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THE RICE INSTITUTE

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PROGRESS PIECES

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Houston, Texas
May, 1960
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank the following people, without whom this dissertation could not have been completed. The staff of the Fondren library never flagged in cooperation and efficiency. The staff of the Rare Book Room at the University of Texas library also gave extensive assistance. Professor James Street Fulton read and helpfully criticized each chapter, as did Professor Carroll Camden, who as Chairman of the Department of English encouraged and assisted me throughout my graduate work in ways too many to name. Professor Alan Dugald McKillop introduced me to the eighteenth century, suggested this topic, generously made his time and knowledge available through all stages of the work, and encouraged its completion in many tangible and intangible ways. Finally, I am grateful to my wife, whose long hours of typing were only the most visible expression of her interest and help, and to her this piece is dedicated.
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THE PROGRESS PIECE: INTRODUCTION

R. H. Griffith in 1920 published the first guide to the previously unexplored territory of the progress piece.\textsuperscript{1} He listed ninety-four such pieces and indicated briefly the relations which he found existing among them and between them and their time. His suggestions have been a valuable starting point for later researchers. In 1934 Robert A. Aubin published the titles of twenty-two additional progress pieces,\textsuperscript{2} and Mattie Swayne pointed out several more in 1936.\textsuperscript{3} In the course of this study some sixty other pieces have come to light, and undoubtedly there are more. All those which I have been able to learn about are listed chronologically in Appendices I and II.

The progress piece takes its name from the metaphor which organizes it. The progress was a journey; and we are particularly familiar with the term in connection with the journey of royalty. Elizabeth I was famous for her progresses through England, and it was during her reign that the word "progress" seems first to have appeared in literary titles. Although the progress piece can be defined, most generally, as a literary work organized in terms of the progress metaphor, inspection of the list of progress pieces
reveals that this metaphor served to organize quite different literary works. Thus, in order to attain a clear idea of the progress piece, it is necessary to group its instances into several classes. There are many principles on which classification can be based, but I have relied on three ideas which have been long recognized as useful in literary analysis: the object, the manner, and the effect of the work. Thus the progress pieces may be divided into two large classes, as the literary object is a biographical or a historical sequence, a life career of a man or a historical career of an idea. Within these classes further distinctions are useful. The biographical pieces fall into three groups according to their manner: There are pieces which present the career of man through allegory; other pieces use a predominantly expository method; and others are mimetic, imitating life-sequences somewhat in the manner of prose fiction. Further distinctions are sometimes helpful within these latter classifications. On the basis of object, the allegorical pieces may be divided into general and topical allegories; while on the basis of effect, the mimetic pieces tend into two groups, ironic-satiric and sentimental-didactic pieces.

There is a good deal of similarity among the historical progress pieces and consequently less need of classification, but it is helpful to divide them into a few groups on the
basis of the nature and scope of their objects. The ideas of manner and effect are useful in connection with the historical progress pieces not as means of classification but as points of view by which to clarify their formal character and historical significance.

Though the intrinsic value of most of the progress pieces is slight, the mere occurrence of some one-hundred-eighty works, and probably more, of one general type, and concentrated primarily in one period, the eighteenth century, is a fact that provokes investigation. In addition, a few works of recognized importance, such as the Pilgrim's Progress, the Dunciad, several of Collins's odes, and Gray's Progress of Poesy utilize the progress convention. Since the appearance of Griffith's article, writers have applied the knowledge of the progress piece in several valuable discussions of these works. Alan D. M. Ellis has shown the pertinence of the convention to Collins's odes. Aubrey L. Williams has pointed out the progress elements in the Dunciad, and, in the process, has disclosed significant research on the origins of the historical progress piece. Recently Jean H. Hagstrum has brought knowledge of the convention to bear on Gray's Progress of Poesy. It appears that the progress piece will figure in the discussion of eighteenth century literature indefinitely, not as an end, but as a means of understanding more clearly the important works which
incorporate the convention, and, secondarily, as a means of more fully comprehending the period in which progress pieces thrived. If so, it is worthwhile that the form be understood as thoroughly as possible, and this dissertation is an essay toward such an understanding, based on a reading of those progress pieces which I was able to learn about, locate, and secure. With the discovery of additional pieces, some of the conclusions stated here will perhaps have to be altered; but I think this study is based on a broad enough sampling to indicate the main trends of the progress piece.
NOTES


CHAPTER I: THE BIOGRAPHICAL PROGRESS PIECE: GENERAL AND TOPICAL ALLEGORIES

The biographical progress piece takes as its object the career of man, as a species, type, or individual, and treats of this career in terms of a progress, in the sense of 'journey' originally, and later in the sense of 'development' or 'maturation,' which may be seriously or ironically intended. In this definition, it is necessary to stress the progress metaphor as a differentia, since a less specific criterion would open the door to all manner of biographical narratives: voyages, travels, quests, pursuits, tales of life and adventures, tales of life and amours. Pieces as diverse as the Odyssey, the Divine Comedy, and Don Quixote would require study as background of the form. So would the picaresque novel. The Faerie Queene could scarcely be excluded, for the Progress of Arthur or the Progress of Magnificence would, I think, be admissible titles for that work. In fact, any narrative of a hero's adventures, whether literally or figuratively cast in terms of a journey or in terms of a quest (which implies movement either in space or in the mind or in both) could conceivably have received the progress title, and often did. As late as 1837, for example, Oliver Twist appeared in Bentley's Miscellany with the sub-title, The Parish Boy's Progress.
Thus the pieces which make up the raw materials of this part of the study are not a perfectly distinct segment of literature but verge into a variety of other forms. The common element which brings them together here is simply the progress metaphor. If it were otherwise, the study would be at once beyond the scope of a single volume. My purpose will be to review the biographical pieces which received the progress title, insofar as I have been able to locate them, showing the differences and similarities in object, manner, and effect which allow these pieces to be discussed in a few groups rather than each one in isolation. The similarities among these pieces were not achieved entirely through conscious adherence to a priori conventions but occurred partly through recognition of conventions and partly through chance. Thus, I will be imputing patterns to this body of progress pieces which may have seemed strange to the authors but which are nevertheless empirically justified. Some of the pieces will not belong exclusively under one of the chosen heads, and I will try to point out these variations from type as they occur, in order that clarifying the pieces as a group will not obscure them as individuals.

On the basis of manner, it is possible to distinguish three groups of biographical progress pieces, which can be designated respectively, allegorical, expository and fictional. By allegorical, I mean pieces which present the
career of the human species, type, or individual, in terms of the career of an hypothetical character who acts in a setting significant of more than place and time. The significance of both character and setting are usually stated explicitly in names: thus Christian and the Slough of Despond in the Pilgrim's Progress. The Pilgrim's Progress belongs in a way under all three classifications, but it belongs primarily under the allegorical, since Bunyan's realism is auxiliary to his allegory, and since his doctrinal exposition is subordinated to the allegorical framework. The pieces tend to state ideas rather than dramatize them systematically. Explanation may rely on metaphor, however, and even on allegory, for emphasis and illustration, but these figures occur within an expository context. Prior's Alma exemplifies the expository manner in the biographical progress piece, although, strictly, Alma is mock-exposition. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between these groups, and especially hard to differentiate the fictional from the allegorical pieces. All the pieces are fictional insofar as they are works of imagination rather than factual or theoretical treatises, but I am using fictional in this context to refer to pieces which have a strong narrative element and which do not systematically explicate the moral or ideational significance of the narratives through allegorical devices, such as abstract labels attached to character and setting. While the allegorical pieces clearly appro-
appropriate images from the sensory world to clothe ideas and ideals, the fictional pieces seem to be primarily concerned with presenting a sequence of events in the experiential world. Theoretically, there are no explicit clues—universal significance must be inferred. In practice, of course, an author may suddenly turn what seems to be a fictional piece into allegory, or he may intrude as narrator with explanatory comments which push the piece in the direction of exposition. Swift has provided four instances of the fictional manner in the biographical progress piece. Within the group of allegorical pieces it is possible to distinguish general and topical allegories, according to whether the object is the career of man as a species or type, or the career of an individual, and I have called these groups, respectively, allegories of the career of Man and allegories of the careers of men.

1. Allegories of the career of Man.

The history of this group must be written with the Pilgrim's Progress as the focal point. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin by partially contradicting an earlier statement of subject-limitation and discussing a type of literature which does not use the progress title nor the progress metaphor, namely the pilgrimage, an important medieval and Renaissance prototype of the biographical progress piece. This digression is justified because in
the greatest of English allegories of the career of Man the two metaphors merge. Christian's progress is Christian's pilgrimage. Bunyan was able to fuse the new metaphor and the old because of their essential likeness, the structural idea of a journey being common to both. In choosing the title which he did, he was taking early part in an incipient literary fashion, some nine pieces bearing the progress title having appeared in print before 1678 (see Appendix I). Perhaps he had vaguely in mind Richard Middleton's Heavenly Progress (1617) or Thomas Taylor's Progress of Saints into full Holiness (1630). It is also possible that he chose his title for the connotations of growth, development and improvement which the New English Dictionary assures us were already part of the potential meaning of "progress." These connotations apply to Christian's journey, which is a travail as well as a travel. The pilgrimage metaphor was the gift of an era which was already past; the progress metaphor reflected the age which was coming on. The connotations of the pilgrimage were primarily religious, while those of the progress were secular, specifically, at times, the royal progress. While Bunyan's title reflects the new fashion more than the old, his book shows that the metaphor of the pilgrimage, with its connotations of religious quest and devotion, furnished the central allegorical structure. As part of the background of the biographical progress piece, therefore, I will review some earlier pilgrimages,
noticing when the progress metaphor begins to appear. This review is not intended, primarily, as a study of sources for the Pilgrim's Progress.

Before coming to the pilgrimages, however, I should like to note the many Renaissance expositions of Christian doctrine which took as their titles metaphors related to the pilgrimage but which did not develop the metaphors as allegory in the text. Among these essays are the Pilgrimage of Perfection, 1526 (STC 3277); the Pathway to the Pleasant Pasture of Paradise, 1577 (STC 23622); the Way of Life, 1578 (STC 13067); the Course of Christianity, 1579 (STC 11755); the Footpath of Faith, Leading the Highways to Heaven, Whereunto Is Annexed the Bridge to Blessedness, 1581 (STC 11039); Arthur Dent's Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven, 1601 (STC 6629); the Pathway to Praver and Pietie, 1610 (STC 13473); and William King's sermon, Strait Gate to Heaven, 1622 (STC 14998). Other promising titles, which I have been unable to see, however, are the Book of the Pilgrmage of Man, 1525? (STC 19918); Sir George Carey's Path-Way to Perfection, 1596; the Pilgrimage of Man, Wandering in a Wilderness of Woe, 1606 (STC 19919); and Thomas Taylor's David's Learning or the Way to True Happiness, 1617 (STC 23827). Dent's Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven is the most significant of these books for my purposes, for it was owned by Bunyan's first wife,\(^1\) and it perhaps influenced the Pilgrim's Progress, as well as Bunyan's religious
development. Like the other essays above, it is an exposition of Christian doctrine, but Dent attempted to cast it in dramatic form. There are four type-characters: Theologus, a divine; Philagathus, an Honest Man; Asunetus, an Ignorant Man; and Antilegon, a Caviller and Atheist. The dialogue opens between Theologus and Philagathus. They see Asunetus and Antilegon, their neighbors from the next parish, approaching, and decide to engage them in a discussion of religion, which opens with homely talk of buying cows but soon leads into matters divine. Several hundred pages of exposition follow, in question and answer form, much in the manner of the catechism, with Philagathus drawing out Theologus. In the end, Asunetus has been edified, while Antilegon remains a scoffer. The group disperses just as the sun is going down.² The last stages of Christian's journey, in particular, suggest the influence of this book. The titles of this group of doctrinal essays show the frequency of considering the Christian life in terms of a journey and serve to introduce the allegorical dramatization of Christian doctrine found in the pilgrimages to follow.

For perhaps the earliest pilgrimage allegory printed in English we must look to the fifteenth century and John Lydgate's translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's Paliagramme of the Soule, which Caxton printed in 1483. Scholars disagree whether this book influenced the Pilgrim's Progress. It seems safest neither to affirm direct influ-
ence nor to deny indirect influence.³ Like Pilgrim's Progress, it is set in a dream framework, but the pilgrimage metaphor is not central throughout, operating most noticeably in the opening sentences, followed by lengthy doctrinal debates: "Me thought that I had longe tyme travayled toward the holy cyte of Jerusalem and that I had made an ende and fully fynysshed my flesshely pylgramage....⁴ The narrator dreams that he has died and that his soul has departed the body. There follow a series of debates between an angel and Satan, and between Mercy and Justice, about the disposition of his soul. The angel and Mercy winning, the soul enters purgatory, the beginning of its long preparation for paradise. With the abbreviated pilgrimage metaphor, the personified abstractions, and the dialogue, this dramatization of the soul's career from earth to heaven is an early instance of a form which was to culminate, greatly modified, in the Pilgrim's Progress.

The next piece which belongs in this tradition was published nearly a century later, in 1569. It was the Trauayled Pylgrime, a long didactic poem in fourteener, which set forth "the state of man, and the innumerable assaults, that he is daylie and hourely enuironed withall, not onely with outward or bodily enemies, as losse of goodes, or lyfe, or wyfe, children, or familiuer friends" but also with "the inwarde cogitations or thoughts, which daylie by Sathan, man is vexed....⁵ Faith and good works, according
to the non-Calvinist author, are the chief causes of God's aid to man. He dramatizes the pilgrim's "travayle" (intending the pun) in a long allegory, the flavor of which may be conveyed by describing one of the illustrative woodcuts. In the first woodcut there stands a knight in armor, a boy on his left and an old man on his right. The explanation reads:

"The childe signifieth good Infancie: the rod, Correction: the...aged man, Reason: the booke, Truth: the armed Knyght, youthful Courage: the Speare, good Gouernment: the shielde, hope: the sword, Courage: standing in the fiedle called Time." The last phrase is suggestive of a central feature in all these allegories, which objectify an essentially temporal process in spatial terms. In this poem, the sustained particularizing of man as knight with symbolic armor makes the allegory more suggestive of the Faerie Queene than of the Pilgrim's Progress.

A more literary essay of the pilgrimage form appeared in 1592, Nicholas Breton's 1578-line poem, the Pilgrimage to Paradise, which is somewhat closer in manner than the former pilgrimages to Bunyan's masterpiece. A summary will show the quality of the allegory. Breton creates a fragmentized protagonist, with the soul being the pilgrim, the five senses his servants, and the legs and arms his "attendantes" and "defendauntes." Breton provides a particularized physical setting for the psychological action:
Now, lies this walke, alonge a wildernes,
A forest, ful of wild, and cruell beasts;
The earth vntilde, the fruit, unharms,
The trees all hollow, full of howletes nestes,
The aier vnholosome, or so foule infected:
as, hardly restes, that may not be relected. 6

The allegorical entourage has scarcely begun its pilgrimage when temptations assaill it. Venus appears on the left of the path, tempting the sight. On the right appears Diana, also a temptation. Thus the path here suggests the Aristotelian ideal of the golden mean. Venus reappears with music, tempting the hearing, and Diana counters with a like temptation. The pilgrim next encounters Flora, tempting the smell; Ceres, tempting the taste; and fools and devils, rolling stumbling-stones in the path, which the servant "touch" helps his master circumvent. Here the allegory is vague, but architecture required that Breton provide a temptation for the fifth sense. These temptations successfully resisted, the pilgrim passes into "a graceless grove," where briers, brambles and thorns threaten his passage, and where he sees "beastly mindes" which have been transformed to beastly shapes in the manner of the Bowre of Bliss. Pressing on, he sees a monster with seven heads and seven venomous tails. But where sin abounds grace does more abound, and thus an angel appears, warning him of each of the monster's heads, ambition, avarice, gluttony, sloth, lechery, envy and murder. Buttressed, the pilgrim encounters the monster. Each head argues for its peculiar sin, and the
pilgrim rebukes each head in turn, whereupon it is swallowed up in the monster. This greatest of obstacles overcome, the entourage arrives at a sea-shore. For a while the terrestrial pilgrimage will give place to a voyage on what seems to be the sea of fortune, with Patience as the guide:

With patience here the pilgrim must Imbarke, within a shippe the buonaunture named....

They pass the "Capa di buon speranza," "Towards the heauen, they were to hope upon," and come upon a distressed fisherman whom they rescue. This man is accursed of fortune:

Curst from my cradell, with a thousand crosses Where fortune turnes my Labours all to losses.

He tells his life-story through the equally unsuccessful phases of gallant, soldier and sailor, thus giving in the midst of the pilgrimage a short, realistic biography. He joins the company, which after passing through "Scilla" and "Charibdis," storms and pirates, arrives safely on shore, but not as yet at heaven. The pilgrimage continues, with less emphasis on temptation than on a survey of the world's condition. They pass through a city, "needs[as] is the name," a court, a university, a field of war, and still press on, until they come to a church, which is the Church, "whose head, is Christ, whose Martirs are his pillers." Grace is the gate, contrition the key, love the lock, penitence the porter. This is the entrance to a garden, in
which the sun is God, the herbs "wholesome sentences," and in the midst of which is a well of life. Here, with overtones of Eden and the Garden of Adonis, is the true Paradise, where nature and virtue, flesh and spirit are reconciled and perfected.

Like most allegorical poems, the Pilgrimage to Paradise transcends strict allegory. In the beginning the allegory is pure and fairly simple, with the soul conceived as a pilgrim who is also a lord, and the five senses personified as his servants. It remains clear until after the ordeal with the seven-headed monster, when the company arrives at a sea and embarks thereon. Breton brings us to a sea which is first of all a real sea. We are left to infer its significance, from the name of the ship, the destination, and most clearly, from the rescued fisherman whose life has been a series of defeats by fortune. Thus allegory verges into symbolism. Once the pilgrim is again on shore, the narrative becomes topical, and if we still have a generalized protagonist we are also in sixteenth century England and passing through Elizabeth's court. The allegory becomes generalized again at the Church, and from here Breton draws quickly to a close.

A few years later, a Cambridge student (or students) appropriated the pilgrimage metaphor to form the basis of a secular rather than religious allegory. The Pilgrimage to Parnassus, acted at Cambridge 1598/9 but not published until
1886, is a comic allegorical rendering of the scholar's procedure to a B. A. degree. The two pilgrims, Philomusus and Studioso, can be taken as two types of scholar or as two aspects of any scholar, the aspects respectively of inspiration and determination. The play begins with the perennial situation of the aged, in the form of Consiliodorus, advising the young, his son Philomusus and nephew Studioso. Other than the type-names, there is at first no hint of allegory. Consiliodorus is not an abstraction but a mortal man:

Now Philomusus doe youre beardless years,
Youre faire yonge springe time, and youre budded youth
Urge mee to advise youre younge vntutored thoughtes,
And glue gray bearded counsell to youre age.
Vnto an ould mans speache one minute glue,
Who manie yeare haue schooled how to liue;
To an advisinge toungue one halfe houre tende:
Whatsoere I speake experience hath pend.
Perhaps this toungue, this minde's interpretor,
Shall neuer more borowe youre lisninge eare;
Eare youe returne from greene Parnassus hill
My corps shall lie within some senseless vrne,
Some litel graue my ashes shall inclose.
My winged soule gins scorne this glimie isyle
And thinke vpon a purer mansion.

In line 36 Consiliodorus introduces the central metaphor:
"Youe twoo are Pilgrims to Parnassus hill..." and with their setting out the allegory begins. They must pass through four lands, Logic, Rhetoric, Poetry and Philosophy. As in the religious pilgrimages, the way is rigorous. Philomusus asks:
But cann wee hit this narowe curious waie
Where are such by wayes and erroneous paths?

Their maps are text books, and this is one of the ways in which the play verges into topicality. The allegorical countries have their appropriate terrains and their appropriate, often comic, dangers and temptations. Thus Logic is "full of craggie mountaines and thornie vallies. There are two robbers in this cuntrie caled Genus and Species, that take captiue euerie true mans Inuention that come by them...." Here the pilgrims meet temptation in the form of Madido, a drunkard, who swears that Parnassus and Helicon are fables of the poets, and counsels the pilgrims not to bruise their feet in the land of Logic but to join him at the tavern, where flow the true springs of poetry. Philomusus, appropriately, is most moved by this appeal, while it is Studioso who holds them steadfastly in the way. In the land of Rhetoric the terrain becomes pleasant, with green earth, a path comfortable to the feet, and the singing of birds (various rhetoricians, from Cicero to Ascham). The tempter here is Stupido, a hypocritical, plodding puritan, who admonishes them to forsake these unedifying arts. His apparent seriousness almost converts Studioso, but Philomusus holds him in the way and they press on. While Madido and Stupido had counselled flight, one from the ruggedness, the other from the vanity, of the journey, Amoreto, in the land of Poetry, counsels complacency, his message being to stay
and enjoy the amorous pleasures in poetry. The pilgrims comply, but soon become sated and travel on, Studioso ready to renounce all poetry, Philomusus more moderate, and winning Studioso to moderation. In the country of Philosophy, Ingenioso discourages the pilgrims on the grounds of their certain poverty should they continue: "Parnassus is out of silver pitifullie, pitifullie. I talked with a frende of mine," he warns, "that latelie gaue his horse a bottell of haye at the bottome of the hill, who toulde mee, that Apollo had sente to Pluto to borowe twenty nobles to paye his comons....16 Here the author’s peculiar genius is well illustrated, maintaining the allegory, while entertaining with realistic, low comic dialogue. Nothing deters the pilgrims, and after an amusing interlude in which a clown burlesques the contemporary drama, they reach their destination, which is apparently graduation from Cambridge:

Nowe endes the travell of on[e] tedious daye.  
In .4. years haue wee paste this warie waye.  
Nowe are wee at the foote of this steepe hill  
Where straighth our tired feet shall rest there fill.17

It must be admitted that this play poses a problem of classification. Its object is neither completely general nor merely topical, being neither the spiritual career of Man nor the mundane career of an individual but the academic career of a class of men. With the typical rather than universal object goes a comic intent which further differentiates this piece from the other pilgrimages
discussed here.

It was about this time that the progress title was making its first appearances. Donne had probably written Loves Progress between 1593 and 1598, and he was to write the Progresse of the Soule in 1601 (See Appendix I), although neither poem was published until some years later. It is possible that the third Parnassus play, the Returne from Parnassus: Or the Scourge of Simony, belongs in this group. This possibility requires comment, although it will mean digressing from the immediate subject. In the manuscript purchased by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips at the Towneley Sale in 1883 this play is entitled "The progresse to parnassus as it was acted in St Iohns College in Cambridge Ano 1601." Halliwell-Phillips thought this the original title. J. B. Leishman, most recent editor of the plays, finds the name a misnomer, applying far more accurately to the Pilgrimage than to the second Return, unless perhaps it was a corruption of "The Progress from Parnassus." He cites a passage from the verse prologue which suggests that the three plays were originally known, respectively, as the Pilgrimage, the Return, and the Progress:

In Scholers fortunes twise forlorne and dead
Twise hath our weary pen earst laboured,
Making them Pilgrims to Pernassus hill,
Then penning their returne with ruder quill.
Now we present vnto each pittyng eye
The schollers progresse in their miserye.
The progress element in the play is not strong. The allegory was abandoned after the Pilgrimage, and here Philomusus and Studioso, as well as other old and new characters, appear in a sequence of realistic episodes. In an effort to survive in a competitive world, Philomusus and Studioso change from cony-catchers to actors to fiddlers to shepherds. This sequence is the only thing in the play that could be called a progress.

Mr. Leishman's belief that this play may have originally had the title, the Progresse from Parnassus, accepts the evidence of the Halliwell-Phillips manuscript in part and rejects it in part, assuming that to must be a corruption of from. This is based on the further assumption that Parnassus has the same significance in all three plays, specifically a B. A. degree or Cambridge or both. The present titles of the second and third plays strengthen this assumption. It is just possible, however, that the Progresse to Parnassus was the original title, if we assume that the significance of Parnassus changed during the plays, that it was the symbol for Cambridge and the B. A. degree but that it did not lose its more traditional meaning as the home of the muses or the state of poetic inspiration. After the pilgrims attain their degrees, must we assume that they have finally attained Parnassus, or can we guess that "their hill was further"? The second Return retains features of the quest, without however specifying Parnassus as the goal,
unless we accept the questionable grammar of the Halliwell-Phillips manuscript in the last speech of Philomusus:

Perhaps some happy wit, with feeling hand,
Hereafter may record the pastorall
Of the two schollers to Farnassus hill,
And then our scene may end and have content. 19

Leishman accepts the reading of the 1606 quarto, "of Farnassus hill," calling the manuscript to "another over-hasty emendation: one can record a pilgrimage to, but not a pastoral to." 19 One cannot record "a pastoral to" and still be grammatically correct, he might have added, but supposing the author committed a solecism, it would seem that he saw the scholars as still engaged in the quest for Parnassus. It is clear that in the conclusion the second Return becomes symbolic, the retreats which the characters select representing areas of learning or poetry. Ingenioso, Phantasma, and Furor Poeticus, for example, are bound for the Isle of Dogs, clearly the realm of satire. The speech of Furor has been a parody of Marston's satiric style; 20 one remembers the frequency of dog images in Marston's satire; and, in addition, there are passages such as the following which make the meaning of the Isle of Dogs unmistakable:

Ingenioso We three vnto the snarling Fland hast,
And there our vexed breath in snarling wast. 21

Academico, one page before, wishes them well:
Go happily, I wish thee store of gal,
Sharply to wound the guilty world withall.

If the Isle of Dogs is the realm of satire, it is natural
to suppose that the pastoral retreat of Philomusus and
Studioso is the realm of eclogue. Their dialogue strength-
ens the supposition, for they will "chant their woes," and
"teach the murmering brookes":

Philomusus We will be gone vnto the downes of Kent,
Sure rooting we shall find in humble dale:
Our fleecy flocke/s/ weel learne to watch and warde
In Iulyes heate and cold of Ianuary;
Weel chant our woes vpon an eaten reede,
Whiles bleeding flock/s/ vpon their supper feeede.
Studioso So shall we shun the company of men,
That growes more hatefull as the world growes old:
Weel teach the murmering brookes in tears to flow,
And steepy rocke/s/ to wayle our passed wo.\(^{22}\)

It may be accidental that Consiliodorus, in the Pilgrimage,
described the goal in pastoral terms:

There may yone bath youre lipps in Helicon
And wash youre tongue in Aganippes well
And teache them wareble out some sweet sonnetes
To rauish the fildes and neighbour groues,
That aged Collin, leaninge on his staffe,
Feedinge his milkie flocke vpon the downs,
May wonder at youre sweete melidious pipe
And be attentine to youre harmonie.\(^{23}\)

But it is possible, although the possibility is admittedly
weak, that the author conceived of the pastoral retreat of
Philomusus and Studioso, which was also their turn to pas-
torial poetry, as their next and final stage (since this is
the last play of the series) in their search for Parnassus.
To return to the main line of inquiry, Donne wrote in 1612 his second poem on the death of Elizabeth Drury. It bears the progress title and is in part a career of the soul, being the first piece of this type to be known as a progress. Donne's earlier piece of almost the same title is an altogether different sort of poem (See Appendix I, 1601). Of the Progresse of the Soule, 1612, is not allegorical however in the sense, for example, that Breton's poem is allegorical. Donne abstracts the soul from the body, but he personifies neither. The progress of the soul is not a psychological process through moral states hypostatized as places. Donne instead tells 'literally', in terms of a widely accepted psychology and cosmology of the existence of the soul, including the soul's coming to the body, its residence there, its release at death, and its flight through the Ptolemaic universe to God. Myth would be a more accurate term for this progress than allegory, if by myth is meant extended metaphor which is accepted or seems to be accepted as fact. This poem differs in manner, therefore, from the other pieces in this section. I have included it because of the similarity in object and in order to record more fully the occurrence of the progress metaphor prior to Bunyan.

George Herbert's Pilgrimage, 1633, although it is a short lyric, returns to the tradition of the allegorical pilgrimage. Next to the Pilgrim's Progress, Herbert's
poem is the most artful of these allegorical careers of the soul. It is more personal than any of the pieces considered thus far, without being less universal. Although it is told in the first person, the sense conveyed of struggle, hope, disappointment, recurring hope, and final resignation gives it more universal appeal than could any generalized name attached to the pilgrim. The first two lines disclose a great deal: The pilgrim is the narrator; he is in the midst of his journey; and his goal is in sight:

I Travell'd on, seeing the hill, where lay
My expectation.²⁴

The difficult way lies between psychological extremes, the cave of Desperation and the Rock of Pride. The traveller must pass through pleasant and unpleasant states, both of which impede his journey: Fancies medow, where he would like to stay; Carec cops[, which he hardly traverses; the wilde of Passion, where he is "robb'd of all [his] gold."
The goal itself receives no allegorical name but remains simply "the hill." Specification is left to the reader, but Herbert has provided suggestions. It is the hill "where lay/My expectation," "the gladsome hill,/Where lay my hope,/Where lay heart." The heart's desire, the ideal, the Good, God--whatever is conceived as the highest value--would seem to be the meaning. The pilgrim's attainment of the hill is the poem's climax, for which Herbert has prepared the reader.
The struggle of the journey is developed with increasing intensity in the first three stanzas as the pilgrim passes between Desperation and Pride, and then through Fancy, Care, and Passion. In stanza four the expectation of the goal is quickened as the hill is reached and the pilgrim ascends:

At length I got unto the gladsome hill,  
Where lay my hope,  
Where lay my heart; and climbing still,  
When I had gain'd the brow and top ....

Herbert has brought the action to its high point, emotionally as well as topographically, and at this moment we learn that the quest is tragic:

A lake of brackish waters on the ground  
Was all I found.

Despair ensues (lines 25-26), leading to supplication (27-28), renewed hope (29-31), revelation (32-33), and resignation (34-36). Death will end the tragedy and promises both rest and conveyance to the true goal (or so I interpret "chair" in the last line). This complex denouement occupies but twelve lines:

With that abash'd and struck with many a sting  
Of swarming fears,  
I fell, and cry'd, Alas my King!  
Can both the way and end be tears?  
Yet taking heart I rose, and then perceiv'd  
I was deceiv'd:

My hill was further: so I flung away,  
Yet heard a crie  
Just as I went, None goes that way
And lives: If that be all, said I,
After so foul a journey death is fair,
And but a chair.

Thus Herbert appropriates the pilgrimage form to the short lyric, using both allegory and symbolism to give concreteness to psychological experience. He achieves emotional intensity through a development which is basically dramatic, with conflict, suspense, climax and falling action; and through a highly evocative yet economical use of language. In regard to language, the metaphor for fear is notable: concrete, active, physically and emotionally urgent, yet simple and easily passed over in a hurried reading:

With that abash'd and struck with many a sting
Of swarming fears,
I fell....

Herbert's puns are important in thickening the meaning while retaining brevity. The serious pun on chair in the last line has already been mentioned. If this poem does not, as one scholar asserted,²⁶ contain all the essentials of the Pilgrim's Progress, it does at least, in object, manner and artistic quality, serve as an appropriate introduction to Bunyan's work.

No one would question that the Pilgrim's Progress (1678) is the greatest English allegory of the soul's biography. It immortalized the evangelical protestant tradition, and it climaxed the literary tradition of the pilgrimage. After it, the pilgrimage form survived mainly in the form of
the progress, which was similar in form yet different in connotation and which was used for different purposes. Even in the disguised version of the Pilgrim's Progress which appeared in 1705 (See Appendix I), the progress metaphor was more prominent in the title.

Critics agree on the reason for the appeal of the Pilgrim's Progress. Saintsbury voiced the common feeling when he wrote, "As ideal as Spenser, as real as Defoe: such is Bunyan." 27 Dorothy Van Ghent has stated the same insight in slightly different terms:

The dream and the solid reality are brought together in a single experience, as a child constantly brings them together; and by this juxtaposition, the dream becomes palpable and the reality becomes mysterious. Bunyan is in touch with ancient sources of feeling, ancient in both childhood and racial lore; he is also in touch with the immediate forms of his own present; around these forms, and through them, he is able to release the atmosphere of the miraculous. It is thus that he makes a new and integral world with its own gravitational law, its own breathing air, its own inhabitants.... 28

Bunyan achieves a nearly perfect union of subjective and objective experience, making significance perceptible and the perceptible significant. In order to show once more the quality of Bunyan's achievement, while remaining within the limits of this study, it will be necessary to select one point of view, which will be partial but also, I hope, central.

