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## A Study of Christopher Smart's Poetic Theory with Special Reference to "A Verse Translation of Horace"

John Beifuss  
*Loyola University Chicago*

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**A STUDY OF CHRISTOPHER SMART'S POETIC THEORY  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A VERSE  
TRANSLATION OF HORACE**

by  
**John Beifuss**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**June  
1964**

## LIFE

John Paul Beifuss was born in Oak Park, Illinois, October 15, 1930.

He was graduated from Quigley Preparatory Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, June, 1949. In June, 1952, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Illinois. From the same school he received the degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology in June, 1954, and the degree of Master of Arts in Religion in June, 1955 (thesis: "Humani Generis and the Theory of Evolution").

From 1956 to the present the author has been teaching English and Latin at St. Mel High School, Chicago, Illinois. In February, 1956, he began his graduate studies in English at Loyola University, from which he was graduated with the degree of Master of Arts in February, 1959. The following summer he began his doctoral studies at Loyola University. From 1958 to 1963 the author taught English at Loyola University with the rank of Lecturer.

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Besides the standard abbreviations for scholarly journals cited in the footnotes the following brief titles have been used:

Horace: Christopher Smart. The Works of Horace Translated into Verse. Four volumes. London, 1767.

Psalms: Christopher Smart. A Translation of the Psalms of David. London, 1765.

References to poems from Hymns and Spiritual Songs are made by hymn number.

References to poems from Hymns for the Amusement of Children are made by prefixing the title of the book to the hymn number.

References to Jubilate Agno are to fragment and line following the edition of W. H. Bond.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The criticism of Christopher Smart has gone through at least four distinct stages. In the beginning of his career he was esteemed, not as a mere Grub Street writer, but as an ingenious poet and as one of the ornaments of Cambridge University. This reputation is attested to both by his name being kept on the books of Pembroke Hall after his departure from the university, in consideration of his writing for the Seatonian prize, and by the favorable comment given his writing by the journals until 1763.<sup>1</sup>

After Smart's release from an unknown asylum in 1763, his work was condemned as showing "melancholy evidences of

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<sup>1</sup>Smart's A Song to David and his subsequent poems were coolly reviewed in contemporary magazines. His resentment at these reviews sparked a quarrel which resulted in much of Smart's later poetry being ignored or very briefly noticed. The break is signalized by a comment which indicates his earlier reputation, "Peace be to the manes of his departed muse." The Critical Review, XVI (Nov., 1763), 395.

his estrangement."<sup>2</sup> For this reason Hunter omitted A Song to David from his collection of Smart's poetry, and in 1814 Robert Southey believed the poem lost.<sup>3</sup>

The third stage begins with Robert Browning's praise of the Song in Parleyings with Certain People of Importance. This stage is marked by the view taken by Browning: that Smart's works are a large, dull house in which there is one chapel of inexplicable grandeur, inexplicable except on the supposition that the mad poet had been granted a vision of naked Truth, which vision was at once the cause and the effect of his disease. During this period the romantic legend of Smart having scratched the Song on the wall of a cell in Bedlam was revived. Perhaps the clearest expression of this view of Smart was written by Sir Edmund Gosse.<sup>4</sup> So long-lasting was this view that reviews of the biographical and critical study written by Ainsworth and Noyes doubted that it would be possible to rehabilitate the bulk of Smart's work or to join it into a whole which would also include the Song to David.

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<sup>2</sup>Christopher Hunter, ed., Poems by the Late Christopher Smart (Reading, 1791), I, xxxi.

<sup>3</sup>C. W. Moulton, Library of Literary Criticism (Buffalo, 1902) III, 593. See also Alexander Chalmers, ed., The Works of the English Poets (London, 1810), XVI, 13, where only a fragment could be printed since no more was known to exist.

<sup>4</sup>Gossip in a Library (London, 1913), pp. 149-161.



The publication of William Force Stead's edition of Rejoice in the Lamb in 1939 marks the beginning of the fourth stage of criticism although a tentative step had been taken toward a fuller view of Smart when Edmund Blunden included some of Smart's other poetry in his 1924 edition of A Song to David. Following Stead's work, editions of Smart's poetry by Norman Callan, Robert Brittain, and W. H. Bond have revealed the true dimensions of Smart's poetry, making possible a valid critical judgment. A consideration of the long-neglected poetry published in 1763 and later is the basis of this judgment.

Such a judgment would see Smart as a true figure of his age, certainly a pre-Romantic in some respects, and a lyric poet whose masterpiece was by no means independent of his other work nor his only good poetry.

In dealing with Smart it is perhaps impossible to be too cautious; the conflicting critical judgments on him are sufficient warning of the ease with which it is possible to misinterpret Smart. Among many difficulties in dealing with Smart, a few are especially worthy of mention. First, there is the obscurity of much of Smart's life. Christopher Hunter, to protect his uncle's memory, is often deliberately vague; Jubilate Agno, while often valuable, is enigmatic in the extreme. The dating and even the canon of Smart's poetry is uncertain. Many of the poems were published under pseudonyms; many were apparently first published

long after they had been written; some of Smart's work may still be hidden behind pseudonyms in The Student, The Midwife, and elsewhere. Since the poetry published after A Song to David is considerably better than Smart's earlier work, a consideration of Smart's life is necessary if one is to look for reasons, other than inspiration, for this dichotomy.

No complete study of the influences which shaped Smart's poetry has been made, nor has there been any full study of his poetic theory. One of the formative influences on Smart's poetry was the poetry and theory of Horace, but except for a brief study in Brittain's edition of Smart, no research has been undertaken along this line.<sup>5</sup> Only Blunden and Brittain have reprinted any of the Horace, and their selections total only twelve poems. Callan rather cavalierly dismisses the Horace from his edition of Smart's poetry.

Smart seems to be approached, even by the most recent writers, with an understanding that he is essentially enigmatic and set apart from his age. To say that Smart is a writer apart from his age is, however, to return to the old theory of divine madness. The failure to place Smart fully within his age comes from a failure fully to have studied Smart in relation to his age.

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<sup>5</sup>Mentions of Horace in works after Brittain clearly derive from him. Most commentators restrict themselves to a note on Smart's introduction to Horace.

A minor but suggestive point is that there has been no complete bibliography of Smart since 1902. Another suggestive point is that in both major editions of Smart--that of Callan and that of Brittain--there are significant errors in the text of the poetry. <sup>6</sup>

This paper will, therefore, attempt to establish a coherent biography of Smart, to study the major influences on his poetry, and to deduce his poetic theory. It will then survey the neglected but important verse translation of Horace in particular, in order to show how this work fits into Smart's age and how it has been turned into English poetry of a superior order.

The texts of the poems will be taken from Norman Callan's The Collected Poems of Christopher Smart (London, 1949), unless otherwise noted. Those poems not contained in Callan will be taken from Robert Brittain's Poems by Christopher Smart (Princeton, 1950). The text of Smart's A Translation of Horace. Translated into Verse will be from a microfilm of the Princeton University copy of the only edition ever published, a four volume edition issued in London in 1767. The text of Jubilate Agno is taken from the standard edition of W. H. Bond (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

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<sup>6</sup>Callan emends the final stanza of A Song to David so as to change its rhythm and meaning; no authority for such an emendation is given. Brittain has printed l. 223 for l. 133 in the Song.

## CHAPTER II

### THE LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER SMART

The life of Christopher Smart has been subject to a double peril. First, many of the facts are uncertain,<sup>1</sup> to a large extent because of the reticence of Smart's first biographer, Christopher Hunter. Second, the facts are subject to varied interpretation as the different biographers see Smart as a man who spent many hours brooding over "imaginary" injuries,<sup>2</sup> as egotistic and "pettifogging,"<sup>3</sup> or as "an overworked and frustrated genius" beset by unsympathetic relatives.<sup>4</sup> A careful considera-

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<sup>1</sup>Thus, while May 21, 1771, is accepted as the date of Smart's death, W. H. Bond (Jubilate Agno [London, 1954], p. 16) gives May 20, and the D.N.B., in its account of his daughter, Mrs. LeNoir (XI, 931), and Alexander Chalmers (The Works of the English Poets, XVI, 13) use May 18, 1770. Smart's latest biographer, Christopher Devlin (Poor Kit Smart [Carbondale, 1961], p. 192), gives May 20, 1771, as the "correct date" without documentation.

<sup>2</sup>W. F. Stead, ed., Rejoice in the Lamb (London, 1939), p. 45.

<sup>3</sup>Norman Callan, ed., The Collected Poems of Christopher Smart (London, 1949), I, xxviii.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Brittain, ed., Poems by Christopher Smart (Princeton, 1950), p. 38. Callan (I, xviii) and other commentators recognize the difficulty even when they do not avoid it.

tion of the facts of Smart's life as they have been discovered by modern scholarship, a consideration especially of the influences which worked upon Smart in each stage of his life, is necessary to avoid the major difficulties and to arrive at a just estimate of Smart and of his relation to his age. Precision is needed, above all, in attempting to estimate the influence of his madness upon his work.

Christopher Smart was born April 11, 1722, at Shipbourne, Kent, on the country estates of Lord Barnard. His delight in these early rural surroundings is seen in The Hop Garden.<sup>5</sup> His parents, Peter Smart and Winifred Griffiths, were married in 1720<sup>6</sup> or a little before.<sup>7</sup> Both sides of the family had a tradition of religious enthusiasm, a tradition of which Christopher was aware.<sup>8</sup> Among Peter Smart's ancestors was one Dr. Peter Smart, imprisoned for ten years under Charles I for his violent Puritanism; this Peter Smart in 1629 bequeathed an estate named Snotterton to his heirs.<sup>9</sup> Christopher's mother was a descendant

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<sup>5</sup>Li. 239-252.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas Seacombe, "Christopher Smart," D.N.B., XVIII, 386.

<sup>7</sup>Frederick Wood, "Christopher Smart," Englische Studien, LXXI (1936), 192.

<sup>8</sup>Devlin, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. The attribution of the estate to Peter Smart is only probable. It is the estate to which Smart refers in Jubilate Agne and with which Dr. Hawkesworth notes him concerned in 1764.

of Bernard Gilpin, "The Apostle of the North." As a younger son, Peter Smart had not inherited Snotterton but had been intended for the clergy. Instead he became steward of the Kentish estates of Christopher Vane, Lord Barnard, whose ancestral estates were at Raby Castle, at the then considerable income of £ 300 per year.<sup>10</sup>

In 1733 Peter Smart died and Christopher and his two sisters were sent to Raby Castle<sup>11</sup> or moved to Durham near Raby and spent their vacations at the castle.<sup>12</sup> His schooling was accomplished at Maidstone Grammar School and, after 1733, at Durham Grammar School.

During the years which Christopher spent at or in close association with Raby Castle, two events of lasting importance in the poet's life occurred. One was the awarding to Christopher of an annuity of £40 by the Duchess of Cleveland, mother-in-law of Henry Vane, Baron Barnard. At the death of the Duchess in 1742, Henry Vane continued the annuity until 1747 when Smart received his M.A. from Cambridge. The other event, the importance of which is more conjectural, was a love affair between Christopher Smart and Anne Vane, daughter of Henry Vane. The authority for the story

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<sup>10</sup>Christopher Hunter, The Poems of the Late Christopher Smart (Reading, 1791), I, vi. Cf. Wood, p. 191-92 n.

<sup>11</sup>Brittain, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup>Callan, I, xix; Devlin, p. 25.

is Mrs. LeNoir, Christopher's younger daughter.<sup>13</sup> Since Christopher was only thirteen at the time and Anne still younger, the interest of critics in an incident which consisted only of the poem "To Ethelinda" and of a plan for an elopement, might seem excessive, were it not that the incident seems to have left a permanent mark on Smart. In "Ode to Lord Barnard," first published in 1791 but probably written in 1753, Smart wrote of Anne Vane, who had married Charles Hope-Weir:

Hope, copyist of her mother's mind,  
Is loveliest, liveliest of her kind . . . .<sup>14</sup>

and in Jubilate Agno:

God be gracious to Anne Hope.<sup>15</sup>

For I saw a blush in Staindrop Church, which was  
of God's own colouring.  
For it was the benevolence of a virgin shown to  
me before the whole congregation.<sup>16</sup>

From these and other references to Anne, Brittain concludes that she "remained more constantly in his thoughts than any other woman."<sup>17</sup> What influence this thwarted and hopeless love affair

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<sup>13</sup>Letter to E. H. Barker in MS volume of E. H. Barker's Correspondence, vol. 3, 1832-1838, fol. 245 ff., in the Bodelian Library, cited by Brittain, pp. 9-10.

<sup>14</sup>L1. 45-56.

<sup>15</sup>S2, 1. 534.

<sup>16</sup>B2, 11. 668-69. These lines probably date from 1760.

<sup>17</sup>Brittain, p. 10.

had in Smart's eventual insanity is conjectural. It may have been significant, but certainly it was not an immediate cause.<sup>18</sup>

In 1739 Smart entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, supporting himself through the annuity from the Duchess of Cleveland and by acting as a sizar. The menial duties required here must have proved especially burdensome in contrast to the fairly affluent state of his family during his father's lifetime and to the friendly associations he enjoyed at Raby Castle. In 1742 Smart won the Graven Scholarship of £20 and the title of Scholar of the University. Hunter repeats, but with little credence, the story that Smart had translated Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" into Latin to win the prize.<sup>19</sup> Regardless of the truth of this story, Smart did write this translation in 1742-43 and sent it to Pope. In return Pope sent a letter which (although Hunter feels the praise is too frugal) must have been most encouraging to the young scholar-poet. Smart's pride in this letter is evident from his frequent references to it, as in the introduction to his 1767 Horace, and from the prominent position it has been given at his side--the signature of Pope clearly visible--in the Pembroke

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<sup>18</sup>Brittain suggests very tentatively that not only the association with Anne Vane but the general preponderance of feminine company in Smart's childhood may have been influential in Smart's eventual mental breakdown.

<sup>19</sup>Hunter, I, x.



College Library portrait of Smart. One hint in the letter, that Smart translate into Latin the "Essay on Criticism," Smart at once followed. A note of deep irony can be seen in the ending of Pope's letter: "Believe me, Sir, equally desirous of doing you any service, and afraid of engaging you in an art so little profitable, tho' so well deserving, as good poetry."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>21</sup>

About this time Smart received his Bachelor of Arts degree and left Cambridge briefly. In 1745 he returned and was appointed Fellow of Pembroke Hall. Later he became Praelector in Philosophy and was elected Keeper of the Common Chest. Altogether, by 1747 when Thomas Gray states in his letters that Smart is deeply in debt, his annual income was £140,<sup>22</sup> almost triple the amount Johnson computed in the Life of Savage as quite adequate for a family. By the end of 1747 Smart had been arrested for debt and only the most intense exertions of his associates were able to keep him from jail. To debts of £350, the College paid £28, Smart's fellows lent him £22, and his creditors agreed to accept the rest at a rate of £50 per year.<sup>23</sup> Between 1745, then, when

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<sup>20</sup>Quoted by Hunter, I, x-xi.

<sup>21</sup>Seccombe, 1742; Devlin, 1743; Brittain, 1744.

<sup>22</sup>Letter of Thomas Gray to Thomas Wharton, October 30, 1747, in Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, eds., Correspondence of Thomas Gray (Oxford, 1935), I, 274.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

his election as Keeper of the Common Chest showed not merely the liking of his fellows--their treatment of Smart shows that they always liked him--but their respect for him as well, and 1747, Smart's character seems to have deteriorated. No one has been able to explain precisely what brought about this change.

A number of events all seem to have contributed to Smart's financial difficulties. Brittain states that the cause of these problems was simply extravagance,<sup>24</sup> while Devlin compares Smart to a Bantu who is not merely unable to comprehend monetary value, but to whom fixed value and thrift seem positive evils.<sup>25</sup> Stead suggests that at least one important factor in the change in Smart's way of life was the marriage of Anne Vane in 1746.<sup>26</sup> Smart may have found his income reduced at this time, for during 1746 his mother was forced to sell her interest in the property in Kent.<sup>27</sup> During 1746 Smart became the tutor of one John Blake Delaval, later dismissed from college for smuggling a girl into his rooms. Delaval, however, seems to have held Smart in more respect than would have been true had Smart been a cooperater in his extravagances; further, the period of tutorship was very

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<sup>24</sup>Brittain, p. 16.

<sup>25</sup>Devlin, p. 43.

<sup>26</sup>Stead, p. 44.

<sup>27</sup>Brittain, p. 16.

short.<sup>28</sup> From this time also dates his "long and unsuccessful passion" for Harriet Pratt.<sup>29</sup> The real center of Smart's trouble seems to have been his inability to hold steady under success. In 1792 Dr. Charles Burney wrote, "While he was the pride of Cambridge, and the chief poetical ornament of that university, he ruined himself by returning the tavern treats of strangers, who had invited him as a wit, and an extraordinary personage, in order to boast of his acquaintance."<sup>30</sup> By 1747 Smart had written a fair number of poems, more in Latin than in English, and a play, A Trip to Cambridge, or The Grateful Fair. Additionally, Smart was noted throughout his life as a ready wit and an entertaining companion. Unused to the attention his success was commanding, Smart might very easily have become extravagant in trying to impress his new friends, the more so if the marriage of Anne Vane had upset him and if his income had dropped after he had become used to a fairly large one.<sup>31</sup>

The total collapse of Smart's financial situation was not

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<sup>28</sup>Devlin, p. 43.

<sup>29</sup>Hunter, I, xvi.

<sup>30</sup>Monthly Review, ser. 2, VII (Jan., 1792), 38.

<sup>31</sup>Callan, I, xxviii.

unexpected;<sup>32</sup> Smart's situation was, judging by Gray's letter, notorious, and Smart was removed from his college positions. Precisely what Smart then did is unknown; he may have gone to London, since he was absent from college between November 13, 1747, and December 31, 1747.<sup>33</sup> A London trip is suggested by his first appearance in London Magazine: "Idleness" in January, 1748.<sup>34</sup> Smart returned to Pembroke College, worked his way out of debt, and had his offices renewed.

Smart was now at a crux in his career. The life of a scholar at Cambridge was again open to him. Instead Smart chose London, probably in early 1749.<sup>35</sup>

The decision may have been a poor one, but it was not made without courage. Smart was breaking from a routine he knew and was moderately happy in, from a semi-monastic and protected

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<sup>32</sup>On March 17, Gray had written his amazingly accurate prophecy to Wharton: "[Smart] must come to a Jayl or Bedlam." Toynbee & Whibley, I, 273.

<sup>33</sup>Charles W. Abbott, "Christopher Smart's Madness," PMLA, XLV (Dec., 1930), 1015 n.

<sup>34</sup>Robert E. Brittain, "Christopher Smart in the Magazines," The Library, 4th series, XXI (1941), 326.

<sup>35</sup>Abbott (p. 1015) notes that there is no record of Smart having been in residence at Cambridge after June 8, 1749. Roland Botting ("Christopher Smart in London," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, VII [March, 1939], 5) suggests a date subsequent to March 9, 1749.

existence, and from an assured income. Smart was also, of necessity, breaking with the form of poetry that he had most engaged in. Until this time he had written translations of Pope and Milton into Latin, original poetry in Latin, and very formal, almost academic poems: "On Good Nature," "Idleness," "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," "On Taking a Bachelor's Degree," "On an Eagle Confined in College Court." Though these poems are sometimes derivative, they are polished; except for the fourth mentioned they are serious, dignified, and meditative, while the fourth is scholarly fun, not slapstick. On Grub Street Smart's poetry would change in style and in theme; he would be caught up in the Grub Street Wars and would write to wound; he would turn out more prose than poetry; above all, he would not have the time to polish his work. To foresee a mental breakdown for anyone attempting such a transition is not difficult. What does occasion surprise is that Smart was able to achieve a good deal of success in London. Only one piece of Smart's past life had in any way suggested that he would succeed on Grub Street--the picture given by Gray in his already cited letter of March 17, 1747, of Smart living in and enjoying the greatest confusion while preparing The Grateful Fair. Even this glimpse is incomplete, however, since only fragments of the play have survived. These suggest, however, a play in the vogue, and the vogue was to direct almost all Smart's writing for the next seven years.

Not a great deal is known of Smart's activities during the half of 1749 that he spent in London. Since he had corresponded with Charles Dodsley, the publisher, about the possibility of issuing a collection of poetry,<sup>36</sup> Smart would presumably have visited Dodsley. Since "Idleness" had been printed with a musical setting by Dr. William Boyce, Smart may also have made Boyce's acquaintance. By June, 1750, at least, Smart was sufficiently well-known in Boyce's Vauxhall Garden circle to have pieces produced there. In this circle Smart would have met Dr. Thomas Arne, who regulated the musical entertainment at Vauxhall; Jonathan Tyers, the owner and manager; his son, Thomas, whom Smart introduced to Johnson; Richard Rolt; William Hogarth; and, perhaps chiefly, Dr. Charles Burney, who was to become one of Smart's closest friends. Some measure of Smart's ability to inspire friendship is apparent in the efforts all of these men made to aid Smart in his later misfortunes; each man, for example, was a subscriber to Smart's translation of the Psalms in 1765.

Either in 1749 or 1750 Smart met John Newbery, who was an odd combination of bookseller and seller of patent medicines. With his profession of bookseller, Newbery was also a publisher (most notably of children's books) though the actual printing

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<sup>36</sup>Sir Edmund Gosse, "Christopher Smart," TLS, May 27, 1926, p. 355.

was handled by his step-son, Thomas Carnan. (The character of John Newbery has been represented most favorably by every commentator on Smart except Robert Brittain; Brittain's harsh judgment seems an example of the singular ability of Smart to inspire commentators on him to take sides for him or against him.) Newbery began to publish a magazine The Student, or the Oxford Monthly Miscellany, in January, 1750, to which Bonnell Thornton and George Colman seem to have been the chief contributors. In the issue of June 30, 1750, the sub-title was expanded to include "Cambridge," and contributions by Smart began to appear;<sup>37</sup> these contributions continued until The Student's demise in July, 1751.<sup>38</sup> In this publication and even more so in The Midwife, Smart followed a habit which has made any attempt to determine his poetic production quite hazardous.<sup>39</sup> Smart proliferated pseudonyms: Mary Midnight, Zosirus Zephyr, Ebenezer Pentreagle, and others.<sup>40</sup> One reason for this habit was that Smart was far and away the principal contributor to The

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<sup>37</sup>Brittain, "Christopher Smart in the Magazines," p. 327.

<sup>38</sup>Botting, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup>Brittain lists several poems in Selected Poems which Callan has not included in The Collected Poems; attributions of other poems have been made, but none conclusively.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Callan, I, xiii, for the complete list.

Midwife, which he had begun in conjunction with Newbery on October 16, 1750, and the pseudonyms were necessary to avoid giving the impression of a one-man magazine.

The Midwife was to survive for three years, although greatly neglected in 1753, and was apparently to supply Smart with sufficiently good prospects for him to marry Anna Maria Carnan, Newbery's step-daughter, some time in this period. Smart had to produce approximately fifty octavo pages each month, however, to continue the miscellany, for the presumption must be that, barring definite knowledge of another author for a particular piece, every-  
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thing in The Midwife was written by Smart.

More important for Smart's poetic career, however, than the financial success of The Midwife was the fact that its values and its demands forced Smart away from his natural bent as a serious, religious poet. The nature of The Midwife can be seen from this excerpt from its title page:

The Midwife, or the Old Women's Magazine  
Containing all the Wit, and all the Humour, and all the Learning, and all the Judgement, that has ever been or ever will be inserted in all the other Magazines, or the Magazine of Magazines, or the Grand Magazine of Magazines, or any other Book whatsoever: So that those who buy this Book will need no other.

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<sup>41</sup>The most recent statement on this point is that of Devlin, p. 54.: "Smart himself did nearly all the actual writing, perhaps with occasional help from Rolt or Thornton or Murphy."



The quality of The Midwife is, naturally enough, uneven. Comments on it range from "delightful" and "caustic"<sup>42</sup> to "determined triviality" and "ephemeral juvenility."<sup>43</sup> It was, at any rate, successful in establishing Smart's reputation as a wit and even today remains quite readable.

Smart's reputation as a serious poet during the period was dependent on quite another source, his Seatonian Prize Poems.<sup>44</sup> The first of these, "On the Eternity of the Supreme Being" (which won the first Seatonian prize, offered in April, 1750) may have brought Smart to the attention of Newbery if they were not already acquainted. The Seaton prize was a quite considerable £30 and was, by the terms of the will of Thomas Seaton, open to any Cambridge graduate writing on an attribute of the Divine perfection to be specified by a prize committee. Smart carried off the prize in 1750-53 and in 1755, the only years in which he competed. The prestige that this prize conferred can be seen in the action of the Fellows of Pembroke Hall in allowing Smart to

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<sup>42</sup>Brittain, Collected Poems, p. 24.

<sup>43</sup>Devlin, p. 54.

<sup>44</sup>The Horatian Canons of Friendship, his other serious effort during his period, is an imitation done in the manner of Pope and published by Newbery in 1750. It is rather ineffectual in its handling of the heroic couplet and in its satire. It seems to have attracted little critical notice.

be carried on their rolls even after his marriage became known in 1753, on condition that he continue to write for the Seaton prize.

Today, the poems do not seem as impressive as they did to Smart's contemporaries. In 1750 it was probably inevitable that any poem on Divine abstractions should be written in Milton's blank verse, but the form was not a successful one for Smart. Technically, however, Smart handles the form adequately. The difficulty with the poems seems to be that they are imitative in style, that the total work remains, in spite of particular concrete imagery, very abstract, and that they were composed as exercises for a prize.<sup>45</sup> The last difficulty can be seen by comparing the first two of the following lines with the last.

Who made and who preserves whatever dwells  
 In air, in steadfast earth, or fickle sea.  
 O he is good, he is immensely good!<sup>46</sup>

From December 3, 1751 to May 23, 1752, Smart, Rolt, and Newbery engaged in a series of successful stage productions, Mother Midnight's Entertainments, in which Smart probably acted at least the part of Mary Midnight.<sup>47</sup> Originally conceived as an aid to

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<sup>45</sup>Smart was essentially a religious poet, it is true, but at this time his only religious writing was done for a prize. Further, the last and least successful of these poems was written at a time when Smart's financial affairs were certainly pressing.

<sup>46</sup>"On the Goodness of the Supreme Being," ll. 79-81.

<sup>47</sup>Botting, pp. 23-28.

the circulation of The Midwife, the entertainments became so popular<sup>48</sup> that Smart was financially able to discontinue the magazine after it had made a few sporadic appearances in the spring of 1752.

It has been assumed by several critics that Smart was confined to Bedlam for a short time in 1751. This opinion is apparently due to a misinterpretation by Sir Edmund Gosse of a letter of Gray to Walpole in October, 1751. Sir Edmund takes a reference in this letter to a man who is "lousy" and "mad" as a reference to Smart.<sup>49</sup> This opinion has been refuted by D. C. Tovey,<sup>50</sup> who proposes the "mad Attorney," Lawman, as the object of the letter. Additionally, Smart was too active in 1751 for him to have been confined.

In 1752 Smart became embroiled in a Grub Street war with Fielding, Johnson, Arthur Murphy, and Thornton against "Sir" John Hill. Smart may have entered the battle because of an unfavorable review in the Monthly Review which he thought (possibly erroneously) had been written by Hill.<sup>51</sup> It is more likely that

<sup>48</sup>They were revived until 1760. Botting, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup>Sir Edmund Gosse, Gossip in a Library (London: 1913), p. 154.

<sup>50</sup>D. C. Tovey, "Christopher Smart and the Madhouse," N&Q, 10th ser., III (March 25, 1905), 221-22.

<sup>51</sup>Chalmers, p. 8.

he decided to enter because, as a friend of Fielding, he was attacked by Hill. Smart's production against Hill was The Hilliad, as the name suggests an imitation of The Dunciad, complete with introductory material and notes variorum by Murphy. <sup>52</sup>

Probably in the same year Smart married Anna Maria Carnan, step-daughter of Newbery. In view of the character of Anna Maria Carnan (who bore Smart's eldest daughter, Mary Ann, May 3, 1753), the traditional date for the marriage, 1753, is almost certainly false, the more so as two valid reasons can be found for the marriage being kept secret. Smart was still receiving some money as a Fellow of Pembroke, an income which must cease on his marriage; Anna Maria was a Catholic and the marriage was probably performed in the Catholic chapel, St. Mary Moorfield, <sup>53</sup> the records of which were destroyed in the Gordon Riots.

The Smarts continued to live at Canonbury House, Islington, where Newbery kept rooms for his authors. Here Smart's second daughter, Elizabeth (later Mrs. LeNoir), was born November 25, 1754. Smart's output was very small during 1754. He was working

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<sup>52</sup> Jesse Foot, The Life of Arthur Murphy, Esq. (London: 1811), p. 106, quoted by R. B. Botting, "Christopher Smart's Association with Arthur Murphy," JEGP, XLIII (Jan., 1944), 52.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the marriage and especially of the religion of Miss Carnan at the time of her marriage, cf. Devlin, pp. 65-67.

on his Fables during part of the time, but he was probably sick as well. (This was his second serious illness since he had been in London, the earlier occurring in 1752.<sup>54</sup>) Smart's failure to write a Seatonian poem for the first time in five years indicates that the illness was a serious one.

For several years now, Smart's output had been slight; the rather substantial funds which he earned during his first years in London were gone and he and his family were in financial difficulties. To make money Smart turned out a prose translation of Horace (still used by schoolboys) for £100, of which he received only £13, the remainder having been advanced by Newbery for the care of Smart's family.<sup>55</sup>

Newbery was at this time also advertising Smart's Fables, which he never printed; the most likely reason for the failure to print this book was that Smart was unable to finish sufficient fables to fill out a publishable book. Nevertheless, Smart had for some reason come to a rupture with Newbery; in 1756 he and Richard Rolt contracted with the booksellers Gardner and Allen to

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<sup>54</sup>"Ode to a Virginia Nightingale," in Callan, I, 130, is subtitled "which was cured of a fit in the bosom of a young lady, who afterwards nursed the author in a dangerous illness." The young lady was presumably Anna Maria Carnan.

<sup>55</sup>Hunter, I, xxv. The account may, however, be inaccurate since it is based on Smart's recollection of the event in 1764.

write a periodical, The Universal Visiter. The contract was exclusive and for a period of ninety-nine years.<sup>56</sup> When Smart became ill after the third issue, a number of his friends, particularly Samuel Johnson, took over his duties in order to provide funds for Smart's family, but the magazine failed. There was apparently no thought that the illness would be more severe than the previous ones--which had allowed Smart to write his final Seatonian poem in 1755 and the Hymn to the Supreme Being, which celebrated his recovery. Actually Smart's disease was insanity, for which he was eventually to be committed not to be released until 1762 or 1763.

Whether the earlier illnesses were fits of insanity is unknown, nor is it known precisely in what Smart's insanity consisted. A weakened constitution, overindulgence in alcohol, overwork under financial stress, and growing religious mania, possibly complicated by feelings of guilt over wasted years of ephemeral writing--all contributed to Smart's mania.

