavor.

Virgilii Georg. lib. I, 328. (I, 262)

Attolens humeris famamque et fata nepotum.- Virgilius.

(II, 384)

Insonuere cauae, gemitumque ~~cauae~~ cavernae.- Virg.

(II, 511)

Antiquam exquirite matrem.- Virg.

(II, 521)

O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norunt!- Virgilius

(II, 518)

Redeunt Saturnia regna.- Virgilius.

(II, 516)

Toto divisos orbs Britannos!- Virg.

(II, 532)

Vincit amor patriae, laudumque immensa cupido.- Virg.

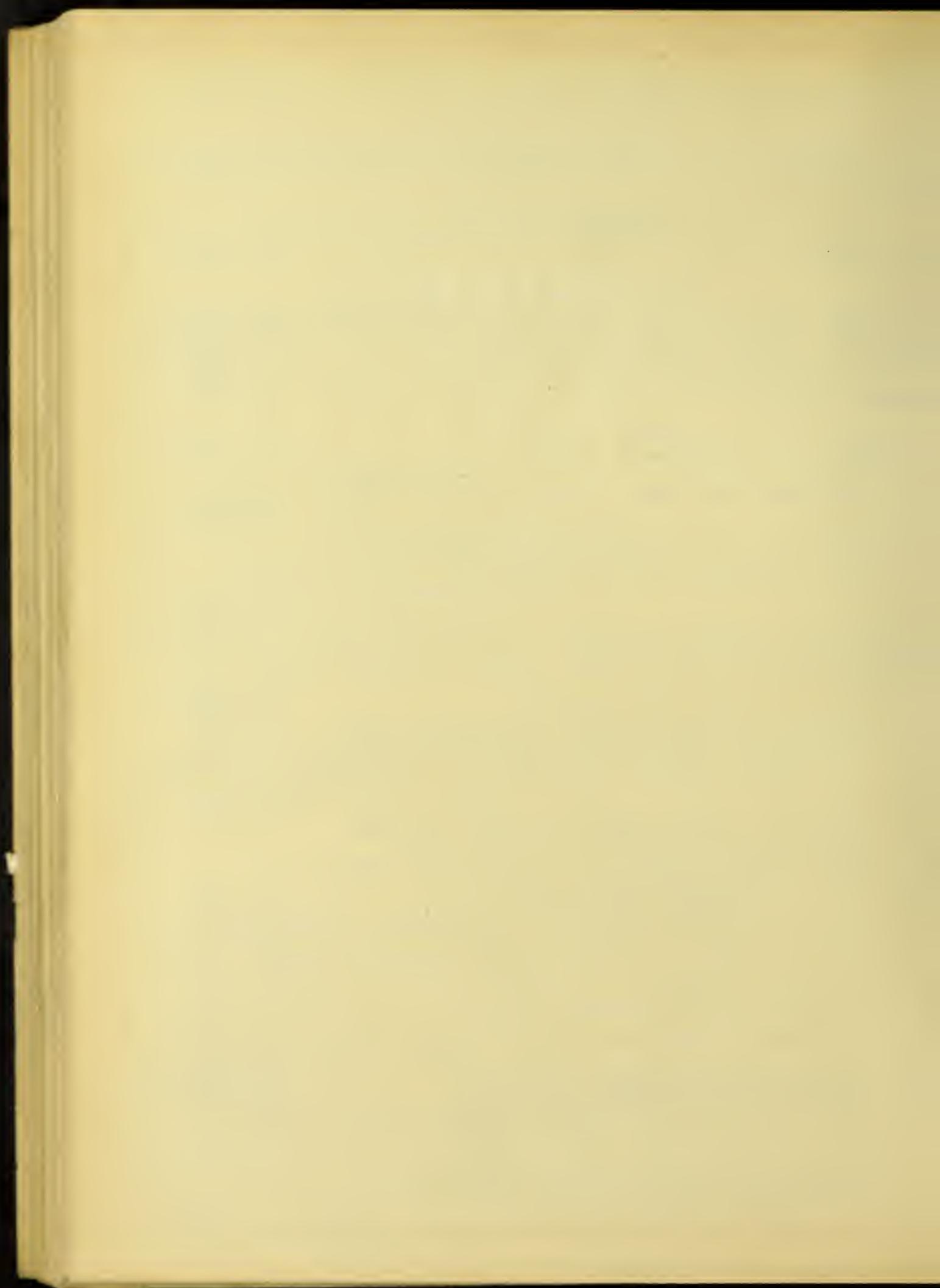
(II, 536)