The polarity of life recurrently impresses itself upon man's experience. Mysteriously, despair and hope, sorrow
and joy, death and life flow into one another. The gospels are full of the sense of this paradox, which has since pervaded Christian thought. Thus the purgatorio precedes the paradiso, and the dark night of the soul comes before union with God. St. Paul cast the paradox in a form which has especially impressed Protestant thinking: "Moreover the law entered, that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound: That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord." The emphasis on sin and grace in Luther and Calvin is common knowledge, and a Protestant theologian in our own day finds the verse which I have italicized descriptive of the central structure of Christian experience: "These words of Paul summarize his apostolic experience, his religious message as a whole, and the Christian understanding of life." Bunyan, we know from his books, struggled with the elemental contradictions of life, and being in the Protestant tradition, he inevitably understood his spiritual struggle in terms of Protestant categories. Thus the theme as well as the title of his spiritual biography was *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, and this theme determined the structure of the book, which Roger Sharrock has analyzed as follows:

1. Conviction of sin. A profound understanding of his own imperfect nature, intensified after his intro-
duction to Gifford. (Grace Abounding, sections 78 ff.)

2. A temporary gift of grace, prompted by a chance passage in a sermon, as in similar experiences of Goodwin and others. (sections 90-3.)

3. 'A very great storm' of temptations, heralded by his hearing the cry 'Simon, Simon', as described in section 94. (sections 90-114.)

4. Effectual calling, followed by a gradual restoration to grace. (sections 115-31.)

5. A second wave of temptations. At section 199 this is spoken of as lasting two and a half years. The climax of this was when Bunyan thought he had commited the sin against the Holy Ghost by denying Christ. He was subsequently haunted for months by a text from Hebrews xii.17, concerning Esau: 'For ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected: for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.' (sections 132-235, followed by an analysis of the temptation, sections 236-52.)

6. A final assurance of grace, preceded by 'a great cloud of darkness' which was accompanied by physical weakness. The highest pitch of exaltation is reached in a vision embodying a passage from Hebrews xii about the company of the saints. This gave Bunyan a picture of a whole band of the elect passing into the New Jerusalem, like that presented in the closing scenes of Part Two when the pilgrims cross the river. (sections 253-64.)

Sharrock further demonstrates what critics of Bunyan have often briefly observed, that "the spiritual experiences recorded in his autobiography help to decide the form taken by the allegory [In Pilgrim's Progress], the order of the episodes, and the dovetailing of one into the other." It would seem to follow that the rhythmic alternation of sin and grace, hope and despair, which provides the structure
for *Grace Abounding*, is also a chief structural feature of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and such is the case. Following the same climatic order as the autobiography, moreover, the allegory acquires on a large scale a rising dramatic action similar to that achieved on a small scale and therefore more intensely by Herbert in the *Pilgrimage*.

As in Herbert's poem, the topography and physical particularity of the allegory correspond appropriately to the psychological action. This is another common perception of Bunyan critics. But not only is the sense aspect of the book luminous of the emotional and intellectual meaning; it is also true to reality as felt and observed by us all. So convincing is Bunyan's realism that it induced one scholar to set about identifying the settings of the *Pilgrim's Progress* with landmarks in and around Bedford.33 Henri Talon's discussion of Bunyan's realism, while refraining from such particularity, centers on the reflection in the book of contemporary life.34 This is a correct approach, I think, to Bunyan's realism, which is not narrowly pictorial nor auditory but which, characteristically, creates a feeling in the reader of how it would be to live in the situation at hand, not only sensing but functioning fully according to the possibilities of the moment. Worldly Wiseman's description of the town of Morality affords an example: "There, I say, thou mayest be eased of thy burden, and if thou art not minded to go back to thy former
habitation, as indeed I would not wish thee, thou mayest send for thy wife and Children to thee to this Village, where there are houses now stand empty, one of which thou mayest have at reasonable rates: Provision is there also cheap and good, and that which will make thy life the more happy, is, to be sure there thou shalt live by honest neighbors, in credit and good fashion."35 It is indeed realistic to talk of reasonable rates, provision, honest neighbors, credit and good fashion, but this is the realism of daily living rather than of the senses alone or primarily. The Pilgrim's Progress is rich in sensory realism, but it is not confined to it.

It remains to turn briefly to Bunyan's narrative in order more explicitly to review how the struggle of the spiritual life is objectified in the allegory. Hopeful is telling the history of his religious experience to Christian as they pass through the Inchanted Ground on the final stage of their journey. He states, in one poignant sentence, the polarity of sin and grace, despair and hope: "One day I was very sad, I think sadder than at any one time in my life; and this sadness was through a fresh sight of the greatness andileness of my sins: And as I was then looking for nothing but Hell, and the everlasting damnation of my Soul, suddenly, as I thought, I saw the Lord Jesus look down from Heaven upon me, and saying, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."36 For Bunyan, this
interdependence of sin and grace was a continuing and not just an initial experience in the Christian life. Christian learned this truth in the house of the Interpreter:

Then I saw in my Dream, that the Interpreter took Christian by the hand, and led him into a place, where was a Fire burning against a Wall, and one standing by it, always casting much Water upon it to quench it, Yet did the Fire burn higher and hotter.

Then said Christian, What means this? The Interpreter answered, This fire, is the work of Grace that is wrought in the heart; he that casts water upon it, to extinguish and put it out, is the Devil: but in that thou seest the fire, notwithstanding, burn higher and hotter, thou shalt also see the reason of that: So he had him about to the back-side of the Wall, where he saw a Man with a Vessel of Oil in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast, (but secretly) into the Fire. Then said Christian, What means this? The Interpreter answered, This is Christ, who continually with the Oil of his Grace, maintains the work already begun in the heart; by the means of which, notwithstanding what the Devil can do, the souls of his people prove gracious still. And in that thou sawest, that the Man stood behind the Wall to maintain the fire; this is to teach thee, that it is hard for the tempted to see how this work of Grace is maintained in the soul.37

This passage, incidentally, explains how there can be conflict with potential dramatic interest in a predestined career. There is no more convincing and moving example of this sin-grace polarity than in the opening pages of the book. Bunyan sees in his dream a man clothed in the rags of his own righteousness, bearing the burden of his sin on his back, and reading the Bible, "and as he read, he wept and trembled: and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry; saying, What shall I do?"38 The physical image perfectly conveys the anxiety which
overwhelms the man. This state of inner terror receives emphasis in the next paragraph through contrast with the implied calm of the everyday home-life: "In this plight therefore he went home, and refrained himself as long as he could, that his Wife and Children should not perceive his distress...." When he can hold silent no longer, his fear is read as madness by his complacent family and neighbors. The full intensity of his despair and terror shines through the following image: "I saw also that he looked this way, and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood still, because (as I perceived) he could not tell which way to go." This precise moment, when the consciousness of sin and fear of damnation is most intense, is the moment of grace, which comes through the Evangelist: "I looked then, and saw a man named **Evangelist**, coming to him, and asked, **Wherefore dost thou cry?**" Evangelist starts Christian in his flight from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City. He has hardly begun his journey when he meets Pliable and seeks to persuade him to come, describing in a naive and moving way the joys of the goal: "There also you shall meet with thousands, and ten thousands that have gone before us to that place; none of them are hurtful, but loving, and holy; every one walking in the sight of God; and standing in his presence with acceptance for ever." It is ironic, but true to Bunyan's experience, that the Slough of Despond follows immediately: "...just as they had ended this talk, they
drew near to a very Miry Slough that was in the midst of the Plain, and they being heedless, did both fall sud\text enly into the bog. Following the Slough of Despond and the struggle with legality come the Wicket Gate, the House of the Interpreter, the Cross, the Hill Difficulty, with the climax of this sequence of grace at the top in the form of House Beautiful. It is here that Christian sees far off the Delectable Mountains. Following this literal and figurative height come depths once more, the Valley of Humiliation and the struggle with Apollyon, then the Valley of the Shadow of Death, followed by the meeting with Faithful. It would be oversimplifying to suggest that every incident in the book can be explained in terms of a contrasting pattern of heights and depths, hope and despair, grace and sin. The \textit{Pilgrim's Progress} contains too much to be reduced to a formula. Yet I think it is clear that the sin-grace, despair-hope contrariety is a central idea and a central structural principle in the book. Without further summary, therefore, I will go directly to the climax, Christian and Hopeful's imprisonment in the dungeon of the giant Despair, followed immediately by the sojourn in the Delectable Mountains and the preview of the Celestial City.

The imprisonment, as we might expect, follows a period of unusual grace. For some days previously Christian and Hopeful have lived in green meadows, along the river of Life. It is a place of spiritual succour, Bunyan's dramatization
of the twenty-third Psalm. After leaving here they are only too willing to prolong their ease artificially and are quick to fall before the temptation of the stile which leads into By-Path Meadow. Before they can get back to their way, the giant Despair has captured and imprisoned them in the dungeon of Doubting Castle, where they endure for four days the worst temptation and struggle of their journey. The Giant tempts them to suicide, and Christian, crushed in spirit, would comply but for the encouragement of Hopeful. For the full significance of this episode, it is necessary to look back to the House of the Interpreter and the Man in an Iron Cage, who, Bunyan notes in the margin, is an emblem for despair. The following speech explains first the meaning of By-Path Meadow and second the seriousness of the pilgrims' condition in the dungeon: "I left off to watch, and be sober; I laid the reins upon the neck of my lusts; I sinned against the light of the Word, and the goodness of God: I have grieved the Spirit, and he is gone; I tempted the Devil, and he is come to me; I have provoked God to anger, and he has left me; I have so hardened my heart, that I cannot repent." To Bunyan total despair was the sin against the Holy Spirit, the end of which was possible suicide and certain damnation. There was a time when he feared that he had committed this sin. This period, therefore, in Grace Abounding must correspond to the dungeon of Despair, where Christian undergoes the climactic temptation of his journey.
On escaping the dungeon, Christian and Hopeful pass into the Delectable Mountains, the high point of grace following the depths of sin. "...So they went up to the Mountains, to behold the Gardens, and Orchards, the Vineyards, and Fountains of water, where also they drank, and washed themselves, and did freely eat of the Vineyards."\(^{42}\) Here, as at House Beautiful, they review the past and preview things to come. With dramatic irony, Bunyan has the shepherds, Knowledge, Experience, Watchful, and Sincere, explain to them the dangers of Doubting Castle. The pilgrims experience terror in retrospect, which is the more intense because of the contrast to their present surroundings. Before leaving the mountains, they are given a glass by which to view the Celestial City, which they see but darkly, by reason of their quaking hands from their recent fear. Thus, in the juxtaposition of the dungeon of Despair and the Delectable Mountains, with the view of the Celestial City, Bunyan climaxes his narration.

Here Bunyan breaks his narrative for the only time: "So I awoke from my Dream." But he resumes immediately in the next paragraph: "And I slept, and Dreamed again...."\(^{43}\) Scholars agree that this break adds nothing to the narrative, that indeed it detracts, and they conjecture that it marks a hiatus in the writing, because of either Bunyan's reimprisonment or his final release from prison.\(^{44}\) Such a
theory is useful to the scholar attempting to establish the
date of writing, although it can be used to establish dif-
ferent dates. I have difficulty believing that Bunyan, who
is usually so intuitively expert in his narration, would
suffer a break in the narrative which was so easily removable
to remain, if indeed it was meant only to indicate two stages
in the writing. I am not certain that this interruption
does not serve another purpose. We saw that the Delectable
Mountains, in immediate contrast to the Giant's dungeon,
are the high point of the book, emotionally and logically as
well as topographically, for from there the pilgrims foresee
the future glories of the Celestial City itself. It is as
if Bunyan, after bringing his narrative to its fullest inten-
sity, felt the need momentarily to release the tension and
at the same time to accentuate the climax of the narrative.

In the remaining pages there is less spiritual strug-
gle and more exposition of doctrine. Arthur Dent's Plain
Mans Path-way to Heauen may really have influenced this part
of the book, with the catechismic dialogue of Christian and
Hopeful suggesting that of Philagathus and Theologus. The
main characters whom the pilgrims meet, moreover, are Ignor-
rance and Atheist, although Ignorance receives harsher treat-
ment in Bunyan's hands than in Dent's. In these pages Hope-
ful recounts his conversion and thus in a way recapitulates
the whole process which Bunyan is objectifying.

In crossing the River of Death, Christian experiences
for the last time all the old horrors of sin, which again
are a prelude to grace:

Then said Christian, Ah my friend, the sorrows of death
have compassed me about, I shall not see the Land that
flows with Milk and Honey. And with that, a great dark-
ness and horror fell upon Christian, so that he could
not see before him; also here he in great measure lost
his senses, so that he could neither remember nor orderly
talk of any of those sweet refreshments that he had met
with in the way of his Pilgrimage. But all the words
that he spake, still tended to discover that he had hor-
ror of mind, and hearty fears that he should die in that
River, and never obtain entrance in at the Gate: Here
also, as they that stood by perceived, he was much in
the troublesome thoughts of the sins that he had commit-
ted, both since and before he began to be a Pilgrim.
'Twas also observed, that he was troubled with appari-
tions of Hobgoblins and evil Spirits. For ever and anon
he would intamate so much by words.45

But after the river comes the exalted entry to the Celestial
City. One is reminded once more of the verse quoted at the
beginning of this discussion: "But where sin abounded,
grace did much more abound: That as sin hath reigned unto
death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto
eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord."

Thus Bunyan closes his biography of the soul's strug-
gle toward perfection. Throughout, the struggle has been
structured in terms of Christian and specifically Protestant
categories, and objectified in a realistic world often imi-
tative of Bunyan's everyday experience. In his apology he
says early that he wrote the book not to please his neighbor
but to gratify himself; later, that his end was his reader's
good.46 The effect of the book has been both delight and
edification, and usually both at once. The reason is that Bunyan was true to two worlds, the world of the spirit and the world of the senses, and true to both simultaneously, in their contradictions, complexities, and details. He explored the inner world and imitated the outer, and did one in terms of the other, fusing the spiritual and the physical, and thus appealing to his readers as whole men. Not only is the Pilgrim's Progress 'vertically' organic, fusing the visible and the invisible, but it is also 'horizontally' organic. The beginning contains the end; the end recapitulates the whole; because one structural principle, other than the pilgrimage metaphor itself, is dominant throughout. Thus Bunyan has given an organic, exploration-imitation of an action, which is as great an action as man can conceive, cast in terms as homely as he can experience. Organicism, truthful complexity, appeal to the whole man--these are the general qualities, I think, of great art, and qualities which have given the Pilgrim's Progress more readers, it is generally supposed, than any Western book save the Bible.

After the Pilgrim's Progress, the history of the serious biographical progress piece is brief and unimportant. Those pieces, at least, which depend on allegorical and symbolic methods do not figure significantly in the English literary tradition. Thomas Bromley's Way to the Sabbath of Rest. Or the Soul's Progress in the Work of the New Birth, which was published for a second time in 1692 (See Appendix I),
may be dismissed as sub-literary. The Countess of Winchilsea's *Life's Progress*, published in 1713 (See Appendix I), requires only brief comment. This short poem is in the pilgrimage tradition but differs from that tradition in several ways. The metaphor of the journey is implicit throughout but is often far from obvious. We have only traces of it, in fact, as in the second line, "Our Life's uncertain Race!" or in the middle of the poem as we approach the "Hill of Time," or in the last line, when we "Leave following Crowds behind." This line suggests, moreover, that Lady Winchilsea was thinking specifically in terms of a royal progress rather than a pilgrimage, but her image is never made quite explicit, and we are left with a faint impression that a journey is the organizing principle in the poem. Contributing to the vagueness of the central metaphor is the faint realization of the moral landscape. The abstractions take the form of the "Hill of Time" too infrequently to suggest a realistic pathway in the manner of Herbert or Bunyan. Likewise, *Life* is never realized as the allegorical protagonist, after the initial personification in the second line, "Our Life's uncertain Race!" Instead, some form of the plural first person pronoun appears twelve times. The total result is a poem about the course of life which is part allegory and part exposition, with perhaps more of the latter. Finally, *Life's Progress* reflects a difference in sensibility from the *Pilgrim's Progress* and its predecessors. In those works,
there is a basic optimism, however qualified, which comes from the Christian faith, and which results in a structure which is essentially that of tragi-comedy, using "comedy" in Dante's sense. This poem, however, is totally pessimistic. Its movement is from naive joy to experienced sorrow, concluding in death and positing nothing beyond death.

The reader discovers the next poem with some of the wonder that a geologist finds a fossil of a past era. The Progress of Man, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1735 (See Appendix I), could as easily have been called the Pilgrimage of Man, and indeed the pilgrimage metaphor occurs in the narrative:

What time the pilgrimage of life is past,  
Man is allow'd to hope for ease at last. (I, 127-28)

This poetic anachronism owes its existence to a contest offering a prize of fifty pounds and specifying the content, "Life, Death, Heaven, and Hell." Aside from the generalized object, Man, and the central metaphor, the poem contains more exposition of popular, fundamentalist doctrine than allegory. Epistle I looks on the course of life with Johnsonian pessimism, while Epistle II describes literally "the four last things." One is reminded more of Deguileville than of Bunyan.

With the Progress of Man the pilgrimage tradition, its name now changed, breathed its last. Some forty years
later, in 1774, appeared William Richardson's poem, the *Progress of Melancholy*. *A Vision* (See Appendix I), which differs from this tradition but which also bears certain similarities to it. This poem has a decidedly modern bias, Richardson's concern being the personality rather than the soul, mental health rather than salvation. He presents only one episode, which is an allegory based, he tells us, on his own experience. It is analogous in meaning to Christian's ordeal with Despair. While Richardson uses the dream vision of earlier allegory, Melancholy is a typical eighteenth century personification, sable in attire, of pensive air, slow and graceful in movement. The dreamer follows her into the realm of Solitude, which is objectified in terms of picturesque and sublime landscapes. There attacked by distempered Fancy and Despair, he escapes only through the agency of Wisdom, who instructs him to eschew Solitude and seek the pursuits of social life. There is the same tragi-comedy pattern of the pilgrimages, but the agency of healing is no longer divine grace but human Wisdom, while the pursuits of social life seem to have replaced the Church in providing the external discipline and ritual necessary to give order to life and to sustain wholeness.

While there may be as much diversity as likeness among the pieces discussed thus far, it is possible without belittling the differences to see similarities which converge into a common pattern. These pieces take as their
object the career of man, as seen from various points of view. From a religious view, we get the career of the soul from earth to heaven, or the career of Christian from sin to grace; from a secular view, we see the career of Life itself, or we see an episode in the life of man; and from an academic view, we get the career of the scholar. In every case, the central figure has a general significance, referring to a class of men or to Man rather than to an individual, however much he may be particularized in the allegory. The fact that Herbert's *Pilgrimage* is told in the first person does not keep the narrator from having general significance. In the context of the poem he becomes more than "I"; he assumes the character of the Christian Pilgrim, and this is one of the excellences of the poem, that the protagonist is both intensely personal and universal. The *Progress of Melancholy* is another first person narrative, but the author tells of his ordeal with melancholy because of its typicality rather than its uniqueness. He is making a parable from personal experience which he feels is also general experience and therefore instructive. The fact, however, that this poem is concerned with only a segment in the course of life is a qualification which should be made when including it in this category. As for the manner of these pieces, they are based upon the same or similar metaphors, with the metaphor of the pilgrimage merging into that of the progress. The archetypal idea of journey-quest is common to both metaphors, while their
specific formations may be thought of as signatures of the different ages which fostered them. In most of these pieces, the central metaphor provides the basis for the allegorical development. The generalized protagonist—the Soul, Man, Life—becomes the pilgrim or the traveller; and the emotional, intellectual, and moral stages through which he must pass become countries, valleys, mountains, meadows in the allegorical terrain, or personified beings which help or impede his journey. It is difficult to be precise about the effect of a single work, much less of a group of works. For the purposes of this study, it will be sufficient to recall that all but one of these pieces are serious, tending toward didacticism. But they sometimes transcend mere didacticism and attain the effect of art, appealing to the whole man—senses, emotions and intellect—at once. The seriousness of the group is broken by the successful university play, the Pilgrimage to Parnassus. Thus we have a complex but not quite indefinite cluster of biographical progress pieces, all but one of them serious. On the basis of their similarities, and not forgetting their differences, it will be convenient and legitimate to refer to them as allegories of the career of Man.

11. Allegories of the careers of men.

Coming to this group of progress pieces one enters a quite different world. While the allegorical method remains
essentially the same as that in the general allegories, it is put to a new use. These pieces are all topical satires, taking as their objects the public careers of real men rather than typical or universal human processes. Departing from chronological order, a natural point at which to begin will be two parodies of the Pilgrim's Progress.

Signed "John Bunyan," the Statesman's Progress: Or, a Pilgrimage to Greatness appeared in 1741 (See Appendix I) as an unmistakable satire on the Whig prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Such attacks were common, and we shall see several more which issued in the form of progress pieces. As literature, this piece has nothing to recommend it. The protagonist is Badman, who is travelling to Greatness Hill, not on the King's Highway but on Vice-Road. Instead of the monster Apollyon, he encounters and slays the Dragon Conscience by means of his Golden Spear. A good deal is made of his dependence, in various ways, on gold in order to assist in his ascent. This is of course another of the accusations of bribery levelled at Walpole. The anonymous author equally emphasizes Badman's relish for gold once the hill has been attained, for there the Golden Pippin Trees grow, and Badman's ambition is to be master of them all. He maintains a monster, apparently a standing army, in order to keep the populace in awe.

The next piece parodies the Pilgrim's Progress even
more closely. The *Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent, in Jacobinical Times*, by Mary Ann Burges, first appeared in 1800 (See Appendix I) and had its ninth edition in 1814. A case could be made for discussing this work in connection with the general allegories of the preceding section. If the titular object, the progress of Good-Intent, were rigidly emphasized, this piece could be called an allegory of the career of Man. But it is not that, precisely. Miss Burges's intention is clearly topical, Good-Intent's journey being not her real object so much as a means for introducing satire on current politics and intellectual trends. A partial summary will clarify the nature of the book.

In a dream vision the author meets Sagacity, who explains that the Christian pilgrimage is as difficult today as in the times of Christian. As proof, he asks that she follow the progress of Good-Intent, great-grandson of Christian's son Matthew. He has come from the town of Sincerity on his way to the Celestial City. Having passed already through the Slough of Despond, he overtakes a group of slower pilgrims: Lord Inconsiderate, Lord Party-Spirit, Lord Love-Change, Mr. Hot-Head, Mr. Hate-Controul, Mr. Discontent, Mr. Curiosity and Mr. Credulity. The last two are known to Good-Intent, for they are also from the city of Sincerity. Each of the travellers, in the ensuing dialogue, voices sentiments suitable to his allegorical name. Their first jeopardy occurs when they are nearing the house of the
Interpreter as night comes on. They see two houses, an ancient one on the right and a modern one on the left. Lured to the latter, they find it to be the castle of Philosophy, lighted by lamps so that it seems to afford them the light of day. Here they see many marvels, including an academy of Swiftian projectors experimenting with flying-machines and ships meant to travel on the ocean-bottom. Here also is one mixing the elixir of Human Perfectibility. They are shown a prospect of Philosophy's arch-enemies, whom he designates Despotism and Priestcraft. These giants have multitudes of carefree people fettered in monstrous chains. The prisoners are happy, Philosophy explains, because they are unaware of their fetters. Then a man dressed in paper, stamped repeatedly with the words Rights of Man, holds up to the pilgrims a mirror, in which they see that they are also encumbered in invisible chains. Philosophy offers to free them if they will do obeissance to Atheism and Anarchy and surrender the books given them by the Evangelist. All succumb but Good-Intent, who, reading in his book at the last minute, discovers that he has been deluded and flees the castle. He is delayed slightly by an encounter with Heresy, who wears the mask of Rational-Christianity or Deism. Escaping with only a minor wound from a poisoned arrow shot by Ridicule, he makes his way to the house of the Interpreter.

There he learns that Philosophy is not, as he had claimed, the son of Reason and Nature, but of Lucifer and
Nonsense. Systematically the Interpreter disillusions him about all he had seen and heard in the house of Philosophy. The chains he had seen in the mirror were merely imaginary. The two giants, Despotism and Priestcraft, when seen in the daylight of truth, are Lawful-Government and Church-Establishment.

Good-Intent's climb up the Hill Difficulty is less interesting than his adventures on the summit, at House Beautiful. He finds that the house is not what it was. The graces have changed. Charity now wears the name of Philanthropy; Prudence is Mental-Energy; Piety has gone mad and been confined; Sensibility has taken up residence, after divorcing her former husband, Common-sense; Sentiment and Refinement have taken the place of Discretion and Humble-Mind. Some of their actions are worth noting. Philanthropy, for example, sits in the window with a telescope, "looking through the shades of night, which now totally overspread the earth, for invisible objects of benevolence, in unknown regions." Sensibility lies on a sofa, "half bending herself over a young ass's colt, which she tenderly caresses, and bedews with a copious shower of tears." These 'graces' condone the French Revolution, just as Philosophy did. No amount of present suffering is unjustified, if better hopes can be gained for future ages. They are sentimental visionaries one and all, typified by Philanthropy, who is so used to far-seeing that she stumbles
against Good-Intent and almost knocks him down. Escaping at
dawn, Good-Intent perceives that the house is made not of
bricks but of books, and is hence the prey of every wind.
He also sees that he had not reached the summit of the hill,
and that there stands on the summit another house, of which
this is an imitation. Reaching the true House Beautiful,
he is met by the old Christian graces. According to the
basic structural pattern, they disillusion him about the
appearances which have recently been befogging his mind.

And so the book continues, paralleling each major
incident in Christian's journey, and using the basic pattern
of illusion followed by disillusion, the former a product
of modern radicalism, the latter the true light of conserva-
tive Christianity. Although she borrows the allegorical
vehicle from Bunyan, she handles it as though it were her
own. The book is of considerable interest, at least to the
historian, on account of its satirical analysis and dramatic
objectification of thought-patterns underlying the French
Revolution and of the cults of sentiment, sensibility and
philanthropy, along with the topical references to men like
Godwin, Paine, and Coleridge.

Turning to topical allegories which did not parody
the Pilgrim's Progress, we must go back to 1730 and Aaron
Hill's Progress of Wit. The background for this mild satire
is as follows. In 1718 Lintot showed Hill's poem, the Northern
Star, to Pope and reported Pope's unenthusiastic reaction.
Hill expressed his resentment in a preface to the poem (1720). He later apologized and in the preface to another poem which he published in 1720, the *Creation*, he publicly admitted his mistake. He printed some unfavorable remarks on Pope's *Shakespeare*, however, in his periodical, the *Plain Dealer* (No. 116, May 3, 1725). In the *Peri Bathous*, which appeared in March 1728, "A. H.** was one of the flying-fish. Hill was probably right in assuming that he was the person intended. He answered with an epigram on Pope in the *Daily Journal*, April 16. In May the *Dunciad* appeared, and "H____" was one of the writers who participated in the diving match in Book II. A note to the quarto of 1729 made it quite clear that Hill was meant. The fact that the passage was not altogether unflattering may explain the moderation of Hill's reply. Hill begins by chiding Pope for the turn his work has taken. His early work redounds to his credit, but the *Dunciad* is beneath his talent. Hill sees him deposed now from his former eminence. An allegorical figure, Fancy, comes to Pope in a dream and carries him aloft in a chariot, from where he has a vision, seeing in prospect the stream of life, running between two oceans, Birth and Death, and bounded on the left by the shallows of Oblivion, on the right by the calm depths and green islands of Fame. On this stream sails a motley host of boats, over-taking, ramming, by-passing one another. Suddenly there appears out of the mist which covers the ocean of Birth a barge, more splendid than
Belinda's on the Thames, and on it rides a sickly yet keen-eyed youth whose voice yields "magic sounds of melting music." The Muses row him; the Graces trim his sails; other boatmen give way; and he reaches the isles of Fame before traversing one-third the stream. But discontented there, he steers for the shallows of the farther shore, there battling flies, gnats and wasps for immediate but not lasting renown—so Hill interprets Pope's Dunciad venture. The poet, realizing that the vision is an allegory of his own career, bolts

...from the chariot, lost to fancy's call,
And, had not waiting judgment broke the fall,
Contempt's cold vale had caught him, wak'd and stunn'd,
And deep intomb'd him, in his own profund.49

Thus Hill's balanced and basically sympathetic rebuke closes hopefully: Pope's judgment will save him yet. The fairness blinds the satire, but the object of the satire being Pope, Hill faced the dilemma of writing mildly or writing the absurd abuse of a Grub Street hack, and he wisely chose the first course.

Proceeding chronologically, the next piece, the Progress of Corruption. A Satire, seems to have acquired the progress title more because of the fashion of such a title than because of any marked sequential element in the poem. Published in 1748, it is a parody on the Dunciad and an anti-Walpole satire, although Walpole had died in 1745. The seat of Corruption is named Walpolium. There the "horrid daemon"
(apparently, Corruption, which is also Walpole) presided, attracting a train of worshippers. The author invokes Satire to come and scourge these "assassins of the Land." An attack follows on a number of individuals, their identities told by initials. Probably the author considered these thrusts central and the Walpole satire an organizing device, still emotionally charged and fecund with possibilities of condemning by association. This piece is included here provisionally, because the full idea of career and metaphor of journey are largely missing, and because the piece is only in part allegory.

Robert Lloyd's Progress of Envy, which appeared in 1751, is the last progress piece I have found which is also a topical allegory, save for Mary Ann Burges's parody of Bunyan which has already been discussed. Imitating the style of Spenser rather than Bunyan or Pope, Lloyd presents allegorically the course of a Milton controversy which raged briefly in the middle years of the eighteenth century. William Lauder, a classical scholar, had maintained that Milton plagiarized passages from Latin authors, and he had quoted as proof lines which he said belonged originally to Masenius and Staphorstius. John Douglas and others demonstrated that these lines were in fact from William Hog's Latin verse rendering of Paradise Lost. In the poem, Lloyd pictures Spenser, Milton, Chaucer and Shakespeare reigning on Mount Parnassus, surrounded by
various allegorical figures. Fancy and Nature, for example, stand at Shakespeare's sides. Then Envy rises out of her infernal habitat, travels to the cave of Malice, and enlists that monster in her service. They guide their chariot to Caledonia, where they add Lauder ("eldest son of Malice") to their ranks, then proceed to the foot of Parnassus. Lauder ascends and spews his venom on Milton. The poet dies, and all nature groans "with sympathetic woe." But Milton revives, as "Douglas and Truth appear, Envy and Lauder die."51

Little literary distinction resides in this group of progress pieces. All but one, the Progress of Wit, are in some degree parodies, of Bunyan, Pope or Spenser. All are satirical, allegorical, topical: These similarities are the basis for considering them together here. Two of them orbit at some distance, however, from the nucleus of the group. The element of biographical sequence is practically non-existent in the Progress of Corruption; and in the Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent the 'biographical' element is non-topical. But Miss Burges's real purpose is to satirize certain ideas and authors related to the French Revolution, and the career of Good-Intent is a means, primarily, to the satire. While these pieces are of small literary importance, they represent a definite trend in the eighteenth-century progress piece and must be dealt with in any attempt to make explicit the different forms which the progress piece assumed.
NOTES


3 Cf. George Saintsbury, The English Novel (London, 1919), p. 57: "I have never myself, since I became thoroughly acquainted with Lydgate's Englishing of Deuileville's Pilgrimage of the Soul of Man, had any doubt that—in some way or other, direct or indirect, at tenth or twentieth hand perhaps—Bunyan was acquainted with it: but this is of no importance." Cf. also Henri Talon, John Bunyan: the Man and His Works (London, 1951), p. 171: "As for the allegory written by the French monk Deuileville in 1330-1331, it probably never passed through our author's hands....On the other hand, it is very possible that he was familiar with other allegorical stories inspired by the works of Guillaume Deuileville."