Smart gives some information about his illness in Hymn to

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<sup>56</sup>The story of Smart's connection with The Universal Visiter and of the terms of the contract has been discussed by R. B. Botting, "Johnson, Smart, and The Universal Visiter," MP, xxxvi (1939), 293-300, and Claude Jones, "Christopher Smart, Richard Rolt, and The Universal Visiter," Library, xviii (1937), 212-214.

the Supreme Being, published in 1756, in which he offers thanks for his recovery from the illness of the previous year. In this poem Smart refers three times to a loss of reason during his illness:

When reason left me in my time of need,  
And sense was lost in terror or in trance . . . .<sup>57</sup>

And exil'd reason takes her seat again--<sup>58</sup>

My mind lay open to the powers of night.<sup>59</sup>

Ainsworth and Noyes, however, argue that these passages should be interpreted metaphorically. They argue that the illness of 1755 was "certainly different from the aberration that later led to his confinement."<sup>60</sup>

The Hyman to the Supreme Being is significant poetically as well as biographically. It is the first of Smart's religious poems in London which escapes the influence of Milton which had been so prominent in the Beatonian poems. The poem is by no means a great one; its major flaw is the almost bathetic quality

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<sup>57</sup>Ll. 21-22. Brittain's text is preferable to that of Callan, for an introductory letter by Smart concerning his illness is included.

<sup>58</sup>L. 46.

<sup>59</sup>L. 70.

<sup>60</sup>Edward J. Ainsworth and Charles E. Noyes, Christopher Smart, a Biographical and Critical Study (Columbia, 1943), p. 90.

of some references such as those to his family in stanza IX. Smart's ability to transmute intense emotion into poetry is evident, as in stanzas IX, XV, and XVI, even in this poem. The Hymn's unevenness is perhaps proof that his critical faculty never did quite recover before his commitment. As it stands, the Hymn seems most important for indicating that Smart turned naturally from illness to religious poetry and that he was escaping from the shadow that the genius of Milton threw over much Eighteenth Century religious poetry. (The concluding Alexandrine in each stanza suggests Spenser or his followers.)

That Smart became insane in 1756 is certain. The progression and seriousness of the disease and the progress of Smart's recovery are most uncertain. Part of the difficulty is due to the extreme diffidence (or studied vagueness) with which Hunter writes of Smart's illness:

Though the fortune as well as the constitution of Mr. Smart required the utmost care, he was equally negligent in the management of both, and his various and repeated embarrassments acting upon an imagination uncommonly fervid, produced temporary alienations of mind, which were at last attended with paroxysms<sup>61</sup> so violent as to render confinement necessary . . . .

There are frequent references to Smart's alienation of mind in the writings and recorded conversations of those who knew

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<sup>61</sup>Hunter, I, xx.



him--Panny Burney, Charles Burney, Mrs. Piozzi, Gray, Mason, Boswell, Johnson. Johnson can serve as an example of how little these references contribute to an understanding of Smart's condition, apart from the brute fact that Smart was mad.

Boswell quotes a conversation between Johnson and Burney:

BURNEY. "How does poor Smart do, sir; is he likely to recover?" JOHNSON. "It seems as if his mind had ceased to struggle with the disease, for he grows fat upon it."<sup>62</sup>

Johnson here seems to imply that Smart was hopelessly insane.

Yet in the same conversation he continues:

I did not think he ought to be shut up. His infirmities were not noxious to society. He insisted on people praying with him; and I'd as lief pray with Kit Smart as anyone else. Another charge was, that he did not love clean linen; and I have no passion for it.<sup>63</sup>

The implication is that Smart was not in a greatly deranged state, although it could be inferred that Johnson thought Smart harmless when he was originally confined, but that Smart's condition had since deteriorated.

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<sup>62</sup>George Birkbeck Hill, Boswell's Life of Johnson (Oxford, 1887), I, 397.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid. The date of this conversation is unknown. Although Boswell entered it along with material from May 24, 1763, he was explicit that it occurred "at another time." If Johnson visited Smart about August 24, 1762, as Smart's blessing of Johnson in Jubilate Agno suggests to Devlin (p. 129), the talk with Burney could logically have taken place around this time. But it may be identical with that Mrs. Thrale records for 1760 (K. C. Balderston, Thraliana [London, 1951], I, 176).

Several suggestions have been given above for the cause of Smart's mania. The form, as Johnson stated, was that of religious mania. Smart's testimony in Jubilate Agno recalls Johnson's statement.

For I blessed God in St. James's Park till  
I routed all the company.  
For the officers of the peace are at variance with me,  
and the watchman smites me with his staff.

Contemporary opinion may have laid his condition primarily to drunkenness. Again Johnson may represent the usual opinion of the time; "Indeed, before his confinement, he used for exercise to walk to the alehouse, but he was carried back again."<sup>64</sup> This is also Hunter's judgment; Smart's faults chiefly were occasioned by his "deviations from the rules of sobriety."<sup>65</sup> Chalmers, who uniquely does not think that Smart was mad, believes Smart's confinement was simply to enable Smart to regain his health and forcibly to separate him from drink.<sup>66</sup>

The exact duration and place of Smart's confinement is uncertain, except for the period May 6, 1757 to May 11, 1758,<sup>67</sup> during which he was confined in St. Luke's Hospital. Before this time he was kept confined at some private lodgings. The

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>Hunter, I, xxx.

<sup>66</sup>Chalmers, p. 10.

<sup>67</sup>stead, p. 292.

first private confinement may have begun as early as January, 1756,<sup>68</sup> but more probably occurred after Smart ceased to write for The Universal Visitor in April of that year. The records of St. Luke's indicate that Smart was discharged as "incurable."<sup>69</sup> "Incurable" may not have meant that Smart still continued in the condition for which he was at first admitted. Dr. William Battie, the head of St. Luke's, believed mental disorders were either "consequential," temporary, or "original," innate and incurable. If Smart believed that he had been given a mission to purify and restore the worship of the Church of England, Battie would have listed him as insane however reasonable his behavior might have seemed. For Battie insanity was a belief in a thing that was not really there; Smart's belief in a divine mission entrusted to him would be non-verifiable, non-objective,<sup>70</sup> and therefore insane.

After his release from St. Luke's Hospital, Smart was again

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<sup>68</sup> Abbott, p. 1016. The argument is based on the signs of the Zodiac mentioned in Smart's "An Epistle to John Sherratt, Esq." (Callan, I, 211, l. 20.).

<sup>69</sup> Stead, p. 292.

<sup>70</sup> Devlin, p. 90-96. The theory depends on Devlin's analysis of the nature of Smart's religious views, and this analysis, however probable, cannot be proved. External evidence is lacking; the analysis depends entirely on interpretation of Smart's poetry, and other interpretations cannot be excluded.

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confined in private lodgings. David Garrick presented Merope and The Guardian for Smart's benefit on January 26, 1757, while Smart's old associates presented "Mrs. Midnight's Oratory" for him in 1760. Just where Smart was at these times is not known. The stir of activity by his friends in 1759 may suggest that Smart may have been again at liberty <sup>72</sup> but there are other, more probable reasons for this activity.

These reasons require first a mention of Jubilate Agno. This manuscript, incomplete, was discovered, edited, and published by Mr. William Force Stead in 1929. It was re-edited in 1954 by Mr. W. H. Bond under new principles of organization that he had discovered. Apart from its interest as poetry, Jubilate Agno (the title is Bond's; Stead used Rejoice in the Lamb) is a record of Smart's last years in confinement. Its biographical importance is enormous on these counts at least: comments by Smart which reveal, often obscurely, his life and personal relationships during these years; lists of names of Smart's friends; recording of the growth of a new direction in Smart's poetry. A fourth use of Jubilate Agno may be to clarify the obscure later years of his confinement.

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<sup>71</sup>Devlin suggests Dr. Battie's private sanitarium, p. 96 n.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

Much of Jubilate Agno is dated; working from these dates (which establish a definite method in Smart's daily amount of composition), Mr. Arthur Sherbo arrived at a theoretical date for the beginning of the poem, March 16, 1759.<sup>73</sup> Mr. Sherbo concluded that the poem comprised a chronological record of Smart's confinement from his entrance into the sanitarium until his release, which, again extending the poem's dating, would have been shortly after January 12, 1763.<sup>74</sup> The composition of the poem over a four-year period suggests that such major events did mark its beginning and end.

In 1759, according to advertisements discovered in the London Daily Advertiser by Robert Brittain,<sup>75</sup> Anna Maria Smart had moved to Dublin and opened a shop. If Smart had been living with his family or at private lodgings maintained by them since his release from St. Luke's, such an arrangement could no longer be maintained. Quite possibly, therefore, Garrick's benefit was to raise money for the care of Smart in another private sanitarium.

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<sup>73</sup>Arthur Sherbo, "The Dating and Order of the Fragments of Christopher Smart's Jubilate Agno." Harvard Library Bulletin, X (Spring, 1956), 205.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Brittain, Poems, p. 36.

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This sanitarium in Chelsea may have been Turlington's House.

From the latter months of Jubilata Agno it appears that Smart had easy access to newspapers or other periodicals. In 1761 a few poems began to appear in the magazines. These facts suggest that Smart was rapidly recovering. The manner of Smart's release is unknown. Perhaps, since private asylums and Turlington in particular were under Parliamentary investigation during January, 1763, some of Smart's friends simply walked in and brought him

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out. These friends were, from the evidence of Smart's "An Epistle to John Sherratt, Esq.," Sherratt, Rolt, and a woman identified by Devlin as Miss Sheeles. Rolt was Smart's associate on The Universal Visitor; Sherratt, a philanthropic London merchant; James Sheeles, linked by Smart with Charles Churchill, was a clergyman. Sheeles and Churchill would seem to have had little in common except an interest in the condition of London madhouses. Churchill, especially, was close to the investigation of the House of Commons into these private asylums through his

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<sup>76</sup>Balderston, I, 176.

<sup>77</sup>Devlin, p. 117.

<sup>78</sup>Arthur Sherbo, "Christopher Smart, Reader of Obituaries," MLN, LXXXI (1956), 177-82.

<sup>79</sup>Devlin, p. 133.

<sup>80</sup>P. 132. Miss Sheeles was a sister of James Sheeles.

friendship with Sir Francis Westwood, head of the investigating committee, and John Wilkes--whom Smart also knew--one of the members.<sup>81</sup>

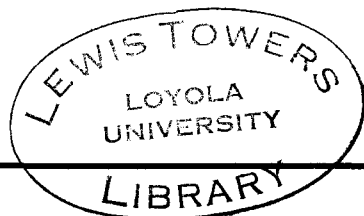
The Smart who emerged from the madhouse was not the same as the man who had entered it seven years before. Though he was to lapse into the same improvidence which had plagued him earlier, his poetry and his outlook on life had changed. Though the praying in the street had ceased, religion had become the center of Smart's life and of his poetry. This conversion must have reminded Smart's acquaintances of the religious eccentricities which occasioned his confinement. Boswell, in a letter to Sir David Dalrymple, July 30, 1763, probably represents the views of many when he says that Smart has been "relieved from his confinement, but not from his unhappy disorder. However, he has it not in any great height . . ."<sup>82</sup>

After his release Smart became extremely active. In 1763 were published A Song to David, which was reviewed unfavorably, Poems, and Poems on Several Occasions. A Song to David is Smart's acknowledged masterpiece, but the opinion of such nineteenth cen-

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<sup>81</sup>Devlin, p. 129-130.

<sup>82</sup>Letters of James Boswell, ed., Chauncey Brewster Tinker (Oxford, 1924), I, 38-39.



tury commentators as Browning that it was a singular stroke of mad genius is no longer tenable. The more that Smart's work has been studied, and especially since the discovery of Jubilate Agno, the more it has become clear that the Song grew out of Smart's entire body of serious poetry.

His activity was not as prodigious as it might seem since many of these poems had already been published in magazines in the 1750's. Still, the amount of work testified to his health and energy. The only real sign of frayed nerves is Smart's sensitiveness to his poor reviews; unlike his battle with Hill a decade before, Smart shows more querulousness than zest during this fight. His resentment was especially awkward at this time because it destroyed his chance of obtaining good reviews, even though he was now producing his best poetry. The case of A Song to David is instructive; fifty years later Chalmers was to print only a few stanzas in his introduction to Smart's work because he could find only those fragments. Hunter omitted it

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<sup>83</sup>cf. Ainsworth and Noyes, pp. 110-116.

<sup>84</sup>The Critical Review, XVI (Nov., 1763), 395, said "But we will say no more of Mr. Smart: Peace be to the manes of his departed muse." The Monthly Review, XXIX (Nov., 1763), 398, implied that it would not review Smart in the future. In point of fact, neither magazine reviewed Smart fully or fairly in the future.

<sup>85</sup>Chalmers, p. 13.



entirely from his edition of Smart because it bore "too melancholy proofs" of the "estrangement" of Smart's mind,<sup>86</sup> an opinion initiated by the 1763 reviews.<sup>87</sup>

Smart had conceived the idea of a metrical translation of the Psalms while still in confinement, had advertised for subscriptions in 1763, and was working on them in 1764. During the same year he was beginning his verse translation of Horace. Both projects were vast in scope; Smart had, therefore, an extremely busy year despite publishing little. Hannah, an oratorio, was produced at King's Theater, but was his only work published in 1764.

During 1764 Dr. John Hawkesworth paid the visit to Smart which he recorded in a letter to Mrs. Hunter, Smart's sister, and which Hunter later printed. The letter gives a vivid picture of an industrious, optimistic, at least comfortably prosperous, and cheerful man, cheerful until Hawkesworth mentioned Smart's family. Smart was extremely bitter against his family, both his blood-relatives and his relatives by marriage. The fact that the elder Mrs. Smart and Mrs. Hunter were forced to rely on Hawkesworth for news, and the tone of a letter in which Mrs. Hunter told Anna

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<sup>86</sup>Hunter, I, xliii.

<sup>87</sup>The Monthly Review, XXVIII (April, 1763), 321, initiated the famous story of the Song being indited with a key on a wall of a cell in Bedlam.

Maria Smart of the death of Christopher's mother make it clear that Smart had never visited his wife, sister, or mother after his release. The reasons can only be conjectured.

If Smart considered himself an Apostle of the English Church, he must now have resented Anna Maria's religion; much more he must have despised the idea of his daughters being educated in a French convent. Smart may have regarded Anna Maria's departure for Ireland in 1759 as a desertion, forgetting his own condition and the family necessities at the time. When Anna Maria returned to England in 1762, she came not to London, but to Reading, where Newbery established her as proprietor of the Reading Mercury. The letter of Mrs. Hunter mentioned above makes it clear that Smart's mother and sister were on very affectionate terms with Anna Maria; this affection may have alienated Smart. With Newbery Smart had obviously been at odds in 1755-56 as The Universal Visitor and Smart's account to Hawkesworth of the prose Horace attest. Smart also felt that the estate at Snotterton should come to him, despite the apparent lack of entail. Though he had apparently signed a quit-claim at the request of his mother as an August 13, 1759, entry in Jubilate Agno certifies (and this request may have caused him eventually to break with his mother), he still felt he

had title to the estate. Less clear grounds for resentment are several puzzling references in Jubilate Agno which imply that his wife had been unfaithful and Newbery's will, which explicitly removed him from any share in Anna Maria's inheritance.

The long promised Psalms appeared in 1765 with an eleven-page list of subscribers, a tribute to the ability of Smart to make and hold friends, as well as to his poetic reputation. Smart's version of the Psalms is greatly expanded (he customarily gives a stanza to each verse) and considerably altered (he "Christianizes" the Psalms by substituting, for example, forgiveness for retribution). Although the poetic merit is great in many of Smart's versions, the critical reception was poor, partially because Smart had antagonized the magazines two years before and partially because Smart had been anticipated by the publication of a more exact version by James Merrick. Still, the subscriptions should have made the Psalms a financial success. Since he received a £50 pension in this same year, Smart should have remained in comfortable circumstances. Instead, as many letters dated from

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<sup>89</sup>Devlin, pp. 177-181.

<sup>90</sup>The entire will of John Newbery is published as an appendix to C. Welsh, A Bookseller of the Last Century (London, 1885), pp. 161, ff.

<sup>91</sup>Hunter, I, xxii.

1766 state, he was in great want.

The problems of 1746-47 at Cambridge and of 1754-56 at London had apparently returned. Despite the best efforts of Smart and of his friends, he was to sink irretrievably into debt and go to debtors' prison.

Before this time, however, one major work and several lesser ones remained. The lesser works were a Poetical Translation of Phaedrus, an undistinguished work intended for children (1765), Abimelech, an oratorio (1768), Parables of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, generally poor doggerel but with childlike faith in the better poems (1768), and Hymns for the Amusement of Children, pleasing and deservedly popular (1770).

The one major work from these last years was The Works of Horace, published in four volumes in 1767. The volumes contained the Latin originals, Smart's 1755 prose translation, and his new verse translation.<sup>93</sup> Both as English poetry and as a translation much of the Horace was admirable, but by 1767 the periodicals were ignoring Smart and the publication was barely mentioned. It was never reprinted.

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<sup>92</sup>Cecil Price, "Six Letters by Christopher Smart." RES, new ser., VIII (May, 1957), 144-48; Brittain, Poems, pp. 53-54; Devlin, pp. 170-71.

<sup>93</sup>A full description of this work is given in Appendix C.

The last few years of Smart's life can be briefly covered. They consist of unavailing efforts of his friends to supply his debts; an annual fund was started in 1767,<sup>94</sup> and individual instances of charity are recorded in the memoirs of the time.<sup>95</sup> One pleasing note occurred during this time: he was reconciled in 1769 with his brother-in-law, Thomas Carnan, who was to remain one of his most loyal friends<sup>96</sup> and who printed the Hymns for Children.

In 1770 Smart was arrested for debt (£30 to one James Bright, but there were other recorded debts totalling £220), committed to King's Bench Prison, tried for the debt in February, 1771, and recommitted to prison on the jury's verdict.<sup>97</sup> Meanwhile, Carnan and Burney had obtained for him the freedom of "the rules"--a concession which allowed him limited freedom in the area immediately around the prison.<sup>98</sup> In the rules of King's Bench Prison Christopher Smart died, May 21, 1771,<sup>99</sup> after a brief illness "of

<sup>94</sup>Devlin, p. 171.

<sup>95</sup>Devlin, pp. 182-191 records a number of these, but each biography of Smart concludes with little else to mention.

<sup>96</sup>Brittain, Poems, pp. 53-54.

<sup>97</sup>Devlin, pp. 189-191.

<sup>98</sup>Hunter, I, xxvii.

<sup>99</sup>Gentlemaens Magazine, XLI (May, 1771), 239.

a disorder of the liver."<sup>100</sup> About Christopher Smart's death and burial the same confusion exists as surrounded most of his life. Although his burial is placed by most writers in St. Paul's Churchyard,<sup>101</sup> his latest biographers can find no record of Smart's<sup>102</sup> being buried there. He has no epitaph except his poems.

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<sup>100</sup>Hunter, I, xxvii.

<sup>101</sup>E.g., Brittain, Poems, p. 56.

<sup>102</sup>Devlin, p. 192.

## CHAPTER III

### INFLUENCES ON CHRISTOPHER SMART

There is no record of Smart having ever stated that there had been any direct influence on his poetry. Any influences on him must therefore be determined through a study of his life and of the content and technique of his poetry. It is necessary to remember in such a study that Smart's poetry falls generally into two classes, separated by his madness, and that while certain influences permeate his entire career, some either belong exclusively to one section or are far more prominent in one.

The influences most marked in Smart's later career and in his best poetry are those of David<sup>1</sup> and of Horace. These influences can be seen developing even in the pre-1756 poetry but operate most clearly as Smart's poetry becomes more serious.

It seems probable that Smart identified himself with David. In Jubilate Agno Smart says, "For by the grace of God I am the

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<sup>1</sup>Since Smart considered David to be the author of the Psalms, the anonymous poets who actually authored them will be referred to as David.

Reviver of ADORATION amongst ENGLISH MEN."<sup>2</sup> The praise of David in A Song to David revolves precisely around this point: that David was above all others the poet of adoration. Smart's argument on the worth of adoration is seen especially after line 295. Thus in lines 289-291 Smart points out the high rank of David:

O David, highest in the list  
Of worthies, on God's ways insist,  
The genuine word repeat.

Smart reaffirms the high position of David in lines 301-303:

For ADORATION all the ranks  
Of angels yield eternal thanks,  
And David in the midst.

The excellence of adoration, the burden of David's song, had already been affirmed by Smart.

Praise above all--for praise prevails;  
Heap up the measure, load the scales,  
And good to goodness add:  
The generous soul her saviour aids,  
But peevish obloquy degrades;  
The Lord is great and glad.<sup>3</sup>

The "generous soul" is, of course, David, whose Psalms were written in the praise of God and whom Smart has already called "best man,"<sup>4</sup> whose eternal theme was God.<sup>5</sup> Yet in a sense this "generous

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<sup>2</sup>B2, l. 333.

<sup>3</sup>L1. 300-305.

<sup>4</sup>L. 23.

<sup>5</sup>L. 57.



soul" is Smart himself. The rhetorical commands of line 296 are put into practice by Smart. Through the next twenty-one stanzas, one hundred and twenty-six lines, Smart writes a great hymn in praise of adoration, seeing adoration as the source of life, sometimes, indeed, of all things in the universe. Smart "heaps up" a long catalogue of creation--mineral, vegetable, bird, animal, man and his works, angels--who are like in this, that all their actions are for the adoration of God.

Smart's identification of himself with David goes back much farther in time. The Seatonian Ode for 1755, On the Goodness of the Supreme Being, begins:

Orpheus, for so the Gentiles call'd thy name,  
 Israel's sweet psalmist, . . .  
     in this breast  
 Some portion of thy genuine spirit breathe,  
 And lift me from myself; each thought impure  
 Banish, each low idea raise, refine,  
 Enlarge, and sanctify;--so shall the muse  
 Above the stars aspire, and aim to praise  
 Her God on earth, as he is prais'd in heaven.<sup>6</sup>

The idea of connecting David and the purification of the poet, made explicit here, recurs in less controlled form in the Hymn to the Supreme Being, which was separated from this Ode by the serious illness of 1755-56.

These notions of the similarity of Smart and David, bound

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<sup>6</sup>Ll. 1-17.

together by their hymning the adoration of God, can be seen  
 seminally in earlier Seatonian odes:

May then the youthful, uninspired Bard  
 Presume to hymn th' Eternal; may he soar  
 Where seraph, and where Cherubim on high  
 Resound th' unceasing plaudits, and with them  
 In the grand Chorus mix his feeble voice.

'Tis then the human tongue new-tongu'd shall give  
 Praises more worthy the eternal ear.  
 Yet what we can, we ought;--and therefore, Thou,  
 Purge thou my heart, Omnipotent and Good!  
 Purge thou my heart with hyssop, lest like Cain  
 I offer fruitless sacrifice, with gifts  
 Offend, and not propitiate the Ador'd.<sup>8</sup>

Once more I dare to rouse the sounding string,  
The poet of my God--Awake my glory,  
Awake my lute and harp . . .<sup>9</sup>

"Tremble, thou Earth!" th' anointed poet said.  
 "At God's bright presence, tremble, all ye mountains,  
 And all ye bullecks on the surface bound."  
 Then once again, ye glorious thunders roll,  
 The Muse with transport hears ye . . .<sup>10</sup>

The pairing of himself with David was a result of the religious bent of Smart's poetry, not a cause. Smart's interest in David may, however, have determined the precise direction of his religious poetry, toward the theme of adoration rather than toward

<sup>7</sup>On the Eternity of the Supreme Being, ll. 13-17.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., ll. 124-35. Italics mine.

<sup>9</sup>On the Immensity of the Supreme Being, ll. 1-3.

<sup>10</sup>On the Power of the Supreme Being, ll. 1-5.

that of penitence. Smart's interest in David also seems to have determined much of the technique of his later poetry. From the Psalms and from Hebrew poetry in general, Smart learned the qualities of sublimity, compression, parallelism, the catalogue,<sup>11</sup> and a certain antiphonal quality.

These qualities are Miltonic in nature as well as Hebraic. They are taken here as deriving from David for three reasons: Smart's adaptation of the Miltonic style was essentially a matter of externals; these qualities are listed by Lowth, whose work was carefully studied by Smart, as Hebraic; these qualities perdure throughout the whole of Smart's serious poetry, whereas the overt Miltonic qualities (considered below) belong to the period of the Seatonian odes.

The quality of sublimity is a difficult one to define. Brittain says, "It is partly accounted for by the subject matter, and is increased by such typically Hebraic material as the concern with angels, demons, and the chosen people ideology."<sup>12</sup> But to say this is not to say what the sublimity is. It can be best seen in the final three stanzas of the Song to David, though it occurs throughout the Song, in parts of the Jubilate Agno, and in other

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<sup>11</sup>Brittain, Poems, pp. 66-67.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

post-1763 poems, as in the last stanza in Hymn XXXII.

In the last three stanzas of the Song, the subject matter accounts for something of the sense of sublimity: Smart mentions the sun, stars, comets, northern lights, ocean, thunder, prayer martyrs, war, and God. The small things of nature and the daily life of man are included as Smart moves to the "stupendous truth" of the Incarnation. More important than the subject matter is the relationship that even the most awful aspects of nature are seen to have to the still more tremendous God. So line 500 ("Glorious th' assembled fires appear.") does not contain a mere periphrasis for stars. Smart is quite deliberately noting that behind the almost infinite number of stars there is a guiding intelligence which can order these numbers and to which the immense expanse of stars seem "assembled." After the "trumpet and alarm" of the clash of armies in line 502, line 503 is a reminder of God's power to save a man from his enemies, while, looking forward, this same "almighty stretch'd-out arm" can save a man from the "enraptur'd" ocean.

The quality of compression accounts for much of the difficulty of reading Smart's later verse, which becomes a shorthand of imagery. So in "Psalm LXV" when Smart writes, "Through thee the season'd corn provides/ An annual due resource," the "season'd corn" is that which comes in the proper season. <sup>13</sup> The

same compression can be seen in A Song to David:

From fervent lips fair Michal spil'd.  
As blush to blush she stood;<sup>14</sup>

and in his Horace:

There, where the frequent rose-tree blooms. . . .<sup>15</sup>  
And Gods, exempt from death.<sup>16</sup>

Smart, as was true of other eighteenth century poets, often revised lines from his earlier poems and included them in his later. The improvement in the later version is often due precisely to the compression of the later lines, as in this pair noted by Grigson:<sup>17</sup>

Be thou my bulwark to defend  
Like some strange bastion's mole.<sup>18</sup>

Strong is the lion-like a coal  
His eyeball-like a bastion's mole  
His chest against the foes;<sup>19</sup>

Parallelism is especially noticeable in Jubilate Agno, in which Smart's overt use of Hebrew poetry is most obvious. Besides

<sup>14</sup>Ll. 170-71.

<sup>15</sup>Odes, I, 5, 1. 3.

<sup>16</sup>Odes, II, 8, 1. 12.

<sup>17</sup>Geoffrey Grigson, Christopher Smart (London, 1961), p. 29.

<sup>18</sup>"Psalm XXXI," 11. 11-12.

<sup>19</sup>A Song to David, ll. 951-53.

the obvious parallelisms of the openings (either "Let" or "For"), long sets of parallel constructions can be noted. For example, all but the first four lines of Fragment A begin "Let . . . [ a Biblical person ] bless [ or praise or an equivalent ] with . . . [ an animal, if possible a Biblically associated one ] ." The parallelism exists in other of Smart's poetry as well, especially in A Song to David.<sup>20</sup> Earlier examples can be seen in stanza X of Hymn to the Supreme Being, in lines 631-32 of On the Eternity of the Supreme Being, and in lines 3-11 of On the Power of the Supreme Being. As a last example, one of Smart's lesser works may serve:

Every Bird that pipes a Note,  
 Every Shrub that bears a bloom,  
 Thine Unkindnesses upbraid;  
 Grateful is the Linnet's Threat,  
 Grateful is the Bay's Perfume,  
 And to God their Tribute's paid.<sup>21</sup>

Like parallelism, the catalogue was not a quality exclusively Hebraic. Smart was familiar with it from the epics, certainly in at least the translations of Dryden and Pope. What Smart does in his maturing poetry is to use the catalogue as a roll call of creation, rather than as a listing of one group. A very early

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<sup>20</sup>For almost all virtues of Smart's style and formative influences upon it, A Song to David presents the best examples since, by definition, one does not surpass one's masterpiece.

<sup>21</sup>Hannah, Act II, p. 12, ll. 1-6, in Brittain, Poems, p. 240.

example of the lists that Smart was later to develop occurs in the 1751 Seatonian Ode, On the Immensity of the Supreme Being:

Vain were th' attempt, and impious to trace  
Thro' all his works th' Artificer Divine--  
And tho' nor shining sun, nor twinkling star  
Bedeck'd the crimson curtains of the sky;  
Tho' neither vegetable, beast, nor bird  
Were extant on the surface of this ball,  
Nor lurking gem beneath; tho' the great sea  
Slept in profound stagnation, and the air  
Had left no thunder to pronounce its maker;  
Yet man at home, within himself, might find  
The Deity immense . . .<sup>22</sup>

This is obviously poor poetry; it is trite in such images as "twinkling star"; it uses poetic diction without substance, as in "the surface of this ball"; it states an emotion which is not communicated; the list is primarily of common nouns without vigor or color. The passage is, however, Smart's first attempt at developing his catalogue.

A substantial advance is evident in Hymn to the Supreme Being:

Chief of metallic forms is regal gold;  
Of elements, the limpid fount that flows;  
Give me 'mongst gems the brilliant to behold;  
O'er Flora's flock imperial is the rose:  
Above all buds the Sov'reign eagle soars;  
And monarch of the field the lordly lion roars.

What can with great Leviathan compare,  
Who takes his pastime in the mighty main?  
What, like the Sun, shines thro' the realms of air,  
And gilds and glorifies th' etereal plain--  
Yet what are these to man, who bears the sway

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<sup>22</sup> Ll. 127-137.

For all was made for him--to serve and to obey.<sup>23</sup>

In these lines the imagery is fresher, more concrete, more vivid. The phrasing is often conventional and employs the standard diction, but it is deliberately shaped toward the final line and the reversal of "to serve and to obey." If Smart is employing a generally "poetic" idiom, he is at least shaping it toward his own purpose, is using it as a counterpoint to his theme. Though the repetition of alliterative pairs is inartistic, Smart demonstrates a mastery of his form in the first two lines, reminiscent of Johnson in their classical quality. In them is seen the second major influence on Smart, that of Horace, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The perfection of Smart's employment of the catalogue can be seen in A Song to David, in which the device is so frequently employed as to constitute a unifying theme: God is adored by all ranks of creation, most especially and perfectly by man. So Smart begins in stanza XVIII to list the objects of David's song: "He sung of God--the mighty source/ Of all things. . . ." <sup>24</sup> In the next eight stanzas Smart runs through the ranks of creation in precise, sharp images: angels, man, the world, vegetable creation,

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<sup>23</sup>Ll. 85-96.

<sup>24</sup>Ll. 103-104.



birds, fish, beasts, and gems. The quality of the catalogue and its perfection through a sharpening of focus can be seen in stanza XXIII, in which Smart names the birds as an object of David's song:

Of fowl--e'en ev'ry beak and wing  
 Which cheer the winter, hail the spring,  
 That live in peace or prey;  
 They that make music, or that mock,  
 The quail, the brave domestic cock,  
 The raven, swan, and jay.<sup>25</sup>

Though the catalogue can be easily recognized in much of Smart's work, the antiphonal quality of his poetry is most easily recognized in Jubilate Agno. Although the work has survived only in an incomplete form, Smart seems to have intended it for recitation by two choruses, one intoning the "Let" lines, the other responding with the "For" lines. <sup>26</sup> W. H. Bond, the more recent editor of Jubilate Agno, states:

Although the Let and the For sections are physically distinct, their content is intimately related. The dates show that parts, at least, of the two sections were written concurrently. . . . And in double folio 3, at least for a considerable portion, each For verse is in some manner and degree a response to the corresponding Let verse. . . . It seems likely that the entire poem

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<sup>25</sup>Ll. 133-138.