-- Ad caelum ardentia lumina tollens,

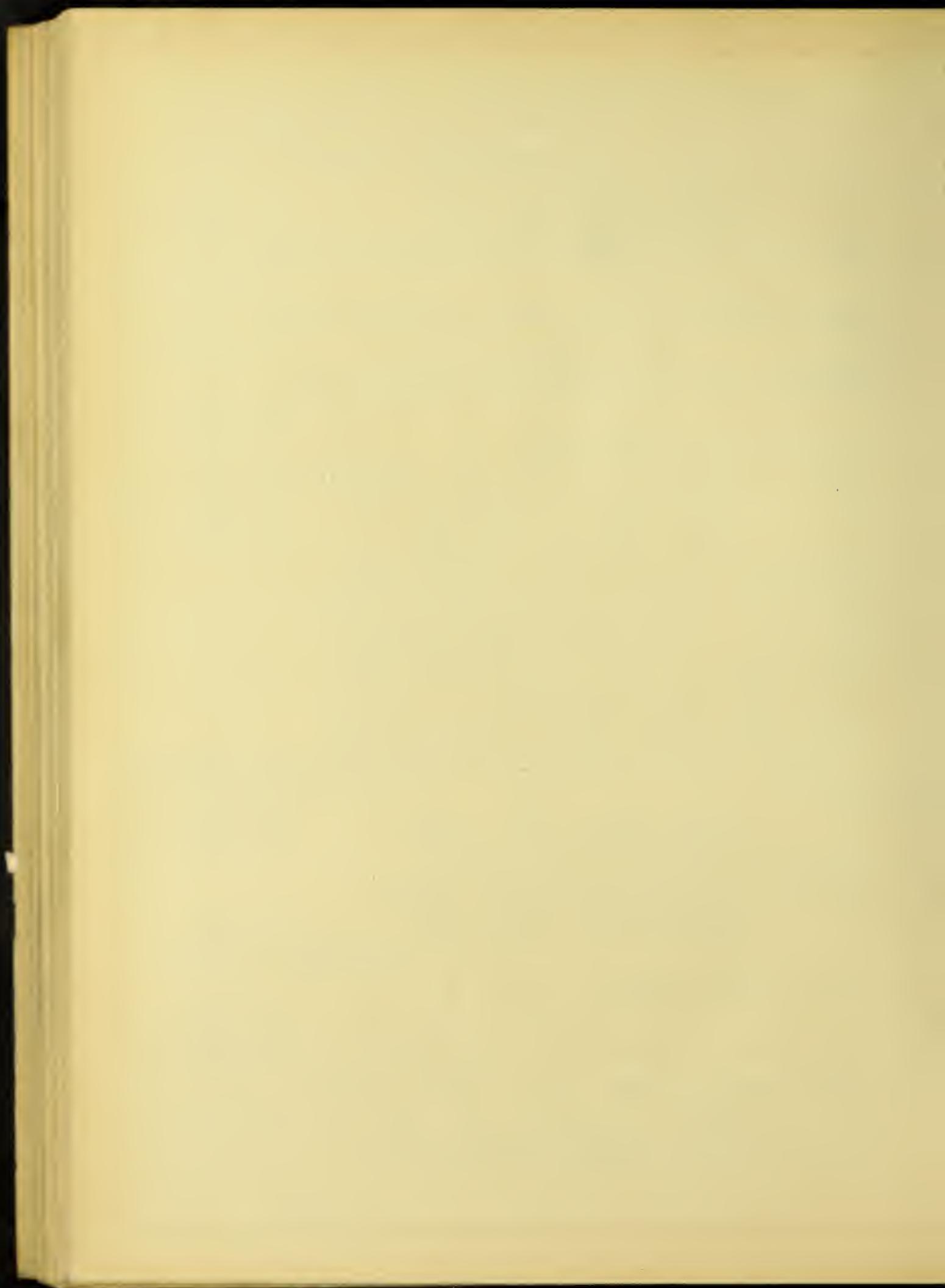
Lumina; nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.

