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THE USE MADE OF BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION BY ENGLISH POETS,
1729-1790.

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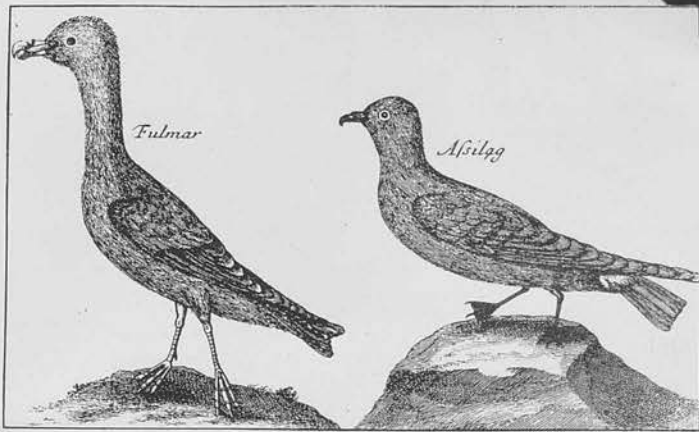
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See birds from Martin Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland.

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GOUGH WALSLEY



Caerfily Castle

T. Smith's painting of Caerfily Castle from Sotherley's A Tour through Parts of North
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BLADUD,
To whom the GRECIANS gave the Name of
ABARIS.

a copper plate of King Bladud of Bath which appeared in Wood's Essay towards the
description of Bath, and in Bath, and its Environs.



An illustration of the Maori from Havelock's South Seas Voyages.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

James Thomson and the travel-writers - his imitators in poems about the West Indies - motives for travel during the eighteenth century - the manifold relations between poets and travel-writers - the theory of travel in prose and verse.

Before the novel, it was the travel-book which was the embellishment of every gentleman's reading. In 1710, Shaftesbury described such books as "The chief materials to furnish out a library. . . These are in our present days what books of chivalry were in those of our forefathers"¹. And the examination of the sale-catalogues of eighteenth-century libraries only serves to prove the case. One of these inventories, which has just recently reappeared after its loss for several years, describes the library of James Thomson.² It helps us to trace most of his geographical imagery to its sources, and to confirm speculations which had already been made about the scope of his reading;³ it also ~~helps~~ ^{allows} us to see one habit of the eighteenth-century poets at its beginnings. For if Thomson was not the first English poet to go direct to the travel-writers for his material, he helped to direct and intensify a fashion. His own ethnological imagery is repeated in bad poems throughout the century, like a string of slogans: Golconda's gems and Potosi's mines; the fur-clad inhabitants of the north; the feather-decked savages of the burning zone; Lapps and Scythians; Arctic ice; the mountain-liberty of the Alps; the stork-assembly; the catalogues of rivers - we come to expect them as inevitable. With Thomson, many of these images were fine new creations over which he took infinite care for the achievement of the right effect - his numerous corrections of The Seasons are proof of this. But his imitators were not craftsmen, most of them: they were content to be admired for being thought like Thomson.

The Seasons was to be a nature-poem; the images were to be illustrations of "moral and sublime reflections", like the illustrations of a text-book, included to amuse and even instruct, but without any suggestion that image and idea had sprung to life in one act of the imagination. Just as the eighteenth-century traveller took to the road to confirm his strongly-held ideas by personal observations of particular

1. "Advice to the Author" in the J. M. Robertson edition of his Works, I. 222.
2. Now in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.
3. Notably the work of A. D. Mc Killop in The Background of Thomson's Seasons, and The Background of Thomson's Liberty, 1951.

instances, so Thomson used his travel-books to find examples for his theorems, especially of the idea that the characteristics of a nation are conditioned by their geographical situation. But sometimes the lure of the image-in-itself was too strong, and the idea is lost sight of in the attractiveness of the picture in all its glowing elaborations, like the attractiveness of a child's picture-book, luring him away from the alphabet which it teaches. The doctrine of ut pictura poesis gave even further support to this technique, excusing the merely picturesque under the argument that a poet was doing what he ^{was} meant to do when he applied words like paints for visual impression and dramatic effect. His conception of his own poem Thomson outlined in the well-known passage from a letter, describing the poem of his friend Mallet:

My idea of your poem is a description of the grand works of Nature raised and animated by moral and sublime reflections; therefore before you leave this earth you ought to leave no great scene unvisited. Eruptions, earthquakes, the sea wrought into a horrible tempest, the abyss amidst whose amazing prospects, how pleasing must be that of a deep valley covered with all the tender profusion of Spring. Here, if you could insert a Sketch of the Deluge, what more affecting and noble? Sublimity must be the characteristic of your piece. ².

Thomson had been smitten by the spirit of the Royal Society, extolling accuracy; and so in his revisions he is not content with a nature merely rhetorical and picturesque, but with a nature scientifically described, according to the accounts of the most reliable observers. Thus his foot-notes, giving references, and seeking authoritative support in the travel-books.

The impetus to the use of several "kinds" was given by The Seasons - to the topographical poem in praise of a place, which was already well on the way, with Danham's Cooper's Hill of the previous century, and Pope's Windsor Forest as important examples; and to the instructional scientific poems, with roots in the Georgics. Thomson must have found the style of John Philips' Cider, 1706, congenial to his personal taste, for it is not only his educative, scientific manner that he imitates, but also his rhetorical comparisons between the temperate abundance of England and the crops and habits of other countries. ². And in turn William Grainger admired the Seasons, and decided to write a West Indian Georgics, The Sugar-Cane, ¹⁷⁶⁴ which incorporates

1. The Correspondence of Thomson and Mallet. Philobiblon Society, 1859.

2. Cider, l. 89-118 has resemblances both to Thomson's St. Kilda passage in Autumn, ^{in imagery} and also shares his idea of the dignity of labour. The passage also mentions "Penmenmaur", which appears in Thomson's Summer in a different context.

some Thomsonian additions to the kind - his unrevolutionary humanitarianism and his sentimental tales, translated into West Indian terms. He also borrowed Thomson's Habit of referring to his sources - and of using his sources without referring to them. ~~And~~ In his preface he writes:

And yet, except some scattered hints in Père Labat, and other travellers in America, an essay by Colonel Martyn of Antigua is the only piece on plantership I have seen deserving a perusal.

As Thomson's own treatment of his sources has already received such wide and ~~specific~~ ^{detailed} treatment, it may be worth-while to examine Grainger more fully, as an example of one of the better and yet typical Thomsonians. He was a methodical and careful naturalist; and his educational purpose confirmed him in the interlarding of his text with copious notes, mainly botanical, referring to Linnaeus, Père Labat, and Sir Hans Sloane's Natural History of Jamaica, ~~1740~~ ¹⁷⁰⁹⁻²⁶. Sloane had made a voyage to Jamaica to do a biological survey of the island; and Grainger seems to have known him personally, as well as his handsome, massive, lavishly-illustrated volumes. But Grainger was not only a naturalist, although his mania for accuracy and completeness usually got in the way of free imagination. As a naturalist he based his writing on his personal experience supplemented by book-knowledge, as did Sloane also. ¹ But it is in his romantic tales that he expresses an impulse, however weak, to use the travellers in another way. In the first book he describes an English exile's advice to his young son before death. His footnote runs as follows:

the swift-wing'd zumbadore: "This bird, which is one of the largest and swiftest known, is only seen at night, or rather heard; for it makes a hideous humming noise (whence its name) on the desert tops of the Andes. See Ulloa's Voyage to South America. It is also called Condor. Its wings, when expanded, have been known to exceed sixteen feet from tip to tip. See Phil. Trans. No. 208. 2.

1. Grainger's use of Sloane in his footnotes may be illustrated by his comments on the Cotton Tree (11.72). He writes: "Canoes have been scooped out of this tree, capable of holding upwards of a hundred people; and many hundreds, as authors related, have been at once sheltered by its shade". Sloane writes: "A canoe was seen in Cuba, in Columbus' first Voyage, ninety five Palms long, and able to receive a hundred and fifty Men. Fernan. Colon. 63". "Nieremb.p.332. says, that sixteen men cannot easily fathom these Trees about, and that a thousand people may stand under its shade", and other passages. Both writers refer to its use in stuffing pillows; but Grainger goes beyond Sloane in a note on its possible commercial value; and in further biological distinctions.

2. The Sugar Cane, 1. 641.

But "the swift-wing'd zumbadore" appears not merely as another laborious vignette of a tropical bird, but in a strange measuring of time by the movements of nature:

He spoke, and ere the swift-wing'd zumbadore
The mountain desert startled with his hum;
Ere fireflies trimmed their vital lamps; and ere
Dun evening trod on rapid twilight's heel,
His kneel was rung -

The light of imagination flickers for a moment around the splendour of a name and of a personal memory, and then goes out. In the second book there is another passage with something of the same quickly-passing illumination about it. Grainger wrote twice the tale of lovers almost re-united after absence and long voyage, and separated at their embrace by a fatal stroke of nature, once lightning, once a shark. Sloane's own outward voyage lies beneath the surface of the voyage at the end of Book 11, unacknowledged. For Sloane had written "Of Dolphins",^{2.} of "The Tropic Bird",^{3. & "Of Sharks"} of "Boneto's",^{4.} and "Of Flying-Fishes":^{5.}

They came on Board our Ship every where between the Tropicks,
flying out of the Water, and lighting thereon by accident.

Without any subtlety of language, Grainger binds these hints together with his own experience of the utica into an impression of the jubilation of nature at the homeward voyage, a moment before the shark rises and the tale ends in despair:

Soon Porto Santo's rocky heights they spy,
Like clouds dim rising in the distant air.
Glad Eurus whistles; laugh the sportive crew;
Each sail is set to catch the favouring gale,
While on the yard-arm the harpooner sits,
Strikes the boneta, or the shark ensnares.
The fring'd utica spreads her purple form
To catch the gale, and dances o'er the waves.
Small winged fishes on the shrouds alight;
And beauteous dolphins gently play'd around.
Though faster than the Tropic bird they flew,
Oft Junio cried, ah! when shall we see land?
Soon land they made: and now in thought he clasp'd
His Indian bride, and deem'd his toils o'erpaid.

There is much of the atmosphere of Thomson's tropical paradise about Grainger's West Indies, with its rich fruitage and wildness; and several other poems about these British colonies bear the same mark of imitation - Nathaniel Weekes' Barbados,¹⁷⁵⁴ and John Singleton's A General Description of the West Indian Islands, 1777. The practical and the romantic were bound together in the eighteenth-century Englishman's relation with the American colonies, and especially with the West Indies.

1. "Bryan and Pereene", and The Sugar Cane, Book 11. 2. Sloane, page 2L.
3. and-4. page 22. 4. page 28. 5. page 27.

These islands were at once paradise-islands and ideal situations for the expansion of commercial effort, symbols of indolence, and symbols of the Empire. We must remember that it was probably Steele's financial interests in the West Indies that intensified his curiosity about West Indian manners, and sent him to read Richard Ligon's History of the Barbadoes. And in 1744, after he had written his poems certainly, ~~that~~ Thomson was appointed Surveyor General of the Leeward Islands. In 1748, he wrote a delightful letter to his friend and deputy in the Barbadoes, William Paterson:

For you, I imagine you reclining under cedars, there enjoying more magnificent slumbers than are known to the pale climates of the north; slumbers rendered awful and divine by the solemn stillness and deep fervours of the torrid noon. At other times I imagine you drinking punch in groves of lime or orange trees, gathering pineapples from hedges, as commonly as we may pluck berries, poetising under lofty laurels, or making love under full spreading myrtles. But to lower my style a little, as I am such a genuine lover of gardening, why do you not remember me in that instance, and send me some seeds of things that might succeed here during the summer . . .

The two tendencies, to scientific observation, and to the creation of a world half-dream and half-reality, run side by side in the verse of the eighteenth century. So Thomson achieved the doubtful merit of writing a bigger and better poem than Addison about his travels in Italy. He also rested for a while, in The Castle of Indolence, in the belief in the existence of a world which carries about it recollection of his readings of eastern travel, as well as of the Arabian Nights. But even that world is rejected in favour of the knight of industry.

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Much has been written about the aims of eighteenth-century travel, about the transition from the Renaissance ideal of travel as an aid in the making of the full man, with a knowledge of society and government, to the new dilettante ideal of travel as the aid to the making of the fine gentleman, the connoisseur in the arts and antiquities. There was another transition also, which R.W. Franz has described, especially where non-European voyaging was concerned, from travelling for adventure, and sometimes even in pursuit of a semi-mystical ideal of a lost paradise, to travelling for the sake of science, particularly under the influence or even sponsorship of the Royal Society, and to find proofs of the rationalists' idea that

1. R. Blanchard: "Steele's Barbados Plantation". *Modern Philology*, XXXIX.
 2. Reproduced by Douglas Grant: James Thomson, Poet of the Seasons, 1951.
 3. R.W. Franz: The English traveller and the movement of ideas, 1660-1732, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1934. *University Studies*, 32-33.

human characteristics can best be observed in the primitive society uninfluenced by the overlayings of civilised life. The cult of the picturesque image belongs to the paraphernalia of the connoisseur; the cult of the didactic, illustrative image is related to the scientific habit of mind. And such poetical habits were encouraged by the fact that the poet could himself be a traveller, so that the outer edge of mystery was shaved away in the enthusiasm for the full recording of personal experience. The Elizabethan poets were not the Elizabethan voyagers, and so they could let the imagination run unleashed for a while without being duly disturbed; and the Royal Society had not yet come. ~~But even~~

But even the poet of the eighteenth century knew that he was not merely a scientist or a moralist, or a collector of antiquities. He was perfunctorily aware that his province was the temporary suspension of unbelief through the operation of the fancy, which created a drama before the backcloth presented either by the travel-books or in his own travels, in which a special mythology was allowed free play, a mythology of pale allegorical figures surviving from the full peopling of the Renaissance, or of rivers and hills that have come alive in the Ovidian-Spenserian manner, or of sentimental lovers and noble heroes, or perhaps of fairies and druids and solitaries. But most of the poets were tied to the stock responses; and even their mythology was a box of dolls trundled out again and again for the pulling of the strings to make them perform appropriately. And the poets who travelled were usually worse than the poets who did not, whose benumbing experience of this civilised world drove them to a fierceness of imagination forging a new one for themselves.

Some poets read the travellers; and what was wrong with them is that they dared not leave them aside when they came to write, but did them into verse as they had done their youthful classical exercises. Some poets copied the travellers and decided to make their own travel-books, or bits of travel-books in verse, in general imitation of the others in prose; and what was usually wrong with them is that they could not forget the official categories for observation - the antiquarian,

the political, the informative, the generally picturesque. And some poets - usually poetesses - suffered from a thwarted travel-urge, and spent most of their imaginative life putting into verse the travels they had not done, for which friends or travel-writers had provided the material. It was only when the poets flung away their guides in ripe personal enjoyment, or fished up half-forgotten, sunken images from the deep pools of their memories, that a truer poetry was written. The picturesque and the scientific habits of mind gave the century a long training in having the eye on the object, which was a necessary preliminary discipline to something greater. And these attitudes too were fostered by the travel-books. But in the fulness of time the poets were redeemed from the vain traditions of their fathers, and this redemption came about along with the double realisation that poetry is not painting, that poetry is not science. Even the idea of the value of inspiration on the spot had to undergo a re-interpretation which purged it from its associations with the Royal Society, and renewed it in a way that gave value to a particularly poetic mode of interpretation perception.

Some of the kinds, too, were regarded as particularly suitable for the use of travel-material. At the beginning of our period, it was the epistolary form that was the favourite for excursions or topography, with the writer describing or discussing for the sake of his friends. By the end of our period a greater number of odes were appearing, in which the writer forgot society in his address to the subject that pleased him. But the poets explored the travel-books for other kinds of material besides the topographical; they sought also for tales of noble savages and for primitive lyrics. And sometimes, as in the Castle of Indolence, and in Collins and Chatterton's "African Eclogues" and Cowper¹, there is a recreation of a new world, of a "visionary landscape", of a mythology which is not merely the stock-mythology; and the poets have forgotten that they are anything else but poets.

1. Cowper may be grouped with these other poets, because his imagery of storm and shipwreck penetrates beyond the merely dramatic in having an acutely personal significance, which has been discussed, together with his travel-books, by M.J. Quinlan, in "Cowper's imagery", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLVII, 1948, 276-285.

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Which travel-books did the poets use; were some recurrently popular, and what was the reason for their popularity? These are difficult questions to answer, for on an over-all glance, there seems to be little rhyme or reason in the choice of travel-books. Some were used because of a long-standing authority in giving good and colourful information, Hakluyt, for example; some because of their interpretation of their material. Thus Martin Martin presents the seeds of a primitivist idealising attitude to the Western Isles. Some were not particularly famous in their day, and so their attraction seems to be fortuitous; in some cases material from the travellers was mediated by way of the magazines. Sometimes the poets were stimulated to write because of a popular political or scientific interest in a particular region and descriptions of it. Sometimes the poets wrote their own travel-books, and then re-wrote them in verse.

Very often, too, the writers of guides and travels followed the taste of the poets: this is particularly evident in the story of the relation between British poems and travels. And often the travel-writers considered it as an important embellishment of their work to have poems included in the text, either written especially for their work, or gleaned from previous publications.

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The age had two main moods with regard to travel. One could either indulge the impulse to curiosity through travel, or one could cultivate one's garden-estate in quiet. There was plenty of prose-criticism of the travellers, plenty of satire, especially of travelling for fashion; there was also plenty of theorising about the true ends of travel. And the poets did not keep quiet about that either. The satirists were out first, and Pope's vignette in the Dunciad of the "young Aeneas" on the Grand Tour is one of the most brilliant, with its heavy sensuous elaboration of Continental attractions, ¹ ~~a half-negated~~ myth set alongside the jaunty casual language of the surrounding lines:

Europe he saw, and Europe saw him too,
 Led by my hand, he sauntered Europe round,
 And gathered every Vice on Christian ground.

1. To happy convents, bosom'd deep in vines,
 Where slumber Abbots, purple as their wines,
 To isles of fragrance, lilly-silver'd vales,
 Diffusing languor in the panting gales;
 To lands of singing or of dancing slaves,
 Love-whisp'ring woods, and lute-resounding waves.

But two poems that appeared in 1744 lent support to a higher ideal of travel. In The Pleasures of the Imagination, Akenside's "daring youth Breaks from his ^{weeping} mother's anxious arms" "In foreign climes to rove", for the sake of Truth and Nature; in The Art of Preserving Health Armstrong gives versified advice to the more advanced in years:

While yet you breathe, away; the rural wilds
 Invite; the mountains call you, and the wales. .

Go, climb the mountain; from th'ethereal source
 Imbibe the recent gale. .

He sponsors the walking-tour, and gives good advice to the melancholy:

Or join the caravan in quest of scenes
 New to your eyes, and shifting every hour.

The satirists continued to bite, however; and Gray admired the poem of his friend Gilbert West, published in the 1766 edition of Dodsley, "On the Abuse of Travel/ing . A Cantó, In Imitation of Spenser. By Gilbert West, Esq." The edge is taken off his theme by the allegory: he departs from the incisiveness of Pope to the caricature-methods of Spenser, to a Redcross Knight with an Archimago as his tutor, travelling in a Europe which is not Europe, and ^{which is sometimes} ~~sometimes~~ as close to Alice as to the FairieQueene. They embark on a ship in which sits Curiosity, "a mighty Traveller":

a stranger wight in quaint array,
 That seem'd of various garb attone combin'd,
 Of Europe, Afric, east and western Inde,
 Als round about him many creatures stood,
 Of several nations, and of divers kind,
 Apes, serpents, birds with human speech endow'd,
 And monsters of the land, and wonders of the flood.

They visit scenes of luxury, of sycophancy and social servility, of oppression of the poor by the rich; and finally My Lady Vertu tries to seduce the knight from his devotion to the true Virtue, with her entourage of guides and cicerones, and sellers of false antiques. The same theme was continued in ^{an} ~~a~~ satire in couplets of 1778, called The Travellers.

But if the eighteenth-century Briton showed an unbounded enthusiasm for travel, he was always glad to come home. The debate about travel is worked out ^{the least silly of} pleasantly by Robert Merry in one of ~~of~~ the della Cruscan collections, The Florence Miscellany, of 1785, in two parodic poems called "Il Viaggio" and "La Dimorca" .

For a while he is carried away by the contrast between the boredom of retirement and

the infinite possibilities of travel:

Hence listless occupation
 Of dull domestic cares and mummery,
 The fretful infant's cry,
 The chiding dame, and gossip's exultation,
 The drunkard's brutal joy,
 The Yearning fireside circle's musty tale,
 And pipes, and humming ale,
 The pamper's justice, and the parson's prose,
 Dull scenes that Britain knows!
 Which waste the sun of life, and daily bliss destroy,
 But come, fair Travel! whom of yore
 Variety the wood-nymph bore . .

But "La Dimorca" gave another view of England that was not governed by recollections of Hogarth and the critics of society. And one of the best stories of the century ends with return and repose:

Pangloss disait quelquefois a Candide, Tous les enchainemens sont enchainés dans le meilleur des mondes possibles; car enfin . . si vous N'aviez pas couru l'Amérique a pied, si vous n'aviez pas donne un bon coup d'épée au baron, si vous N'aviez pas perdu tous vos moutons du bons pays d'Eldorado, vous ne mangeriez pas ici des cedrats confits & des pistaches. Cela est bien dit, répondit Candide, mais il faut cultiver notre jardin.

CHAPTER TWO.

TRAVELLING IN EUROPE.

A man who has not been in Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen it is expected a man should see. The grand object of travelling is to see the shores of the Mediterranean.

+ Dr. Johnson.

L. In The Background of Thomson's Liberty, McKillop discusses Thomson's relation to other sources, (Chapter III: "View of Italy"), notably Lessels, Ray, Misson, in volume 2 of Harris's Travels, 1705, and Edward Wright, Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy, etc, 1730, which was item 206 on Thomson's sale-catalogue of his library. He also shows his use of Burnet, and of Montfaucon, Travels from Paris thro' Italy, 1712.

In chapter 11, McKillop also shows that Thomson's equation of Britain with liberty and of Italy with servitude, in contrast to the liberty of ancient Italy, was a popularly-held notion, by reference to Shaftesbury, Pope, Bolingbroke, and John Dennis.

ITALY.

The theme of Italy could not be disconnected in the English mind from the theme of liberty throughout the eighteenth century. She was symbolic of past freedom which had declined into luxury, and was thus challenged by new freedom-loving nations. She was symbolic also of a plenitude of nature which was presented in the classical poets, and especially in Virgil's second Georgic. She was represented too as a storehouse of the highest achievement in the fine arts, classical and modern. The English poet writing about Italy had of course done his own Italian tour, and so we might expect from him some original observations; and he had also almost certainly read in preparation for his own travels the accounts of others, perhaps Lassels and Lodge, and almost certainly Addison. It depended on his own tastes which interests might predominate, the political, or the aesthetic, or the acquisitive; and some poets give indication more than others of the travel-books that they might have read.

The epistolary form lurked more or less evidently behind our first group of poems about Italy; and it was sometimes indicated as obviously as by Addison in his address to Lord Halifax, and by Goldsmith in his address to his brother. Thomson begins his Liberty with an address to his dead travelling-companion, Talbot. Often the poem is constructed in the shape of a journey, either of a visionary kind, induced by the association of ideas - Thomson dreams his Liberty in Rome - or more realistic, as in Dyer's tour of the monuments in the Ruins of Rome, or Goldsmith's prospect over Europe from the Alpine heights in The Traveller. As the century went on, and the ode came in, it was this form that succeeded the travel-epistle in popularity. The poet no longer addressed his friends in description and discussion, but rather addressed in humility the aspects of the country that pleased him.