<sup>26</sup>Bond suggests that if Smart "visualized an actual performance of Jubilate Agno, it was apparently with himself as the second reader. . . ." p. 20.

was constructed in this manner, with a line for line correspondence between the Let and For verses. At any rate, it was so begun and it so continued through the greater part of its length.<sup>27</sup>

An example can best be seen in Fragments B and C, in which both "Let" and "For" verses survive:

Let Hobab rejoice with Neocydalus, who is the Greek of a Grub.  
 For I have glorified God in Greek and Latin, the consecrated  
 language spoken by the Lord on earth.  
 Let Zurishaddai with the Polish Cock rejoice--The Lord  
 restore peace to Europe.  
 For I meditate the peace of Europe amongst family bickerings  
 and domestic jars.  
 Let Zuer rejoice with the Guinea Hen--The Lord add to his mercies  
 in the WEST!  
 For the HOST is in the WEST--The Lord make us  
 thankful unto salvation.<sup>28</sup>

The same antiphonal quality is also present in much of Smart's other poetry although it has not been greatly noticed. In A Song to David, a verse-response technique could easily be employed, some times in successive lines, more often in half stanzas. In many of the Psalms, the same quality can be found. The antiphonal quality is more than a mere correspondency--whether of parallelism, of contrast, of exemplification, and so on; it requires also a declamatory tone which would suggest the suitability of such an oral presentation. The playing off of one line or of one half line against another is one of Pope's most common tech-

<sup>27</sup>Bond, p. 18.

<sup>28</sup>B1, ll. 6-8.

niques, but this interplay does not suggest that the verse is antiphonal. The antiphonal quality is prohibited by the nature of the verse, which is conversational even at its most vehement, as in the portraits of Atticus and of Sporus.

It is not known that Smart could understand Hebrew; rather, the indications are that he could not. In a previously cited place in Jubilate Agno, Smart states that he has praised God in those languages consecrated by Christ's usage, specifying Greek and Latin but omitting Hebrew. Bond notes that in Jubilate Agno Smart misses opportunities to couple animals with Biblical names which are really the names of animals.<sup>29</sup> Since Smart began Jubilate Agno by joining Biblical people with animals and soon ran out of appropriate names, the indication of ignorance of Hebrew seems strong.

Smart was, however, acquainted with Bishop Robert Lowth who had written De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum in 1753.<sup>30</sup> Dr. Lowth stressed the verse-response nature of Hebrew poetry and studied the Hebrew technique of playing on parallel passages and word pairs. Additionally, Smart was familiar with Patrick Delaney's An Histor-

<sup>29</sup>Bond, p. 24. Bond may have overstated the case. Cf. Charles Parish ("Christopher Smart's Knowledge of Hebrew," Studies in Philology, LVIII [ July 1961 ], 516-532) who argues that Smart possessed a considerable knowledge of Hebrew.

<sup>30</sup>Hunter, I, xxv.

ical Account of the Life and Reign of David, King of Israel, first published in London in 1740-42.<sup>31</sup> While the book would not have contributed to Smart's knowledge of Hebrew poetry, it would have been influential in establishing David as an early model for Smart's poetry.

The second major influence on Smart was that of Horace, which was noted as early as Hunter.<sup>32</sup> Hunter, however, feels that Smart was too liberal in interpreting the Horatian permission for the unusual use of words, descending at times to "low and colloquial" manners.<sup>33</sup> Hunter does not specify any usage of Smart which so descends, but he probably had in mind such passages as:

But while ev'n now their meat they shew . . .<sup>34</sup>

. . . to the mermaid's pap,  
The scaled infant clings.<sup>35</sup>

Ev'n exactors of the toll,  
And the harlot of the stew . . .<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Brittain, Poems, p. 293.

<sup>32</sup>Hunter, I, xxx.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. xxxi.

<sup>34</sup>"Psalm LXXVIII," l. 121.

<sup>35</sup>A Song to David, ll. 323-324.

<sup>36</sup>"Hymn XXIII," ll. 1-2.

Smart may have felt that the Ars Poetica justified such images, but their source is not Horatian. They are rather examples of Smart's view that all things contribute to the praise of God by their very existence and are therefore fit objects for poetry.

Smart does draw certain effects directly from the theory and practice of Horace with respect to word usage. He speaks of Horace's "unrivalled peculiarity of expression," his "curiosa felicitas."<sup>37</sup> In the Ars Poetica Horace gives authority for re-viving old words, coining new ones, and employing common words in novel ways. All of these devices, and especially the last, are practiced by Smart.

A list of archaic and obsolete words used by Smart is given by Brittain.<sup>38</sup> It is important to note that this list is by no means complete; further examples are "ghostly" (in the meaning of spiritual),<sup>39</sup> "wilk,"<sup>40</sup> "Lazars,"<sup>41</sup> and "canton."<sup>42</sup> There are occasional coinings by Smart, as "existimation,"<sup>43</sup> but not many

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<sup>37</sup>The Works of Horace, Translated into Verse, p. iii.

<sup>38</sup>Brittain, Poems, p. 69.

<sup>39</sup>"Hymn XXIII," l. 22.

<sup>40</sup>A Song to David, l. 249.

<sup>41</sup>"Hymn XII," l. 45.

<sup>42</sup>"Psalm LX," l. 23.

<sup>43</sup>Jubilate Agno, Bl, l. 3.

of these.

Rather, Smart seemed to prefer to employ usual words unusually or to employ unusual, but not archaic, words.<sup>44</sup> An obvious example is Smart's preference for obscure names of animals, as "xiphias,"<sup>45</sup> "Ivis"<sup>46</sup> (which may be a coinage), "spinks and ouzles."<sup>47</sup> Other instances abound in Smart's poetry:

The moons their heav'nly damages supply--<sup>48</sup>

The word "supply," which at first seems most unsuited for "damages," adds a deeper level to the line by recalling that in the sub-lunary spheres change is the nature of all things and that this change is always towards dissolution. By the use of "supply" with "heav'nly damages," Smart attains a tone similar to that of Horace in "Æneid, fugaces," mingled irony and acceptance.

We of Christ's peculiar fold<sup>49</sup>  
That protest against the goat.

"Peculiar" is one of Smart's favorite words, carrying the con-

<sup>44</sup>Brittain, Poems, p. 69.

<sup>45</sup>A Song to David, p. 450.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., l. 316.

<sup>47</sup>"Hymn XXXII," l. 29.

<sup>48</sup>Horace, "Book IV, Ode 7," l. 13.

<sup>49</sup>"Hymn XX," ll. 47-48.

notations of "distinctive, individual."<sup>50</sup> In this same passage can be seen another way in which Smart employed this curiosa felicitas. "Fold" in reference to Christ's church is the standard poetic diction, but Smart makes it his own by his use of "goat" in the following line. A hackneyed figure has been revitalized by Smart forcing the reader to consider the original meaning of "fold" and concomittantly all the associations of "sheep" in the New Testament.

Come then, or sword, or fire, or ox,<sup>51</sup>  
Devour me branch and stem. . . .

The peculiar force of "devour" is attained by the Latin figure of zeugma. Smart gains a further level of meaning by the Biblical association "devour" has with the operations of the devil; this connotation intensifies the victory of the devout Christian of which Smart is speaking.

And in serene suspense he held<sup>52</sup>  
The frantic throes of Saul.

"Suspense" is a reversion to the Elizabethan idiom in which the meaning of a word was much closer to its Latin origin than it later was.

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<sup>50</sup>Cf. "quick, peculiar quince." A Song to David, l. 353.

<sup>51</sup>"Hymn XXII," ll. 25-26.

<sup>52</sup>A Song to David, l. 161.

. . . the brave domestic cock,

Smart uses a twofold method of throwing "brave" into a special prominence. First, "brave" is used in the older meaning of "glorious," probably also with the implication of "proud, vain-glorious." Second, because the word would primarily convey its more modern meaning to a reader, its juxtaposition with "domestic" achieves an oxymoron.

Related to this "unrivalled peculiarity of expression," Smart learned from Horace an attribute which the English poet terms "Impression." Although this impression would be achieved by the use of an unusual word or of a common word in an unusual way, it also could be achieved independently of these techniques. Since impression is the subject of the few critical remarks Smart made on poetic theory, a discussion of it will be reserved until the next chapter.

Brittain, who has most discussed the influence of Horace on Smart,<sup>54</sup> notes two ways in which the poetry of Smart differs from that of Horace:

In the first place, he [Smart] is far too direct. He can never manage the gentle aloofness of the Latin. Such a delicate mingling of poignancy and humor as Horace

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., l. 137.

<sup>54</sup>Both Grigson and Devlin derive from Brittain in this respect.



evokes in the "Eheu, fugaces, Posthume, Posthume" is impossible to a man of Smart's forthright nature. . . . There is second a full, flowing melody in the lyrics of Horace. . . . Smart's phrase, on the contrary, is short and abrupt.<sup>55</sup>

This opinion advanced by Brittain cannot stand without considerable qualification.

First, Smart's directness is far more than an evidence of a "forthright nature"; it is equally due to the immediacy which Smart learned from Hebrew poetry.<sup>56</sup> To stress directness in Smart's work is certainly correct, but directness is not an exclusive quality. Smart frequently displays a very delicate sensibility, an awareness of nuance, and an ability to mingle moods and emotions.

The last two characteristics are clear in the examples which were cited above to demonstrate the curiosa felicitas, but such examples could be multiplied:

Whilst eagerly I gaz'd  
Admiring ev'ry part,  
And ev'ry feature prais'd,  
She stole into my heart.<sup>57</sup>

Now some subtle mean invader  
Wins the heart, or gains the ear.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Brittain, Poems, p. 67.

<sup>56</sup>Dr. Lowth stressed the brevity of the Hebrew poetic phrase as an aspect of sublimity. De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum (Goettingae, 1758), II, 270.

<sup>57</sup>"Panny, Blooming Fair," ll. 5-8.

<sup>58</sup>"song," ll. 15-16.

But, now, methinks I hear you say,  
 (And shake, your Head) 'Ah, well-a-day!  
 Painful Pre-eminence to be wise,  
 We WITS have such short memories.  
 Oh, that the Act was not in Force!  
 A horse!--my Kingdom for a Horse!<sup>59</sup>

The delicateness with which Smart can treat a topic can be seen in such passages as:

For Red is of sundry sorts till it deepens to BLACK.  
 For black blooms and it is PURPLE.<sup>60</sup>

For I saw a blush in Staindrop Church, which was of God's own colouring.  
 For it was the benevolence of a virgin shown to me before the whole congregation.<sup>61</sup>

Beeches, without order seemly,  
 Shade the flow'rs of annual birth,  
 And the lily smiles supremely  
 Mention'd by the Lord on earth.<sup>62</sup>

In this last passage special attention should be paid to the placing of "shade" and "birth" in the second line. The effect of these contrasted words beginning and ending the line is a very delicate intimation of mortality. The choice of "annual" to modify "birth" and the introduction of the Divine into the last two lines of this stanza make the stanza a miniature recapitulation of

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<sup>59</sup>"To the Rev. Mr. Powell," ll. 15-20.

<sup>60</sup>Jubilate Agno, B2, ll. 660-661.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., ll. 668-669.

<sup>62</sup>"Hymn XIII," ll. 21-24.

the state of the world--fallen and redeemed, mortal yet destined for rebirth.

As the directness of Smart's verse, the Hebraic brevity of phrase, obscures the range of Smart's sensibility, so this brevity may also be overstated as a characteristic of Smart's rhythm. Certainly the abrupt phrase is the most striking aspect of Smart's melody. The short phrase, however, operates within a larger pattern, often very extended, without which Smart's poetry would be merely a collection of glowing phrases. This larger pattern is precisely what makes A Song to David a poem, while Jubilate Agno is not, what makes certain sections of Jubilate Agno poetry while other sections are merely aphorisms or conundrums.

In A Song to David the hard, abrupt phrase is most evident through the final fifteen stanzas, but while the phrases render this passage memorable, it is the flow of images in eighteen line-groups that integrates the passage and gives it point. The two lines on the "blush in Staindrop Church" gain more force when seen as the culmination of a sequence on color.

Besides this larger melody of structure, Smart maintains on frequent occasions a flowing structure of run-on lines and even stanzas. This structure is best seen in the Odes, where the melody of Horace is immediately before Smart, but is present in other work as well. The ode, "To Pyrrha," is an excellent example of the

handling of varied rhythms within stanzas and between stanzas, while "Hymn XVI" displays a supple handling of phrases within a six-line stanza. The entire problem of Smart's rhythms demonstrates to how great an extent the influences of Horace and of David had been assimilated and mingled by Smart.

While these influences dominate in Smart's later verse and exist within his earlier, the primary influences on Smart's early work are Pope and Milton. Much of the influence of Pope upon Smart has a biographical source which was noted in the first chapter, but it would have been difficult for any young poet in the 1740's to have escaped Pope's influence. The effect of Pope upon Smart can be seen in the nature of the poetry which Smart wrote and in certain effects of phrasing and imagery.

Most obviously Smart's Latin translations of Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" and Essay on Criticism attest to his regard for Pope. (Smart's Latin verse was very highly regarded in its day; whereas Chalmers cannot find a copy of A Song to David, he prints many Latin poems.) Three of Smart's other pieces, "The Horatian Canons of Friendship," The Hop-Garden, and The Hilliad, were obviously inspired by Pope, and Smart's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" was probably written in emulation of Pope's poem. Though the form is close to that of Dryden's poem, the theme approaches more nearly that of Pope.

"The Horatian Canons of Friendship" and The Hilliad are Smart's only ventures into the heroic couplet, which he does not handle well. In his use of the couplet, Smart's practice is closer to that of Dryden than that of Pope. Smart employs triplets and rather loose couplets; he seems to have difficulty in shaping his thought to the couplet form. He never catches Pope's trick of balance, antithesis, and parallelism; his attempts are verbal and forced, without the appearance of inevitability that Pope gains.

"The Horatian Canons of Friendship" is an "imitation" modeled on Pope's imitations of the satires and epistles of Horace. It differs from Pope not only in the strength of the couplet but even more importantly in the manner of the satire. Smart was far more of a Horatian satirist than Pope was. Essentially, perhaps, Smart's true bent in satiric verse was humorous. "Ad Xanthian Phocæum," a good-natured self-satire, is a much better poem. Where Pope pillories individuals, Smart satirizes types. Where Pope knows his material intimately, Smart seems to invent figures for lack of knowledge of true examples. A comparison makes the point evident:

Oldfield with more than Harpy throat endued,  
Cries "Send me, Gods! a whole Hog barbecued!"<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Pope's "The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated," ll. 25-26.

No foreign cooks, nor livery's servants nigh,  
Let me with comfort eat my mutton pye;<sup>64</sup>

The difference in technique is even more obvious in a consideration of The Hilliad. With its notes variorum The Hilliad belongs to the large group of eighteenth century imitations of The Dunciad. Unfortunately, The Hilliad is completely controlled, completely decorous. It never rises above mediocrity or descends to the brutal but comic level of the second book of The Dunciad. Smart attempts to copy some of Pope's techniques, but the similarity is merely formal. For example, The Dunciad gains much of the power of its conclusion by its perversion of the opening of the Gospel of St. John. Smart, in The Hilliad, attempts to recall Othello:

Farewell--my day of glory's on the dawn,  
And now,--Hillaric's occupation's gone.<sup>65</sup>

Smart gains no special effect from his allusion; it is a mere parody and not even a clever one.

The Hop-Garden is a georgic, in the tradition of Grainger's Sugar Cane. Though Smart openly states the influence of Milton in The Hop-Garden<sup>66</sup> there are echoes of Pope:

<sup>64</sup>"The Horatian Canons of Friendship," ll. 34-35.

<sup>65</sup>The Hilliad, ll. 77-78.

<sup>66</sup>L. 7.

. . . me, lowly swain,  
 Every unshaven arbores, me the lawns,  
 Me the voluminous Midway's silver wave,  
 Content inglorious, and the hopland shades! <sup>67</sup>

A Shepherd's Boy (he seeks no better name)  
 Led forth his flocks along the silver Thame,  
 Where dancing sunbeams on the waters played,  
 And verdant alders formed a quivering shade. <sup>68</sup>

It is read today for a few glimpses of nature and for Smart's memory of his boyhood home in Shipbourne. The blank verse of the poem is generally pedestrian. Further, Smart seems to have had no set purpose in writing the poem, which concerns itself with nostalgic reminiscence, husbandry, admiration of nature, and slapstick comedy. The most notable exhibition of the last quality occurs when Smart tells of the curing of the hops. After warning that the hop-treader must wear shoes, Smart illustrates the reason by telling of Derinda sorting out an imported bag of hops when "Lo! she starts, she frowns/ With indignation at a negro's nail." <sup>69</sup>

Although Smart did not profit from the subjects he chose in imitation of Pope nor from his adoption of the heroic couplet, there remain in his writing certain positive qualities which seem

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<sup>67</sup>The Hop-Garden, ll. 30-33.

<sup>68</sup>"Summer," ll. 1-4.

<sup>69</sup>Ll. 671-672.

derived from Pope. The most striking of these is a certain miniaturist tendency in pictorial effect.<sup>70</sup>

In an hearse she rode reclin'd  
 Drawn by screech-owls slow and blind:  
 Close to her, with printless feet,  
 Crept Stillness in a winding sheet.<sup>71</sup>

By the sea-flow'rs, that immerge  
 Their heads around the grotto's verge,  
 Dependent from the stooping stem;  
 By each root suspended drop,  
 That lightly lingers on the top,  
 And hesitates into a gem;<sup>72</sup>

These lines especially recall such delicate pictorial effects of Pope as

The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine!  
 Peels at each thread, and lives along the line:<sup>73</sup>

This quality, often overlooked because of the striking effect produced by Smart's grandiose imagery and phrasing, continues in his later poems:

Tansy, calaminth, and daisies,  
 On the river's margin thrive;  
 And accompany the mazes  
 Of the stream that leaps alive.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Callan, I, xxxi-xxxiii.

<sup>71</sup>"A Night Piece," ll. 7-10.

<sup>72</sup>"Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," ll. 82-87.

<sup>73</sup>Essay on Man, Epistle I, ll. 217-218.

<sup>74</sup>"Hymn XIII," ll. 5-8.



Near them thro' blossoms bursting ripe  
 The birds upon the perches pipe,  
 As boughs the herbage shield.<sup>75</sup>

The second quality Smart seems to have learned from Pope is that of the harmony of full vowel sounds. Though Smart is sometimes thought of as a headlong writer, he actually handles many rhythms and achieves a great suppleness within them. He certainly learned part of this mastery of cadence by translating Pope, probably, also, part from a study of Pope's rhythms. Such an early poem as "Idleness" demonstrates the technique:

Sister of peace and indolence,  
 Bring, Muse, bring numbers soft and slow,  
 Elaborately void of sense,  
 And sweetly thoughtless let them flow.<sup>76</sup>

The technique is that of Pope in

Lo, where Maeotis sleeps, and hardly flows  
 The freezing Tanais thro' a waste of snows.<sup>77</sup>

The influence of Milton upon Smart has been mentioned in reference to The Hop-Garden. For a religious poet of Smart's period, the Miltonic influence was almost a necessity. For Smart the influence of Milton would have been intensified by a Puritan reverence which Smart shared: the Puritan reverence for the stress

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<sup>75</sup>"Psalm CIV," ll. 67-69.

<sup>76</sup>ll. 1-4.

<sup>77</sup>The Dunciad, III, ll. 87-88.

which David laid on the creation of the world by God being the source of all value in the world. Since Smart's most obviously Miltonic religious poems, the Seatonian odes, were written for a prize and since the mid-eighteenth century audience expected religious verse to be Miltonic, an extrinsic reason for the Miltonic echo is readily deduced. Smart later abandoned the Miltonic style in religious writing as uncongenial to his temperament; there is a certain hardness, a moral firmness, at the center of Milton's verse that Smart, a "mystic" poet in his emphasis on praise and adoration, never could achieve.

The one non-religious poem (though it contains moralizing) in which Smart shows the influence of Milton is The Hop-Garden. This poem displays the faults into which Smart fell in his use of Milton's style and none of the virtues of the Seatonian poems. Smart begins with the blunt statement, "I teach in verse Miltonic."<sup>78</sup> The "verse Miltonic" takes the form of blank verse, frequent mythological references, elaborate interpolated myths,<sup>79</sup> polysyllables, especially in names,<sup>80</sup> and circumlocutions.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>The Hop-Garden, l. 7.

<sup>79</sup>As in l. 173 ff.

<sup>80</sup>"Cantium," l. 10; "Dorovernia," l. 40; "Tunbridgia," l. 41; "umbrogeous," l. 69.

<sup>81</sup>"Infant germ," l. 71; "vegetable riches," l. 75.

Many of the purely formal Miltonic phrases are adopted by Smart, but the high seriousness and the spirit are missing. The only successful sections of the poem are the views of nature, which are more successful as they are less formal. One example of such a successful line shows a fine perception reinforced by a severe contrast in sentence length and style:

Armies of animals'les urge their way  
In vain; the ventilating trees oppose  
Their very march. They blacken distant plains.<sup>83</sup>

The Seatonian odes represent an advance inasmuch as in them there is a proportionality between subject and form. In these poems, also, Smart has made the Miltonic form much more his own.

For example, he takes a phrase of Milton's<sup>84</sup> and turns it into a fresh image, "the stately night-exploding bird."<sup>85</sup> The Miltonic devices are not so obviously used; when they are used, the subject is more suitable to them than in The Hop-Garden.

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<sup>82</sup>Inversion of noun and objective, "Arms expansive," l. 76; inversion of subject and verb, "secure there shalt thou plant thy hop," ll. 51-52; dropping of syllables, "meliorated," l. 87; Latin figures, such as synchysis, "He, with love emasculate and wine," ll. 192-193.

<sup>83</sup>Ll. 78-80.

<sup>84</sup>"while the cock with lively din  
Scatters the rear of darkness thin . . ." L'Allegro,  
ll. 49-50.

<sup>85</sup>On the Immensity of the Supreme Being, l. 4.

Occasionally some devices seem forced,<sup>86</sup> while others lack point.<sup>87</sup>

The major difficulty with the Seatonian poems is not the form as such; it is rather the difficulty of writing poetry on the abstract subject of the Divine perfection. Yet it is clear that Smart could turn dogma into poetry:

God all-bounteous, all-creative,  
Whom no ills from good dissuade,  
Is incarnate, and a native<sup>88</sup>  
Of the very world he made.

It would seem that the difference between the "Hymn" and the Seatonian poems is not merely a matter of maturity, but of directness of expression and of lyric grace. The influence of Milton on Smart waned as he moved toward this lyric expression and found that he could adapt the Hebraic sublimity to such expression while he could not adapt the sonorities of Miltonic expression.

An influence on Smart only recently suggested is that of Andrew Marvell.<sup>89</sup> Certain lines in early poems of Smart are

<sup>86</sup>The anaphora in On the Power of the Supreme Being, ll. 8-9.

<sup>87</sup>The denomination of David as Orpheus, On the Goodness of the Supreme Being, l. 1.

<sup>88</sup>"Hymn XXXII," ll. 33-36.

<sup>89</sup>Devlin, p. 25; J. B. Broadbent, ed., A Song to David (London, 1960), p. xviii.

suggestive:

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Markt, little hemispheres, with stars;

The deer approach the secret scene,  
And weave their way thro' labyrinths green;<sup>91</sup>

Even more suggestive is the poem "On an Eagle Confin'd in a College Court." Although there is something of Milton, especially at the beginning of the poem, the final stanza in its melody and ethical seriousness is reminiscent of Marvell:

Yet useful still, hold to the throng--  
Hold the reflecting glass,  
That not untutor'd at thy wrong  
The passenger may pass:  
Thou type of wit and sense confin'd,  
Who study downward on the ground;  
Type of the fall of Greece and Rome;  
While more than mathematic gloom,  
Enveloped all around!<sup>92</sup>

The influence of Marvell manifests itself more as an echo in Smart than as a development in theory. It takes the form of a serious, yet melodic, expression, a central toughness of mind cloaked by ease of expression. These same qualities exist in Smart's later poetry but are so shaped by the influences of David and of Horace that it is difficult to single out any

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<sup>90</sup>"The Pretty Bar-Keeper of the Mitre," l. 22. Suggested by Devlin, p. 32.

<sup>91</sup>"Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," ll. 55-56. Suggested by Devlin, p. 38.

<sup>92</sup>Ll. 31-40.

passages as showing Marvell's influence. Perhaps the phrasing and tone of these lines may stem from Marvell.

And when into the shallow grave you run,  
You cannot win the monarchy of wine . . .<sup>93</sup>

Generally, however, in Smart's later poetry the influence of Marvell is subsumed by that of the Hebrew and the Roman.

The final major influence which can be noted is that of eighteenth century music.<sup>94</sup> Smart's biography shows a frequent association of the poet with music and musicians. Perhaps the longest friendship Smart enjoyed was with Dr. Burney. The first poem of Smart to be published in London was accompanied by a musical setting by Boyce; Smart's earliest associations in London centered around Vauxhall Gardens. In 1764 and 1768 Smart wrote the lyrics for oratorios. In October, 1765, a group of well-known composers issued A Collection of Melodies for the Psalms of David According to the Version of Christopher Smart, A.M. This publication seems to have been an act of friendship intended either to stimulate the sale of Smart's Psalms or to suggest the adoption by the Church of England of Smart's version. As a group these biographical references argue for at least a fair

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<sup>93</sup>Horace, "Book I, Ode 4," ll. 21-22.

<sup>94</sup>The theory was first stated by Brittain, Poems, p. 73-74 et passim.

knowledge of music by Smart.

Brittain suggests that the influence of the music upon Smart takes this form:

A specific word, phrase, or image is chosen and it is placed in a certain position because only by such selection and such placing can it be made to refer to one or more minor themes without losing any of the force of its statement of the theme which happens at the moment to be dominant.<sup>95</sup>

Smart in his poetry, then, produces a very complex counterpoint of multiple reference. He adds to this counterpoint, or sometimes produces from it, the baroque quality of such an eighteenth century musician as Handel. Further discussion of these qualities must be reserved until the next chapter. For now it can be noted that this counterpoint is very similar to Smart's individualisation of poetic diction while maintaining the diction's frame of reference, a point already discussed.

In conclusion, therefore, it becomes clear that Smart's poetry was influenced from several sources. Smart gradually assimilated these sources and reduced them, in his work after 1763,<sup>96</sup> to two: the sublimity of David and the ease and "impression" of Horace. The unique blending in Smart's poetry of

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>96</sup>The date 1763 is merely a convenience as marking Smart's release from the madhouse. Many of the Psalms and Hymns were written in 1762 or earlier.

these two very different traditions accounts in a large measure for the individuality of his best work.



## CHAPTER IV

### SMART'S POETICS

Since Christopher Smart has left very little direct statement on his poetic theory, his poetics must be deduced in large part from his practice. There are, however, some statements which are most suggestive in regard to Smart's theory. The most important of these occurs in his preface to the 1767 Horace. After a discussion of Horace's "curiosity of choice diction," Smart goes on to mention a quality, which he calls impression, possessed by every great genius but in a superior degree by Horace:

Impression then, is a talent or gift of Almighty God, by which a Genius is impowered to throw an emphasis upon a word or sentence to such wise, that it cannot escape any reader of sheer good sense or critical sagacity. This power will sometimes keep up thro' the medium of a prose translation; especially in Scripture, for in justice to truth and to everlasting preeminence, we must confess this virtue to be far more powerful and abundant in the sacred writings.<sup>1</sup>

Smart follows this definition with some ten pages of examples in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, together with translations of

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<sup>1</sup>Horace, I, xii.

these. The pertinence of the examples is not always clear, but generally the effect shown is one of perspicuous phrasing which, in setting off one word particularly, is at the same time reflected back upon the sentence as a whole. This shading or impression has, accordingly, a twofold effect: first, it throws a "peculiar"<sup>2</sup> aspect upon the word or phrase itself; second, by virtue of this impression it throws a new meaning on the entire context. The device is analogous, for example, to the imagery in the major tragedies of Shakespeare where the imagery so modifies the thought and has become so integral a part of it that the sense is radically different if isolated from the imagery.

This conception of impression makes it a technique quite apart from the curiosa felicitas, though impression may begin in a peculiarity of diction. Robert Brittain, who has made the most thorough study of impression, seems not to have maintained this distinction sufficiently:

By what technical devices this impression is accomplished, Smart does not say here, but an answer may be found, I think, in one of the rules laid down in the Ars Poetica. . . His early prose translation of this passage indicates clearly that this is what he had in mind when

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'Tis arduous common things to say  
In such a clean peculiar way  
Until they fairly seem your own.

Ibid., "Horace, His Art of Poetry," ll. 232-234.

he later considered the device of "impression": "In the interspersing of his words too he must be nice and wary. You will express yourself admirably well, if a clever connection should impress an air of novelty to a common word."<sup>3</sup>

This air of novelty is simply one of the Horatian devices used in regard to vocabulary. Impression is not merely the distinctiveness of a word or of a phrase; it is rather the interplay of word or phrase with its context to give a new shading of meaning to the complete thought. There is, in effect, an intellectual or emotional counterpoint produced between the first and second meanings.

An example will help clarify the distinction. In his continuation of the discussion mentioned above, Brittain notes that the unusual phrase is "the most distinguishing feature of the expression,"<sup>4</sup> and gives as an example "Death and the shades anon shall press thee home,"<sup>5</sup> although he does not explain his example. "Press" is the key word in this line. It implies, with its kinesthetic effect of heaviness, the inevitability of death; taken in conjunction with "home," "press" suggests the finality of death. "Press home" is a phrase in fencing and the use of the words here carries the suggestion of a duel which man will lose to death.

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<sup>3</sup>Brittain, Poems, pp. 71-72.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>5</sup>Horace, "Book I, Ode IV," l. 20. The complete poem is quoted in the appendix.

The force of impression, however, goes beyond the effect of the words themselves. An ironic interplay and dramatic tension is set up within the context. The effect of weight given by "press" contradicts the insubstantiality of "Death and the shades" and suggests that basic reality lies in these immaterial things, not in the solid world perceived by our senses. "Press" also acts in opposition to "soar." The pressing of death is precisely that which holds down our hopes; "the whole of life" is therefore to be considered primarily in relation to life's end which shades all of life. Accordingly, "O happy Sextius" in line 18 becomes deeply ironic. In the light of these considerations, the references to "the poor man's door" in line 17 and to "the royal dome" in line 18 must be reconsidered: only the land to which death presses man is man's real home.

In this particular passage, there seems to be one further interplay, a mingling of two traditions. Smart brings over into the English poem the Horatian meaning which seems to reflect the philosophy of Heraclitus; Πάντα ῥεῖ. To this is superadded the Christian outlook of Smart: man has here no lasting home. Each philosophy exists separately, though each modifies the other, as, for example, the purely materialistic "incohare spem longam" becomes the more spiritual "forbids our hope to soar." Lest this interpretation seem too singular, it should be noted that Smart

had attempted such fusions of traditions before, most notably in his 1765 version of the Psalms. The success of the fusion in this poem is an indication of the maturity of Smart's verse in the Horace.

Smart refers to impression in one other place:

For all the inventions of man, which are good, are the communications of Almighty God.

For all the stars have satellites, which are terms under their respective words.

For tiger is a word and his satellites are Griffin, Storgis, Cat and others.