Virgilii Aeneid. lib. II, 405.

(I, 317)



- Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.  
Virgilii Aeneid. lib. V. 344. (I, 315)
- Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus.- Virgilius.  
(II, 383)
- Hic pietatis honos? Sic nos in sceptris reponis?  
Virgilii Aeneid. lib. I, 253. (I, 324)
- Tu nunc eris alter ab illo.  
Virgilii Bucol. ecl. V, 49. (I, 336)
- Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo.- Virg. (II, 507)
- Aere cedere viros, mortemque accendere cantu.(Virgil).  
(II, 503)
- quem semper amatum,  
Semper honoratum, sic Dii voluistis habebis.- Virg.  
(II, 492)
- Telum imbelle sine ictu  
Conjecit; rauco quod protinus aere repulsum,  
Et summo clypei nequicquam umbone pependit.- Virg.  
(II, 437)
- Solem quis dicere falsum  
Audeat? - Virgilii Georg.lib.I, 463. (I, 398)
- Carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus.-  
Virgilii Ecl. IX, 67. (I, 404)
- Ecce, deus ramum Lethaeo rore rudentem, etc.  
Virgilii Aeneid,Lib. V. 854. (I, 409)
- Concordes animae - dum nocte preerentur,  
Heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae  
Attingerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebant!  
Quis juvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, vires!  
Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella.  
Tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Clympe,  
Sidereo flagrans clypeo et caelestibus armis:  
Projice tela ramu, sanguis meus!  
Nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoëus  
Arduus, arma tenens: non te Messapus et refens,  
Contemptorque deum Mozentins.  
Virgilii Aeneid,lib. VI,827-829,771,832,834,835;VIII,298,299,  
5,6; XII,167. (I, 415)
- Non hos quaesitum munus in usus.  
Virgilii Aeneid. lib. IV, 647. (I, 414)
- Non hos quaesitum munus in usus.- Virg. (II, 436)
- Tibi res antiquae laudis et artis  
Ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontis;  
Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.  
Virgilii Georg. lib.II, 174. (II, 30)
- Sunt lachrymae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.  
(I, 1) and (II,376)
- Sopitos suscitatur ignes.-  
Virgilii Aeneid. lib. V. 743. (II, 79)
- Manet alta mente repostum.- Virgilii Aeneid. lib. I. 26.  
(II, 188)
- Tectum angustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis,  
Urbe fuit summa.-  
Virgilii Aeneidos,lib. VII. 170. (II, 305)
- Murorum ingentes, aequataque machina caelo!"  
Virgilii Aeneid. lib. IV. 88. (II, 315)



--- what fancy, what energy, what non imitabile fulmen 1) is here.  
(II, 362)

### 3. Greek Literature

Aelian (3.cent. A.D.)	Phocylides(b.ca.560 B.C.)
Diodorus (1.cent. B.C.)	Pindar (518 - 441)
Hermias (2.cent. A.D.)	Plato (427 - 347)
Hesiod (ca. 800 B.C.)	Plutarch (50 - 120)
Homer (ca. 800 B.C.)	Socrates (469 - 399)
Longinus (d. 273 A.D.)	Xenophon (b. ca. 445 B.C.)

Aelian (Early in the third century)

Thence *ἰσοπέθει* , *ἰσοπέθει* , is "to ask earnestly:"  
Aelian.lib.ii.cap.48. (I, 351F).

Homer has been translated into most languages; Aelian tells us,  
that the Indians ... have taught him to speak their tongue.  
(II, 565)

Diodorus (1.cent. B.C.)

The taking the crocodile is most difficult. Diodorus says,  
they are not to be taken but by iron nets. (I, 256)

Hermias (Second century A.D.)