7 Breton, p. 42.

8 Breton, p. 43.

9 Breton, p. 48.

10 Breton, p. 63.

12 Leishman, pp. 95-96.

13 Leishman, p. 96.

14 Leishman, p. 100.


16 Leishman, pp. 124-25.

17 Leishman, p. 131.

18 Leishman, p. 224.

19 Leishman, p. 366.

20 Leishman, p. 82.

21 Leishman, p. 363.

22 Leishman, pp. 363-64.

23 Leishman, p. 97.


25 Herbert, p. 142.


29 Epistle to the Romans, V, 20-21, King James Version.


32 Sharrock, p. 103.


36 Bunyan, pp. 151-52.

37 Bunyan, pp. 34-35.

38 Bunyan, p. 9.

39 Bunyan, p. 10.

40 Bunyan, p. 15.

41 Bunyan, p. 37.
42  Bunyan, p. 126.

43  Bunyan, p. 141.


45  Bunyan, p. 167.

46  Bunyan, pp. 1, 3.


49  Aaron Hill, Works (London, 1753), III, 386.

50  A full account of this controversy appears in the article on William Lauder in the Dictionary of National Biography.

CHAPTER II: THE BIOGRAPHICAL PROGRESS PIECE:
*EXPOSITIONS* OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

When Matthew Prior's poem, *Alma: or, the Progress of the Mind*, appeared in 1718, it was not precisely nor even approximately like any progress piece that had come before. W. P. Barrett rightly questioned the hypothesis that it was suggested by Donne's *The Progresse of the Soule*, 1601.\(^1\) Prior's recent editors say that Donne's later poem, *Of the Progresse of the Soule*, may have suggested Prior's subtitle.\(^2\) It is true that either of these poems could have prompted the subtitle, but since over a dozen pieces having the progress title had appeared before Prior wrote *Alma* (probably during his imprisonment, 1715-16), the influence of Donne cannot be pressed. There were more significant influences on *Alma*, but before discussing these, a better idea is needed of the contents of the poem. The progress element is summarized in these lines:

My simple System shall suppose,
That Alma enters at the Toes;
That then She mounts by just Degrees
Up to the Ankles, Legs, and Knees:
Next, as the Sap of Life does rise,
She lends her Vigor to the Thighs:
And, all these under-Regions past,
She nestles somewhere near the Waste:
Gives Pain or Pleasure, Grief or Laughter;
As We shall show at large hereafter.
Mature, if not improvd, by Time
Up to the Heart She loves to climb:
From thence, compell'd by Craft and Age,
She makes the Head her latest Stage."

The influence of Montaigne on Prior's thought is well-
established, and W. P. Barrett has argued that Prior ob-
tained the idea of the above passage, and thus the struc-
tural basis for much of the poem, from Montaigne's chapter,
De l'Hydrognerie, in the second book of the essays. The key
passage from Montaigne is as follows:

Les incommodeitez de le vieillesse, qui ont besoin de
quelque appuy et refreschissement, pourroit m'engendrer
avecques raison desir de cette faculté; car c'est quasi
le dernier plaisir que le cours des ans nous desrobe.
La chaleur naturelle, disent les bons compagnons, se
prent premierement aux pieds; celle la touche l'enfance:
de là elle monte à la moyenne region, où elle se plant
long temps et y produit, selon moy, les seuls vrais
plaisirs de la vie corporelle; les autres voluptez
dorment au pris: sur la fin, à la mode d'une vapeur
qui va montant et s'exhalant, ell'arrive au gosier, où
elle faict sa derniere pose."

Monroe K. Spears has contended, however, that this passage
could have provided only a hint for Prior's 'system.'
Montaigne here uses "chaleur naturelle" to mean sensitivity
to physical pleasure and not the mind or soul. And since
his subject is drunkenness, he makes the throat the final
stage. The development of the idea and its application in
Alma, therefore, are for the most part original.\(^2\) Both
Barrett and Spears recognize Prior's debt to Spenser for the
central personification of the soul as Alma, but they limit
Spenser's influence strictly to the title personification. Although Prior's fable differs radically from Spenser's allegory, being far less bold and less particularized, perhaps the *Faerie Queene*, Book II, Canto IX, has slightly more bearing on this poem than has been reckoned. In Spenser's allegory, the body, which is the house of Alma, becomes a castle. While Prior makes no transformation of this kind, the tour on which Spenser's Alma conducts Arthur and Guyon is in part parallel to the course Prior's Alma follows through the body. Arthur and Guyon visit the "kitchen," where Spenser gives a detailed allegory of the digestive process; then "a goodly parlour," which is apparently the heart, for it is the center of love (here sit a group of lovely ladies courted by "many a jolly paramour"); and finally a "stately turret," the head, where they read in the annals of memory. Without underestimating the differences between the two poems, I think the similarities go slightly beyond the title personification. Nevertheless, Prior's fable, while it seems to owe debts to Spenser and Montaigne, was developed into a form and put to a purpose which were original with Prior.

Now, the precise difference between *Alma* and the biographical progress pieces previously discussed needs defining. Those pieces, taking as their object the career of Man, a type of man, or a specific man, expressed this
career allegorically, in terms of a spatial movement of the central figure in a journey. Serio-comically, this poem also presents the career of man, in the sense of his psychological development, but the manner of presentation differs appreciably from that of the former pieces. Here the process of human growth is seen in terms of a movement of the mind, personified as Alma, through the different parts of the body. Prior gives another summary of this progress and interprets it in his essay, Opinion:

I have read somewhere a pritty Spanish Conceit, that, as we are Born our Mind comes in at our Toes, so goes upward thro our Leggs to our Middle, thence to our Heart and Breast, Lodges at last in our Head and from thence flies away; The meaning of which is that Childish Sports and Youthful Wrestlings, and Tryals of Strength, Amorous Desires, Courageous and Manly Designs, Council and Policy succeed each other in the Course of our Lives till the whole terminates in Death; The consequence of it is Obvious, Our Passions change with our Ages, and our Opinion with our Passions.

Thus while Prior's object, the course of life, does not differ essentially from the objects of the preceding pieces, the manner of presentation results in an altogether different sort of allegory. The difference goes further, for in the former pieces, when there was exposition it was carried on within the framework of the allegory and subordinated to the allegory. This poem reverses the formula. The fable of Alma is told in the context of a mock-philosophical discussion and serves the purposes of tongue-in-cheek exposition.
The dialogue, between Matthew and Richard, begins with the statement of two opposing psychologies. The Oxford-Aristotelians held that the mind pervades the whole body, while the Cambridge-Cartesians argued that the mind is situated in the brain and from there directs the rest of the body. Prior's 'system' neatly adjusts these oppositions by having the mind reside in all parts of the body, but at different times, and in the brain during one time of life, and that the worst. Prior's system, expounded with the aid of Thalia, is obviously meant as mild satire on the abstruse speculations of the philosophers. Richard from time to time points out the more outrageous strands of the fabric Matthew is spinning. But if the poem's most obvious effect is satire, Alma has also a serious side, suggesting a thoroughly pessimistic view of man. This view is summarized in the passage from Opinion already quoted: "Our Passions change with our ages, and our Opinion with our Passions." The implication is clear, that what passes as rational is dependent on the irrational. In Alma Prior elaborates this implication. One's thinking is determined not only by age, but by one's individual 'bent;' and by one's time and country. The mind, limited and passive, is determined by all these factors. Prior thus implies that human nature, instead of being uniform, is astonishingly diverse, and that man, instead of controlling his destiny by reason, is directed by irrational powers beyond his determining:
Poor Men! poor Papers! We and They
Do some impulsive Force obey;
And are but play'd with: --Do not play. 8

Prior ends this thoroughly sceptical and pessimistic poem on a note of resigned Epicureanism. Since life is out of man's control, he can only hope for the best, try to endure the worst, and summon what comforts he can. The valuable is what makes life merrier. This view of the career of man could hardly differ more from that found in the earlier pilgrimage tradition.

Alma was not productive of imitators. I have found three and possibly four pieces which have a structure similar to that of the progress element in Alma, but which may all have been conceived independently of that poem. The first is not a self-existent piece but an eleven line passage in a long expository poem by Walter Harte, An Essay on Reason, 1735. Harte probably was not thinking of Alma when he wrote this passage, which he referred to in the contents as reason's "Procession, or Progress from its first perception to its height." Harte does not carry through the metaphor in the poem itself but simply gives a rough Lockian summary of the development of human reason. The process begins with sensation, leading to perception, thought, and "romantic" memory. From memory stem imagination and fancy, which "emulous of God, creates." In time comes experience, then knowledge. Finally,
Reason rises, the Newtonian Sun,
Moves all, guides all, and all sustains in one....

Harte personifies the various faculties but keeps them discrete, not seeing them as different forms of the central personification or different stages in the 'journey' of reason. Thus the manner is thoroughly expository, and the result is a scarcely coated philosophical pill.

In the same year, Hildebrand Jacob's Love's Progress appeared. This slight poem traces the development of the individual in respect to love and may owe its inspiration to Alma. Love is personified (the "roving God") and reigns in different parts of the body at different ages. The result is changing behavior according to the person's age.

Love begins his reign, for example, in the brain in childhood—thus children's preoccupation with romantic tales of knights and ladies. Love later moves to the blood and the heart, causing all the vagaries of courtship and marriage. In old age, Love returns to the head, becoming again a matter of thought rather than action. Jacob has Prior's tongue-in-cheek attitude toward his fable; he does not have, however, Prior's underlying seriousness nor Harte's desire to explain. He is simply weaving a fanciful history of the course of love, hoping to entertain. If he fails, he is nevertheless more successful than the author who signed "Florio" to a short poem, the Progress of Love, which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1773, and which is a diluted
version of Jacob's poem. The parallel is so close that I suspect this piece may be simply a summary of the other poem. The principal difference is that the Progress of Love omits Jacob's bold personification and is therefore more thoroughly expository.

In summary, these pieces have in common some sort of exposition of the psychological development of man, although only Harte is entirely serious in this exposition. When allegory appears, as it does in Alma and Love's Progress, the central personification is seen as progressing within the body, causing different behavior and thoughts at different ages. The effects of the pieces vary greatly, from Prior's comic yet serious burlesque, to Harte's exposition for its own sake, to Jacob's and his unknown imitator's attempts to amuse. While these poems, with the exception of Alma, have no importance as literature, they suggest another pattern which the biographical progress piece tended to assume.
NOTES


5. Quoted by Barrett, p. 455.

6. Spears, p. 279

7. Prior, I, 587. Barrett, p. 455, interprets Prior's calling this tale a Spanish conceit as a possible attempt to obscure his debt to Montaigne. Wright and Spears, II, 1008, suggest that since no Spanish source has been discovered, and since "alma" is Spanish for soul, Prior may have intended a sly allusion to his own poem.


CHAPTER III: THE BIOGRAPHICAL PROGRESS PIECE: FICTIONAL NARRATIVES

In its most general meaning, "fictional" refers to all the biographical progress pieces insofar as they are works of imagination rather than statements of fact, but here it is used more specifically to indicate a group of non-allegorical narratives which take as objects life-sequences in the world of space and time, varying in scope from a single incident such as the one presented in Shenstone's anecdote, the Progress of Advice, to the entire career of an individual. These pieces begin with a world of sense experience, somewhat in the manner of prose fiction, which was finally coming into its own in England just at this time, and it is on the basis of this procedure that I call them fictional. The term can hardly be made more precise and still apply to the body of pieces considered here, for while some of them bear resemblances to the realistic novel of the period, others have almost no similarity to the contemporary novel save the fact that they take as their object a sequence in the world of experience. Alternate terms for "fictional" here would be "mimetic" or "representational."

A more precise idea of the pattern which these fictional narratives form can be obtained from considering their
effects, the authors' attitudes and purposes as seen in the works themselves. There are at least three attitudes which a narrator can take toward his characters. He can be sympathetic, unsympathetic, or neutral. This group of pieces affords examples of all three attitudes. The pieces in which the authors display a basic sympathy for the characters tend in fact though not necessarily to be sentimental and didactic in effect. In manner, these pieces tend away from realism toward some form of romanticism, incorporating, for example, picturesque and sublime settings, pastoral conventions, primitivistic attitudes, or sensational episodes. In the unsympathetic pieces the attitudes of the authors vary from mild derision to hostility. The result is satire often containing a high degree of irony. The satire is usually general but is sometimes topical. The satiric pieces sometimes suggest the realistic novels of Fielding and Smollett but tend away from realism in the directions of naturalism and caricature, through the accumulation of Hogarthian details and the exaggeration of the turpitude or folly of the central character. There is only one piece in which the author takes a basically neutral attitude toward the protagonist, but here it would perhaps be more accurate to define the attitude as one of sympathetic objectivity.

I am referring to Eliza Haywood's novel, Life's Progress Through the Passions, in which the author attempts to treat a mediocre hero with strict objectivity, neither minimizing nor
critizing his faults. Some of her assumptions about human nature can be called sentimental, however, and little violence is done the book in discussing it in connection with the sentimental and didactic pieces. Mrs. Haywood's is an intellectual didacticism, stressing 'is' over 'ought.' Her desire to instruct causes the book to tend away from realistic fiction in the direction of exposition, the narrative more often than not consisting of poorly conceived exempla of her psychological theories. On the other hand, sensing the need to sweeten instruction, she has interlaced a number of sensational episodes which give the book a flavor of romance.

The following discussion is organized, therefore, in terms of ironic-satiric pieces on the one hand and sentimental-didactic pieces on the other, with the principle of division being the effects of the pieces, or the authors' purposes as seen in the works themselves. It will be seen that the line between these classes is sometimes blurred, and that each term encompasses pieces which vary considerably from one another, the greatest diversity occurring among the sentimental-didactic pieces. Chronologically, the satiric poems, which begin with Swift, require first consideration.

1. Ironic-satiric pieces.

It is probably a coincidence, but an interesting one, that Swift composed four fictional progress pieces during the
years 1719-22, when Defoe’s novels were appearing for the first time. According to the latest editor of Swift’s poems, Phillis, Or, the Progress of Love and the Progress of Beauty were written in 1719, the Progress of Poetry in 1720, and the Progress of Marriage in 1722.¹ The first three were published for the first time in the Miscellanies. The Last Volume, March, 1727/28, while the Progress of Marriage did not appear in print until 1765. There seems to be little doubt that Swift meant these satires to burlesque the progress piece fashion, which was fairly well established by this time, some seventeen works bearing the progress title, and most of them poor, having appeared before 1719 (See Appendix I). None of Swift’s pieces burlesques a particular poem, although it is possible that he had in mind Lord Lansdowne’s rather insipid celebration of English beauties, the Progress of Beauty, 1701, when he wrote his highly ironic poem of the same title.

Phillis, Or, the Progress of Love is a burlesque of bourgeois romance, although it is condensed to fifty hudi-brastic couplets. The title is thoroughly ironic, for Phillis’s progress ends in whoredom. She begins as a young prude who is also a coquette. She becomes respectfully engaged, but on the day of her wedding the action turns, for she elopes with John the butler, leaving a letter of explanation which, Swift comments parenthetically, is

...always done, Romances tell us,
When Daughters run away with fellows."
The rest of the poem tells her degradation through stages of poverty, prostitution, and disease. It ends with John a tavern keeper, Phillis the hostess:

They keep at Stains the old blue Boar;
Are Cat and Dog, and Rogue and Whore.

The general resemblance has often been pointed out between the satires of Swift and Hogarth, but I do not know whether Phillis has ever been cited as a striking forerunner of A Harlot's Progress. Though certainly not Hogarth's precise model, Phillis is Hogarthian in its anti-romanticism, its plot structure, and its pictorial detail, not to mention the title which was by this time conventional. One can imagine several Hogarthian paintings based on the opening scene alone:

In Church, secure behind her Fan
She durst behold that Monster, Man:
There practic'd how to place her Head,
And bit her Lips to make them red:
Or on the Matt devoutly kneeling
Would lift her Eyes up to the Ceiling,
And heave her Bosom unaware
For neighbor Beaux to see it bare.

In Phillis the literal meaning of the progress metaphor practically disappears. The organizing principle is no longer a journey, although we have briefly the flight of John and Phillis, but a process of moral and physical degeneration. It seems that the fact of the poem's being more concrete than the allegories already discussed allows the
meaning of "progress" to be more abstract. It is a useful oversimplification that in allegories creation proceeds from the abstract to the concrete. We can imagine that in the pieces discussed in the first chapter the authors, before writing, had well in mind the spiritual, intellectual or psychological process which they wanted to objectify. Tradition and convention supplied the pilgrimage or the progress metaphor as a suitable structure for the abstract process. The authors could then develop this structure as concretely as their talent and energy would allow. Mimetic writing, on the other hand, proceeds theoretically from the concrete toward significance. The author has immediately the structure of the 'real' world which he explores as significantly as he can. This poem and all the pieces which follow, beginning as they do with the experiential world, do not require the structural principle of the journey as the skeleton on which to shape the flesh of the poem. The sensory world provides its own body. The journey could be used as a particular form encountered in experience, but in fact it is not used. Thus the meaning of "progress" inevitably becomes abstract, and depending upon the author's intention may mean 'degeneration,' as in this poem, 'growth and development,' or simply 'process.'

Even more bitterly anti-romantic than Phillis is the Progress of Beauty, burlesquing as it does all idealized
descriptions of feminine beauty. The poem is thick with sensuous images, vivid and ugly. The first stanza, describing the moon's rising, sets the tone and introduces the metaphor which will organize the poem:

When first Diana leaves her Bed  
Vapors and Steams her Looks disgrace,  
A frouzy dirty colour'd red  
Sits on her cloudy wrinkle.5

Celia, like the moon, rises with all her blemishes showing:

All reeking in a cloudy Steam,  
Crackt Lips, foul Teeth, and gummy Eyes.

After four hours, however, cosmetics bring her to her zenith, ready to appear in public as a stunning beauty, if not looked at too closely. Thus her progress is from real ugliness to apparent beauty, in a matter of a few hours. This is not the only progress in the poem, however. Toward the end, Swift muses on the effects old age will have on Celia. Eventually she will be left, like all mortals, with no potential for cosmetics to improve. Swift continues the central metaphor, likening Celia's gradual deterioration to the waning of the moon, a longer process, appropriately, than the moon's nightly course. There is a note of tragedy here, but it is subordinate to the exaggerated Donnesque horror of Celia's decay:

When Mercury her Tresses mows  
To think of Oyl and Soot, is vain,
No Painting can restore a Nose, 
Nor will her Teeth return again.

Two Balls of Glass may serve for Eyes, 
White Lead can plaister up a Cleft, 
But these alas, are poor Supplyes 
If neither Cheeks, nor Lips be left.6

And Swift ends the poem on a flippant note: "Send us new 
Nymphs with each new Moon." Thus the narrative proceeds 
first from ugly reality to beautiful appearance, and then 
from youth, when this appearance is possible, to age and 
death, with Swift dexterously uniting these two sequences 
through the moon metaphor.

Unlike Phillis, the Progress of Beauty is not a story 
but a descriptive and narrative career of one character; it 
has more narrative emphasis, however, than the Progress of 
Poetry. The latter poem presents the life-rhythm of a Grub 
Street poet in terms of a central degrading comparison with 
a farmer's goose. The goose, well-fed, is lazy; but hungry, 
it flies and sings. Such is the poet, who eats and drinks 
as much as the third night profits of his play will permit, 
until he is far too heavy for Pegasus to bear. But gaunt 
with hunger, he turns again to poetry:

He singing flies, and flying sings, 
While from below all Grub-street rings.7

The progress of hunger, therefore, is the progress of Grub 
Street poetry.
Swift's last progress poem, the Progress of Marriage, did not appear during his lifetime, probably because of its topical and libellous character. Swift's friend, Dean Benjamin Pratt, about a year before his death married Lady Philippa Hamilton, daughter of the sixth Earl of Abercorn. This is the marriage which Swift is satirizing. He is particularly withering in his treatment of the young bride, painting her as an unfaithful coquette and wishing her no good as the poem ends:

The Widow goes through all her Forms:
New Lovers now will come in Swarms.
Oh, may I see her soon dispensing
Her Favors to some broken Ensign
Him let her Marry for his Face,
And only Coat of tarnish't Lace;
To turn her Naked out of Doors,
And spend her Joynture on his Whores:
But for a parting Present leave her
A rooted Pox to last for ever.

The 'progress' of the marriage has consisted in the bride's increasing amours and the divine's failing vigor and eventual death, enacting once more the May and January theme. Swift's realism in representing this theme in terms of eighteenth century society is sometimes suggestive of Fielding and Smollett. The bath scene affords a good example of this satirical social realism:

Here, all Diversion of the Place
Are proper in my Lady's Case
With which she patiently complyes,
Merely because her Friends advise;
His Money and her Time employs
In musick, Raffling-rooms, and Toys,
Or in the cross-bath seeks an Heir
Since others oft have found one there;
Where if the Dean by chance appears
It shames his Cassock and his Years
He keeps his Distance in the Gallery
Till banisht by some Coxcombs Raillery;
For, it would his Character Expose
To bath among the Belles and Beaux.9

The influence of Swift can be seen in many of the satiric progress pieces which followed during the next fifty years. But in few of these is the Swiftian influence so marked as in the Progress of Patriotism, which appeared on August 3, 1728, some four months after the first publication of Swift's pieces. It is a tale, much in the manner of Swift, of how a country squire runs for parliament in a bluster of patriotic indignation at governmental abuses, and of how he is corrupted through flattery and bribes to become a tool of the ministry. This obvious attack on Walpole has been attributed to Swift from the time almost of its first appearance until the present century, but Swift denied his authorship, and so in the main have literary historians. The facts in this case of disputed authorship can be reviewed quickly. The Progress of Patriotism was first published in the Opposition organ of Swift's friends, Bolingbroke and Pulteney. Swift was credited with the poem by his friend Charles Ford, but on at least three occasions he denied writing it. In a letter to Pope, March 6, 1728/29,
in answer to a letter from Ford which Swift had mistaken for Pope's, he wrote: "...I am vexed at your thinking I had any hand in what could come to your eyes. I have some confused notion of seeing a paper called Sir Ralph the Patriot, but I am sure it was bad or indifferent...."10 Answering Ford's letter, on March 18 he wrote: "As to what you say of writing, you are mistaken about Sir Ralph the Patriot, for I believe it was writ in England; I think I saw it, but do not remember it was printed here."11 Swift published the poem in the Intelligencer, XII, 1728, but in a letter to Pope, June 12, 1732, listing his works since seeing Pope, he still disclaimed authorship: "I forgot to tell you that the Tale of Sir Ralph was sent from England."12 These denials cannot be accepted with absolute certainty because all were written while Walpole was still in power, Walpole's agents had been known to open letters of men in the Opposition, and Walpole had stated his desire to know his antagonists in no subdued terms, if we may believe Bolingbroke's attribution of the following passage to Walpole: "Change your names and be as abusive and scurrilous as you please, I shall find you out. I am Aristaeus, you are Proteus. You may change to a Flame, a Lion, a Bull, or a Bear, I shall know you, baffle you, conquer you, and contemn you...."13 Swift would perhaps have disowned the poem, whether he had written it or not, and it is still occasionally assigned to him. Walter Sichel, for example, in his
book on Bolingbroke states that few who read the Progress of Patriotism can doubt that it is Swift's.\textsuperscript{14} But if the evidence against Swift's authorship is inconclusive, the evidence in favor of it is much more so, and the poem itself lacks quite the concentration and sharpness characteristic of Swift's satiric verse.

It appears that the poem may have been partly based upon an essay in the True Briton, October 11, 1723, a periodical published by another acquaintance of Swift, the Duke of Wharton. The essay contains parallels with the poem in thought and language and is headed by the same motto from Virgil: \textit{Venditit hic Auro Patriam}. The main burden of the essay is an attack on corruption in government, with certain innuendoes against Walpole. It describes a Statesman, a bad Statesman ("a \textbf{Great Minister}, in whom there may be no Necessity to suppose the same political Knowledge, or active Honesty"\textsuperscript{15}), and a Patriot ("He quits the calm Retreats of Life, and intermixes with Faction, and the \textit{Embroilments} of the State, only because his Country needs his Service"\textsuperscript{16}). This character of the Patriot exactly analyzes the action and motive of Sir Ralph at the beginning of the poem.

Wharton is curiously and, it would seem, incidentally related to the poem in another way. He sold his picture gallery to Walpole, and in the poem we read, when Sir Ralph enters the home of the Man of Power:
...costly Paintings strike his Eyes,  
From Italy and Flanders brought,  
At the Expence of Nations bought....

It is not impossible that Wharton himself wrote the poem. Another and perhaps more likely candidate is Nicholas Amherst, the poet-editor of the Craftsman, whose verses suggest that he had the wit and versifying skill to give a fair imitation of Swift. But I know of no positive external evidence in favor of any of these conjectured authors.

The poem itself does not require a great deal of comment. Sir Ralph sets out to reform a corrupt government and ends by the government's corrupting him. He is a humourous caricature of the small Tory landowner, and the opening account of his standing for office catches the tempo of the country squire and his neighbors in a manner suggestive of a page from the contemporary prose fiction:

Sir Ralph, a simple, rural Knight,  
Could just distinguish Wrong from Right;  
When he receiv'd a Quarter's Rent,  
And almost half in Taxes went,  
He rail'd at Places, Bribes, and Pensions,  
And secret Service, new Inventions;  
Preach'd up the true, old English Spirit,  
And mourn'd the great Neglect of Merit;  
Lamented our forlorn Condition,  
And wish'd the Country would petition;  
Said, he would first subscribe his Name,  
And added 'twas a burning Shame  
That some Men large Estates should get,  
And fatten on the publick Debt;  
Of his poor Country urg'd his Love,  
And shook his Head at Those above.

This Conduct, in a private Station,  
Procur'd the Knight great Reputation;
The Neighbours all approv'd his Zeal,  
(Though few Men Judge, yet all Men feel)  
And with a general Voice declar'd  
Money was scarce, the Times were hard,  
That what Sir Ralph observ'd was true;  
And wish'd the Gallows had its Due.

Thus bless'd with popular Affection,  
Behold! there came on an Election,  
And who more proper than Sir Ralph  
To guard their Privileges safe?  
So, in Return for Zeal and Beer,  
They chose him for a Knight o' th' Shire.\(^\text{18}\)

The writer has an eye for realistic detail throughout the poem, although he does not revel in the accumulation of ugly or absurd images in the manner of Swift's pieces. Mild parody of reality is his usual manner, as in the conversation between the Statesman and Sir Ralph:

Sir Ralph, said he, all Forms apart,  
So dear I hold you at my Heart,  
Have such a Value for your Worth,  
Your Sense and Honour, and so forth,  
That in some Points, extremely nice,  
I should be proud of your Advice;  
Let me, good Sir, the Favour pray  
To eat a Bit with me to Day;  
Nay, dear Sir Ralph, you must agree—  
Your Honour's Hour?—exactly Three.\(^\text{19}\)

The next stage in the history of the satirical progress piece is extra-literary on the one hand and sub-literary on the other. First, there were Hogarth's two brilliant series of paintings, *A Harlot's Progress* of April, 1732 and *A Rake's Progress* of 1735, and as a direct result, there was a deluge of imitations in verse and prose flowing out of
Grub Street. These exploitations of Hogarth's art are all poor and do not call for extended comment. The first, the Progress of a Harlot, appeared on April 21, 1732 (See Appendix I for fuller bibliographical reference to this and the following pieces). Although the contents listed on the title page follow Hogarth's sequence closely, the prose tale within is something quite different, apparently written before the hack-author knew the plan of A Harlot's Progress, and falsely marketed in April, 1732 as something predominantly Hogarthian. The story, told in the first person, "takes the heroine from her childhood, when she was sent to school dressed as a boy (one can immediately sense the drift of the situations,) through a long, bawdy, and thoroughly happy career which has nothing at all to do with Hogarth's prints." In three days the Harlot's Progress: or, The Humours of Drury Lane followed. Unlike its predecessor, this pamphlet in hudibrastic verse followed Hogarth's prints, but it also invented a good deal on its own and omitted some of Hogarth's most incisive strokes. It depended on incredible lewdness to rush it through four editions from April 24 to May 11, 1732. On May 5 and 11 appeared two different poems with the title, Progress of a Rake, which both, according to Austin Dobson, owed their origin to the popularity of A Harlot's Progress. They had nothing to do with Hogarth's A Rake's Progress of three years later. Some ten months passed, and on February 14, 1733, a ballad opera appeared, entitled The Jew
Decoy'd; or the Progress of a Harlot. The scenes of this never-acted piece are based on Hogarth's pictures. Although the unknown author extended the action of each scene and inserted many songs irrelevant to the story, he retained in the latter scenes something of Hogarth's satire on social conditions. A few months later, probably in April, 1733, Theophilus Cibber's musical pantomime, the Harlot's Progress, was staged. This light perversion of Hogarth's scenes ran through the season as an afterpiece to various plays. Another set of hack verses based on Hogarth's prints appeared in April, 1733, first with the title Morality in Vice (the cover carried the title, Mr. Gay's Harlot's Progress), and later with the title, The Lure of Venus: or, A Harlot's Progress. This cancelled title is the work of the publisher, Curll, with the obvious purpose of stimulating poor sales by means of a more suggestive title. The author was probably John Durant Breval. The pseudonym on the title-page, "Joseph Gay," had been used before by Curll's stable of writers, and it was probably another sales gimmick meant to confuse this worthless piece with the work of John Gay. The poem itself, written in couplets imitative of the Rape of the Lock, manages to give an accurate description of each of Hogarth's prints except the Bridewell scene. With this piece the story of Grub Street's exploitation of A Harlot's Progress ends.
When *A Rake's Progress* appeared in 1735, it stimulated London hacks to much less activity than had Hogarth's earlier prints. In the same year, the *Rake's Progress: or, the Humours of Drury-Lane* was published. The author imitated the action of Hogarth's prints but seems to have based the first five cantos primarily on an inferior piracy of those prints.\(^{27}\) Also in 1735 came the *Rake's Progress: or, the Humours of St. James*; it was a "moralizing botch" which omitted descriptions of Hogarth's fourth and seventh prints, the arrest and the Fleet prison.\(^{28}\) Four years later, in 1739, the *Progress of a Female Rake* appeared. I have not seen this piece nor a commentary upon it, but a safe guess would seem to be that its inspiration was Hogarthian.

Hogarth sometimes spoke of himself as an "author" rather than an artist, and as treating his subjects in the manner of a "dramatic writer."\(^{29}\) Whether the immediate inspiration for his two progresses was literary—and he could have been influenced by Swift—his realistic social satire had important influences on later writers of prose fiction, particularly Fielding and Smollett. Robert Etheridge Moore has dealt with this influence in *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, which also served as a basis for the above discussion. These specific imitations of Hogarth's progresses, on the other hand, are not significant for literary history, forming a minor side-rivulet from the stream of the fictional progress piece.
Returning to the main line of discussion, in the same year as *A Rake's Progress*, a topical satire by Richard Savage, the *Progress of a Divine*, was published. It originated in a dispute over an ecclesiastical appointment and ended in legal proceedings against Savage. The dispute arose in 1734 between Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, and Lord-chancellor Talbot over the appointment of Dr. Thomas Rundle to the see of Gloucester. Savage, in opposition to Gibson, was warm in his support of Rundle. In July, 1735, he published the *Progress of a Divine*, in which he recorded the rise of a degenerate priest, insinuating that a man of this sort was likely to receive the support of Bishop Gibson. This vitriolic poem caused an immediate stir, which climaxed in Savage's prosecution in the court of King's Bench on the charge of obscenity. He was, however, acquitted.30 The word "progress" has an ironic double application in the poem, which traces the divine's rise in power and wealth, motivated chiefly by his ruling passion, greed; and his decline in character. The processes are reciprocal, as though every coin added to his purse were transferred from his soul's account:

Wide and more wide his swelling fortune flows,
Narrower and narrower still his spirit grows.31

This short fictional biography incorporates a good deal of character analysis and realistic detail. The total effect,
however, is not realistic, because the satiric purpose pushes the priest's degeneracy quite beyond credibility. Perhaps his most innocuous crime is Jacobitism:

...safe with friends, he now, in loyal stealth, Hiccups, and, staggering, cries --"King Jemmy's health." 32

Simony, adultery, abortion, and grave-robbing round out his character. Savage's attempt to show character in action, and thus to provide plot interest, can be illustrated by the comic intrigue surrounding the divine's advancement to "Fat Goose living." He is simultaneously aiding his patron in carrying on an illicit affair with a maidservant, Nell, and is carrying on an affair himself with his patron's wife. Both women, as a result, are pregnant, and the divine agrees with his patron to marry Nell in return for the purchase of the living. Savage appears to have experienced some chagrin over this piece, for we read in Johnson's biography of Savage: "He once intended to have made a better reparation for the folly or injustice with which he might be charged, by writing another poem called 'The Progress of a Free-thinker,' whom he intended to lead through all the stages of vice and folly, to convert him from virtue to wickedness, and from religion to infidelity, by all the modish sophistry used for that purpose; and at last to dismiss him by his own hand into the other world....That he did not execute this design is a real loss to mankind." 33
Three years later, in 1738, a milder piece appeared, the *Progress of Petitioning* by John Bancks. The object of these hudiabristic couplets is a psychological sequence in a hack poet. Banck's preface to the poem indicates the nature of the sequence and shows the currency of the progress mode:

"Most of the Lines in these Epistles were written in the Year 1731, merely in Pursuit of an odd Thought, that accidentally produced a few of them. I had not then any settled Intention of exposing them, either to the World or Mr. Pope. They were all contained in a single Piece, in the Form of an Epistle to that Gentleman. But upon casting my Eyes over them again, I found in them a natural *Progress of Petitioning*, rising gradually from a pretty reasonable Request to a very unreasonable one. The Title also, thus inadvertently hit on, pleas'd me well, as I did not remember ever to have seen it among the many Progresses that had been published." 34 The poet-hero (as distinct from the author) begins in Epistle I by requesting Pope to judge his verses. He doubts whether he is as good as his friends insist, and he wants to leave the decision to Pope, to pronounce him for life either a poet or a dunce. In Epistle II, the first letter still unanswered, he retracts the earlier request. He now feels that he is, after all, a considerable poet, and he asks Pope to be his patron and praise his verses. He reaches the pinnacle of absurdity in Epistle II, admit-
ting that money is his real goal; and since poetry is at best an uncertain way to wealth, he suggests that Pope assist him in gaining preferment at court. The result of the poem is a psychological caricature of an aspiring hack poet which Bancks causes the protagonist unwittingly to paint with his own pen. The epistolary form is a subtlety which appears only this time in the history of the progress piece.