For my talent is to give an impression upon words by punching, that when the reader casts his eye up 'em, he takes up the image from the mould which I have made.<sup>6</sup>

All of the commentary upon this passage has been restricted to line 404, the last line quoted here. It would seem that the preceding lines, however, help to clarify Smart's meaning. In lines 402-403 Smart is obviously stressing the importance of connotation, but he seems also to be saying something about the relation of the poet and of God in the use of language. The poet operates through words, but these words have relationships, almost divinely ordained, independent of the poet's use. In a sense, Smart is saying that language is a divine gift; as a corollary, there must be truths existing in language independent of man's use of words. Obviously, such a belief must be of enormous importance

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<sup>6</sup>Jubilate Agno, B2, 11. 401-404.

in determining the ends for which Smart employed his poetry. This end can be judged from Smart's praise of David:

O David, highest in the list  
Of worthies, on God's ways insist,  
The genuine word repeat.<sup>7</sup>

Smart's belief in the divine origin of language and in the divine truths in it can be seen in many other places in Jubilate

Agno:

For the names of the months are false--the Hebrew appellatives are of God.<sup>8</sup>

For all good words are from God and all others are cant.<sup>9</sup>

Smart's various discourses on the alphabet,<sup>10</sup> on Lamed,<sup>11</sup> on sounds,<sup>12</sup> and on the intermingling of language, flowers, and animals<sup>13</sup> as part of one divine creation, attest to this belief.

Smart's view of nature as God's creation will be discussed later in this chapter. It is enough now to note that Smart had

<sup>7</sup>A Song to David, ll. 289-291.

<sup>8</sup>B2, l. 408.

<sup>9</sup>B1, l. 85.

<sup>10</sup>C, ll. 1-17.

<sup>11</sup>B2, ll. 477-491.

<sup>12</sup>B2, ll. 584-602.

<sup>13</sup>B2, ll. 492-509; 626-627.

special reverence for Christ as the Word. God's creation is seen in terms of the Word, and human language is perceived as an echo of God's creative Word.

In A Song to David Smart enunciates the all-pervasiveness of God's Word in the universe:

The pillars of the Lord are sev'n,  
Which stand from earth to topmost heav'n;  
His wisdom drew the plan;  
His WORD accomplish'd the design,  
From brightest gem to deepest mine,  
From CHRIST enthron'd to man.<sup>14</sup>

In "Hymn XXXII" Smart turns to the creative power of God to underline the paradox of the Word made flesh:

God all-bounteous, all-creative,  
Whom no ills from good dissuade,  
Is incarnate, and a native<sup>15</sup>  
Of the very world he made.

In Jubilate Agno, Smart more directly connects human language with God's creating word:

For the names of the DAYS, as they now stand are foolish  
and abominable.  
For the Days are the First, Second, Third, Fourth  
Fifth, Sixth and Seventh.<sup>16</sup>

Smart's explanation of impression in Jubilate Agno, then, is that he casts an impression upon the words so that the reader

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<sup>14</sup>L1. 175-180.

<sup>15</sup>L1. 33-36.

<sup>16</sup>B2, 11. 406-407.

perceives the image as shaped by Smart's "mould" or context. The words do not present the image, but are the reality upon which Smart operates. The words have an existence and truth independent of the poetry:

For every word has its marrow in the English tongue  
for order and for delight.<sup>17</sup>

The poet's task is so to order the words that their interplay reveals some aspect of the divine truth that is in them; for this reason Smart is able to claim that the force of impression is strongest in Sacred Scripture.<sup>18</sup> To return to the definition in the Horace, a poet throws "an emphasis upon a word or sentence in such wise, that it cannot escape any reader of sheer good sense and true critical sagacity." This emphasis is not Pope's "what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed." It partakes rather of the nature of prophecy, of revelation.

Again, David is for Smart "The best poet that ever lived."<sup>19</sup>  
David's symbol is God's harp,<sup>20</sup> of which Smart had said:

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<sup>17</sup>B2, l. 597.

<sup>18</sup>Horace, I, xii.

<sup>19</sup>A Song to David, Contents.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., l. 228.



For GOD the father [ sic ] Almighty plays upon the HARP of  
 stupendous magnitude and melody.  
 For innumerable Angels fly out at every touch and his tune  
 is a work of creation.<sup>21</sup>

Through the song of David, God's creation is revealed to mankind,  
 a point made clearer by Smart listing a catalogue of being as  
 the objects of David's song.

Impression is for Smart, then, ultimately a means of sharing  
 in God's creative process by using material provided by God--  
 words--to reveal the divine truth inherent in God's creation. The  
 poetic genius accomplishes this revelation by the contexts in  
 which he displays the words; the interplay of word with context  
 creates the image through which the truth is revealed. The means  
 is appropriate to the end of poetry as Smart perceives it: "The  
 business of poetry is to express gratitude, reward merit, and to  
 promote moral edification."<sup>22</sup> It should be noted, however, that  
 Smart would conceive the poetic duty of revelation in the broadest  
 possible sense:

For an happy Conjecture is a miraculous cast by the Lord  
 Jesus.<sup>23</sup>  
 For a bad Conjecture is a draught of stud and mud.

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<sup>21</sup> Jubilate Agno, Bl, ll. 246-247.

<sup>22</sup> Horace, I, xxii.

<sup>23</sup> Jubilate Agno, Bl, ll. 173-174.

So conceived, impression would be a more strictly literary device, and it is expressed most directly as such in the Horace. Because it retained its primary relationship to the divine, Smart was able to set up the hierarchy of its use according to the intention of the poem.

Certain of Smart's examples of impression may now be considered to illustrate his understanding of the term. The first example he cites is "O well is thee, and happy thou shall be." The phrase "is thee" calls attention to itself since "art thou" would be expected. The phrase can only be justified by taking "well" as a substantive rather than as an attribute. "Well" is not simply an accidental state of the person being addressed; similarly the paralleled "happy" of the future will not be an accidental state. The "happiness" will be so complete and enduring that, as "well" in the present, it will be able to be considered convertible with the person's essence.

A similar effect obtains in the next Biblical citation also: "Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace." In the line the identity expressed by "paths are peace" is reflected back on the beginning of the line. Her ways are not only pleasant; they are Pleasantness. The further implication is that peace and pleasantness are to be obtained only through these paths, for these paths are not partakers of qualities--they are

the qualities themselves.

The other examples could be followed through to show the same effect--an interplay of an unusual word or phrase, or of a common one used unusually, with the entire content in order either to alter the obvious meaning or to produce new levels of meaning. It will be instructive to consider some examples of Smart's use of impression in his own poetry.

Lo, thro' her works gay nature grieves  
How brief she is and frail. . . .<sup>24</sup>

The effect gained here is an intensification of emotion. The positioning of "and frail" serves first of all to throw a decided stress not only on itself, but also back to "brief." The emphasis on "frail" also gives a deeper level of meaning to "gay nature." The first meaning of "gay" here is certainly "colorful," referring to the lilies, but by contrast with the frailty of nature the meaning "happy, delighted" becomes poignantly evident. This second meaning points forward beyond "grieves"--with which it operates to introduce tension into the lyric--to the conclusion of the poem:

We never are deserted quite;  
'Tis by succession of delight  
That love supports his reign.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>"On A Bed of Guernsey Lilies," ll. 11-12.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., ll. 18-20.

Another example shows how Smart can use impression as the climax of a poem:

But I continue my pursuit,  
 Not like the fierce Getulian brute,  
 Or tyger, to assail,  
 And of thee life and limbs bereave--  
 Think now at last 'tis time to leave  
 Thy mother for a male.<sup>26</sup>

"Male" demands attention not only because of its climactic position in the poem, but also as a substitute for a more expected word such as "man." "Male" is, however, not merely a forceful word with which to end the poem; it is the key to the entire poem. Chloe is fleeing the speaker because she has become conscious of his maleness. The fact that he is a man has been known before; her consciousness of this new distinction evinces a realization of her own sex and lends point to the speaker's statement, "'Tis time to leave thy mother for a male." Smart's use of "male" changes a playful bit of light verse into a more meaningful, if still amused, psychological comment.

Impression has so far been considered primarily on the intellectual level. Clearly, however, since it is bound up with Smart's mystique of words, it must also have an emotional force.

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<sup>26</sup>Horace, "Book I, Ode XXIII," ll. 13-18. Brittain corrects the beginning of l. 16 to "And thee of . . ." (*Poems*, p. 245). This correction is unnecessary; Smart is simply employing anastrophe.

Smart suggests the emotional elements in two places. First, he suggests that inspirational content strengthens the force of impression which "is always liveliest upon the eulogies of patriotism, gratitude, honor, and the like."<sup>27</sup> Second, in giving examples from his translation of Horace, Smart comments on the emotions which Horace has impressed upon his poetry. Since these translations are examples of Smart's own poetry, it will be useful to consider precisely how he uses impression to gain the emotional effects which he singles out.

Smart cites the first four lines of the ode "To Posthumus" as an example of "affectionate tenderness" with a "cast of melancholy."<sup>28</sup>

Ah Posthumus, the years, the years  
Glide swiftly on, nor can our tears  
Or piety the wrinkl'd age forfend,  
Or for one hour retard th' inevitable end.<sup>29</sup>

In these lines certain words are immediately striking; "forfend" adds a wry note to the third line; "retard" emphasizes the melancholy strain by suggesting that the best man could hope for would be a slowing of the advance of time. The quality of impression in

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<sup>27</sup>Horace, I, xiii.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. xvii.

<sup>29</sup>Horace, "Book II, Ode XIV," ll. 1-4.

these lines, however, resides not in the meaning of the words, but in their rhythm. The repetition "the years, the years," certainly suggested by Horace's "fugaces, fugaces," serves to delay the

first line.<sup>30</sup> The lack of any pause at the end of the first line quickens the tempo to correspond with the meaning of "Glide swiftly on." The shortness of the sounds in "swiftly on" reinforces this acceleration of the rhythm. In the fourth line the same succession of slow and quick tempo corresponds to the meaning. The first three feet are spread over five words and abound in o's and r's. The final three feet, with an elision which of itself serves to quicken the movement, take up only two words and abound in short syllables. The effect of the rhythm reinforces the melancholy, wry rather than somber, that was evoked by the perception of the inexorable march of the ages in contrast to the brief life of man.

In contrast to these emotions, Smart sees the tone of "Book III, Ode XXV," as one of "fire and vivacity."<sup>31</sup>

Bacchus, with thy spirit fraught,  
Whither, whither, am I caught?

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<sup>30</sup> It is often difficult to decide whether a reading of the speed of a line is determined by the quality or by the meaning of the words. The slowness of the line is here partly determined by the semi-vocalic r's, but the retardation of the speed of a line by the meaning of the words in that line would not seem to be alien to Smart's theory of impression.

<sup>31</sup> Horace, I, xvii.

To what groves and dens am driv'n,  
Quick with thought, all fresh from heav'n.<sup>32</sup>

In these lines the very syntax is abbreviated to join with the meter and sounds to impart a headlong speed to the verse, mirroring the divine fit of the follower of Bacchus.

"Caught," for example, here means "caught up" inasmuch as "whither" demands a verb of motion. In the second sentence, the subject "I" is omitted, understood from the first sentence. The phrase "Quick with thought," which modifies "I," is left dangling. The alliteration, w's, d's, f's, th's, helps to hasten the lines along, as does the prevalence of short e's and i's. The meter itself is very rapid, so much so as to be one syllable short in each line: catalectic trochaic tetrameter. The sense of the divine frenzy or inspiration of which Bacchus was master is aided by "caught" which explains how the poet has become fraught with the divine spirit. The poet's mind and will did not seek this union; the poet has been enraptured by the supreme force of the inspiration of Bacchus. Sense and sound interact in these four lines to produce the emotion of which Smart spoke, a "fire and vivacity" which "cannot escape any reader of sheer good sense or true critical sagacity."

The ultimate blending of the emotional and intellectual

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., "Book III, Ode XXV," ll. 1-4.

methods of impression occurs in the final stanza of A Song to David. Much of the effect comes from the building up of emotion through fourteen previous stanzas of praise through five perfections, each perfection culminating in a comparative when applied to God, until the augmented stress of these praises spills over in a final crescendo. Much, however, still remains in the final stanza taken by itself:

Glorious--more glorious is the crown  
Of Him that brought salvation down  
By meekness, call'd thy Son;  
Thou at stupendous truth believ'd,  
And now the matchless deed's achiev'd,  
DETERMIN'D, DAR'D, and DONE.<sup>33</sup>

The abrupt cessation of the train of "glorious's"--the twelve preceding lines had begun in the same manner--in favor of the "more glorious" of the Incarnation, the long swing of the first three lines, and the decreasing length of the later phrases which are climaxed by the three separate impacts of "DETERMIN'D, DAR'D, and DONE."--all these reinforce the emotional impact of the stanza. Intellectually, the immensity of the Incarnation is presented by the phrases "stupendous truth" and "matchless deed." It is "meekness," however, lying almost concealed in the midst of the superlatives which has the greatest force of impression and most justi-

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<sup>33</sup>A Song to David, ll. 511-516. The punctuation is that of the original; later changes by editors destroy the rhythm or the meaning or both.



fies the final line. The greatest praise which Smart can give to David, greatest of poets, is that Christ came from David's line and was called his son. Yet to come from David was to Christ an act of meekness and humility. So far down did God bend to redeem man that to come from the line of the greatest of poets and men was no honor to Christ, but an abasement.

Smart's thoughts on impression seem to be summed up in some little noticed lines in A Song to David:

For ADORATION seasons change,  
And order, truth, and beauty range,  
Adjust, attract, and fill;<sup>34</sup>

The verbs in the third line correspond to the nouns in the second. The duty of order is to adjust. As in the external world God's order adjusts the seasons, so in the world of poetry the poet imposes order on his words and adjusts them to set each other off. Truth attracts. Here fable and invention cannot hold the mind. The poet communicates to his audience by displaying the divine truths through his ordering of the words. From order and truth comes beauty, which fills and satisfies man. The sequence of the terms is instructive: order to truth to beauty. Through impression the poet throws an "emphasis" (order) on a word or phrase so that "it cannot escape any reader of sheer good sense or true saga-

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., ll. 307-309.

city" (truth). Impression itself, achieved by these means, has the characteristics of "beauty, force and vehemence."<sup>35</sup>

Whether Smart was thinking directly of impression when he wrote these lines is not material. As will be shown later in the chapter, Smart sees all created things as offering praise to God by their very existence. Only in man does the praise become verbal. Smart's comments here are general ones on the created world as he is about to enter the greatest of his catalogues. In a sense, this catalogue will be an elaboration of the quoted lines, showing how through all ranks of creation "order, truth, and beauty range" for adoration. In man adoration, on the evidence of the whole poem, best shows itself through poetry directed to God. Accordingly, order and truth and beauty must also range through excellent poetry.

It is clear that in Smart's theory of impression both man's reason and his imagination must play a part in the creation of poetry. To determine the respective part of each requires a consideration of Smart's fable, "Reason and Imagination."

Certain difficulties must be considered before a discussion of the poem is begun. "Reason and Imagination" is dedicated to William Kenrick whom Smart had engaged in a literary war in about

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<sup>35</sup>The quotations are all from Horace, I, xii.

1751. There is a temptation then to take the poem as satire. More probably, however, the quarrel had been patched up. Two theories may be offered. First, Smart's quarrel with Kenrick, which lacked the violence of Smart's attack on Hill, may have been purely fictitious, designed to bolster sales of their magazines. Second, the quarrel may have been so lightly regarded by both men that over a period of twelve years it had been completely buried. Whichever explanation is true, Smart and Kenrick are known to have been friends in 1763 when "Reason and Imagination" was published; evidence may be seen in Kenrick's subscription to six copies of Smart's Psalm, exceedingly generous in a man far from rich.

The action of "Reason and Imagination" is quite simple. After a brief introduction and setting of the scene, Imagination is presented dressing herself before she sets out to woo Reason to become her mate. At their meeting Reason refuses the marriage but vows to be always ready to assist Imagination. The poem closes with a dedication to Kenrick, coupled with a lesson.

The distinction between Reason and Imagination and the separate parts they play in poetic composition is very carefully drawn and maintained by Smart. As the poem develops, the distinction is seen in terms of thematic significance; Smart is distinguishing, not between prose and poetry or between good poetry and bad, but between serious and merely amusing verse. Smart grants

entertainment, pleasure, grace, beauty to merely imaginative poetry. He does not grant such poetry truth and, consequently, lasting value. This analysis of poetic value explains Smart's concentration on poetry of religious nature during the years after his release from the madhouse. The importance of Smart's reasoning here cannot be over-stressed; Smart's madness may have taken the form of religious mania, but his dedication to religious verse in his later life was based on rational grounds. A reader may disagree with Smart's reasoning, but he cannot dismiss Smart as aberrated or attribute his poetry to a divine madness. If certain of Smart's actions were unusual,<sup>36</sup> they were nevertheless rational. The bent of Smart's mind had been shaped, but Smart's mind was fully rational.

In the fable, then, Smart begins by identifying poetry with Imagination. In the first four lines he presents the "doubtful Muse" (line 2), accompanied by "Thoughts, Imagination's host" (line 3), hovering over Reason. All her graces and beauties are insufficient for her without Reason. Smart gives the reasons in lines 31-33:

For sick of change, or left at will,  
 And cloy'd with entertainment still,  
 She thought it better to be grave . . .

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<sup>36</sup> Smart composed his religious poetry on his knees. Hunter, I, xxviii.

The failure of Imagination is that she does not bear a correspondence to truth. On her zone is written "I make and shift the scenes of thought" (line 54). Both the making and the shifting are dangerous: the making, because the "scenes of thought" should be drawn from nature; the shifting, because it lacks motivation from nature and is mere distraction. Smart clarifies his meaning when he presents her with a magic wand in lines 55-56<sup>37</sup> and in lines 57-59 describes her bearing a chart inscribed

With figures far surpassing art,  
Of other natures, suns and moons,  
Of other moves to higher tunes.

It is instructive that Imagination creates something "far surpassing art." The implication is that where there is no relation to truth and reason, there is no art.

Smart appears, in the development of Imagination's approach to Reason and in her proposal to him, to be making a deliberate choice with full knowledge of the significance to himself. Imagination's approach is heralded by Fortune, "now the fav'rite of her band (line 66). "Frail" and "capricious" (line 87) because not of Reason's household, Fortune promises "wealth and pow'r" (line 83) and "preferment" (line 85) if Reason will wed

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<sup>37</sup> Magic is a most unusual figure in Smart. Because it is a non-divine overthrowing of the laws of nature, it would bear unfavorable connotations for Smart.

himself to Imagination. When Imagination comes, she warns in lines 99-102:

You ply your studies 'till you risk  
Your senses--you should be more brisk--  
The Doctors soon will find a flaw,  
And lock you up in chains and straw.

The application to Smart's long isolation for madness is obvious. Smart also seems to foresee very clearly that the religious poetry to which he was devoting himself would not bring him the success of the modish poetry which he had written before.<sup>38</sup>

Reason is shown as Imagination's opposite. Instead of having her wings, he is "solid, weighty, deep, and sound" (line 15). When Inspiration, by the force of Conception, deals with "fantastic forms" (line 108), Reason is maintained upon the base of truth (line 5). Reason rejects marriage with Imagination: "I'm lost, if e'er I change my state" (line 122).

Yet Reason perceives that some sort of alliance is possible, even necessary. Both are sworn enemies of "dullness" (line 128), here conceived in the sense of Pope as the foe of wit, beauty, truth, and order--"great Anarch." Wit must cease to play the fool (line 136). Reason needs Imagination's "wand and winged steed" (line 134). Reason cannot be bound to Imagination, for this order

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<sup>38</sup>Smart has already had some evidence of what reaction he could expect from the public in the reviews of A Song to David.

would be false to truth; Reason must work from nature. It is necessary, however, that Reason come as an ally to Imagination, to hold her flights in check. Worthy poetry should be based on reason and inspired by imagination. In lines 143-145 Smart makes this union the heart of his praise of Kenrick:

Thou reconcil'st with Euclid's scheme,  
The tow'ring flight, the golden dream,  
With thoughts at once restrain'd and free. . . .

It is interesting that both Horace and David, the major influences on Smart who are to be the subjects of his finest verse, enter into this poem. The fable begins with Horace and ends with David and the Bible. The placing of Horace in the less important position is based on the same reasoning that Smart used in his discussion of Horace, "in justice to truth and everlasting pre-eminence."<sup>39</sup>

The judgment of Smart on Horace is interesting as it indicates what fusion of reason and imagination Smart expects in a great poet:

'Twas in the famous Sabine grove  
Where Wit so oft with Judgment strove,  
Where Wisdom grac'd the Horatian lyre,  
Like weight of metal, play'd by fire;  
When Elegance and sense conferr'd,  
Just at the coming of the Word,  
Who chose his reasons to convey

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<sup>39</sup>Horace, I, xiii.

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A plain and a familiar way. . . .

There is an implication in these lines that Smart attributes part of Horace's ability to his proximity to the birth of Christ, almost as if words were themselves redeemed by the Word. Whether this be so or not, Smart certainly places the perfection of human writing (whether of Reason alone or of Reason and Imagination together) in the inspired Sacred Scripture. Smart describes the Bible's truth as:

The lore where nothing is amiss,  
The truth to full perfection brought,  
Beyond the sage's deepest thought;  
Beyond the poet's highest flight;<sup>41</sup>

One of the failures of Imagination taken apart from Reason was her use of "other natures." Nature here was certainly taken in Johnson's sense of "just representations of general nature." Smart was, however, a poet of nature in a more specific sense. Much of The Hop-Garden is completely turgid, for example, and becomes vital only when Smart looks back to country scenes of his youth. In the poems of Smart's later period, vivid flashes of nature abound. In fact, the use of nature is a continuing element in Smart's poetry. The purpose and character of this employment of nature is essential to an understanding of Smart's poetics.

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<sup>40</sup>"Reason and Imagination," ll. 17-24.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., ll. 152-155.



Smart's use of nature is intimately connected with his religious vision. As part of God's creation, all nature through its existence and operation returns glory and praise to God. This central conception of nature is enunciated most clearly in A Song to David. After a catalogue of all creation in which the whole of creation, symbolized in seven pillars, is seen as the object of David's song, Smart writes these lines:

O David, scholar of the Lord!  
Such is thy science, whence reward  
And infinite degree;<sup>42</sup>

David's reward and exaltation is based on his knowledge that the whole of creation is fit subject for the sacred poetry of divine praise. The idea is developed most clearly as Smart compiles another catalogue, illustrating how each part of creation--angel and man, animal, plant, and mineral, astronomical, geological and meteorological phenomena, exists to give praise to God. The adoration of each link in the vast chain of being comes through the action proper to its place in the chain. Some adore by existing: the seasons (line 307) and the wind (line 336). Others offer adoration by growing: the rice and woods (lines 355-357) and almonds (line 513). All ranks of animals join in the chorus of adoration in their proper way: "lizards feed" (line 327);

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<sup>42</sup>A Song to David, ll. 223-225.

"silverlings and crusions glide" (line 541); the "scholar bulfinch" imitates the flute (lines 386-387); the ounce plays with her cubs (line 325) and the "squirrel hoards his nuts" (line 375). The adoration given God is active, not merely passive. Even inanimate things act out their adoration. Though their action is not intrinsic to them, it is essential to them: seasons exist by their constant change; the wind exists only in blowing.

All creation exists in a hymn of praise to God, but the hymn is without words:

All Nature, without voice or sound,  
Replied, "O Lord, THOU ART."<sup>43</sup>

Man shapes the voice of creation in its praise of God. In the climactic section of the Song, five attributes are predicated; each of these is heightened to the comparative degree, and each of the comparatives is applied to David inasmuch as he sang the praises of God. It should be noted that the difference between the man of prayer and the rest of creation is a difference of degree rather than of kind. In his poetry Smart frequently adverts to this double vision--that all nature glorifies God and that man is the formulator of this praise:

Muse, accordant to the season,  
Give the numbers life and air;

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 11. 239-240.

When the sounds and objects reason,  
In behalf of praise and prayer.<sup>44</sup>

For all that dwell in depth or wave,  
And ocean--every drop--  
Confess'd his mighty pow'r to save,  
When to the floods his peace he gave,  
And bade careering whirlwinds stop.<sup>45</sup>

Spinks and ouzles sing sublimely,  
'We too have a Saviour born,  
Whiter blossoms burst untimely,  
On the blest Mosaic thorn.<sup>46</sup>

And my streak'd roses fully blown,  
The sweetness of the Lord make known,  
And to his glory grow.<sup>47</sup>

For the flower glorifies God and the root parries the  
adversary.<sup>48</sup>

For I will consider my Cat Jeffry.  
For he is the servant of the Living God duly and  
daily serving him.  
For at the first glance of the glory of God in the  
East he worships in his way.<sup>49</sup>

List ye! how Nature with ten thousand tongues  
Begins the grand thanksgiving, Hail, all hail,  
Ye tenants of the forest and the field!  
My fellow subjects of th' eternal King,  
I gladly join your Mattins [sic], and with you  
Confess his presence, and report his praise.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup>"Hymn XIII," ll. 9-12.

<sup>45</sup>"Hymn XIV," ll. 31-35.

<sup>46</sup>"Hymn XXXII," ll. 29-32.

<sup>47</sup>Hymns for the Amusement of Children, "Hymn XXV," ll. 13-15.

<sup>48</sup>Jubilate Agno, B2, l. 499.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., ll. 697-699.

<sup>50</sup>On the Immensity of the Supreme Being, ll. 6-11.

I speak for all--for them that fly,  
And for the race that swim;<sup>51</sup>

Here, then, is Smart's reason for his use of nature. It is not a Romantic vision of nature; nature is not perceived as sacramental or as ennobling. Smart sees God in nature, it is true, but he sees God in himself and in all of human society. There is seldom a sense in Smart of the poet isolated with nature. Smart's view is an eighteenth century view; the poet is part of a social world in which all parts of creation have their proper places. Certainly Smart's view of nature is most uncommonly vivid, concrete, and unsteretyped. It remains, however, the eighteenth century view rather than the Romantic. Smart's heart would leap up with Wordsworth's at the sight of a rainbow, but Smart saw God equally in the "social droves."<sup>52</sup> Nature is fundamentally based on truth and is eminently reasonable, as Smart stated clearly in "Reason and Imagination."

Smart sometimes identifies man with natural objects:

A lark's nest, then your playmate begs  
You'd spare herself and speckled eggs,<sup>53</sup>

More often he maintains a sense of separateness-not of separation,

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<sup>51</sup>"Hymn VI," ll. 36-37.

<sup>52</sup>A Song to David, l. 211.

<sup>53</sup>Hymns for the Amusement of Children, "Hymn XXXIII," ll. 5-6.

for man is in the middle state, between natural and divine,  
sharing each world. Smart has a real love of the natural world:

How manifold thy works are made,  
O Lord--by thankful man survey'd,  
What an exhaustless theme:<sup>54</sup>

He retains a conviction that the world of nature exists for man:

Let earth adore, as from the spring  
Her choicest flow'rs she straws;  
Let heav'n and ocean have their swing  
Of infinite applause.

For Jesus shall repair the road  
To Zion's heav'nly courts,  
That men may settle their abode  
Where endless joy transports.<sup>55</sup>

Nature exists for man; it is man, not nature, that is destined  
for eternal life.

Smart is very obviously a lover of nature, but his love is  
fundamentally reasonable. He may be enraptured or charmed, but  
he is never sentimental. His perception of nature is intense;  
his imaging of it is vivid; yet his expression is clear and sharp,  
and his approach is logical and planned. A Song to David is pro-  
fuse in nature imagery, but Smart supplied as clear an outline for  
the poem as Pope did for An Essay on Man.

Although Smart's use of nature is rooted in his perception

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<sup>54</sup>"Psalm CIV," ll. 139-141.

<sup>55</sup>"Psalm LXIX," ll. 137-145.

of a universal train of praise, the hint from which this idea grew may have come from Robert Lowth's De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum which Smart praised highly in The Midwife. In this book Lowth (later Bishop Lowth) lays emphasis on the Hebraic use of metaphor to attain sublimity. Obscurity is avoided by using familiar objects as the source of the metaphors.<sup>56</sup> Lowth lays special stress on the dignity and splendor of that imagery which is drawn from agriculture and farming.<sup>57</sup> Sublimity is retained by the greatness of the sentiment, the power of the language, and especially by the form and arrangement of the poem.<sup>58</sup> Lowth's list of the sources of Hebraic imagery could serve also as a list of the sources of Smart's imagery. These sources are "primo, ex rebus naturalibus; secundo ex moribus, artificibus, rebusque in communi vita occurrentibus, tertio ex rebus sacris; postremo ex rebus gestis quae in historia sacra maxime sunt insignes."<sup>59</sup>

The use made by Smart of natural images in his poetry is startling because of its directness in his better poetry. In his

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<sup>56</sup>Lowth, I, 93-97.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., pp. 116-117.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 27. The suggestions here may be the source of Smart's doctrine of impression.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

earlier work the imagery is often conventional, though even in these poems there are flashes of directness. Three modes, accordingly, of using nature imagery can be discerned in Smart's poetry: conventional poetic diction, fresh statement based on direct observation, and a use of poetic diction in such a way that an original image is formed through the diction itself.

Examples of the first two modes can be seen in On the Goodness of the Supreme Being:

Without thy aid, without thy gladsome beams  
The tribes of woodland warblers wou'd remain  
Mute on the bending branches . . .

. . . . .  
And though their throats coarse rattling hurt the ear  
They mean it all for music. . . .<sup>60</sup>

The first mode has little importance in a study of Smart's major poetry. The second is of major importance and is elaborated in various ways.

One of the most common methods employed by Smart is to use the name of a specific animal or other object accompanied by one or two adjectives which communicate the character of the animal rather than physically describe it. In A Song to David many examples occur: "the brave domestic cock" (line 137), "quick peculiar quince" (line 354), "scholar bulfinch" (line 390). Sometimes the noun is coupled with a verb rather than with an ad-

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<sup>60</sup>Cited by Callan, I, xxix.

tive; again from the Song: "The squirrel hoards his nuts" (line 314), "Shoots xiphias to his aim" (line 450), "the beaver plods his task" (line 145), "kids exult" (line 150). Concrete nouns are sometimes placed in a series without any modifiers so that the reader is led to supply the images himself: "The raven, swan, and jay" (A Song to David, line 138).

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The other senses are appealed to in the same direct way, but Smart is especially successful in his attempts to catch the songs of birds in a few striking phrases:

They that make music, or that mock. . . .<sup>62</sup>

The scholar bulfinch aims to catch  
The soft flute's ev'ry touch;<sup>63</sup>

Hark! aloud, the black-bird whistles. . . .<sup>64</sup>

The third mode in which Smart presents nature imagery is somewhat difficult to express. It is similar to the first mode in that the ordinary poetic diction is employed. Through the diction, however, a new perception is made, but one which is not independent of the implications of the diction now freshly per-

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<sup>61</sup>Smart may have been influenced in this directness by Lowth's statement (I, 304) that Hebraic poetry is essentially brief.

<sup>62</sup>A Song to David, l. 136.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., ll. 386-387.

<sup>64</sup>"Hymn XIII," l. 37.



ceived. For example, to refer to the beauties of the landscape as decoration was commonplace. When Smart says in his Christmas hymn that

Nature's decorations glisten  
Far above their usual trim<sup>65</sup>

he wishes the reader to be aware of the diction. In the context of the celebration of Christ's Nativity, however, the decorations are communicated as deliberately set out by God to glorify Christ's birth and as almost a willed attempt by nature to heap up praises. With this perception in mind one may turn back to diction and realize that the phrase has real value and represents a conception of nature that is always true for Smart. It should again be noted that if the conception is mystical in its essence, it is not based on an intuition of God but rather on a reasoned theology.