Hermias, in his Collections on Homer's blindness, says that  
Homer, requesting the gods to grant him a sight of Achilles, that  
hero rose, but in armor so bright that it struck Homer blind with  
the blaze. (II, 560)

Hesiod (b. ca. 800)

*Πλέον ἤμισυ πάντος. - Hes.* (II, 513)

Homer (c. 800)

"... all blotted into the deepest black, as if (like Achilles)  
they had been dipped in the Styx; and, (what is very remarkable) like  
him too, they are wounded in the heel." (II, 516)

Dark, though not blind, like thee, Maeonides! (I, 13)

He that imitates the divine Iliad does not imitate Homer; but  
he who takes the same method which Homer took for arriving at a  
capacity of accomplishing a work so great. (II, 554)

Nor human rage alone his power perceives,

But the mad winds, and the tumultous waves.

Homeri Iliad lib. I, 349. (I, 409)

Longinus(d.273 A.D.)

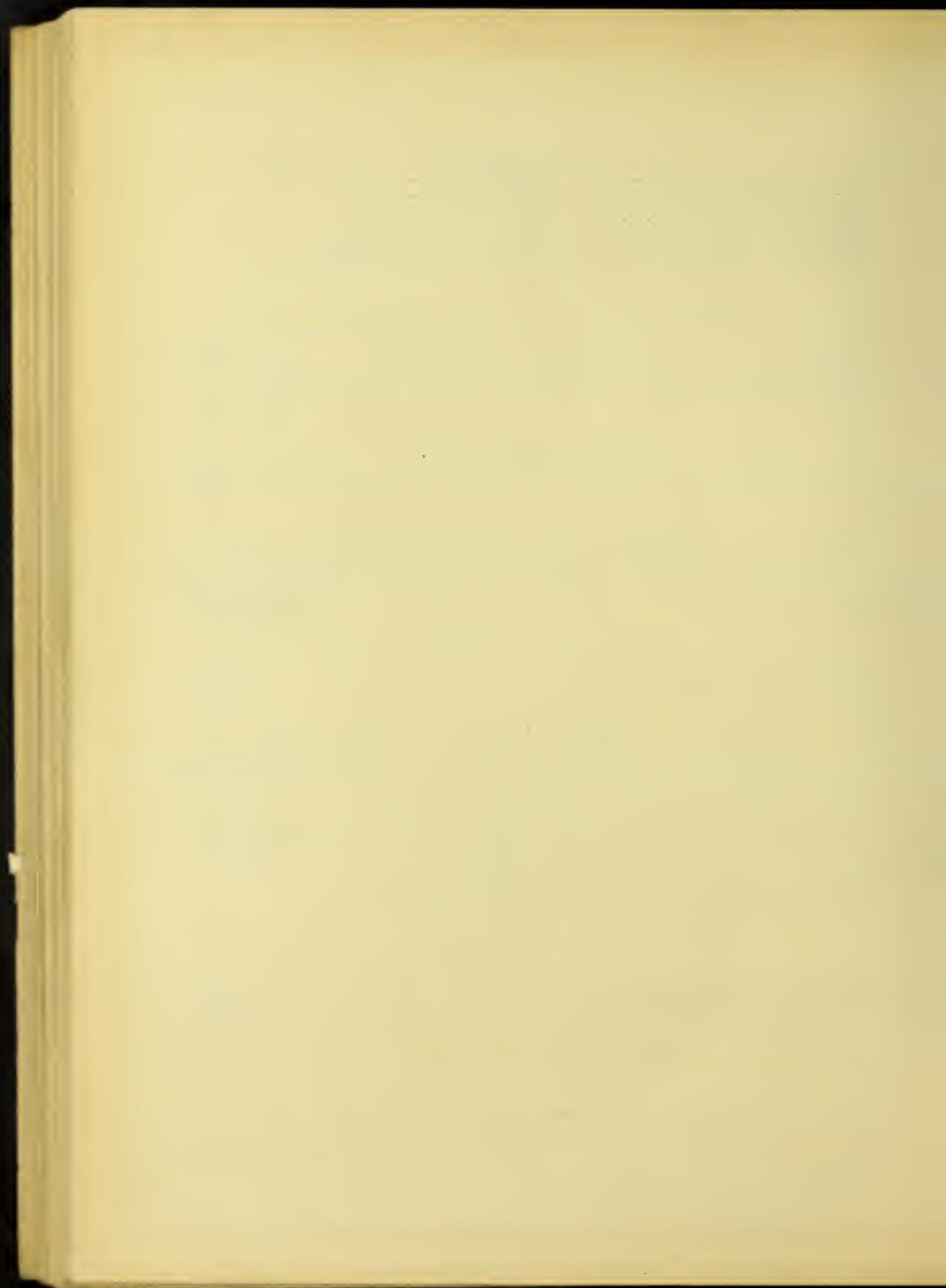
Longinus has a chapter on interrogations, which shows that they  
contribute much to the sublime. (I, 247)

... Longinus calls Herodotus most Homeric,... (II,579)

Phocylides(b.ca.560 B.C.)