Thomson's Italy is a derivative of Addison's Italy, but with important personal variations. Addison as usual had damned his subject with faint praise in his Letter from Italy of 1701, and in his Remarks on Several Parts of Italy of 1705, as well as in his essays. His poem had been constructed on the principle that the more glowing a picture he gave of the loveliness of Italy, the blacker would seem the blight of tyranny when placed over against it; and the preface to the Remarks sets out his

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purpose in travelling as rather poetic, aesthetic, and antiquarian, than to make political and religious observations such as had been done so well by Lassels, Ray, Misson, and Burnet:

I must confess it was not one of the least Entertainments that I met with in Italy Travelling, to examine these several Descriptions, as it were, upon the Spot, and to compare the Natural Face of the Country with the Landskips that the Poets have given us of it.

Nevertheless he did set the tone for the verdict of the succeeding poets:

But notwithstanding all these promising Circumstances, and the long Peace that has reigned so many Years in Italy, there is not a more miserable People in Europe than the Pope's subjects.

Still, the Remarks is a varied book, for he does not allow his feelings about Italian society to damp his vigour when looking for delightful prospects with his volumes of the Latin poets in his hands - Silvius Italicus accompanies him, as well as the more orthodox poets - , and he does not spare to give favour where it is due, even in matters of religion. In fact, when Roderick Marshall, in his Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815,¹⁹³⁴ implies that Addison's Remarks had an influence wholly anti-Italian, we feel that he is not giving the book its due, for in it were the seeds of much that was to be favourable to Italy in the succeeding years. Thomson, we feel, depending rather on Burnet, is much more whole-heartedly anti-Italian than Addison.

Thomson went to Italy determined to write a poem about his journey: we know this from his letter to his friend Bubb Doddington:

been

Travelling has/long my fondest wish for the very purpose you recommend. The storing one's imagination with ideas of all-beautiful, all-great, and all-perfect Nature: these are the pure Materia Poetica, the light and colours, with which fancy kindles up her whole creation, points a sentiment, and even embodies an abstracted thought. I long to see the fields where Virgil gathered his immortal honey, and tread the same ground where men have thought and acted so greatly. 1.

But anticipation was not matched with fact. This, too, was to be a landscape-holiday: but he found that the depressing influence of social conditions had banished his Muse, temporarily at least. When he did come to write his poem, this mood was still on him, and his theme was the theme of Addison's Letter, only with variations. 2.

We can guess from his pre-occupation with Italian landscape and the places of the poets that Thomson went to Italy with a copy of the Remarks in his possession.

1. William Seward, Anecdotes, 5th. edition, 1804. ll. 346-7.
2. He admits this in a letter to Doddington, 27 December, 1730, Paris; and in another to Lady Hertford, 10 October, 1732. (Hughes: Modern Philology, XXV, 456.)

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1. Addison's sentiments about solitude are repeated in poetry and prose throughout the century; and his passage on Mary Magdalen's desert, on pages 2 and 3 of the Remarks, gives an indication of the associations which gathered round such a spot. It is first of all a fit place for retirement, conducive to religious life. This feeling is repeated at other places on his journey:

An old Hermit lives at present among the Ruins of this Palace, who lost his Companion a few Years ago by a Fall from the Precipice.
(page 254).

A Hermitage. . It lyes in the prettiest Solitude imaginable, among Woods and Rocks, that at first Sight dispose a man to be serious.
(page 474).

There is the same attitude in the story of the foundation of the monastery of St. Gall, pages 495-6. The second characteristic of the place which interests Addison is the "romantic" mountains, which are in his mind connected with "chimerical relations". He illustrates this attitude by recording a classical passage which he was reminded of, from Claudian. It is a sea-swept coast, a place where deeds of horror were committed, a haunted spot:

Oft in the Winds is heard a plaintive Sound
Of melancholy Ghosts that hover round;
The lab'ring Blowman oft with horror spies
Thin airy Shapes, that o'er the Furrows rise,
(A dreadful scene!) and skim before his Eyes.

We need hardly comment on the resemblance of Thomson's "shepherd of the Hebrid isles" image to this passage.

There are other passages in praise of lake-and-mountain scenery: for example, the Remarks, page 445.

2. Addison has several passages in praise of republics - his account of the republic of San Marino, which is written in the same spirit as Thomson's passage on the Grisons in Liberty IV. It is a small mountain-state retaining its freedom and a greater measure of virtuous civility than other countries, in spite of its situation. Other republics which he mentions are Lucca (page 447ff.) and the Swiss republics, with a special mention of the Grisons (page 498).

3. The "works of nature" are prospects to Addison; and every romantic situation merits a poem (for example, a waterfall, page 156). Addison is intensely interested in the poetic rendering of geography; his numerous quotations of the classical poets indicate this. One passage in particular, on page 170, is of significance:

Silius Italicus, who has taken more Pains on the Geography of Italy than any other of the Latin Poets, has given a Catalogue of most of the Rivers that I saw in Umbria, or in the Borders of it. He has ~~avoided~~ a Fault, (if it be really such) that Macrobius has objected to Virgil, of passing from one Place to another, without regarding their regular and natural Situation, in which Homer's Catalogues are observ'd to be much more methodical and exact than Virgil's.

Detail and exactitude are already thought to be important in topographical poetry; and no doubt Thomson took note of this passage.

We may even like to think that the reason why he includes a paraphrase of an Addison itinerary in his poem is that he himself followed it. (That, at least, is more creditable to Thomson than to think that after his own Italian experiences he merely went to Addison's prose to write his poem). But the power of Addison's writing over Thomson is evident in more than his direct paraphrasing; he gave Thomson a habit of imagination which infused his poetry, even when he was not writing about Italy - his predilection for waste, "romantic" mountainous scenery, the fit background for exciting deeds, and the fit place for retirement; his praise of republics; his delight in "variety of prospects", and his general interest in the poetical rendering of geography.

In spite of affinities of taste, Thomson's poem and Addison's are different, however - in complexity of material, of course, but also in tone. For one thing, Thomson differs from Addison in his references to the fine arts - Addison expresses an advanced view of Gothic architecture which Thomson does not share; and Thomson in turn is more reverent before the many works of art, both classical and Renaissance, which he sees. But the main difference is that Thomson presents his landscape as a backcloth to the drama of modern decadence. With his strong sense of the interdependence of man and his environment, his first part of Liberty is an object-lesson in how nature declines when man falls, in the manner of Burnet; and his borrowings from Addison have added interest when we realise that his presentation of the gayer pictures of his predecessor are symbols of the freedom of ancient Italy; while he deepens the tones of any passages where Addison gives the slightest suggestion of the contemporary disruption of nature. In his zeal for a moral commentary on his travels, Thomson risks the distortion of his visual picture.

Dr. Johnson wrote of Liberty that "none of Thomson's performances were so little regarded"; yet it was known to a poet who was often a finer artist than Thomson: that was Dyer. So in his personal record of Italian travel, the Ruins of Rome, which appeared in 1740, he continues the theme of the present decline of Italy from former liberty; but, as a landscape-painter himself, his special message to Britain is to use native

gifts in achieving greater architectural triumphs than Rome ever did. His debt to the travel-books does not seem to have been a specific one, but rather his poem is the result of a general formation of taste by such books as were being circulated for the use of the traveller interested in fine art. He shared the contemporary and Thomsonian view of the corruption of luxury, and the superstition of Italian religion, over against British freedom and culture. But his vision of Rome is a personal one: he gives us for each spot he visits a visual picture and a dramatic re-creation of past history, intermingled with reflections on the fall of the great, and warnings to Britain to preserve liberty. Like Thomson, he uses natural symbols to present the pathos of Rome's downfall; but his usage is much more subtle, with a sensitivity of eye and ear that quite surpasses his model. For Thomson chose economic or melodramatic features of nature to emphasise his point - barren fields as images of poverty; earthquakes and volcanoes as symbols of divine vengeance - , whereas Dyer's swift-handed comparison of scenes lays alongside one another pictures of past activity and present quietude, a Caracci and a Piranesi in careful succession. His symbolism of wind and light and flowing water has about it strange premonitions of the full-blown Romantic presentation of Italy: light as an image of tranquillity and prosperity; wind as the image of disturbance and storm; and water either soft and steady-flowing, as in the Roman fountains, or uncontrollable, as another symbol of tempest and disruption. His quiet and light-filled presentation of plants growing among the ruins which he saw achieve with far less strain the effect which Thomson strove after unsuccessfully.

After such a digression on a poet more personal than literary, and yet with his own debt to contemporary taste, we may return to our direct path, and to Goldsmith, our next traveller. His analysis of Italy is very much a derivative of Addison and Thomson; with Addison he agrees in his view of the plenitude of nature, and he gives

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a less favourable verdict on the art of the Renaissance than Thomson - "arts, the splendid wrecks of former pride". Even Dyer's attitude to commerce had been much more wary than Thomson's optimistic dithyramb; and Goldsmith's attachment to the simple, non-industrial life is even more fervid. He takes Dyer's symbol of the shepherd piping among the ruins in present happiness, and presents the question which Dyer had left unasked - who is the happier, Caesar, or the peasant?

Up to this point, the English poets' analysis of the Italian character has been distinctly unfavourable. (Goldsmith sums up for us, in crisp, clean couplets, the list of his vices). And Cowper, writing in The Task, published in 1785, continues this tradition. He is illustrating the thesis that God's judgments are made known in nature; and to do so he turns to Sir William Hamilton's "Account of the Earthquakes in Calabria, Sicily, etc."^{1.} with recollections also perhaps of the significance given by Thomson to his Italian earthquakes. Italy, of course, to Cowper means vice; the plenitude of nature means God's recognition of human goodness. So the Sicilian earthquakes, with the ruin that followed, are a divine judgment.

Roderick Marshall has rightly pointed out that the poets were well behind the prose-travellers in their appreciation of the more "romantic" aspects of Italy and its life. The seeds were there, in the picturesque elements in these poems; but the Italian character received its first major defence as a result of Boswell's publication of An Account of Corsica in 1768.^{2.} The keyword of the account is again liberty; he mentions it in almost the first breath in his introduction. And so the little cluster of poems which followed it also continue his theme.^{3.} Of these, it is Mrs. Barbauld's poem, given pride of place in her 1773 volume of Poems, that is closest to Boswell. The goddess of Liberty had been a presiding figure in Thomson's poem, and in Dyer's; and she is again invited to join our lady poet, as well as

1. It is notable that in the Gentleman's Magazine, September, 1783, there is an abstract of Hamilton's account, together with the story of a shipwreck: "Authentic Account of the Loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman; with the events which befel the Crew" etc.

2. C.B. Tinker, in Nature's Simple Plan, 1922, has an essay on Boswell and Corsica, called "A New Nation" (chapter 2).

3. "Corsica, a Poetical Address, Anon." Glasgow, 1769; (Edward Burnaby Greene) Corsica: an Ode", 1768; William Richardson, "Corsica, Written at St. Petersburg, M.DCC.LXVIII", 1775; Mrs. Barbauld; "Corsica", in Poems, 1773.

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Richardson. The interest of this poem is that, with the aid of Boswell, it is a turning-point in the poetic record of England's relation to the southern Mediterranean. In the first place, Mrs. Barbauld gives wild rugged scenery a much greater place than it had had in ^{the} Italian poetry of her predecessors; for they had kept to Rome, to the other great cities, and to the coast. Of course, by this time Salvatorian landscape was a commonplace in poetry generally, but not in the poetry of southern Europe; so her wild forest and inaccessible mountains inhabited by savage beasts are new. Then she follows Boswell succinctly in his account of Corsican history, and of the freeing of the island from successive tyrants, and finally in her characterisation of Paoli, which is the climax of her poem, as of Boswell's book. At last the nobility and generosity of the modern Italian is allowed in English poetry, with the appearance of an unquestionably genuine example.

Boswell was not the only English travel-writer to be adopted by a feminine muse; for Patrick Brydone published A Tour through Sicily and Malta, in a Series of Letters to William Beckford, Esq., of Somerly in Suffolk, etc. in 1773, and was hymned by Anna Seward in "Mount Aetna". We may gauge his popularity by the fact that an abbreviated version of the Letters appeared in ~~two~~ issues of the Monthly Review in 1773, while in the same year Hawkesworth's version of the Cook's voyages appeared in an abstract covering four issues. And as for the readers of the Monthly Review, so for the Swan of Avon it was the ascent of Aetna that seemed most enthralling. Brydone's account is a delicious intermingling of the sublime and the jocose: he was one of those versatile travellers who could respond on many levels to what he saw, in laughter as well as in awe. The peasantry were puzzled by why an Englishman should want to visit what they regarded as hell-mouth - it must be to pay homage to his king Harry who was reputed to have been gathered to his fathers up there. In fact, Brydone had come to make scientific observations under the sponsorship of the Royal Society; and so barometer, thermometer, and other equipment went up with him. He fortunately had enough good humour to appreciate the incident at Empedocles' tomb on the way down, where his philosophisings were interrupted by a fall and a sprain. If Brydone did not need to keep within the bounds of decorum in the description of his climb, his muse felt it laid upon her to do so. All laughter is excluded in a painstaking effort towards the sublime. Brydone had excused himself in the "Advertisement" to his

book for the immediacy of his on-the-spot account:

But he would not venture to new-model them (his letters); apprehending that what they might gain in form and expression, they would probably lose in ease and simplicity; and well knowing that the original impressions are better described at the moment they are felt, than from the most exact recollection.

It seems as though Miss Seward were trying to convey the same first-hand impression by an attempt to achieve the same note of rapture. Alas, that she had not the faculty of self-criticism which would have purged her excitement in laughter, and done us the favour of destroying one more bad poem.in the picturesque mode.

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Appendix One to Chapter Two : Thomson's Relation to Addison's Remarks in detail.

A.D. Mc Killop has analysed some passages in Thomson's Liberty in order to indicate his debt to his sources; but there are two passages in Book 1 on which he does not comment, and which Thomson's recollections of Addison are strong; lines 53-66, and 119-166. The progress in the first passage is Addison's progress, suggesting that Thomson himself may have followed in his predecessor's footsteps, from Anio to Praeneste, and then to Alba. Of Praeneste Addison writes:

Palaestrina stands very high, like most other Towns in Italy, for the advantage of the cool Breezes, for which Reason Virgil calls it Altum, and Horace, Frigidum Praeneste.

Thomson writes:

To where Praeneste lifts her airy brow. .

Addison next comments on the agreeable prospect of the "Alban Lake"; Thomson writes:

Or downward spreading to the sunny shore,

Where Alba breathes the freshness of the main.

But Addison writes of his own experience; Thomson of imperial Rome.

One landscape Addison regarded as his own private discovery; and Thomson goes to see it also. He might have read:

I must confess I was most pleas'd with a beautiful Prospect that none of 'em have mentioned, which lyes at about a Mile distance from the Town. It opens on one Side into the Roman Campania, where the Eye loses itself on a smooth, spacious Plain. On the other Side, is a more broken and interrupted Scene, made up of an infinite Variety of Inequalities and Shadowings, that naturally arise from an agreeable Mixture of Hills, Groves, and Vallies. (HE then describes the Teverone at Anio, and notes:) After a very turbulent and noisie Course of several Miles among the Rocks and Mountains, the Teverone falls into the Valley before-mention'd. . and after many Turns and Windings glides peaceably into the Tiber.

He later writes:

But the most enlivening Part of all is the River Teverone, which you see at about a Quarter of a Mile's Distance throwing itself down a Precipice, and falling by several Cascades from one Rock to another.

These places Thomson mentions twice, in lines 62-3: Or in the spacious neighbourhood

Far-shining upward to the Sabine hills, of Rome,
To Anio's roar, and Tibur's olive shade;

and in lines 119-23:

Thy Tibur, Horace, could it now inspire,
Content, poetic ease, and rural joy,
Soon bursting into song; while through the groves
Of headlong Anio, dashing to the vale,
In many a tortur'd stream, you mus'd along?

Addison apparently thought it could still inspire, if Thomson did not.

The lines on Naples are also ~~Addison-inep~~ based on Addison. The beginning and the end appear to owe their heaviest debt to a section in the Remarks entitled "The Isle of Caprea". Here there is mention of Vesuvius, of Tiberius (cf. Thomson's "flatter'd Caesars"), of the pleasantness of the time before the volcano erupted, when vines still grew on the hill-sides (pages 255, 258, cf. Thomson:

No generous vines now bask along the hills,
Where sport the breezes of the Tyrrhene main.)

Lines 164-6, on "Cuma's point" seem to be based on page 274 of Addison:

On the South of Ischia lyes a round Lake of about three Quarters of a Mile Diameter, separate from the Sea by a narrow Tract of Land. It was formerly a Roman Port. . This Island is larger; but much more Rocky and Barren than Procita. Virgil makes 'em both shake at the Fall of part of the Mole of Bajae, that stood at a few Miles Distance from 'em.

There follow four quotations from the poets, one from Virgil and one from Silius Italicus about the fall of the mole; and one from Virgil and one from Lucan about the former prosperity of Cuma.

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In an earlier passage, following from page 195, Addison comments on Naples; but, in spite of his emphasis on inward vice, his response is much more one of delight than Thomson's:

The Bay of Naples is the most delightful one that I ever saw. Thomson's main point is the decline of nature with the decline of civilisation; and he makes a direct use of Addison, in the lines,

Her youthful form, robust,

Ev'n Nature yields; by fire and earthquake rent. .ff. (158-9)

Compare the Remarks:

The country about 'em, by reason of its vast Caverns and Subterraneous Fires, has been miserably torn in Pieces by Earthquakes, so that the whole face of it is quite chang'd from what it was formerly. The Sea has overwhelm'd a Multitude of Palaces, that may be seen at the Bottom of the Water in a calm Day.

The Lucrine Lake is but a puddle in Comparison of what it once was, its Springs having been sunk in an Earthquake, or stopp'd up by Mountains that have fallen upon 'em. Mount Gaurus, from one of the fruitfulest Parts of Italy, is become one of the most barren. Several Fields that were laid out in Beautiful Groves and Gardens are now naked Plains, smocking with Sulphur, or encumber'd with Hills that have been thrown up by Eruptions of Fire.

cf. Whose stately cities in the dark abrupt
Swallow'd at once, or vile in rubbish laid,
A nest for serpents; from the red abyss,
New hills, explosive, thrown; the Lucrine lake
A reedy pool. . .

(160-164).

Addison continues:

The Works of Art lye in no less Disorder than those of Nature, for that which was once the most charming Spot of Italy, cover'd with Temples and Palaces, adorn'd by the greatest of the Roman Commonwealth, embellish'd by many of the Roman Emperors, and celebrat'd by the best of their Poets, has now nothing to show but the Ruins of its ancient Splendour, and a great Magnificence in Confusion.

But Addison's opinion of the ruins on the shore of Venus is different from Thomson's, in his note on line 141: over against Thomson's "many magnificent ruins" we may place his:

I must confess, after having survey'd the Antiquities about Naples and Rome, I can't but think our Admiration of 'em does not so much arise out of their Greatness as Uncommonness.

Other resemblances in this passage are:

"the syren plain" of line 139, and Addison pages 212 and 262.;

"the breezes of the Tyrrhene main", line 145, and Addison, pages 214-15;

"There Baiae sees no more the joyous throng", line 142, and Addison's quotation from Silius Italicus, on page 215; also "Bajae was the Winter Retreat of the Old Romans";

"soft and tepid winters", line 154, and Addison's comment " - that being the proper Season to enjoy the Bajanae Soles, and the Mollis Lucrinus . . "

But Thomson departs from his source in the lines:

No spreading ports. .

No mighty moles the big intrusive storm

From the calm station, roll rescounding back.

cf. Addison, page 199:

If a War should break out, the Town has reason to apprehend the exacting of a large Contribution, or a Bombardment. It has but seven Gallies, and a Mole, and two little Castles, that are capable of hindering an Enemy's Approaches. Besides, that the Sea which lyes near it is not subject to Storms, and has no sensible Flux and Reflux.

Appendix Two to Chapter Two: Mrs. Barbauld's "Corsica" a Boswell's Account of Corsica.

Mrs. Barbauld's debts to Boswell's Account of Corsica in her poem "Corsica" are easily detected. Her keyword, like his, is liberty. From Chapter 1 she gets "Cyrnus" the Greek name of the island. Her passage beginning "I trace the pictur'd landscape" is a re-presentation of Boswell's first chapter, and a very good selection, too. She does not mention any of the towns described by Boswell, but she borrows his emphasis on the thickness of the woods; his list of trees and herbs; his mention of iron-mines, of bees. He gives her ground for calling the forests "savage", in a classical quotation of his. Two of their picturesque passages are of special interest:

on the fearful edge
Of the rude precipice, thy hamlets brown
And straw-roof'd cots, which from the level vale
Scarce-seen, amongst the craggy hanging cliffs
Seem like an eagle's nest aerial built.

Nanza is a little village on a high rock. . Nanza is literally what Cicero calls Ithaca, "In asperrimis saxulis tanquam ridiculum affixam", "Stuck on the rude cliffs like a little nest".

The Corsican villages are frequently built upon the very summits of their mountains, on craggy cliffs of so stupendous a height, that the houses can hardly be distinguished during the day.

The haunt of herds untam'd, which syllen bound
From rock to rock with fierce unsocial air
And wider gaze, as conscious of the power
That loves to reign amid the holy scenes
Of unbroke nature. .

There are here a vast number of goats, which browse upon the wild hills. . And there is here a curious animal, called the Muffoli. It resembles a stag. . It is very wild, and lives on the highest mountains, where it can hardly be approached, it is so nimble. It will jump from rock to rock, At a distance of many feet. . The Corsican animals in general, appear'd wild to strangers.

Her resume of Corsican history is also based on Boswell, especially in his summary, page 70, 1768 edition. From Chapter III she gets his emphasis on the democratic constitution of the island, and her mention of the silk-industry.

Appendix Three to Chapter Two: Anna Seward's "Mount Aetna" → Brydone's Letters.

Miss Seward's poem, "Mount Aetna" is based mainly on Brydone, volume 1, pages 154ff., ~~Letters~~ LX.

(The numbering of pages and lines is from her Poems, 1810).

Brydone: The whole mountain is divided into three distinct regions . . . These . . . might have been styled the Torrid, the Temperate, and the Frigid Zone.

Miss Seward: "the Triple Zone". line 2.

The first region surrounds the foot of the mountain, and forms the most fertile country in the world on all sides of it, to the height of about 14 or 15 miles; where the woody region begins.

Round the broad base see sultry Summer lead
The stored luxuriant of his glowing throne. p. 210. lines 3-4.

Woods, waving wild, in hues of vernal prime. line 4.
The road
The road for these twelve miles is the worst I ever travelled. .

Now the proud steep climbing with toilsome tread. . p. 210. line 1.

But here description must ever fall short; for no imagination has ever dared to form an idea of so glorious or so magnificent a scene. Neither is there on the surface of this globe, any one point that unites so many awful and sublime objects. . This point or pinnacle, raised on the brink of a bottomless gulph, as old as the world, after discharging rivers of fire, and throwing out burning rocks, with a noise that shakes the whole island. Add to this, the unbounded extent of the prospect, comprehending the greatest diversity, and the most beautiful scenery in nature; with the rising sun, advancing in the east, to illuminate the wondrous scene. p. 158.

Terrific Pinnacle! thy sides inclose
The unfathom's gulph, coeval with the world;
And by thy flames, that burst amid circling snows,
Up sightless heights the blazing rocks are hurl'd.
Their dire explosion rends the frozen mound,
Shakes the firm earth, and thunders o'er the deep;
While issuing deathful, from the fire's profound,
Rolls the red lava down the icy steep! 211. 3-10.

So soon as we entered these delightful forests, we seemed to have got into another world. The air, which before was sultry and hot, was now cool and refreshing, and every breeze was loaded with a thousand perfumes, the whole ground being covered over with the richest aromatic plants. Many parts of this region are really the most heavenly spots upon earth.

While, on the rising edges of this din,
Emergent Spring her leafy mantle spreads. 210. 5-6.

But our astonishment increased, on casting our eyes on the higher regions of the mountain. There we behold, in perpetual union, the two elements that are at perpetual war; an immense gulph of fire, for ever existing in the midst of snows that it has not the power to melt; and immense fields of snow and ice for ever surrounding this gulph of fire, which they have not power to extinguish.