Since many of Smart's poetic devices have already been mentioned in the third chapter of this paper, only a few additional ones need to be considered in this place.

Smart's favorite stanza form is the romance-six, the stanza employed in A Song to David. Since he used this stanza throughout his career, a study of the development will reveal the qualities of meter and phrasing which Smart developed. This stanza is iambic verse, rhyming a,a,b,c,c,b, with the a and c lines tetra-

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<sup>65</sup>"Hymn XXXII," ll. 21-22.

meter, the b lines trimeter. The stanza adapts itself readily to incremental repetition and moves naturally toward a climax. The major disadvantage is that it can readily fall into a jingling form.

In his early employment of this stanza form Smart often used its propensity toward jingling and the development toward a climax for humorous effect, as in "The Decision," "To Miss Kitty Bennet, and Her Cat Crop," and especially "Lovely Harriote." His most serious use of the form, "To Maecenas," is almost completely vitiated by the jingling effect. Of the seventy-two lines of the poem, sixty-six comprise phrases exactly coterminous with the line length. Only one line in the poem is a run-on, and only five lines have interior pauses. Of the twelve stanzas only one is divided into other than two three-line units. Substitute feet occur rarely, only eight times in the initial position. The climactic sixth line seems an embarrassment to Smart; occasionally it seems added just to complete the stanzaic pattern.

A late example can best be seen in "Psalm CIV" which seems in its theme, in its use of the catalogue, and in many of its images to have been written before A Song to David. It is not improbable that this poem may have served as a model for the Song. "Psalm CIV" is less than three times as long as "To Maecenas," but contains fifty-eight run-on lines and twenty-three lines with

interior pauses. Three times there is no pause at the half-stanza and in ten cases a half-stanza forms one phrase. In nineteen cases the initial foot of a line is reversed.

If "Psalm CIV" is compared with the Song, the maturity of Smart's use of the stanza can be seen. There is even greater variation of phrase from the individual line. The use of a trochaic first foot is so common as to lend a distinctive rhythm to the poem; the last fifteen stanzas gain much of their climactic effect from this technique. Parallelism is frequently employed, sometimes between line pairs, more frequently between the stanzas and half-stanzas. There is a great use made of pairs of alliterating words and of unalliterated triplets. Especially striking in showing Smart's ability to make use of the stanzaic climax is the use of alliterative couplets or of triplets in the sixth line of each stanza, culminating in the rhymed triplet of the final stanza. The use of triplets is not, of course, unique with Smart; they are, for example, among the more evident characteristics of Johnson's prose style. Smart adopts both the triplet and the alliterative pair of words or elements in all his later poetry to some extent, but he employs them more frequently in the romance-six stanza.

The antiphonal quality mentioned earlier has its most striking use--apart from Jubilate Agne--in this measure. Three types

of parallel structure, adapting itself easily to the possibility of choral recitation, are possible; individual lines may be paired; stanzas may be paired; half-stanzas may be paired. The last possibility is more commonly employed by Smart in this measure and seems most distinctive of it. The short third line is well-suited for a minor climax which the sixth line may, in parallelism, intensify, while the rhyming of these two lines emphasizes their structure:

Strong is the horse upon his speed;  
 Strong in pursuit the rapid glade,  
     Which makes at once his game;  
 Strong the tall ostrich on the ground,  
 Strong through the turbulent profound  
     Shoots xiphias to his aim.<sup>66</sup>

Perhaps Smart's mastery of the form can be seen even more strongly in his translation of Horace's ode "To Chloe" since this ode contrasts more strongly with Smart's early humorous use of the stanza. The ode is certainly a humorous poem, but unlike the earlier work it exhibits a mastery of the form. "Lovely Harriote," for example, relies on its ingenious rhymes for the effect while Smart makes a virtue of necessity and turns the lack of climax into anti-climax. In "To Chloe," however, Smart has complete control over his medium and attains his humor through the

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<sup>66</sup> A Song to David, ll. 445-450.

virtues of the medium. In a previous discussion in this chapter it was demonstrated that the final word male lent point to the poem. The intellectual, emotional, and rhythmical climaxes coalesce just as they do, for a different purpose and effect, in "DONE" of A Song to David.

The romance-six is certainly not the only stanza form which Smart employs successfully. In his better poems he uses a variety of regular forms, especially quatrains, tetrameter couplets, and several varieties of five and six line stanzas.<sup>67</sup> Considering his poetry as a whole, Smart employs all the metrical forms of his century, including blank verse, the heroic couplet, the Pindaric Ode, and a form of Spenserian stanza, as well as some patterns of his own.

It has become clear in the discussion of the romance-six stanza that Smart realized and utilized its potential to the fullest extent. Smart was a very clever metrist whose use of his varied forms has not been sufficiently examined.<sup>68</sup> As he matured he chose his verse patterns carefully and with a clear intention

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<sup>67</sup> Most interesting of these stanzaic patterns is a form which Smart employs very frequently in the Horace and which he seems to have invented. It is a four line iambic stanza, rhymed in couplets, of which the first two lines are tetrameter, the third is pentameter, and the fourth is an alexandrine.

<sup>68</sup> Some of these forms will be analyzed in Chapter VII.

of utilizing their possibilities. He was also an experimenter as his effort to adapt English metrics to the Latin quantitative Sapphics in translating "Persicos odi" attests. Smart was not always successful in his utilization of the various meters and patterns which he employed, but he ceased to write those forms, such as heroic couplets and blank verse, which he could not master.

Smart's poetics, then, may be seen as a combination of various qualities: Hebraic brevity, sublimity of subject and language and emotion, use of catalogue, parallelism, and antiphonal pattern; Horatian impression and "curiosity of choice diction"; and exploitation of the possibilities of metrical patterns; the use of imagery based upon nature in a startling direct manner and ultimately for a religious purpose; and finally, the firm basing of poetry upon reason, truth and general nature.

## CHAPTER V

### THE THEORY OF TRANSLATION IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although this chapter is particularly concerned with the theory of translation in the age of Smart, it is necessary to look back to the age of John Dryden to obtain a comprehensive view of eighteenth century translation. The principles which Dryden laid down as guide-lines for translation in the preface to his translation of Ovid's Epistles were adopted by the ensuing century. Draper notes explicit commendation of Dryden by Pope, Dunster, Garth, and Tytler (Woodhouselee).<sup>1</sup> Even more striking is the commendation given by Johnson: "Dryden saw very early that closeness best preserved an author's sense, and that freedom best exhibited his spirit."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John W. Draper, "The Theory of Translation in the Eighteenth Century," Neophilologus, VI (1921), 244. This article contains valuable bibliographic references to eighteenth century statements on translation.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Johnson, The Idler, 69 (Saturday, August 11, 1959), in The Idler and the Adventurer, ed. W. J. Bate and others (New Haven and London, 1963), p. 217. Since some citations in this chapter are taken from modern editions and some from the originals, for the sake of consistency all capitalization has been altered to conform with modern usage.

In a famous passage that proposed three divisions of translation which were adopted by his successors, Dryden said:

All translation, I suppose, may be reduced to these three heads:

First, that of metaphrase, of turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another. Thus, or near this manner was Horace his Art of Poetry translated by Ben Jonson. The second way is that of paraphrase, or translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered. Such is Mr. Waller's translation of Virgil's fourth Aeneid. The third way is that of imitation, when the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both, as he sees occasion; and taking only some general hints from the original to run division on the groundwork, as he pleases. Such is Mr. Gowley's practice in turning two odes of Pindar, and one of Horace, into English.<sup>3</sup>

Dryden went on to say that he considered metaphrase, literal translation from Latin into English, as almost impossible to accomplish well.<sup>4</sup>

The eighteenth century view of translation took its origin from Dryden. Accordingly, when an eighteenth century translator spoke of being literal he was often, with Dryden, ruled out the possibility of translating well by metaphrase and is referring to paraphrase as a literal translation. It follows, then, that when

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<sup>3</sup>John Dryden, "Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistles," in Prose Works, ed. Edmund Malone (London, 1800), III, 14-15.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 15.



the eighteenth century writer speaks of a loose translation he often refers to a mode of translation that today would be classed as imitation. The broadening of Dryden's theory of paraphrase was helped in no small measure by the fact that, as Dryden himself admitted,<sup>5</sup> his translations of Ovid were much looser than his theory allowed.

The position is summarized by Draper:

In short, literary translations were widely divergent from the originals. Starting from an idea of the "literal" far less exact than ours, the translators commonly modified it still further by taking a Procrustean poetic style, by adaptation to Eighteenth Century manners and customs, by expurgation and by "obscuration" due to religious and moral qualms.<sup>6</sup>

Imitations were still being written as original works, modifications on themes suggested by the Ancients: Pope's "To Augustus," Johnson's "On the Vanity of Human Wishes," Smart's "The Horatian Canons of Friendship." Other imitations were mere exercises in ingenuity and adaptations; belonging to this class were especially the manifold variations on Horace's Art of Poetry, such as The Art of Preaching by Robert Dodsley (?) in 1746, Seasonable Reproof by James Miller (?) in 1735, The Art of Life by James Miller in 1739.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>6</sup>Draper, p. 250.

With these imitations, however, were translations that were, from the translators' own statements, rather imitative than paraphrase. Percival Stockdale, for example, wrote in the preface to his translation of The Amyntas:

I shall despise the impertinent censure of any pedantic Italian, any wordcatcher, who lives on syllables, who, full of cavil and envy, but destitute of judgment and taste, . . . having first caught his mother-tongue like a parrot. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

Similarly Hare prefaced his translation of Horace by saying, "I choose in many places not to express myself in the manner that my author really has, but that I imagined he would, had the language of his age and country been the same with that of ours."<sup>8</sup> Since Dryden had said that in imitation one should write as he might suppose the original would have written "had he lived in our age and in our country,"<sup>9</sup> it is clear that the distinction between paraphrase and imitation is no longer observed. The meaning has shifted so that imitation as a term is used to refer to professedly original compositions; translation and paraphrase are used for any work which pretends to translate, however loosely.

Often the writers of the period themselves seemed confused.

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<sup>7</sup>Percival Stockdale, The Amyntas (London, 1770), p. xviii.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Hare, A Translation of the Odes and Epodes of Horace into English Verse (London, 1737), p. xii.

<sup>9</sup>Dryden, III, 17.

In a review of Mrs. Charlotte Lennox's The Greek Theatre of Father Brunoy, The Critical Review stated that Mrs. Lennox and her associates had "rather improved than translated their original,"<sup>10</sup> which was a French translation of Greek drama. The review proceeds to note a little later that since they have so "excellently translated a book--they could have written a better."<sup>11</sup>

The problem of fidelity to the source is a historical one going back to the age of the Elizabethans and Jacobean when there were two schools of translators, a literal school typified by Ben Jonson and a free school typified by George Chapman.<sup>12</sup> The eighteenth century idea of translators earlier than these is given by Johnson, who says that Chaucer "attempted nothing higher than a version strictly literal, and has degraded the poetical parts to prose, that the constraint of versification might not obstruct his zeal for fidelity."<sup>13</sup> Johnson goes on to say that "little improvement" could be found until the Elizabethans who discovered "that greater liberty was necessary to elegance and

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<sup>10</sup>The Critical Review, IX (1760), p. 117.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 123. Italics mine.

<sup>12</sup>J. E. Spingarn, ed., Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1909), III, liv-lv.

<sup>13</sup>Samuel Johnson, The Idler, 69, p. 214. It should be noted that "zeal" did not have favorable connotations for Johnson.

that elegance was necessary to general reception."<sup>14</sup> It is with this view of translation that Johnson later wrote:

It has been objected by some, who wish to be numbered among the sons of learning<sup>15</sup> that Pope's version of Homer is not Homeric. . . . Virgil wrote in a language of the same general fabrick with that of Homer, in verses of the same measure, and in an age nearer to Homer's time by eighteen hundred years; yet he found even then . . . the demand for elegance so much increased, that mere nature would be endured no longer. . . .

One refinement always makes way for another, and what was expedient to Virgil was necessary to Pope. . . . Elegance is surely to be desired if not gained at the expense of dignity. A hero would wish to be loved as well as to be revered.

. . . [T]he purpose of a writer is to be read, and the criticism which would destroy the power of pleasing must be blown aside. Pope wrote for his own age and his own nation.<sup>16</sup>

The theories underlying Johnson's statements developed over the course of a century. As early as 1656 Denham had said, "It is a modern error, in translating poets, to effect being fidus interpres."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>15</sup>Johnson is probably thinking of Richard Bentley who said of Pope's Iliad, "Very pretty, but you must not call it Homer."

<sup>16</sup>Samuel Johnson, "Life of Pope" in Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1905) III, 238-240.

<sup>17</sup>Sir John Denham, "The Destruction of Troy," quoted by Spingarn, III, 323. There is constant appeal for authority through the eighteenth century to the same passage in the Ars Poetica to which Denham alludes:

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus  
Interpres. (ll. 133-134)

The motivation behind translation was not to carry the ideas<sup>18</sup> of the classics into English, but to refine the English language. For this reason the Monthly Review dismissed Smart's prose Horace<sup>19</sup> as valuable only as an aid to schoolboys: it was too literal. Although translation flourished, it was not cultivated for the sake of the originals. Draper is overly harsh when he says that the eighteenth century sought to remake all things in its own image.<sup>20</sup> To say that the translators of the middle of the eighteenth century aimed at reproducing the spirit of the original<sup>21</sup> but at doing so through their own form is closer to the mark.

It is very easy to confuse the issue. There were actually two styles of translation being practiced during the eighteenth century, one of which does deserve the strictures of Draper. This type of translator claimed, as did Duncombe, that his translation was the work of his leisure time.<sup>22</sup> The defects of such translators can be ascribed to laxity and ignorance and to a desire to please the "crass taste and faulty scholarship" of the intended

<sup>18</sup>Spingarn, III, xlviii-1. Cf. Draper, p. 244.

<sup>19</sup>Monthly Review, XVI (July, 1756), 32.

<sup>20</sup>Draper, p. 241.

<sup>21</sup>James Hannay, "Horace and His Translators," in The Odes and Epodes of Horace (Boston, 1901), I, 112.

<sup>22</sup>John Duncombe, The Works of Horace (London, 1757), I, vi.

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There were other translators, however, far more serious in intention. Pope and Smart, for example, spent years on their translation. Their purpose was not to make Horace or Virgil or Homer available for those who could not read the originals but to express an insight to be interpreted in the matrix compounded of the classical world and of their own.<sup>24</sup> Such a purpose clearly underlies Johnson's discussion of Pope's translation of Homer.

From Johnson, too, it is clear that translation had come to be regarded as a genre, just as the epic and the pastoral were genres.<sup>25</sup> Inasmuch as translation was a genre of English verse, the emphasis in judging it would tend to fall upon its merits as verse, not as translation. Critics would allow liberties because the translation would be from good verse into good verse.<sup>26</sup> Dennis, indeed, claimed that a translator must use figures even when Homer had not used them.<sup>27</sup> Johnson said that the way to

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<sup>23</sup>Draper, pp. 250-251.

<sup>24</sup>Douglas Knight, "Translation: the Augustan Mode," in On Translation, ed. Reuben O. Brower (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 198.

<sup>25</sup>Johnson, "Life of Pope," p. 238.

<sup>26</sup>Edward Niles Hooker, ed., Critical Works of John Dennis (Baltimore, 1939), I, 428.

<sup>27</sup>John Dennis, "Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer," ibid., II, 123.

judge a translation's worth was to "try its effect as an English poem."<sup>28</sup>

It is this concept of translation as a genre of English verse that accounts for what appears today to have been mere ignorance on the part of the reviewers in the century. Contributing to the reviewers' subordination of fidelity to pleasant versification<sup>29</sup> was the concept of the natural inferiority of English to the classical languages.<sup>30</sup>

For any of four different reasons, therefore, the translator might exclude fidelity from the essence of his translation. First, his concern might be primarily to elevate the language by introducing new figures and elegance. Second, his major concern might be to appeal to the taste of a powerful patron or of the public generally. Third, his concern might be with adapting classical thought to English manners and so putting his own world in a new perspective. Fourth, his concern might be primarily with translation as a genre of English poetry so that he consid-

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<sup>28</sup>James Boswell, Life of Johnson, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1887), III, 256.

<sup>29</sup>Draper, p. 251.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Boswell, I, 257; Alexander Pope, The Iliad of Homer (London, 1743), I, [xvii]; Thomas Creech, The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace, 3rd edition (London, 1711), p. [iv]; Dennis, II, 123.

ered primarily the poetic value of his versification.

Added to these general assumptions of the translators, there were certain specific problems of translation which were generally decided in such a way as to mitigate against accuracy of translation. The first of these was the problem of how to handle an original which became "low."

Roscommon, whom Dryden praised highly, said that it was safer to omit than to add when translating, to rise and fall with one's original; improving one's original was allowable, but it called for judgment rather than for invention.<sup>31</sup> Dryden commented upon Roscommon's theory by stating that a translator had "no right to improve his author's sense and character."<sup>32</sup> Yet Johnson was to say in reference to raising, rather tentatively for Johnson, that "to have added can be no great crime if nothing be taken away."<sup>33</sup> By the last decade of the eighteenth century Woodhouselee had come to a position diametrically opposed to that of Roscommon by saying that a translator must never permit his original to fall.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, An Essay upon Translated Verse, in John Dryden, Sylvae (London, 1702) pp. 4-10.

<sup>32</sup>Dryden, "Preface to Ovid's Epistles," p. 20.

<sup>33</sup>Johnson, Life of Pope, III, 239.

<sup>34</sup>Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, Essay on the Principles of Translation (Edinburgh, 1813), p. 45.



During the century Hare expressed the common feeling of translators when he claimed proudly to have softened what was harsh, illustrated what was obscure, and raised what was low.<sup>35</sup> Francis stood almost alone in his refusal to alter his original.<sup>36</sup> An example of "raising" is given in the next chapter in the discussion of Smart's translation of the first ode of the first book of Horace.

As the most influential translation of the century (at least until Ossian) was Pope's Iliad, it seems fitting to end this discussion of "raising" the original with an example from Pope, together with his explanatory note:

. . . or thick as insects play,  
The wandering nation of a summer's day,  
That drawn by milky steams, at ev'ning hours,  
In gather'd swarms surround the rural bow'rs;  
From post to post with busy murmur run  
The gilded legions glitt'ring in the sun.<sup>37</sup>

Quite apart from other changes, the second, fifth, and sixth of the above lines are additions by Pope. He justifies his changes in a footnote:

The lowness of this image, in comparison with those

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<sup>35</sup>Hare, p. xii.

<sup>36</sup>Philip Francis, A Poetical Translation of the Works of Horace (London, 1749) I, vii. The implication of complete accuracy is contradicted by Francis' later claim to have made Horace look like an English original whenever possible, ibid., p. ix.

<sup>37</sup>Pope, The Iliad, Book I, ll. 552-557.

which precede, will naturally shock a modern critic, and would scarce be forgiven in a poet of these times. The utmost a translator can do is to heighten the expression, so as to render the disparity less observable. . . . If this be done successfully, the reader is so far from being offended at a low idea, that it raises his surprise to find it grown great in the poet's hands.<sup>38</sup>

Besides raising what was low, the translators of the middle of the eighteenth century had also developed the habit of refining what they felt was indelicate and of presenting English customs in place of the classical ones. In the words of Hare, the translator was to soften the harsh, illustrate the obscure, and refine the vulgar.<sup>39</sup> The theory again goes back to Roscommon who had said the translation must be censored from immodesty and "unperplex'd" in sense.<sup>40</sup>

Carried to extremes, this theory could lead to the position of Dennis who implied that a translator should adapt his original to the religion of the translator and of his contemporaries.<sup>41</sup> It could lead to censorship so absurd as Duncombe's translation of "nudae nymphae" in Horace's Ode iv.7 as "nymph with face unveiled."<sup>42</sup> The necessity of expurgation was assumed by the re-

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 108-109. Italics mine.

<sup>39</sup> Hare, p. xii.

<sup>40</sup> Roscommon, pp. 5-9.

<sup>41</sup> John Dennis, "The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry," in Hooker, ed., I, 369.

<sup>42</sup> Duncombe, I, 457.

viewers as well as the translators. Thus Draper notes that of two translations of Juvenal, both considered accurate, the Monthly Review in 1784 called Knox's fit for general consumption, but in 1789 claimed that Madan's must be treated with caution because he had not expurgated.<sup>43</sup> Similarly Mrs. Lennox's translation of a French translation of Greek drama, a translation Mrs. Lennox censored because of her shock at Greek coarseness, received the high praise noted earlier.

With these theories understood, it is easier to trace the general idea of fidelity through the century and to understand that what seem contradictions today were not considered such in the eighteenth century's mode of translation. When the eighteenth century men of letters spoke of preserving the sense of an original, they meant only the most general similarity of an idea.<sup>44</sup> Translators such as Thomas Sheridan, who asked the reader to submit corrections where they found his work literally incorrect,<sup>45</sup> were rare.

The two great translators of the early period spoke out strongly for literal translation. Pope said, as noted above, that

<sup>43</sup>Draper, p. 247.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Thomas Sheridan, The Satyra of Persius (Dublin, 1728), p. [ix].

a translator must give the original "entire and unmaimed." He added that only those liberties should be taken which are necessary to bring the spirit of the original into the translation.<sup>46</sup> Dryden insisted that a translator had no right to improve his original.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, both Pope and Dryden violated their rules; Dryden, at least, admitted that he had.<sup>48</sup>

The excuse given for looseness in translation was that it is necessary to capture the fire of the original.<sup>49</sup> The later translators follow this pattern. Garth wrote, "The original should always be kept in mind, without too apparent a deviation from the source."<sup>50</sup> Grainger spoke for a "middle way," neither treading on the heels of his author nor losing sight of him.<sup>51</sup> Fawkes wanted a compromise between "rash paraphrase" and "verbal translation."<sup>52</sup> Garth was the only one of these men who attempted to

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<sup>46</sup> Pope, I, [ xvii-xviii ] .

<sup>47</sup> Dryden, "Preface to Ovid's Epistles," III, 20-22.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Pope insists that the translator must regard poetic "fire principally," I, [ xviii ] .

<sup>50</sup> Samuel Garth, "Preface to Ovid's Metamorphoses," in Chalmers, XX, 429.

<sup>51</sup> James Grainger, "Advertisement to the Elegies of Tibullus," in Chalmers, XX, 116.

<sup>52</sup> Francis Fawkes, "Preface to the Idylliums of Theocritus," in Chalmers, XX, 157.

delineate his methods: a perfect poem must be translated exactly, but one imperfect, whether from "exuberance" or "hasty brevity," should be corrected, for the author himself would have corrected it if he had had a chance to do so.<sup>53</sup> The criterion seems not to be over-helpful. Duncombe, although he phrases his preface in such a way as to imply more literal translation,<sup>54</sup> and Francklyn<sup>55</sup> belong to this same class of translators.

A very few translators and critics called for a more accurate rather than a more free translation. An early writer of this sort was William Wotton who felt that translation in any real sense was impossible "because all languages have a peculiar way of expressing the same things, which is lost in translation. . . ."<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, if translation was to be attempted, such "peculiar ways" should be brought out by the translation; accordingly, Wotton attacked such a translator as M. D'Ablancourt who had "left his author to write good French" simply because more critics "could fault style than translation."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Garth, p. 429.

<sup>54</sup>He claimed to have traced "the original as closely as was consistent with the genius and elegance of the English tongue," Duncombe, I, vi.

<sup>55</sup>Thomas Francklyn, Translation: A Poem (London, 1753), ll. 5-6.

<sup>56</sup>William Wotton, "Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning," in Spingarn, III, 222.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

Philip Francis, whose translation of Horace was the most widely received in the century,<sup>58</sup> claimed that he had not enlarged the poet's design nor added to his thoughts,<sup>59</sup> and did actually give alternates for dubious passages to let the reader judge for himself.<sup>60</sup> Some few critics also stood for an accuracy which would be based not only on an understanding of the classic languages but also of the classic customs.<sup>61</sup> Generally, however, Draper is correct in speaking of the ignorance, whether from lack of ability or from faulty theory, of the reviewer and the critic.<sup>62</sup>

The majority of translators stretched Dryden's theory of paraphrase to the limit. They used the practice of Dryden and of Pope as justification for extreme freedom in the letter of translation in order that they might achieve the true spirit of the original. Often, however, the spirit of the original seems incom-

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<sup>58</sup>Cf. Hawkesworth's letter, mentioned above and quoted by Hunter, I, xxv; Johnson quoted in Boswell, III, 356; and Hanney, p. 113.

<sup>59</sup>Francis, A Poetical Translation of the Works of Horace, I, vii.

<sup>60</sup>Philip Francis, The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace (London, 1743), I, xiii-xiv.

<sup>61</sup>Joseph Spence, A Guide to Classical Learning: or Polymetia Abridged, second edition (London, 1765), pp. 69-80. Much the same theory of translation can be seen in Spence's Essay on Pope's "Odyssey" (London, 1726-27).

<sup>62</sup>Draper, pp. 251-252.

prehensible to the eighteenth century translator. Mrs. Lennox, for example, was shocked by the indelicacy of the Greek dramatists and the attributes which they gave heroes and gods.<sup>63</sup> Her preface is an interesting example of the blind spot of the eighteenth century translator. Rather than go to the original Greek, she translated a French translation of the plays because, she wrote, they have "almost the whole fire and spirit of the original."<sup>64</sup> Her statement implies that she could read Greek, yet she seems never to have considered translating from the Greek directly for the sake of accuracy.

Hare has already been mentioned several times for his explicit announcement of his intention to change the original. His justification was that he wished not translation of words but of the spirit.<sup>65</sup> Stockdale was quite intemperate in the language he employed to justify his very free translation.<sup>66</sup> Although Trapp spoke only of changing the "language and turn of versification," his translation was actually very free.<sup>67</sup> Something of

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<sup>63</sup>Mrs. Lennox, I, v.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. iv.

<sup>65</sup>Hare, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>66</sup>Stockdale, p. xviii.

<sup>67</sup>Joseph Trapp, The Works of Virgil (London, 1735), I, vii.

the critical attitude can be seen in the Monthly Review's consideration of a translation of "The Splendid Shilling" into Latin. The reviewer was apparently very uncomfortable in handling Latin, so that his remarks were extremely general. Further, although the translation was extremely loose, he accorded it high praise for catching the "flow" which he called characteristic of Latin poetry.<sup>68</sup>

It is surprising that with the emphasis that there was on catching the spirit of the original, so few of the eighteenth century translators attempted to imitate the form of the original. Although it is an exaggeration to say that the theory of catching the style of the original meant, in practice, the inevitable couplet, the couplet certainly did predominate. This usage can be traced to a double source: in theory, to the belief that English was deficient in metrical qualities; in practice, to the translations of Dryden and Pope.

Blank verse had been tried as early as Trapp, who inveighed against the "fetters of rhyme."<sup>69</sup> By the middle of the century some acknowledged blank verse to be more accurate than the heroic couplet,<sup>70</sup> but practically it was avoided in major works until

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<sup>68</sup>Monthly Review, V (June, 1951), 452.

<sup>69</sup>Trapp, I, vii.

<sup>70</sup>Boswell, III, 257. Actually the principle went back to Rosecommon, p. 16, but had been forgotten.



Cowper. The couplet, despite the influence of Cowper and Macpherson, was still in use for major translations as late as John Hoole's Orlando Furioso in 1785, a book popular enough to undergo reprintings as late as 1807.

In regard to Horace, a distinction was made between the odes and the other works. Creech employed varied forms for the odes, but the heroic elsewhere. Francis stated that since Latin measures could not be preserved in English, he would at least keep the form of the strophes; he vigorously attacked the use of the heroic couplet, saying that it was ludicrous to use only one style of verse for the varied Latin poets, so that "the free-born spirit of poetry is confined in twenty constant syllables, and the sense regularly ends with the second line, as if the writer had not strength enough to support himself or courage enough to venture into a third."<sup>71</sup> This is a criticism that Smart was also to voice, but whereas Smart totally avoided the pentameter couplet in translating Horace, Francis did frequently employ it.

Hare has several times been mentioned as almost a model of the way in which the eighteenth century writers had twisted the meaning of translation. In regard to form he again illustrates how little the original was regarded; he chose whatever form

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<sup>71</sup> Francis, A Poetical Translation of the Works of Horace, I, viii.

"hit my fancy best at the time of writing."<sup>72</sup>

By the middle of the eighteenth century, then, although Dryden's terms of metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation were being used as guidelines to translation, the original meaning of paraphrase had been blurred by adverting to Dryden's practice rather than to his theory. The translators professed to be attempting to catch the spirit of the originals rather than the words. Actually it would seem very doubtful, judging from the changes made in translation, just how well the translators understood the spirit of the classic writers. Translation was practiced as a profitable genre of English poetry. A real care for the originals, such as was felt by Francis and by Smart, was rare.

After the middle of the century a trend toward greater accuracy began. This trend stemmed from the gradual growth of interest in the remote and ancient; it intensified through the growth of the Romantic spirit. The popularity of Ossian helped destroy the reliance on melodic verse forms. Finally, a rise in classical scholarship made itself felt in literature. This careful scholarship went back to Bentley, despite all his faults, but its influence was slow in literature because of Bentley's quarrels with the major writers of the early part of the century. The de-

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<sup>72</sup>Hare, p. xiii.

velopment of this rise in accuracy during the latter part of the century is, however, outside the scope of this paper.

## CHAPTER VI

### SMART'S HORACE AS TRANSLATION

When Smart translated Horace's poetry, he may have been acting out of a sense of loyalty to Horace from whom he had derived the justification for his use of unusual words and his theory of impression. Smart was certainly, however, composing this translation from a motive of justice to himself, to prevent<sup>1</sup> injury to his memory, as he thought, from his prose translation.

With this as his motive, Smart would certainly have lavished all of his creative power on the translation to set off his own genius as best he could. Something of this intention comes through in his introduction to his Horace when he speaks of the need for affinity of spirit between the translator and the poet who is being translated.<sup>2</sup> It can therefore be expected that Smart's version of Horace would tend more toward paraphrase than toward metaphrase. Smart stresses the fact that Horace's "un-

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<sup>1</sup>Hunter, I, xxiv.

<sup>2</sup>Horace, I, viii.

rivalled peculiarity of expression" seems to him to be the essential quality of Horace's verse, rather than the "matter and sentiments" which Smart believes are very common.<sup>3</sup>

Smart, as a good translator, must therefore make a special effort to convey this peculiar expression into English, a task more specifically poetic and original than is the translation of the subject matter or of the emotional quality only. It is the difficulty of carrying expression from one language to another that led Johnson to say that poetry could not be translated.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear from Smart's introduction that he was aware of his problem and that he wanted recognition for his poetic achievement in solving it. He lists those odes in which he feels that he has been most successful in catching Horace's curiosa felicitas<sup>5</sup> and those in which he has best brought the form of impression into English.<sup>6</sup> Finally, Smart notes that though he always re-

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>James Boswell, Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1887), III, 36. The reasoning behind this theory may be this, expressed elsewhere by Boswell in language which sounds very much as if it was quoted from Johnson: "The truth is, it is impossible perfectly to translate poetry. In a different language it may be the same tune, but it has not the same tone." Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>5</sup>Horace, I, ix-x.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. xvii-xxi.

garded Horace "with extreme approbation," yet he never considered Horace "wholly inimitable."<sup>7</sup>

In discussing his translation Smart notes that he has chosen tetrameter couplets as a medium for the Satires and Epiistles, for the use of the formal and dignified heroic couplet in the translations of these familiar poems has always seemed to him absurd.<sup>8</sup> Although not noted by Smart, the employment of rhyme presents a problem equal to that of the meter. Smart may well have recognized the difficulty though, since he omits rhyme only once, but that in Ode 1.38 in which he tried to be closest to his original.<sup>9</sup>

Three special problems are, therefore, to be considered in reference to Smart's translation: the diction, the meter, and the rhyme. A more general problem for consideration is Smart's fidelity to the theme and spirit of Horace's verse.