By 1750 the satiric fictional progress piece, which had first appeared a quarter of a century earlier in the productions of Swift, had spent most of its force. Thomas Warton the younger imitated Swift but weakly in the Progress of Discontent, which he composed in 1746 while a Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, and which was first published in the Student, 1750. Warton's editor states that the piece was later much revised and improved and that Joseph Warton preferred it to any imitation of Swift that had appeared.35 It is a mildly humorous exemplum of the old theme:

Each prize possess'd, thy transport ceases,  
And in pursuit alone it pleases.36

Discontent proceeds at an equal pace with life. The protagonist first yearns to be an Oxford Scholar; that finally achieved, he longs for a Fellowship; that gained, he wants a country living and a wife. Finally at the age of forty he gets the living, marries, and settles down to an idyllic life of ease and plenty; but children come and debts accu-
mulate, until he wishes he had never left Oxford. This is enough summary to show that this fictional biography is a short representation of the everyday reality of the scholar-parson, with little that could be called plot, save the conflict with the ubiquitous antagonist, discontent, and Warton does not make the personification.

This type of progress piece ends in England on a weak note indeed, with William Shenstone's Progress of Advice, published in 1764. Shenstone's poem is an exemplary anecdote in sixteen anaplectic verses, in which one character, Richard, asks another, Thomas, about the advisability of marrying a maidservant of Thomas's mistress. Thomas gives her a deplorable character, but the next day Richard marries her anyway and by night has told her all that Thomas had said. Such, Shenstone implies, is the course of all advice.

The Swiftian progress piece still possessed vitality, however, for John Trumbull's long (1678 lines) Progress of Dulness appeared in America nearly ten years later, being published in three parts during 1772-73. This poem continued the Swiftian tradition but elaborated it and complicated it, presenting three fictional biographies which are tied together in the third part to form a verse novel of sorts. Each biography satirizes a different aspect of education in Trumbull's day. Tom Brainless is the hero of Part I, which begins with his docile childhood and reports his course
through school, college, teaching and preaching. Mediocrity incarnate, his epitaph might be, He did "little good, and little harm." Trumbull criticizes the school curriculum of his day and shows himself much a Modern. He is against the classics, logic, rhetoric, mathematics and metaphysics, and he is for practical knowledge, the common language, and "sense" as opposed to speculation. Tom Brainless and the curriculum, Trumbull intimates, are admirably suited to one another in dullness and worthlessness; hence Tom's success. Part II gives the life and character of Dick Hairbrain, who represents another form of dullness, not pedantry but foppery. Dick, awkward son of a wealthy farmer, goes off to college and graduates coxcomb, unscathed by learning, but accomplished in gaming, swearing, flattering, scoffing. In this part Trumbull burlesques perfectionist ideas:

Slow dawns the coxcomb's op'ning ray:  
Rome was not finished in a day.  
Perfection is the work of time;  
Gradual he mounts the height sublime....

In Part III Trumbull turns to the problem of female education, giving what amounts to a progress of coquettry. "My design in this poem is to show," he writes, "that the follies we discover in the fair sex arise principally from the neglect of their education, and the mistaken notions they imbibe in their youth." Here Trumbull joins his three stories, for Harriett Simper, the accomplished coquette,
after scorning dozens of suitors, finds herself scorned by arch-fop Hairbrain and seems consigned to the fate of advancing years and fading charms. But she is saved from spinsterhood by Tom Brainless, now six years a pastor, who has reckoned it time to follow scripture and multiply his kind.

Trumbull in a number of places shows himself aware of what was happening in literature in England and in France, and he was obviously influenced in this poem by his reading of Swift and Pope. With the Progress of Dulness, the satiric fictional mode of the progress piece ended its brief history.

To summarize the general pattern manifested in this group of pieces: All are mimetic or representational, in the manner of prose fiction. All are satiric and indicate an attitude on the part of the author ranging from mild derision to bitter hostility; the reader therefore feels superior to the characters depicted, in moral character, intelligence or both. Sometimes the satire is topical, as in the Progress of Marriage, the Progress of Patriotism, the Progress of a Divine, and to some extent, the Progress of Dulness; but more often it is general. The intention to generalize the satire is seen clearly in the titles. Almost uniformly we have the progress of love, beauty, poetry and so forth, rather than the progress of a lover, a beauty, a poet, although the poem is built around one central char-
acter. In only one of these poems, the *Progress of a Divine*, did the author explicitly try to avoid generality. Not only in his title but in his text Savage made clear that he did not refer to all churchmen, which was a politic qualification but one which did not permit him to escape prosecution for obscenity. Centering on one character, the poems take as their object the career or a portion of the career of this character, in respect to love, marriage, patriotism, and so forth. "Progress" applies ironically to the action, in most cases, referring to the protagonist's degeneration, or to his perfection in an undesirable quality; for example, the perfection of absurdity and 'nerve' in Banck's petitioner, or of pedantry, foppery, and coquetry in Trumbull's three central figures. The literal meaning of the progress metaphor, a journey, finds, as we saw earlier, no place in these poems. Some of these pieces tend to be concerned with the career of character apart from action and from interplay with other characters. Often, however, the author places his key figure in conflict with other characters, giving the poem a plot element which, combined with the examination of character and the realistic representation of details, causes a number of these pieces to bear some resemblance to the realistic novel of the period. Although beyond the scope of this paper, Hogarth's progresses differ from their literary counterparts (forgetting for the
time being the inferior direct imitations of Hogarth) in that their ironic progress moves in the direction of tragedy. The final scenes of both progresses are scenes of horror, one of death and one of madness. Thus fear rather than pity is the main ingredient in these tragedies. We saw that Swift approached tragedy in the Progress of Beauty, modulating from a brief note of pity to one of grotesque horror but concluding with flippancy. Swift, however, was the exception, and while tragic satire was possible in the progress piece, comic satire was the usual effect achieved by these poems, the protagonist ending in perfected absurdity which can be laughed at rather than in grotesque death or madness which can terrify but scarcely amuse.

ii. Sentimental-didactic pieces.

The first fictional progress piece which was non-satiric seems to have been George Lord Lyttelton's Progress of Love, 1732, a story adapting the conventions of Courtly Love to pastoral setting and characters. Admittedly it is a strain on the word "fictional," in the sense of 'mimetic,' to apply it to this poem, and I am using it here in the broad sense of 'non-allegorical.' The poem presents a sequence occurring in space and time, but not in the space and time of everyday life; it brings us closer to Windsor Forest than to the novel of the period. Lyttelton alludes
to that poem in dedicating Eclogue I to Pope, who is said to have corrected the poem for the press. With customary abrasiveness, Johnson said of these eclogues, that they "cant of shepherds and flocks, and crooks dressed with flowers." Setting and mood dominate the poem, with the action only reported. We learn from the soliloquies of the protagonist, Damon, how his courtship with Delia is proceeding. In the first eclogue, which is labelled 'Uncertainty,' Damon is introduced as the typical victim of romantic love; stricken with Delia's beauty, he is unfit for any task and complains bitterly of her cruelty. This groundless despair turns to hope in Eclogue II, which is followed by jealousy in the third eclogue, after Damon has seen Delia in the company of Daphnis. Damon learns, in Eclogue IV, that his jealousy is also groundless, and the poem ends in his possession of his beloved. There is no trace of irony, therefore, in Lyttelton's use of "progress," which refers to the 'successful course' of love. Edifying sentiments find little place in the narrative, and thus the poem cannot be classed as sentimental in the sense of being morally didactic. It is sentimental in another sense, however, using a highly artificial form which strikes the reader today, as it seems to have struck Johnson, as inadequate to convey the emotional freight of the poem. As the satiric pieces moved away from a hypothetical realistic
norm in the direction, roughly, of naturalism and caricature, so this piece, with its flat, idealized characters and its picturesque landscapes, moves away from realism in another direction, toward the innocent world of romance.

The Progress of Love started no trends, and over thirty years passed before even a roughly similar progress piece appeared. William Shenstone's Progress of Taste: Or, the Fate of Delicacy was included in his Works, published in 1764; the poem was written a number of years earlier, however, for in a letter dated March 10, 1750/51 Shenstone told Lady Luxborough that he had meant to show her the poem long ago.40 After the title Shenstone added an instructive note: "A poem on the Temper and Studies of the Author; and how great a Misfortune it is, for a Man of small Estate to have much Taste."41 It is difficult and perhaps impossible to place this poem with entire justice in any of the categories derived thus far. It begins with a direct statement about the author's temperament, stressing his desires ("humble ease," "one faithful friend") and his sensitivity.

In the second part, Shenstone shifts from the first to the third person and gives a mildly satiric tale, utilizing pastoral conventions, which is apparently meant to be an emblem of his own life. Damon's 'progress' is from an exuberant, socially inclined youth to a reserved middle-aged man given to virtuosity in learning and the arts. Parallel to this development, and part of it, is his retreat from
social life to idyllic retirement. Finally, when Damon has prepared in his "romantic" groves altars for Venus and Minerva and grottos for the Muses, the only guest who comes is poverty. Thus Shenstone, through an ironic anti-climax, turns the tale of Damon into mild self-satire, but in the fourth part he comments didactically on the tale and thereby rises above the satire. He is Damon but he is more, for he can criticize Damon's dilettantism and teach practical wisdom:

But would you happiness pursue?  
Partake both ease, and pleasure too?  
Would you, thro' all your days, dispense  
The joys of reason, and of sense?  
Or give to life the most you can,  
Let social virtue shape the plan.  
For does not to the virtuous deed  
A train of pleasing sweets succeed?  
Or, like the sweets of wild desire,  
Did social pleasures ever tire?\[142\]

Thus in its final effect the Progress of Taste is self-justification which incorporates self-critical satire and thereby chastens the romanticism of the poem. This chastening is a part of the self-justification, for it seems designed to show the self-knowledge of the author and to establish his right to deliver at the last the defense of taking "social paths," at least until a fairly ripe age:

Far happiest he, whose early days  
Spent in the social paths of praise,  
Leave, fairly printed on his mind,  
A train of virtuous deeds behind:
From this rich fund, the mem'ry draws
The lasting meed of self-applause.\textsuperscript{43}

I include the \textit{Progress of Taste} at this point because, while it has some resemblance to the allegories of topical satire discussed earlier, it begins in a mimetic fashion, Shenstone's character and way of life being the object of imitation; the exemplum of Damon is introduced later as an indirect way of telling Shenstone's career, through a character who can 'be' Shenstone but whom Shenstone can transcend, when he turns to didactic commentary on Damon and on life. In the \textit{Works} the poem is appropriately included in a section headed \textit{Moral Pieces}.

With the next piece we are taken entirely away from the here and now to a fullblown world of romance. The \textit{Concubine, or The Progress of Dissipation}, by William Julius Mickle, first appeared in 1767 and was published again in 1778 under the title \textit{Sir Martyn}. Imitating Spenser, Mickle gives the biography of a promising but reckless young knight, who falls prey to the wiles of a dairy-maid, Kathrin, is forced into a marriage beneath his station, and becomes the victim of his wife's shrewish domination. His estates fall to ruin, and he is alienated from family, friends, and tenants. The poem ends in allegory, with Sir Martyn imprisoned by Dissipation in the Cave of Discontent. These states of mind had been part of Sir Martyn, but now are his external-
ized and personified tormentors. By way of romance, the fictional progress piece here verges into the allegorical manner of the pieces discussed in the first chapter. Sir Martyn, however, is neither a topical reference, as far as I can tell, nor a symbol for man in general, but an illustration of the idea that man of high birth, natural abilities, and good disposition, may through lack of heed pursue a "vain career." Mickle seems to have been quite calculating in his didacticism, for he outlines this theme in a preface, and he states: "It is an established maxim in criticism, that an interesting moral is essential to a good poem." 

A few years later, in 1771 and 1774, appeared the two books of James Beattie's *Minstrel: or the Progress of Genius*. Beattie like Mickle employed the Spenserian stanza, but he did not imitate Spenser's diction. Primitivism rather than romance sets this piece far off from the contemporary scene. Composed for the most part in 1768, it reflects several trends in later eighteenth century thought. Its didactic manner and content illustrate the increasing precipitation of humanitarian sentiment in the intellectual climate. Benevolence rather than indignation should motivate the poet. Thus Edwin (the Minstrel) even as a boy had tender feelings:

His heart, from cruel sport estranged, would bleed
To work the wo of any living thing....
The setting is natural and primitive. Thus Edwin is the son of a humble, honest shepherd "of the north countrie;" the time is "in Gothick days." Other than his parents' integrity, Edwin's earliest shaping influence is the wild, rugged country, with its picturesque and sublime scenes. The word "romantic" appears in connection with wild and virgin nature, here as well as in the three previous poems. Beattie makes much of nature and assigns it powers in a manner suggesting Wordsworth:

These charms of nature's shall work thy soul's eternal health,
And love, and gentleness, and joy, impart.

In addition to nature, primitive poetry is an early ingredient in Edwin's growth. In bad weather, when he is denied the schooling of nature, his mother reads to him old ballads and romances. Under these influences, he chooses "song" as "his favourite and first pursuit" and searches nature and "lore" for whatever is "beautiful, or new;/ Sublime, or dreadful...." Fancy controls his thoughts; art as yet does not discipline his lays. As Book I ends, Edwin has become the prototype of the enthusiastic romantic poet.

Disenchantment follows in Book II, when Edwin overhears a sage lamenting human miseries, caused by love of riches and grandeur. He goes to the sage in order to learn more about these things new to his understanding. The
sage's teaching in its final effect is not, however, an indictment of civilization but an apology for it. Civilized society has values as well as abuses. Beattie uses the terms "Philosophy" and "Science" interchangeably to denote the cause of cultural progress, and from stanza XLV to stanza LV he reviews this progress. Here is his own summary: "The influence of the Philosophic Spirit, in humanizing the mind, and preparing it for intellectual exertion and delicate pleasure;--in exploring, by the help of geometry, the system of the universe;--in banishing superstition;--in promoting navigation, agriculture, medicine, and moral and political science."51 This review leads to an optimistic conclusion:

What cannot Art and Industry perform,  
When Science plans the progress of their toil?52

Thus Beattie like Thomson makes a place for both primitivism and progress, exposing himself to the possible charge of inconsistency but being true to coexistent though opposed impulses.

Instructed now in the values of civilization and in the instrument of progress, "Science," the Minstrel modifies his views of his poet's role, chastening his romantic energy with classical ideas of form (Truth now directs Fancy--II, LV), and recognizing his responsibility to write with social purpose:
Nor love of novelty alone inspires,
Their laws and nice dependencies to scan;
For, mindful of the aids that life requires,
And of the services man owes to man,
He meditates new arts on Nature's plan;
The cold desponding breast of Sloth to warm,
The flame of Industry and Genius fan,
And Emulation's noble rage alarm,
And the long hours of Toil and Solitude to charm.\footnote{53}

What Beattie has fashioned in his Minstrel, then, is an idea of the poet which was possible and often realized in this period: "The Muse, and her celestial art,/Still claim th' Enthusiast's fond and first regard,"\footnote{54} yet he recognizes his obligations to society and often directs his verse to social ends.

Also in 1774 appeared Richard Graves' poem, the Progress of Gallantry. Graves, who had a year previously published his good-humoured satire on Methodism, The Spiritual Quixote, turns here to a didactic treatment of love and marriage. The poem opens dramatically, with an elderly speaker charmed by the beauty of a young woman. This attraction provokes a revery on the presence of love in every stage of life, and the revery takes the form of a narrative centering on one character, Strephon, and tracing his amorous bent from childhood to maturity. Strephon's is a thoroughly romantic sort of love, but it is kept strictly within the bounds of morality. Graves sees marriage as love's proper end. He will leave to Hogarth the task of tracing the fate of lawless love. The poem concludes with sentiments on the
need for continued chivalry in marriage. A faint aura of Sir Charles Grandison emanates from the entire poem.

At this point it is possible to make clearer the meaning of "sentimental-didactic" in relation to these poems. "Sentimental" is the part of the term especially in need of clarification, for I have had in mind at least four meanings for the word in applying it to these poems. It may mean 'expressive of moral sentiments' and thus be an approximate synonym for 'morally didactic.' In this sense, it applies to the Progress of Taste, Sir Martyn, the Minstrel, and the Progress of Gallantry, but not to the Progress of Love. I have also had in mind Northrop Frye's technical use of the word to refer to "a later recreation of an earlier mode."55 In this sense, "sentimental" applies to the Progress of Love and to Sir Martyn, preeminently, and in a lesser degree to the Progress of Taste and the Progress of Gallantry, with their incorporation of pastoral and chivalric conventions.

Related to this meaning is a third, which refers to a failure on the part of the author to stimulate in the reader the same sympathies which he seems to feel for his subject. This failure is due to an inadequate shaping of the poem which can be most easily called oversimplification. The author's seriousness does not find utterance in a correspondingly serious form. In an age when taste was being influenced by Pamela, Clarissa, or Tom Jones, the attempt
to cast a serious narrative in terms of shepherds and flocks, and of characters named Damon, Strephon, or Delia, was at the start putting itself under an unusual handicap. Thus it seems to me that this "later recreation of an earlier mode," if it did not necessarily cause oversimplification in these poems, at least invited and contributed to it. "Sentimental" may also refer to a view of human nature as, potentially at least, benevolent. This meaning has relation to the first, for the expression of moral sentiments is an appeal to human benevolence, based on the assumption that if man knows the good he will desire and seek it. Insofar as these pieces are sentimental in the first sense they are implicitly sentimental also in their assessment of man as naturally responsive to the appeal to goodness. This benevolent view comes out explicitly in Beattie's treatment of the tender feelings in his young Minstrel.

Except for some of the imitations of Hogarth, the pieces considered so far in this chapter have been in verse. There was one eighteenth century novel, however, which received the progress title. It was Eliza Haywood's, Life's Progress Through the Passions: Or, the Adventures of Nature, published in 1748. On the last page of the book Mrs. Haywood wrote: "Thus have I attempted to trace nature in all her mazy windings, and shew life's progress thro' the passions, from the cradle to the grave." She was obviously
aware here of the spatial implications of the progress metaphor, and in another place she wrote, "It was thither he resolved to make his next progress." But while travel forms a good portion of the book, the idea of a progress as journey does not provide the structural principle. Rather the derived meaning of the metaphor, "development," or more neutrally, "course" (without its own metaphorical origins), determines the structure of the story, which relates the life of Natura from infancy to his death at the age of 63, emphasizing the change in the passions according to the change in age. Mrs. Haywood gives most attention to the period of young manhood, in which love is the ruling passion, and to the period of maturity, dominated by ambition. At this time love becomes for Natura not business but amusement. Through the name she assigns her hero, Mrs. Haywood makes clear that she intends him as exemplary of human nature, about which she makes two assumptions which are typical of her age. The first is that human nature is uniform. She sees in the infant all the passions of the adult: fear, sorrow, avarice, anger, revenge, spite, love; since infants are so alike (here the assumption quietly enters), the differences in adults must be due to the many accidents of life. "There is certainly no real distinction between the soul of the man of wit and the idiot...." Her reasoning process makes it clear that she is only giving pseudo-
logical form to a statement of faith. Her second assumption about man is his innate goodness. After being forgiven by his father for some youthful extravagances, Natura's good intentions show "that there is a native gratitude and generosity in the human mind, which, in spite of the prevalence of unruly passions, will, at sometimes, shine forth even in the most thoughtless and inconsiderate." This might have served as a credo for so different a book as Tom Jones, published the following year. Other than the assumption of human benevolence, there is little in the book that could be called sentimental. It is thoroughly didactic to be sure, but its didacticism is more intellectual than moral. Mrs. Haywood was intent upon explicating a theory of the passions more than upon edifying or reforming her readers; she appealed to the mind more than to the moral sense or the tender feelings. She could not resist explicating her own text, both preceding each chapter and in comments such as the one quoted above on man's native gratitude. This frequent exposition makes for uninspirational reading and drives the book away from social realism toward psychology and sociology. Mrs. Haywood seems to have sensed the danger, for she countered by inserting several chapters of incredible adventure and romance. The first chapter of part two, for example, tells of a complicated love intrigue which Natura carries on in a French convent with two beautiful
nuns who are natural sisters. Of course, this intrigue exemplifies a truth, "the inconsideration and instability of youth, when unrestrained by authority," but Mrs. Haywood forgets her didactic purposes during the telling and seems thoroughly to enjoy this suggestive fabliau which, however, ends chastely for all concerned.

I think it should be clear by now that the progress pieces which I have labelled "sentimental-didactic" are very dissimilar works. Nevertheless, they have enough in common to justify the application of this term, which will set them apart from even more dissimilar pieces. Like the other pieces taken up in this chapter, they narrate the whole or partial career of a central character, in respect to some particular activity or trait (love, taste, dissipation, gallantry), or in respect to his development as seen from a special point of view (his development as a poet, for example, or his development in regard to the passions). These pieces, moreover, center on 'real,' though not realistic, characters, rather than on allegorical abstractions. Eliza Haywood's protagonist, Natura, would seem to be an exception, but the allegory goes no further than the name. Unlike the first group, these pieces are non-satiric. There is no intention of ridiculing the characters. Even if there is an occasional touch of satire, as in the Progress of Taste, there is usually a discernible sympathy toward the character.
whose career is the object of the poem. With this sympathy goes a tendency to instruct overtly, and from these two characteristics, primarily, I have arrived at the term "sentimental-didactic." I do not mean to equate sympathetic treatment of character with sentimentality, but such treatment invites sentimentality, and in these pieces the possibility sometimes became actual. In regard to some pieces, "sentimental-didactic" is a tautology, with "sentimental" meaning 'morally didactic.' In these cases either term would have been adequate, but it would not then have applied to other pieces which were not morally didactic, yet in some way were didactic (I am thinking of Mrs. Haywood's expository passages) or sentimental (Progress of Love).

Finally, these pieces tend away from realism even further than the satiric pieces. Pastoral and chivalric conventions (or their relics), primitive settings, picturesque and sublime landscapes, or sensational adventures obtrude to qualify the application of "mimetic" to these pieces, except in the broad sense of 'non-allegorical.' But even this residual meaning is occasionally undermined, for example in Sir Martyn, which becomes at the last a completely allegorical poem.

.....

The biographical progress piece did not leave monuments in the history of literature, with the exception of the
Pilgrim's Progress and to a much lesser extent Prior's Alma and the progress poems of Swift. In the number of pieces produced, however, it was a fairly vigorous form. We saw how it began with allegories which grew out of the medieval and Renaissance type, the pilgrimage. These general and serious allegories began making room, early in the eighteenth century, for allegories which were topical and satirical. The first of these was Aaron Hill's Progress of Wit, published in 1730. Meanwhile, Prior's mock-exposition of man's psychological development, Alma: or, the Progress of the Mind, had appeared in 1718 but was followed by only a few roughly similar pieces. About the time that the allegorical progress piece was turning toward satire, Swift published three satirical progress poems. This was in March, 1727/28. These pieces were not allegorical, however, but mimetic. They produced a number of imitators, and the satirical progress piece remained in vogue for fifty years. As the allegorical pieces had tended in two directions, toward serious universal truth on the one hand and topical satire on the other, so the mimetic pieces diverged into two streams, but in reverse order. These pieces began with satire and later turned toward overt didacticism; both types coexisted during the century, but the satiric pieces occurred more frequently before 1750, the didactic pieces after 1750. The works which I have considered probably do not exhaust the
biographical progress pieces written during the century. Although I have not seen them, I suspect that pieces such as the *Progress of Matrimony*, 1733, the *Progress of Glory*, 1746, the *Progress of Lying*, 1762, and the *Progress of a Female Mind*, 1765, would belong somewhere in this category; and there were perhaps others of which I have found no mention.

In the first chapter it was stated that the biographical progress piece was hardly a distinctive form save in the use of the progress metaphor; that many works during this period, as well as earlier and later, were sufficiently similar in structure (journeys, quests, adventures) to have received the progress title had the authors wanted it; that the progress metaphor, therefore, was the main device which distinguished the biographical progress pieces from other biographical narratives. The historical progress piece, on the other hand, seems to have had hardly any manifestations prior to the seventeenth century; to have occurred, to any remarkable extent, only during the eighteenth century; and to have been distinctive enough in form and limited enough in occurrence to justify the inclusion among historical progress pieces of certain works which did not have the progress title. The following chapter will discuss the background of this form.
NOTES


2 Swift, I, 223.

3 Swift, I, 225.

4 Swift, I, 222.

5 Swift, I, 226.

6 Swift, I, 229.

7 Swift, I, 231.

8 Swift, I, 295.

9 Swift, I, 294.

10 The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. F. Ellington Ball (London, 1913), IV, 61.


12 Swift, Correspondence, IV, 308.

13 Walter Sichel, Bolingbroke and His Times: The Sequel (New York, 1902), p. 249, quoting "Abstract of the
Mr's Answer to the Occasional Writer," Bolingbroke's Works (London, 1775), VI, 56.

14 Sichel, p. 252.


16 The True Briton, II, 331.


18 The Craftsman, V, 326-27.

19 The Craftsman, V, 328.

20 Robert Etheridge Moore, Hogarth's Literary Relationships (Minneapolis, 1948), pp. 24-76.

21 Moore, p. 30.

22 Moore, pp. 31-34.


24 Moore, pp. 34-36.

25 Moore, pp. 36-40.

26 Moore, pp. 40-43.

27 Moore, pp. 48-52.

28 Moore, p. 52.
29 Dobson, p. 43.


32 Savage, p. 98.


36 Warton, p. 198.

37 John Trumbull, The Poetical Works (Hartford, 1820), II, 49.

38 Trumbull, II, 59.


42 Shenstone, I, 281-82.

43 Shenstone, I, 284.


46 Beattie, p. 10.

47 Beattie, p. 6.

48 Beattie, p. 6.

49 Beattie, p. 30.

50 Beattie, p. 30.

51 Beattie, pp. 55-56n.

52 Beattie, p. 59.

53 Beattie, p. 61.

54 Beattie, p. 61.


57 Haywood, p. 99.

58 Haywood, p. 157.
59 Haywood, p. 6.

60 Haywood, p. 62.

61 Haywood, p. 63.
CHAPTER IV: BACKGROUNDS OF THE HISTORICAL PROGRESS PIECE

Before attempting to explore the backgrounds, it will be well to have freshly in mind the nature of the historical progress piece. The most important features of this form can be illustrated in a preliminary way from three progresses of beauty which appeared during the eighteenth century. R. H. Griffith writes: "The earliest true exemplar of the type that I have noted is 'The Progress of Beauty' by Lord Lansdowne, first published, so far as I can learn, in a Miscellany in 1701."\(^1\) Although not the earliest example, Lansdowne's poem is close to the typical pattern assumed by the historical progress piece. Lansdowne surveys the history of beautiful women in terms of a royal progress of personified beauty: "Of beauty sing, her shining Progress view...."\(^2\) He does not, however, develop the allegorical potential of the progress metaphor, being content to summon the metaphor to the reader's mind, and then to rely on expository methods to recall some striking manifestations of beauty in legend and in history. His survey proceeds from Venus (Cyprus) through Helen (Phrygia) and Cleopatra (Egypt) to the Moors, the Spanish, and the English. The progress structure does not seem to be the final cause of this poem, which is primarily concerned with three-
fold panegyric, first of certain contemporary noble ladies, second of modern poets and painters who have praised beauty, such as Dryden, Waller, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, and third of the Stuarts, showing the strong Jacobite loyalties which were eventually to put Granville in the Tower (1715-1717). In imitation of Lansdowne's poem, James Delacourt wrote another Progress of Beauty, which was printed in 1732 (See Appendix I). The principal differences from the earlier poem are that Delacourt begins his survey with Eve and, being an Irishman, concludes with a complimentary catalogue of Irish rather than English beauties. The sun imagery implicit in the personification of beauty in both poems is more pronounced in Delacourt's:

To Britain now the Pow'r of Beauty flies,  
And with her Presence warms the Northern Skies....

A third Progress of Beauty appeared in 1747. While it departs considerably from the usual progress pattern, it exhibits one feature present in some degree in a great many of these pieces: the idea of periodic return. Capitalizing on a topic of current interest, the poet takes as his organizing simile the recurrence of comets (See Appendix I, 1747). As the same comet appeared in the time of Romulus, Caesar, and the Vandals, so beauty

Admits no new creative influence,  
But the same form is doom'd to re-appear.
And as Helen was once the peerless beauty of the world, so she wears now the name of Julia Farmer, who, the rhyme scheme suggests, was Julia Farmer. Dropping the metaphor of the royal progress, save in the title, the unknown author has adopted another structural device suited to express the continuous being of the titular idea.

To generalize on the basis of these three examples: The historical progress piece typically takes as its object the historical manifestations of a human quality or activity and assumes the unity and continuity of this universal throughout its particular occurrences. The sense of unity is maintained and the gaps between specific manifestations are bridged through giving the central idea and its historical career concrete form: Most frequently, the abstraction is personified as a queen or goddess, or identified metaphorically with the sun, or both; while its historical course is seen in terms of a royal progress or the movement of the sun, or both, depending upon the circumstances of the poem. Individual pieces will vary from this general description, especially in regard to the degree to which the personification and allegorical progress are developed, and consequently, in regard to the degree of unity and continuity seen in the central idea. While these poems suggest the main structural features of the historical progress piece, they are not typical in their choice of object. The
history of female beauty is a fanciful topic in comparison with the contents of most of the pieces to be considered, concerned as they are with the history of culture, and dealing with practically all areas of knowledge—the humanities, fine arts, social and natural sciences. Read in a body, they would have furnished the eighteenth century Englishman an inclusive if superficial education.

1. The Roll-Call and the Prospect

In order to clarify the definition further, we may compare the historical progress piece with two related forms, the "roll-call" and the prospect, which appeared frequently during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and which sometimes merged with the progress piece. Drayton's poem, *Of Poets and Poesie*, 1627, will serve as an example of the roll-call. Although Drayton begins with Virgil, his poem is a survey of English and Scots poets from Chaucer until the time of composition. Drayton gives to each poet a few lines of critical comment and appreciation. His procedure illustrates the main point of difference between the roll-call and the progress piece. The difference consists in a slight variation of emphasis: Drayton deals with men who have written poetry instead of with poetry which has been given voice by men. The continuity of poetic tradition is neither his main concern nor his organizing principle. He
achieves unity and coherence, first, through methods belonging to expository prose: he deals with members of a single class in chronological order; and second, through an epistolary framework: the poem is addressed to Henry Reynolds, and at the first and last we are made conscious of its epistolary form. Because it focuses on discrete occurrences of a human activity without reference to its continuity, the roll-call by itself does not fulfill the definition of the historical progress piece, but at the same time it could be incorporated into the more complex form and was, in fact, an important ingredient in many historical progress pieces. We saw that Lansdowne's and Delacourt's progresses both end in catalogues or roll-calls of contemporary beauties, and lists of this kind are frequent in the progress piece. From the nature of both forms, it can be seen that each could easily tend in the direction of the other. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a poem is simply a roll-call or whether it can accurately be called a progress piece. Julia Cowper Madan's Progress of Poetry, 1731, for example, is little more than a series of roll-calls, of Greek, Italian, and English poets. Mrs. Madan omits the devices for unifying the poem around her central idea: she does not personify poetry nor identify it with any concrete object, and she does not develop the progress metaphor in the body of her poem. The grouping of the poets according to coun-
try—Greece, Rome, England—follows in truncated fashion the usual order of the progress piece and is the strongest justification for the poem's title. On the other hand, Elijah Fenton's survey of English dramatists in the *Epistle to Mr. Southerne*, 1711, is a roll-call which verges into a progress piece, for while Fenton limits the survey to one country, he assumes the continuity of the drama and embodies this assumption in terms of the tragic and comic muses, which are manifest now in one dramatist, now in another.