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Then while, amaz'd, we lift exploring eyes
To the vast Cone, high in the lurid air,
We mark, in their eternal union, rise
The elements that wage eternal war.

Deep in the snows, it has no power to melt,
View the dread gulph, in all its boiling ire,
Where sleet, and ice, and wintry waves, have felt
How weak their force to quench its raging fire.

210, 13 - 211, 2.

. . . The great crater of the mountain. This is exactly of a conical figure,
and rises equally on all sides.

cf. 211, 15-18.
The whole atmosphere by degrees kindled up, and shewed dimly and faintly the
boundless prospect around - Both sea and land, looked dark and confused,
as if only emerging from their original chaos; and light and darkness seemed
still undivided; till the morning, by degrees advancing, at length completed
the separation. - The stars are extinguished, and the shades disappear.
The forests, which but now seemed black and bottomless gulphs, from whence no
ray was reflected to show their form or colours, appears a new creation rising
to the sight; catching life and beauty from every increasing beam.

But morning by degrees, exerts her power;
The stars are quenched: } the shadows melt away!
Forests, that late seem'd like black gulphs to lour,
Rise in fair green beneath the glimmering ray.

211, 19-22.

. . . skirts of Aetna. . .

While spread the skirts of strengthening light around;
And from the orient waves, that stretch serene,
And with their silver line th'horizon bound,
While states and nations dimly intervene,

On plains, rocks, mountains, rivers, seas, and isles
Bursts the gay Sun! - his plastic beams are hurled!
And to our strain's and startl's senses, smiles,
New to our gaze, a whole illumined World.

212, 1-8.

The scene still enlarges, and the horizon seems to widen and expend itslef
on all sides; till the Sun, like the great Creator, appears in the east, and
with his plastic ray completes the mighty scene.

While high exalted in the trackless air,
Alarm's, and doubting if on earth we stand,
Scarce knows our sight to separate and compare
The countless objects of its vast command.

212, 9-12.

All appears enchantment, and it is with difficulty we can believe we are
still on earth. The senses, unaccustomed to such objects, are bewildered
and confounded; and it is not till after some time that they are capable
of separating and judging of them. - The body of the sun is seen rising
from the ocean, immense tracks of both sea and land intervening; the
islands, with their smoking summits, appear under your feet, and you look
down on the whole of Sicily as on a map; and can trace every river through
all its windings, from its source to its mouth. The view is absolutely
boundless on every side; nor is there any one object within the circle of
vision, to interrupt it; so that the sight is everywhere lost in immensity;
and I am perfectly convinced that it is only from the imperfection of our
organs, that the coasts of Africa, and even of Greece, are not discovered,
as they are certainly above the horizon.

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While high exalted in the trackless air,
Alarm'd, and doubting if on earth we stand,
Scarce knows the sight to separate and compare
The countless objects of its vast command.

As on a map o'er Sicily we look,
Trace all her rivers through their mazy sweep,
From their first source, a little gurgling brook,
Till, breadth'ning soon, they mingle with the deep. .

Here vine-clad Lipari, with her lucid streams,
Gay Alicudi, and Panari there,
While Strombola, a lesser ETNA gleams,
And wreathes with spiral smoke the fields of air.

Then o'er the space immense weak vision strains,
And feels its aching powers confus'd and lost,
Else, that might view hot Barca's sandy plains,
And verdant Thessaly's remoter coast.

212, 9-16.
213, 1-4, 9-12.

Miss Seward's crowning faux pas IS IN HER USE of Brydone's simile, which she excuses in a lengthy footnote, explaining the passing of rays of light from a rarer medium to a denser. The island, he says, seem denser than they are:

All these (islands) by a kind of magic in vision. . seem as if they were brought close round the skirts of Aetna. . Perhaps this singular effect is produced, from the rays of light passing from a rarer medium into a denser . . as a piece of money placed in a bason appears lifted up, so soon as the bason is filled with water.

These, as by magic, in the visual rays,
Close drawn around the mountain's skirts are shown,
Seeming as/ lifted up to meet our gaze,
Like medals in a wat'ry bason thrown.

213, 5-8.

The woody region, which forms a circle or girdle of the most beautiful green. .
The course of these rivers are seen at once, and all their beautiful windings through these fertile valleys, looked upon as the favourite possession of Ceres herself, and the very scene of the rape of her daughter Persephone.

Woods, waving wide, in hues of vernal prime,
Blue, trickling rills, and flower-embroider'd meads. . 210, 7-8.

That tremendous gulph. . We beheld it with awe and with horror, and were not surprised that it had been considered as the place of the damned.

Faithful if here their limeaments shall flow,
O Brydone! may the praise be thine alone!
Since in thy traits arise, thy colours glow
The bright Destroyers on their Burning Throne!

214, 13-16.

But Miss Seward ends thankfully that Aetna is not in Britain, even though Helvellyn and Snowdon may be less attractive.

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THE GRAND TOUR.

Travellers on the Grand Tour were expected to be literary ~~tourists~~: most of the private epistles of the eighteenth century have perished as they ought, some have got into print, and so remain. And by them we can gauge the responses of the travellers to their explorations.

Of the prose letters, the most delightful are surely Gray's, written on his journey through France, Switzerland, and Italy in 1739-40; but the verses accompanying them hide from popularity beneath the modesty of his Latin, which he reserved for some of his most personal feelings. The private letter, the travel-book, the poem - the Grand-Tourist could use all of them; but Gray preferred to outline his travel-book in a rumbustious letter to Thomas Wharton from Florence, March 12, 1740. As a sample, his sketch of chapter LX will do:

Makes a journey into Savoy, and in his way visits the Grand Chartreuse; he is set astride upon a mule's back, and begins to climb up the mountains. Rocks and torrents beneath; pine-trees and snows above; horrors and terrors on all sides. The Author dies of the fright.

But this was only Gray's parody of himself, for he ^{returns.} ~~recourse~~ to his visit of the Grand Chartreuse in several of his letters; and his Alcaic Ode, written in the monks' album in August, 1741, on his second visit, was much admired throughout the century. It is the poetic distillation of his own responses to the place, to the grandeur of its scenery, as if God-haunted, to the repose of its seclusion. Florence and Genoa he also celebrated in Latin verses; but the only poem in which he makes explicit acknowledgement of his dependence ~~in~~ the information of others, rather than on his own observations, he sent in a letter to Richard West, from Florence, on September 25, 1740, with the following introduction:

What I send you now, as long as it is, is but a piece of a poem. It has the advantage of all fragments, to need neither introduction ~~not~~ conclusion: besides, if you do not like it, it is but imagining that which ^{went} ~~came~~ before, and came after to be infinitely better. Look in Sandy's Travels for the history of Monte Barbaro and Monte Nuovo.

1. This poem, which appeared first in 1764, was reprinted with an engraving and a prose account in 1769, as a guide to the spot. The poem was quoted in J. Hassell's Tour of the Isle of Wight, 1790, and was republished as part of A Companion in a Visit to Netley Abbey, 1800. With the Isle of Wight, the poets were writing long before the prose-guides, for example: Henry Jones, Vectis, the Isle of Wight, 1764; Poetical Excursions in the Isle of Wight, 1777.

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The passages to which he refers are Sandy's Travels, .book IV, pages 275, 277 and 278, which describe the origins of the Gaurus; and Gray has turned them into competent Latin, with his own sensitive elaborations.

Other travellers on the Grand Tour were not so ^{chary of} sensitive ^{to} of the public eye. George Keate was one of those eighteenth-century men of infinite leisure who felt bound to record their travel-experiences in different artistic forms. From his library-catalogue, he appears to have been extremely well-read; he counted Voltaire among his friends; he was open to all the latest literary fashions. So his attempts included an heroic poem, a prose history of Geneva, an imitation of Liberty and of Dyer's Ruins of Rome, trials in the ode and the picturesque, as well as a prose imitation of the Sentimental Journey, called Sketches from Nature, 1779, and a Gothic elegy which was to gain popularity through the Isle of Wight tour, called Netley Abbey. ^{A.}

There were three stages in Keate's literary relationship with Switzerland: first, the phase which produced The Helvetiad: A Fragment. Written at Geneva, 1756, and "Verses, occasioned by visiting in 1756, A small Chapel in the Lake of Lucern, in the Canton of Uri, erected to the memory of the famous William Tell." His historical awe had been stirred, but he did not quite know how to give it expression. Voltaire did not approve of this amalgam of scenery and history, and advised him to devote his energies to subjects of general interest; so his next production was A Short Account of the Ancient History, Present Government, and Laws of the Republic of Geneva. The dedication ^{is} to Voltaire; and in the introduction Keate states his reasons for writing:

It is a Place, which for many Years hath been much resorted to by such of our young Countrymen, whose Fortunes indulge them in that Part of Education which we call Travelling; of whom not a few make a considerable stay here, and find opportunities of being well assisted in whatever Studies they are desirous to pursue. As it lies in one of the principal passages into Italy, it hath been mentioned by several Voyage writers: but as none have entered into a Detail of its Government and Laws, I flatter myself that such a Work may not be unacceptable.

But he must still have hankered after poetic expression; for in 1763 appeared "The Alps. A Poem", with more of the picturesque and less of the historical than The Helvetiad. There is the usual comparison of mountain-liberty with the fruitful

slavery of Italy; the usual Thomsonian pathetic tale; the usual mingling of natural history with a little theologising.

Keate had been in Italy in 1755, and the main literary effects of the tour were two: "An Ode written at Baiae in the spring of 1755," with its conventionally-expressed delight in the natural profusion of the place, and less of a rhetorical contrast between past splendour and present beauty than there is in Addison and Thomson. The other poem is Ancient and Modern Rome, published in 1760. In his library Keate had several books of Roman engravings, including Guiseppe Vasi's Delle Magnificenze di Roma Antica e Moderna, 1747(No. 226 in his library-catalogue); and Roma Antica e Moderna, 1759,(no. 90). From these he may have gleaned his title; but his impressions of the places he visited are personal, if undistinguished. Again the contrast is between ancient greatness and modern decay; Switzerland and Britain are the homes of liberty; and he ends with the hope of the rise of new arts. The antiquities prevail, and with them Addison's Remarks:

These stately Ruins, that from various Shores
Attract the curious Traveller, who burns
With strong Impatience, by the classic Page
Excited, (faithful Register of Worth)
To visit thee, thou once great Seat of Arms,
Thou Nurse of Heroes. . .

William Parsons has been written off with the della Cruscans, and perhaps he hardly deserves a better fate, from the literary standpoint. The account of him in the Dictionary of National Biography is presided over by the genius of the Baeviad; but his topographical poetry is not more conventional than most topographical poems of the eighteenth century, and his taste is not entirely the taste of his fellow-travellers. His Poetical Tour began in 1783, when he departed from two friends who were leaving for the East and West Indies, while he pursued his way to Bath and the Continent, under the control of "Th'observing eye, the feeling heart". Bath demanded wit and epigrammatic nicety; France songs, sonnets, and fables of an amatory turn, and the cultivation of charm and esprit:

If thou wouldst profit by the Gallic tour,
Cast off each narrow prejudice, and lend
A willing ear to an experienc'd friend;
More than all other men the Trav'ller tries
To "catch the living manners as they rise".
.....
O leave awhile upon th' native rocks
Port wine, high boots, beef-steaks, and English frocks,

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A Briton* still thou mayst remain at heart,
But strive, in France, to act a Frenchman's part:
Studying at once their language and their graces,
Copy their airs - and even their grimaces!

Since Addison and Gray wrote, other literary associations had been piling up on the Continent, so Parsons worships Nature at Rousseau's tomb, and is reminded of Rousseau's Eloisa at Lake Geneva, beyond the usual reflections on Swiss mountains, goitres, and freedom. In Italy, he celebrates the safely-great works of art, and addresses odes to the safely-classical spots, compliments his friends amongst the Italian aristocracy, and presents his own many imitations and translations of the Italian. Spain means Algeziras, as well as the terrors of Spanish roads, quarantine regulations, and religion; Germany means Goethe, Schiller, and Wieland, as well as the discomforts of travel. But it is in Italy that the change of poetic tune is most apparent. The ruins of Rome no longer bear about them the same attraction:

But think not I shall now presume
To write in verse - A GUIDE TO ROME;
Or scribble, to display my parts,
A volume on ANTIQUES and ARTS.
To study these, 'twill better suit ye
To read NARDINI and VENUTI,
Or WINCKELMANN, who much unravels,
Or any books - but modern Travels!

But if England still means Industry, Freedom, and Valour, Italy means Nature; and it is no longer Rome that is the centre, but Naples. Addison is rather "a commentator on the classics than a writer of travels"; and for his part, as a member of the Royal Society, he prefers to refer to Ferber's Letters from Italy, and Sir William Hamilton on volcanic eruptions. Italy has come to mean more than poverty and antiquity; it means poetry, health, sunny weather ("Ode written in Naples, during the Siroc Wind"), and the peace and picturesqueness of mountains. In "Vallombrosa" some of the sentiments reserved for Switzerland are now applied to the Italian mountains - the rejection of civilisation for solitude and contemplation; the sublimity of the prospect; ice like Gothic ruins; the sunset on Mont Blanc; reminiscences of the great Past, on seeing cities spread below. We can guess that if one traveller was responsible for the changing emphasis in the Italian tour, it was Partick Brydone. For, like Parsons, he was a member of the Royal Society, interested in volcanoes;

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like him he specialised in mountain-emotions; and we have even more cogent proof in the fact that one of Parsons' poems, the ode mentioned above, was a versification of Brydone's first letter. But it is not to Brydone that Parsons appeals in his discussion of mountains; it is to Rousseau:

The enthusiasm and serenity of mind communicated by breathing the pure air of an elevated situation (aptly called by a deceased friend of the author, who was a native of Cumberland, the divine afflatus of the mountains) have been extolled in all ages from Socrates to Rousseau. Aristophanes, though meaning to ridicule this notion of the Greek philosopher could not avail expressing it with great poetical beauty. . . And Rousseau, in the sublime letter of St. Preux, from the Valais, has thus eloquently described those feelings which on such occasions naturally arise in minds of true sensibility. . .

travel-

Part of the trouble about the verses of the dilettantes is that they had not a sufficient grasp of the importance of poetic discipline. And this carelessness was encouraged by their faith in the power of inspiration on the spot:

More artless flows the Trav'lers hasty line,
No time has he to strengthen or refine;
While num'rous objects share his roving mind,
The laws, the arts, the manners of mankind,
Of past events th'historian's faithful page,
Their blended influence on the present age,
With all that varying NATURE can supply
Of new and wondrous to th'enquiring eye. . .
Unskill'd to write, unable to refrain,
From my warm heart bursts forth th'unbidden strain.

Does not this passage also recall Brydone?

The della Cruscan/ group kept affirming their awareness of the slight, occasional nature of their verse in the introductions to their miscellanies; Parsons is still protesting that his purpose is only to amuse in the preface to his Travelling Recreations of 1807:

These short and unlaboured effusions are therefore now presented to thee, "Gentle Reader!" as the solace of post-chaises, inns, and temporary lodgings, the author's occasional refuge from the Demon of Ennui, or sometimes his peripatetic amusements in visits to the City, to call on his poetical Banker, or his philological Stock-broker.

The world waited for another poet for whom the beauty of ^{Italian} nature was to be the object of an over-whelming devotion; and whose genius was so powerful that a belief in immediate inspiration did not flower merely in puerilities.

CHAPTER THREE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

SCOTLAND.

A chiel's amang you, taking notes,
And, faith, he'll prent it.

The books which gave Scotland to the poets were Martin Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda, of 1698; and, later, in a different fashion, the accounts of the tours made by Pennant, which appeared from 1771 onwards, and by Dr. Johnson, which appeared in 1775.

The Restoration view of Scotland, as purveyed by the English travellers, was none too complimentary. They noticed the harshness of Scots poverty, and the grim front of Scots religion, the uncouthness of the Highlanders, and of Lowland peasants too, for that matter. But these men were also naturalists, travelling because of the general encouragement given to scientific exploration by the Royal Society; and so they did provide the first inkling that Scotland might have some natural beauty about it.

The Englishman's view of Scotland was so infamous that when Defoe came north to assist in the arrangements for the Union of the Parliaments he wrote a propaganda-poem called Caledonia, published in Edinburgh in 1706, calling both for a more favourable attitude in the south towards the potentialities of Scotland, commercial and intellectual, and also for greater effort among the Scots themselves in changing their reputation for sloth and poverty into one for achievement. Some characteristics of this poem suggest that Thomson knew it, and, since it was a product of Defoe's own Scottish travels, it makes a fit beginning for the discussion of the poets and Scottish travel-literature. Both Thomson and he were optimistic about the beneficial powers of science and commerce in raising living-standards; both encouraged the Scots to make use of their surrounding areas for fishing. There is also one striking

1. A Tour of Scotland, 1769, 1771, 1772, third and fourth editions, 1774, fifth, 1790.
A Tour of Scotland, 1772, 1774 ff.

2. For example, Thomas Kirke: A Modern Account of Scotland by an English Gentleman? 1679, 1699, 1720.

similarity between two styles so different in other respects, and this is Defoe's habit of comparing Scotland and things Scottish to other countries, with foot-notes elaborating on his foreign knowledge, and often reading as though they were directly culled from travel-books.

But if Defoe's Caledonia was the most generous of English attempts at the defence of Scotland about the turn of the century, its significance decreases beside the breadth of praise and sympathy in Martin Martin's two books. They were an item in the sale-catalogue of James Thomson's library. ^{1.} They were also known to his friend and fellow-countryman Mallet, and used by him in his poem The Hermit. And it was possibly they who introduced the books to William Collins, though it was his meeting with John Hume, the author of Douglas, that led directly to his use of ^{them} the books in the "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland".

The bleak directness of Martin's Royal Society prose does not suggest that his book might become a source-book for poets; it was rather his interpretation of the facts which he had gathered in his personal tour of the islands that had a particular attraction about them. For in the face of depreciation of the Scottish character, he set out positively to present the islanders of the Hebrides as modern representatives within Britain itself of unsophisticated virtue and intelligence, healthy, beautiful, and contented, hospitable to strangers, and with ^{ti} initiative surpassing the ability of the south.

"Perhaps no place in the world at this day knows such instances of true primitive honour and simplicity, a people who abhor lying tricks and artifices, as they do the most poisonous plants or devouring animals."

Besides, he was an efficient natural historian; and it was this aspect of his writing that Thomson used in his poetical accounts of the migration of birds in "Autumn", of seabirds in stormy weather in "Winter", and of the training of young eagles in his revision of "Spring" after 1744. Thomson's admiration of Martin's work remained with him, so that reminiscences of his accounts of second-sight provided one of the finest images in the Castle of Indolence. ^{2.} But this very image

1. Item 24.
2. The stanza beginning "As when a shepherd of the Hebrid isles " in Canto 1.

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1. In the edition of 1934, by Donald J. Macleod, pages 150, 207 .

2. E. Dorrington: The Hermit, or the Unparalleled Sufferings and Surprising Adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, with his discovery upon an Uninhabited Island in the South Seas.

is detached from its context; Thomson has not quite succeeded in interpreting it successfully within the tissue of the poem, and it remains as a kind of brief tale within a tale. It was the pictorial possibilities of Martin's account that Thomson found attractive. Like a good camera-man, he was looking for exciting shots. Our eyes dwell briefly on a scene filled with activity, and then we are moved on to the next, without any hint at inner meanings. The shot had to be dramatic, colourful, interesting - that was all. There is, to be sure, a reiteration of Martin's idealisation of the folk of St. Kilda in their state of hard primitivism, contrasted with the luxury of the southerners for whose feather-beds they provided down. But in the main he was content with a documentary of island-activities - sheep-farming, rock-climbing for eggs, fishing - and with an appeal for a greater interest in Scottish fisheries. Within this range, however, he achieves several excellent effects, especially in the sweep of birds across the shore.

It is well known that Mallet and Thomson shared many of their plans in poetry-writing; and it was certainly their association that led to the writing of The Hermit, or, Theodore and Amynta. Discovering that Thomson's use of Martin had been a success, he found a use for him in his own personal manner - the narrative tale. Hermits were very much the fashion; Martin mentions them several times; the sister-in-law of Lady Mary Wortley-Montague had been sent to a hermetic confinement in St. Kilda because of insanity; and a travel-book entitled The Hermit ran into its seventh edition between 1727 and 1750. So, out of hints in Martin, Mallet spun the tale of a willing exile from southern urbanities, who recovered in the lonely isle first the son of an enemy, then a daughter, and finally, by a reverse of fortune, a son-in-law. His interest in St. Kilda is much the same as Thomson's, in its primitive virtue, its native seers, its picturesque beauty and natural history. But he is never quite so successful in hitting off a picture.

Thomson, of course, set the fashion for picturesque poems about Scotland, and one of the finest was printed anonymously in 1737, as Albania. John Leyden, writing an editorial preface in 1793, remarked on the poet's use of travel-literature:

"The local allusions in Albania seem to have been chiefly derived from Martin's Descriptions of St. Kilda and the Western Isles of Scotland, and some other topographical works which were published about the commencement of last century. Some of the superstitions, however, to which he alludes, it's difficult to trace to any of these authors, and they seem to have been

peculiar to the east coast of Scotland."

And in his notes Leyden proves the use of Certayne Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland, 1597, of Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man, and of Defoe's Caledonia. But this writer's best claim to remembrance is his descriptions of animals and of superstitions, following Thomson's example, but ~~from~~ his own direct experience.

For Thomson and Mallet and the writer of Albania, the fascination of the supernatural was only one aspect of interest in Martin Martin; but with Collins it was supremely important. Martin was his book of examples for his belief that the mysterious was worthy of poetic record, because he found in him a web of images which had already long possessed his imagination, and held for him a personal significance. So it was to the section in the Description entitled "An Account of the Second Sight" that he went, as well as to A Voyage to St. Kilda. Martin lent him a local habitation and a name for his dreams.

For Thomson and Mallet, Scotland had not ~~the-d~~ about it the distance which it had for Collins; for him it was "Fancy's land", and distance always lent enchantment to the view. Distance, and death. Images of death and the grave, always so significant in his poetry, recur throughout the "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands". The dead are mentioned in all but three stanzas; and there is a restlessness about their graves. In the most delicate of Collins' elegies, the "Dirge in Cymbeline", there is a sense of the tranquillity of the dead. They are bound down in the earth for good, and the grass grows over them to show the permanence of their rest -

That sacred Spot the village Hind
With ev'ry sweetest Turf shall bind,
And Peace protect the Shade.
(Ode to a Lady, 1745).

Torn robes mean for Collins the unquiet of death - the rent robes of Gaesar in the "Epistle to Hammer"; the torn garments of Freedom in the "Ode to ^athe Lady" - while robes complete mean decency and security. And just as a whole garment enfolds a whole body, so the wrapping of the soil ensures the peace of the departed. The

1. Collins' use of Martin has been discussed by A.S.P. Woodhouse, in "Collins and Martin Martin". Times Literary Supplement. December 20, 1928, (he deals with the St. Kilda passage, and with Collins' use of the Voyage to St. Kilda) and by E.G. Ainsworth in chapter XV of Poor Collins, 1937. (He deals with the supernatural culled from the Description, and also the "three mighty kings" passage).

half-naked figure of Freedom in the "Ode to a Lady" is half of such a comparison:

To every soil which wraps the dead
She turns her joyless eyes.

It is the kindly spirits who guard over the dead:

And dress thy grave with pearly dew!

. . With hoary moss and gather's flowers,
To deck the ground where thou art laid.
(Dirge in Cymbeline.)

It was the warrior who deserved rest after turmoil; and already in the volume of 1747, in the "Ode to a Lady" and "How sleep the brave", Collins had wished it so. And so it is only the warrior in the "Ode on the Popular Superstitions" who has a quiet grave. The chieftain's maiden mourned his loss,

And strew'd with choicest herbs his scented grave."