*Ἐν γαίης ἐλπίζομεν εἰς φάος ἐλθεῖν  
Λείψαν ἀποιχομένων. ὀπίσω δε θεοὶ τελέθονταί. - Phocyl.*  
(I, 332)

1) Virgil



Pindar (518 - 441)

Παλαίος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἑνὸς λογίου-  
 σίτητος, ὡς οὐδὲν  
 ἔσσοιτο κλέει τὸν  
 ἑὸν ἰσομειν

Pindari Nemea, od. VI. 75.

(II, 2)

..."Pindar, who, as Vossius tells us, boasted of his no-learning"

(II, 557)

Plato (427-347)

Which puts me in mind of Plato's fable of the birth of Love.

(I, 346)

This puts me in mind of Plato, who denied Homer to the public; that Homer which, when in his closet, was rarely out of his hand.

(II, 577)

Plutarch (50 - 120)

..."the structures of Pericles at Athens, which Plutarch commends for having had an air of antiquity as soon as they were built."

(II, 555)

Socrates (469 - 399)

Socrates said, with wit, but with judgment too, "He that needs least, is most like the gods, who need nothing."

(II, 366)

Socrates said, with wit, but with judgment too, "He that needs least is most like the gods, who need nothing."

(II, 366)

Xenophon (B. ca. 560 B.C.)

Xenophon says, Cyrus had horses that could overtake the goat and the wild ass.

(I, 252)

#### 4. Romance Literature

Boileau (1636 - 1711)

Cervantes (1547 - 1616)

Rabelais (1495 - 1553)

Thuanus (1553 - 1617)

Voltaire (1694 - 1778)

Nicolas Boileau (1636 - 1711)

Boileau has joined both the Roman satirists (Horace and Juvenal) with great success ... whereas it appears to me that repetition is his fault, if any fault should be imputed to him.

(I, 345)

In youth, Voltaire! our foibles plead

For some indulgence due;

When heads are white, their thoughts and aims

Should change their color too.

-----  
 Your works in our divided minds

Repugnant passions raise,

Confound us with a double stroke,-

We shudder whilst we praise.