The roll-call was usually one element in a poem rather than the basic structure of an entire piece, since in itself the roll-call affords only a loose, discursive organization. We saw that even in Drayton's poem the roll-call was framed in an epistolary structure. The prospect could more easily stand alone, as it did for example in Goldsmith's *The Traveller; Or a Prospect of Society*, 1764, but with this exception the prospects which I want to mention are parts of longer poems. In Book XI of *Paradise Lost* the angel Michael leads Adam to the highest hill in Paradise,

> from whose top  
> The Hemisphere of Earth in clearest ken  
> Stretcht out to ampest reach of prospect lay.6

From here Adam envisions the future history of the world, from the murder of Abel through Biblical and Ecclesiastical history, to the second coming of Christ. The historical
substance of the vision, which takes up the last two books of the epic, is essentially the same as that of a progress piece. Benjamin Keach, in fact, used the same Biblical and church history in his *Progress of Sin*, 1684. Milton created another prospect in Book II of *Paradise Regain'd*, elaborating on the New Testament's summary account of Christ's second temptation. Satan leads Christ atop a high mountain from where they survey the great kingdoms of the ancient world, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Parthia. A survey of this kind resembles closely the geographical ordering of the historical progress piece. A similar geographical survey appears in what is probably the best known of eighteenth century prospect poems, Goldsmith's *Traveller*. The speaker, who is also Goldsmith, announces his vantage point as a mountain in the Alps, from where he surveys contemporary society, from Italy, through Switzerland, France, and Holland, to England. It is not necessary to give detailed summaries of any of these prospects in order to see at least two significant differences from the progress piece. The first difference consists in the poet's point of view. In all the prospects considered, a dramatic point of view is established. The reader sees the broad patterns of history or society through the eyes of a character within the poem, although the character may also be the author. Thus, what to Milton was ancient history, becomes in the vision of
Adam a prophecy of the future, and in the vision of Christ a survey of recent and contemporary kingdoms. Goldsmith, being also the viewer and speaker within the poem, establishes a modern point of view, which happens to be also the point of view of the historical progress pieces, since in them the speaker is the author who stands outside the poem a member of contemporary society. If Goldsmith had chosen to survey history rather than compare modern nations, he would have produced a poem closely akin to the progress piece. By surveying past history he would not necessarily have created a progress piece, however, and this consideration leads to a second and more important difference between the progress piece and the prospect. In the three prospects, history and society are seen in special lights. Adam previews history with regard to sin and redemption; Christ surveys ancient kingdoms with regard to power; and Goldsmith compares modern nations in respect to happiness. But these abstract viewpoints remain just that, and are not projected into the action as beings which unify the surveys and which become 'protagonists,' shifting the center of action from the viewer-speaker to themselves. Keach's Progress of Sin will clarify this point. This prose allegory covers the same historical ground as Adam's prospect in Paradise Lost, and Keach views this history in regard to sin and redemption. But not only does he remain outside the poem as the
omniscient author; he also projects his special concern with sin into the historical sequence, personifying it as Tyrant Sin making his progress through the world and producing the events which compose the historical sequence. He does poetic violence to an abstraction and thereby produces a unifying device which differs fundamentally from the organizing principle of the prospects, which is the establishment of a point of view within the poem, usually on a mountain or on some high place, through which the diverse events, empires, or customs can be contemplated.

It is possible for these two methods to be combined; for an author to establish a point of view within the poem from which a historical sequence can be surveyed, and also to organize the sequence in terms of an idea which is projected into the narrative as a personification. In the third book of the Dunciad, 1728, Pope makes this combination (See Appendix I). In parody of the meeting of Anchises and Aeneas in the sixth book of the Aeneid, and perhaps with Milton's prospects also in mind, Pope has Settle conduct his 'son,' Theobald, to a mountain top:

Ascend this hill, whose cloudy point commands
Her boundless Empire over seas and lands.

From this eminence, they review kingdoms and eras in respect to dullness, which Pope personifies in mock-heroic fashion as a mighty queen, who has reigned in various empires in
various ages. Her first appearance which Settle and Theobald envision was in ancient China. Her last and imminent reign will be in England:

And see! my son, the hour is on its way,
That lifts our Goddess to imperial sway:
This fav'rite Isle, long sever'd from her reign,
Dove-like she gathers to her wings again.

Pope has thus created a Progress of Dulness within a prospect framework; and the prospect closes with a review of the forces of Dulness in England, which is in fact a roll-call of English dullards.9

The reference to the Dunciad provides an appropriate opportunity for turning to the background of the historical progress piece, for in a recent book on the Dunciad, Aubrey L. Williams gives the most significant discussion of this problem that I have seen. Mr. Williams finds "the true source and nature of the convention" in the "medieval and renaissance idea of translatio studii, the idea of transplantation from age to age and from country to country of cultural treasure."10 I want to review and elaborate on Mr. Williams's evidence, but before doing so, I want to mention another medieval and Renaissance idea which seems to be the parent of the translatio studii concept. I am referring to the idea of translatio imperii, the transference of empire from one age and land to another. The close relation of the two ideas can be easily seen. Ascendancy in learning
has often accompanied ascendency in arms, and thus men have often associated learning and empire. The Earl of Roscommon wrote in 1684, a day when poetry was often thought to be the epitome of learning:

Empire and Poesy Together rise.
...no declining Age
E're felt the Raptures of Poetick Rage.11

The transference of learning, therefore, could be thought of as concomitant with the transference of empire, and so it was that Thomas Sprat, shortly after the Restoration, was able to write, with reference to the Grecians: "But at last with their Empire, their Arts also were transported to Rome."12 Not only were the two translatio ideas closely related in thought, but also the translatio studii was often expressed metaphorically in terms of the other. The Dunciad illustrates this point. Mr. Williams argues that Pope produced a burlesque anti-type of the translatio studii, which "we may call a translatio stultitiae, a transplantation of the rule of Dulness to one country after another."13 It can also be seen that Pope presents this transference of Dulness in terms of the transference of empire. The hour is approaching which will lift the Goddess Dulness to "imperial sway." Her empire will soon encompass England, "long sever'd from her reign." Strictly speaking, of course, Pope sees the spread of Dulness to England in terms of an augmen-
tation of empire more than in terms of a transference of empire. The nature of his subject allows and encourages him to see the course of Dulness in this way: She retains old kingdoms while acquiring new. More obvious examples of casting one idea in terms of the other can be cited, but before mentioning these, I should like to consider briefly the history of these two ideas, beginning with the idea of *translatio imperii*.

ii. *Translatio Imperii*

Samuel Kliger gives a well-documented introduction to this idea in his book *The Goths in England*.

Mr. Kliger cites numerous quotations in order to show the widespread belief in seventeenth and eighteenth century England that the English people and their principle of constitutional government were derived from the "Goths," a term used loosely to denote the Germanic peoples. This belief stemmed in part from a semantic confusion of the terms "Jute" and "Goths." As the seventeenth century read Bede's *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the Jutes were given a preponderant place in the invasion of England, dated by Bede A. D. 449. This interpretation, together with the semantic confusion, served to establish the term "Gothic" to denote English political institutions. The Gothic strain in English life was associated with a militant love of freedom. Thus the seventeenth century saw
"a psychological predisposition in the men of Kent (the country where the Jutes planted their seat) ever since 449 to be fiercely liberty loving," and it saw in Gothic antiquity "a Golden Age, a symbol of a successful democracy." Mr. Kliger argues that the tradition of Gothic democracy was more than a creation of Renaissance antiquaries and a novelty for poets wearied with classicism. "The fact of the case is that Englishmen fought and died in a cause which they themselves called 'Gothic'; it was the challenge flung down to the English nation by the ambitions of the Stuart monarchs to destroy Parliament which was, as this study will show, the 'efficient cause' which brought the Gothic ideas to the surface of English life during the seventeenth century." 

Central to my purposes, Mr. Kliger finds a second factor aiding in the production of the Gothic vogue in England. It was a powerful thought-current set in motion by the Reformation, known as the "translatio imperii ad Teutonicos"..., emphasizing not so much political inheritances as traditional racial characteristics, and shaping the modern understanding of the role of the Goths in history.

The *translatio* suggested forcefully an analogy between the breakup of the Roman empire by the Goths and the demands of the humanist-reformers of northern Europe for religious freedom, interpreted as liberation from Roman priestcraft. In other words, the *translatio* crystallized the idea that humanity was twice ransomed from Roman tyranny and depravity—in antiquity by the Goths, in modern times by their descendants, the German reformers. In their youth, vigor, and moral purity, the Goths destroyed
the decadent Roman civilization and brought about a rejuvenation or rebirth of the world. In the same way, the Reformation was interpreted as a second world rejuvenation. The result was that the epithet "Gothic" became not only a polar term in political discussion, a trope for the "free," but also in religious discussion a trope for all those spiritual, moral, and cultural values contained for the eighteenth century in the single word "enlightenment."

The "translatio imperii ad Teutonicos" invoked for the Renaissance reader a complex of traditional ideas associated with the preeminence of Rome as the cultural center of the world, composed of the following strands: (1) the classical (pagan) conception of the urbs aeterna proclaiming the preeminence of Rome; (2) the patristic (Christian) acceptance of the classical urbs aeterna, abetted by the irresistible authority of Scripture, especially the prophetic Book of Daniel; (3) the significance attached to the accession of Charlemagne to the imperial title of the Holy Roman Empire, a literal "translatio imperii ad Teutonicos," that is, a world empire given over to the Germanic peoples.18

At some length, Mr. Kliger elaborates these ingredients of the translatio imperii ad Teutonicos idea. He cites the celebration by a long line of Roman poets and orators of the universal and enduring grandeur of Rome, and notes that Virgil as the literary interpreter of the urbs aeterna idea was primarily responsible for its surviving the downfall of the material empire. The early Christian thinkers—St. Augustine, Lactantius, Tertullian, and Prudentius—accepted the idea of urbs aeterna as a basis for the urbs sacra. St. Augustine believed that Rome's imperial greatness "was the earthly order necessary to the creation of the heavenly order, although ordinarily most commentaries stress that St. Augustine rejected the 'earthly city'."19 Also influencing
the Christian thinking was the *translatio* idea drawn from
the second chapter of Daniel. It will help to clarify Mr.
Kliger's discussion to quote this passage at length. Daniel
is interpreting the dream of Nebuchadnezzar:

31 Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image.
This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood
before thee; and the form thereof was terrible. 32 This
image's head *was* of fine gold, his breast and his arms
of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, 33 His
legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.
34 Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without
hands, which smote the image upon his feet *that were*
of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. 35 Then
was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the
gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the
chaff of the summer threshingfloors; and the wind car-
rried them away, that no place was found for them: and
the stone that smote the image became a great mountain,
and filled the whole earth.

36 This *is* the dream; and we will tell the interpreta-
tion thereof before the king. 37 Thou, O king, art a
king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a
kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. 38 And where-
soever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field
and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand,
and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this
head of gold. 39 And after thee shall arise another king-
dom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass,
which shall bear rule over all the earth. 40 And the
fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as
iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as
iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces
and bruise. 41 And whereas thou sawest the feet and
toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, the king-
dom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the
strength of iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed
with miry clay. 42 And as the toes of the feet *were*
part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly
strong, and partly broken. 43 And whereas thou sawest
iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves
with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to
another, even as iron is not mixed with clay. 44 And in
the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up
a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.20

The Jews interpreted Daniel as a prophecy of national resurgence, but the Christian fathers, largely because of St. Jerome's commentary, were able to read it as a prophecy of the survival of Rome even as Rome perished. The golden head represented the Babylonian empire; the silver breast, the Medo-Persian empire; the brazen belly and thighs, the Grecian empire; and the iron legs, iron and clay feet, the Roman empire. This interpretation abetted the attempts to convert the idea of urbs aeterna into the idea of urbs sacra. Later, the Danielic translatio and the Virgilian-Christian dream of empire received an important restatement with the accession of Charlemagne as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The emphasis shifted from the urbs sacra idea, so that "the whole of history, as in Daniel, continued to be looked upon as a succession of great monarchies, successively entrusted by God with the sovereignty of nations. Now, sovereignty was entrusted to the Germanic peoples."21 Later historians referred to Charlemagne as "most serene Augustus." His early biographer, known to us as the Monk of St. Gall, revived the prophecy in Daniel, applying it to Charlemagne: "After the omnipotent ruler of the world, who orders alike the fate of kingdoms and the course of time, had broken the feet of iron
and clay in one noble statue, to wit the Romans, he raised the hands of the illustrious Charles the golden head of another, not less admirable, among the Franks." Bishop Otto of Freising's *Chronica* is another important document in the connection of the Danielic prophecy with the idea of *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*. Bishop Otto wrote: "Regarding human power—how it passed from the Babylonians to the Medes and the Persians and then again to the Greeks under the Roman name—I think enough has been said. How it was transferred from the Greeks to the Franks, who dwell in the West, remains to be told in the present book." Commenting on the coronation of Charlemagne, he continued: "As Rome fell, Francia arose to receive her crown." The final stage in the development of the idea came with the German humanists of the Reformation. It is impossible to cover here the detail of Mr. Kliger's argument, but his summary may be quoted:

In their polemic against Rome the German reformers had endeavored to show first of all the "*translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*," a world-empire given over to the German people; to them, Charlemagne, a German, had conquered the lands lost by the Romans. They argued also for the essential moral purity of the Germans as attested by Tacitus; Roman priestcraft had corrupted this moral purity. They emphasized the distinctive entity of the German people, a folk united in spirit and temperament; hence, Roman Catholicism was Latin and alien. They pictured the mass migration of the German peoples as the means for bringing about a world renewal; restlessness..., constancy of purpose, and industry were the traits of Germanic character impelling the Germanic people onwards. They stressed strongly the analogy.
between the German demand for freedom from Roman ecclesiasticism and the break up of the Roman empire by the Goths; the Arminius cult, generated by Hutten, was representative of the alliance in the period between historical research and reform; the researches of the humanists demonstrated what their forefathers had accomplished in the past against Rome and hence demonstrated at the same time what the Germans might accomplish in the present and the future. Daniel and Virgil together made a potent brew whose heady effects on the German reformers were noticeable in the apocalyptic fervour with which they awaited the "better things to come" once the "translatio imperii ad Teutonicos" had effected the entrance to the better destiny. 24

While Mr. Kliger in the remainder of the book makes his case that many Englishmen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw their culture as Gothic in part and viewed this background as the fountain of English moral purity and liberty, he recognizes that there was at the same time a widespread pejorative use of the word "Gothic," a use, incidentally, which occurs frequently, almost as a matter of routine, in the historical progress pieces. He accounts for this complication as an inheritance of the Italian Renaissance. "Venerating...the sacred soil because it had supported the old empire in the days before the Gothic onslaught, the Italian humanists would perforce look upon the Goths as barbarians and uncouth destroyers." 25 Another recent scholar voices the same conclusion: "The humanists whose works we have examined are in fairly general agreement that there was a decline of Rome and that this decline led to a period of barbaric darkness, which in turn was followed
by a revival of the Italian cities and, later, of Italian literature and art. Further, they are of one mind in ignoring almost all cultural and political development outside of Italy, as well as the most characteristic institutions and cultural contributions of the Middle Ages, such as the medieval empire, scholastic learning, feudal and ecclesiastical literature, and Gothic art."

We shall see the effects of the *translatio imperii* idea on the structure of the progress piece. To some extent the nationalistic fervor which can be attached to the idea will also appear. However, we shall see that in regard to the Goths, the progress pieces conventionally reflect the Italian humanist views; and that so far as this literary type is concerned, the English showed themselves more aware and more proud of their Roman than their Germanic heritage. To illustrate this point, one of the most favorable treatments of the Goths in a progress piece occurs in Thomson's *Liberty*. Thomson views the Goths as the agents of Liberty in the destruction of decadent Rome. Yet he does not sentimentalize Gothic antiquity, but holds that the seeds of freedom still lay buried in their barbarous hearts and that after Rome's fall Liberty quit the earth during the Dark Ages. And throughout the poem Thomson uses "Gothic" as a pejorative term in connection with the arts.

During the sixteenth century, seeds of national self-awareness were beginning to stir in England as they were in
Germany. In England also the concept of *translatio imperii* was known and was sometimes used to give form to the surge of patriotic feeling. The idea, if not the term, becomes clearly evident in English literature after the defeat of the Spanish armada. Thomas Nashe alludes to the idea in an incidental way and without turning it to any patriotic use in *The Terrors of the Night*, 1594: "Some will obiect vnto mee for the certaintie of Dreames, the Dreames of Cyrus, Cambyses, Pompey, Caesar, Darius, & Alexander. For those I answer, that they were rather visions than Dreames, extra-ordinarily sent from heauen to foreshew the translation of Monarchies."27 But it was Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* who more than any other Elizabethan turned the idea of *translatio imperii* to the glory of Elizabeth and England.

Without mentioning the *translatio* terminology, Isabel E. Rathborne works out Spenser's use of the idea in her book, *The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland*.28 The part of her discussion which is of particular interest here centers on Cleopolis, the city of Glorianna, which apparently meant to Spenser the "city of fame." Miss Rathborne cites the connection which Josephine Waters Bennett makes between Cleopolis and Clio, the muse of history, whose name was frequently derived from *kleos*, 'fame.' On this basis, Miss Rathborne interprets Cleopolis as "an ideal city of earthly fame, spiritual motherland of all those whose deeds make them
worthy of Clio's ministrations." As such, Cleopolis would seem to be a literary descendant of the urbs aeterna, which Spenser saw as inferior but not hostile to the City of God. This city of fame, Miss Rathborne shows, is the symbol for London, the capital of the British empire, which is the last in a series of incarnations of Cleopolis throughout history. Evidence for this point centers on the Antiquiteit of Faery Lond, read by Guyon in the House of Alma. Miss Rathborne interprets the Antiquiteit as veiled history, which is first of all a genealogy of Elizabeth, beginning with Elf and Fay (Adam and Eve) and concluding with Elficleos (Henry VII), Oberon (Henry VIII) and Tanaquil (Elizabeth). The last two stanzas of the genealogy need only to be read to show that Miss Rathborne is on firm ground; Elferon clearly refers to Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII:

LXXV

After all these Elficleos did rayne,  
The wise Elficleos in great majestie,  
Who mightily that scepter did sustayne,  
And with rich spoyles and famous victorie  
Did high advaunce the crowne of Faery:  
He left two sonnes, of which faire Elferon,  
The eldest brother, did untimely dy;  
Whose emptie place the mightie Oberon  
Doubly supplide, in spousall and dominion.

LXXVI

Great was his power and glorie over all  
Which, him before, that sacred seate did fill,  
That yet remains his wide memoriall:  
He dying left the fairest Tanaquill.
Him to succeede therein, by his last will:
Fairer and nobler liveth none this howre,
Ne like in grace, ne like in learned skil;
Therefore they Glorian call that glorious flowre:
Long mayst thou, Glorian, live, in glory and great powre!32

With detail too elaborate to be summarized here, Miss Rathborne supports the hypothesis that the fairy genealogy sets forth, in terms of the rulers, the successive manifestations of Cleopolis. Thus Cleopolis appeared in Egypt Osiris (Elfin)7, Troy Tros (Elfiline), Assaracus (Elfinell), Aeneas (Elfant), Postumus (Elfar?), Brutus (Elfinor)7, Rome (the second Troy, founded by Elfant-Aeneas), and London (the third Troy, founded by Elfinor-Brutus, and now ruled by Tanaquil-Elizabeth).

Spenser develops the idea of the three Troys in Book III, Canto IX. In the conversation between Paridell and Britomart, he reviews the fall of Troy and the removal of empire to Rome, and he predicts the imminent rise of another Troy, the equal of the first two. Stanzas XLIV summarizes the resurrection of Troy in Rome and prophesies the incarnation of the third Troy ("It Troynovant is hight..."):

'There, there,' said Britomart, 'a fresh appeard
The glory of the later world to spring,
And Troy againe out of her dust was reard,
To sitt in second seat of soveraine king
Of all the world under her governing.
But a third kingdom yet is to arise
Out of the Trojans scattered ofspring,
That, in all glory and great enterprise,
Both first and second Troy shall dare to equalise.33
We read in Stanza LI that there is today no fairer city than Troyovant and Lincoln, both founded by Brute, except Cleopolis. Miss Rathborne comments:

This last statement is inexplicable if we accept the ordinary identification of Cleopolis with London in Spenser's political allegory. To be sure the two cities are distinct in the historical fiction. Troyovant is in Britain, Cleopolis in Fairyland, and fairy cities are notoriously fairer than the cities of earth. In the general moral allegory, too, we may recognize a distinction between Cleopolis and Troyovant. If Cleopolis in Spenser's general intention represents the ideal city of earthly glory, counterpart of the New Jerusalem, a sort of heavenly Troy of which the earthly Troy, Rome, and London were successively the earthly counterparts, Cleopolis would be fairer than Troyovant as the ideal is fairer than the mere reflection of it which appears on earth....Cleopolis represents both the Platonic idea of an imperial city and the temporal manifestations of that idea in the history of several famous cities, of which London is the last.34

Miss Rathborne's discussion leads to the conclusion that Spenser's allegory veils a strong theme of translatio imperii meant to glorify Queen Elizabeth and the approaching ascendancy of the British nation. "Spenser aspired to do for England what Virgil had done for Rome: to write an epic which should vindicate the excellency of the British tongue and celebrate the glorious destiny of the British Empire as the heir of all ages."35

Before leaving Spenser, a further word should be said about the Antiquitee of Faery Lond which Miss Rathborne reads as an allegorical genealogy of Elizabeth, for it may shed light on one of the earliest and most cryptic of progress
pieces, Donne’s *The Progresse of the Soule*. Miss Rathborne cites the tracing of royal genealogies from the earliest times as a habit which Renaissance historians inherited from the Middle Ages. Jean Lemaire, in his *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye*, traced Charlemagne’s ancestry from Noah, and Arthur Kelton, a Welsh opponent of Polydore Vergil, appended to his *Chronycle*, 1547, a genealogical table tracing the descent of Edward VI from Osiris, whom he identified with the Biblical Mizraim, son of Ham. In addition to these printed tables of ancestry, there were a number of manuscript genealogies which traced Elizabeth’s descent from the beginning of the world. Miss Rathborne remarks that Spenser may have seen these tables and argues, as we saw, that in the *Antiquitee of Faery Lond* he produced a veiled genealogy of Elizabeth which recorded her descent from Adam and Eve. This context furnishes the possibility for a fuller understanding of *The Progresse of the Soule*, which may have been conceived as a burlesque genealogy of Elizabeth.

In Donne’s fragment, dated 16 August 1601 but not published during his lifetime, the soul whose career is the object of the poem first informs the forbidden fruit in Eden; that devoured, it flies to the mandrake plant; that destroyed by a woman, it transmigrates to a bird’s egg; the hatched sparrow dying, the soul now informs a fish; that
eaten by a swan, it enters another fish—and so the progress of the soul continues, through a whale, mouse, wolf, dog—wolf, and ape, until the fragment ends with the soul residing in Themech, sister and wife of Cain:

...keeping some quality
Of every past shape, she knew treachery,
Rapine, deceit, and lust, and ills enow
To be a woman. 37

As the fragment stands, it is a satire which focuses its attack upon women, but there is reason to believe that Donne intended to turn it into a satire on Elizabeth. If so, the poem as it stands probably represents the first stages in a genealogy of the queen, which would have outdone the efforts of the serious historians, who could trace Elizabeth's ancestry merely from Adam and Eve. Ben Jonson's conversations with Drummond shed some light on Donne's intention: "The conceit of Dones Transformation or Μεμετάμεθα was that he sought the soule of that aple which Eve pulled and thereafter made it the soule of a bitch, then of a shee wolf, and so of a woman; his generall purpose was to have brought in all the bodies of the Hereticks from the soule of Cain, and at last left in the bodie of Calvin. Of this he never wrotte but one sheet, and now, since he was made Doctor, repenteth highlie and seeketh to destroy all his poems." 36

H. J. C. Grierson comments on this conversation as follows: "Jonson was clearly recalling the poem somewhat inaccurately,
and at the same time giving the substance of what Donne had
told him. Probably Donne mystified him on purpose, for it
is evident from the poem that in his first intention Queen
Elizabeth herself was to be the soul's last host. It is
impossible to attach any other meaning to the seventh stan-
za; and that intention also explains the bitter tone in
which women are satirized in the fragment."

The seventh stanza reads:

For the great soule which here amongst us now
Doth dwell, and moves that hand, and tongue, and brow,
Which, as the moone the sea, moves us; to heare
Whose story, with long patience you will long;
(For 'tis the crowne, and last straine of my song)
This soule to whom Luther, and Mahomet were
Prisons of flesh; this soule which oft did teare,
And mend the wracks of th' Empire, and late Rome,
And liv'd when every great change did come,
Had first in paradise, a low, but fatall roome.

This is strong evidence, and as Donne traces this soul
through its vegetable and animal phases, other passages sug-
gest that he meant it finally to reside in Elizabeth. For
example, the soul having transferred itself from the forbid-
den fruit to the mandrake root, the mandrake has no space
to grow yet forces a place for itself:

Just as in our streets, when the people stay
To see the Prince, and have so fill'd the way
That weasels scarce could passe, when she comes nere
They throng and cleeve up, and a passage cleare....

Grierson cogently points out that the tone of the seventh
stanza suggests that Donne intended no vulgar libel on Elizabeth. Still Catholic in his sympathies, Donne viewed Elizabeth somewhat as did Pope Sixtus: She was a heretic but a great woman, one of Cain's race, perhaps, who yet had made a utilitarian contribution to the world. Donne states this paradox in Stanza LII (not making the application to Elizabeth):

	...wonder with mee,
Why plowing, building, ruling and the rest,
Or most of those arts, whence our lives are blest,
By cursed Cains race invented te,
And blest Seth vext us with Astronomie.42

The evidence suggests, therefore, that if Donne had carried through his intention he would have produced a mock-genealogy of Elizabeth, satirizing her in a restrained, balanced manner. It is possible that the name of the poem is itself an allusion to Elizabeth, who was famed for her progresses through England. In addition, it seems likely that Donne would have introduced the idea of translatio imperii, at least by implication, for Stanza VII suggests that Donne planned to find Elizabeth's soul in the dominant figures who were present at the great upheavals of history and who, perhaps, were directly involved in the transference of empire:

	...this soule which oft did teare,
And mend the wrecks of tu' Empire, and late Rome,
And liv'd when every great change did come....43
Donne's tongue-in-cheek use of the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls reminds us that Virgil concerns himself with reincarnation in Book VI of the Aeneid, and that it was through scanning the souls who were waiting to be reborn that Anchises unfolded to Aeneas "the long procession of his progeny." Something of a pattern begins to emerge. Virgil used the genealogical method, revised by his imaginative use of Pythagorean lore, to give literary form to the idea of the transference of empire from Troy to Rome. If Miss Rathborne is correct, Spenser in his genealogy of Tanaquil was implying a similar transference, with England as the next seat of empire. It seems that Donne would have produced similar results, and one wonders whether the historical progress piece might not have developed differently if Donne had completed this first apparent essay of the form. However that may be, the appearance of Pythagorean ideology in Virgil and Donne suggests a general truth about the progress piece as it actually developed. The Pythagorean teaching assumes the eternity of the soul, which enjoys continuous being through a multiplicity of incarnations. This assumption is analogous to Plato's later doctrine of the eternity of forms. The same sort of metaphysical idealism (the scholastics would have said realism) is involved in both philosophies. The idea of translatio imperii depends heavily upon the Platonic way of thinking.
The idea of empire denoted by this term is fundamentally a Platonic idea (as Miss Rathborne pointed out in her discussion of Cleopolis\textsuperscript{33}), which can be manifest now in Troy, now in Rome, and later in Germany or England. Thus the idea of \textit{translatio imperii} is analogous with the idea of the reincarnation of souls, which might be called the \textit{translatio animae}. The latter idea did not acquire widespread, serious belief in the western world (See Appendix I, 1601 for some additional literary uses of the idea), but the more strictly Platonic idea of \textit{translatio imperii} did. It should become apparent that many of the historical progress pieces imply a similar metaphysical idealism, for these pieces usually assume the continuity of the titular idea, whether Learning, Poetry, or Liberty, through a variety of manifestations. It is difficult to judge how much this practice was due simply to poetic convention and how much to philosophic conviction. It would be an easy matter for a reader whose mind is conditioned to empiricism and nominalism to underestimate the element of real conviction in these statements of continuous tradition, if it were not for the fact that the eighteenth century writers were also, for the most part, nourished on empirical philosophies. One is inclined to think that some of the exponents of the \textit{translatio imperii} idea also regarded it as a poetic fiction useful for giving significance and value to historical data. But one would think
too that there was a stronger current of metaphysical belief in their utterances than was possible to eighteenth century writers.

In the age of Elizabeth the nationalistic fervor which orbited about the queen found another mode of expression which was analogous to the idea of transference of empire. This second formulation combined religious with patriotic zeal and depended upon the Hebrew-Christian rather than Classical-Roman tradition. It saw England as the new Israel rather than the new Rome, although both ideas could be honored at the same time. In *Christ’s Teares over Ierusalem* the comparison of London with Jerusalem is implicit throughout. "Whatsoever of Ierusalem I haue written," explains Nashe, "was but to lend her [i.e. London] a Looking-glasse." But Nashe is making more than a chance comparison, for later in the book he supplicates: "No image or likenes of thy Ierusalem on earth is there left, but London. Spare London, for London is like the Citty that thou louedst." Other examples of this thought pattern could be given, but it will be sufficient here to mention E. C. Wilson's study of the idealization of Elizabeth in the literature of her age, *England's Eliza*, in which Mr. Wilson cites numerous celebrations of Elizabeth as Judith or Deborah, leader of the new Israel.

A related but strictly religious idea can be seen in Protestant writers of the early seventeenth century. These
men wished to establish a pedigree for their church which would silence Roman Catholic antagonists who challenged them to show their religious lineage prior to Luther. Richard Bernard stated the problem in 1623 in a book called *Looke Beyond Luther: Or An Answer to that Question, so often and so Insultingly Proposed by our Adversaries, asking us; Where this our Religion was before Luthers time?* Bernard reaches the conclusion that while every Christian is bound to believe "that there is a Church of God, here and there dispersed abroad in the world," it is not essential for him to "be able to make a Catalogue of all that went before in the same profession in every Age." Nevertheless, the following year George Abbot set out to do what Bernard had declared was inessential. His title, *A Treatise of the Perpetuall Visibilitie, And Succession of the True Church in All Ages*, suggests metaphysical assumptions similar to those seen already in connection with the *translatio imperii*, and the Preface writer makes it clear that Abbot's treatise is concerned with a tradition which might aptly be called the *translatio ecclesiae*. "It was the manner of the Heathen Race-runners," he writes, "after they had finished their course, to deliver a Lamp or Taper to the Next Runner. Sembably whereto, this Christian Antiquary shewes unto thee, how the noble worthies of the Christian world, and Fore-runners of our Faith, after they had finished their course,
delivered the Lamp of their doctrine from one to another...."\textsuperscript{49}

At one point Abbot writes: "Our settled and resolved judgement is, that when it is asked, Where our Church in former Ages was; we may...truly say, that it was in England, in France, in Spaine, in Italy, yea, in Rome it selfe...."\textsuperscript{50}

Abbot's treatise suggests the wide dispersion and vigor of the appeal to tradition in this age. At the same time that Abbot and other Protestants were endeavoring to trace the succession of the True Church, ideas of translatio imperii remained in the intellectual climate and continued to be voiced from time to time. Richard Braithwait touches on the theme in 1638 in the Epistle Dedicatory of \textit{A Survey of History: Or, a Nursery for Gentry}, first published in 1614 as \textit{The Schollers Medley}; but he speaks as a dispassionate observer with no patriotic cause to assert:

And in perusing Discourses of this nature (next to the Sacred Word of God) we are strangely transported above humane apprehension, seeing the admirable Foundations of Common-weales planted (to mans thinking) in the Port of security, wonderfully ruinated: grounding their dissolution upon some precedent crying sinne, which layd their honour in the Dust, and Translated their Empire to some (perchance) more deserving people.