When he left the inspiration of the ballads for Martin Martin, Collins' presiding genius was Fear, drawing back the curtain of the unreal world, as he had imagined in his Ode to her. The airy minstrels of Martin may be congenial creatures; but Collins dwells rather on the "airy beings" who "awe th'untutor's swain", who brew storms and cause human destruction. Supernatural events that Martin had recorded with belief, but without registering personal emotions. The conscious stirring of terror was Collins' addition. Archimago and Macbeth's witches become part of Martin's outer isles. The Kelpie's victim has no proper burial; the Pigmy-folk's bones are stirred; and the Scottish kings meet in the moonlight. But the tension of fear is relaxed in this stanza to wonder; and there is a reconciliation of Collins' usually opposed attitudes to the grave. For in the image of the kings, he departs from his previous interpretation by combining elements ^{in conflict} ~~at war~~ with one another. There is rest to the warrior:

Once foes, perhaps, together now they rest,
No slaves revere them, and no wars invade.

From the writing of the Persian Eclogues, midnight was the hour of horror:

At that still Hour, when awful Midnight reigns,
And none, but Wretches, haunt the twilight Plains. .

"On their twilight tombs".
and in the Ode the kings appear "at midnight's solemn hour"/ On the other hand, they are "In pageant robes, and wreath'd with sheeny gold". The shining robe was for Collins a symbol of integration -

Truth, in sunny Vest array'd .-. .

(Ode on Poetical Character)

and in the three lines in the fourth Persian Eclogue, immediately following the midnight image, light is used for contrast:

What time the Moon had hung her Lamp on high,
And past in Radiance, thro' the cloudless Sky,
Sad o'er the Dews, two Brother Shepherd fled.

In the "Ode to a Lady" there had already been a hint at the kindly dead:

The warlike dead of ev'ry Age,
Who fill the fair recording Page,
Shall leave their sainted Rest:
And, half-reclining on his Spear,
Each wond'ring Chief by turns appear,
To hail the blooming Guest.

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The dead themselves have become genial spirits, saints. And just a hint at the presiding spirit is contained in the "sainted spring" of the St. Kilda stanza in the "Ode on the Popular Superstitions". The spring is always an image of fruitfulness for Collins, even if there is a toning down of its usual significance in a context of temperance.

The 1745 Odes are partly the record of a quest for the ideal. It has a fairly straightforward exposition in the "Ode to Simplicity"; for he addressed the presiding figure as "sister meek of Truth", "O thou by Nature taught". The ideal is a vale in the last stanza of this poem; it is the Eden on a mountain-summit in the "Ode on the Poetical Character". The image becomes even clearer in the "Ode to Liberty", and particularly in the antistrophe. Here the force of storm and tides, (usually adverse in Collins), is made the handmaid of Liberty in creating islands free from Europe, enchanted islands. But in the epode he consigns Truth to her real home in the Heavens, superior to "islands blest". In "The Manners, an Ode", he rejects the life of the mind for ^{the active} ~~real~~ life; and, we may gather, with it he abandons his search for the ideal:

Farewell, for clearer ken design'd,
The dim-discover's Tracts of Mind:
Truths which, from Action's Paths retir'd,
My silent search in vain requir'd:
No more my sail that deep explores,
No more I search those magic Shores,
What Regions part the World of Soul,
Or whence thy Streams, Opinion, roll:
If e'er I round such Fairy Field,
Some Pow'r impart the Spear and Shield,
At which the Wizzard Passions fly,
By which the Giant Follies die!

In the final stanza of the "Ode to Simplicity" he had addressed her thus:

I only seek to find thy temp'rate Vale:
Where oft my Reed might sound

1. Written in 1787, but not published till 1792, in the European Magazine, XXI, 360.
2. 1774, It also appeared in the Annual Register, XX, 1777, and Troil's Letters of Iceland, 1780.

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To Maids and Shepherds round
And all thy Sons, O Nature, learn my Tale.

It was Martin who provided him with an end to his search; and we may be justified in regarding his stanzas on St. Kilda and the other isles as a fulfilment of the ^{wealth of the} 1747 Odes. For here, gathered into a whole, are the Nature and the Virtue of the "Ode to Simplicity"; the inaccessible cliff, the holy genius, the spring of the "Ode on the Poetical Character"; the free islands secure among the "Wasting tides" of the "Ode to Liberty", and their harmless enchantment. And surely the "Blameless manners" of the fourth line are an affirmation of the conjunction of real and ideal, of the world of imagination and the world of fact, before regarded as disparate. So with Collins the use of Martin has developed from the descriptive and the narrative to the discovery of ^a powerful personal symbolism.

Patriotism continued to pour forth its praise of Scotland in the years before the appearance of Pennant's Tours; but these poems have little or no relation to books of topographical description. And when the second outburst of Scots poetry came, it was with a different character. For with the opening of the Highlands by Wade's roads and the touring which followed, the versifiers were no longer dependent on such books as Martin for their poems. They could go and see for themselves. So the second phase of Scots verse, as we may call it, is a phase of occasional writing for the magazines, preferably on the spot, and usually following along the comfortable lines of the pastoral or the picturesque. Several of the beauty-spots mentioned in Pennant have poems to themselves; but there are no paraphrases of Pennant's text.

One stray and artistically insignificant poem has a closer relation to Pennant than most, however; William Parsons' "Verses written on the island of Staffa". For in the first edition of Pennant's second Scottish tour had been published Sir Joseph Banks' account of Staffa, which virtually discovered the island for the British public. So Parsons, following Pennant like the good traveller he was, arrived at Staffa, and, true to his age, wrote his verses impromptu, trembling between the supernatural and the scientific:

Awe-struck I enter! - This stupendous roof,
These adamantine walls of massy proof,
These groups of columns that in Ocean stand,
What hands have raised? what Architect hath plann'd?

Did the bold Giant race, the Northern boast,
 With vast Typhoean strength, each man a host,
 Rear mid the raging deep a pillar'd floor,
 And link the Hebrides to dread Bengore?
 By what nice process powerful Nature gave
 These rocks their pillars, and their shadowy cave,
 Which awe with grandeur, or with beauty please -
 By fire ejected, or deposed by seas!
 Great is his praise, whom Science tempts to roam,
 And bring the spoil of rich discovery home;
 Whose better aim, and labours more refin'd,
 Add to the general knowledge of mankind.

This determination to analyse a spot from all points of view is painfully apparent also in "Prospects from Hills in Fife", by George Wallace, written in 1770, but not published till 1796. The scientist Maskeline had come north to perform scientific experiments on the top of Schehallion; and the account of these observations was published in Pringle's Discourses.¹ Wallace only proved yet again how impossibly intractable scientific material was in the task of verse-making:

On steep Schehallion's astronomic heights,
 In sordid booth, by Science render'd cheer,
 Observant MASKELINE, four patient months
 From London's greatness and from Greenwich Park
 Retir'd, by nice experiments confirm'd
 Attraction's energy and NEWTON'S laws,
 Distinct and simple; . .

Lo, on ridges ridges, peaks
 On peaks ascend, innumerable and proud,
 Farther the eye, with Galilean tube
 By MUDGE improv'd, can, unassisted, pierce.

The story of the relation between poets and travel-books during the eighteenth century must call attention repeatedly to the phenomena of the poet writing his own verse-impressions of travel, the poet poking fun at the travel-writers, and the travel-writers' use of the poets. Burns' poetic record of his tours in the Borders and the Highlands in 1787 is disappointingly conventional on the whole, as his journals are sketchy. And the man who has been grouped with Collins can be as jocular over the antiquarian enthusiasm for the supernatural as Collins was reverent before it:

Hear, Land o' Cakes, and brither Scots,
 Frae Maidenkirk to Johnny Groat's,
 If there's a hole in a' your coats,
 I rede you tent it;
 A chiäl's amang you, taking notes,
 And, faith, he'll prent it.

1. "A Discourse on the Attraction of Mountains" was delivered before the Royal Society and published in 1775.

1. Thomson's use of Martin Martin in The Seasons.

Thomson's use of Martin Martin in The Seasons is fairly typical of his general use of travel-literature. In the early versions of "Spring" there had appeared a description of the Royal Eagle, but in 1744 the whole passage is brought nearer to Martin. It is a combination of two passages, in the Description, 1934 edition, page 105, and the Voyage, 1934, pages 319-20. One passage makes the point that the eagle sends its young from the nest and seeks prey on other islands, and also mentions the inaccessibility of the rocks on which it nests. But there is no specific reference to St. Kilda, as there is in the later passage.

The next important passage in Thomson is in "Autumn"; and it indicates that Thomson was familiar with Martin from the earliest; it is the passage on St. Kilda. This begins with descriptions of bird-migrations, and reflects the recollection of Martin's remarks on the formations of birds, pages 404-5, and indeed of the extensive discussion in chapter 11 of the Voyage of the birds of St. Kilda. Page 406 has the following words:

. . . the heavens were darkened by those flying above our heads.

Thomson's account of "the plain harmless native" recalls Martin in the preface to the Voyage, 398:

. . . they are a sort of people so plain, and so little apt to impose upon mankind.

The lines,

his small flock,

And herd diminutive of many hues,

recall Martin, 315:

. . . the number of sheep commonly maintained in St. Kilda, and the two adjacent isles, does not exceed two thousand, and generally they are speckled, some white, some philamort. . .

The number of horses exceeds not eighteen, all of a red colour, very low. . .

The cows that are about ninety hand. . . all of them having their foreheads white and black.

The words, "The little island's verdant swell" recall Martin, 415:

The whole island is one hard rock, form'd into four high mountains.

. . . the grass is very short, but kindly, producing plenty of milk.

Accounts of gathering eggs from the rocks ^{on the hills} behind

or, to the rocks

Dire-clinging, gathers his ovarious food.

The gathering of down is mentioned by Martin only with reference to Ailsa, 262.

Fishing and fowling are mentioned on 314; and the long account of Scottish fisheries reminds us of the extended passage in Martin, 349 ff.

To sum up, Thomson sticks fairly scientifically to his sources, and alters towards greater precision. It is Martin's language that he alters from bare simplicity to Miltonic sonority and importance. He is perhaps at his best when Martin and Milton combine, in the recollection from Paradise Lost VII:

the air

Floats as they pass, fann'd with unnumbered plumes.

2. Thomson's use of James Wallace's Account of Orkney.

Jas Wallace's An Account of the Islands of Orkney, 1700, was the twenty-first item in the sales-catalogue of Thomson's library. The book is an imitation of Martin Martin, by another member of the Royal Society, a doctor, James Wallace. The passage in "Autumn":

Or where the northern ocean, in vast whirls,
Boils round the naked melancholy isles
Of farthest Thule. .

has its basis in Martin 270, on tides, where "boils" and "whirls" are used, (also possibly in Martin, 120); but Wallace also discusses northern tides.

The epithets "naked" and "melancholy" have their justification in such passages:

. . these Bleak Northern Islands " (dedication);
34-5, discussion of the absence of trees.

"Melancholy" is used only once by Wallace, but twice in the same passage, in describing the "Dwarfie-Stone":

It stands in a desolate melancholy place, more than a mile from any inhabited House, and the Ground about it is nothing but high Heath and Heather. It's thought to have been the residence of some melancholy Hermit. (page 52).

Wallace's main passages on the tides are:

. . the Sea here is very turbulent in a Storm, and uneasy even to those on Land. . (p.

The Tides also are very swift and violent, by reason of the multitude of the Isles and narrowness of the Passage; for when all the rest of the Sea is smooth, these Tides carry their Waves and billows high, and run with such violence that they cause a contrary motion in the Sea adjoining the Land, which they call Easter-birth, or Wester-birth, according to its course.

(pages 6-7, 9.)

There is also mention of the hospitality and virtue of the islanders, 62, 64; and his remarks on the fishing-industry and its possibilities echo Martin.

"Farthest Thule" seems to have ample justification in Wallace's closing treatise, "An Essay concerning the Thule of the Ancients", in which he takes 34 pages to prove that the ancients meant Orkney. (Note also that Thomson writes of storms in Thule in "Summer").

3. Mallet's Use of Martin Martin.

Mallet's use of Martin Martin follows closely after the style of Thomson. The following aspects of the landscape have their basis in Martin:

Canto 11. His account of spring:

Nor here, in this chill region, on the brow
Of winter's waste dominion, is unfelt
The ray ethereal, or unhail'd the rise
Of her mild region. From warbling vale and hill
With wild thyme flowering, betony and balme,
Blue lavender and carmel's spicy root,
Song, fragrance, health ambrosiate every breeze.

The coldness of the island is emphasised, 409. Martin gives a list of healing herbs, 439, but without any of Mallet's. Carmel appears in the Description, 180, 226.

2. Birds nesting and migrating. For the "wild solitude" of the bird-rocks, compare Martin, 423.

3. Seascape and mention of whales. cf. Martin, 88.

4. Birds in storm. cf. 405; and 429-30 for fulmar.

5. Premature blackness of night. cf. 270.

6. The description of the "rocky arch" where the sheep feed. Based on 412, but with expansions: 1. description of the arch - comparison of it to a "gothick" temple.
2. description of the cattle.

7. The island herbs used to cure the sick man. 439 and 240.

Also in canto 1 is the incident of a rising storm, which is the direct use of Martin's experience, 404, ff.

Canto 2.

1. The kindness of the natives:

Behold, in sudden confluence gathering round
The natives stood; whom kindness hither drew,
The man unknown, with each relieving aid
Of love and care, as ancient rites ordain,
To succour and to serve.

This is a direct use of 444ff. The hospitality and generosity of the natives is also discussed, 100-101, 146, 160.

2. The leader-sage, with the second-sight, called the "intellectual eye". cf with Martin on druids and second-sight, 168, and 321ff.

Canto 3.

1. "Where Kilda's southern hills their summit lift
With triple fork to heaven. . . Martin, 415.

[A note refers to Description, In 1934 edition, 208.]

2. The cattle grazing at noon, and their knowledge of the tides.

3. The capital of St. Kilda, dependent on 313 and 443.

4. The story of the men wrecked on "mossy Brera", based on the story of 448.

5. Birds in flight, dependent on both Martin and Thomson.

To sum up, Mallet creates a drama before the backcloth provided by Martin and Thomson. He appeals both to the picturesque and to the sentimental-fanciful.

30

WALES.

Although Wales was put on record during the eighteenth century by means of poetry, painting and engraving, and prose travel-literature, the three did not converge till almost the end of our period. To the English gentleman of 1760, Wales was best known by the translations and re-presentations of Cwadok of Llanancarven's History of Wales,⁴ by the engravings of the Buck brothers,² and by Gray's The Bard. The antiquarian emphasis is evident in all three sources of information; for the Buck engravings showed a definite penchant for ruins. And early poems about Wales indicate the same interest - the "Cambria Triumphans" of 1702, by Ezekiel Polsted,³ Richard Rolt's Cambria of 1749, and William Vernon's "A Journey into Wales", in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1757. Richard Rolt's "Doem in three Books, illustrated with Historical, Critical, and Explanatory Notes" is the most considerable of the three. He has been reading Thomson, and borrows his sentiments about the people of St. Kilda to justify the "Spartan grace" of the Welsh peasantry. He may also have been looking at the Buck engravings; for they have in common an interest in the Gothic, so that he says in a prose footnote:

Ewias: A Vale encompassed by Hatterel Hills in Monmouthshire, formerly so remarkable for an hermetical abbey, it incited Roger Bishop of Salisbury, then regent of England, purposely to take a journey to gratify his curiosity with a sight of so noted a place.

Just as Thomson's ultra-patriotic defence of Scotland must have been in part a rebuff to the satirical critics; so Rolt's antiquarian seriousness may have been intended as a counter-action to the unsympathetic cruelties of A Collection of Welsh Travels published in 1738. This volume is intended as a burlesque of the procedure of the travel-books; and it is notable that the points picked out for derision are the very

1. Translations appeared in 1697 and 1702. The next was 1774.
2. Samuel and Nathaniel Buck; "Twenty-Four Perspective Views", 1740.
3. This poem seems to have borrowed its title from Percy Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans of 1661, a re-hashing of Welsh history.

aspects of Welsh life that were about to be taken seriously - the idea of the native sage and bard; the Welsh mountains and Welsh antiquities:

This Country looks like the fag End of Creation; the very Rubbish of Noah's Flood; and will (if anything) serve to confirm an Epicurean in his Creed, that the World was made by Chance.

In Rolt there is plenty of ruin, of natural confusion in the landscape, but Snowdon is still the sublime unclimbed; and in William Vernon's poem eight years later, there is a sense of triumph at having crossed the Welsh borders at all, and of the strangeness of the adventure. But our English gentleman was not left to the versifiers for fresh accounts of experience; for the Annual Register of 1755 and 1756 published two accounts which were to have a considerable reputation, one the travels of Bishop Herring, on a routine ecclesiastical journey, be it noted; the other an account of Lord Lyttleton's visit. The Bishop had written the first of his two letters in 1738, when he describes his tour of North Wales as "the most agreeable journey I ever had in my life", and is definitely on the side of the sublime:

I am afraid that if I had seen Stow on the way home, I should have thrown out some very unmannerly reflections upon it. I should have smiled at the little niceties of art, and beheld with contempt an artificial ruin, after I had been agreeably terrified with something like the rubbish of creation.

These letters have been described as among the earliest examples of feeling for the picturesque. In the first he sees in the manner of Poussin:

All these images altogether put me much in mind of Poussin's drawings, and made me fancy myself in Savoy at least, if not nearer Rome.

But the second is even more remarkable for his artist's vision. He refers to "My landscapes", and he paints verbally a Salvator Rosa and a Claude on the way, and, quite explicitly, a Hogarthian peasant-group. He also travels as the poet:

I remember, on my last year's picture of North Wales, you complimented me with somewhat of a poetical fancy.

And he is captured by the taste for a secular solitude:

; . our inn stood in a place of most frightful solitude and the best formed for the habitation of monks (who once possessed it) in the world, yet we made a chearful meal.

Before Rolt and Vernon, he belies the fascination for the cultured of the primitive artist, unspoiled by civilisation:

We had our music, too, for there came in a harper. . . the assembly before us demonstrated, that, even here, the influential sun warmed

poor mortals, and inspired them with love and music.

Lyttleton's account, published in the following year, shares several of the qualities of Herring's, although he is on the whole more enamoured of the romantic, and less averse to the comfort of the well-cultivated estate. Like Herring, he compares with Italy, although less to the advantage of Wales; like him, he has benefited from his reading of Burnet in appreciating chaotic nature; ~~like-him~~ as for him, solitude has a kind of fearful attraction:

Between them is a solitude fit for deppair to inhabit; whereas all we had seen before in Wales seemed formed to inspire the meditations of love.

He is original, however, in his appreciation ^{of} ~~for~~ the combined grandeur of mountain and ocean, just hinted at in Thomson, and to appear again in a later Welsh poem; and also because he climbed Snowdon, even if it was in the obscurity of rain.

The Lyttleton family had a friend called Anthony Champion; and it was the third Lord Lyttleton who published his collected works in 1805, including "From a Traveller in Wales to a Friend travelling in Scotland, August, 1772." This poem seems to echo Lyttleton's sentiments in several respects - in the preference for Welsh scenery rather than Scottish; for the landscape of Claude and Virgil; for romantic scenery, "soft of feature, elegant and bland".¹ But his poem was also intended as an encouragement to greater originality in travelling:

The vales here enumerated are the principal scenes of cultivation in North Wales, and are very beautiful; but the more romantic features of the country lie hid among the wilder parts of the mountains, many of them difficult of access; little visited by strangers, and less noticed by the natives.

Arthur Young, travelling in 1768, and publishing his account in A six weeks tour, was one of the more timorous travellers, reserving the greatest praise to the estate of Persfield; but there were others on the way.

1 . Champion may also have known Joseph Cradock's Letters from Snowdon, 1770, especially his account of Conway in Letter IV.

1. An etching of Cumberland's accompanies his poem, "A Mill near Dolgelly", a rustic mill and bridge with peasant figures, in a style indicating his appreciation of the Dutch painters.
2. Of his Welsh landscapes, these are in Buck: Conway (2 in 1742); Kenilworth; and Ludlow.

Some of them recorded their impressions in paintings and engravings, and it is these that are followed by George Cumberland, in his A Poem on the Landscapes of Great Britain, written in 1780, and published in 1793; others made records in prose, accompanied by the engravings of other men, and it is these that are followed by William Sotheby in A Tour through parts of North and South Wales, published in 1790. Cumberland was one of several artist-poets doing their work at the end of the eighteenth century; and his poem has this interest, that it indicated an awareness of an attractiveness of landscape not limited by a single-minded allegiance to Claude and Salvator. Miss Manwaring has showed in her book, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England,¹⁹²⁵ how English taste in the mid-eighteenth century was dominated by an attachment to these two painters, along with the Poussins; but in her account of the picturesque she has perhaps not given enough weight to a new distinction in definition at the end of the century, which separated the picturesque from the sublime and the beautiful, and which showed an awareness of the Dutch landscapists. It seems that with Cumberland part of the rejection of the cult of Italy, in preference for Britain, was the rejection of the Italianate painters for a more north-European style. In part one of his poem, he mentions Richard Wilson as a favourite exponent of English landscape; but with him he mentions "Ruysdale", Cuyp, and Waterloo, and Rembrandt, "Grand as Poussin", "Great as Rosa". His rejection of Italian painting and landscape is not complete, for he expresses a longing to visit Naples; but the conventional view is certainly modified. In this connection later a/prose footnote is of interest:

. . . having, since that time, visited all the fine scenes of Switzerland, Savoy, the Tyrol, and Italy, truth compels him to give many parts of Wales the preference, except the advantages derived from clearer skies. . .

The second part of the poem is devoted to Welsh scenery; and here also it is notable that the places he chooses were all the commonplaces of the engraver.²

Sotheby also is dominated by the engravers. His humility towards his artist is stated in the preface:

The author of the following Poems thinks proper to signify, that the present edition is published solely for the emolument of the artist, who has stamped a value on the descriptive parts of the

Welsh Tour, by the embellishments of his accurate, and masterly pencil.

On the other hand, we have the suspicion that some of J. Smith's engravings were done, not on the spot, as the title-page avers, but in imitation of the engravings in the first illustrated Welsh travel-book, ^{A.} A Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales, Made in the Months of June, and July, 1774. And in the Months of June, July, and August, 1777, By Henry P. Wyndham. He set out to be somewhat unusual:

It may probably be objected, that the engravings which are inserted in this volume, have not been properly selected, and that many of the most romantic ruins, which are to be found within the limits of the tour, have been omitted. If, for instance, such buildings as those of Chepstow, Tintern, Pembroke, Conway, &c., have not met with a place in this work, it is because they have been frequently published, and are too well known to be again repeated; those only are here introduced which have either never been engraven, or which have not been made famous to the world by late numerous publications.

It is notable that Sotheby follows him in his originality; and the correspondences between their routes and also between their remarks on the places they visited suggest that Sotheby had a copy of Wyndham with him on his journey, or at least when he planned out his poem on his return. But if he follows Wyndham in matters of the picturesque, he breaks away from him in those reflections which the eighteenth century regarded as the special province of the poet. He projects himself into the midst of the landscape, in recording the response, albeit a conventional one, which the scene drew from him. The Castle of Caerphylly was an interesting piece of ^{Gothic} ruin to Wyndham; to Sotheby, it was necessary to add the incidental beauties of moonlight and colouring and autumn clouds, his own melancholy, and his re-creation of the place's history. And Smith's accompanying picture itself approaches the literary in illustrating Sotheby's text. True to the contemporary idea of "poet", Sotheby adds fairy-tales to Wyndham's antiquities, at Wennye Priory, at Cynfeg Castle, at Carraigcennin, at Niewegal, and again at Pont-aberglasyn - and if a local tradition

1. The correspondences are especially noticeable in the engravings of the Falls of Gledaugh; Pont-aberglasyn; and Carnaervon.

did not exist, he invented one. Some places Wyndham did not describe; and it is probable that in visiting these spots Sotheby used as his guide Joseph Cradock's Letters from Snowdon of 1770. Cradock purveys a not uncommon mixture of rationalism and primitivism in his idealisation of the peasantry¹ and of the native bard². It is at Anglesey, in climbing Snowdon, and at the bridge of Aberglasyn that Sotheby reminds us most of Cradock. But again he is, qua poet, more on the side of the peasantry than of the critical antiquarian. Cradock writes:

The people of this country are not inferior in superstition to the Laplanders. The most improbable and absurd tales of haunted houses, demons, and apparitions, are related and believed. Nor can many be found so hardy, as to doubt the existence of witches, fairies, elves, and all the bugbears of a winter's eve.