This latter problem of over-all fidelity cannot be solved by a general assumption that Smart's high appreciation of Horace would lead him to translate faithfully. In fact, Smart's Psalms,

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. ix.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. x.

<sup>9</sup>Throughout this and the following chapter, since almost every citation will refer to the poems in the Horace, an adaptation of the classic mode of referring to Horace's verse will be used, whether the reference is to Horace's original or to Smart's translation. The poems discussed in detail in this and in the next chapter are included in an appendix.

published two years earlier, would lead to a presumption that this translation would be an imitation. Smart considered David, as has been noted, the sole author of the Psalms and the greatest of poets; yet his translation in the Psalms is not even paraphrase in many places. Smart's version differs from the original in two respects: first, Smart amplifies the original by his practice of writing one stanza for each verse in a psalm; second, Smart alters the original to conform with the theology of the New Testament, substituting, for example, sentiments of mercy for those of justice.<sup>10</sup>

Very rarely, however, does Smart attempt such a Christianization of Horace. When he does, the added element is generally a matter of phrasing, rather than of theme. For example, in Ode 11.18.56-57 Smart writes of the world of the dead:

There the poor have consolation  
For their hard, laborious lot;

"Consolation" is purely Smart's, for Horace has said only that the poor would cease from their labors. The change introduces a new, moralizing note into the stanza but does not change the meaning of the poem as a whole. It has the effect of a gloss upon the conclusion rather than of a new theme.

Other instances of Smart's religious views are even more

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<sup>10</sup>Cf. Brittain, Poems, pp. 279-280.

minor. Occasionally Smart makes explicit what is implicit in Horace: "Tityus ravisher obscene."<sup>11</sup> "Obscene" is not in Horace, but it is justified from the feeling of Horace. Another and more explicit interjection of a religious feeling occurs in Ode 1.23.

11-14:

But sooner shall the goats be join'd  
To wolves of fierce Apulian kind,  
Than Pholoe with a filthy rake  
Commit adultery, heinous sin. . . .

The Latin says simply, "Quam turpi Pholoe peccet adultero."

"Heinous sin" is to some extent justified by "peccet," but Smart alters the emphasis of the phrasing to render his moral repugnance more strongly.

Smart sometimes adds a moral element which is not justified by the Latin in any degree, but which is not an intrusion upon the mood of the poem. So for "virginum primae" he writes in Ode iv. 6.39, "virgins of unspotted fame"; the Latin lacks the moral element, "virginum" simply meaning "young girls" in contrast to the "pueri" of the next line.

Very rarely does an element from Smart's religious consciousness enter the translation so intrusively as to break the mood of the poem. When there is such an intrusion upon the original, it occurs in a poem which is one of the weaker versions in all re-

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<sup>11</sup>Ode iv.6.3.



spects, as if Smart had written the entire poem as a reflex rather than as a considered effort. In Ode 11.30.9-10, for example, Smart translates "non omnis moriar" in this way:

For death shall never have the whole  
Of Horace, whose immortal soul. . . .

Not only is the force of the original considerably weakened here by the shift from the first to the third person, but also the "immortal soul" perverts Horace's meaning. When Horace says "Multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam," he is not thinking of his soul. The whole point of this ode to Melpomene is that even though Horace himself will die, he has yet achieved immortality through his poetry, his "monumentum aere perennius." The introduction of the Christian element subverts the whole argument of the poem.

In the strongest of his poems Smart catches the Horatian tone precisely, completely suspending the Christian attitude. The difficulty of this total suspension, as well as Smart's success in achieving it, can be seen by comparing perhaps the best of Smart's versions, that of Ode iv.7, with a translation by A. E. Housman:

The stern assize and equal judgment o'ar,  
. . . nothing shall friend thee more.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>"Diffugere Nives," ll. 21-24.

There is a suggestion in these lines that the stern judgment had been failed; this suggestion raises the question of what the result would have been had the judgment been passed. Smart avoids even so slight a Christian reference; even though "Minos must acquit a part so nobly play'd," the judgment is the same.<sup>13</sup> Death ends all; the quiet and resigned paganism fits more smoothly into the framework of Horace's theme, that of Epicurus.

Related to the religious element in the translation is the matter of decency, which, however, is totally a matter of word choice rather than of theme. Accordingly, this element can be more conveniently deferred to the discussion of alterations in phrasing.

Apart from the change in theme which might be introduced because of Smart's views on religion, it could be anticipated that Smart might attempt to alter the patriotic odes, such as those at the beginning of the third book, so that they would be more directly applicable to the English. No such alteration is made.

Thematically, then, Smart follows Horace quite rigorously. The question of similarity of spirit is more subtle; it is partially a matter of tone and partially of style. Smart certainly could recognize the tones of Horace; he listed many of them

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<sup>13</sup>Ode iv.7.21-24.

in the preface to his translations.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, his recognition of the spirit of the Horatian odes was a delicate one. Thus he identifies the tone of Ode 11.14<sup>15</sup> as one of "affectionate tenderness with a cast of melancholy." The perception of this double mood is one thing; attaining it is quite another. Brittain<sup>16</sup> feels that the mingling of these moods is beyond Smart. To demonstrate otherwise is a lengthy process; since this poem is one of those discussed as English poetry in the next chapter, a demonstration of the emotional quality achieved by Smart will be deferred until then. Highly successful translations of the comic spirit of Horace are achieved in Epode 3 and in Ode 1.23; in the latter poem Smart blends humor with an underlying serious meaning as Horace had done in Latin.

An occasional effort is unfortunate. Smart's attempt to catch the vivacity of Ode 111.25 in often trite phrasing and in rapid tetrameter couplets is more shrill than suggestive of the divine afflatus. As with Ode 111.30, in which violation of theme was noted, so Ode 111.25 is a generally weak poem. Again it would seem that where Smart succeeded, he succeeded admirably;

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<sup>14</sup>Horace, I, xvii-xxi.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., xvii.

<sup>16</sup>Brittain, Poems, p. 67.

where he failed, he failed in the whole. A recognition of this totality of success or of failure will stress the too-little-acknowledged fact that Smart is not a poet of one poem and some brilliant lines. Smart must be judged on the totality of each poem, and he bears up well under such a judgment.

Generally Smart catches the Horatian spirit well. It is suggestive that perhaps the best of the translations is Ode iv.7, possibly the finest of Horace's Odes. The spirit of the poem is one of carpe diem, wholly alien to Smart's philosophy, if not to his life; yet Smart catches well the muted regret, the joy in life which stems from life's brevity, and the acceptance both of the brevity of life and of the finality of death.

The other part of the spirit of the Odes comes from their style, which is notably brief, striking in phrasing, and at once familiar and sublime. Smart strives vigorously to achieve Horatian brevity. At times, especially when the brevity is a matter of phrasing, he is very successful, as in Ode iv.7.16: "Ashes and dust we are." Another example is his translation of "carpe diem" as "Be greedy of today."<sup>17</sup> The already noted instance of "non omnis moriar" indicates that Smart did not always succeed in achieving happy brevity of phrase, but such weak translations are

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<sup>17</sup>Ode 1.11.22.

rare. Occasionally Smart does seem completely indifferent to the quality of brevity, as when he expands a simple we to "So constant patriots pray" in Ode iv.5.57.

When Sir Herbert Grierson said that the characteristic brevity of the Odes was alien to English,<sup>18</sup> he was probably thinking of the Latin lack of articles and of the permissibility of such figures as asyndeton in Latin. If Smart can successfully echo the Latin brevity of tight phrasing, he cannot without awkwardness employ this latter brevity. The usual result is rather obscurity,<sup>19</sup> as in Ode iv.13.12-14.

You yield a pleasing shade,  
Which for the steers, when work'd too much,  
And wand'ring flocks display'd.

The absence of an auxiliary verb makes the dependent clause obscure.

The mingling of familiar and sublime phrasing, together with an easiness of manner, is another characteristic of the Horatian style. Several examples of sublime phrasing have already been

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<sup>18</sup>Herbert J. C. Grierson, Verse Translation (n.p., 1948), p. 11.

<sup>19</sup>A danger of which Horace was himself aware:  
Brevis esse laboro,  
Obscurus fio.

Ars Poetica, ll. 25-26.

Smart translates this:

I would be brief with all my might,  
And so become as dark as night. (11.47-48)

noted. Yet the easiness of manner is retained. "Ashes and dust we are" has been noted already as one example of powerful phrasing the trimeter line, which was an aid in achieving brevity, gives a diminished effect by following a pentameter line and thereby helps maintain the easy tone.

As with sublime phrasing, so familiar turns of expression are common:

Once gently, with thy long extended whip,  
Touch my coquettish Chloe, till you make her skip.<sup>20</sup>

Don't you see the day decline?<sup>21</sup>

One of the finest instances of familiar diction occurs at the end of Ode 11.4. Where Horace says that he has passed the eighth Lustrum, Smart uses an original metaphor which maintains the mood and so is in keeping with the theory of paraphrase:

Shun to suspect a man whose age  
Is going down the hill.<sup>22</sup>

One of the major problems connected with paraphrase as a means of translation was that a translator, provided that he maintained the spirit of the original, was permitted, even obliged, to raise his original when the original was low. Smart notes that

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<sup>20</sup> Ode 11.26.11-12.

<sup>21</sup> Ode 11.28.7.

<sup>22</sup> Ode 11.4.23-24.

he has made just such an attempt to raise Ode 1.1, especially in its conclusion, since "however amiable for its gratitude and special for its phrase, it is . . . written style mediocri." <sup>23</sup>

The conclusion of Ode 1.1 comprises lines 29-36 in Latin, lines 41-56 in English. Smart makes the following changes from the original: in line 41 "me" is expanded to "But as for Horace, I . . ."; "ederae praemia frontium" is expanded to two lines, 42-43; in line 45 "by zephyrs fann'd" has no authority in the original except "gelidum," which has already entered the line as "cool"; lines 46-47 are an expansion of one Latin line, and although "hand in hand" is implied in the Latin, "the rural song" is not; "heavenly gay" in line 49 is not in the Latin, nor is the "pleasant" of line 50, although each could be inferred from the context; "Maecenas" in line 53 is a specification of a pronoun, as was "Horace" earlier; line 55 is entirely Smart's invention; line 56 is overstated.

In "raising" this ending Smart employs three devices. First,

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<sup>23</sup>Horace, I, x.

<sup>24</sup>Me doctare ederae praemia frontium  
 Diis miscent superis; me gelidum natus,  
 Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori  
 Secernunt populo; si neque tibiae  
 Euterpe cohibet, nec Polyhymnia  
 Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.  
 Quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres  
 Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

he elaborates the original, as in his expansion of "ederae praemia frontium." Second, he uses the poetic diction of pastoral-- "zephyrs," "rural song," and "pleasant pipes." Third, he dramatizes essentially straightforward language by changing "I" to "Horace," "you" to "Maecenas," "gods" to "Jove," and "I shall reach the stars" to "my muse . . . shall . . . top the zenith of her sphere." The result is that Smart uses twice as many lines as Horace had used. Moreover, Smart entirely misses the force of such unusual words as "ederae" and "nemus"; he misses, too, the anaphora of line 29-30 of the Latin and the force of the positioning of words in line 30: "Sublimi feriam sidera vertice."

The final four lines also reverse the position Horace had given to himself and to Maecenas. Horace had said, "Quod si me . . . inseres . . . feriam sidera"; Smart makes the lines read that he shall raise himself so that Maecenas may place him with the lyric poets. Horace stresses the compliment to Maecenas; Smart stresses the poet's own accomplishments.

Whereas Horace is brief, direct, and "peculiar," Smart is inflated in length and language, and hackneyed in image and vocabulary. Smart's response to nature in this poem is stock and empty. The poem is neither good Horace nor good Smart, but it is "good" eighteenth century translation. It is possible that Smart attempted to write just that in this first poem of his translation,



in order to encourage prospective buyers. Ode 1.1 is the only poem that he mentions in the preface as having raised, and it is the only one so conventionally treated. It is also the only poem in which his diction is difficult for any reason other than attempted brevity,<sup>25</sup> perhaps an indication that he was here struggling with a form foreign to his genius.

Another characteristic of the Horatian ode stemmed from the inflectional nature of the Latin language which permitted Horace to throw special emphasis on words and phrases by inversion of the normal word order and by such rhetorical figures as hyperbaton, tmesis, and synchysis. Smart makes an effort to display many of these Latin effects in English:

Atreus' son  
 Lov'd his fair captive in the heat  
 Of conquest, that he won,  
 When . . .<sup>26</sup>

Smart here is writing a form of synchysis; the normal order would be, "Atreus' son lov'd his fair captive that he won in the heat of conquest when. . . ."

Again, Smart may separate the two parts of a compound subject by a verb:

. . . nymphs, well known

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<sup>25</sup>Of. 11. 53-56.

<sup>26</sup>Ode 11.4.6-9.

For mock simplicity, deride,  
And love still whetting on a stone . . . <sup>27</sup>

The Latin freedom in the use and placing of appositives is also employed by Smart:

But add to this new dupes abound,  
New slaves, nor will the old relent . . . <sup>28</sup>

Smart uses many Latinisms apart from rhetorical figures. Modifiers are employed as substantives: "black" (Ode 1.5.13), "great and new" (Ode 111.25.9), "supreme" (Ode 111.25.22). An equivalent of the Latin ablative absolute is sometimes used, as in Ode 11.18.21-22.

Death unheeding, though infirmer,  
On the sea your buildings rise. . . .

It is not the buildings but the builders that are heedless of death. Prepositional prefixes are attached to verbs, as in "Can up-tear the ash-trees tall." <sup>29</sup> Present participles are used as clausal equivalents: "washing rains" (Ode 111.30.5) and "interrupting net" (Epode 2.98).

Examples abound of Smart's efforts to echo the Horatian unusual word: "shaven green" (Ode 1.4.11), "seeming" in the sense of "deceptively lovely" (Ode 1.5.7), "pranks" (Ode 1.11.23),

<sup>27</sup>Ode 11.8.12-15.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 11. 17-18.

<sup>29</sup>Ode 111.25.24.

"impious pound" (Ode 11.8.19), "dunn'd" (Ode 11.18.14), "obliquity" (Ode 111.22.9), "trepann'd" (Epode 2.47), "wights" (Epode 2.9). In general Smart's vocabulary is fresh and original, less often "poetic" than familiar. As had been noted above in regard to diction, Smart's vocabulary becomes most routinely poetic in those poems which are least successful generally, as Ode 1.1 and Ode 111.30.

It is obvious that certain changes in wording are required by the simple change from Latin to English. Many of these are simply a change in the part of speech employed and affect neither mood nor meaning. Such a change of wording only, occurs in Ode 1.1.46-47 in which Horace's "nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori" becomes:

Where nymphs and satyrs, hand in hand,  
Dance nimbly to the rural song. (*Italics mine.*)

Similarly in Ode 111.30.17, "regnavit" has become "rural king." Allied to this type of change is that in which Smart echoes a Horatian repetition, but repeats a different word. An example occurs in the first line of Ode 11.14:

Eheu, Posthume, fugaces, fugaces  
 Labuntur anni . . .

Ah Posthumus, the years the years  
 Glide swiftly on. . . .

Finally Smart may make explicit what is only implicit in the original. Epode 5 is replete with such expansions; one

example is seen in Smart's lines 160-162 which translate lines 101-102 of Horace:

Neque hoc parentes, heu mihi superstites,  
Effugerit spectaculum.

"Your horrors and your cries,  
"My parents ears and eyes,  
"Shall glut, surviving me their heir."

Again in Ode 1.16.24 Smart writes, "And in the swift Iambic satirize my fair." "Satirize" is justified from the Latin use of the iambic as a satiric meter, not from any word in the original.

There is another type of change in diction which does involve a change in meaning. This change occurs when Smart substitutes a reference to an English custom for one to a Latin custom, or when he refines phrases that he thinks indelicate. The first of these changes is an attempt to make Horace more immediate for the English reader, though Smart does not necessarily shun Latin references, even becoming more Latin than Horace at times.<sup>30</sup> Such a reference to an English custom can be seen in Ode 1v.5.4-5.

That promise of a quick return  
You made the House . . .

Similarly in Ode 1.8.8-9, Smart translates "Cur neque militaris

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<sup>30</sup>So in Ode 1v.13.1 Smart translates "patres" as "conscript fathers."

inter aequales equitet" in this way:

Nor with his friend, in gallant pride,  
Dressed in his regimentals ride.

Again in Ode 1.27.8 "cubito remanete presso" becomes "nor quit your easy chairs," and in Ode 11.16 "vulgus" becomes "groundlings."

Of his delicacy in certain passages Smart said, "Lastly as I suppose the book will fall into the hands of young persons, I have been especially careful, concerning all passages of offence, both in the translation and in the original."<sup>31</sup>

One of the most obvious examples of this carefulness occurs in lines 21-25 of the Secular Ode:

Make fruitful ev'ry marriage bed,  
And bless the conscript fathers' scheme,  
Enjoining bloomy maids to wed,  
And let the marriage-bill be sped,  
With a new race to teem.<sup>32</sup>

The translation has nothing of Horace's recognition of the physical; it almost suggests that the "marriage-bill" will produce the children.

In Ode 1.6 Smart retains the Horatian irony in his termino-

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<sup>31</sup>Horace, 1, xi. By "original" here Smart seems to have meant his prose translation, but he is not especially careful to observe this caution.

<sup>32</sup>The original reads:  
Diva, producas sobolem: patrumque  
Prosperes decreta super jugandis  
Faeminis, prolisque novae  
Lege marita feraci. (11. 17-20)

logy but loses much of the point by sublimating the physical:

. . . nymphs of sportive veins  
That are so apt to scratch and tear  
With nails which to the quick they spare  
Against their fav'rite swains.

Smart's verses suggest a formal painting of a pastoral scene. A similar change occurs in Ode 11.4.21 when "teretesque suras" becomes "her limbs so form'd t'engage."

The next special problem to be considered is that of the effect of the use of an English rhythm in the verse. Smart employs twenty-five meters and rhyme schemes in his translations.<sup>34</sup> These fall into three general categories: 1) the use of the same meter in English as in the Latin original; 2) the use of a meter which Smart considered an English equivalent of the Latin original; 3) the use of an English meter which, though not equivalent to the Latin, is suitable to the spirit of the original poem. There is only one attempt to duplicate the Latin meter in English; this occurs in Ode 1.38. Many examples of the second category occur; Ode 11.4 and Ode 11.8, Sapphic in Latin, are converted to three lines of iambic tetrameter and one of iambic trimeter in English. The conversion of the Latin Sapphic to this pattern is

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<sup>33</sup>Ode 1.6.27-30. The original reads:  
. . . nos praelia virginum  
Sectis in juveres unguibus acrium (11. 17-18)

<sup>34</sup>A list of Smart's meters is given in Appendix II.

frequent in Smart's translation, but not universal. Ode iv.2 is not Sapphic, but it is translated in this meter. Odes 1.3, 1.5, and 1.6 are all written in a combination of the Glyconic and Asclepiad lines, but Ode 1.3 is handled in iambic tetrameter and pentameter couplets, Ode 1.5 in a six-line iambic tetrameter pattern, and Ode 1.6 in the romance-six stanza. Odes 1.5 and 1.6 seem to be an attempt to convert the Latin rhythm to an equivalent English meter, while Ode 1.3 seems to have been chosen simply as a suitable pattern. Ode iv.7 in its alternating pentameter and trimeter lines seems an attempt to echo the effect of the Latin first Archilochium meter. The stanza used in Ode ii.14 is consistently used by Smart to reproduce the Latin Alcaic meter.

Many poems, some of which have already been suggested, are simply attempts to use a meter suitable to their themes and moods. Thus the catalectic trochaic tetrameter couplets of Ode iii.25 seem to be intended only as a suitable form to reflect the mood of the poem, not as an English metrical equivalent for the Latin third Asclepiad. The tetrameter couplets which Smart frequently employs are intended to echo the familiar rhythms of the Latin poems which he is translating, rather than as a metrical equivalent for any one meter.

Smart's general procedure seems to be to write an English equivalent for the Latin meter. This procedure seems a help

rather than otherwise in achieving the proper mood in his translation. For example, the alternation of trimeter with pentameter lines in Ode iv.7 forces Smart to compress his lines into an approximation of Horace's brevity, while the shortened lines help to establish a mood of gentle melancholy. Again, the increase in length from tetrameter to pentameter to hexameter lines in such poems as Ode ii.14 aids in establishing a sonorous mood.<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps the major difficulty in employing any regular stanza form in translating Latin is that the English stanza is usually a unit in itself while the Latin rhythm roves over from one stanza to the next. Although Smart employs stanza forms, he regularly allows this running on of the sense and rhythm through the stanza break. Of all the translations, in only nine are the stanzas typographically separated, and even in these the run-on may occur as, for example, between the second and third stanzas of Ode i.5.

Only in Ode i.38 did Smart attempt, as he mentioned in a headnote, to duplicate the Latin rhythm exactly. Because the poem is very short and because in it can be seen Smart's most careful effort to translate meaning and spirit exactly, Ode i.38 deserves extended comment.

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<sup>35</sup>The precise effects Smart gains through this metrical form will be discussed at length in the treatment of Ode ii.14 in the next chapter.



The scansion of the ode in both Latin and English is parallel:

Persicōs ōdī, || puer, apparatus,  
 Displicēt nexae || philyra coronae  
 Mitte sectari, || rosa quo locorum  
 Sora moretur.

Simplici myrto || nihil allabores  
 Sedulus curo: || neque te ministrum  
 Dedecet myrtus || neque me sub arta  
 Vite bibentem.

Persian pomps, boy, || ever I renounce them:  
 Scoff o' the plaited || coronet's refulgence;  
 Seek not in fruitless || vigilance the rose tree's  
 Tardier offspring.

Mere honest myrtle || that alone is order'd,  
 Me the mere myrtle || decorates, as also  
 Thee the prompt waiter || to a jolly toper  
 Hous'd in an arbour.

In this conversion of the Latin Sapphic meter into English, Smart seems to have employed Latin rules of prosody. Thus, besides vowels long by nature and diphthongs, Smart has considered

as long those vowels which are followed by two consonants; so here he writes as long "Persian," "Scoff," "in fruitless," etc. This attempt, foreign to the genius of the English language, requires certain licenses: "Persian" is made a trisyllable and the n is dropped in "Scoff o' the plaited" to avoid construing "on" as long. Th in "the" is treated as a single consonant. The lengthening of the e in "myrtle" in lines 5 and 6 should be explained by the pronunciation (as opposed to the spelling) of the l after the e, taken together with the initial consonants of the following words. An attentive reading of the poem according to the quantitative rhythm produces by an interplay with the normal English accents (marked by inverted carets) a poetic tension almost unique in English verse.

Frequent Latinisms occur in the ode, Odi Persicos. In the second line there are two instances of this "impression": the unusual juxtaposition of "plaited coronet" and the initial abruptness of "Scoff." Here also is an instance of the "peculiarity of choice diction," reinforced by the fluid, polysyllabic "refulgence" at the close of the line. In "fruitless" in line 3, there is a pun, while in line 4 "tardier offspring" is a justified paraphrase. Periphrasis was common in Latin poetry and in eighteenth century diction. Although Pope includes periphrasis among the bathetic figures, Tillotson finds that it was a classical con-

vention used by Pope and others to express meanings which would be lost in simple statement.<sup>36</sup> Here the figure conveys the time of year, adds a contemplative note, reinforces the notion of seeking in fruitless vigilance, avoids an obtrusive specification (the point being the decoration of the coronet, not the precise mode of decoration), and plays upon "off/ spring." In the second stanza the repetition of "mere myrtle" and the use of alliteration is useful in carrying the stanza forward and is a reflection of the Latin poem. Especially Latinate here are the appositive, "Thee the prompt waiter," and the participial modifier, "Hous'd in an arbour." The initial rhyme and parallel phrasing of "Me the mere myrtle" and "Thee the prompt waiter" are devices which help carry the lyric note, despite the absence of rhyme. The use of assonance and alliteration (again reflecting the Latin) also contributes to this effect: e.g., "jolly (long by rule) toper," "As also," "Hous'd in an arbour." Finally "Hous'd in an arbour." is an instance of impression.

One quality that is unique in Ode 1.38 among Smart's translations is the absence of rhyme. Since Horace only rarely uses rhyme, as "Dulce Ridentem . . . Dulce loquentem" in Ode 1.22.23-24, there is the danger that Smart's use of rhyme may change the

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<sup>36</sup>Geoffrey Tillotson, The Poetry of Pope (Oxford, 1938), p. 88.

tone of the original. In practice the danger is not great in Smart's translation except in the poems in couplets. Here the rhyme does occasionally drop into an intrusive jingle, as in Ode 11.30. In the other poems Smart incorporates the rhyme almost unnoticeably by rhyming alternate lines, by varying line length, by varying the placing of the caesura, by continuing the sense unit independently of the line unit, and by throwing stress elsewhere in the lines by the use of substitute feet.<sup>36</sup> In this last instance the rhyme is frequently necessary to maintain the balance of the line against a heavy stress in the early part of the line.<sup>37</sup> Smart stresses rhyme only in those poems in which he wishes to create a light, semi-humorous effect, as in Ode 1.23, or in those which are completely humorous, as in some of the Epodes.

In conclusion, then, Smart's translation is generally paraphrase but is more exact than free. That Smart's purpose was to write a good translation seems obvious from the fact that the better Smart's poems, the closer it is to the original. As a corollary to this fact, the better the translation, the better the English poetry.

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<sup>36</sup>Specific examples of all these devices will be considered in the next chapter.

<sup>37</sup>An example of this will be analyzed in the discussion of Ode 11.4 in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VII

### SMART'S HORACE AS ENGLISH POETRY

Smart's version of Horace was intended to be a true translation rather than variations upon themes supplied by Horace. Yet there is a great deal of Smart in his verse translation, so much, indeed, that some of the translations must rank with the best of Smart's original poetry.

Despite occasional disclaimers in his preface, Smart seems to have considered his translation as possessing original poetic merit; he seems to have written it as much to enhance his own poetic reputation as to render tribute to Horace. In the letter from Hawkesworth quoted by Hunter, Smart is presented as fearing that his prose translation would injure his memory and as therefore preparing this verse translation. <sup>1</sup> There is a certain pride

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<sup>1</sup>Hunter, I, xxiv. Hawkesworth goes on to say that Smart read him some of the translation and that "his own poetical fire sparkles in it very frequently." Hawkesworth's attempt to dissuade Smart from continuing with the translation is motivated by a belief that Smart's version will not replace Philip Francis' as a text and that accordingly there will be little utility in the translation.

mingled with pique in Smart's comment that he "ever looked upon Horace with extreme approbation, but never supposed him so wholly inimitable, that a man might not do him some degree of justice."<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, Smart says of his translations of the odes in Book IV: "If I have translated some in such wise that they may be read after the versions and imitations of Cowley, Pope and ATTERBURY, I trust it will be thought no mean literary achievement. . . ."<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that imitation, at least, was considered a form of original composition.<sup>4</sup>

There are several reasons, apart from the historical, for considering Smart's translations as important English poetry. They reflect the influences which helped develop the style of Smart; they illustrate techniques and themes used in Smart's original poetry; they are, in themselves, poetry of the first order, in which Smart is able at times to render Horace effectively only by using English verse in a manner distinctively his own. The distinctive manner would be almost a necessity in the eighteenth

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<sup>2</sup>Horace, I, ix. Smart adds that to translate Horace well requires a like genius.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. x.

<sup>4</sup>There is evidence that more strict translation was also considered a literary genre just as pastoral, epic, satire, and others were. For example, Dr. Johnson considers translation equally with original verse in The Lives of the Poets. Chalmers includes Smart's translations into Latin in his selection of Smart's poetry.

century view of translation. Douglas Knight suggests that the interest of the age in translation stems from a double awareness: a knowledge of the heroic world and of the limits of its own, so that translation would express a kind of insight which the readers could interpret through an interplay of their knowledge of these worlds and which they could bring to bear upon their own world.<sup>5</sup> Such an awareness would be especially apt in Smart who was critically aware of the faults of his age. That this awareness existed and that Smart attempted to point it up in his translation might be concluded from his remark that "the business of poetry is to express gratitude, reward, merit, and promote moral edification."<sup>6</sup>

The two elements which Smart notes that he has particularly tried to bring into his translation are the curiosa felicitas and impression.<sup>7</sup> From its nature, the Horatian "curiosity of choice diction" requires the full use of creative powers in translation, for it is patent that a mere literal rendering will often be either not peculiar or not intelligible. Evidences of Smart's

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<sup>5</sup>Douglas Knight, "Translation: the Augustan Mode," in On Translation, ed. Reuben O. Brower (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 198-200.

<sup>6</sup>Horace, I, xxii.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. ix-x.

efforts to achieve what he called "the lucky risk of Horatian boldness"<sup>8</sup> abound in these poems: "Throw black upon the alter'd scene--" (Odes 1.5.13), "Shun to suspect a man, whose age/ Is going down the hill" (Odes 11.4.23-24), "Gods, exempt from death" (Odes 11.8.12), "hoarse breakers of the main" (Odes 11.18.14), "What stomachs have clowns to their broth?" (Epode 111.4).

The quality of impression has been discussed at some length already. Certainly Smart used it himself, but it seems to be a power especially easy of use in an inflected language. Smart's use of impression in one place in Ode 1.4 has already been analysed. In the Latin, however, Horace could more easily throw the cast of impression on the line: "Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam." This ease of impression follows from the nature of Latin in which words may be forcibly separated or forced into proximity as they cannot readily be in a positional language. This ability to yoke or to sever words, to force them together into rhetorical patterns, to move swiftly through the omission of articles and of many prepositions and conjunctions, and to use apposition freely, allows unusual force to be thrown on important words while giving the whole poem "the impression of being built of clean-cut blocks of stone."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

<sup>9</sup>L. P. Wilkinson, Horace and His Lyric Poetry (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 146-156.



Much of the unusualness of Smart's diction can be explained by his attempt to bring the Latin medium of expression into English.<sup>10</sup> Among the Latin devices Smart tries to carry into English are antithesis, anaphora, inversion, omission of words ("and lizards feed [on] the moss"<sup>11</sup>), absolutes (Ode 11.18.21), and substantive usage of adjectives (Ode vi.5.13).

It would be easy to cite individual lines in which Smart has used the English language as boldly as Horace had used the Latin in order to carry a Horatian impression into English. The total effect, however, is more than a series of good lines. Clearly impression was never meant to call attention to itself for its own sake but rather to reinforce the meaning of an entire poem. The fact that Smart has accomplished this total effect in many poems is the major reason for reading these poems as English poetry.

Smart has not always succeeded in his attempts to carry over into English Horace's effects. When he has failed, however, he has most commonly failed through substituting for his own peculiar diction the common diction of his age. An example occurs in

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<sup>10</sup>It is noteworthy that in reading Smart's verse translation the prose version is often useful. The prose is felicitous and exact but avoids trying to echo the Latin's complexity.