Braithwait elaborates on a number of possible causes for the fall of empires, then generalizes that there is nothing "so solid as not subject to Mutability."\textsuperscript{51}

The idea of translatio imperii persisted in the seventeenth century, and not only the idea but the ideal as well.
The Classical Republicans, by Zera S. Fink, helps to strengthen this assertion. Mr. Fink seeks to document the thesis "that there existed in politics a counterpart to that aspect of the Renaissance which led to classical imitation in literature, architecture, and numerous other fields; that classical writers and models spoke to men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with prestige in the field of politics as they did in the arts." His discussion centers on the idea of "mixed" government. The "pure" governments—monarchy, aristocracy, democracy—were thought to be unstable and to succeed each other cyclicly (Plato, Aristotle, Cicero). What was needed, according to the political theorists with whom Mr. Fink is concerned, was a mixture, in which "the one, the few, and the many would act as effective checks on one another." The Greek historian Polybius gave the theory its characteristic form, and accounts of mixed government appeared also in Plutarch, Cicero, Machiavelli, Thomas More, and Contarini. The theory became widespread in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and seems to have coexisted with frequent ideas of the Gothic origin of parliamentary government, ideas documented by Samuel Kliger in a work to which we have already referred. The seventeenth century believed that it was mixed governments under which Rome at its best had flourished, and this belief led to sentiments suggestive of a restatement of the translatio
imperii idea: "They would build Rome anew in the West."54

One of the best known seventeenth century defenses of the principle of mixed government was James Harrington's The Commonwealth of Oceana, 1656. Harrington begins with an important distinction between "antient prudence," which meant government by law for the public interest, and "modern prudence," which means government by men for private interest. Ancient prudence was first revealed to man by God in the commonwealth of Israel and was later "picked out of his footsteps in nature, and unanimously followed by the Greeks and Romans."55 Ancient prudence ended with the loss of Roman liberty which was due to the "arms of Caesar," luxury, and finally the "inundations of Huns, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, Saxons, which breaking the Roman Empire, deformed the whole face of the world...."56 We notice in Harrington's attitude toward the Goths an exception to the thesis of Kliger's book. For Harrington, Republican Rome is the climactic symbol of ancient liberty. With Rome, ended "the course or Empire, as I may call it, of antient prudence."57 Harrington seems to have in mind here, although somewhat vaguely, the translatio imperii metaphor. He sees reflections of ancient prudence in Modern Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, and the purpose of his book is to encourage the institution of ancient prudence in England. Oceana is his symbol for England, and he appeals to Cromwell (Archon) to
make Oceana a true commonwealth (i.e. mixed government) by taking personal control and balancing the power between kings, lords, and commons. Harrington does not develop the translatio implications of his book, but among his readers there were those who interpreted his commonwealth as a step in the restoration of glorious Rome in England. After constitutional monarchy had become a fact in England, John Toland wrote in a Dedication prefixed to his edition of Oceana, first published in 1700, that London "well deserves the name of a New Rome in the West, and, like the old one, to become the Soverain Mistress of the Universe."58

It is beyond the scope of this study to give a full history of the translatio imperii idea, but I have wanted to show the nature of the idea, its origins, and a few of its English manifestations. Enough has been said, I think, to suggest that it was a widely known idea, readily available as a potential influence on literature, and that in some cases it was an ideal, or perhaps more accurately, a mode of expressing an ideal of British nationality and empire. It was a metaphor to convey patriotic feeling and national ambitions. As such, it was undoubtedly charged with a great deal of emotion which would make it even more interesting to poets than if it remained simply a formula for simplifying history. Bonamy Dobrée seems to discount it (he does not use the term translatio imperii) as an expression of
serious patriotic feeling, at least so far as the early
eighteenth century was concerned: "We can pretty summarily
dismiss the patriotic feeling based on the assumption that
England had inherited the mantle of Rome. Though it is the
one Thomson appealed to in Sophonisba, it had been mocked
as early as Marvell's Tom May's Death in the previous cen-
tury, and Walpole had the measure of its sincerity: accord-
ing to Chesterfield he would ask a political neophyte, 'Well;
are you to be an old Roman? a patriot?' It seems to have
been a purely literary emotion, and though not negligible as
such, counted for little in comparison with more plausible
feelings."59 One is inclined to accept this judgment, and
yet some qualifications obtrude themselves. Literary ridi-
cule need not indicate that the derided object is of small
public importance; and Walpole could be expected to doubt
the sincerity of the fashion, since its main proponents con-
stituted his strongest opposition. However, one can agree
with Mr. Dobrée if he means only that the idea of the trans-
ference of empire from Rome to England was not an important
source for patriotic feeling. The sources of patriotism are
complex and go far deeper, and Mr. Dobrée analyzes some of
these sources, for the early eighteenth century, in his ad-
dress. I hope that it is not splitting hairs too finely to
suggest, however, that the translatio imperii idea could yet
be an important mode of expressing patriotic feeling. As a
metaphor for patriotism, it would in fact be what Mr. Dobree
calls it, a literary convention, although that term suggests
that the idea was restricted to literature. It seems to
have been a convention, rather, of wide intellectual curren-
cy, which appeared also in imaginative literature, and which
provided a preliminary structure for western history; a
structure which was to emerge, with modifications, in the
historical progress piece.

ii. Translatio Studii

The idea of the transference of learning from one age
and time to another, which has been suggested as a primary
source of the historical progress piece convention,¹⁰ is a
modification of the idea just considered. We shall see that
the first historical reference to the translatio studii
theme may have been by a German monk mentioned also in Kli-
ger's history of the translatio imperii ad Teutonicos, and
that the former idea was often expressed in terms of the
latter. Aubrey L. Williams cites Etienne Gilson as giving
the fullest treatment of the translatio studii concept.
Gilson's account is important and brief enough to be quoted
at length. He is discussing the mission of Alcuin in the
court of Charlemagne:

La seule ambition d'Alcuin s'est parfaitement exprimée
dans une de ses lettres à Charlemagne: bâtir en France
une Athènes nouvelle (forsan Athenae nova perficeretur
in Francia), ou plutôt une Athènes bien supérieure à l'ancienne, puisque, ennoblie par l'enseignement du Christ Notre-Seigneur, elle surpasse la sagesse de l'Académie: 'Celle-là, sans autre enseignement que les disciplines de Platon, a brillé de la science des sept Arts, mais celle-ci l'emporte en dignité sur toute la sagesse de ce monde, parce qu'elle est en outre enrichie de la plénitude des sept Dons du Saint-Esprit.'

Ce qu'Alcuin se proposait de faire, il l'a vraiment fait, car il a posé les fondements de cette future Université de Paris, où la pensée du XIIIᵉ siècle devait en effet dépasser celle de Platon et d'Aristote. Dès la fin du IXᵉ siècle (vers 885), on voit apparaître dans la Chronique de Saint-Gall du moine germanique Notker le Bègue ce que l'on peut nommer le thème historique de translatione studii. Dès le début de cette œuvre, nous lisons le récit romancé, et d'ailleurs rempli de confusions, de l'arrivée en France, sous le règne de Charlemagne, d'un anglais du nom d'Alcuin (Albinus), le plus savant lettré des modernes. Ce supra caeteros modernorum temporum nous rappelle d'ailleurs opportunément que notre notion d'un 'moyen âge' est moderne, et que l'on se considérait comme moderne au moyen âge. Charlemagne, ajoute Notker, garda cet Alcuin près de lui, se fit gloire de s'en nommer l'élève et de le nommer son maître, et lui donna enfin l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tours, pour y enseigner ceux qui viendraient s'assembler autour de lui. Sur quoi Notker conclut, en une phrase dont l'écho devait retentir à travers les siècles: 'L'enseignement d'Alcuin fut si fructueux que les modernes Gaulois, ou Français, devinrent les égaux des Anciens de Rome et d'Athènes.'

Ce thème reparaîtra fréquemment au moyen âge. Au XIIᵉ siècle, Chrétien de Troyes le reprendra éloquemment dans son Cligès; on le retrouve au XIIIᵉ siècle, dans le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais (lib. XXIII, cap. 173), dans le Compendilquium de Jean de Galles ( Pars X, cap. 6) et dans les Grandes Chroniques du Royaume de France; au XIVᵉ siècle, Thomas d'Irlande le reprend dans son De Tribus sensibus Sacrae Scripturae, et il sert d'argument juridique, en 1384, dans une dispute entre la Faculté de Droit de Paris et le Chapitre de Notre-Dame: 'Ceux de la Faculté disent que en l'estude (au sens de studium: centre d'études) de l'Université de Paris qui fut à Romme, et depuis translatée à Paris, a quatre Facultés de Théologie, de décrez, de médecine et des Arts, et y sont, depuis qu'il ot
Université à Paris, et est la plus ancienne du monde, car c'est celle que fu à Athènes, et d'Athènes à Rome et de Rome fu translatée à Paris. A quoi le Chapitre répliqua pertinemment qu'on n'enseignait Droit Canon et théologie ni à Athènes ni à Rome, mais sans contester que l'estude et Université qui est à Paris fu avant l'incarnacion Nostre Seigneur quant aux Facultés des Arts et de médecine. Dans son sermon Vive le Roi prononcé pour l'Université devant le roi Charles VI, le 7 novembre 1405, renchérissant encore sur ce thème, Jean Gerson fera remonter le savoir au premier homme, dans le Paradis Terreste, d'où il est venu, per successum, aux Hébreux; des Hébreux, comme l'écrit Joseph, aux Égyptiens par Abraham; puis d'Égypte à Athènes, d'Athènes à Rome, et enfin de Rome à Paris. Les lettrés du XVIe siècle peuvent avoir eu leurs raisons de se considérer comme les découvreurs de l'Antiquité, mais c'est un fait que le moyen âge lui-même en a constamment re-vendiqué l'héritage. Pour la voir dans sa propre perspective, il faut donc rattacher la culture médiévale à celle de Rome par l'intermédiaire des Anglo-Saxons.

Mr. Gilson is making a case for the Middle Ages as the transmitter of Latin culture, in contrast to the popular view of the time as one when knowledge lay in "iron sleep." His discussion seems to imply, incidentally, that it would be accurate to replace the metaphor 'Renaissance' with the one we are considering. More central to my purposes, however, is his pointing to the Chronique of the monk of St. Gall, Charlemagne's early biographer, as giving perhaps earliest expression to the idea of translatio studii (Gilson supplies the term, however). It was also the monk of St. Gall who revived the Danielic prophecy in relation to the crowning of Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor. It is not a strange coincidence that the histories of these two translatio ideas
should intersect at this early point, since the same thought pattern is common to both, and since the dreams of imperial and cultural greatness can scarcely be separated in fact though they can be in thought. Another feature of particular interest in Gilson’s account is the sermon, *Vive le Roi* preached by Jean Gerson before Charles VI in 1405. As Mr. Williams points out, Gerson’s tracing of knowledge from Adam, through the Hebrews and Egyptians, to Rome, Greece and finally Paris, establishes almost the precise order followed by Sir John Denham in the first fully developed historical progress piece, the *Progress of Learning*, 1662.

Richard de Bury, an English humanist of the fourteenth century, gave an Englishman’s version of the *translatio studii* concept: “Admirable Minerva seems to bend her course to all the nations of the earth, and reacheth from end to end mightily, that she may reveal herself to all mankind. We see that she has already visited the Indians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians and Greeks, the Arabs and the Romans. Now she has passed by Paris, and now has happily come to Britain, the most noble of islands, nay, rather a microcosm in itself, that she may show herself a debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians.”61 The interesting point about Eury’s statement is that by drawing upon mythology and personifying the idea of learning, he has bridged the gap between the *translatio studii* idea and the progress
piece. The eighteenth century reader would have recognized this passage at once as a summary progress of learning and if he had been called upon to translate the Latin would in all likelihood have written "progress" for "course." Mr. Williams cogently invites comparison between this passage and Dunciad III, lines 65-112 in order to show how closely the progress of Dulness over the earth approximates the concept of translatio studii.

Other English references to the idea can be cited from the time of Elizabeth until the historical progress piece actually came into being. Thomas Nashe seems to refer to the idea in Foure Letters Confuted. Nashe is rebuking Harvey's diction; he admits that Harvey may appeal to the authority of Chaucer; but if Chaucer were still living, he no doubt would have discarded half of the harsher of these offensive words, which

were the Ouse which overflowing barberisme, withdrawne to her Scottish Northren chanell, had left behind her. Art, like yong grasse in the spring of Chaucers flourishing, was glad to peep vp through any slime of corruption, to be beholding to she car'd not whome for apparaile, travailing in those colde countries. There is no reason that shee, a banisht Queene into this barraine soil, hauing monarchized it so long amongst the Greeks and Romanes, should (although warres furie had humbled her to some extremity) still be constrained, when she hath recovered her state, to weare the robes of aduersitie, let it in her old rags, when she is wedded to new prosperitie. 62

Nashe begins with a metaphor of rebirth ("yong grasse"),
then shifts in mid-sentence to implied personification ("she...apparaile...trauailing"), which becomes fully realized in the concluding sentence. Thus we see another allusion to the idea of *translatio studii* which closely anticipates important features of the progress piece.

In order to combat the widespread notion of the world's decay, which was nourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries from sources both Christian (the fall of man and the depravity of nature) and classical (the idea of the four ages, as expressed in the first book of the *Metamorphosis*), George Hakewill in 1627 published his *Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*. Hakewill's purpose is to prove that the power and providence of God are inconsistent with the view that the universe and man are degenerating. In his defense it becomes necessary for him to compare the ancients and the moderns, and his thesis requires that he judge the moderns at least the equals of the ancients. He resorts to a theory which is essentially the doctrine of *translatio studii*, expressed in a metaphor which we have seen before. The following is J. B. Bury's summary:

He describes the history of knowledge and arts, and all things besides, as exhibiting 'a kind of circular progress,' by which he means that they have a birth, growth, flourishing, failing and fading, and then within a while after a resurrection and refloourishing. In this method of progress the lamp of learning passed from one people to another. It passed from the Orientals (Chaldeans and
Egyptians) to the Greeks; when it was nearly extinguished in Greece it began to shine afresh among the Romans; and having been put out by the barbarians for the space of a thousand years it was relit by Petrarch and his contemporaries.63

The order which Hakewill sees in the transference of learning parallels closely the order in Denham's later progress poem. Denham also holds a cyclic view of history, but he holds it less optimistically than Hakewill.

Henry Reynolds, the addressee of Drayton's Of Poets and Poesie, in 1632 entered the incipient ancient-modern controversy. Unlike Hakewill Reynolds stands on the side of the ancients, yet he finds a place for the idea of the transference of learning. His title reads: Mythomystes, Wherein a Short Survey Is Taken of the Nature and Value of True Poesy and Depth of the Ancients Above Ovr Moderne Poets. Reynolds believes strongly in the decay of the world, and concomitantly, the decay of poetry. He indicts modern poets on three counts. First, unlike the ancient prophet-poets, they do not have a "propenseness to the acquisition of the knowledge of the truth" and an "aversion from all worldly business and cogitations that might be hindrances...."64

Second, they do not esteem their knowledges as the ancients did, who took great care "to conceale them from the vnworthy vulgar...."65 The ancients deciphered the mysteries of nature, then veiled them in occult poetry. Third, the moderns not only do not esteem the mysteries of nature properly,
they are in fact generally ignorant of them. Reynolds goes on to show parallels between the Bible and classical myth. This yoking of Hebrew-Christian and classical thought, which goes back to Philo, seems to have been a frequent practice in the seventeenth century, and appears again in Denham's *Progress of Learning*. Denham and Reynolds are parallel in many of their general conclusions, but Denham is not preoccupied with the occult and mysterious. Reynolds introduces the translatio idea in discussing the ancients; his central idea will of course not allow him to celebrate the transfer of learning to modern times: "This learning of the Aegyptians (thus concealed by them, as I have shewed) being transferred from them to the Greekes, was by them from hand to hand delivered still in fabulous riddles among them, and thence downe to the Latines."66

Other scattered references to the translatio studii occurred,67 but of greater significance was the survey of learning given by Thomas Sprat in the opening pages of *The History of the Royal Society*, which was published in 1667, one year before the appearance of Denham's poem. Sprat's survey follows the conventional order of the translatio studii, and we have seen already that he combines this idea with that of translatio imperii: "But at last with their Empire, their Arts also were transported to Rome."12 Sprat traces the course of learning from the "Eastern parts of
the world," mentioning in particular the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians. Like Reynolds he notes that "it was the custom of their Wise men, to wrap up their observation on Nature, and the Manners of Men, in the dark Shadows of Hieroglyphicks; and to conceal them as sacred Mysteries, from the apprehensions of the vulgar," but Sprat cannot laud this as a way "to advance the true Philosophy of Nature."66

The Greeks travelled into the East and brought home knowledge, which they recorded "with the mixture of Fables, and the ornaments of Fancy. Hence it came to pass, that the first Masters of knowledge amongst them, were as well Poets, as Philosophers: For Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus, and Homer, first softened men natural rudeness, and by the charms of their Numbers, allur'd them to be instructed by the severer Doctrines of Solon, Thales, and Pythagoras."69 Sprat gives due praise to the philosophical genius of the Greeks, but since he is reviewing the history of learning from the point of view of natural science, he must make a qualification: "But yet their Genius was not so well made, for the undergoing of the first drudgery and burden of observation, which is needful for the Beginning of so difficult a work."70 In addition to the failure to collect sufficient information, the Greeks were over-intent to finish their systems, without allowing for future contributions. Sprat praises the achievements of the Romans, particularly in law, but finds little
study of nature among them. Then came religious disputations and the barbarian invasions. In a manner foreshadowing many of the progress pieces, he speaks of "so vast an inundation of ignorance" followed by a "profound sleep" of learning under the power of the popes. He gives due regard to the reasoning powers of the schoolmen, but insists that "the first rise of knowledge must be from the senses, and from an induction of their reports." Coming to the "Restoration of Learning" and the Reformation, Sprat finds the learning of this era to be three-fold: recovery of the writings of the ancients, religious controversy, and affairs of state. He concludes his survey with the moderns, finding on the one hand modern dogmatists, who renounce Aristotle, only to revive some other sect or to impose new theories of their own on men's reasons; and on the other hand (and herein lie the hope of learning and the ideals of the Royal Society), experimental philosophers such as Bacon, the "chymists," and those devoted to small branches of experimental research. The persistent themes of his survey are the primacy of experiential knowledge and the need for collective, cumulative research. Although Sprat's history of learning follows the same order as the typical statement of translatio studii and as Denham's progress poem of the following year, he differs from Denham in his scientific rather than literary point of view and, partly as a result, in his
William Temple, in An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning, 1690, states the translatio studii concept once more, from a cyclical point of view reminiscent of Hakewill and Denham. Learning "falls in one Country or one Age, and rises again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch." Temple relies upon several metaphors in enunciating the translatio concept: "Science and Arts have run their circles, and had their periods in the several Parts of the World. They are generally agreed to have held their course from East to West, to have begun in Chaldea and Aegypt, to have been Transplanted from thence to Greece, from Greece to Rome, to have sunk there, and after many Ages to have revived from those Ashes, and to have sprung up again, both in Italy and other more Western Provinces of Europe." To the same year belongs Temple's essay Of Poetry, which in overall organization prefigures Gray's famous Progress of Poesy, 1757, for Temple deals with poetry first as a philosopher and then as a historian. The transition from one point of view to the other shows once more the translatio studii idea cast in terms of translatio imperii: "But instead of Critick or Rules concerning Poetry, I shall rather turn my Thoughts to the History of it, and observe the Antiquity, the Uses, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit."
I have tried to show in this chapter that the historical progress piece, a form related to the roll-call and the prospect but distinguishable from both, typically takes as its object a historical sequence, the pattern of which seems first to have taken shape in the medieval and Renaissance ideas of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*, the latter idea developing out of impulses similar to those which created the concept of *translatio imperii*, and being shaped analogously with this idea, sometimes indeed in the same terms. A particularly clear example of blending the two ideas, in addition to those quoted earlier, comes in Elijah Fenton's progress of poetry in his *Epistle to Mr. Southerne*, 1711:

> Arts have their Empires, and, like other States, Their Rise and Fall are govern'd by the Fates. They, when their Period's measur'd out by Time, Transplant their Laurels to another Clime.  

Fenton does not call his survey a progress, and it is notable that with the adoption of the progress metaphor the *translatio* metaphor tended to disappear, although the order of the progress piece remained basically the same as that of the typical *translatio* sequence. The change represents an attempt, I think, to transform prosaic material into poetry. The casting of the political and cultural history of the West in terms of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* was itself a poetic act, reducing the complexities of
history to a metaphor which assumed an essentially Platonic metaphysics. The progress metaphor carried this act of poetry to its completion, retaining the basic formulation of history and the Platonic assumptions, while raising the central idea from a metaphysical entity which could be passively transferred from age to age, to a personification—a goddess or a queen—who could actively take her progress from Greece to Rome and from Rome to England. We have already seen this transformation from passive idea to active personification in Richard de Bury’s Minerva and Nashe’s “banisht Queene.” We may now turn to the actual occurrences of the historical progress piece.
NOTES


5. Cf. Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. J. E. Spingarn (Bloomington, 1947), I, 134-40. Addison in 1694 wrote a roll-call poem similar to Drayton's in structure. Entitled *An Account of the Greatest English Poets*, it was also cast in the form of an epistle, and was addressed to R. S. (Henry Sacheverell). Addison begins with Chaucer, mentions only Spenser between Chaucer and Cowley, and concludes with Dryden, Congreve, and other poets of the late seventeenth century. Roll-calls or catalogues of poets may be seen also in prose works such as Edmund Bolton's *Hypercritica*, 1618 (?), Henry Peacham's *Of Poetry from The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622, and William Davenant's Preface to *Gondibert*, 1650. Davenant refers to his list as a "short File of Heroick Poets."


Thomson establishes a dramatic point of view in *Liberty*, but he relies on the convention of the allegorical dream vision rather than the prospect in order to survey the historical manifestations of Liberty. In Book V he also incorporates a prospect of Britain's future.


Williams, p. 47.


Kliger, p. 21

Kliger, p. 33.

Kliger, p. 33.

Kliger, pp. 33-34.

Kliger, p. 40.

*Daniel* 2:31-44, King James Version.

Kliger, p. 43.


Kliger, pp. 65-66.

Kliger, p. 66.


Rathborne, p. 22.

Rathborne, p. 28.


Spenser, p. 306.

Spenser, p. 394.

Rathborne, pp. 105-6.
35 Rathborne, p. 128.

36 Rathborne, p. 69.


38 Quoted by Grierson, II, 219.


40 Donne, I, 297.

41 Donne, I, 300.

42 Donne, I, 315-16.

43 Donne, I, 297.

44 Aeneid, VI, 1024, Dryden's translation, in Works, ed. Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury (Edinburgh, 1889), XIV, 432.

45 Nashe, II, 80.

46 Nashe, II, 174.


Abbot, p. 94.

Richard Braithwait, *A Survey of History: Or, A Nursery for Gentry* (London, 1638), A3. Braithwait's reference to mutability suggests a division of thought regarding the *translatio imperii* which is implicit throughout this chapter. The *translatio* may be an ideal, as in the German humanists and Spenser, who with patriotic enthusiasm saw their respective nations inheriting the mantle of empire from antiquity. In this view, the *translatio* suggested a tradition continuing in a desirable direction, and thus a certain purposiveness in history. When the *translatio* was entertained merely as an idea, however, it merged with the idea of mutability or vicissitude. An objective viewer might observe the rise and fall of empires without supposing that any purposive pattern was involved other than a turn in the wheel of fortune. Louis Le Roy's treatise, *De la vicissitude ou variete des choses en d'universe*, 1577, which was translated into English in 1594, provides an example of this disinterested view. In the following passage, from a section headed "The Vicissitude of Common Weales, Kingdomes, and Empires," we can see on the level of the ruler the idea of the wheel of fortune, on the level of the kingdom or empire the idea of the *translatio*: "If the vertue of commaunders were alwaies alike, the affaires of men would go better, and more certainlie without being transported to and fro, and incessantly altered; for authoritie is easilie maintayned by the same meanes, by which it is gotten: but where for diligence idleness; for continence and equitie, couetousnes and pride do take place: there the fortune chaungeth with the maner of their lyuing. Wherefore the Kingdoms and Empires are translated continually from the lesse apt and able, to those that more 15/16; changying from familie to familie, and from nation to nation...." Louis Le Roy, *Of the Interchangeable Course, or Variety of Things in the Whole World....* Translated into English by R. A. (London, 1594), p. 16 verso.

53  Fink, p. 2.

54  Fink, p. 3.


56  Harrington, p. 12.

57  Harrington, p. 12.


62  Nashe, I, 316. Marshall McLuhan, Aubrey L. Williams points out, suggested in his unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to Cambridge University in 1943 that Nashe may be alluding here to the *translatio studii* tradition.


65
Reynolds, p. 155.

66
Reynolds, p. 159.

67
William Davenant, for example, in the Preface to Gondibert speaks of the transplanting of languages: "Language, which is the onely Creature of Man's creation, hath like a Plant seasons of flourishing and decay, like Plants is remov'd from one soile to another, and by being so transplanted doth often gather vigour and increase." Spingarn, II, 6.

68
Sprat, p. 5.

69
Sprat, p. 6.

70
Sprat, p. 7.

71
Sprat, p. 19.

72
William Temple, An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning, Spingarn, III, 60.

73
Temple, p. 50.

74
Temple, Of Poetry, Spingarn II, 65.

75
Elijah Fenton, Poems on Several Occasions (London, 1717), p. 73. In this quotation, as in the passage from Temple quoted above (footnote 72), we see the idea of periodicity entering literature as a metaphor, and it reappears occasionally in later progress pieces, an example of the influence of mathematics on literature by way of physical science. Alfred North Whitehead, in Science and the Modern World (New York, 1925), pp. 45-46, reminds us of the frequency of this idea in the seventeenth century, and also, incidentally, of its aptness for expressing the historical manifestation of the central ideas in the progress pieces.
"As a particular example of the effect of the abstract development of mathematics upon the science of those times, consider the notion of periodicity. The general recurrences of things are very obvious in our ordinary experience. Days recur, lunar phases recur, the seasons of the year recur, rotating bodies recur to their old positions, beats of the heart recur, breathing recurs. On every side, we are met by recurrence. Apart from recurrence, knowledge would be impossible; for nothing could be referred to our past experience. Also, apart from some regularity of recurrence, measurement would be impossible. In our experience, as we gain the idea of exactness, recurrence is fundamental.

"In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the theory of periodicity took a fundamental place in science. Kepler divined a law connecting the major axes of the planetary orbits with the periods in which the planets respectively described their orbits: Galileo observed the periodic vibrations of pendulums: Newton explained sound as being due to the disturbance of air by the passage through it of periodic waves of condensation and rarefaction: Huyghens explained light as being due to the transverse waves of vibration of a subtle ether: Merseene connected the period of the vibration of a violin string with its density, tension, and length. The birth of modern physics depended upon the application of the abstract idea of periodicity to a variety of concrete instances."
CHAPTER V: THE HISTORICAL PROGRESS PIECES

The authors of these pieces, collectively and for the most part unconsciously, produced an inclusive survey of western civilization. A few essayed the task of recording the evolution of society, and in surveys of this type, arts, industries, and manners were all touched upon. However, broad histories of civilization in one poem constituted a late and atypical phase of the progress piece, and they represented, moreover, the most unpoetic phase of the form, being for the most part pure expositions slightly ornamented with meter and rhyme. Typically, the historical progress piece took as its object the career of one human activity, but as if by agreement the different authors concerned themselves with many different objects, so that the whole body of historical progress pieces can be organized to read like an analytical index to the eighteenth century's awareness of its cultural traditions. The progress pieces which are limited to one phase of civilization tend toward two broad categories, according to whether they depend upon religious or secular history. The former pieces, which are few in number, diverge from the usual pattern of the historical progress piece, largely because of their different subject matter. Those works, on the other hand, which depend upon
secular history and which are limited to the career of one human activity, are the most numerous of the varieties of the progress piece, and it is from them that the pattern has been derived which has been generally accepted as typical of the historical progress piece. Backgrounds of this pattern were discussed in the last chapter. I will begin with the progress pieces which are limited in scope, then review briefly the more general progresses of civilization. It is well known that in the eighteenth century every serious form had its burlesque antitype, and this observation does not meet an exception in the historical progress piece. I will close the chapter, therefore, by mentioning some burlesques of the form.

1. Pieces Limited in Scope: Religious

This group of writings may be quickly surveyed. A person searching for pieces of this sort would be attracted by an Elizabethan title, *A Progresse of Pietie*, 1596, by John Norden. Norden's book is a false start, however, for it turns out to be a manual of devotion, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and meant to provide a day-by-day guide for the soul through the year. More promising is a sermon by William Gouge, the *Progresse of Divine Providence*, which was preached, according to the title page, before the house of Peers on September 24, 1645. Since Gouge is concerned with the city
of God rather than the city of earth, he ignores secular history and the current debate about the world's decay and relies on scriptural explication in order to defend the thesis, "The Lord hath provided his better things for the later times of his Church." However it may be with the earthly city, God's providence for his Church has continuously increased and now, "in the later part of the last day," waxes greater than ever. To document his argument Gouge traces providence through the six ages of Biblical and ecclesiastical history, and Gouge, like Augustine, sees himself as living toward the last of the sixth age. The seventh and impending age will be an eternal Sabbath.

Gouge's sermon remains an expository survey of the Hebrew-Christian tradition from the point of view of providence, but Benjamin Keach in the Progress of Sin, or the Travels of Ungodliness, 1664, turns from exposition to allegory and thus brings the historical progress piece closer to its typical form. But Keach, clearly influenced by Bunyan, elaborates his allegory to a degree which goes beyond the usual historical progress piece. Keach may also have been influenced by Adam's prospective vision in the last two books of Paradise Lost. Not only do both works deal with the same history, but Michael instructs Adam in Book XII: "Doubt not but that sin/Will reign among them, as of thee begot...." Keach personifies Milton's idea, and traces
the royal progress of Tyrant Sin and his retinue through history. When Sin reaches the contemporary world, the narrative becomes more allegorical, and Keach tends to replace the noun "progress" with "travels," seeming to prefer the former word in connection with history. He observes the travels of Sin into the countries of Non-age and Youthshire (we think of some of the later biographical progress pieces; cf. Chapter II), the countries of Sensuality and Commerce, and the city of Babylon (i.e. Roman Catholicism). He considers also the assaults of Sin on the town of Religion and finally on the city of God. In the last chapter Keach's narrative converges in thought with Gouge's exposition, for the high constable Divine Providence arrests Sin, who is sentenced to die by the sinner's belief in Christ. This widely read tract may have done much toward establishing the fashion of the progress piece in the eighteenth century.

Hildebrand Jacob, whom we have encountered as the author of Love's Progress, 1735, also wrote a Progress of Religion, which was published in 1737. Jacob is more general in his choice of subject and less orthodox in his handling of it than were Keach and Gouge. Departing from the typical progress pattern, he compares modern with primitive religion, or what he conceives to be such, and finds the primitive superior. Thus he uses "progress" ironically, for the growth of religion has been a growth in abuses;
specifically, needless complication of doctrine and ritual, corresponding increase in faction, and exploitation in the name of missionary zeal. With this primitivism goes a deistic focus, which sees true religion as practical: "Peace was the Preacher's theme, and social Laws"; as revealed in nature and as monistic: The primitive divine served "The God of Nature, for he knew but One"; and as universal:

When will the Earth unite, to own thy Cause,  
And all its Nations keep thy purer Laws?

Another Progress of Religion, which I have not seen, appeared in 1780, written in Latin by John Walters, and this seems to have been the last progress piece depending upon the history of religion. Cowper's Progress of Error, 1782, is a promising title, and the poem is indeed concerned with religion but not with history. It is difficult to determine what application the progress title has in the poem, which is a moralistic satire on a diversity of 'errors' ranging from hunting and novel-reading to misinterpretation of scripture, with Cowper vilifying all but the most sedate pleasures and finding the panacea for error in the cross, which "once seen, is death to ev'ry vice."

ii. Pieces Limited in Scope: Secular

These pieces, which form the largest group of historical progress pieces and the group which has been gener-
ally accepted as typical, collectively span almost the entire field of learning and lend themselves to a modern academic classification. They include in their number pieces which belong to the areas of the humanities, the fine arts, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. This distribution seems the more surprising for being the result of chance. As would be expected, the writers did not show equal interest in these fields, and thus there are more progresses of poetry than of commerce or physic. To begin with the 'humanities,' progresses of learning may be considered first, to be followed by more specific progresses of language and literature.

In 1646 Sir Richard Fanshawe appended A Canto of the Progresse of Learning to his translation of Guarini's Il Pastor Fido. This Spenserian imitation may have contributed to the rise of the historical progress piece, although its allegory has only a general and vague historical reference. Fanshawe's theme, the decay of learning, is stated in the first stanza:

Tell me O Muse, and tell me Spencers ghost,
What may have bred in knowledge such decay
Since ancient times, that we can hardly boast
We understand those grounds they then did lay?
Much I impute to th' shortning of the day,
(Our life, which was a stride, being shrunck t' a spanne)
Yet sure there are besides some rubbs i' th way
Say then how Learnings Sunne to shine began?
And by what darke degrees it did goe backe in man?
The substance of the allegory is this: Nature asks Jove to raise man above the beasts and to introduce order in the human world. Jove responds with the gift of Wit ("Which is the use of Reason"), committing to his care "th' unpollisht minde of man." The result:

...soone the Arts were made,
And, that which all included, Poetry:
Under whose veyle were mystickly conveyd
The solid Grounds of all Phylosophy....