But Sotheby accepts for poetic purposes what he has rejected, in his description of the place which may

to the astonished mind recall
The fabled horrors by demoniac force
Of Lapland wizards wrought. . .

1. Equally remote from the grandeur and the miseries of life, they participate of the sweet blessings of content, under the homely dwellings of a straw-built cottage. (Letter IV, page 32).

How few are the wants of the peasant, who dwells in a straw-built hut, on a barren mountain, which the avarice of man has not reduced to property, compared to those of the lord, nursed in the cradle of indolence and luxury!

(Letter XI, page 68).
If we would view the heart of man without disguise it is among the rude and uncivilised inhabitants of mountains. (70).

2. Here they boast of their Welsh bards, who are poets by nature. (Letter XI, 80). Their language seems more particularly adapted for poetry. . (Letter XIV). (There follow two fragments of Welsh poems, heroic and nostalgic, and suspiciously Ossianic, said to have been found in the ruins of a monastery).

Sotheby's sources in A Tour through Parts of North and South Wales.Joseph Cradock, Letters from Snowdon, 1770:

1. Letters VII(on Anglesey) and VIII(Of Antiquities).

Sotheby in writing of Anglesey presents a tissue of recollections:

1. Of Warton's "Pleasures of Melancholy" - the relevant passage is quoted in Cradock - He asks for the inspiration of the Muse,
as rapt in fearful awe I haste

To consecrated Mona.

Cradock writes, 43:

. . . imagination cannot form a scene more adapted for solemn meditation. The sacred monuments of druidical antiquity, surrounded by the thick imbowering shades of venerable oaks, render this place the seat of contemplation; and put me in mind of those beautiful lines in Mr. Warton. .

But Sotheby is not thinking of Warton's myth of Merlin and melancholy, but of Mason's Caractacus, and its druidism.

2. 'Mid rocky circles, the raised Carnedd's pile,
And the vast Cromlech's bulk . . .

Cradock writes, 48 and 50:

In various places are to be seen the CARNES , or more properly CARNEDDE. Beside the CARNEDDE just described, there are many ORSEDDE, or ORSEDD+ FAINCIA, and CROMLECHE.

The engraving which faces Sotheby, 39 is entitled "Druidical remains in Anglesey". Compare with Cradock's reference to these remains at Plas-Newydd, 48.

2. Letter LX and Sotheby's Snowdon, 34-36, have several elements in common.

Cradock notes "scudding clouds" "Impregnated with vapours", and Sotheby, "drifted mists". Both see brightness at the summit; and Cradock quotes Dryden on the peacefulness of mountain-tops. Both note the vastness and variegation of the prospect, and the view of Ireland. But Cradock adds thoughts of spiritual sublimity, and a storm, with quotations from Milton and Thomson.

3. When Sotheby reaches Pont-aberglasyn, it is as though he had recently read Cradock, laid him aside, and written from confused memories of him . Both comment on its supernatural origin. Cradock writes: The situation of Aber-glasyn is exceedingly romantic, the rocks impend over you . . ; Sotheby writes:

The disjointed crags

On the steep precipice in fragments vast
Impending. .

Wyndham's Tour through Wales, 1777 and 1781.

1. Sotheby's route follows him from Abergavenny and Skirrid to Uske valley, and to Caerfily castle. At Caerfily, both comment on the fine proportions of the building, on its hanging tower. But Sotheby adds moonlight, autumnal clouds, and colouring; its history; and his own melancholy.

2. The force of the Taafe and the beauty of the lofty bridge of Pont-y-prid. Sotheby uses Wyndham in his footnote, on its origin, but disguises his bowrowing, by spelling and by word-order, though blocks of phrasing are the same.

3. Sotheby goes straight to Wennye, unlike Wyndham, but he does not discuss the priory. Both go next to Cynfeg Castle, and see the same things: it is surrounded by sands; Fitzhammon was its former inhabitant, and there is a fairy spring. Sotheby adds a fairy-tale.

4. In the description of the falls of Cledaugh the brooks of both are swollen with recent rains, the sound is thunderous. Sotheby again adds himself, musing.
5. Caraig-cennin: both mention its forbidding situation, its well; Sotheby adds fanciful pictures.
6. Both visit Dinevawr, but in different order.
7. In both, Milford Haven is associated with Cymbeline.
8. At Newegal (Sotheby) or Niwegal, there is a definite relation: both dilate on its lack of trees; its present melancholy, its opportunities for retirement, and its dreariness. Both mention "the terrors of shipwreck" on the sands; both discuss the habit of flowers on graves, but Sotheby makes a ballad-tale out of it.
9. Carnaervon shows their interpretation of Welsh history to be the same.

Sotheby's illustrations, and their relation to Welsh landscape-engraving and painting.

1. Abergavenny. Gilpin, Observations on the River Wye, 1782, has the same general view.
2. Remains of the Castle at Abergavenny. Also in Gilpin, but with little close resemblance.
3. Caerfilly Castle, no. 22 in Buck, who calls it "Probably the noblest Ruin of ancient Architecture, now remaining in Britain".
5. Melincourt Cascade.
6. Caraig-cennin Castle. Buck, 1740, no. 15.
7. Dinevaur Castle. Buck, no. 21. Sandby, 1777.
8. Haverford-west Castle. Buck, no. 31 in Perspective Views, 111, 1774.
9. Newegal Sands.
10. Pont-aberglasyn. Sandby.
11. The Eagle Tower, Carnaervon Castle. 3. views in Buck, 1742. A 17th. century painting by Tillemans; Byne after Wilson, n.d.; Boydell, 1750; Grose and Godfrey, 1773; Sandby, 1776; Farrington, 1770.
12. Druidical Remains in Anglesey.

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IRELAND.

Since the Irish topographers organised a campaign for the encouragement of poets, it is rather disappointing that the poets should not have risen to the occasion, that they should have produced nothing better than two poems about Killarney. In fact, the scientist-antiquarians of Ireland showed a greater genius for concerted effort than the recorders of any other romantic part of Britain in the earlier eighteenth century. They had the encyclopædic ideas of Gough before his day; and their plans for a full survey, county by county, of their native-land followed directly from the injunctions of the Royal Society, as well as being organised in protest against misrepresentations of the wild Irish:

To remove the many gross mis-representations which have been made of Ireland, first by Giraldus Cambrensis, five hundred and fifty years ago, and ever since, without Examination, copied from him, and handed down to the present Times; some Gentlemen have undertaken to collect from several Parts of the Kingdom such Accounts of it as may be depended upon; and design, when sufficient Materials are gathered, to publish the same under the following, or some such Title - "Hibernia". . .

(A Topographical & Chorographical Survey of the County of Down,)
1740.

The same evangelistic zeal is likewise evident in the piece of Irish topographical writing that was destined to be the most popularly known of the century, Richard Barton's "Some Remarks towards a Full Description of Upper and Lower Lough Lene, Near Killarney, in the County of Kerry", published in Dublin in 1751, but also appearing earlier, in November 1750, in the Gentleman's Magazine. Barton is not purely a scientist, but has a strong dash of the sentimental about him; for his appeal in his dedication to the gentlemen of the University of Dublin is mainly for an artistic presentation of the place:

. . . if every Gentleman of fancy amongst you would return after a Summer's recreation, with descriptions of beautiful rural Scenes; Then might Ireland soon be painted, and foreigners charmed. Then would our Hills and Lawns and Lakes

shine in the decorations of the Muses, as they
do already in those of Nature. . .

In fact, "Some Remarks" is a tract in the picturesqueness of Killarney. His text is the superiority of Nature to Art, his injunctions are to the country-gentleman to leave the security of his gardens, to the poet and the landscape-painter to show their patriotism in exploration and record of their homeland:

Rude as is his hand in the use of the pencil, it was not easy to forbear taking a perspective view. Such as 'tis, suffer it to lie before you, Courteous Readers, and try if it can detain you a while from your gardens; some of which, in the late extraordinary improvements in this Kingdom, might be expected to come in competition with the best natural scenes, if Art in the highest improvement could vie with Nature for beauty, even in unpruned Luxuriance . But the Terrasses of the Babylonish Prince would lose all estimation, were it possible to put them in contrast with the magnificent group of Objects belonging to this place.

And in order to practise what he preaches, he presents with no little pride his own rather feeble perspective view of "perhaps, the most beautiful Landskip, that the modern World can afford." Barton had already grasped the economic importance of the travel-industry; and so his preaching is not confined to one tract alone. There is also "A Dialogue, Concerning some things of Importance to Ireland, particularly to the County of Ardmagh", which appeared also in Dublin in 1751, in which the traveller appears in the character of Odontes, who is expected to carry the fame of Ireland, and of Killarney in particular, to all corners of the earth.

Such fulsome self-advertisement reaches its climax in The Hiberniad ^{published anonymously in} ~~of~~ 1754, in poetic prose. Its second part, "The Natural Beauties of Ireland", is a plan for the poetic traveller to indulge his moods:

What Poetic Scenes, (by way of Shadowy Contrast) are here, for Pastoral
Distress, and Elegiac Sorrow! -

He is expected to respond with the full weight of passion to every change of scenery: already the correct formulation of responses has been categorised with iron conventionality:

From the Top of Tarah-Hill, you have a most extensive View
 over a fine fertile Country. - Here the expanding Soul
 enjoys herself, takes a Fore-taste of Eternity, acknowledges
 and hails her God!

The English visitors soon began to respond to the advertisement; but the first large-scale account did not appear in print till 1767, with Samuel Derrick's Letters,¹ which also includes an account of the visit of "William Ockenden, Esq., Member for Great Marlow", earlier in 1760 than Derrick. Derrick was one of the leaders of Bath society, and the book is obviously written to build up the impression of his eminent literary and aristocratic acquaintance. He is Irish himself, and so his attitude to his visit is obviously sentimental. Both he and Ockenden are reminiscent of Barton, who had told visitors ^{what} to expect from Killarney: both plunder without acknowledgement. A symbolism of stock-associations was being built up, which the poet could use; and through this repetition of accounts the individuality of the place must have become familiar to the reader of British interior travels. There was the comfortable combination of sublimity with security, with Lord Kenmore as the ^{enterprising} host; the profusion of plants and trees to be admired and retailed lengthily; the sail down the Lake, spectating mountains with fascinating names - Glens and Turks and Mangertogh - the water-falls and hermit-islands and the Eagle's nest; the survey of Mucrus gardens, "the most romantic in the world", as Ockenden thought, the rural hunting of the stag, the tales of O'Donaghue's ghost, and, as exciting as any part of the visit, the trying out of the Voice of Nature by means of a cannon and a French horn. Just as the Claude-glass was one of the accoutrements of art essential to the enjoyment of nature, so the sophistication of the French horn was felt to add infinite charm to an eighteenth-century picnic. And Lord Kenmore liked his little joke, for he varied the use of his

¹ The full title is, Letters written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, The Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, Bath. By Samuel Derrick, Esq. Master of Ceremonies at Bath. London. . . 1767.

² Ockenden includes the following story: "The celebrated Bishop Berkeley, when he first saw this delightful rural scene could not help crying out, with surprise and ecstasy, "Another Louis Quatorze may make another Versailles, but the hand of the Deity only can make another Mucruss"."

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sound-effects. He must have taken the hint from Barton's mention of hunting-horns, for by the time that Derrick arrived, he had his own system of orchestration installed. But ~~By~~ far the most "romantic" account of their impression is Ockenden's, for he professes, whether for gancy's sake or not he does not admit, not to have known about the echo-music of the lake till he heard the combination of thunder and fairy-pipes which later proved to be provided by his host's "noises off", hidden among the foliage on shore.

The poems about Killarney were two, "Killarny. A Poem. By an Officer in¹ the Army", which was published in Dublin, and has no date, and "Killarney", by John Leslie, which was published both in London and in Dublin in 1776. By the time Leslie was writing, prints of Killarney were circulating in profusion; but he hardly departs from the imagery of his poetic predecessor; and both are heavily indebted to Barton, without even a footnote of acknowledgement. Leslie almost certainly know the later descriptions also. They both move within the kinds of poem common to the age - the picturesque scene, the natural history,² the hunt. Both have visited the place personally, for they each add some private details. The earlier writer was particularly original in his observations of birds. But it was Leslie's poem that was ~~quoted and remembered~~; and, through its quotation in some of the Lakeland guides, we know that it contributed to a taste for mountain-and-water scenery in another direction.

1. The British Museum catalogue gives the name of the writer as Joseph Atkinson, and the date as 1750(?). But we must date the poem later than this, if we assume, as seems most likely, that it followed Barton, and that Barton did not borrow all his description from it. (If he had, he would surely have mentioned it or quoted from it). Both spell the place as "Killarny"; and several impressions are the same in both - both express the view that Continental travel would be unnecessary if beauties at home were explored; both give lists of trees; notice the mountains and waterfalls, and the improvements at Mucruss, the lake voyage, the Eagle's nest, the echoes, the cannon and the French horn, and the shooting of birds and the hunting of stags through the water.

2. Out of the many passages that could be quoted to indicate Leslie's indebtedness to Barton, one on the arbutus will suffice:

The Forest. . with many other kinds of trees, amongst which the Arbutus has the preferences. . How charming is the Landskip which is enrich'd with the Arbutus, that can be made so excellent a moral Emblem? (6-7).

The Arbutus. .

Emblem of thee, whose heav'n attempter'd mind
Is form'd to profit, and delight mankind.

THE LAKE DISTRICT.

There were many stages on the way to the Lakes, and the first poems about Northern England kept to the comfortable confines of prospect and estate and town. This kind of poem continued late, and was the gentle elegant counterpart of the wilder romantic poem. It was "the rural gay scenes about home" that Rev. Samuel Bentley professed to admire in the Shentonian lines of "The River Dove: A Lyric Pastoral", written in 1758 and published in 1764. Thomas Maude's "Wensleydale", published first in 1771, was in its fourth edition in 1816. It is with such works as Joseph Bealey's Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes, 1777, and Rev. William Mavor's A New Description of Blenheim, 1787, that these verses have the closest affinities.

But another taste was being shaped. As usual, it was partly recollections of Switzerland and the Alps that did it. Gray betrays himself in the Journal of 1769, published in 1775:

Now our road began gradually to mount towards the Appenine, the trees growing less, and thinner of leaves. .

The whole way down, and the road on both sides, is strewed with piles of the fragments, strangely thrown across each other, and of a dreadful bulk; the place reminds me of those passes in the Alps, where the guides tell you to move with speed, and say nothing, lest the agitation of the air should loosen the snows above, and bring down a mass that would overwhelm a caravan.

By 1775, the craze for the Lakes was already in full swing; for it was the men of the north themselves who had discovered Cumberland, and so transmitted to the south the belief in an English apotheosis of the sublime.

Dr. John Brown, in presenting a romantic prospect of Derwentwater as Thomson had done for Scotland, did not have the advantage of an immediately wide public: for he wrote it privately to his friend Lord Lyttleton, and it was not published till 1767, in Newcastle, and again as a note to Dr. Dalton's "Poem addressed to two Ladies on their Return from Viewing the Mines near Whitehaven" in Pearch's Continuation of Dodsley, 1768-70; and in 1776, in the preface to ^{Richard} Cumberland's "Ode to the Sun". Thence it was transferred to the second edition of West's Guide to the Lakes, and so became part of the paraphernalia of the Lakeland visit. It was reprinted by Hutchinson as part of his monumental The History and Antiquities of Cumberland,¹⁷⁹⁴

The story of the relation between guide-books and poems about the Lakes is one

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of complicated comings and goings; for if it was the poets who strengthened the guides' attitude to their surroundings, it was the other aspirers to poetry who in turn picked up the notions of the guide-books and wove them into verse. And another fashion which prevailed for the Lakes more than for the English accounts of any other part of the world was the interlarding of the prose-text with verse. So the poets sometimes wrote on the travel-books, sometimes for them.

The significance of Brown's letter and the poem attached to it lies partly in what he noticed at Keswick, partly in the language with which he described the place, and partly in his instinct that prose was not sufficient for the Lakes, unless accompanied by a nobler effusion in verse. He saw, of course, what everyone saw after him - the waterfalls, the ~~rocks~~ "amphitheatre" of mountains, the fantastic shapes of the rocks, and the different prospects from cliff and valley; but he also saw among the "incidental beauties" the moving clouds, the different face of the landscape in stormy and calm weather, and in sun and twilight, reflections in the water, sounds and quietness. His vocabulary is conventional, according to the prevailing categories of the sublime and the beautiful, for he saw examples of both around Keswick. The mountains he admired as "wild, pointed, and irregular", as "beautifully dreadful; and now by a change of situation, assuming new romantic shapes, retiring and lessening on the eye, and insensibly losing themselves in the azure mist". It was the "fine inequalities", the "most various and picturesque forms" that he preferred. He gave approval to two activities of the mind when faced with Nature: picture-making, and tale-making:

. . . new prospects present themselves in the mist, till the eye is
lost in agreeable perplexity:-

Where active fancy travels beyond sense,
And pictures things unseen . .

Of course, this is not news to the eighteenth century; but it is original in its application to the Lake District. Brown was giving the Lake Poets the justification for indulging in both the picturesque and the fanciful. And the poem is remarkable in its Miltonic way, with its counter-balancing of light and darkness, of rest and alertness, its awareness of the world of eye and ear, its ~~shepherd~~-image of "the unseen shepherd in his watch", who

Prop'd on his crook, stood list'ning by the fold,
And gazed the starry vault, and pendant moon.

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In an account of the poetry of the Lakes, all roads seem to lead to Wordsworth; and if there have been those who have thought that the extravagant idealisation of the Lakeland as peculiar to him, a glance at the guides would correct this false notion. For it was something like Brown's nocturnal piece, only subtler and more transcendental, that Wordsworth regarded as a truer pastoralism than the eighteenth-century poets were wont to practise.

Gray was still another champion of the picturesque: and like Brown, he did not have his travels published immediately. They appeared in 1775, as part of Mason's memoirs, reflecting the multiplicity of his interests - botany, ecclesiastical monuments, the "magnificent gothic", as well as painting. The people, too, and their state of life, attracted his attention:

Not a single red tile, no gentleman's flaring house, or garden walls, break in upon the repose of this little unsuspected paradise; but all is peace, rusticity, and happy poverty, in its neatest, most becoming attire.

He was all for Gilpin¹, and the illustration of travel-books to aid recollection. Then in 1778 appeared A Guide to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire by Thomas West, the book which was to remain the most popular of Lake itineraries.² Arthur Young and Pennant had already published their tours;³ but for them the picturesque was only incidental. Young was an agriculturalist; and Pennant hurried through on his way to Scotland. William Hutchinson had published his An Excursion to the Lakes in 1773; the Gentleman's Magazine for 1777 published a description of "Keswick Lake in Cumberland". West used his predecessors, if he did not fully acknowledge it, but the prolegomenon to his descriptions differs from them in the assurance with which he delivers his ultimatum to the whole British travelling-public: the tour to the Lakes should be the preliminary to the Grand Tour of the Continent; nay, it should be pursued earnestly in its own right:

Since persons of genius, taste, and observation, began to make the tour of their own country, and to give such pleasing accounts of the natural history and improving state of the northern part of the kingdom, the spirit of visiting them has diffused itself among the curious of all ranks.

Particularly the taste for one branch of the noble art. . induces many to visit the lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire; there to contemplate in Alpine scenery, finished in nature's highest tints, the pastoral and rural landscape, exhibited in all their styles, the soft, the rude, the romantic, and the sublime.

1. Gilpin's Picturesque Beauty appeared in 1772.
2. Young's Tour of northern England appeared in 1770; Pennant had some account of the Lakes in his second Scottish tour., 1772.
3. Edwards & West appeared in 1778, 1780, 1784, 1787, 1790, 1796, 1799 etc.

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And no kind of temperament is excluded from the enjoyment of this journey; an invitation is given to the student; to the "contemplative" traveller, and to the "fanciful" traveller, to the invalid, and also to the religious. This frank advertisement of the Lakes worked; and it also drew forth a suitable poem. This was William Cockin's "Ode to the Genius of the Lakes", first published ^{separately} in 1780, and then with his issue of a second and augmented edition of West, ^{in the same year}. It had its poetic model - John Langhorne's "An Ode to the Genius of Westmorland", written before 1770, a hymn descanting on the appropriate functions of fancy - but it was largely a grand digest of the most appropriate sentiments and images culled from the travellers:

And now, when bright the day of honour dawns,
Which quells the darksome shades of many a year,
What wand'ring crowds, to trace the fairy lawns,
At Summer's call, in gayest trim appear!
Sure this is praise sincere!
See o'er thy rocks, along thy glades,
They rove with raptured eye;
Now mark thy rills, and bold cascades,
Or scale some mountain high;
Inspir'd by Taste, to Nature's int'rests true,
They deem all labour light, which brings thy charms to view.
(stanza IV).

One of the most ambitious poems written on the Lakes before 1780 was included in Cockin's edition of West, as "Article LV: Ode to the Sun, by Mr. Cumberland, published in 1776". It was written with a knowledge of Brown, and also of Gray. The poem is in fact partly an eulogium and partly an elegy for him; and it imitates Gray's taste by using the imagery of druidism, and by presenting a drama among romantic nature. In his prose preface, Cumberland expresses surprise that Gray did not write a poem on the Lakes; he says that he will not make notes, because Gray has already done these adequately in his Journal. The preface is also interesting for his pride that the ode was "literally struck out on the spot", for his criticism of those who travel abroad and are ignorant of their own country, and for his praise of British artists, who are every bit as accomplished as the foreigners, (His dedication is to Romney). A passage in Pennant explains why Cumberland chose to address the sun:

These structures (i.e., the druidical stones at Castle-rig, near Keswick) have been considered in general to have been temples or places of worship. . The cause that this recess was placed on the east side, seems to arise from the respect paid by the original natives of this isle to that beneficent luminary, the Sun; not originally an idolatrous respect, but merely as a symbol of the glorious, all-seeing Being, its great Creator.

1. In stanza 3, Cumberland returns to his druid-imagery, and makes it explicit:
Now by the margin of the glassy deep,
My pensive vigils let me keep;
There by force of Runic spells,
Shake the grot where nature dwells:
And in the witching hour of night,
Whilst thy pale sister lends her shadowy light,
Summon the naked wood-nymphs to my sight.

2. Cumberland may have got his "bird of Jove" symbolism from a footnote in West to the poem of Dalton, quoting Dalton's own source-passage in Killarney.

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So that when he addresses the sun, asking it to remove the storm, he is tacitly assuming the role of a druid; and ^{1.} the idea of the priest-recluse and changed ~~the~~ idea is reinforced in the second stanza, when he asks for a hermit-retreat:

Hither thy glad deliverance send,
Ah, save the votarist, and accept the now!
And say, through thy diurnal round,
Where, great spectator, hast thou found
Such solemn sad inviting shades,
Ghostly dells, religious glades?
Where Penitence may plant its meek abode,
And hermit Meditation meet its God!

and also in the sixth stanza, with its reference to Bruno's mountain-retreat. In his

Excursion to the Lakes, Hutchinson writes thus of St. Herbert's Island in Lake

Derwentwater:

The passion for solitude and the recluse life, which reigned in the days of this saint, and was cherished by the monastic school, at first sight may appear to us uncouth and enthusiastic; yet when we examine into those times, our astonishment will cease, if we consider the estate of those men, who, under all the prejudices of education, were living in an age of ignorance, vassalage and rapine, we shall rather applaud than condemn a devotee, who, disgusted with the world, and the sins of men, consigns his life to the service of the Deity in retirement.