A curious web, as finely wrought

As genius can inspire,

From a black bag of poison spun,

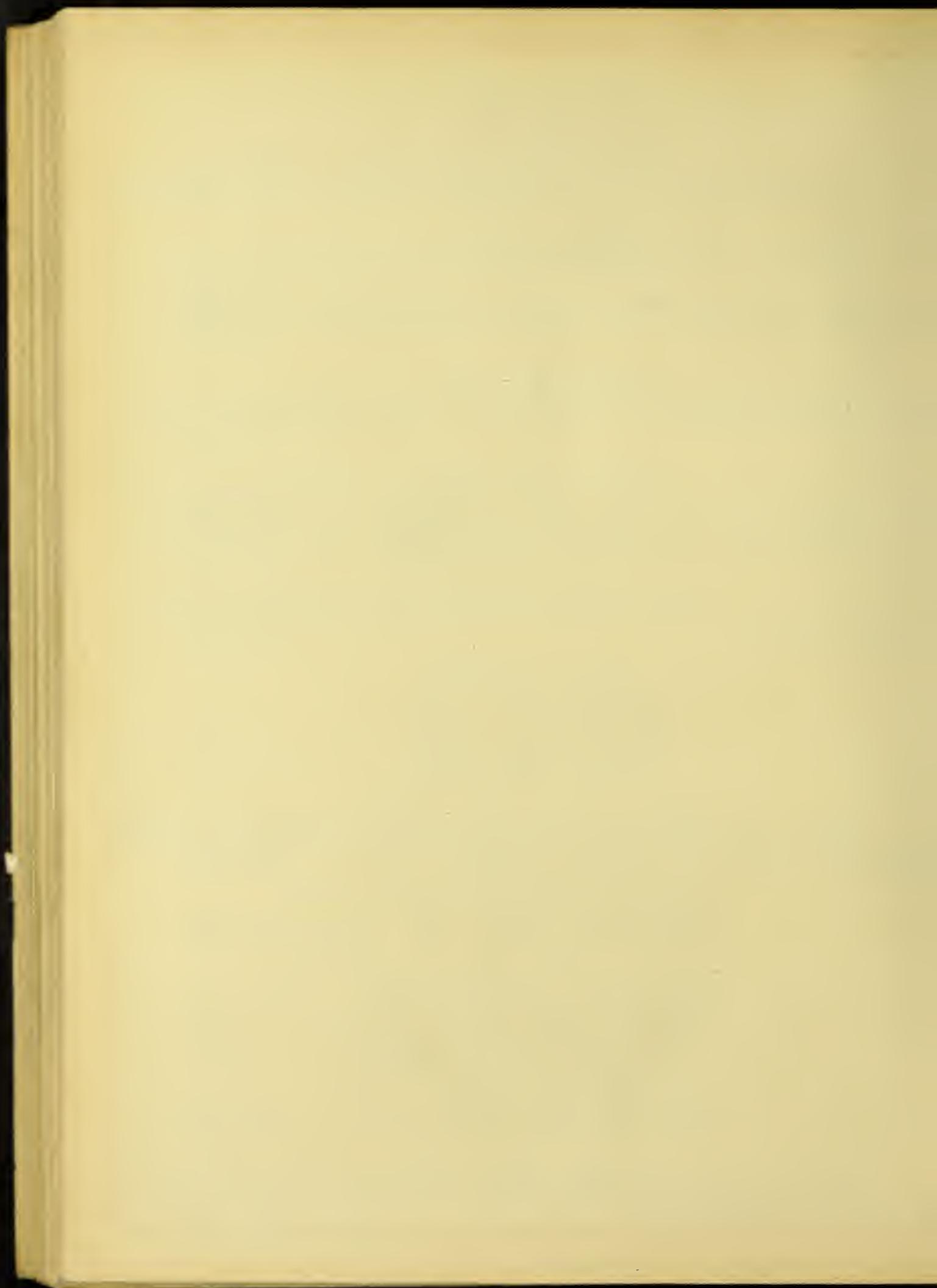
With horror we admire.

(II, 107)

Cervantes (1547 - 1616)

What a difference is there between the merit, if not the wit, of Cervantes and Rabelais!

(I, 346)



Rabelais (1495 - 1553)

See Cervantes on page \_\_\_

Thuanus (1553 - 1617)

Thuanus (De Re Accip.) mentions a hawk that flew from Paris to London in a night. (I, 253)

Francois Voltaire (1694 - 1778)

Voltaire on one occasion had severely criticized Milton's allegorical description of Death and Sin, because they were non-existent; when Young uttered the celebrated couplet:-