We are reminded of Henry Reynolds's Kythomystes. But Nature, not satisfied with this success, created a counterfeit of Wit: 
"...Craft was his right name." Craft's instrument is Gold; his precepts, "From every thing to get:/Anc each from other."\(^6\) Craft soon ruled the world, while Wit retired to contemplation. But a few men, who had employed Craft sufficiently to survive in the world but who reverenced the "Liberal Sciences," aroused Wit from his solitary retreat. Wit asked a hearing at Nature's Bar, and there argued with Craft for supremacy. Craft held that the works of Wit are idle fancy; that the learned are not fit for government but only for idle contemplation; that they do not really, as they claim, despise wealth, for they have styled the best age Golden, and have compared their mistresses' beauty to "Gems of wond'rous price."\(^9\) Nature awarded to Craft the victory. Wit then quit the earth for heaven, though he must return occasionally for life's necessities. Mounted on an eagle,
His active Circles Crowne Sola glorious Spheare:
Heav'n op'ning still new Beauties to his Eye
As he gets up, whilst Earth doth lesse appeare... 10

The main cause for the decay of learning, therefore, besides the deterioration of the world, is the triumph of utilitarian over intellectual enterprise. Fanshawe's practical sense accepts the works of Craft as part of reality (Nature created Craft), but his feelings are on the side of learning. His presentation of this side has an aura of religion (the genuine use of poetry is "penning Hymnes of His Creators praise") and an aura of primitivism (the approval of Wit's solitude, the disapproval of luxury, throughout the poem). These two emphases fuse, for Fanshawe sees Wit withdrawing from the world for purposes divine. There is no question, as there would have been a century later, about 'returning to nature.' Original sin and the decay of nature are ideas still strong in the current of thought, and thus Wit's retreat from society is not to the natural but the supernatural.

In 1668, twenty years after the publication of Fanshawe's poem, a collected edition of Sir John Denham's poems appeared. In it was printed for the first time Denham's Progress of Learning. Denham shared Fanshawe's pessimism about the state of learning. Whether his specific ideas were influenced by Fanshawe is doubtful, but there is little doubt that he knew Fanshawe's poem, and he probably knew it well, since it was printed with Fanshawe's translation of
Il Pastor Fido, to which Denham wrote the verse preface, and since Denham's line, "Too much manuring fill'd that field with weeds," looks more than accidentally similar to Fanshawe's lines, "For how should men/manure the ground their minds being choak'd with weeds?" Denham's poem follows the order which we have encountered in connection with the translatio studii idea: Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, Rome, modern Europe; and Denham seems to have been aware of the translatio idea and of its typical mode of expression, for in his verse preface to Fanshawe's translation of Guarini he had written, apparently playing on the word "Translation":

Nor ought a Genius lesse then his that writ,  
Attempt Translation; for transplanted wit  
All the defects of air and soil doth share,  
And colder brains like colder Climates are...  

In the Progress of Learning Denham makes no use of the translatio terminology, however, preferring the progress metaphor and thereby introducing what was to become a main structural convention of the progress piece. He does not develop the metaphor elaborately, as Keach did later, but his use of it is clear and leaves little doubt that he had in mind the specific image of the royal progress: "From Aegypt Arts their Progress made to Greece..." Of equal importance with the progress metaphor is the recurrent use of sun imagery ("the Sun of Knowledge"), which is particularly suited to the expression of Denham's cyclical views. These views
are made to conform with Denham's basic pessimism. He sees the Augustan age as the Golden Age of learning, which has been followed by decline. He does not see in modern Europe a reincarnation of the arts and civility of the age of Augustus, which witnessed not only the height of Latin literature but also universal peace and the life of Christ, the true "Sun of Knowledge." The cause of this deterioration resides mysteriously in the nature of learning, which contains its own seeds of decay. This ambivalence, which is Denham's major theme, is stated first in his verse preface:

Tell (like a Tall Old Oake) how Learning shoots
To Heaven Her Branches, and to Hell her Roots.\(^{16}\)

He amplifies this theme in speaking of the revival of learning. Lucifer, seeing he could not advance his works further through ignorance, tried new strategy, the corruption of knowledge. The learning of the Renaissance was turned to bad uses in the controversies of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Lucifer sent printing as the pernicious fore-runner of Luther, Calvin, and Loyola. Through it, controversy could be spread, and thus order was upset, every man became "his own Interpreter," the Church (Aaron's Rod) was unheeded. In short,

'Twas the corrupted Light of knowledge, hurl'd
Sin, Death, and Ignorance o're all the world....\(^{17}\)
He repeats the idea of learning's double nature in another way in the closing lines, combining this idea with a cryptic statement of his cyclical theory:

So Learning which from Reasons Fountain springs,  
Back to the source, some secret Channel brings.  
'Tis happy when our Streams of Knowledge flow  
To fill their banks, but not to overthrow.  

Denham is almost Swiftian in his fear of the wrong kind of knowledge and in the strict limits he places on knowledge:

Matters of fact, to man are only known,  
And what seems more, is meer opinion.  

He will have nothing of modern optimism, and may have thought of this poem as refuting the hopefulness of Sprat's History of the Royal Society, published the year before:

Through Seas of Knowledge, we our course advance,  
Discovering still new worlds of Ignorance;  
And these Discoveries make us all confess  
That sublunary Science is but guess.  

Although we cannot assume that Denham was using "science" exclusively in the sense of 'natural science,' the poem both in thought and organization strongly suggests Denham's acquaintance with Sprat's History, and in other passages Denham shows his disagreement with Sprat's basic position, as when he chides the "Novelists" (i.e. Moderns) who impeach the authority of Aristotle. Equally, he disparages modern enthusiasts, proponents of "the New Light":
All parties say they're sure, yet all dissent...\textsuperscript{21}

Clearly, then, Denham sides with the Ancients against the Moderns of all kinds. Knowledge reached its summit in the age of Augustus and Christ, when for the first and apparently last time, "the old dark mysterious Clouds were clear'd."\textsuperscript{22} After that followed ignorance, then controversy. Modern notions of increasing knowledge are baseless: Learning is in the downward curve of its cycle, and Denham plans to weather the remainder of his life in a shelter founded on common sense and roofed with skepticism.

Few surveys of learning followed Denham's, subsequent authors selecting more limited ideas for historical review. Two poems should be mentioned, however, which are closely related to the historical progress piece and which treat of arts and learning in general. In the first, \textit{America or the Muse's Refuge. A Prophecy}, written by George Berkeley in 1726, we see the suggestion of a coalescence of the prospect and the progress, although Berkeley does not elaborate either form. The progress element remains at the translatio stage, while the prospect element consists solely in the poem's prophetic nature. There is no vision presented dramatically within the poem. Thus when the poem was first published in 1752, in revised form and with the title, \textit{Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America}, the word "prospect" meant little more than 'anticipation.'
Berkeley's only serious poem, America reflects his interest in a project for founding a college in Bermuda. It prophesies the last stage in a transfer of empire and of arts, with the earlier stages implied but not elaborated ("The four first Acts already past"): 

Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way....

There shall be sung another golden Age,
The rise of Empire and of Arts....

The envisioned empire will be the world's last and noblest, and its excellence is related directly to the primitivism of its site:

In happy Climes, the Seal of Innocence,
Where Nature guides and Virtue rules....

The view of history implied, therefore, is cyclical yet optimistic, with the optimism seemingly based on a faith in cultural primitivism. Berkeley sees an end, however, even to this new golden age, for it "shall close the Drama with the Day." Beyond it, one would assume, lies the eternal Sabbath proclaimed by Gouge (1645).

The other poem, which bears less resemblance than Berkeley's to a progress of learning, was entitled To Mr. Urban on his compleating the XVIIIth Volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, and it appeared in that periodical in 1748. R. H. Griffith ventures a guess that the author was Samuel
Johnson. Whatever his identity, his purpose was to eulogize the magazine through the means of a didactic poem on the evolution of learning. Arts, which complete what Nature began, first taught men skills of hunting. Then came language skills, of which the educational potential was fully formed with the invention of printing. But printing gave voice to error as well as truth. It is the distinction of the Gentleman's Magazine that it combines truth and elegance, novelty and wholesomeness, presumably omitting error. Although the evolution of learning is closely related in thought to the historical course of learning, this poem has little structural similarity to the historical progress piece.

Turning to more specific progresses in the area of the humanities, it will be logical, since language is the medium for literature, to look first at two poems on language. The first, the Progress of Language by John Mawer, appeared in 1726, and provides a logical transition from the pieces just discussed because throughout the poem Mawer postulates the dependency of arts and sciences upon an adequate language. The course of knowledge cannot be separated from the course of language. Mawer eulogizes the gift of speech as the finishing touch in man's creation, which was lost, or rather confused, at Babel. Afterward,

A speech confirm'd Chaldea found the first,
And there the arts and sciences were nurst....
From Chaldea Egypt derived her learning. Then,

To Greece from hence the arts their progress made,
From thence the world increasing light o'erspread.\(^{25}\)

Thus far he has given primarily a progress of learning. Now he turns to the questions of who invented letters, and what language was first cast in this alphabet. After long digressing, he returns to his progress. The Muses fled from Greece to Italy. After that came the Middle Ages:

Devoutly dull and thoughtlessly serene,
Th' unletter'd Pastors of the Church were seen.\(^{26}\)

Latin and Greek fell into neglect, until revived in England:

The Greek and Roman matrons here resume,
Their ancient lustre and unfaded bloom.\(^{27}\)

The rest is panegyric of the English mastery of foreign languages and of the encouragement to language study by George I.

John Bancks, whom we met as the author of the Progress of Petitioning, also wrote a progress of language, which appeared in his Works in 1738 under the title, To Mr. Loughton, on His Practical Grammar of the English Tongue. It was printed anonymously the following year in the Gentleman's Magazine as the Progress of Language. Without using the word "progress," Bancks employs the progress structure to survey the course of language from Hebrew, through Greek, Latin and the Romance languages, to English. He repeats some ideas
from *A Discourse Concerning Language*, which he had read before a society for the advancement of knowledge, in which he was apparently a leading figure. He combines a note of primitivism with patriotism: English is an artless language which "echoes still the honest open Heart." In this it is akin to tongues of ancient times, before Greece "Soften'd her Manners, and her Language rais'd." This view leads to the point of the verses, that English is distorted when analyzed in categories derived from Greek and Latin, and that Loughton has at last produced an English grammar derived from English:

No foreign terms, no wrong Distinctions here;
'Tis all familiar, pertinent, and clear.

The earliest progress of poetry that I have found, really only an embryonic suggestion of the form, occurred as part of the Earl of Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse*, 1684, which we have seen before in connection with the *translato* ideas. Roscommon, in this brief survey of poetry in respect to rhyme, does not make the transition from the *translato* to the progress metaphor. His survey extends from Greece and Rome, where rhyme did not manifest itself, to its rise in the middle ages and its subsequent bad influence on English poetry. Thus Roscommon would have taken the side of Crites against Lisideius and Neander in their debate on rhyme in *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. As the grand example
of unrhymed verse he cites Milton, whose great epic appeared in the same year as Dryden's Essay, and in connection with his homage to Milton, he gives a clear statement of the translatio studii theme:

But now that Phoebus and the sacred Nine, With all their Beams on our blest Island shine, Why should not we their ancient Rites restore And be, what Rome or Athens were Before? 31

A few lines before he had explicitly joined this theme with that of translatio imperii:

By secret influence of Indulgent Skyes, Empire, and Poesy Together rise True Poets are the Guardians of a State, And when They Fail, portend approaching Fate.

... Heaven joyns the Blessings, no declining Age, E're felt the Raptures of Poetick Rage. 32

Prefixed to Roscommon's poem were complimentary verses written by Dryden, which combine a historical survey of translated verse with a series of high compliments to Roscommon. Dryden also relies upon the translatio studii idea without making the transition to the progress metaphor. His survey shades into a survey of rhyme, of which he takes a more moderate view than Roscommon. Greece first translated in verse; Rome in turn translated the poetic treasures of Greece; then "Barbarous nations" debased verse to rhymes,

... rude at first: a kind of hobbling Prose: That limp'd a long, and tinckl'd in the close... 33
But Italy (in Petrarch and Dante), reviving from the spell
"Of Vandal, Goth, and Monkish ignorance," made rhyme an art.
The French followed the Italians' steps, and the English,
last, surpassed them all:

The Wit of Greece, the Gravity of Rome
Appear exalted in the British Loome;
The Muses Empire is restor'd agen,
In Charles his Reign, and by Roscomon's Pen. 34

Here we see the idea of the transference of poetry stated
in terms of the transference of empire, and Aubrey L. Williams
has pointed out in the opening lines a play upon the word
"Translation" to suggest simultaneously the ideas of linguist-
ic translation and translatio studii. For example:

Nor stopt Translation here: For conquering Rome
With Grecian Spoils, brought Grecian Numbers home. 35

Some years later a minor but interesting Augustan
poet, Elijah Fenton, approached the progress piece twice in
An Epistle to Mr. Southerne, 1711. Fenton is probably best
known as a collaborator with Pope in translating the Odyssey,
being responsible for the first, fourth, nineteenth, and
twentieth books. Johnson called him "an excellent versifier
and a good poet." 36 In this poem, which is a panegyric pri-
marily of Southerne and to a lesser degree of Queen Anne and
other contemporary greats, Fenton gives two historical sur-
veys, one of the British drama from Shakespeare to Southerne,
the other of poetry from Greece to modern Britain. The first survey combines conventional and amusing views of the British drama. Shakespeare's genius receives due praise and his faults are extenuated, because

When his immortal Bays began to grow,  
Rude was the language, and the humour low.  

Jonson is rebuked, because he "strove to blemish Shakespeare's Name." Beaumont's art pruned Fletcher's burgeoning creativity. During the Commonwealth, the Tragic Muse fled England, but the Comic Muse pursued her activity in the guise of hypocritical Puritans:

She first reform'd the Muscles of her Face,  
And learnt the solemn Scree, for Signs of Grace.  

At the Restoration she resumed the stage in the worthy productions of Wycherley, Etherege, and Sedley. But the Tragic Muse "had quite forgot her Style" and reappeared in heroic plays, "mistaking ratling Nonsense for sublime..." until Buckingham "sham'd her into Sense at last." But then she relapsed into opera and may remain degraded unless Southerne "court her to be great again." Fenton assumes the continuity of the British drama, in terms of the Tragic and Comic Muses, and though this may be simply poetic convention, it pushes Fenton's survey beyond a roll-call in the direction of the progress piece. Fenton makes the transition to the
survey of poetry with a statement, quoted earlier, of the
now familiar *translatio studii* idea, put in terms of the
*translatio imperii* metaphor:

> Arts have their Empires, and, like other States,
> Their Rise and Fall are govern'd by the Fates.
> They, when their Period's measur'd out by Time,
> Transplant their Laurels to another Clime.

The particulars of the subsequent survey are not notable,
except perhaps for the passage on the Druids, who were the
recipients of the poetic Muse when she fled Italy at the
barbarian invasions. They first sang the order of the uni-
verse and the cause of the order, this alluding to the re-
ports of Julius Caesar and other Latin authors that the
Druids professed to know the motions of the heavens. As
with the drama, Fenton assumes the continuity of the other
literary arts. He assigns no more definite cause to the
transference of poetry than fate; yet he implies that poetry
will flourish where there is peace, patronage, adequate lan-
guage, and adequate subject. In stating the transference
of poetry in terms of the flight of the poetic Muse, Fenton
partially bridges the gap between the *translatio* and the
progress metaphors.

Proceeding chronologically, in 1725 William Bond pro-
duced a poem bearing distant similarity to a progress of
poetry. Called the *Muse's Choice; Or, The Progress of Wit*,
it was addressed to another minor poet, Major Richardson
Pack. It compliments Pack extravagantly, comparing him to some of the great 'wits' of Greece and Rome in their historical order.

Closer to the typical progress pattern was Julia Cowper Madan's *Progress of Poetry*, 1731, which has already been discussed in connection with the roll-call. Mrs. Madan surveys poetry from Greece (Homer, Pindar, Sappho, Anacreon) through Italy (Virgil, Horace) to England (Chaucer, Shakespeare, Cowley, Waller, Milton, Denham, Dryden, Congreve, Prior, Granville, Rowe, Addison, Pope). She includes a good deal of conventional criticism and appreciation, omits some of the usual ingredients of the progress piece. For example, there is no mention of the fall of Rome, the middle ages, the revival of learning, nor does she personify poetry. Her lines on liberty are prophetic of the trend of viewing liberty as the soil necessary for the growth of the arts:

> Britannia, hail! o'er whose luxuriant plain,  
> For the free native waves the rip'ning grain:  
> 'Twas sacred liberty's celestial smile,  
> First lur'd the muses to the gen'rous isle;  
> 'Twas liberty bestow'd the power to sing,  
> And bid the verse-rewarding laurel spring.

In the 1740's William Collins produced some of the most artistic versions of the historical progress piece. Collins wrote five such compositions, and though none bears the progress title, all are subtle adaptations of the progress structure. Since I intend to discuss these pieces in
a later chapter, I will mention them only briefly here. One of them, Ode to Liberty, will receive attention at another place in this chapter. Sir Thomas Hanmer’s edition of Shakespeare in 1743 occasioned the earliest of these poems, Verses Humbly Address’d to Sir Thomas Hanmer on His Edition of Shakespeare’s Works. Relying heavily on the translatio ideas, Collins surveyed the historical manifestations of the arts, and more particularly drama, from the Greek tragedians to Shakespeare. Three years later, in two of his most famous odes, Collins narrowed his subject to tragedy and treated different aspects in Ode to Pity and Ode to Fear. The personification of the central ideas brings these poems closer to the progress form, and yet Collins does not elaborate the transitions between the different occurrences of Pity and Fear. The abbreviated progress structure of Ode to Pity is confined to stanzas 2-4. Pity was manifest in the dramas of Euripides. In three transitional lines Collins obviates the conventional historical survey:

Long, Pity, let the Nations view
Thy sky-worn Robes of tendrest Blue,
And Eyes of dewy Light!

Pity was again manifest in Otway’s tragedies. The remaining stanzas contain Collins’s supplication to Pity for inspiration. Here and in the following odes by Collins we see the progress: pattern adapted to the poet’s purpose without
forcing its limitations upon him. In *Ode to Fear*, Collins shows the occurrence of Fear in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles; speaks of Fear passing through "weary lengths"; alludes to her manifestation in Shakespeare; and supplicates Fear to teach him "once more like Him to feel." *Ode to Simplicity*, though clearer than *Pity* and *Fear* in its use of the progress structure, is more difficult in meaning. Simplicity in regard to the object and inspiration of poetry seems to mean Nature; in regard to the manner of poetry, the Attic ideal of purity, precision, restraint; and in regard to the finished poem, something which the modern critic might call organic unity, which gives the work appeal to the whole man. Fuller discussion of this complex poem must wait, however, until a later chapter.

Published in the same year with Collins's odes, Joseph Warton's *Ode V. To a Gentleman upon his Travels thro' Italy*, though not a fully realized progress piece, suggests the influence of the form. It begins as a landscape poem at second-hand, with Warton imagining the scenes which his friend is viewing in Italy. These settings evoke memories of ancient and modern poets and painters. The result is a brief historical survey, primarily of poetry, beginning with Virgil and Horace, and including Raphael, Tasso, Spenser, Milton, Shakespeare, Akenside and Dodington.
Eleven years later appeared the best known and perhaps the most artistic of eighteenth century progress pieces, Thomas Gray's *Progress of Poesy*, 1757. Although I intend to discuss this poem in a later chapter, a short summary may be given here in order to complete this outline of the occurrences of the historical progress piece. The *Power of Poetry* was the poem's original title, and it applies fairly well to the first half of the poem. Poetry, emerging from primitive springs of inspiration, gives life and beauty to its subjects (I.1), has power to control violent passions (I.2), to motivate tender ones (I.3), and to affect the intellectual and moral life of man (II.1). Some of these claims, especially for poetry's effects on the passions, resemble the claims for music made in such odes as Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*. The similarity goes further, since in the first three stanzas Gray uses music as the symbol of poetry. The symbolic intent is not always perfectly clear, however, particularly in stanza two, which would be quite in place in an ode on the power of music. In the middle of the poem comes a stanza (II.2) which can be construed as the transition from the philosophical to the historical point of view, from the power to the progress of poetry. Gray repeats the idea of poetry's primitive beginnings, this time not in terms of primordial inspiration but, drawing on his scholarship, through reference to primitive peoples, among whom poetry
exists "in loose numbers wildly sweet." Having brought poetry into the realm of time and place, Gray has set the stage for the last four stanzas, in which he sketches the progress of poetry in the western world from Greece through Rome to England; and in England, from Shakespeare, through Milton and Dryden, to himself. Here he also states a theme that recurs in the later stanzas, the relation he sees between poetry and freedom, each encouraging and supporting the other.

Three years later, in 1760, appeared Michael Wodhull's Ode I. To the Muses, an historically interesting poem which serves as a mirror of certain poetic fashions in mid-eighteenth-century England and suggests specifically Gray and, to a lesser extent, Collins. The first stanza pays tribute to the power of the muses, as Gray had done more fully in the first half of the Progress of Poesy. Then Wodhull illustrates this power historically, giving what is in effect though not in name a progress of poetry from Greece through Rome to England. After dealing with Rome, he makes conventional comments on "Gothic arms" and "Black Superstition," which caused the muses to "fly" in search of liberty to "Albion's chalky cliffs." Not remaining strictly chronological, he then eulogizes Milton, whom he compares with Homer and Virgil; Shakespeare, who combines the merits of Aristophanes, Terence, and Sophocles; Pope, England's Juvenal;
and Thomson, the new Theocritus. The last seven stanzas sing final tribute to the muses and end with a supplication which calls Collins to mind:

Hear me, I cry'd, and elevate my heart
With your poetic fire....

These stanzas unite highly pictorial imagery with much 'imagery' of sound. In XV Wodhull "paints" the sacred hill of the muses; in XVI, he gives a noisy battle scene presided over by allegorical figures, and in XVII, the same field now silent after the fighting; in XVIII and XIX he deals in picturesque and sublime landscapes, with their dim perspectives, rushing torrents, craggy mountains; and in XX he reproduces a scene from graveyard poetry: The poet roams "along the desert heath," hears "the midnight dirge of death" and "the boding screech owl." All these scenes, Wodhull implies, are proper visions for the poet, and so in fact they were, particularly the last two, in the middle years of the eighteenth century.

Another and less important progress of poetry appeared the following year, 1761, in verses To the Queen written by James Marriott. Here we see again the panegyric use of the progress structure. Marriott leads into his complimentary verses on Queen Charlotte, who was married to George III on September 8, 1761, through a brief survey of the muse's historical manifestations, in Greece, Rome, "Gallia," and now
in England. He makes the muse the forerunner of arts, commerce, and empire, but his main purpose is to fashion a pedigree for his occasional poem.

William Cowper, in *Table Talk*, 1782, gave two historical surveys closely related to progressions of poetry. The first is a survey of genius which is also a survey of epic poetry:

Ages elaps'd ere Homer's lamp appear'd,
And ages ere the Mantuan swan was heard:
To carry nature lengths unknown before,
To give a Milton birth, ask'd ages more.
Thus genius rose and set at order'd times,
And shot a day-spring into distant climes,
Ennobling ev'ry region that he chose;
He sunk in Greece, in Italy he rose;
And, tedious years of Gothic darkness pass'd,
Emerg'd all splendour in our isle at last.
Thus lovely halcyons dive into the main,
Then show far off their shining plumes again.45

Cowper does not explicitly use the progress or transference metaphors, and in fact the light-dark, day-night imagery suggests more the periodicity of genius than its progress or transfer. But though the metaphor is different, the idea is similar. Besides the cyclic orientation here, there is also, in the third line quoted, the suggestion of progress in the sense in which Young uses the idea in *Conjectures on Original Composition*. Up to this point in the poem, 'B' has been speaking. Now 'A' asks if genius is found only in epic poems, and 'B' answers:
These were the chief: each interval of night
Was grac’d with many an undulating light.
In less illustrious bards his beauty shone
A meteor, or a star; in these, the sun.  

Then 'B' surveys some of these lesser lights, from earliest times to Addison and Pope, Arbuthnot and Swift. He is primarily interested at all times in the author's subject matter as it relates to the moral effect of the work.

Edward Jerningham's *Rise and Progress of Scandinavian Poetry*, 1784, the last piece which I want to mention in this group of progresses of poetry, is a special case. Its purpose is not to survey the tradition lying back of English poetry in order to celebrate an individual, the English nation, or the poetic activity itself. The poem reflects instead the later eighteenth century's scholarly interest in the literature of the North, an interest seen for example in Gray. It reflects also the growing strength of anti-classical thought currents. Jerningham does not imitate the usual progress structure in his survey of Scandinavian poetry, beginning with the mythology of the Scalds, continuing through the influence of Christianity (angels, ghosts appear in the poetry; allegory is used), and concluding, regretfully, with the arrival of classical learning in Scandinavia in the Renaissance. The rise of the classics paralleled the setting of the wild, imaginative native poetry:

On this rude scene of wonder and delight,
In evil moment rush'd eternal night.\(^{47}\)

The progresses of poetry discussed to this point have not been entirely homogeneous in their choice of object. Some have presented the historical course of poetry in general, but often we have encountered more specialized surveys, of translated verse, rhyme, epic poetry, or drama. However, none of these topics, with the possible exception of the drama, recurred sufficiently often in the progress piece or was set off from the general poetic activity clearly enough to justify treating it as a separate classification. I have found three poems surveying the history of satire which might also have been included in the preceding group of poems but which seem to form a group sufficiently definite to be discussed separately. I have not included Dryden's *Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*, which is strictly a learned treatise and which, so far as I can tell, exerted no influence on the development of the progress piece.

In 1687, six years before Dryden's treatise appeared, he foreshadowed it in a set of complimentary verses prefixed to Henry Higden's translation of Juvenal's tenth satire. These verses use as their framework a discernible but not imposing progress organization, from Greece to Rome to England. Dryden does not actually use the progress metaphor, however, and while the occasion provided the opportunity for
word-play on "translation," he suggests only indirectly the idea of *translatio studii*. Examining the development of satire from the point of view of whether it was 'laughing' or 'railing,' he finds that it started as laughing (the Greeks and Horace), turned railing in a worse age (Juvenal), and now combines the two styles in Higden's translation.

It was almost eighty years later before a fully developed progress of satire appeared, in the third part of John Brown's *Essay on Satire*, published in Dodsley's *Collection* in 1763. This poem was apparently written some years earlier, for we read after the title that it was occasioned by the death of Pope. It is modelled on the *Essay on Criticism*, with part three showing a fuller development of the progress structure which appeared briefly in the third part of Pope's poem. While Pope relied on the *translatio* ideas to suggest the continuity of learning, Brown relies on the personification of his central idea. This personification most often takes the form of the muse, and thus Brown does not actually use the progress metaphor but speaks frequently of the muse's "flight." According to Brown, Satire sprang not from virtue but from vice, from men's "glowing crimes," and he essayed her art first in Greece. He gives only perfunctory treatment to this stage of Satire's journey. "To Latium next, avenging Satire flew..." and Brown writes general, conventional evaluations of the Roman satirists, Lucilius,
Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. Then he proceeds to typical comments on the fall of Rome: There was "swoln Luxury," paving the way to conquest for the "barb'rous millions." "The sick'ning laurel wither'd at their breath...." Then, "Deep Superstition's night the skies o'erhung..." and "Dull-nodded in the Muses' grove...." Equally typical is his account of the Renaissance: "At length, again fair science shot her ray...," and Satire revived through the pen of Erasmus, who was followed by "plain Donne," "His wit refulgent, tho' his rhyme were prose...." But Satire suffered a decline in the seventeenth century court poets, in whom "treacherous Wit began her war with Sense." Dryden, though of "unrival'd parts," was too close a friend to the court, "The pimp of pow'r, the prostitute to gain." France was more fortunate in Boileau. But the triumph belongs to England at last:

But see at length relenting Satire smile,  
And show'r her choicest boon on Britain's isle:  
Behold, for Pope she twines the laurel crown,  
And leads the bard triumphant to his throne....

The poem ends with eulogy of Pope and with supplication to these "deathless names" and to Truth for inspiration.

The only piece, so far as I know, which actually received the title, Progress of Satire, was written by William Boscawen and published in 1798. It is a mild censure of satire in general and a specific attack on a contemporary
diatribe, the *Pursuits of Literature* (by T. J. Mathias). Boscawen proposes to "trace the strong current" of satire from ancient Rome to Britain, but true to the progress convention, he begins with Greece, only, however, by stating that satire never flourished there, the nearest approach to it being the songs of Archilochus and the old comedy. Tracing the satiric muse to Rome, he touches on Lucilius ("his rough, but vig'rous pencil"), Horace (the perfect satirist), "grave" Persius, and "fierce" Juvenal. Then he turns to English satirists, "Rough, honest Donne," "Dryden's vig'rous Muse" (like Brown, he censures Dryden for his court loyalties), and Pope, the English combination of Horace and Juvenal. After these giants came the corruption of satire, in Churchill and several unnamed contemporaries, the most deplorable of whom is the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*.

Continuing with historical progress pieces whose object places them in the area of the humanities, I would like to revert to 1711 and a poem mentioned in connection with Brown, Pope's *Essay on Criticism*. What begins as a history of good critics, from Aristotle to Longinus, verges into what in effect though not in name is a progress of learning and arts. The transition occurs in these lines:

Thus long succeeding critics justly reign'd,
License repress'd, and useful laws ordain'd;
Learning and Rome alike in empire grew,
And arts still follow'd where her eagles flew;
From the same foes at last both felt their doom,
And the same age saw learning fall and Rome.

A second deluge learning thus o'errun,
And the monks finish'd what the Goths begun. 52

Erasmus, however, "drove those holy Vandals off the stage," and there followed the revival of the arts: "Rome's ancient genius" reappeared. But "soon by impious arms from Latium chased," the arts overspread "all the northern world." Returning specifically to criticism, Pope writes that it flourished in France, where Boileau continued the tradition of Horace, but that it was slow to develop in England, where

Fierce for the liberties of wit, and bold,
We still defied the Romans, as of old. 53

There were a few, however, "who durst assert the juster ancient cause" and who helped, therefore, to restore in England "Wit's fundamental laws." Among these were Buckingham, Roscommon, and Walsh. The rest of the poem is a tribute to Walsh, Pope's early encourager. In the first lines quoted above we can see traces of the translatio ideas, which Pope uses rather than the progress metaphor to express the continuity of cultural tradition. 54 The survey implies that the proper function of the critic is to preserve and encourage the tradition stemming from ancient Greece and Rome and to combat every subversion of this tradition. As good critics
flourish, so flourish arts and learning. This attitude perhaps explains in part Pope's later undertaking in the Dunciad, where he functions as the destructive critic, scourging all types of enemies, as he sees them, to learning and arts.

Thus far we have seen the progress structure occurring in historical surveys of learning, language, and literature, subjects which I have grouped under the term, humanities. It can also be found in poems dealing with the fine arts. The history of painting was a subject especially popular with poets of this period, and one closely related to the history of poetry: The poets never tired of pointing out the ties between these "sister arts." Dryden seems to have been the first to turn this subject to poetic account, in a panegyric addressed to the famous painter of royalty and celebrities, Sir Godfrey Kneller. Dryden does not rely in this poem on the translatio ideas, but through personification implies the progress metaphor, although he does not use the word: "By slow degrees the godlike art advanced...." We can make out a skeletal progress structure supporting the body of the poem:

Greece added posture, shade, and perspective....
Rome raised not art, but barely kept alive....
Till Goths and Vandals, a rude northern race,
Did all the matchless monuments deface.
Then all the Muses in one ruin lie,
And rhyme began to enervate poetry.

...
Long time the sister arts, in iron sleep,
A heavy Sabbath did supinely keep;
At length, in Raphael's age, at once they rise....55

From Raphael and Titian, Dryden turns in extravagant praise
to Kneller, who combines the talents of both; the rest is panegyric.

Essays on painting, in the tradition of Pope's Essay
on Criticism, Boileau's Art of Poetry, and Horace's Ars
Poetica, appeared frequently in the eighteenth century, some-
times incorporating historical surveys of the art, and some-
times relying on the historical survey as the basic organiz-
ing device. An early example of this form was Walter Harte's
Essay on Painting, which appeared in a 1727 edition of his
poems. Most of the poem is an art of painting, but toward
the end it includes an historical survey which follows the
usual progress structure, personifying painting, and speak-
ing of her withdrawal from Greece to Italy, her expiration
with the Gothic invasions and slumber through the Dark Ages,
her restoration in the Renaissance, her spread through north-
ern Europe, and her arrival, finally, in England. In the
table of contents, Harte labels this section, "Painting's"
Rise and Progress through all Ages."