But Cumberland is not only a sun-worshipper; he is also a nature-worshipper. And the appropriate place to contemplate her is the mountain-top. Dalton had written in his poem of the eagle as the bird of Jove; the poet of Killarney had written of it as the bird of the sun; and now Cumberland imagines himself soaring with it to the mountain's summit. The stanzas which follow contain an unadulterated homage to Lady Nature as the enemy of commerce, art, and slavery. In the eighth stanza is a passage transferring to the Lakes the sentiments that had previously been attached to Switzerland. In discussing Italy we have already discovered that the Swiss mountains were opposed to the Italian cities as liberty against slavery: but here it is the river Derwent that is free with Nature's freedom:

And you, triumphal arches, shrink;
Ye temples, tremble; and ye columns, sink;
One nod from Wallow's craggy brow
Shall crush the dome
Of sacerdotal Rome,
And lay her trophies low.

This is of course another element in the idealisation of the Lakes which was to be appropriated by Wordsworth. The storm and Cumberland's presentation of it have been left undiscussed so far; but the cloudy skies, the thunder on Skiddaw, and the roaring of the waters had already appeared in Hutchinson's fine account of a storm which he

which he experienced when climbing Skiddaw:

. . . the clouds below us gradually ascended, and we soon found the summit of Skiddaw totally surrounded, whilst we on every side looked down upon an angry and tempestuous sea, heaving its billows - We were rejoicing in this grand spectacle of nature, when to our astonishment and confusion, a violent burst of thunder, engendered in the vapour below, stunned our sense, being repeated from every rock, and down every dell. . . .

The profuse embellishment of the poem with a neo-Spenserian mythology, the personification of mountains and rivers, the appearance of naiads, and the dramatisation of the falls of Lowdore into an Ovidian tale, are justifiable as the activities of the fancy when faced with romantic nature. His pastoral imagery is continued in the elegy for Gray; and one aspect of his Journal is selected for appropriate emphasis in the context of storms:

He saw your scenes in harmony divine,
On him indulgent suns could shine;
Me turbid skies and threat'ning clouds await,
Emblems, alas! of my ignoble fate.

For Gray had made such remarks as these:

October 3: A heavenly day. .

October 9: The air mild as summer.

In a fine afternoon I ascended the castle-hill. .

The poem ends with the picturesque praise of "savage Wyburn", "delicious Grasmere's calm retreat", "stately Windermere", and "Keswick's sweet fantastic vale"; and with a cluster of recollections, of poems on "Scottish Lomond" and Killarney, and of Brown:

For neither Scottish Lomond's pride,
Nor smooth Killarney's silvertide,
Nor ought that learned Poussin drew,
Or dashing Rosa flung upon my view,
Shall shake thy sovereign undisturbed right,
Great scene of wonder and sublime delight!

For Brown had written:

But to give you a complete idea of these three perfections (Beauty, horror, and immensity) as they are joined in Keswick, would require the united powers of Claude, Salvator, and Poussin. The first should throw his delicate sunshine over the cultivated vales, the scattered cots, the grove, the lake, and wooded islands. The second should dash out the horror of the rugged cliffs, the steep, the hanging woods, and foaming waterfalls; while the grand pencil of Poussin should crown the whole with the majesty of impending mountains.

Now that all these sentiments were gathered about the Lakes, the land waited for a man of genius who would make of the symbols already displayed to the travelling-public for the taking a new poetry in which fancy would be subject to the "shaping spirit of Imagination". But even Wordsworth had to begin by speaking in the terms of his age. "An Evening Walk", composed 1787-9, but not published till 1793, is longest among his first essays in describing his relation to the Lake country. It is his own first poetic tour; and in one of his footnotes he appeals to the reader's own knowledge of a waterfall on the grounds of Rydal, through travelling there. The measure of his achievement in this poem is his acuteness of perception within the limits of the picturesque conception of incidental beauties, his careful, over-painstaking and detailed presentation of shifting lights and sounds. The vertebrae of the poem are inherited; the life is the life of his own intense delight in his individual observations. There is the noon-tide landscape, and his escape into the shady wood, in the tradition of Il Penseroso, his reflections on druidism, the evening scene belonging to the same genre as Collins' "To Evening" and Gray's "Elegy", the recollection of local superstitions, the description of birds in the manner of Thomson, the sentimental interlude on the miseries of the poor, the personified virtues, the reflection of the landscape in the poet's mood, the image of the rural cottage-retreat. Yet having listed such properties we might have exhausted the analysis of any typical picturesque poem: we have hardly begun with the "Evening Walk". Already he reflects on a childhood replete with joy, with which his youthful melancholy has no comparison in value; already there is present the imagery of the outcast woman, and the child fascinated by the glow-worm; and the peasantry appear at work, even if still distant and unidealised, almost in the manner of Thomson's St. Kilda people. And if the main impression is of landscape deeply experienced and individually realised, there is already the presence of an understanding that mind and nature are inter-related in the experience of observation, that nature has a power to tranquillise and subdue:

Now o'er the soothed accordant heart we feel
A sympathetic twilight slowly steal,
And ever, as we fondly muse, we find
The soft gloom deepening on the tranquil mind.

1. For Wordsworth's use of the travel-writer, see the Appendix to this chapter.

2. "The reader who has made the tour of this country, will recognise, in this description, the features which characterise the lower waterfall in the grounds of Rydal".

Appendix Three to Chapter III.

1. Cockin's "Ode to the Genius of the Lakes" and its sources.

Cockin regarded his poem as a kind of versified guide, for he wrote as a note to the "Ode" as it appeared in West;)))

A few quarto copies of this Ode were printed and thrown into the way of actual tourists in 1780 (at which time the chief descriptions of the Lakes were to be found in Gray, Young, Pennant, Hutchinson, and West. .

Direct parallels are:

Stanza 5: And, O when, with sickness pale,
Some virgin seeks thy balmy gale. .
Then thy breezes wing with health. .

and West, page 4:

When exercise and change of air are recommended for health, the convalescent will find the latter here in the purest state, and the former will be the concomitant of the tour.

Stanza 6 has its basis in West on the contemplative and fanciful traveller:

So, may a train of busy cares,
Which hurt the human mind,
In Taste's fair bosom unawares,
A soft oblivion find.

The contemplative traveller will be charmed with the sight of ^{the} sweet retreats, that he will observe in these enchanting regions of calm repose. .

Stanza 7: Here Cockin chooses twilight as the best time for a visit to the Lake, as had Brown, and West, 12-13:

An expedition of this kind depends much upon the choice of time in making the tour. It is better a little before, than after the full moon. . All now is in faint light, grave shade, or solemn darkness, which apparently increases the vastness of the objects, and enwraps them in a solemn horror, that strikes the mind of the beholder with reverential awe, and pleasing melancholy. . Here the reader's mind may be fitly prepared for a perusal of the following night-piece of Dr Brown. .

Stanza 9: Here Cockin follows West, 7, in choosing summer as the best time for visiting the Lakes.

the personification of landscape falls Cockin

In stanzas 7 and 8 Cockin discusses how with the coming of science the fear of the horrible element in ancient legends has been removed, and the fancy is freed for a purer, less disturbed enjoyment. For both Cockin and West, the description of landscape is the important artistic activity:

views from Cumberland's hills - the whole passage seems to refer to him.

This Guide may also be of use to the artist who may purpose to copy any of these views and landscapes, by directing his choice of stations, and painting out the principal objects. . .

The late Mr. Gray was a great judge of landscapes. . .

But Cockin is not uncritical of West's enthusiasm for landscape, and so he says in a prose footnote to West's text:

As descriptions of prospects, greatly extended and variegated, are often more tedious than entertaining, perhaps the reader will not lament, that our author has not anywhere attempted to delineate a view taken from either of these capital mountains, but rather wish he had shown the same judgment of omission in some other parts of his work. .

The place-names mentioned in stanza 11 appear also on West, often with similar comments.

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In stanza 12 there is the reflection that neither Claude, Rosa, nor Brown could match nature in their descriptions and representations of the place. This idea is an echo from Brown and from West, 195.

Two passages seem to show a knowledge of Hutchinson's Excursion - stanza 7, on Skiddaw's storms; and stanza 13, with its idealisation of the Lakeland shepherd's life:

Happy, sure, in these retreats,

To ply the shepherd's trade. .

recalling Hutchinson's praise of solitude, with his citation of the pastoral life as the ideal.

2. Wordsworth's use of the Travel-writers in An Evening Walk.

This has been discussed by Professor Beatty in Representative Poems of Wordsworth, 1937, which shows his relation to Hutchinson's Excursion to the Lakes; West's Guide; Clarke's Survey of the Lakes, 1787; and Gilpin's Observations on several parts of Great Britain, 1789. Ernest de Selincourt contributes some notes on "An Evening Walk" in the first volume of his edition of Wordsworth, especially on some likenesses to Gray's Journal; but these are imperfect, and even erroneous in some respects, (e.g. in their careless dating of the travel-books).

If the poem is mainly a personal poem, there are indications that Wordsworth knew Brown's poem, most likely by heart; so that probably the resemblances are personally-appropriated recollections rather than fully conscious borrowings. The closest resemblances are as follows:

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| <p>Now sunk the Sun , now twilight sunk, and night Rode in her zenith; not a passing breeze Sigh'd to the grove, which in the midnight air Stood motionless, and in the peaceful floods Inverted hung: for now the billow slept. Along the shore, nor heav'd the deep, but spread A shining mirror to the moon's pale orb, Which dim and waning, o'er the shadowy cliffs, The solemn woods and spiry mountain-tops, Her glimmering faintness threw; now every eye, Oppress'd with toil, was drown'd in deep repose, Save that the unseen shepherd in his watch Prop'd on his crook, stood list'ning by the fold, And gaz'd the starry vault, and pendant moon; Nor voice nor sound broke on the deep serene, But the soft murmur of swift-gushing rills, Forth issuing from the mountain's distant steep, (Unheard till now, and now scarce heard) proclaim'd All things at rest, and imag'd the still voice Of quiet whispering in the ear of night.</p> | <p>cf. <u>Evening Walk</u> 98ff. 14ff.</p> <p>125; 327ff; 355 ff.</p> <p>182 .ff.</p> <p>365ff.</p> <p>315ff; 355ff. 367-8.</p> |
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MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: [Illegible]

[Illegible text block]

[Illegible text block]

[Illegible text block]

[Illegible text block]

I. M. S. Day discusses Anstey and his imitators in "Anstey and Anapaestic Satire", *English Literary History*, 1948, 126; but he does not discuss Anstey's relation to the profuse output of satire on the spas which was put out regularly throughout the century, or his relation to the guide-books. Nor does he note that the anapaest had been used for satirisation of the spas before Anstey.

THE BATH TOUR.

For the general reader of English literature, interest in poems about Bath begins and ends with Christopher Anstey's New Bath Guide, which appeared first in 1764; but in fact this poem was both the culmination of a growing fashion, and a new departure. The fashion was for writing poems about the English spas; and it synchronised with the appearance of a spate of guides to the watering-places. The relations between these poems and the guides are diverse; but where there are not similarities in adulation, we can detect ~~satirisation~~^{satirisation}, both direct and indirect, of the official estimates of the spas. This can be stated with assurance, however, that when an eighteenth-century poet wrote about the spas, it was very seldom that he relied alone on the guides, although he knew them: only one poem, Bath and its Environs, which appeared anonymously in 1775, suffered from such self-imposed limitations.

Writing prose-introductions to the spas was the special province of the doctors: and this is quite understandable when we consider that the tourist-trade would ~~swell~~ their pockets considerably. It was Thomas Guidott who did the work most notably for Bath. His Discourse of Bath first appeared in 1676; and between then and 1729, it had received several reprints, and was followed by six other treatises, three of them appearing first between 1724 and 1726. So it was little wonder that poems followed prose in offering personal testimony to the wonders of the city - such ridiculous idealisation as the "Verses occasioned by the right honourable the Lady Viscountess Tyrconnell's Recovery at Bath", which appeared in 1730, and was reprinted in Pearch's Collection, and the more moderate poem of Mary Chandler, A Description of Bath, which appeared in 1734 with a footnote reference to "Guydot", and was reprinted several times, minus the footnote, in the years that followed.

From the beginning of its period of fame, the Bath Tour attracted the satirist's eye. Defoe had given it a dose of criticism in his Tour of 1725-6; and in 1724 appeared Characters at the HotWell, Bristol, in September, and at Bath, in October, 1723. It was Tunbridge-Wells, however, that gathered the first verse-contributions, in The Tunbridge-Miscellany: Consisting of Poems, etc., Written at Tunbridge-Wells

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THIS Summer. By Several Hands, published in 1712, a collection of eulogistic and satirical poems and letters to Mr. Spectator, mainly on amorous subjects; and The Tunbridge and Bath Miscellany for the Year 1714, giving an Exact Description OF THOSE Places, with Characters of the Company, which appeared in 1714. It was this volume that contained one of the first prose satires of Bath. This Miscellany continued to be published yearly, with the same tone. The epistolary form was adopted as the most satisfactory for purposes either satirical or laudatory; and the first poem of this kind to be printed separately was Tunbridgeiale, of 1726, of varied importance, first as itself springing from a ~~Latin~~ poem reading lightly in Latin; then as an epistolary satire on manners; and also in its use of anapestic couplets. Bath had to wait longer for its first separately-printed satires, such as The Diseases of Bath, of 1737, and Bath, A Poem, of 1748, with some good snatches of conversation. And so poems of both kinds continued to appear before 1664, when a new impetus was given by Anstey. The more enthusiastic poems had echoed the unlimited praises of the guides in their eulogies of the spas as the shrines of the goddess Hygiea; the satires had a different relation to the guides, in saying what they missed out, in protesting that the official verdict missed the reality, especially the view of society-life which they eagerly offered as an unofficial antidote. And the very title that Anstey chose for his poem indicates that he was aware of this relation between guide and satire. That others recognised it too is indicated both in prose and in verse. It may well have been Anstey's approach that gave the hint to Thomas Benge Burr in writing his prose The History of Tunbridge-Wells, published in 1766. The satire is a subtly-concealed undertone, in a text designed to give real information, but with a lighter touch than his predecessors; and he gives himself away in the seventh and eighth chapters: "A description of Tunbridge-Wells in its present state", and "Of the amusements of the company in the time of the season - A poetical epistle from the reverend - at Tunbridge-Wells to Mrs. - at London." Verse-imitations of Anstey followed also, such as the Tunbridge Epistles of 1767, the New Brighthelmstow Directory and the Margate in Miniature of 1770; Bath: its Beauties and Amusements, by George Ellis, of 1774; and Bath, - a Simile. . Bath, - A Conversation-Piece. . Bath, - A Medley, of 1779.

But in spite of these poems, the old adulation continued, partly through the

instigation of Lady Miller and her remarkably ridiculous literary ménage at Bath-easton Villa. And then, out of its time, there appeared in 1775 the one belated direct imitation of a guide, Bath and its Environs. R. Hipposley,⁴ its author, was surely a man curiously bereft of a certain kind of humour. He is aware of Anstey, for he includes his personal dose of criticism of Bath society; but he is primarily an antiquarian, sharing the obsession of his model, John Wood,² for druidical remains and the history of the ancient Britons. There is also an inter-larding of the picturesque, again following Wood. His historical enthusiasms lead him poetically astray; and some of his footnotes are monuments to the ridiculous, for instance, this one on the line, "Plann'd in the Octo-monopterick stile":³

An Octo-stile monopterick Temple was erected over the oracular cave at Delphi, and the prospect or outward appearance of that belonging to Apollo in the Hyperborean island (as Diodorus Siculus writes) was the same and (according to Eusthenes), composed of pillars which Ovid seems to confirm:

Regia solis erat sublimis alta columnis. Ovid. Met.
(see also Vetruvius in his preface to his seventh book). A model of this temple, formed from the best account given by ancient Greek and Roman Authors, is erected in a Garden at the bottom of Chatham Row.

He only partially redeems himself in Canto III, in the racy re-telling of the Bladud story.

1. The author, according to the British Museum Catalogue.
2. John Wood; An Essay towards a Description of the City of Bath, 1742-3; second edition, 1749; third edition, 1765; another, 1769.
3. "Monapterick" comes from Wood, page 36.

Appendix Four to Chapter Three.

Bath, and its Environs, and its relation to Wood's An/Essay towards a Description of Bath.

The preface to the poem acknowledges explicitly the debt to Wood, and also the borrowing of his copper-plate of Bladud. The second title-page of the poem is a monument of pomposity; it ends with the claim to be:

A GUIDE as well to NATIVES/ as STRANGERS, pointing out to them the several Objects in and round BATH most worthy of Notice.

Bladud is the hero of Hipposley, as of Wood, who states his belief in the historicity of this ancient British king in his first sentence. His book is a text-book for druidism as well as a description.

Canto I of the poem deals mainly with landscape; and the landmarks are mostly found in Wood. His historical notes use Wood, especially on Bladud's succession to the throne at the founding of Bath (Wood, 24), and on his learning (Wood, 147: "Of King Bladud's Works near Bath, and their constituting the University of the British Druids"), also on the identity of the Hyperboreans (Wood, 27ff), and on Troynevant, (Wood, 50-51).

Canto II contains more personal impressions of landscape, combined with references to the druids from Wood: sun and moon worship (169ff } 30ff); Bladud's temple (119).

Canto III tells the story of Bladud and the discovery of the Bath springs; it is a versification of Wood, 71-76: "Of the first Discovery of the Mineral Waters of Bath, and their having Medicinal Virtues".

CHAPTER FOUR.

PRIMITIVE POETRY AND THE TRAVEL BOOKS.

Among the cults of the eighteenth century which we find it hard to accept seriously, the cult of primitive poetry is one of the most problematic. We can read this verse at its most overtly humorous, or enjoy the unconscious humour of the contrast between the "writer" and his civil and sophisticated English voice: we cannot read it on other levels at which the eighteenth century reader enjoyed it. At its most sentimental we find it ludicrous; but the very fact that so many poems of this kind continued to be turned out is an indication of the relish with which the eighteenth-century reader savoured it. If we can never quite recapture this enjoyment, we can at least be more sympathetic towards it after a consideration of the audience for this verse, and the ways in which their taste was formed.

The literature discussing primitivism grows larger every year; and it would be futile to attempt to unravel all its intricacies here. We shall confine ourselves to drawing together many suggestions made in separate studies of the noble savage, and attempting to see the development of the genre of primitive poetry against the background of the travel-literature which was shaping the taste of the reading-public, either through the magazines or through longer separate narratives.

A large part of the pleasure which the eighteenth-century reader found in this type of verse must have been the pleasure of recognition. Through the literature of exploration he was schooled to expect that primitive people would write acceptable and impressive poetry; through the heroic drama and the sentimental romance he accepted with an ease which startles us a native language which was more often than not an intensification or an imitation of the normal poetic language of the day. And through the romantic story-poem with an English setting, and the profusion of sentimental tales with exotic settings which appeared in the periodicals or in separate collections, either told in the third person, or in a series of letters, he was able to accept the same kind of pathetic situation in native verse. Moreover, the prose-writers themselves looked frequently to the travel-writers for themes, or for the support of a realistic setting. Most often our primitive poems were epistles - the question of literacy was left unconsidered - or songs and odes, on the themes of

love and death and freedom, with a certain amount of geographical or historical business thrown in. Sometimes the first-person address of the native was part of a longer third-person narrative. And often implicit in the presentation of the savage is a criticism of European civilisation, its unfaithfulness and lack of passion in love; its lack of courage and hope in death; and its acceptance of slavery. All these themes find support in the travel-books.

We will consider when the fashion for primitive poetry began, and how it developed, extending from country to country as new books appeared, and how the stylistic effects of this verse were associated with theories of native poetry as it was described by the travel-writers. Finally, we will consider how the popularity of this verse on the borderline between the real and the fictitious made it easier for the eighteenth-century reader to accept specimens of poetry said to be genuinely native, but in fact the work of English writers.

The first native song to appear in the eighteenth century seems to have been in Spectator, no. 336, April 30, 1712, where Steele presents his version of a love-song which appeared in the English version of Scheffer's Lapponia in 1674, in loose metre. Steele has endeavoured to make the poem more acceptable to his readers by putting it into a stricter verse-form; and, introducing it, he says of his improvements:

The following verses are a translation of a Lapland love-song, which I met with in Scheffer's history of that country. . . The numbers in the original are loose and unequal, as those in which the British ladies sport their Pindarics; and perhaps the fairest of them might not think it a disagreeable present from a lover; but I have ventured to bind it in stricter measures, as being more proper for our tongue, though perhaps wilder graces may better suit the genius of the Lapponian language. .

Although native verse was thought to be freer and looser than the verse of the civilised, and resembling Pindarics in this respect, this style was not yet appreciated for its own merits. The story of the consequent fate of the two Lapponian poems which

with possessing his mistress's person without having her mind.
In all my Enna's beauties blest,
Amidst profusion still I pine;
For though she gives me up her breast,
Its panting tenant is not mine.

2. The story has been told by L.M. Price: Inkle and Yarico Album, Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. He gives as the genealogy of poem, London Magazine, lll, 1734, "The Story of Inkle and Yarico from 11th. Spectator"; a reply in the same magazine, V, by G.O., "To the author of an epistle from Yarico to Inkle lately publish'd", 1736; to "Yarico and Inkle, an Epistle", published in 1736 and after. In 1738 there appeared "The story of Yarico and Inkle and an Epistle. . by the Right Hon. the Countess of - "; John Winstanley, "Yarico's Epistle to Inkle", in Poems written occasionally, 1742-51; Edward Jerningham, "Yarico to Inkle, an Epistle", 1756 and reprints, with a German translation in 1778 and two dramas, Weddell's tragedy of 1742, and Colman's delightful ballad-opera of 1787.

Scheffer had mediated has been told by F.E. Farley in his "Three Lapland Songs", which also explores the hoax behind the appearance of a third song in the Newcastle Courant of September 2, 1786. The poem was incorporated into Matthew Consett's A Tour through Sweden, Swedish-Lapland, Finland and Denmark, 1789, as genuine, though in fact it was written by a man of much wit and few scruples who had hardly left the bounds of Newcastle. There is no doubt that it partly from these famous poems that the eighteenth-century reader formed his ideas of the nature of primitive poetry: he enjoyed them^{too} for their unusual northern imagery. It is noteworthy that Blair appealed to Scheffer's Latin version in his Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian as an example of northern native verse.^{2.}

Love-songs from distant lands appeared in profusion throughout the rest of the century; but their history is complicated by the literary appearance of a West-Indian Eloisa, lamenting her separation from her English lover.^{3.} Steele is again the culprit: he had a flair for discovering good native themes. The story, which he popularised in Spectator 11, he gleaned from Richard Ligon's True and exact history of the island of Barbados, 1657. It is the tale of an Indian maiden who protects a shipwrecked Englishman, and is later betrayed by him, and sold into slavery. During the century, there was a prolonged correspondence between the two in the periodicals, culminating in the delightful ballad-opera at Haymarket in 1787, in which all complications were resolved. In this series of poems the love-theme was combined with another - the tragic communication before death. Death over love is usually confined to the exotic women of

1. Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America, XXI, 1906.
2. Bishop Percy's "Advertisement" to his "Fragments of Chinese Poetry" in volume IV of Hau Kiou Chooan has an interesting comparison between "the artless beauties of Lapland song" which is the product of a state of nature, and the poems of the Chinese, than whom no nation "have further departed from a state of nature".

3. Examples on the Indian love-song appear in such diverse places as Rucant's Royal Commentaries (item 243 in Thomson's library-catalogue, and a possible source for his view of the American Indian, for his mention of Potosi, and for his South American Rivers), and Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, CXVI. The former has this passage:

. . . their Sonnets were not long, but short and compendious, so as they might more easily be committed to Memory; they used not rhimes, but loose verse, like our Heroick Poems. I remember four Verses of an amorous Song, which for curiosity sake, and to show their short but compendious sense, I shall repeat here. . . I in English thus,

To thy Song,
I will sleep,
At midnight
I shall come.

Goldsmith is writing in praise of love as a natural passion, and says:
Even in the sultry wilds of southern America, the lover is not satisfied

the eighteenth century, and with many of them it is love of the family that is the destroyer, in the manner of the Corinthian-matron theme. In other instances, the love-epistle contains assurances of a happy ending, as in "Zara, at the Court of Annamaboe, to the African Prince, now in England", 1749.