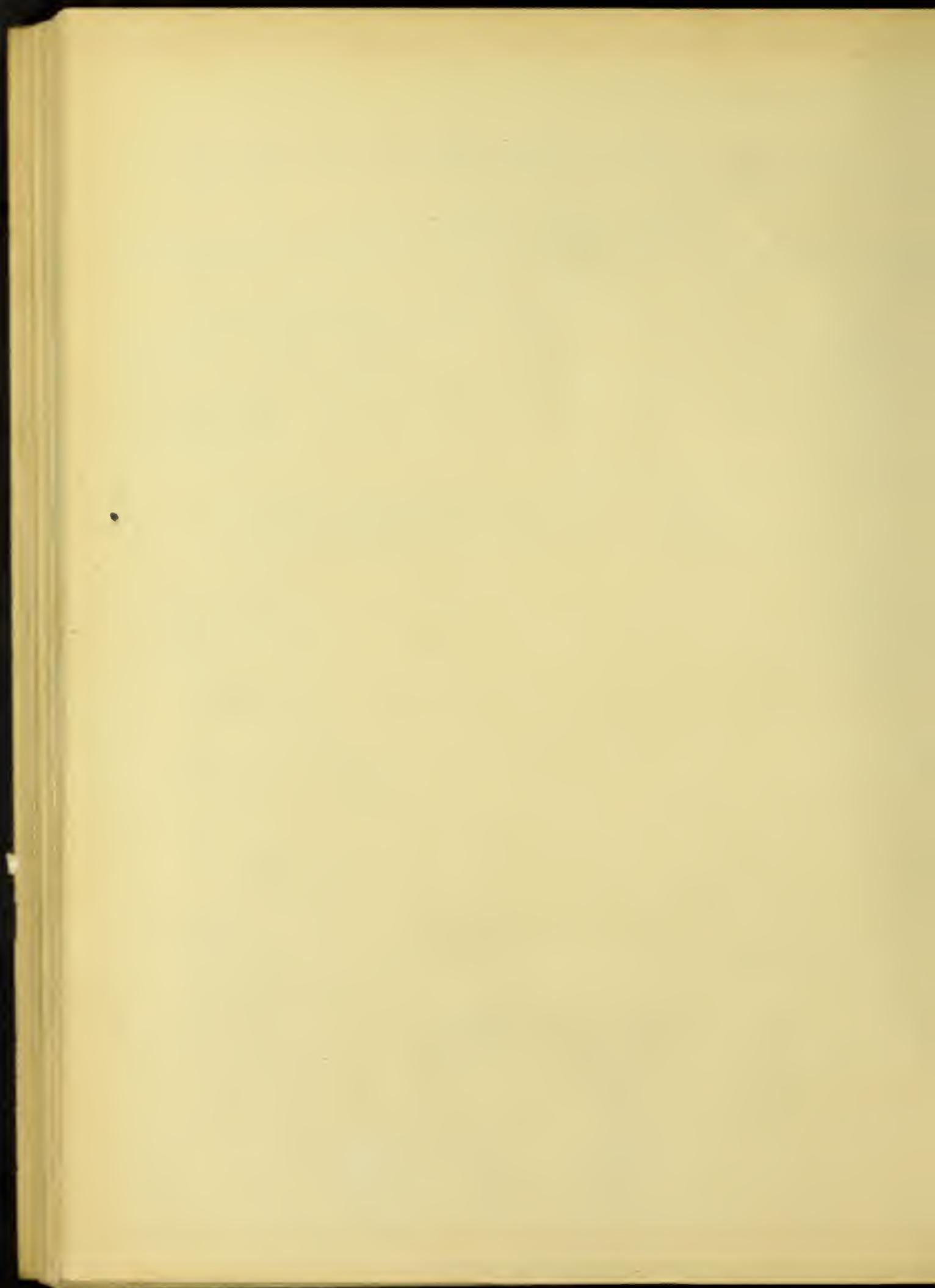
"Thou art so witty, profligate, and thin,  
Thou seen'st a Milton with his Death and Sin."

Dr. Joseph Warton says, in reference to this interview:- "Nobody ever said more brilliant things in conversation, than Dr. Young. The late Lord Melcombe informed me, that when he and Voltaire were on a visit to his lordship at Eastbury, the English poet was far superior to the French, in the variety and novelty of his bon-mots and repartees."

(II, XXXIII)

It was at Dodington's house at Eastbury that Young met Voltaire, and made the oft-quoted epigram:

Thou art so witty, profligate and thin,  
At once we think thee Milton, Death and Sin.  
Dic. of National Biography, vid. Young, Edward.



## VITA

Martin William Steinke: Born in a German Minister's family, in Harrisville, Wisconsin, on the 31st. of May in 1886. In public and private schools of Seattle, Washington, until the summer of 1903. Graduated from Wartburg Academy in 1904. Graduated from Wartburg College with the A.B. degree in 1908. Graduated from the University of Washington with the A.M. degree in 1910. Dissertation for the A.M. degree: "Goethe's Theories of Education as revealed in his Wilhelm Meister". Graduate student and fellow in the German Department of the University of Illinois 1910-12. Travelled abroad during the summer of 1911. Instructor in the German Department of the University of Michigan since the autumn of 1912.





UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 086830327