<sup>11</sup>A Song to David, l. 327. The lizards here are probably derived from Ode 1.23.10.

Ode 1.5.11:

And love's inconstant pow'rs deplore. . . .

This line lacks the immediacy and startling paradox of the original, which reads in Smart's prose, "deplore the altered gods." The flatness of the line is due to the substitution of standard poetic rhetoric for an unusual figure.

Occasionally Smart writes a flat line in an attempt to catch a peculiar Horatian image, as in lines 7-8 of the same ode:

So seeming in your cleanly vest,  
Whose plainness is the pink of taste. . . .

Rarely only, Smart loses power by verboseness:

For death shall never have the whole  
Of Horace. . . .<sup>12</sup>

There is here nothing of the immediacy of "Non omnis moriar." At times Smart employs an empty paraphrase:

The glory of the scholar's brows  
The wreath of festive ivy wove. . . .<sup>13</sup>

Smart sometimes uses periphrasis for deliberate effect, but here the attempt to raise "praemia frontium" only dilutes the effect. Finally, the introduction of a Latin allusion or construction occasionally becomes intrusive. In Ode iv.13.1 Smart becomes more Latin than Horace, who had merely written "patres," by saying

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<sup>12</sup>Ode 111.30.9-10.

<sup>13</sup>Ode 1.1.42-43.

"What can the conscript fathers do. . . ." In Ode 1.5.1-4 Smart attempts a Latin disjunction of a compound verb:

Say what slim youth, with moist perfumes  
 Bedaub'd, now courts thy fond embrace,  
 There, where the frequent rose-tree blooms,  
 And makes the grot so sweet a place?

The comma at the end of the third line is the only indication in English that "youth" is the subject of "makes." The slight punctuation seems unequal to this task. Yet it should be noted that Smart has failed in this instance by too much daring in his syntax. The rose-tree is introduced in precisely the right place to emphasize the sweetness of the "youth with moist perfume bedaub'd." By creating the expectation of the rose-tree perfuming the grotto and then subduing even the rose's odor to that of the boy, Smart gains intensity through the force of impression. Unfortunately English grammar will not bear the dislocation here forced upon it, and the impression can be discovered only through a comparison with the Latin.

If Smart occasionally fails through faltering in his idiom and more rarely overreaches himself, he often succeeds in employing effectively all the devices just mentioned. For example, Smart employs the trite diction "desp'rate revenge" anticlimactically for a humorous effect in Epode 111.14. In Ode 1.5.15 the phrases "all sunshine, all serene" are common diction but are given new effect by being placed after the description of the

black storm: the common phrase of the lover is seen totally to miss the elemental quality of love; this insight justifies "himself deceives" in line 14 and "For want of better skill believes" in line 16.

Smart can also employ lines which seem flat apart from the context:

Shun to suspect a man, whose age  
Is going down the hill.<sup>14</sup>

This image in the conclusion of the poem sums up the wry and amused tone of the whole.

Periphrasis can be deliberately employed by Smart to achieve an effect that the brief and direct statement would miss. When he uses "Getulian brute" for "lion" in Ode 1.23.14, it is because "brute" exactly expresses, as "lion" would not express, the feelings of Chloe in her ripening virginity toward a husband.

In Ode 1.38.4-5 Smart writes:

Seek not in fruitless vigilance the rose-tree's  
Tardier offspring.

in the place of Horace's more direct statement:

Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum  
Sera moretur.

The periphrasis "tardier offspring" conveys the time of year (as does Horace's original), reinforces the notion of seeking in

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<sup>14</sup>Ode 11.4.23-24.

"fruitless vigilance," avoids an obtrusive specification since the point is the decoration of the coronet rather than the precise mode of decoration, and puns upon "off/ spring."<sup>15</sup>

References to Roman customs are often integrated into the meaning of the poem:

And when into the shallow grave you run . . . .<sup>16</sup>  
 You cannot win the monarchy of wine. . . .

"The monarchy of wine," the Roman rex bibendi, carries with it the connotations of nobility and power, of conviviality and festivity, and finally, from the reference to Roman custom, of such common pleasures as eating. Through these implications the lines emphasize the universality of death which had been the theme of the preceding stanza.

Latin phrasing, already noted in previous chapters as a device common in all Smart's poetry, often occurs for special effects. In Ode 1.5.9-18 Smart employs a sequence of interwoven constructions to spin out a long argument whose effect becomes by this means as much emotional as logical. The heart of the "protest" in line 9 is Pyrrha's faithlessness which is emphasized by withholding the key word "disengag'd" until the end of the

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<sup>15</sup>Smart's fondness for puns, even recondite ones, is apparent throughout Jubilate Agno. Cf. Bond, p. 103, n. 3, for an especially complex one.

<sup>16</sup>Ode 1.4.21-22.

passage. Through the long, interlocked construction, a climax is reached with "disengag'd" so that the flatness of anticlimax points the first word in line 19, "Wretched."

Smart's use of meter has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Occasionally his rhythms betray Smart, as in Epode 2. In this poem the meter is well-suited to the mood of cheerful freedom from care which dominates the poem:

A happy man is he,  
From business far and free,  
Like mortals in the golden days,  
With steers at his command  
To till his father's land,  
Whom int'rest neither plagues nor sways.

The meter is especially fitted to the end of the poem which dissolves into laughing raillery at the usurer-turned-rustic, Alphius. The poem is one hundred and ten lines long, however. Though adapted to each section of the poem, over such a length the rhythm establishes a beat which Smart cannot efficiently vary. The cadences distract the reader's attention from the meaning.

Similarly, the rhyme occasionally creates an unfortunate echo, especially in the couplets. Although Smart's choice of tetrameter couplets creates a colloquial tone in the verse, the tone is vitiated when the rhymes become obtrusive. One of Horace's most famous lines is the first line of Ode iii.30:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius.

Smart's version becomes a jingle:

I've made a monument to pass  
The permanence of solid brass. . . .

Although Smart's treatment of this ode is generally unfortunate, he keeps his thought-units separate from his rhythmic-units and achieves an integration of the couplet with the meaning through most of the poem. At the end, however, he again falls into a jingle:

Assume, Melpomene, that pride,  
Which is to real worth ally'd;  
And in good-will descending down,  
With Delphic bays my temples crown.<sup>17</sup>

These lines compare most unfavorably with the more supple phrasing of lines 5-6:

Which washing rains, or winds that blow  
With vehemence, cannot overthrow.

They suffer even more by comparison with the Latin original:

Sume superbiam  
Quaesitam meritis, et mihi Delphica  
Lauro cinge volens Melpomene comam.

As a rule, however, Smart's metrics are well-adapted to the poem, often, indeed, aiding in the development of emotion or meaning. In the ode to Posthumus, for example, the lengthening lines help to develop the sensation of the passing of years and the emotional quality of controlled regret. This emotion seems to be due to the unmistakable extra syllable protracting the third

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<sup>17</sup>Ll. 21-24.

and fourth lines of each stanza beyond the anticipated measure. The excess of measure in the verse faintly disappoints the ear:

The wounds of war we scape in vain,  
And the hoarse breakers of the main;  
In vain with so much caution we provide  
Against the southern winds upon th' autumnal tide.<sup>18</sup>

In a similar manner, rhyme is occasionally used to throw stress upon an important word so that the meaning of the passage is made more forceful. An example of this use of rhyme can be seen in "male" in Ode 1.23.18, and in "disengag'd" in Ode 1.5.18.

The qualities under discussion are merits or faults of Smart as a poet, not as a translator. They can be seen most clearly in an extended discussion of some individual poems. In this discussion the poems will be considered primarily as they exist in English, on the assumption that a good poem is not necessarily a good translation. The originals of Horace will be considered only to indicate at what effect Smart was presumably aiming or to demonstrate to what degree Smart might have failed in his intention in a particular poem.

The larger number of poems to be considered will be odes since Smart considered these more truly poetic than the other works of Horace.<sup>19</sup> Examples will be given first of an unsuccessful and

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<sup>18</sup>Ode 11.14.13-16.

<sup>19</sup>Smart felt that the beauty of the Horatian curiosa felicitas could be seen more clearly in the Odes than in the other poems in which "aiming at familiarity of style excluded the curiosity of choice diction." Horace, I, ix.



of a partially successful poem to illustrate the defects already mentioned and to act as contrasts to his successful poems.

An example of an unsuccessful version is Ode iii.30, "Exegi monumentum." The most obvious difficulty with the poem is the meter. The iambic tetrameter couplet is employed by Smart in the Satires and Epistles, where he feels that a more familiar measure than the heroic couplet is required.<sup>20</sup> This poem, however, is neither familiar in style nor quick in movement. As was noted above, a jingling effect is created in the beginning of the poem. This beginning cannot be overcome although Smart later varies the measure through run-on lines and shorter phrases, as in lines 5-8:

Which washing rains, or winds that blow  
With vehemence cannot overthrow:  
Nor will th' innumerable tale  
Of years, or flight of time avail.

The theme of the poem is enunciated early: despite the transience of material things in a world of destructive forces, Horace's poetry has achieved immortality for him and has merited his coronation as a true poet. The emotional development in the poem should reflect this theme. From an ambiguous mood of personal triumph mixed with the perception of perennial decay, the mood becomes somber as Horace develops his sense of worldly impermanence. Finally the poem returns to the initial mood, but

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. x.

tempered into serenity rather than self-glorification.

The emotions in Smart are much cruder. His beginning lacks the impact of Horace's "Exegi monumentum." The "solid brass" of the second line makes too obvious the implications of "aere." By shunning the epithet, Horace achieves an understatement leading directly into the perception of decay in the world; by using "solid" Smart vulgarizes the triumph into boasting.

In treating the destructive forces, Smart's "washing rains" is effective but lacks the bite of "imber edax." "Winds that blow with vehemence" is ineffective because of its length. Smart lacks completely the paradoxical force of "impotens" in which im acts both as an intensive on the literal level and as a negativating prefix on the thematic level.

When the concentration of the poem reverts to the immortality of Horace as a poet, the emphasis is misplaced by Smart both by his extension of Horace's brief statement and by his shift from the first to the third person. The immediacy of "Non omnia moriar" is lost, as is the stress of implied contradiction created by the juxtaposition of omnis and moriar. "The pow'rs of human bane" seems an empty periphrasis in line 11, and the phrasing of lines 10-11 is especially unfortunate:

. . . Horace, whose immortal soul  
Shall 'scape the pow'rs of human bane . . .

The parallelism of the endings throws the adjectives into opposi-

tion so that Smart seems to be saying that the immortal soul will suffer from divine bane.

There is no justification for "in rapture" in line 15. By what is the Aufidus enraptured, and why is the personification dropped without including the Daunus in the next line?

Despite the weaknesses of Ode 111.30, it is at least brought into the tradition of English verse. One evidence is the ineffective technique of creating an "immortal soul." More subtle and successful is the description of the Daunus which alludes to Pope's Tanais.

A more successful effort is Ode 1.5, one of the few poems in Smart's Horace in which the stanzas are separated.<sup>21</sup> The rhythm is iambic tetrameter with frequent trochaic substitutions in the first foot and occasional trochees and spondees elsewhere. The rhythm is a fairly rapid one and the rhymes, especially the consecutive ones in the fifth and sixth lines of each stanza, are useful in delaying the speed of the poem.

The poem is a reflective and urbane appraisal of impassioned

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<sup>21</sup>Although most of the odes and epodes are divisible into stanzas, in only nine of these are the stanzas actually set off from each other. The typographical arrangement may be an attempt to unify the poems in emulation of the Latin in which the sentences often run across the stanzaic breaks. The reason for choosing to write this poem in distinct stanzas would still be unclear, however, since a sentence does run over from stanza two to stanza three in the English.

love, a recollection of the speaker's former love, and a wry comment on the fidelity of women.

In this poem the imagery is especially effective. In the first stanza the rose-tree falls in sweetness before the "slim youth." In the second and third stanzas love and women are seen in terms of the contrasted images of a black storm and serene sunshine. In the final stanza the imagery of love-storm is continued with the narrator seen as a sailor who has escaped the stormy seas and has left his seafaring clothes in the temple, both as an act of thankfulness for his escape and as a vow to dare the storms no more. The progress of love is seen as the maturing of a youth, slim and perfumed, unused to anything arduous. Going to sea, he is deceived by the sunny and placid appearance of nature, but on encountering the fierceness of the storm which was concealed by the sea's benign surface, he escapes gratefully and vows never again to venture from the land. The temple in which he has hung his "dropping weeds" is that of the god who "rules both wave and wind," in view of the imagery Cupid or Venus rather than Neptune.

The first hint of storm imagery occurs in lines 5-6:

Pyrrha, for whom with such an air  
Do you bind back your golden hair?

These lines are, of course, standard imagery, but the "air" foreshadows the "wondrous winds" of the "alter'd scene." The treacherousness of love is again foreshadowed in "seeming" in line 7.

Pyrrha is comely, seemly, but more essentially she is "seeming" as is the enticing sea before the storm.

The irony of the youth's perception of love is heightened by first showing the storm and by only then revealing his mistaken belief. The storm is not any emotional storm in Pyrrha; it is the turbulence introduced into the world of the lover by the fickleness of one whom he had "presag'd"--because he is an inexperienced navigator, "for want of better skill"--"ever dear and disengag'd." The water metaphor is especially suited to this overthrow of the lover's world: the sea is an element foreign to man, and it does actually become overthrown in a storm.

The narrator has escaped his storm and managed a safe return to land. The extremity of his plight is suggested by the fact that his clothes are not merely dripping but "dropping" water. By calling them "weeds" Smart suggests that the narrator was almost assimilated by the sea. The votive chart is left in the temple as now useless, and indeed, since there is no suggestion that the chart will ever be of use to another, it may be questioned whether the chart was ever accurate or of any value. Certainly it did not save the narrator from shipwreck.

Finally, the word "snares" can be noted in line 19. This word recalls the binding of the hair in line 6 and reinforces the idea that from the very beginning of her meeting with the youth

Pyrrha has been preparing her snares for him.

Several of the devices used in this poem indicate how much of his own technique Smart has brought into the poem: the force of "dropping," the play in "seeming," the relation of "air" and "wind" and of "bind" and "snare," the impression of "presag'd." The effect that "Wretched" gains from its position and from the meter was noted above.

Still, the poem is not an unqualified success. Except for the force of "seeming," lines 7 and 8 are weak and awkward. "Love's inconstant pow'rs" in line 11 is an attempt to use the poetic diction to give new significance to "inconstant" through the storm metaphor, but the triteness of the phrase prohibits its effectiveness. The reference of line 4 is almost imperceptible in the English.

From the qualified success of Ode 1.5 we may pass to a study of totally successful poems. In Ode 1.23 Smart again employs a six-line stanza, this time the romance-six, which is his favorite measure and which was discussed in the chapter on his poetics. In this poem the use of the kinesthetic sense to communicate the fawn's feeling of fear is especially effective. The first two stanzas abound in images reflecting this sensation: "fly" (line 1), "tim'rous" (line 3), "alarm'd" (line 4), "plays" (line 8), "quiv'ring" (line 8), "spring begins to start" (line 9), "turn"

(line 11), "budding" (line 11), and "tremble" (line 12).

The tone is basically one of amusement, but amusement based on an understanding of the psychology of the girl budding into a woman. The lightness of tone and the delicate movement of the girl-fawn are maintained by internal rhyme, alliteration, assonance, and repetition:

The woods, the winds excite her fears,  
Tho' all these fears are vain. (lines 5-6)

For if a tree the breeze receives,  
That plays upon the quiv'ring leaves . . . (lines 7-8)

Turn but the budding bush aside . . . (line 11)

The time is early spring: "When spring begins to start. . . ."

This line not only notes the time of the year but also, through "start," recalls the nature of spring, expressed in budding, and the fearfulness of the fawn. The time of the year itself is suited to the subject of the poem: the budding of a girl into a woman. The freshness of the new season is stressed: even the lizards are green and the mountains are "trackless"--again a multi-valenced word which indicates the retiring nature of the fawn and its remoteness from men, implies the newness of the year, and looks forward to "pursuit" in line 13.

The device of parallel construction has been noted. Another common technique of Smart is to make a general statement and then to particularize it. "The woods, the winds" is quite general

and is instanced in the next stanza. Also noteworthy is the word "excite" which is used in a double sense. The fears of the fawn are excited (aroused) and these existing fears are then excited (intensified). In this second sense, "excite" looks back to "alarm'd" and modifies the meaning of "alarm'd" to the fullest sense of the word.

The miniaturist quality of Smart has already been discussed, but this quality is especially evident in the second stanza of Ode 1.23. The sense of sound in the stanza is extremely muted: tiny leaves quiver, small lizards wriggle for cover. Even "spring begins to start" suggests a very tiny sound. The objects proposed to the sense of sight are equally small: buds, lizards, trembling knees.

"Knees" is both an acute observation of a fawn and a figurative representation of the fawn's timorousness. The heart is a symbol of submission to or opposition to fear and serves to recall to the reader's attention the maiden, Chloe, whose heart is being sought.

This double symbolism of the heart serves to recall the lover at the beginning of the third stanza. The introduction of the lion and the tiger is simply to deny that Chloe is in any more danger from these beasts than the fawn was from the lizards. The aptness of "brute" and "male" in this stanza has already been



noted. These terms are double-edged, as are "assail," which is more commonly applied to human than to animal attacks, and "bereave," which suggests the incompleteness of the life both of the lover and of Chloe. The true meaning of "bereave" in the poem is exactly opposite: far from bereaving Chloe of life and limb by marrying her, the lover knows that spinsterhood would be the true bereavement from natural affection and purpose. "Life and limbs" reinforces the parity of the fawn's and the girl's situation by recalling "knees and heart."

The ending of the ode returns to the beginning. The fawn was separated from its mother; Chloe will be separated from hers. There is a subtle argument in the poem: the fawn was too young for the separation from its mother and was in real danger. For Chloe, however, there is no real danger and "'tis time to leave." The image of the fawn is, finally, only an image; Chloe is not the fawn as the person of the pronouns attests--second person for Chloe, third for the fawn. Although the tone of the ode is that of delicately sustained humor, there is a serious meaning at the core.

Ode 11.4 is one of Smart's most satisfying metrical performances. Although not broken into stanzas, the poem is constructed in units of three iambic tetrameter lines, followed by an iambic trimeter, and is rhymed a,b,a,b. The phrasing is not stanzaic but

runs from one group to another. There is an abundance of substitute feet. The total effect is that the poem becomes metrically one unit while possessing a varied lyric note. The technique can be observed in the scanning of lines 5-12:

The slave | Tecmessa | at | her feet ○  
 Saw her | lord Ajax; | Atreus' son ○  
 Lov'd his | fair captive | in | the heat ○  
 Of conquest, | that | he won, ||  
 When, | beat | by that | Thessalian boy, ||  
 The Phrygian host || was disarray'd, ||  
 And Hector's death || the fall | of Troy ○  
 An easy purchase | made. ||

The run-on lines, the mid-line spondees, the placing of the caesura after varied feet and especially within feet, the pyrrhica in the final two feet of the line, and the initial trochees--all combine to modulate the stresses throughout the verse so that the rhymes are so lightly stressed as to be almost imperceptible. The balance of the lines is, however, sustained by these rhymes which force some emphasis on the latter part of the line to counterpoise the rhythmic stress at the beginning of the line.

The poem is developed through a series of reversed pairs of mastery and slavery in which the states of life are altered: Briseis and Achilles, Tecmessa and Ajax, Agamemnon and his "fair

captive." The examples of individual lovers are reinforced by a consideration of the state of Troy before and after its conquest and is then developed through application to Phyllis: her present condition is belied by her grace and beauty which suggest a royal origin.

The praise of Phyllis on the literal level of the poem covers a deeper vein of irony. The suggestion that Phyllis has become a slave through love for Phoeus is a graceful compliment in keeping with the contrasts developed throughout the poem, but it is also patently false. Rather than "ingenuous scorn" for the wealth of her putative "rich parents," Phyllis will benefit from her love for her master. This level of meaning is continued in the conclusion of the poem: Phoeus has no reason to be jealous of the poet's praise of Phyllis because of the poet's age. Such an assurance would be unnecessary if Phyllis were as true as she is suggested to be. The colloquial quality of lines 23-24:

Shun to suspect a man, whose age  
Is going down the hill.

emphasizes this wry note. The poem ends with a bit of consolation delivered in minimum terms. The consolation is only minimum and is applicable only in reference to the poet. In view of the fate of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Ajax, there is indeed reason for Phoeus to fear. The attitude toward women is much the same in this poem as in Ode 1.5, but is much more subtly advanced.

A few points of diction are worthy of note since they indicate how gracefully Smart has adapted Latin phrasing to English. "Briseis was so fair" is a dependent clause which has been coordinated by the omission of a conjunction. The meaning is not obscured and Smart gains not only speed but also directness and force through the omission. "That he won" in line 8 is separated from "captive" which it modifies. The separation does not make the meaning less clear, but adds to the poetic tension as Smart writes an English form of synchysis. In lines 11-12 Smart writes a periodic construction in which both a direct object and an objective complement are placed before the verbs. This passage is a good instance of how effectively Smart employs rhyme in this poem. Through the weakness of the verb and through the run-on from line 11, a great stress is thrown on "easy purchase," but the slight stress introduced by the rhyme maintains the balance of the sentence.

Again, In Ode 11.14 Smart's metrical virtuosity is notable. Wilkinson has remarked that some of Horace's odes are not, of their nature, alien to rhyme, but that the rhyme must be alternate if it is not to be too obtrusive.<sup>22</sup> In this poem Smart obscures the couplets by varying the line lengths: iambic tetrameter,

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<sup>22</sup>Wilkinson, pp. 152-153.

tetrameter, pentameter, and hexameter. Only one pair of the tetrameter couplets is not enjambed.

Smart is especially adept in the varied use he makes of the alexandrines in this poem. In line 4 the first half-line is open and slow-moving, building the slow movement of lines 2-3 to a climax; in the second half-line the movement is very much quickened through elision, closed syllables, and short sounds, so that the effect is a sudden spilling over of the slow progress of man's life and sorrows into a quick dissolution.

In the eighth line the length of the hexameter is suitable to portraying the huge bulk of ~~Os~~ Osygon and Tityus. The twelfth line contains a minor climax within itself. The line is developed in three sense-groups of two, four, and six syllables successively. The third group, "unwealthy and unknown," unrolls almost with a sense of inevitability from the first two groups. The effect is heightened by the unusual word "unwealthy" and by the repetition of un.

The sixteenth line ends the only stanza in which both lines of the tetrameter couplet are end-stopped. In contrast, it is the only stanza in which there is no pause within the two final lines. The long unrolling of the twenty-two successive syllables is in sharp contrast to the brief eight-syllable groups preceding and reflects the brief span for which, by any effort, a man can

withhold death.

The alexandrine at the end of the fifth stanza is uninterrupted in its narration of the unending task of Sisyphus. The twenty-fourth line, on the other hand, is split by a strong caesura. The division throws into contrast the long syllables of "baleful cypress" and the short ones of the spondee "brief lord." Coming after the spondee, the sixth foot "attend" has emphasized its quality of seeming an addition to the line and receives a special stress which forces the reader to examine its implications with particular attention. The ironical quality of the attendance is contrasted with the attendance that the lord was given in life by his servants.

In the final line of the ode, the length of the alexandrine enables Smart to introduce the internal rhyme of "And feasts of priests" without allowing the line to fall into a jingle and to reinforce the notion of excess in the final terms "equal and outvie."

In general, Smart's tone is more melancholic than that of Horace, but Smart does introduce, though to a lesser degree, the quality of wry humor with which Horace reflects on death. Primarily, the colloquial tone of some passages seems to add this extra dimension, notably "My friend" and the use of hyperbole in line 6, the familiar quality of "Lands, house, and pleasing wife"

in line 21, and the irony of the profligate "worthier heir" in the final stanza.

Smart for two purposes very frequently delays the movement of the lines through long vowels and open syllables: to indicate the inexorable progress of man toward death or to point up the duration of death. The length of the syllables adds to the emotion of mournful regret which dominates Smart's poem. Other sound patterns are also employed, as in line 14 which is onomatopoeic.

The theme of the poem is pointed by the repetition of "fruits" (line 10) in the form "fruitless" in line 20. This is the basic contrast of the ode, the fruitfulness of man's life and efforts in this world and the fruitlessness of these in the next. The goods that man has amassed in this life are brought forward one by one; each, in turn, is of no avail and must be left behind. This perception lies behind the irony of "worthier heir," worthier simply because he is still alive and able to enjoy the fruits of this world.

Ode 11.18 revolves around the same topic as did Ode 11.14, but with a different purpose. Whereas Ode 11.14 was primarily concerned with the approach of death, Ode 11.18 uses death's inevitability as a guide to a man's conduct in this life. Since all men will come to the grave alike, there is no reason for any man

to labor greatly to achieve more than he can well use.

The rhythm of the ode is very quick, trochaic tetrameter, with the even lines catalectic. It is rhymed a,b,a,b.

The poem falls into four parts. The first part is a statement of the poet's content with a comfortable but by no means luxurious life. The second part ironically notes the frolic pride which delights in display, heedless of inevitable death. In the third section the injury that a greedy acquisitiveness brings on other men is noted. Finally the inevitability of death for men in every station of life is emphasized.

The poem is less exact than most of the others as a translation. Smart occasionally expands a stanza and introduces a note of Christian reward into the final stanza where Horace had spoken merely of a cessation of labor. Smart generally uses the stanza as two half-stanzas, of which the second is a comment on the first or an amplification of it or a contrast to it. This technique had been employed by Smart in the romance-six stanza in A Song to David and the Psalms.

The poem is remarkable for the freshness of much of its diction and imagery:

Fortune shall be dunn'd no more. (line 14)

And with dirty, ruddy faces  
Boys and wife are driven away. (lines 31-32)

There, tho' brib'd, the guard infernal  
Would not shrewd Prometheus free. . . . (lines 41-42)



The phrasing of the fifth stanza is especially notable:

One day by the next's abolish'd,  
 Moons increase but to decay;  
 You place marbles to be polish'd  
 Ev'n upon your dying day.

In this stanza the force of "abolish'd" is particularly strong with its connotation of complete removal. The Latinism "dying" is also particularly forceful. The entire stanza gains power from its brevity; Smart places the two facts next to each other and lets them comment on each other without introducing any comment of his own.

The irony remains implicit in the next stanza. The "buildings" that rise on the sea are not homes but are meant to recall the Roman tombs on the seacoast. The feeling that the land does not offer enough room is put into the mouth of the sea, but again no explicit comment is made by Smart.

The "curiosity of choice diction" extends in this poem to the phrasing as well as to the vocabulary. In lines 29-30 the sentence order is inverted and the pronoun them is omitted:

The griev'd hind his gods displaces  
 In his bosom to convey. . . .

Dangling constructions in analogy to the Latin ablative absolute are used in line 13 and in line 21.

The poem has a flawed ending, however. The overt moralizing of lines 45-46 is an intrusion on the very careful detachment which the poet has observed until these lines. The image of the

final two lines is infelicitous. Death is compared to a ubiquitous servant although death has previously been imaged in terms of majesty and power. The phrasing of the last line is anticlimactic; it is a dependent clause culminating in a mere negative disjunction.

Ode i.4 and Ode iv.7 share the same theme, that of spring returning life to the world, the poetic celebration of which is interrupted by the thought that as spring promises change and the seasons yield, so man too must change his state, die, and sleep forever.

Ode i.4 is a less profound statement of the theme, the meditation on death being the smaller concluding section. For this ode Smart uses the quatrains of Gray's Elegy. Because of such phrases as "plowman," "cattle," and "Pale death alike knocks at the poor man's door . . . and the royal dome," it is tempting to search for an influence of the earlier poem upon Smart, the more so since he and Gray were well-acquainted. The possibility of any deliberate derivation seems, however, remote, other than a possible hint in the selection of form. Even here, however, the form is a natural one in itself. Iambic pentameter would have been suggested to Smart by the dignity of the subject while the heroic couplet would have seemed displeasing from the prominence which the couplet form gives to the rhymes and more especially from Smart's lack of

success in employing the form in his early poetry. Still, the fourth Archilochium in which the Latin work was composed is a couplet form, and if Smart had wished to avoid the overt rhyme of couplets, a variation in line length--as in iv.7--could have been closer to the original. The probable explanation is that Smart wanted to use a meter which, though it would not be an English equivalent of the very complex Latin meter, would be suited to the dignity of the subject. Under these circumstances, Smart could hardly have escaped the influence of the poem of a decade earlier, the less so since it is evident from his other work that he was very conscious of genre. The similarity of some terms and ideas are justified by the similarity of subject and from the original with which Gray also was certainly acquainted.

There is abundant use of unusual diction in the poem. Examples would include "grateful" ("pleasing"), "coets" ("cottages"), "decent" ("fair, comely"), "whole" (as a noun), "dome" ("house"), and "design" ("pick out, have designs on"). The poem abounds in classical references; probably the only unfamiliar one is Favonius, the west wind.

The poem has a double theme, the coming of spring and the coming of death. The two sections are bound together by the contrast that while the change of spring releases man from winter confinement, the change of death cuts him off from the pleasures

of life. There is the implied comparison of death to winter, with the difference that no spring will succeed this winter of death.

The preparation for the shift from spring to death is the most difficult aspect of the poem technically. The opening line offers a first suggestion. If there is a "grateful change" from winter to spring, it is implied that there must also be a less pleasing change. The "loosen'd sod" of line 14 foreshadows the grave, as does the "shady groves" of the next line, which looks forward to "Death and the shades" in line 20. The attendance of the moon (line 9) also suggests the impermanence of spring joys and the mortality of all things since the moon is a common symbol of mutability.

The spring-life and winter-death equation is constant throughout the poem. The essence of spring in the first four stanzas is life and action. Sailors, plowmen, and cattle leave their winter quarters and resume their activities. Venus leads a ball rather than sitting in idle beauty. The nymphs and graces fill nature with celebration so active and intense that their delicate feet shake the green. The Cyclops sweat at their forges. A minor catalogue of human activity is created: commerce, agriculture, herding, the arts, pleasure, industry. Religion, too, is celebrated through activity, the offering of sacrifice.

The note of death is caught up through the sacrificing of

youth--a lamb or kid--to delight the god; the next stanza picks up the notion of death as its central element. The force of impression gained through "press" has been treated already in Chapter IV. A further force is gained by "home" in the light of the whole poem; spring has given life to all men by releasing them from their homes in which they have been pent by winter. From the home of death there will be no releasing spring. The sound of "home" recalls the similar initial sound of "whole" which may be intended by Smart as a pun on "hole,"--the grave. Smart's fondness for puns has already been mentioned. Such a pun would increase the contradiction with "soar" and would lead naturally into line 21 through the development of the sequence hole--home--grave.

"Run" in line 21 is justified by the bustling activity that has been indicated to be the center of life. Ironically, this running is the ultimate activity: the sum of our brief life whose brevity is stressed by "run." ("The brief sum of our life" is in the original, not in Smart's translation. Smart seems to have assimilated the original to such a degree that he can use Horace's phrasing almost as the source of an allusion.) The fact that the grave is shallow gives a double effect: first, it stresses the confinement of death as contrasted to the "royal dome"; second, it emphasizes the finality of death since a "shal-

low grave" is deep enough to halt man's running.