But the exotic men of the eighteenth century did not die for love, but rather for liberty. The profuse literature of the American Indian began it, so that the Dying Indian became one of the grand public symbols of the eighteenth century for stoic heroism. With the agitations against the slave-trade, the Dying African made his debut as a propaganda-figure. And he became incorporated into the native eclogue.

The native eclogue was partly a gesture of boredom with the conventional pastoral mythology, and partly an attempt at the exploration of new reaches of the imagination. It is noteworthy that its two most outstanding exponents were Collins and Chatterton, both searchers for fresh symbols. The third important practitioner in the exotic eclogue-form in our period is Eyles Irwin, himself a traveller; and we shall see that he either misunderstood the use to which his predecessors had put the form, or chose wilfully to use it as a way of presenting his own travel-experiences. He belongs to the outward-looking poets of the age. We may even be allowed to see in the contrast between the poetic habits of these three men a shadow of the contrast between Wordsworth's and Coleridge's use of travel-material, Wordsworth transmuting his own experience, Coleridge the experience of other travellers.

It was in Salmon's Modern History, 1739, that Collins both sought for the imagery of his Persian Eclogues, 1742, and found his ideas of the Persian style. For him, as for so many versifiers and prose-writers of his age, the assumption of a mask gave freedom to criticise contemporary social conventions, and to depart from contemporary poetic commonplaces. And so, without any great subtlety of

1. W. Sypher, "The African Prince in London", Journal of the History of Ideas 11, 237-47, 1941, discusses the Zara poems and the occasion of their writing. A poem entitled "The African Prince, now in England, to Zara, at his Father's Court" appeared in the Gent. Mag. of 1749.

2. B. Bissell: The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century, 1925.

H. B. Jones, "The Death-song of the noble savage". University of Chicago Abstracts of Theses. Humanistic series, 111, 1937, 339-45.

3. J. Jones: "The Distress'd Negro in English Magazine Verse". Texas Studies in English, no. 17, 1937, pp. 88-100.

4. R. F. Jones: "Eclogue Types in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century". Journal of English and German Philology, XXIV. 1925, also mentions imitations of Chatterton's African eclogues.

deception, he presents his four poems as a translation from the Persian of "Abdallah" a native of Tauris. In his preface he advertises what he regards as the attractions of his verses:

There is an Elegancy and Wildness of Thought which recommends all their Compositions; and our Genius's are much too cold for their Entertainment of such Sentiments, as our Climate is for their Fruits and Spices.

But the elegancy of thought turns out to be the customary pastoral praises of chaste love, and pastoral criticism of the life of court, with a dash of wildness in the lamentations over foreign invasion in the last eclogue. Two passages in Salmon, quoted in E.G. Ainsworth's valuable study, Poor Collins, 1937, gave Collins his cue for style:

There (sic) invention is fruitful and lively, their manner sweet, their temper amorous, and their language has a softness proper for verse. . . the thoughts are noble and elevated, their expressions soft, and their terms always the most proper that can be hit upon.

According to the Persians - the ancient philosophers in the east were all poets, and their wise lessons were delivered in verse, to render them the more amiable and venerable, and that the people might retain them in their memories.

But after all, Collins' sweetness is a Thomsonian sweetness, his moralisings smack of Addison, his transmutations of his geographic material are in the direction of accepted taste, rather than away from it. Yet, if his imagination has not yet found release from contemporary fashions - and which poet's has in his first poems? - there are throbbings of life beneath the surface of these poems, images not yet worked out in the richness of his later interpretation of them, but already present in his mind.

Collins' protecting fairies are still the classical goddesses, the Morning who lights the beautiful girls of Persia:

"For you these Flow'rs her fragrant Hands bestow" -

and the Virtues who will come back and re-people Persia. And it is to Salmon that he goes for imagery with which to deck these elevated ladies:

The balmy shrub for you shall love our Shore,
By Ind excelled or Araby no more.

With their return, flowers will return too. But the most distinguished of all these semi-classical fairies is Chastity, shy as a mountain-doe:

Cold is her Breast, like Flow'rs that drink the Dew,
A silken Veil conceals her from the View.

The silken veil also comes from Salmon. And the thoughts of all these ladies " as

limpid ^b springs are clear". Virtue, moral simplicity, the inaccessibility of mountains, springs: already these are gathered into the idea of perfection, which we have already seen fulfilled in St. Kilda. The image of the chaste maiden which makes its first appearance here recurs constantly throughout Collins' writing, under many names, and most frequently with robes pure and uninjured as the symbol of her integrity, and flowers for fruitfulness. She is Pity, with "Sky-worn Robes of tend'rest Blue, And Eyes of dewy Light"; she is Simplicity, "In Attic Robe array'd, O chaste unboastful Nymph. . .", though there she is associated with "Numbers warmly pure and sweetly strong", rather than the coldness of retirement. She is "Truth, in sunny Vest array'd". She is "chaste Eve", whose "Dewy Fingers draw The Gradual dusky Veil". She is Peace, to whom he says, "thy injur's Robes up-bind"; she is Music, "Warm, Energetic, Chaste, Sublime!"² And sometimes she appears with robes rent as a symbol of the good violated: as such she is Mercy on the battle-field:

Thou who, amidst the deathfull Field. .
Oft with thy Bosom bare art found. .

She is Freedom in the "Ode to a Lady";

But lo where, sunk in deep Deppair,
Her Garments torn, her Bosom bare
Impatient Freedom lies!

And in the "Ode to Fear" also there is a lifting of "the Veil" by Fancy; and there is an appearance of the false Venus, "th'incestuous Queen", wrapped in Fear's "cloudy Veil".

In the second eclogue, the unmitigated barrenness of the desert is used as a symbol of human endeavour in contrast to the luxurious spring-filled scenery left behind, the symbol of easeful security.³ It is the horror of the life of hardship which engrossed Collins at this time; he has not yet found the place where barrenness and beauty are in unity:

And not a Tree, and not a Herb was nigh. .

Here, where no Springs in murmurs break away,
Or Moss-crown'd Fountains mitigate the Day. .

Here Rocks alone, and tasteless Sands are found,
And faint and sickly Winds for ever howl around.

For the desert is barrenness unconfined, as contrasted with "Schiraz' Walls" in the refrain at the end of every stanza. When he reaches St. Kilda he has found a barrenness confined.

1. "Ode on the Poetical Character". 2. "The Passions". 3. Salmon, l. 368, 394.

THE third eclogue is Collins' first evening-poem; and although "Evening Dews enrich the Glitt'ring Shade", it is mainly conventional pastoral landscape, orientalisised by a profuse scattering of exotic names of plants and people. And again he gleans from Salmon the kind of imagery which he will later turn to a more personal use: Salmon's mention of "jonquils. . . pinks. . ." becomes:

A various Wreath of od'rous Flow'rs she made:
Gay-motley's Pinks and sweet Jonquils she chose;".

The three Chatterton African eclogues have been appealed to for their similarities to the Rowley poems; they have been praised as precursors of Coleridge in their exotic image-making; and their sources have been largely traced to the Treatise on the Deluge, of 1761, written by Rev. Alexander Catcott of Bristol, and abused by Chatterton in some of his satirical poems; and to an article in the Town and Country Magazine of October, 1769, called "Observations on the Manners etc. of the Africans", as well as to the growing bulk of African-oriental ~~music~~ writing - Collins' Eclogues, Rasselas, and Grainger's ^{The} Sugar Cane among it, - ^{and to} ~~as well as~~ the Ossianic rhapsodies. There is nothing remarkably original about the theme of "Reccar and Gaira" (written on January 3, 1770), the recollection of a past battle, and the lament for a lost love, carried off as a slave; "Narva and Mored" is an African version of the Eloisa-Abelard theme, of the priest who loves a woman against his vow, with a suicide-pact at the end; and beneath the thick-sown imagery of "The Death of Nicou" we recognise the theme of the vengeance of one friend upon another for the rape of his sister. But if the ^{statement} of themes gives Collins largely away in his eclogues, it hardly touches on the significance of the Chatterton poems. He himself wrote of the last two, (which were printed in the London Magazine, May and June, 1770), as "the only two pieces I have the vanity to call poetry, perhaps because in them he achieved the most satisfying verbal incarnation, apart from some of the Rowley poems, of the state of mind which cut clean across the conventionalities of the age, and yet sought for poetic expression. Collins' eclogues present life ^{with} in its normal categories of restraint and order as the ~~norm~~: Chatterton's are a glorification of intensity of living, thrown out in an equivalent intensity of language as highly-coloured as the paint-work of the modern primitives. And he is not tied down to a rigid following of his sources, but twists and manipulates them for his own devices, and fishes up

half-forgotten recollections for embellishment, myths like the two of East India and Brazil, which he blends and transcends in "The Death of Nicou", names like Cawna, Banny, Vichon and Vicat.² It is possible, too, that he had been reading such literary treatises as Dr. Brown's A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music, 1763, frankly evangelistic in its preaching of a renewed union of the arts of music and poetry, appealing for support to the period of development when primitive peoples gather into community:

For the Truth of the Fact, we may appeal to most of the Travellers who describe the Scenes of uncultivated Nature. All these agree in telling us, that Melody, Dance, and Song, make up the ruling Pastime, adorn the Feasts, compose the Religion, fix the Manners, strengthen the Policy, and even form the future Paradise of savage man. That having few Wants, and consequently much Leisure, the barbarous Tribes addict themselves to those alluring Arts with a wonderful Degree of Passion, unless where their Manners are corrupted by an incidental Commerce with the off-scum of civilised Nations. By these attractive and powerful Arts they celebrate their public Solemnities; by these they lament their private and public Calamities, the Death of Friends, and the Loss of Warriors: By these united, they express their Joy on their Marriages, Harvests, Huntings, Victories; praise the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes; excite each other to War and brave Exploits, or to suffer Death and Torments with unshaken Constancy. ³

The second eclogue, "Narva and Mored", has just such a ritual organisation, from the mystical dance, initiated by "the priest of Chalma's triple idol" to the chanted praise of the lovers:

The priestess, rising, sings the sacred tale,
And the loud chorus echoes through the dale.

And in "The Death of Nicou" too there is the delivery of an oracle at Chalma's holy feast.

The language of these poems may not have sloughed all its eighteenth-century conventionalities of meaning, but the bounds between man and nature have shrunk, so that the face of storm and flood are matched by the face of Gaira's passion in the repeated imagery of river and thunder, rain and whirlwind and lightning. Gaira has vied with the storm in his vengeance on the "children of the wave" who have stolen away his beloved. This sense of the interrelations between man and climate

1. Catcott, 112ff; 122-23.

2. Kawaina, 158; the Banians, 403; Vichnou, 112ff.

3. Section 11: "Of Music, Dance, and Poem, in the savage State", page 28. There follows, pages 29-36, a long quotation from "Pere Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages, tom. 11, p. 213, etc." on the life of the American Indian.

was already strong in Thomson's "Summer"; and his imagery of tempests and mighty rivers, and men as fierce as animals is most obviously present in the first eclogue. But his manipulation of this imagery was less subtle, he merely stated the theorem, tropical man is close to nature; Chatterton works out its implications more fully in his drawing of comparisons, either between human passion and the forces of nature, or between human and natural beauty. The tiger appears in "Summer" for a line and a half -

The tiger darting fierce
Impetuous on his prey his glance has doom'd,

and in the following lines the leopard is praised:

The lively-shining leopard, speckl'd o'er
With many a spot, the beauty of the waste. .

The tiger appears recurrently in "Heccar and Gaira", to set the scene, with a clarity of sound and colour, and also to give a sense of the equal-handed combat between man and the natural world:

Where the loud tiger, pawing in his rage,
Bids the black archers of the wilds engage,

and half-hidden in Gaira's speech:

Heccar, my vengeance still exclaims for blood,
'Twould drink a wider stream than Caigra's flood,

and finally to set off the wild beauty of Cawna, his beloved:

Swift from the wood a prowling tiger came,
Dreadful his voice, his eyes a glowing flame;
I bent the bow, the never-erring dart
Pierced his rough armour, but escaped his heart;
He fled, though wounded, to a distant waste,
I urged the furious flight with fatal haste;
He fell, he died - spent in the fiery toil.
I stripped his carcass of the furry spoil,
And, as the varied spangles met my eye,
"On this", I cried, "shall my loved Cawna lie". 1.

The texture of this verse is fairly loose, for its main purpose is narrative, to explain what Gaira was doing when Cawna was carried away, as well as to impress us with the strength of his love for her; but in the following eclogue the comparisons between the tribal world and the natural come thick and fast, especially in the description of the mystic dance. The swift succession of diverse images almost suggests the

1. Compare with the fine lines on the tiger in "The Death of Nicou":
On Tiber's banks, where scarlet jasmines bloom,
And purple aloes shed a rich perfume;
Where, when the sun is melting in his heat,
The reeking tigers find a cool retreat,
Bask in the sedges, lose the sultry beam,
And wanton with their shadows in the stream.

Shelleian manner - the dancing warriors are like a dark cloud, like the elk in movement,

Swift as the flying clouds distilling rain,
Swift as the boundings of the youthful roe.,

long as a chain of tempest-filled mysterious mountains stretching to a cave, "Like leaves in autumn twirling in the breeze", "Like the loud eddies of Toddida's sea", which "sinks down to Chalma's sacerdotal cave". Such is only a compression of the richness of a longer passage, to indicate the interchange of imagery. This dance throws the reader back to the beginning of the poem, where in the god Chalma Chatterton symbolises the structure of Africān society as he imagines it:

Chalma, the god whose noisy thunders fly
Through the dark covering of the midnight sky,
Whose arm directs the close-embattled host,
And sinks the labouring wessles on the coast;
Chalma, whose excellēnce is known from far,
From Lupa's rocky hill to Calabar:
The guardian god of Afric and the isles,
Where nature in her strongest vigour smiles. .

Within the context of the poem, Chatterton allows himself to believe in a God who is the powers of nature personified, and so his imagination is released to create a plethora of intensely-conceived images, following from this belief. The dance-passage also throws us forward to the final song. Close speculations about the significance of the dance are possibly irrelevant, but Chatterton may have conceived of its progress as in some ways foreshadowing the course of Narva and Mored - "The first-born sons of war and blood" follow the dancing priestess who circles three times round the mystic tree; and the end of their dance is compared to the eddying of the waters of "Toddida's sea" as they fall "down to Chalma's sacerdotal cave". So in the song the priestess prays of the dead lovers:

Chalma reward them in his gloomy cave,
and their suicide is described thus:

Locked in each other's arms, from Hyga's cave
They plunged relentless to a watery grave.
And, falling, murmured to the powers above,
"Gods! take our lives, unless we live to love."

1. In the "Epistle to the Rev. A. Catcott" Chatterton had written:
Some fancy God is what we nature call,
Being itself material, all in all. .

Chatterton's imagery is not allegorical with a one-to-one equivalency; he was probably unaware himself of the complexity of his associations. But a firm, concentrated reading of these three poems gives the impression of a landscape lying behind them with a strong clarity in Chatterton's mind, of a new world which he had created for himself, and whose details grew in significance and splendour in the very process of writing. (It is noteworthy that at the time of writing them he was contemplating finding a job as a surgeon's mate on a ship going to Africa). The notion of a cave containing tempestuous underground waters he had gleaned from the much-maligned Catcott; and it appears first at the beginning of "Heccar and Gaira":

Where the rough Caigra rolls the surgy wave,
Urging his thunders through the echoing cave;

Later in the poem, the river Caigra is associated with the force of passion and vengeance, as well as with rocks and tempest. In "Narva and Mored" the cave appears again in association with mountains, rivers, and storm, but this time in a different relation, and in describing the formation of the dancers:

Like the long cliffy mountains which extend
From Lorbar's cave to where the nations end,
Which sink in darkness, thickening and obscure,
Impenetrable, mystic, and impure . .

Here the indecisive cloudiness of language makes it hard to describe the significance of "Lorbar's cave", unless we take the last three lines as an extension of the cave-idea - the place of dark and indefinable mystery. "To where the nations end" may contain the irony of geographical and eschatological meaning; the cave has something of Hades about it already. The next cave is "Chalma's sacerdotal cave", to which Toddida's currents fall at sunset, with the great noise of wind and water. The following lines seem to describe the course of the underground current, but Chatterton balances precariously between the underworld and an image of underground industry which adds to the confusion of the sense. It is a place inhabited by "the/ghost", but also by the "artificer" working on weapons and twine and ivory, and by the Europeans in search of gold, who

From burning heat to freezing torments go,
And live in all vicissitudes of woe.

Here again the imagery of Hades breaks in. With the "gloomy cave" of Chalma, where apparently Narva and Mored now are, this meaning becomes explicit, and it is

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balanced against other images of the brightness and growth which belonged to the two lovers in life. And we have already noticed that it was in a cave that the two plunged "to a watery grave". ~~If~~ The significance of the cave-image cannot be defined scientifically; its power is far from the merely topographical. When Chatterton wrote about passion in these poems, rivers appeared in their turbulence; and as his rivers end in caves, so passion ends in a death which is not complete rest, but is the fulfilment of love. In the final poem too there is an underground river, a misplaced Tiber flowing through Africa, causing confusion on its subterranean passage, and breaking the earth again as it bursts forth above ground. As in "Narva and Mored", the height of the mountains is a security against the mystery of the deep places, "The check of waves, the guardians of the world"; and in the myth of Vichon and Narada there is a bursting-forth of underground waters in a universal flood. And in this myth the purely topographical is ^{again} transcended, for the flood is an expression of hatred ~~and~~ and the means to revenge, and the cave is the source of strange passionate forces.

Against this world of mighty mountains taking the sun, and firece waters, of storms and subterranean caves, and shores strown with the slain, of birds of prey and beasts of ravin, there appear beings who are the personifications of passion and tropical beauty:

Cawna, the pride of Afric's sultry vales,
Soft as the cooling murmur of the gales,
Majestic as the many-coloured snake,
Trailing his glories through the blossomed brake:
Black as the glossy rocks where Bascal roars,
Foaming through sandy wastes to Jaghir's shores;
Swift as the arrow, hasting to the breast,
Was Cawna, the companion of my rest.

Of Mored he wrote:

Black was her face, as Togla's hidden cell;
Soft, as the moss where hissing adders dwell;

and of Rorest:

Strong were the passions of the son of Nair,
Strong, as the Tempest of the evening air;
Insatiate in desire; fierce as the boar,
Firm in resolve as Cannie's rocky shore.

1. For example, ll. XX., on the chaos of the world.
 2. For example, ll. XL - XLIV, on Kenewelcha.
 3. "Bedukah, or the Self-Devoted. An Indian Pastoral", 1776.
 4. The Occasional Epistles are a versification of A Series of Adventures in a Voyage up the Red Sea, 1780. The first epistle, "From Venice", is a poetic version of Volume II, 185ff; the second is a version of Letter IV, 234-266, in volumell, on Laodicea; and the third, "From Cocorna, on the Conflux of the Tigris and Euphrates" is parallel to Letter IV, 371 ff. volume II.
 5. These include Jones: Description of Asia; Wood and Dawkins: Journey to Palmyra; Sandys' pilgrimage to Jerusalem; Ives' Voyages; "Geograph. Pers. apud D'Herbel"; and the travels of Tournefort, Niehuhr, Pococke, Chandler, Carmichael; the tour of Rev. John Hussey in Lebanon; the Modern Universal History.
- The poems included in the text of his 1780-81 travels are: "Ode to the Nile", 1780, (Universal Magazine, LXVII, 38-9); "Ode to the Ruins of Palmyra, Written in the Vicinity, 1781" (Poetical Register, 1811); Stanzas written on a Journey through the Deserts of Thebais, Sep. 1777" (Universal Magazine, LXVI, 1780, 371-2) are the product of his later voyage. 6. Based on As Series of Adventures in the Course of a Voyage up the Red-Sea, on the Coasts of Arabia & Egypt, and of a Route through the Deserts of Thebais, in the Year 1777".

The habit of this kind of comparison between man and nature Chatterton took partly from Thomson; but he had also practised it under the mask of Rowley; for "The Battle of Hastings" is the contemplation of carnage through another mythology, and here the heroic simile is often the imagery of breaking waters, or of animals in combat,¹ and the beauty of women is illuminated by comparison with the beauty of English nature.²

In contrast to Collins and Chatterton, Eyles Irwin gives the impression of being a man completely at home in the world. He was a man of versatility, in the employ of the East India Company - at one time he was a candidate for its directorship - turning his hand to various ways of describing his travel-experience, the sketch, the prose-narrative, and the poem. He is both familiar and satisfied with the popular verse-forms and symbols, and when he sublimifies his experience, it is in the direction of the expected. He had the dubious honour of writing the first Indian death-song;³ also another poem, "Saint Thomas's Mount," 1774, which was a combination several kinds - an Indian hunting-poem, an idealisation of the Hindu, a prospect, and reflections on Indian history. He versified his own travel-book in his Occasional Epistles, written during a Journey from London to Busrah, in the Gulf of Persia, in the years 1780 and 1781, 1783, as well as interlarding the text of his travel-books with his own poems done on the spot. He was well up in the previous travel-writers, and gives an interesting list of those he used.⁵ But the quality of his prose far surpasses his versification. He was one of those literary journalists whose main virtues rest on the originality of their experiences; and not everybody could write about the journeyings that Irwin had done. But in his poems he suppresses the interesting and chatty details of his prose. Of his four Eastern Eclogues; written during a Tour through Arabia, Egypt, and other Parts of Asia and Africa, in the Year MDCC.LXXVII, 1780,⁶ the second and the fourth hardly escape from the theatrical. The second, "Selima, or the Fair Greek" is another version of the solitary lover's lament, with an atmosphere borrowed rather from the Arabian Nights than from reality; but which may have the slightest echo in it of his own captivity in its emphasis on

Arabian tyranny. The fourth, "The Escape; or, The Captives" is a tale of the escape of two Spaniards from Tunis, with a description of the luxury of the place, and a love-speech from each of them. The third eclogue, "Ramak: or, The Brahmin" comes closer to his own experience, for the hero is an Indian priest who stands on the tower of a temple and delivers his death-speech, prophesying liberty to the country from the Portuguese, before throwing himself below - a blending of a real incident with recollections of The Bard. In the first eclogue, "Alexis, or, The Traveller", Irwin at once comes closest to his own journey and falsifies his experience most radically, in his conversion of all that is not conventionally appropriate to fit the kind. An indication of the similarities between verse and prose will help to prove how amusingly they are unlike. In the poem he characterises himself as wont to roam among the ruins, and describes a visit to Pompey's pillar. But in the poem he is "lone Alexis"; while in the prose we find this blatant contradiction:

In the afternoon a large party of us sallied out to take a view of Pompey's pillar, the theme of the present age, and the admiration of past times! (He next enumerates the company).

In the poem he is content to rhapsodise over Pompey's past greatness; in the prose he tells a superb story of how some English seamen vowed to have a feast on the top of the pillar, and achieved the feat, much to the astonishment of the whole populace who turned out to see; and how they incidentally made an important antiquarian discovery of the feet of a statue that had once crowned the column. When he comes to Cleopatra's Needle, he is least sure of himself in relation to the Antony-Cleopatra affair, for in the poem he is on the side of Egypt, in the prose-account he is on the side of Rome.² With such easy inconsequence ends the story of the verse-eclogue and the travel-books.

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1. Volume 11. 108 ff.
2. Other resemblances between verse and prose are his reflections on the powers of commerce, especially in considering the trade of modern Cairo. In the poem he visits a convent. cf. prose, 11, 106-7, and the prose footnote to his poem.

[Faint, illegible text covering the majority of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side or extremely faded print.]

1. Martin Martin: Description of the Western Isles, ed. Donald J. Macleod, 1934; pages 176-7 (part of a longer passage); and page 241. The same idea is found on pages 95 and 309. Mention is made of the high esteem in which the bard was held, and of his rewards, on pages 171 and 176.
2. Joseph Ritson: A Select Collection of English Songs, 1783, prefatory essay to volume 1, entitled: "A Historical Essay on the Origin and Progress of National Song".

THE PRIMITIVE HEROIC POEM.

The Ossianic poems were not the only eighteenth-century attempt at writing primitive heroic poetry, and, like, other examples of the same species, their "genuineness" found support in the travel-books. The readers of Martin Martin might have been attracted by passages on native poetry which Macpherson would certainly know:

The orators, in their language called Is-dane, were in high esteem both in these islands and the Continent; until within these forty years they sat always among the nobles and chiefs of families in the streak or circle. Their houses and little villages were sanctuaries, as well as churches, and they took place before doctors of physic. The orators, after the Druids were extinct, were brought in to preserve the genealogies of families, and to repeat the same at every succession of a chief; and upon occasions of marriages and births, they made epithalamiums and panegyrics which the poet or bard pronounced. ~~T~~ but these gentlemen becoming insolent lost ever since both the profit and esteem which was formerly due to their character. . .

Several of both sexes have a quick vein of poesy, and in their language (which is very emphatic) they compose rhyme and verse, both which powerfully affect the fancy. And in my judgement (which is not singular in this matter) with as great force as that of any an ancient or modern poet I ever yet read. A

By the time of Macpherson, however, the idea of primitive Scottish poetry was more fully developed. When Beattie came to compose his essay, "On Poetry and Music, as they affect the Mind", which was delivered to a private literary society in 1762, ^{and published among his Essays in 1776} he illustrated his thesis by appealing to Scotland. Granted a melancholy landscape (à la Thomson) difficult economic conditions, and a disposition towards second-sight, (here he quotes the finest passage from Albania), then what kind of poetry would you expect but Ossianic poetry?

What then would it be reasonable to expect from the fanciful tribe, from the musicians and poets, of such a region? Strains expressive of joy, tranquillity, or the softer passions? no: their style must have been better suited to their circumstances. And so we find in fact that their music is. The wildest irregularity appears in its composition; the expression is warlike and melancholy, and approaches even to the terrible - and that their poetry is almost uniformly mournful, and their views of nature dark and dreary, will be allowed, by all who admit the authenticity of Ossian.

One of the most interesting motives of eighteenth-century travel, both within Britain and beyond, was the search for The Bard. Edward Burt, in his Letters from the North of Scotland, 1754, was excited because he had found him still ripe and active. Joseph Ritson accepted this as true, although he rejected Ossian:

The natives of the highlands and isles of Scotland had, likewise, bards by profession till very lately; and preserve traditionally many romantic and sentimental songs, some of which are said to possess great merit, though few are thought to be of much antiquity. 2.

As far as Ireland was concerned, there was "Longford's Glyn: a true History. Faithfully Translated from the Irish Original", published in London in 1732, bearing the evidence of undiluted Spenserian influence in the explanation of a place-name by the invention of a graceful Ovidian myth of metamorphosis around it; and suggesting that its writer had perhaps also read Spenser's prose and his account of the Irish bards. ^{1.}

Gray and Mason were the first to make explicit attempts to reproduce bardic speech. Hutchinson announced triumphantly in a foot-note in his The History and Antiquities of Cumberland his discovery of a primitive Lake District bard, Isaac Riſson:

It seems to be the happy privilege of genius to know every thing, even matters of fact, as it were intuitively . . . he loved to wander among the mountains and lakes, and there conceive and compose poetry. In such situations, he touched everything with the pencil of Salvator Rosa. His descriptions were tremendously sublime. Riſson wrote only when he felt, and was prompted by some incident or occurrence immediately before him.

But it was the heroic poetry of the primitive bard that aroused most speculation and it is not surprising that a cluster of critical writings on the heroic style and content preceded some English attempts at "imitation", notably Edward Jerningham's the Fall of Mexico,¹⁷⁴³ Helen Maria Williams' Peru,^{the American 1785} and Mrs Morton's Ouabi,¹⁷⁹⁰ In writing of the eclogue we have already mentioned Brown's Dissertation, which Chatterton almost certainly read. Brown writes:

Their earliest Histories would be written in Verse. For we see, that among the savage Tribes, the Actions of their Heroes and Gods, and the Great Events of their Nation, make a principal Part of their Songs. Whenever, therefore, the Use of Letters should come among such a People, these Ancient Songs would naturally be first recorded, for the Information and Use of future Times.

Their earliest Oracles would probably be delivered in Verse, and sung by the Priest or Priestess of the supposed God. . . ^{2.}

Histories and oracles are the subject-matter of primitive verse. For proof he appeals to a multiplicity of travels, not only to Pere Lafitau, but to Goguet's Extraits des Histoires Chinoises and to du Halde for China; to "La Croze: Hist. de Christ." for an Indian religious song and dance; and to Garcilasso de la Vega for South America:

1. In Brown's Dissertation, Section VIII: "Of the Natural Union and Progressions of Melody and Song, in other European Countries", there is a long quotation from Spenser on Irish bards.

2. Brown: Dissertation, Section IV "Of the natural Consequences of a supposed Civilisation", parts 5 and 8, pages 37-8.

In the ancient Kingdom of Peru, the Progression of Music had reached the same Period, though somewhat different in its Circumstances. Garcilasso de la Vega informs us, that their fabulous songs were innumerable; that he had heard many, and learnt some of them, from his Ancestors, who were the last of the royal Family of the Incas . . Their Manners and Character, brave though not ferocious, had naturally produced Tragedy, though of a Kind rather grand than terrible . . their Tragedies represented their military Exploits; the Triumphs, Victories, and Heroic Actions of their renowned Men. . . 4.

Of their style, he emphasises that it would be simple, not artificial, simple in its adaptation to the primitive understanding; and also rhythmical. When Hugh Blair came to write "A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian", ^{first published in 1763} he showed his awareness of Brown, if he went beyond him in his exposition of the primitive style; for he writes more of intensity of imagination than of simplicity:

Irregular and unpolished we may expect the productions of uncultivated ages to be; but abounding, at the same time, with that enthusiasm, that vehemence and fire, which are the soul of poetry. For, many circumstances of those times which we call barbarous, are favourable to the poetical spirit. .

The primitive bard will show more wonder and surprise in the face of natural beauty; he will also uncover human passions with less restraint. In his lecture, " Nature of Poetry - Its Origin and Progress - Versification", Blair suggests still another ^{primitive} reason for the greater intensity of language:

Cool reasoning, and plain discourse, had no power to attract savage Tribes, addicted only to hunting and war. There was nothing that could either rouse the Speaker to pour himself forth, to draw the crowd to listen, but the high powers of Passion, of Music, and of Song. 2.

So instead of being simpler in style than the poetry of civilisation, primitive poetry will be more highly-coloured:

Figurative language owes its rise chiefly to two causes; to the want of proper names for objects, and to the influence of imagination and passion over the form of expression. Both these causes concur in the infancy of society. Figures are commonly considered as artificial modes of speech, devised by orators and poets after the world had advanced to a refined state. The contrary of this is the truth. Men never have used so many figures of style, as in those rude ages when, besides the power of warm imagination to suggest lively images, the want of proper and precise terms for the ideas they would express, obliged them to have recourse to circumlocution, metaphor, comparison, and all those substituted forms of expression which give a poetical air to language. An American chief at this day harangues at the head of his tribe in a more bold and metaphorical style, than a modern European would adventure to use in an epic poem. 3.

1. Brown: Dissertation, Section IX: "Of the Natural Union and Progressions of Melody and Song in China, Peru, and India," pages 170-171.
2. Lecture XXXVIII, volume 2, page 316, in lectures, 1763.
3. Blair: "A Critical Dissertation".

Also rhyme is a characteristic of primitive poetry, as an aid to the memory, and for emphasis.

Thus runs the theory, which we have already seen put into practice by Chatterton; now for the practice in our three American heroic poems. They each impress us by their very ineffectiveness: two are the effusions of ladies of sensibility, the other is the writing of a gentleman of considerable tenderness of heart. Edward Jerningham was one of those sensitive and cultivated spirits who in the later decades of the century delighted to belong to the circle of friends who gathered round Cowper and Johnson and Gray, without ever trying to know the famous themselves. The young Miss Burney gives us a wicked glimpse of him at Bath, half-fainting with emotion at the playing of the harp, and singing on request; his letters reveal him sending volumes of his poems to Burke and Horace Walpole, who receive them with infinite politesse, and contributing to the Bathaston vase. He had already ventured into the Inkle-Yarico correspondence (1766), and had come to the defence of The Indian Chief before he undertook The Fall of Mexico in 1775. His friends must however have thought him more suited to shorter poems; for in his Poems, eighth edition, of 1790, he gives only three excerpts, and in the foot-note to one he admits:

This is an Episode of a more extensive poem, and being the part that was most favourably received, I am not unwilling to sacrifice a few pages for the sake of rendering my poetical offerings more acceptable to the public.

He had read "the historians" in preparation, and Antonio de Solis in particular; but he does not care to stick very closely to sources, except where it suits him. The poem is constructed for the sake of its speeches - a marriage-speech, a parting speech between the royal lovers, the death speeches of Janelan and Venzula, a speech of encouragement from the chieftain, the death speech of a noble matron at the tomb of her sons, a conversion-sermon from Las Casas to a pagan priest, a death speech of defiance from the king before Cortez, and an oracle from the native priest.

1. Antonio de Solis: The History of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards (London, 1738, translated by Thomas Townsend, revised by Nat. Hooke.) The account of Guatimazino is found mainly in the last two chapters of volume two, which gives a general impression of his stateliness and heroism. There is mention of his care for his queen and his people, of his youth and of a premature death-speech, as in Jerningham. But there is no mention of the incident which J. attributes to him in the preface - his torture, and his saying "Am I on a bed of roses?" J. refers merely to "The testimony of the historians" in favour of this tale. He also incorporates features of Indian life from the Montezuma story, for general background.

It is a wonder that Helen Maria Williams was not daunted by the observation of her predecessor in the field. She was one of those women who were unable to travel themselves, and so filled their verses with imagery from other travels: the Lady Sensibility was her presiding genius. By the time she started writing, she had the good fortune to have one of the century's finest historians for her source. She need not have read past the preface/for an affirmation of Robertson's serious intentions: of the History of America, 1777,

The longer I reflect on the nature of historical composition, the more I am convinced that this scrupulous accuracy is necessary. . . He who delineates the transactions of a remote period, has no title to claim assent, unless he produces evidence in proof of his assertions. Without this, he may write an amusing tale, but cannot be said to have composed an authentic history. . .

In her introduction to the 1823 volume of her poems, she outlines her use: ^{appellation}

I have not ventured to dignify them with the ~~appellation~~ of historical, although they are chiefly composed of facts/taken from Robertson's History of Spanish America, which first suggested the idea of this subject to my mind.

In fact, her whole interpretation of the history of Peru runs contrary to the canny reserve of the hard-headed Robertson, who gives praise where praise is due, to both Spaniards and Peruvians, and only where it is due. Her main debt is to the work of the Abbé Raynal, A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies. Translated from the French by J. Justamond, 1776, His interpretation ^{the} of/history is rhetorical, in its contrast of the former greatness of the Inca kingdom with its present decline after corruption by the Spanish settlers. From Raynal, too, she may have taken her conception of the kind of poetry she was writing:

Such great men were also the customary subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people. . . There was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were represented. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges and people of distinction, and were held up to them as models of public virtue. . . 1.

The virtue of the Incas is paraded through the Abbe's writing:

The Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumstance led them to it. Those common labours, ^{which} were always enlivened by agreeable songs; the object itself of these labours, which was to assist every one who had occasion for their succour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worship of the sun, and distributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged and to orphans, the union which must reign in those decuries, where every one was mutually inspired with respect for the laws and with the love of virtue. . . all

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these manners maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit, and contributed as much as possible to substitute the most sublime and amiable virtues, in view of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the usual incentives employed by older legislators. 1

It is only too easy to point out the multiplicity of instances where she alters names for the sake of the verse, and contradicts Robertson for the sake of sentiment; but one example alone will suffice. Robertson is describing the Inca's attitude towards Christian preaching:

The Inca opened it (the Bible) eagerly, and turning over its leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This", says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing"; and threw it with disdain to the ground.

But Miss Williams interprets differently:

While, thrill'd with awe, the monarch trembling stands,
He dropp'd the hallow'd volume from his hands.

She has a penchant for decorative details of natural history, collected from both Robertson and Raynal, and these she manages fairly competently. Speeches of all varieties are here in profusion. But a final indication of her lack of serious historical purpose may be given by the fact the the Zilia tale owes just as much to fictitious-romantic Mme de Graffigny's/Peruvian Letters as to her historians.

The third of our attempts at the heroic appeared in 1790, "By Philenia, a Lady of Boston"; and she obligingly gives us her sources as William Penn, Mrs. Brooks, M. Mercier, Governor Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, Mr. Noah Webster's Letters to Rev. Ezra Stiles, and "Mr. Carey's entertaining and instructing Museum", from which she drew her tale.² This poem should perhaps more strictly be grouped with the sentimental tale than the heroic poems, but the governing feeling is the same, and there are the usual crop of death-songs and love-speeches. The mythology of the eighteenth-century primitive poem has many curious affinities with the mythology of the modern film.

1. Raynal, page 255.

2. The story is of an Englishman who protects an Indian girl from a man who is maltreating her; discovers she is a princess; marries her, and is accepted into the tribe by her chieftain-father Ouabi. In a native war the chief is killed, and hands over the tribe to his son-in-law in a death-speech.

Notes on Helen Maria Williams' use of William Robertson's History of America, and of Raynal's History of the Settlements.

The references are to Miss Williams' revision of Peru as Peruvian Tales, in Poems on various Subjects, 1823.

Tale I. Alzira. They agree in their account of the decadence of the Spaniards through sudden luxury:

May pleasure tinge with venom'd drops the bowl,
And luxury unnerve the sick'ning soul.

Robertson, 259:

Veterans long accustomed to hardship and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation.

Tale II. Alzira. Episode based on Robertson, 172-185. "Perfidious scheme of Pizarro". But Miss Williams alters the name Atahualpa to Ataliba; and telescopes events in time. She follows her sources when they make for good literary effect, but the prose account is infinitely superior to hers, with a restraint and vividness she lacks. She does not acknowledge her full debt to Robertson in her footnotes. Her additions are the most interesting part of the epistle:

Yet themes of joy Pizarro's lips impart,
And charm with eloquence the simple heart;
Unfolding to the monarch's wond'ring thought
All that inventive arts the rude have taught.

The episode of the defence of the princes has only one small, but significant interpretative addition:

Touch'd with heroic ardour, cling around
And high of soul, receive each fatal wound.

Tale III. Zilia. The only direct derivative is the first episode. of. Robertson's gloss, 187-8: "Pizarro advances to Cuzco".

Las Casas, the symbol of Sensibility, who rescues the Indian priest and his daughter, is derived from Robertson, 185. Zilia and her father are symbols of a relationship of pious friendship, Las Casas of the religion of love, over against the religion of fear and cruelty.

In this tale historical truth is completely thrown to the winds, especially in her introduction of Las Casas, for he worked in Hispanolia about 1517, and his protest was against social ill-treatment, not religious persecution.

Tale IV. Cora. The beginning, on Almagro's Chilian expedition, based on Robertson, 194-6, 199. The continuation of the Cora tale is based on Robertson, 200, when Manco-Capac attacks Almagro and is defeated; and Almagro's dispute with Pizarro over Cuzco's treasures is based on Robertson, 200ff. Pizarro is assassinated by his supporters, as in Robertson, 218-20. The name Cora seems to be from Robertson 182:

a Coya, or descendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives.

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Miss Williams' explicit uses of Raynal (according to her footnotes) are Cora, Tale VI, on llamas, based on Raynal, volume II, book VII; and her reference to the solemn days of the Peruvians, in which she changes Raynal's spelling, Atabalipa, to Ataliba. Less obvious influences may be her greater emphasis on the cruelty of the priests; Raynal's account of Las Casas, which appears in his Peruvian section; and his contrast of the former greatness of the Inca kingdom with its present decline after corruption by the Spanish settlers. In Tale I, other debts are in the mention of "Pacas and Vicunnas"; Peru's humane religion; the songs of women at work to help the aged; the mildness of Ataliba's reign; sun-worship and its purity, and freedom from sacrifice; idealisation of Peruvian marriage-relationships. Raynal's position seems to be that while he believes in the tales of primitive virtue among the Indians, he will not credit tales of wealth, for wealth to him means art and corruption. Raynal's remarks on the poetry of the Indians may have given Miss Williams her idea

of the primitive bard; Zamor, who is the poet of nature, receiving the pure inspiration of the Muse:

She loves to breathe her hallow'd strain where art
Has never veil'd the soul or warped the heart;
Where fancy glows with all her native fire,
And passion lives on the exciting lyre .

Miss Williams' passage on the Peruvian bark, Tale I, is based on Raynal, 331-3.

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She mentions the condor twice, in Tales I and IV; and the basis for her descriptions is in Robertson, volume I, page 262.

Robertson's account of the character of the Americans is in direct contrast to Raynal's:

In America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist. . There were only two nations in this vast continent which had emerged from this rude state, and had made any considerable progress in acquiring ideas, and adopting the institutions which belong to polished societies. . the Mexican and Peruvian empires.

(Volume I , 282.)

THE SOUTH SEAS VOYAGES.

As usual, there were two kinds of celebration of Cook's voyages to the South Seas: there were the wits, and there were the panegyrists. Thanks to the work of Hawkesworth, the wits were first in the field; for his writing-up of the voyages was for literary effect at the expense of scientific equilibrium. The verse-correspondence between the South Seas and England was initiated with the appearance of "An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheiti, to Joseph Banks, Esq. Translated by T.Q.Z. Esq. Professor of the Otaheite Language in Dublin, and of all the Languages of the undiscovered Islands in the South Sea; and enriched with Historical and Explanatory Notes", 1773. Several double-entendres, conscious or unconscious, are culled from Hawkesworth, and woven together in an amorous epistle which threw doubt on the characters of not only the ageing Queen Oberea, but also the eminent scientist Banks. It is embellished with footnotes partly ^{of} classical verse-parallels, and partly of references to the Voyages. This epistle was followed by "An Epistle from Mr. Banks, Voyager, Monster-hunter, and Amorososo, to Oberea, Queen of Otaheiti. Translated by A.B.C. Esq. Second Professor of the Otaheite, and of every other unknown Tongue. Enriched with the finest Passages of the Queen's Letter to Mr. Banks". This epistle refers back to the previous one, with almost entirely the same prose footnotes and the same selection of the most spicy parts of Hawkesworth; and in the introduction there is the same announcement of the pending publication of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Otaheite language, to vie with the Hawkesworthian ponderousness.

In the same year appeared another of those relentlessly wearying Thomsonian-ethnological poems, which, under the title of Otaheite takes us on a world-tour, before arriving eventually at "The Cyprus of the South, the Land of Love". The usual associations are paraded - the profusion of nature: the evening song and dance of the natives; the animal-hunts; the cruelty of the mother's sacrificial slaughter of her child, the moral licence:

Each Oberea feels the lawless flame,
Nor checks Desires she does not blush to name.

The poem ends with a shocked declaration of the urgent need for missionaries.

1. An Account of voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty, for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Cartaret and Captain Cook. . drawn up from the journals which were kept by the several commanders, and from the papers of Joseph Banks, Esq. 1773.

1. In "An Address to Poetry", stanza XIII, Miss Williams writes of the South Seas bard, in a poem devoted to the praise of several native bards:

Ye Southern Isles emerg'd so late
Where the Pacific billow rolls,
Witness, though rude your simple state,
How heaven-taught verse can melt your souls. . .

Her footnote says:

The song of the bards or minstrels of Otaheite was unpremeditated, and accompanied with music. They were continually going about from place to place; and they were rewarded by the master of the house with such things as one wanted, and the other could spare. - Cook's Voyages.

2. Forster's Cook had appeared in 1777.

3. The visit of Omiah, or Omai, to Britain aroused much interest, and has been described by Tinker in Nature's Simple Plan, 1, "The state of nature". An account of him appeared in the London Magazine, August, 1774; and two poems were written for him: "An Historic Epistle from Omiah to the Queen of Otaheite, being his remarks on the English Nation . . .", 1775; and "Omiah's Farewell; addressed to the Ladies of London 1776, both satirical and approaching the scurrilous. ^{But Cowper} wrote more sympathetically of him in The Task, 1, if he is on the side of civilisation rather than nature in imagining him longing for England after his return to the South Seas.

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But the wits were not to be let off so lightly; and so, somewhat belatedly, "The Injured Islanders; or, The influence of Art upon the Happiness of Nature", 1779 there appeared another contribution to the Oberea correspondence. The preface outlines the purpose of the poem:

Before I conclude, it may not be improper to observe, that the Natives of O'Taheite, whose singular Customs and Manners are occasionally described, may be considered by many who have only read Doctor Hawkesworth's Compilation, as fitter Subjects for Ridicule than Panegyrick; but whoever peruses the Memoirs given of them by the latest Voyagers, will find that the more these hospitable and happy Islanders are known, the more pleasing they appear: He will also find that the irregular Gratification of their Passions, which has been regarded as the most exceptionable Part of their Character, was transmitted through a false Medium to our View. It must be notwithstanding allowed that in this, as in every other Country, there is a Diversity of Prospects which may afford the Wit, as well as the Buffoon, an Opportunity of taking an unfavourable Survey, of sporting with the Defects of unassisted Nature. Entitled to the same Liberty, I have chosen what, I am persuaded every advocate of Humanity would choose, to look through a different Perspective, which has presented me with several Objects in the Lives and Circumstances of these Fellow-citizens of the World, that even European Grandeur might envy or admire.

The poem itself is an epistle from Oberea, who becomes here Obra, to Captain Wallis, lamenting the corruption of her native paradise, and asking him to return from the danger of his other exploits. The ribbaldry of the previous epistles has been replaced by a tone of tender indignation; and there is much atmospheric imagery, along with the usual references to the morai, the native bards,⁴ and the native dances. In the notes, a new name appears, for although the writings of Banks and Hawkesworth are cited, there are also numerous references to Forster's account of Cook's voy- ges, as a corrective.² Could this poem be in fact an indirect advertisement for the new version of the Voyages?³

But laughter was turned to mourning with the news of Cook's murder at the hands of the natives, and the tune of the versifiers was changed. The first lament was "An Ode to the Memory/ of the Late Captain James Cook", by "W. Fitzgerald",¹⁷⁸⁰ with its general praise of explorers, and a bardic song of the South Seas, propheesying prosperity under the British, and mourning the unfaithfulness of the islanders. Next came Anna Seward's "Elegy on Captain Cook" with its non-primitivistic interpretation of Otaheite, and its more explicit relation to the ^{Hawkesworth} Voyages in its footnote quotations from the second Voyage.

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Cook was beloved of the ladies: so that Anna Seward was joined in lament by Helen Maria Williams in her poem "The Morai". Hawkesworth had given plenty of material about Otaheitan mourning-rites, and the morai had already become a favourite image among the celebrators of the South Seas. Interest in the grave was a close rival in the eighteenth century to interest in the bard; and Miss Williams' poem belongs to the elegy-group, but with a new slant, in its description of South Sea funereal-rites as part of the lament for Cook. And, not to be outdone, Hannah More has a kind word for Captain Cook also in her "Slavery", of 1788, in comparing him with the slave-traders:

Had they possess'd O Cook! thy gentle mind,
Thy love of arts, thy love of human kind;
Had these pursued thy mild and liberal plan,
Discoverers had not been a curse to man!

When a popular modern story approaches myth, it is made into a film; in the eighteenth century it was made into a pantomime. And so the South Seas literature of the period culminates in "A new pantomime called Omai; or, A Trip round the World", performed at Covent Garden in 1786, "with a procession exactly representing the dresses, weapons, and manners of the inhabitants of Otaheite, New Zealand, etc. . . and the other countries visited by . . Cook"; and "The Death of Captain Cook; a Grand Serious Pantomimic Ballet, in Three Parts. . .", presented at Covent Garden in 1789. The appeal is to the spectacular. Cook is no longer a person, but a sentimental symbol of British benevolence.

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