The stress on death occupies only six lines in the poem. It is true that the emotion of loss in these lines seizes upon the emotion of rejoicing that the earlier lines had developed and by its contradiction of this emotion intensifies itself. Yet the earlier emotion is too powerful to be merely material upon which lines 17-22 can operate. The theme of the poem is not the inevitability of death or the sad change that death will bring about in man. Rather, the theme is carpe diem and the final two lines--which could not be justified otherwise--are the final statement of this theme. Lycidas is only a boy, but it is not too early for Lycidas and the "little maids" to begin to anticipate a full maturity of life. Smart makes this statement even more directly than Horace had, for Horace's statement was that the young girls would someday begin to look upon Lycidas as an ideal mate. Man runs to death; he cannot afford to allow his hopes to soar, but he must "be greedy of today."<sup>23</sup>

Ode iv.7 is built upon the same fundamental figure, but the statement of the theme is more profound. The theme of carpe diem remains but is subordinated to a deeper concern with the approach and the permanence of death.

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<sup>23</sup>Ode 1.11.22.

In this ode Smart attempts to provide an English equivalent of the Latin meter, the first Archilochium, by converting the Latin dactylic hexameter to iambic pentameter and the Latin short line to iambic trimeter. Smart gains two special effects through his alternation of the long and the short line. First, when the long line is enjambed Smart gains the effect of a continuing eight-foot line, as in lines 9-10:

The air grows mild with zepthers, as the spring  
To summer cedes the way. . . .

Second, when there is a break at the end of the long line, especially when the short line is a different clause, Smart achieves a diminished quality which is highly suitable to the resigned, somewhat melancholic quality of the poem, as in lines 15-16:

Where good Eneas, Tullus, Ancus lie,  
Ashes and dust we are.

Since the tone Smart wishes to convey is that of an urbane man who can look forward to a death which is for him nothing more than nox una perpetua dormienda, a tone of regret but not of sorrow, Smart's use of the diminution of the alternate lines, the witty and ironic ending to his verses, is most advantageous.

The merit of Smart's verse form can be better observed by a comparison of his version with that of another English poet who was also a classics scholar, A. E. Housman. <sup>24</sup> Lines 13-16

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<sup>24</sup>The poem is quoted by Wilkinson, pp. 41-42, who also quotes Housman as saying that this ode is the most perfect in the Latin language.

will be chosen from each poem, with Housman's version put first:

But, oh, whate'er the sky-led seasons mar,  
 Moon upon moon rebuilds it with her beams;  
 Come we where Tullus and where Ancus are  
 And good Aeneas, we are dust and dreams.

The moons their heav'nly damages supply--  
 Not so the mortal star--  
 Where good Eneas, Tullus, Ancus lie,  
 Ashes and dust we are.

In Housman's version "sky-led seasons mar" is especially memorable as is "we are dust and dreams," which carries a wealth of allusion with it. In Smart's lines the juxtaposition of "heav'nly damages" is startling and fresh while the entire first line becomes double-meaning: the moon, symbol of change, becomes both the cause and the cure of the "damages," preparing for the contrast with "the mortal star." Smart's inversion of his fourth line is more striking than Housman's more usual phrasing. The greatest difference between the stanzas originates from Smart's short lines which force Smart to be more direct in his phrasing, add a metrical echo to the poignancy of the sense, and achieve an almost epigrammatic intensity.

As in Ode i.4, the initial image is that of the turn of the year into spring. Instead of developing the pleasing quality of the change, however, Ode iv.7 stresses the fact of the change. The graces and the nymphs again celebrate spring in their dances but what had been only implicit before is now clearly enunciated:



That here's no permanence the years explain,  
And days as they advance.

The brevity of the grateful change of spring is emphasized by the positioning of "days" outside the normal word order and at the beginning of a line. One season yields to the next, each with its own pleasing quality: spring with the dance of the graces and the easy rivers, summer with mild zephyrs, and autumn with its harvest. Only winter is given no attendant benefits: "Then winter comes in play" (line 12). This understatement of "in play" and the briefness of the line makes the statement flat and final. The next line in its mention of "damages" makes clear just how the forces of winter act on the earth.

With line 15 the poem passes into a second part; from a consideration of change in nature the ode moves to a consideration of change in man. "Good"--the single modifier gains force from standing alone and looks forward to lines 21-24--Eneas and Tullus and Ancus are what all men shall be, "ashes and dust." Although the meaning is future, the phrasing is direct and present as if stating an eternal truth, the essence of man.

The theme of carpe diem, subordinated through most of the poem, comes out most clearly in the next few lines. Man cannot entertain far-off hopes; he does not know if even his prayer for the present day will be answered. Man's goods cannot go beyond the grave with him; whatever he does not enjoy now will be used

by his heir. There is no attempt to show present enjoyment as a solution to the shortness of life; it is simply all that can be done.

Smart achieves a suspension of Christian values in his treatment of the judgment of Minos. There is no lack of justice nor any condemnation in the judgment. Terquatus must be acquitted, but he remains a "shade" in the shady "pit." As nothing could avail to hold off death--in this poem the possibility is not even discussed--so nothing can change the condition of man once in the realm of the dead. No virtues avail, neither "race" nor "eloquence" nor "goodness" which parallel Eneas and Tullus and Ancus; indeed, these virtues seem, too, to become "ashes and dust." The gods themselves are helpless before death. Even the great Theseus cannot rescue Perithous from Pluto's kingdom, though Perithous is yet alive.

There is one subtle echo at the end of the poem which reflects the impotence of every power in the face of death. Line 13 parallels line 25. The moon can "supply," in the sense of "mend" or "make whole again," the "heav'nly damages," but Diana, the goddess of the moon with all her "heav'nly power," is helpless to supply those of "the mortal star."

Beside the Odes, Smart's other translations of Horace are less felicitous. The Satires and Epistles are all put into

tetrameter couplets, and while the Epodes are in various meters, these are not always well chosen in view of the length of the poems. While Smart himself preferred Epode 2, this preference stemmed from the eighteenth century liking for pastoral verse.<sup>25</sup> Brittain chose to include only the third of Horace's epodes, a humorous poem on the horrors of eating garlic, in his selection of Smart's poetry. The choice seems the correct one.

Epode 3 is written in anapestic tetrameter and trimeter quatrains which reflect the farcical nature of the poem; the first foot of each line is more frequently an iambic substitution than the basic anapest.

The poem falls naturally into three sections. The first of these presents the occasion--indigestion from the eating of garlic. The second section is a plain farce which invents a mythology of garlic. The third presents the moral, parodied in the form of a curse. The form of the entire poem is almost that of a mock-epic in an ultimate reductioned absurdum; it has an action, episodes, mythology, and moral.

The "curiosity of choice diction" is employed in a novel manner in this poem; it is curious, if scarcely choice. Archaic and poetic words and trite phrases are used for their humorous

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<sup>25</sup>Horace, I, x.

effect: "profligate" (line 1), "clowns" (line 4), "viands" (line 8), "wights" (line 9), "Captain Jason bespoke" (line 10), "desp'rate revenge" (line 14), "muggy" (line 18), and "gift shirt" (line 19).

Smart had achieved a reputation as a humorous as well as a religious writer in the 1750's. This poem is one of his best in the comic vein as he employs most of the tricks he had learned years before except that of crambo rhyme. Overstatement (hemlock is no worse than garlic), understatement (Medea prepared "certain presents" for Creusa), facetiousness (Canidia prepared the meal as a "reward" for his sin), and ludicrous images (the wife claps her hand over her mouth to hold off her husband). Direct outcries of agony (line 5), a plain-spoken narration of most improbable events (line 16), brevity and directness of statement, and resonant exclamations ("What stomachs have clowns to their broth?") are some of the devices of which Smart makes use.

Epistle 1.4 can act as an example of the tetrameter couplet form Smart employed in all the Epistles and Satires. Although Smart wrote of the familiar nature of the verse in these poems, in practice he stressed a tight poetic line and diction heightened by directness. Actually, therefore, the familiarity is a matter of vocabulary and image while the verse is tight and intense. The technique can be especially noted in lines 13-20 where the

image is the homely one of a nurse imagining good fortune for her favorite boy. The language is spare and economical, requiring careful reading because of this economy and the interlocked word order.

The tone of the whole is intimate, jocose, self-deprecatory, and laudatory of Tibullus in a none-too-serious vein. The praise is given to essential and to purely accidental goods of Tibullus: to his mind and body and fame, and to the plentitude of his table and his purse.

The intricate structure of the sentences and the varied length of the phrases keeps the couplets from becoming obtrusive or repetitious. The familiarity of vocabulary and image maintains the intimate quality of the whole epistle. Smart's ability to express himself in this vein reflects long practice in writing original poems that are imitations of the Horatian epistles. These poems possess the same qualities noted here except that the sentence structure is less intricate and the rhymes more ingenious.

Taken as a whole and despite some weaknesses, Smart's translations of Horace are excellent English verse. If the themes are the work of Horace, the embodiment of them is the work of Smart. The phrasing, the rhythms, the use of puns and rhymes and "choice diction," and the mode of impression require the full use of English poetic power. The translations help to destroy the myth

of Smart being a poet of one poem or of one mood. If they were better known, Smart's reputation would be the higher.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

Taken with his other poetry, these translations place Smart firmly in the eighteenth century tradition of poetry. The individuality of much of Smart's poetry is due to the special influences of Horace and of the Psalms upon him. These influences operated with a special force to shape the direction and immediacy of Smart's verse, and they influenced his poetic theory in the same direction.

Yet these were only part of the influences and part of the base of poetics which shaped Smart's best work. They gave Smart's work its individual quality, it is true, but the substratum of the work has the qualities of reason and order which are associated with eighteenth century verse.

The romance of Smart's biography and the mystery surrounding important periods in it have led many critics to read Romantic elements into Smart's poetry or to ascribe A Song to David to a stroke of almost divine inspiration. This paper has attempted to demonstrate that the qualities which make A Song to David major poetry, the theories which underlie it, and the influences which

shaped it are present in all Smart's better work, not least in the Horace.

Smart's view of nature is certainly one inspired by deep love and kinship, but the basis of his feeling is that of the eighteenth century, not that of the Romantics. However individualized by his intensely religious attitude, Smart's view of nature partakes of the theory of the great chain of being.

This theory of the great chain is responsible for the catalogues of creation which form a continuing element in Smart's verse. The ranks of nature are assembled to show how each rank offers adoration and praise to God through the actions suitable to that rank. Man, in his middle state, can vocalize this praise given by the lower and inarticulate ranks of creation. He shares the angelic attribute of hymning praise; he partakes of the corporeal nature of lower creation and is, therefore, a suitable spokesman for it.

It is true that Smart displays a more sincere feeling and a more vividly and more concretely realized appreciation of nature than many of his contemporaries, but the basis of his feeling for nature is that it manifests the creative power of God and through its very existence returns glory to God. Man remains for Smart the center of the created universe.

Smart differs from his contemporaries in degree, not in kind.



Although Smart's poetry puts nature in a more prominent place than does the poetry of, for example, Pope, Pope did display an appreciation of nature. The difference is only one of emphasis. The philosophy both of Pope and of Smart sees man as a social animal. Where the Romantic sees an individual man in his relation to nature, the eighteenth century writer sees a whole, of man and society and nature.

To consider Smart as a pre-Romantic, then, demands careful qualification. The directness and immediacy of Smart's view of nature, together with its prominence in his poetry, are qualities associated with the Romantics. Smart's basic philosophy is not.

Even in the matter of translation Smart is of his century. His difference from most of the practitioners of his time parallels his differences from many of the nature poets of his day. Smart is accurate and direct and avoids empty diction. He uses the diction for deeper levels of meaning. Smart's concern is to translate accurately within the limits of paraphrase as Dryden had used the term; most translators of the time paid only lip-service to the Ancients.

The rhetoric and immediacy of A Song to David serve to conceal the elaborate plan by which it is structured. In the Horace the mind which planned A Song to David can be seen handling verse at once controlled, vivid, and fresh in image and diction.

Translation was considered a distinct genre of English poetry by Smart and his contemporaries. Smart's Horace was meant to be read not only as a translation but also as English poetry. Quite apart from biographical and historical considerations, the Horace can take rank as Smart's most mature poetic statement. The poetics and influences which shaped Smart's verse operate on a level of sustained power, through a variety of meters and themes, and in a succession of fresh and multi-leveled images.

Smart is a poet of originality and power. The translation of Horace is at the level of his finest achievement.

APPENDIX I

TEXT OF POEMS DISCUSSED AT LENGTH IN CHAPTERS VI AND VII

BOOK I, ODE I

TO MAECENAS

Maecenas, of a race renown'd,  
Whose royal ancestors were crown'd;  
O patron of my wealth and praise,  
And pride and pleasure of my day!  
Some of a venturous cast there are, 5  
That glory in th' Olympic car,  
Whose glowing wheels in dust they roll,  
Driv'n to an inch upon the goal,  
And rise from mortal to divine,  
Ennobled by the wreath they twine. 10  
One, if the giddy mob proclaim,  
And vying lift to threefold fame;  
One, if within his barn he stores  
The wealth of Lybian threshing-floors,  
Will never from his course be press'd, 15

For all that Attalus profess'd,  
 To plow, with sailor's anxious pain,  
 In Cyrian sloop th' Egean main.  
 The merchant, dreading the south-west,  
 Whose blasts th' Icarian wave molest, 20  
 Praises his villa's rural ease,  
 Built amongst bowling-greens and trees;  
 But soon the thoughts of growing poor  
 Make him his shatter'd barks insure.  
 There's now and then a social soul 25  
 That will not scorn the Massic bowl,  
 Nor shuns to break in a degree  
 On the grave day's solidity;  
 Now underneath the shrubby shade,  
 Now by the sacred fountain laid. 30  
 Many are for the martial strife,  
 And love the trumpet and the fife,  
 That mingle in the din of war,  
 Which all the pious dames abhor;  
 The sportsman, heedless of his fair, 35  
 With patience braves the wintry air,  
 Whether his blood-hounds, staunch and keen,  
 The hind have in the covert seen,

Or wild boar of the Marsian breed,  
From the round-twisted cords is freed. 40  
But as for Horace, I espouse  
The glory of the scholar's brows,  
The wreath of festive ivy wove,  
Which makes one company for Jove.  
Me the cool groves by zephyrs fann'd, 45  
Where nymphs and satyrs, hand in hand,  
Dance nimbly to the rural song,  
Distinguished from the vulgar throng.  
If nor Euterpe, heavenly gay,  
Forbid her pleasant pipes to play 50  
Nor Polyhymnia distain  
A lesson in the Lesbian strain,  
That, thro' Maecenas, I may pass  
'Mongst writers of the Lyric class,  
My muse her laurell'd head shall rear, 55  
And top the zenith of her sphere.

## BOOK I, ODE IV

TO SEXTIUS, A PERSON OF CONSULAR DIGNITY

A grateful change! Favonius, and the spring  
 To the sharp winter's keener blasts succeed;  
 Along the beach, with ropes, the ships they bring,  
 And launch again, their wat'ry way to speed.

No more the plowmen in their cots delight, 5  
 Nor cattle are contented in the stall;  
 No more the fields with hoary frosts are white,  
 But Cytherean Venus leads the ball.

She, while the moon attends upon the scene,  
 The Nymphs and decent Graces in the set, 10  
 Shakes with alternate feet the shaven green,  
 While Vulcan's Cyclops at the anvil sweat.

Now we with myrtle shou'd adorn our brows,  
 Or any flow'r that decks the loosen'd sod;  
 In shady groves to Faunus pay our vows, 15  
 Whether a lamb or kid delight the God.

Pale death alike knocks at the poor man's door,  
 O happy Sextius, and the royal dome;  
 The whole of life forbids our hope to soar,  
 Death and the shades anon shall press thee home. 20

And when into the shallow grave you run,  
 You cannot win the monarchy of wine,  
 Nor doat on Lycidas, as on a son,  
 Whom for their spouse all little maids design.

BOOK I, ODE V

TO PYRRHA

Say what slim youth, with moist perfumes  
 Bedaub'd, now courts thy fond embrace,  
 There, where the frequent rose-tree blooms,  
 And makes the grot so sweet a place?

Pyrrha, for whom with such an air

5

Do you bind back your golden hair?

So seeming in your cleanly vest,

Whose plainness is the pink of taste--

Alas! how oft shall he protest

Against his confidence misplac't,

10

And love's inconstant pow'rs deplore,

And wondrous winds, which, as they roar,

Throw black upon the alter'd scene--

Who now so well himself deceives,

And thee all sunshine, all serene

15

For want of better skill believes,

And for his pleasure has presag'd  
 These ever dear and disengag'd.

Wretched are all within thy snares,

The inexperience'd and the young!

20

For me the temple witness bears

Where I my dropping weeds have hung,

And left my votive chart behind

To him that rules both wave and wind.

BOOK I, ODE XXIII

TO CHLOE

Me, Chloe, like a fawn you fly,

That seeks in trackless mountains high

Her tim'rous dam again;

Alarm'd at every thing she hears,

The woods, the winds excite her fears,

5

Tho' all these fears are vain.

For if a tree the breeze receives,

That plays upon the quiv'ring leaves

When spring begins to start;

Or if green lizards, where they hide,

10

Turn but the budding bush aside,

She trembles knees and heart.



But I continue my pursuit,  
 Not like the fierce Getulian brute,  
     Or tyger, to assail,  
 And of thee life and limbs bereave--  
 Think now at last 'tis time to leave  
     Thy mother for a male.

15

BOOK I, ODE XXXVIII

TO HIS SERVANT

Persian pomps, boy, ever I renounce them;  
 Scoff o' the plaited coronet's refulgence;  
 Seek not in fruitless vigilance the rose-tree's  
     Tardier offspring.

Mere honest myrtle that alone is order'd,  
 Me the mere myrtle decorates, as also  
 Thee the prompt waiter to a jolly toper  
     Hous'd in an arbour.

## BOOK II, ODE IV

## TO XANTHIUS PHOCEUS

O Phoceus, think it no disgrace  
To love your maid, since Thetis' heir,  
Tho' proud, of old was in your case,  
Briseis was so fair.

The slave Tecnessa at her feet 5  
Saw her lord Ajax; Atreus' son  
Lov'd his fair captive in the heat  
Of conquest, that he won,  
When, beat by that Thessalian boy,  
The Phrygian host was disarray'd, 10  
And Hector's death the fall of Troy  
An easy purchase made.

Who knows what wealth thou hast to claim,  
Rich parents may thy Phyllis grace,  
Surely the Gods have been to blame 15  
To one of royal race.

You cannot think her meanly born,  
Nor worthless cou'd her mother be,  
Whose heart has such ingenuous scorn  
For wealth, and love for thee. 20  
Her face, her limbs so form'd t'engage,  
I praise with a safe conscience still--

Shun to suspect a man, whose age  
Is going down the hill.

BOOK II, ODE XIV

TO POSTHUMUS

Oh Posthumus, the years, the years  
Glide swiftly on, nor can our tears  
Or piety the wrinkl'd age forefend,  
Or for one hour retard th' inevitable end.  
'Twould be in vain, tho' you should slay, 5  
My friend, three-hundred beeves a day  
To cruel Pluto, whose dire waters roll,  
Geryon's threefold bulk, and Tityus to controul.  
This is a voyage we all must make,  
Whoe'er the fruits of earth partake, 10  
Whether we sit upon a royal throne,  
Or live, like cottage hinds, unwealthy and unknown.  
The wounds of war we scape in vain,  
And the hoarse breakers of the main;  
In vain with so much caution we provide 15  
Against the southern winds upon th' autumnal tide.  
The black Cocytus, that delays  
His waters in a languid mase,

We must behold, and all those Danaids fall,  
 And Sisyphus condem'd to fruitless toil in hell. 20  
     Lands, house, and pleasing wife, by thee  
     Must be relinquished; nor a tree  
 Of all your nurseries shall in the end,  
 Except the baleful cypress, their brief lord attend.  
     Thy worthier heir the wine shall seize 25  
     You hoarded with a hundred keys,  
 And with libations the proud pavement dye,  
 And feasts of priests themselves shall equal and outvie.

BOOK II, ODE XVIII

Gold or iv'ry's not intended  
     For this little house of mine,  
 Nor Hymettian arches, bended  
     On rich Afric pillars, shine.  
  
 For a court I've no ambition, 5  
     As not Attalus his heir,  
 Nor make damsels of condition  
     Spin me purple for my wear.  
  
 But for truth and wit respected,  
     I possess a copious vein, 10  
 So that rich men have affected

To be number'd of my train.

With my Sabine field contented,

Fortune shall be dunn'd no more;

Nor my gen'rous friend tormented

15

To augment my little store.

One day by the next's abolish'd,

Moons increase but to decay;

You place marbles to be polish'd

Ev'n upon your dying day.

20

Death unheeding, though infirmer,

On the sea your buildings rise,

While the Baian billows murmur,

That the land will not suffice.

What tho' more and more incroaching,

25

On new boundaries you press,

And in avarice approaching,

Your poor neighbors dispossess;

The griev'd hind his gods displaces,

In his bosom to convey,

30

And with dirty ruddy faces

Boys and wife are driven away.

Yet no palace grand and spacious  
Does more sure its lord receive,  
Than the seat of death rapacious,  
Whence the rich have no reprieve.

35

Earth alike to all is equal,  
Whither would your views extend?  
Kings and peasants in the sequel  
To the destin'd grave descend.

40

There, tho' brib'd, the guard infernal  
Would not shrewd Prometheus free;  
There are held in chains eternal  
Tantalus, and such as he.

There the poor have consolation  
For their hard laborious lot;  
Death attends each rank and station,  
Whether he is called or not.

45

## BOOK III, ODE XXX

## TO THE MUSE MELPOMENE

I've made a monument to pass  
 The permanence of solid brass,  
 And raised to a sublimer height  
 Than pyramids of royal state,  
 Which washing rains, or winds that blow 5  
 With vehemence, cannot overthrow:  
 Nor will th' innumerable tale  
 Of years, or flight of time avail.  
 For death shall never have the whole  
 Of Horace, whose immortal soul 10  
 Shall 'scape the pow'rs of human bane,  
 And for new praise his works remain,  
 As long as priest and silent maid  
 Shall to the Capitol parade;  
 Where Aufidus in rapture goes, 15  
 And where poor Daunus scarcely flows,  
 Once rural king--I shall be thought  
 The prince of Roman bards, that brought  
 To Italy th' Aeolian airs  
 Advanc'd from want to great affairs.  
 Assume, Melpomene, that pride,  
 Which is to real worth ally'd,

And in good-will descending down,  
 With Delphic bays my temples crown.

BOOK IV, ODE VII

TO L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS

The melted snow the verdure now restores,  
 And leaves adorn the trees;  
 The season shifts--subsiding to their shores  
 The rivers flow with ease.  
 The Grace, with nymphs and with her sisters twain, 5  
 Tho' naked dares the dance--  
 That here's no permanence the years explain,  
 And days, as they advance.  
 The air grows mild with zephyrs, as the spring  
 To summer cedes the sway, 10  
 Which flies when autumn hastes his fruits to bring,  
 Then winter comes in play.  
 The moons their heav'nly damages supply--  
 Not so the mortal star--  
 Where good Eneas, Tullus, Ancus lie, 15  
 Ashes and dust we are.  
 Who knows if heav'n will give to-morrow's boon  
 To this our daily pray'r?



The goods you take to keep your soul in tune,  
 Shall scape your greedy heir. 20  
 When you shall die, tho' Minos must acquit  
 A part so nobly played;  
 Race, eloquence and goodness from the pit  
 Cannot restore your shade.  
 For nor Diana's heav'nly pow'r or love, 25  
 Hippolytus revives;  
 Nor Theseus can Perithous remove  
 From his Lethean gives.

## EPODE III

## TO MAECENAS

Has any young profligate been so perverse,  
 To slay his old grandsire in wrath;  
 Why let him eat garlick (not hemlock is worse)  
 What stomachs have clowns to their broth?  
 O what is this poison that's burning within? 5  
 Has venom of vipers infus'd  
 Deceiv'd me! or, as the reward of my sin,  
 Canidia the viands abus'd!  
 Medea, beyond all the Argonaut wights,  
 When she captain Jason bespoke; 10

She made him take this as an unction of nights,  
 Before the wild bulls cou'd be broke.

With this she prepar'd certain presents she made,  
 A desp'rate revenge in her view;  
 And having Creusa to take them betray'd, 15  
 Away on her dragon she flew.

Sure he'er on the thirsty Apulia before,  
 Arose such a muggy offence;  
 Nor did the gift-shirt that poor Hercules wore,  
 Stick closer or burn more intense. 20

If ever such stuff you again should effect,  
 With a trick and a jest in your head;  
 May your wife, hand to mouth, your fond kisses reject,  
 Or lie on the post of the bed.

BOOK I, EPISTLE IV

TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS

Tibullus, whom I love and praise,  
 Mild judge of my prosaic lays,  
 Can I account for your odd turn,  
 Who in Pedanian groves sojourn:  
 Are you now writing to out-please 5

The works of Cassius, or at ease,  
 And silence, range the healthy wood,  
 Studious of all things wise and good?  
 Thou'rt not a form without a heart,  
 For heav'n was gracious to impart 10  
 A goodly person, fine estate,  
 Made for fruition, fortunate.  
 What more for her most fav'rite boy,  
 Cou'd a nurse image, to enjoy,  
 Than to be wise, and ably taught, 15  
 To speak aloud his noble thought,  
 To whom grace, fame, and body sound,  
 Might to pre-eminence abound,  
 With table of ingenious fare,  
 And purse with money still to spare? 20  
 --'Twixt hope and care, 'twixt fear and strife,  
 Think every day the last of life,  
 Beyond your wish some happy day,  
 Shall come your grief to over-pay.  
 Me sleek and fat, as fat can be, 25  
 I hope you'll shortly come to see:  
 When you've a mind to laugh indeed  
 At pigs of the Lucretian breed.

## APPENDIX II

### SMART'S TRANSLATIONS GROUPED BY VERSE FORMS

#### I. COUPLETS

- 1) iambic tetrameter couplets: Odes I.1,14; III.30; IV.8;  
Epodes 4,15,16; Satires; Epistles.
- 2) iambic tetrameter and iambic pentameter: Odes I.3,13,19,36;  
III.19.
- 3) iambic heptameter: Odes I.11,18.
- 4) trochaic tetrameter: Ode III.25.

#### II. STANZAS

##### A. FOUR LINE STANZAS

- 1) iambic tetrameter (3) and trimeter, a,b,a,b: Odes I.2,  
10,12,20,22,25,32; II.2,4,6,8,10,16; IV.2.
- 2) iambic pentameter, a,b,a,b: Odes I.4,7; II.28;  
Epodes 7,14.
- 3) iambic tetrameter (2), pentameter, alexandrine, a,a,b,b:  
Odes I.9,16,17,26,27,29,31,34,35,37; II.1,3,7,9,11,13,14,  
15,17,19,20; III.1,2,3,4,5,6,17,21,23,26.
- 4) iambic tetrameter, a,b,a,b: Odes I.15,21; III.9; Epode 9.

- 5) trochaic tetrameter, a,b,a,b: Odes II.18; IV.1.
- 6) anapestic tetrameter, trimeter, a,b,a,b: Odes III.12;  
Epodes 3,6,8.
- 7) iambic tetrameter, pentameter (3), a,b,a,b: Ode III.24.
- 8) iambic tetrameter (2), pentameter, hexameter, a,b,a,b:  
Odes III.29; IV.4,9,13,14.
- 9) iambic pentameter, trimeter, a,b,a,b: Ode IV.7.
- 10) iambic tetrameter, trimeter, a,b,a,b: Ode IV.12.

#### B. FIVE LINE STANZAS

- 1) iambic tetrameter, trimeter, tetrameter (2), trimeter,  
a,b,a,a,b: Odes I.8; III.14,18.
- 2) iambic tetrameter, a,b,a,a,b: Ode I.30.
- 3) iambic tetrameter (4), trimeter, a,b,a,a,b: Odes III.8,  
11,20,27; IV.6,10; Secular Ode.

#### C. SIX LINE STANZAS

- 1) iambic tetrameter, a,b,a,b,c,c: Odes I.5,33; IV.3,11.
- 2) iambic tetrameter (2), trimeter, tetrameter (2), trimeter,  
a,a,b,c,c,b: Odes I.6,23; II.5; III.16; IV.5; Epodes 10,  
11.
- 3) iambic tetrameter (4), pentameter (2), a,b,a,b,c,c:  
Odes I.24; III.7.
- 4) iambic tetrameter, a,a,b,c,c,b: Ode II.12.
- 5) trochaic tetrameter catalectic, a,b,a,b,c,c: Odes III.10,  
28.

6) iambic trimeter (4), tetrameter (2), a,b,a,b,o,o:  
Ode III.15.

7) iambic trimeter (2), tetrameter, trimeter (2), tetra-  
 meter, a,a,b,c,c,b: Epodes 1,2,5,12,13.

D. TEN LINE STANZAS

1) iambic tetrameter, trimeter, tetrameter, trimeter,  
 tetrameter (5), trimeter, a,b,a,b,c,c,d,e,e,d: Odes III.  
 13,22.

III. LATIN METER

1) Sapphic: Ode I.38.

### APPENDIX III

#### DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF SMART'S HORAGE

Christopher Smart's translation of Horace was published in 1767 in four volumes. The title page reads: THE / WORKS / OF / HORACE / TRANSLATED INTO VERSE / WITH A / PROSE INTER-  
PRETATION / FOR THE HELP OF STUDENTS. / AND OCCASIONAL NOTES / BY / CHRISTOPHER SMART A.M. / Sometime Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, / And Scholar of the University / Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, / Non aliena meo pressi pede, qui sibi fidit / Dux regit examen.--Hor. de Seipso. / IN FOUR VOLUMES / VOLUME I. / LONDON: / Printed for W. FLEXNEY in Holborn; Mess. JOHNSON and Co. / in Pater-noster-Row; and T. CASLON, near Stationer's-Hall / MDCCLXVII

The Latin inscription on the title page of each volume differs. The phrase, "IN FOUR VOLUMES," is omitted in volume II.

The Odes, Epodes, and Secular Hymn are included in the first two volumes; the Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry are in the third and fourth volumes. The Latin and the English verse are printed on facing pages, with the prose translation put in smaller type under the Latin and sometimes under the

English as well. After the Secular Hymn is printed Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" with Smart's Latin translation. After this there are a number of pieces of apparatus: a life of Horace in Latin, an essay, "De Maecenatis," a "Chronological Synopsis of Roman History," "Specimina Carminum Horatii" (samples of Horace's verse forms, listed by poems), and a list of the Odes by their first lines. At the end of the second volume there is a proposal for printing a collection of Smart's miscellaneous poems by subscription. At the beginning of the third volume is a "Preface to the Satires" by Andrew Dacier.

The text of the English poems has been very carefully printed. Mistakes are frequently made, however, in the page headings.

The edition was never reprinted and has become exceedingly rare. Only twelve of these poems have ever been reprinted. Edmund Blunden in his 1924 edition of A Song to David reprinted Ode 1.5 and Ode 111.25. Robert Brittain in Poems by Christopher Smart in 1949 reprinted these two poems and additionally Odes 1.4, 1.23, 1.38, 11.4, 11.8, 11.18, 1v.7; Epode 3; and Epistles 1.4 and 1.20.

The only extended commentary on the translation is that of Brittain in Poems. Other critics of Smart's poetry mention the translation only briefly.



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<sup>1</sup>No complete bibliography of Smart has ever been published. The author of this paper has attempted to compile such a bibliography, omitting the unpublished material and incidental publication and mention in standard anthologies and histories of the period. Those works which the author has not been able to consult are marked with an \* at the end of the citation.

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Approval Sheet

The dissertation submitted by John Beifuss has been read and approved by five members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

29 May 1964  
Date

Donald S. Spencer  
Signature of Adviser