John Whaley produced another Essay on Painting, which
appeared in his collected poems in 1732; his primary concern
was to trace the history of the art, beginning with Greece
and ending with England in the seventeenth century. He
departs from the usual progress pattern, mainly through neglected transitions. For example, he does not go through the conventional motions of removing painting from Greece to Rome, but proceeds directly from Greece to the loss of painting on account of war and "Gothic rage," and then to the Italian Renaissance and the painting of Cimabue. He gives a rather full account of Renaissance painting, obviously from firsthand knowledge of the works and sincere esteem for them. His general method is to characterize the artist's style and then to discuss more particularly one or more of his paintings. From the Italians Whaley moves, without using any device of transition, to the Flemish painters Rubens and Vandyke, the latter of whom died in England, 1641, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Thus the survey ends in England, though not with an English painter. Whaley personifies painting as a goddess and assumes an unbroken tradition for the art. This continuity remains, even in periods of painting's decline. During the middle ages, for example, painting was not dead but slept, and in the Renaissance, "...waking Arts the lazy Darkness cheer'd."\(^{56}\)

James Marriott, in *Graphics: or an Essay on Painting*, 1761, planned to introduce a long verse treatise on painting through a historical survey. In the Prefatory Observations, we are told that "these verses were intended as the beginning of a poem upon painting, in four books, in imitation of
Virgil's Georgics..." but because of a number of circumstances the verses were not completed and so "contain only part of the history of the progress of painting." The author takes painting only as far as Greece. He is highly allegorical in the first part of the fragment, personifying the sister arts as Poesis and Graphis, who are the children of Apollo and Phantasia. He incorporates the commonplace that liberty nourishes the arts, while "In slow progression moves the fetter'd mind." "

Organized historically, Samuel Bentley's Essay on Painting of 1774 bears some relation to the progress piece, but it is primarily concerned with the art and appreciation of painting. Typically, Bentley places the rise of art (sculpture) in the eastern world (specifically and whimsically in the petrification of Lot's wife). From the Egyptians and Persians the art of sculpture was brought to Greece. Unable to imitate the infinite, the Greeks nevertheless "gave each attribute its form and dress" in statues of the various Grecian deities. From sculpture painting derived:

From sculpture, painting its first progress made In graphic out-lines destitute of shade..."

After a section on the art of painting, Bentley concludes the historical element of the poem with a roll-call of painters, including the Greeks, Zeuxis and Appelles, and the masters of the Italian and Flemish schools. The excellence of
British painters receives brief, general statement. Thus what began in the typical manner of the progress piece continues in a roll-call and ends in general comment. Bentley's sole use of the word "progress" is quoted above, and seems to mean 'first step,' 'beginning,' perhaps with the connotation of improvement, for Bentley believed in progress in the arts but not indefinite progress:

Say how the science was at first obtain'd
How, by gradations its perfection gain'd.... 60

Longer and more dependent on the progress structure was William Hayley's Essay on Painting: In Two Epistles to Mr. Romney, 1778. Romney, whose biography Hayley later wrote, rivalled Reynolds and Gainsborough as a portrait painter, and he also essayed historical and imaginative subjects. He lived in Italy during the years 1773-75, and apparently his return from that absence occasioned this poem:

Blest be the hour, when fav'ring gales restore
The travell'd Artist to his native shore! 61

Hayley relies heavily on the progress formula:

Let the fond Muse, tho' with a transient view,
The progress of her sister art pursue;
Eager in tracing from remotest time
The steps of Painting through each favour'd clime.... 62

Painting is personified throughout: She makes her "progress," she "leaves" one country for another, she "flew" to Britain.
There is also a recurrence of light imagery: Painting's "clouded beams" cease to shine on one country; then she "dawns" on another. This is the fullest historical poem on painting which I have seen, and Hayley's notes make it clear that he relied on many authorities, especially Pliny for the Greek painters and Vasari for the Italians.

While the poets often used the progress structure in verse essays on painting, they seldom gave the progress title to these poems. I know of only two instances, one the Progress of Painting, 1775, by Samuel Jackson Pratt, which I have not seen, the other an anonymous Progress of Painting which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1743. Although in part a conventional progress of painting, this poem does not confine itself to painting and becomes before it ends an enthusiastic hymn to the transference of arts and empire. It exhibits a utilitarian view of the arts, which take their rise from deeds important to society and in turn inspire such deeds. In Greece, for example, where "social arts" began:

The Heroes deeds the artists hands inspir'd,
The swelling piece some future Hero fir'd.... 63

Also present is the widely current view that the arts depend on freedom:

Then godlike freedom beam'd a scornful smile,
And call'd the exil'd arts to Albion's isle. 63
But perhaps the poem's most significant feature is its ringing statement of *translatio studii*, with England becoming a new Greece and Rome in practically all important endeavors, from politics to poetry:

Now thro' the land the social arts were known,
A new Palladio in Inigo shone.
In sculpture eterniz'd, an awful band,
Recorded chiefs, and freeborn patriots stand;
In Hampden we a second Tully view,
A greater Caesar, great Nassau in you!
If Greece exalt her Homer's mighty name,
Nor falls his great translator short of fame;
In Milton Virgil's majesty we see,
Nor Plato reasons, Locke, more just than thee.
While Newton high from his empyreal throne,
Surveys the skies, discovery made his own. 63

Other fine arts did not provide the stimulation to poetic activity that painting did. I know of but one progress piece dealing primarily with music, Matthew Pilkington's *Progress of Musick in Ireland*, 1731, and it departs from the usual progress pattern, with Pilkington tracing the development of Irish music from its rude beginnings in a lovelorn peasant's reed, through the fife, lyre, and harp of the itinerant bard, to recent and contemporary Irish musicians, Viner, Nicolini, and Dubourg. The complimentary verses, signed William Dunkin, show traces of the more conventional progress piece. Dunkin speaks of Roman armies spreading Arts to Britain, while Ireland remained uncivilized and rude:

But now by Britain, and by Time encreas'd,
Her manners brighten where her Triumphs ceas'd;
The God of Numbers, and the God of Light
Rescues our Poets from the Shades of Night,
Thro' Northern Climes his Glance divine displays,
Ripens our Judgment, and sublimes our lays.64

John Bidlake seems to have combined a history of music with other arts in the Progress of Poetry, Painting, and Music, published in Bidlake's Poems in 1794, but unfortunately I have not seen this piece. Another piece which I have not seen but which should be mentioned at this point is Taste and Beauty, An Epistle to the...Lord Chesterfield, 1732, which contains, according to Robert A. Aubin, a progress of architecture from Egypt to Greece to Rome.65 Other progress pieces dealing with the arts probably exist, but I have not discovered them.

The poetic curriculum of the eighteenth century also offered instruction in the area which we might call the social sciences, and the poets made use of the progress structure to organize a number of poems on liberty, trade, humanitarian projects, and education. This phase in the history of the progress piece begins in Thomson's Liberty, 1735-36. Thomson surveys the manifestations of liberty in the western world, seeing liberty as the pre-condition for empire and for arts. So general are the blessings of liberty, in fact, that this poem becomes a survey of Western civilization and culture, and could be discussed appropriately in the next section of this chapter. Thomson uses the conventional
historical progress structure, interspersed with philosophic and descriptive passages, and framed by an allegorical dream vision. The poem's effects are didactic, panegyric, and patriotic: It teaches and praises the doctrine of liberty, and it heralds the coming of empire to England, now undergirded by this liberty. C. A. Moore has classed the poem as Whig panegyric, calling it "the most flattering of all the verse-pamphlets in praise of the Whig dogma."66 It has been pointed out, however, that Liberty can be more aptly called "dissident Whig panegyric," its political ideals being closer to those of the Craftsman than to the Walpole party line.67 As the poem opens, the goddess Liberty appears to Thomson, who lies among the ruins of Rome musing on the passing of empire. One is reminded on the one hand of the typical allegorical dream vision, and on the other of Du Bellay's Antiquitez de Rome, translated by Spenser as the Ruines of Rome. These ruins, the goddess admits, are hers, "But oh, how changed!" She has fled, and her temples are now adorned with "British oak." Toward the close of Part I Thomson invokes Liberty to teach him the progress of her reign. She obliges, and the sequence which follows is from Greece, through Rome and the hiatus of the middle ages when Liberty left the earth, to Britain. While the northern nations conquered Rome "in vengeance urged by" Liberty, yet Liberty did not flourish among them. The "buried seeds/of freedom"
lay in their hearts "for many a wintry age," while the goddess 
quits the earth. Thus Thomson uses "Gothic" in connection 
with the arts in a pejorative sense only. At the same time, 
he recognizes the Gothic nations as part of the racial source 
of the English and their virtues:

The haughty Norman seized at once an isle 
For which through many a century in vain 
The Roman, Saxon, Dane had toiled and bled. 
Of Gothic nations this the final burst; 
And, mixed the genius of these people all, 
Their virtues mixed in one exalted stream, 
Here the rich tide of English blood grew full.\(^68\) 
\((\text{IV, 739 ff.})\)

The poem closes with an optimistic prospect of empire, based 
on British sea-power and commerce:

The times I see whose glory to supply, 
For toiling ages, commerce round the world 
Has winged unnumbered sails and from each land 
Materials heaped that well employed, with Rome 
Might vie our grandeur, and with Greece our art!\(^69\) 
\((\text{V, 569 ff.})\)

We see in these lines, in addition to the Whig emphasis on 
commerce, the implicit ideas of *translatio imperii* and *trans-
latio studii*, and indeed these ideas permeate the poem. The 
transference of empire and of arts parallels the progress of 
Liberty. Rome fell primarily because of the loss of liberty; 
and Arts and Sciences move in Liberty's train:

...where my Spirit wakes the finer powers, 
Athenian laurels still afresh shall bloom.\(^70\) 
\((\text{IV, 28 ff.})\)
If liberty is the necessary and sufficient ground of imperial and cultural greatness, it might be asked what is the ground of liberty. Thomson gives no single answer. At times, liberty seems to be the gift of the gods, distributed by fate, which makes for a cyclic view of history:

But as from man to man, fate's first decree,
Impartial death the tide of riches rolls,
So states must die and Liberty go round.\(^1\)
(II, 418 ff.)

At other times he suggests a more optimistic view, for liberty is permanently stationed in Britain:

'Hence, Britain, learn—my best established, last,
And, more than Greece or Rome, my steady reign...;\(^2\)
(I, 316 ff.)

and he can hold this view only by grounding liberty in something more controllable than fate. He turns to human virtue, emphasizing the capacity, according to benevolent ethics, for social love, which in a political context becomes 'public zeal':\(^3\)

By those three virtues be the frame sustained
Of British freedom—indeoendent life;
Integrity in office; and, o'er all
Supreme, a passion for the commonweal.\(^4\)
(V, 120 ff.)

A number of writers have noted that Collins's Ode to Liberty, 1746, follows and builds upon the outline of Liberty. Collins celebrates the appearances of Liberty in
Greece and Rome, Florence, Venice, Switzerland, Holland, and Britain. His use of this progress structure is more indirect than Thomson's and will be discussed in a later chapter. While Thomson had closed Liberty with a prospect of British imperial greatness, Collins dwells on the shrine of Liberty that once stood in the primeval forests of Britain. That shrine is gone, and where it stood is unknown, but the Model remains, and from this subsisting ideal Collins hopes for a new manifestation of Liberty in England. This is suggestive, for we saw that the translatio ideas assume the eternity of ideal forms, which have an existence here and later there, but which preserve all the while a continuity of being. Ode to Liberty contains the most explicit statement of this Platonism that I have found in the progress pieces. In the closing lines the return of Liberty to England seems imminent:

Her let our Sires and Matrons hoar,  
Welcome to Britain’s ravag’d Shore.76

If Collins is far more optimistic here than in Pity, Fear, and Simplicity, it is because in those poems he is being personal and is waiting doubtfully for poetic inspiration; while in Ode to Liberty his theme is public, and he has the conventions of Whig panegyric to help him mold his conclusion, indeed almost to force his conclusion upon him.

The next poem in honor of liberty bears less resemblance to the progress piece. Mark Akenside in An Ode to
the Right Honourable the Earl of Huntingdon, 1748, illustrates through allusions to Homer, Pindar, the Roman poets in general, and Milton, the idea "that great Poetical Talents, and high Sentiments of Liberty, do reciprocally produce and assist each other...."77 This poem might also have been mentioned with the progresses of poetry, for in the early stanzas Akenside makes high claims for the power of poetry somewhat suggestive of Gray’s ode nine years later. Poetry fires the soul with glory, inspires "noblest Counsels," "boldest Deeds," enthrones the heart "high o’er Fortune’s Rage," disarms the "vengeful Bosom," melts "the Proud with human Woe," and most important, fires "the Race with Freedom."

A variation on the theme of liberty occurred late in the eighteenth century in a poem by Thomas Seward called On the Female Right to Literature, 1789. Writing from "tyrannic realms" (i.e. Italy), Seward traces the progress of Liberty, with special regard to the freedom of women, from Assyria and Persia, where woman was enslaved; through Greece and Rome, where she enjoyed more freedom; and the middle ages, when she was again oppressed; to Britain, "Where Liberty maintains her latest stand!"78 But even in England there remains a prejudice against female learning. Seward attacks this prejudice and encourages his friend ("Athenia") to advance in virtuous knowledge, of the sort, I would assume,
demonstrated a few years later by Mary Ann Burges in the *Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent*.

C. A. Moore writes, "In the Whig program the chief source of inspiration for poetical propagandists was the glory of maritime commerce." This theme as well as liberty found expression in the progress piece. John Dyer, for example, in the second book of the *Fleece*, 1757, gives a history of commerce, with special regard to wool culture and trade, from earliest times to Dyer's own day. Dyer's survey had been preceded, however, by a much more elaborate and explicit progress piece: "In the opinion of contemporaries... mercantile enthusiasm reached the high-water mark of poetical expression in Richard Glover's *London, or, The Progress of Commerce* (1739)." Glover, son of a Hamburg merchant in London, entered his father's business but continued his poetry. In this poem he fused his two vocations. Like Liberty, *London* proclaims the transference of empire to Britain and, less enthusiastically, the transference of learning, but Glover's real enthusiasm is for commerce, which he sees as the necessary and sufficient reason for empire and arts. He acknowledges liberty as the ground of commerce, but only in a perfunctory and incidental way. As the poem opens, Glover announces that he will celebrate London, the "abode of Commerce." He begins by surveying the previous manifestations of Commerce in history. Daughter of Neptune and
Phoenicia, she was blessed at her birth by the Olympian gods: Neptune gave her "empire of the main"; Minerva gave her wisdom; Mercury, art; Vulcan, industry; and Phoebus, Invention. Fruitfulness and Plenty are always in her train:

Thus adorned,
Attendest thus, great Goddess, thou beganst
Thy all-enlivening progress o'er the globe....

Glover reports the advance of Commerce through the ancient world only in brief, for he wants to move on "to far more northern regions," where heaven has decreed Commerce's "last seat." He proceeds to panegyric on the Dutch and Belgians, and to anathema on Spain, for its gold-plundering in Mexico and attempts at oppression in Europe. From here he presses toward his patriotic conclusion. The "eternal Fates" have ordered that Commerce proceed to England, her "last retreat":

...to this favour'd shore
The Goddess drew, where grateful she bestow'd
Th' unbounded empire of her father's floods,
And chose thee, London, for her chief abode.

The poem closes in a flourish of imperialism and militarism, pointing to current disputes with Spain which erupted in war in 1739. In connection with this conclusion another progress piece might be mentioned, Admiral Haddock: or, The Progress of Spain, 1740. I have not seen this piece, but the title-figure was probably Rear-Admiral Nicholas Haddock.
(1686-1746); the action, his blockading of the Spanish coast and preying on Spanish shipping in 1739.

The progress piece served as a medium not only for panegyric of liberty and commerce but also for recommendation of benevolent projects. The Progress of Charity, which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1743, neatly documents the last phase of C. A. Moore's argument that Whig panegyric from 1700 to 1760 shifted emphasis from liberty to trade to humanitarianism. The poem differs from the usual progress structure in that the author generalizes on Charity's progress over Europe instead of tracing it country by country. Charity's flight awakens Humanity, Piety, Pity, and at length she comes to Britain. Her speech on arrival reflects current Whig panegyric but gives it a sentimental and humanitarian turn. Liberty will share the throne here with Charity—their functions are analogous:

...she Liberty checks destructive might,
I joy to cheer affliction's gloomy night:
Wealth, introduc'd by commerce, round her flows,
My favour everlasting wealth bestows.

Then Charity is credited with causing hospitals to spring up across the country, and the rest of the poem is a summary of what has been done in this regard and a plea for more of the same.

The Progress of Charity was signed, "By a Young Lady."

In a 1766 poem, On Education, we see that school boys were
also appropriating the progress structure and themes associated with it. The young author's thesis is that the glory of empire depends directly upon the intellectual training of its citizens, natural genius requiring the perfecting touch of education. He illustrates this theme by references to Greece and Rome, concluding:

If Britain ancient Rome would emulate,
And rise in Glory o'er each neighboring state,
From every nation let her win the prize
Of Learning, and her power o'er all will rise. 84

Natural science was a subject of great interest to eighteenth century poets, and as we would expect by now, its history provided the subject matter for several progress pieces. There was one progress of physic and possibly two (See Appendix, I, 1750), and at least two progresses of science (See Appendix I, 1767 and 1780). Of these, I have been able to see only the Progress of Physic, 1743, by Ashley Cowper, which will serve to illustrate the scientific trend in the historical progress piece. The poem is primarily a tribute to the empirical method in science, with some incidental satire on physicians. Sickness arose after the flood as an attendant on luxury, and with sickness rose physicians. Cowper traces in typical fashion the course of physic from Chaldea, through Egypt, Greece and Rome, to England, making it sometimes dependent on commerce for its transmission. His real interest, however, is in the progress
of physic in the sense of its improvement. He reserves "progress" for this meaning, and uses such terms as "pass'd," "transplanted," "travels," "Flight," and "fled" to tell the geographical course of his central idea. Since "experience" is the key to medical progress, he decries Galen's mixing of philosophical speculation with observation, and he grounds his claims for Britain's current medical supremacy specifically in the discoveries of Harvey and Boyle, and generally in the methods of empirical science proclaimed by the Royal Society.

Cowper's poem concludes my survey of progress pieces limited in scope to one phase of secular history. Probably other examples exist which I have not found, but these pieces are sufficient to indicate the diversity of subjects treated in this form: Learning, Language, Poetry, Drama, Satire, Criticism, Painting, Music, Architecture, Liberty, Commerce, Charity, Education, Physic, Science. When more progress pieces are discovered, perhaps it will be found that other divisions of the arts and sciences furnished inspiration for the form. Although their collective efforts covered a good portion of the sphere of human knowledge and activity, the poets were yet not content with surveying the arts and sciences in piecemeal fashion. In addition to the progress pieces which dealt with limited subjects, there arose a group whose scope included the whole of western civilization.
To these pieces I would like to turn briefly.

iii. Progresses of Civilization

A foreshadowing of the broad survey of civilization appears in Thomson's Autumn, 1730 (ll. 43-143, 1746 ed.). Addressing Industry, Thomson gives a summary of the rise of civilization, from man's rude beginnings in the forests to "every form of cultivated life" (Cf. De Rerum Natura, V). In the second canto of the Castle of Indolence, 1748, Thomson enlarges on this theme and incorporates some of the ideas of Liberty. The result is a historical survey of Arts and Industry cast in terms of Spenserian allegory. The central idea is personified not as a goddess but a knight, son of Selvaggio ("A rough unpolished man, robust and bold"—V) and dame Poverty. His early life was wild and simple, but he was blessed by Minerva and "the sacred nine": "...him they nurtured well/In every science and in every art" (IX), including hunting, combat, natural science, farming, building, navigation, painting, sculpture, music, and poetry. Thus accomplished he set out to civilize a barbarous world. Stanza XVI summarizes the course of "this best sun" which "calls forth arts and virtue with his ray":

Then Egypt, Greece, and Rome their golden times
Successive had; but now in ruins grey
They lie, to slavish sloth and tyranny a prey.
Britain then became the knight's home, and there he will live as long as liberty remains. Thomson reviews British achievements in practical and fine arts, the latter being the "quintessence of all" and needing most time and care. Lack of patronage hinders their advance, yet they have the "eternal patron, Liberty." After establishing constitutional government, the knight retired to country life, but returns to baffle the wizard Indolence, purveyor of luxurious vices. He saves some of Indolence's victims, reveals to others the illusory quality of indolent pleasures. But he cannot help those "who will be slaves." The concluding stanzas assume a highly moral and religious tone and summarize the poem's doctrine of progress in terms of neo-platonic, evolutionary, perfectionism:

Heirs of eternity, yborn to rise
Through endless states of being, still more near
To bliss approaching, and perfection clear.85

This poem differs from the other inclusive surveys in its highly developed personification, which provides a central action and a poetic unity not present in the more discursive pieces.

One of these thoroughly expository poems was the *Progress of Refinement*, written by Henry James Pye and published in 1783. The subject of refinement seems to have been popular in the late eighteenth century, one indication
of its popularity being that it became the target of satire in the *Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent*. William Roberts, in an Oxford essay in 1788, suggests a Rousseauistic background for the idea in his definition: "...in its moral sense, when applied to the progress of society, refinement signifies the removal of circumstances, which impede the free exertion of those faculties which were given to man for his improvement; and implies his advancement from an inferior state of society, to a situation more worthy of his talents, and more congenial to the powers of his mind. The state, therefore, in which man can best exercise his natural capacity for improvement, is the highest state of true refinement. Beyond this precise situation commences what is termed excessive or false Refinement."

This distinction between true and false refinement is implied in Fye's long verse treatise. The poem observes the usual order of the historical progress piece--Asia and Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, northern and western Europe--but this order is partly obscured with details because of the expansive nature of refinement, which applies to manners as well as to all categories of art and industry. In Fye's usage, "cultural progress" would be an alternate term for "refinement." Fye sketches the history of civilization and culture, from ancient Egypt to contemporary Europe, then compares modern with ancient culture, maintaining throughout a two-edged
attitude toward progress. It brings good to man but also danger, in the form of luxury, softness, and loss of liberty, which is the possible last fatal bloom of wealth. Pye therefore does not find contemporary life superior in all respects to the past. 86a

In 1796 appeared Richard Payne Knight's Progress of Civil Society, a work which challenges Liberty in length. Admitting a heavy debt to Lucretius and the Essay on Man, Knight traces the development of man and society in six books containing a total of 3,236 lines. I will not attempt to summarize, but the titles of the books will give an idea of Knight's scope: of Hunting, of Pasturage, of Agriculture, of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, of Climate and Soil, of Government and Conquest. In this poem, as in Pye's, the word "progress" appears strictly in the modern sense of 'development, improvement.' So far as the historical progress piece is concerned, then, the central metaphor was dead and with it the chief poetic device of the genre. As if to roll a stone on the grave of Knight's performance and others of that type, George Canning and John Hookham Frere ridiculed it in a burlesque in 1798, and this fact brings us to the last group of progress pieces. The broad survey of civilization seems to have returned, nevertheless, to haunt the nineteenth century on at least two occasions, in the Progress of Society, 1817, and the Progress and Prospects of
iv. Burlesque and Satiric Pieces

John Durant Breval, an early antagonist of Pope who received notice in the Dunciad, may have begun the fashion of the mock-historical poem in 1717, the year before the appearance of Alma, a burlesque progress piece of another type (See Chapter II). The first two-thirds of the Art of Dress is a mock-history of female fashion in England; the rest, serio-comic advice to ladies on the art of dress. Without using the progress metaphor, Breval traces fashion from natural simplicity to artful elegance, climaxed in the reign of Queen Anne. His survey is a vehicle for varied satirical thrusts, for example at scholars such as Bentley (who had caused Breval’s expulsion from Oxford), at Scots, at Puritans, even at Christopher Wrenn and St. Paul’s Cathedral. It is possible that Breval’s mock-history found a parallel in the Progress of Fashion, 1726, but I have not seen this piece.

A more explicit burlesque of the progress convention was the Progress of Deformity, which appeared in 1723. We learn from the subtitle that it was "Occasioned by Reading my Lord Lansdowne’s 'Progress of Beauty'." I have not seen this poem but R. H. Griffith provides a rather full summary:

Jove woke the wrath of Juno by too often forsaking the
joys of heaven for earthly dalliance. The ox-eyed goddess,—

...with just Jealousy inrag'd,
In close cabals conspirators engag'd;
A potent party soon became her own,
Resolv'd to fix the god, or shake his throne.

Thereupon fear detained the father-god at home.

Hence Vulcan, his first-born infant came,
Unhappy in his birth, deform'd and lame.
The marriage-bed, by rough disquiets nurst,
From Vulcan seems originally curst.

The progress of Deformity is then traced through
Polyphemus and the Titan brood, to Ganges, on whose
shores dwelt Astomi and Monomeri, mouthless savages
and one-legged racers swifter than arrow's flight; on
to Ethiopia and the pygmy crew; then to Sumatra, to
Japan, where

Tired longer to inform an human mould,
The hideous Fashion chang'd when growing old;
The ugly goddess took a newer shape,
And what was Man, became an active Ape.

In time these new inhabitants were conducted to
Gallia's hospitable shore, and instructed docile France—
Till grins and mimickry became a mode.

From hence, of course, to Britain's Island brought.
Britain, with fops, in spite of nature, fraught:
Deformity here chang'd her various place,
And sat conspicuous on the fopling's face.
The apes no more the ladies' smiles command,
No more in fruitless competition stand,
No more their ancient plea to horror show—
But yield their title to the Modern Beau.87

The greatest and most famous of burlesque historical
progress pieces occurred five years later in the Dunciad.
Since I have already had occasion to discuss this instance
of the mock-progress piece (See Chapter IV), and since
Aubrey L. Williams has treated it fully in another place, I will not discuss further here Pope's Progress of Dulness.

In 1732 a prose mock-history of the arts and sciences appeared in volume three of Pope's and Swift's Miscellanies with the title, An Essay of the Learned Martinus Scriblerus, Concerning the Origine of Science. Arbuthnot's authorship is conjectured by Griffith, but there is much in the piece to suggest Swift's influence if not his actual participation: the burlesque of scholarship, the man-beast comparisons, the ironic projecting. The first sentence previews the essay's content and tone: "Among all the Enquiries, which have been pursu'd by the Curious and Inquisitive, there is none more worthy the Search of a Learned Head, than the Source, from whence we derive those Arts and Sciences which raise us so far above the Vulgar, the Countries, in which they rose, and the Channels, by which they have been convey'd." The order of the subsequent survey is that of a typical progress piece, and the mock-scholarly approach suggests a burlesque on surveys of learning of the type found in Sprat's History of the Royal Society, while many passages make it clear that the author was specifically burlesquing Edward Tyson's Philological Essay Concerning the Pygmies... of the Ancients, the second part of Tyson's Orang Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris, or the Anatomy of a Pygmy, 1699. The author finds the origin of knowledge in "an ancient people
called the Pygmaens," whose development he traces to the simians of his day. Scriblerus concludes by suggesting a project full worthy of Swift: Perhaps some way could be found to draw forth the latent wisdom of these mute philosophers; he "cannot but think it would be highly serviceable to the Learned World, both in respect of recovering past Knowledge, and promoting the Future." Among modern nations, France offers most hope for this Restoration of Learning (Cf. the Progress of Deformity). Might not the program follow these lines: "The Man-Tegers to instruct heroes, Statesmen and Scholars? Baboons to teach the Courtiers, Ceremony and Address? Monkeys, the Art of Pleasing in Conversation and agreeable Affectations, to Ladies and their Lovers? The Apes of less Learning, Comedians and Dancing Kasters? The Marmosets Court Pages, and young English Travelers. But the distinguishing each Kind, and allotting them to their proper Business, I leave to the inquisitive, and penetrating Genius of the Jesuits in their respective Missions."§

In 1785, William Cowper burlesqued evolutionary and perfectionistic ideas in the first book of the Task, giving what he called a "Historical Deduction of Seats, from the stool to the Sofa." This deduction amounts to an 'evolution' of seats, from rocks through three-legged and four-legged stools, to arm chairs and finally to the perfected sofa:
So slow
The growth of what is excellent; so hard
T'attain perfection in this nether world.
Thus first necessity invented stools,
Convenience next suggested elbow-chairs,
And luxury t'aaccomplish'd Sofa last.!

As part of the English reaction to the French Revolution, even liberty became the subject of a satiric progress piece, in Richard Owen Cambridge's *Progress of Liberty*, 1789. In a letter dated Dec. 12, 1789, Horace Walpole wrote to the Countess of Upper Ossory: "...have you seen Mr. Cambridge's excellent verses, called *The Progress of Liberty*? They were printed last Wednesday in a newspaper called *The Times*, but there ascribed to a young lady." The poem complacently satirizes the revolution, celebrating with mock enthusiasm the royal progress (a peculiarly ironic metaphor in this context) of Liberty from Versailles through a number of far-flung nations until she shortly arrives in Britain, where

She surveys the whole island, and finds it in awe
Of no pow'r upon earth, but of justice and law;
With no wrongs to redress, and no rights to restore;
She has all she can wish, and she asks for no more.!

This brings us finally to a piece already mentioned, Canning's and Frere's *Progress of Man*. A parody of Knight's *Progress of Civil Society*, this poem was published from February to April, 1798, in the *Anti-Jacobin*, professedly as excerpts from a forty canto didactic poem. The burlesque apparatus includes elaborate analytical tables of contents
and compendious footnotes, although the latter were not one of Knight's abuses. In addition to the implicit attack on Knight's pedantry, the piece ridicules current Rousseauistic and Godwinian criticism of civil society and preference for "natural society," criticism of which the moderate Knight had not been guilty.93

While many of the pieces discussed in this chapter are of small literary importance, the group as a whole is at least notable for its force of numbers. I have wanted to show the broad scope of the historical progress pieces in regard to subject matter, and to emphasize the rather surprising fact that collectively they point to almost the full extent of the eighteenth century's knowledge of its cultural traditions and aspiration for the continuance of these traditions. In the remaining chapters, I would like to go further into the questions of the poetic achievement and historical meaning of this widespread literary phenomenon.
NOTES

1. Cf. *City of God*, XX, 7. The idea of the seven ages goes back ultimately to millenial ideas in *Revelation*.


7. Fanshawe, p. 258.


10. Fanshawe, p. 262.

11. Fanshawe, p. 263.

13Fanshawe, p. 256.

14In Fanshawe, "To the Author of this Translation."

15Denham, p. 115.

16Denham, p. 114.

17Denham, p. 119.

18Denham, p. 121.

19Denham, p. 120.

20Denham, p. 120.

21Denham, p. 120.

22Denham, p. 117.


25Mawer, p. 5.

26Mawer, p. 15.

27Mawer, p. 17.

29 Bancks, p. 317.

30 Bancks, p. 320.


32 Roscommon, p. 25.

33 John Dryden, To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse, in Roscommon, A2.

34 In Roscommon, A3.

35 In Roscommon, A2.


37 Elijah Fenton, Poems on Several Occasions (London, 1717), p. 69.

38 Fenton, p. 70.

39 Fenton, p. 71.

40 Fenton, p. 72.

41 Fenton, p. 73.


53. Pope, p. 77.

54. The frequent occurrence of the translatio ideas in these early pieces probably owes something to the fact that many of the poets who used the ideas were translators of Greek and Latin literature: Dryden, Roscommon, Fenton, Pope. One would guess that their activity as translators made them particularly aware of the larger idea of the transference of learning and arts, and also that they sometimes looked on linguistic translation in this exalted light.


57 James Marriott, Poems Written Chiefly at the University of Cambridge, [Cambridge, 1761], pp. iii-iv.

58 Marriott, p. 8.


60 Bentley, p. 169.


62 Hayley, pp. 3-4.

63 Gentleman's Magazine, XIII, 100.

64 Matthew Pilkington, Poems on Several Occasions (London, 1731), p. x.


69 Thomson, p. 408.
70  Thomson, p. 358.
71  Thomson, p. 336.
72  Thomson, p. 321.
73  Cf. McKillop, p. 220.
74  Thomson, p. 395.
76  Collins, p. 47.
79  Moore, p. 370.
80  Moore, p. 372.
82  Glover, p. 22
84  *Poetical Blossoms: or, the Sports of Genius*. By *the Young Gentlemen of Mr. Rule's Academy at Islington* (London, 1766), p. 27.
85
Thomson, p. 300.

86

86a
In 1792 Thomas Udjoine added another *Progress of Refinement* to literary history, but I have not seen this piece.

87

88

89

90
Cowper, p. 131.

91

92

93
Another comic progress piece, though not of the historical variety, was the work of the American, Phillip Freneau. There is a brief summary in Appendix I, 1784 (a).
CHAPTER VI: RECURRING IMAGERY IN THE HISTORICAL PROGRESS PIECE

The historical progress piece arose in the seventeenth century, reached its zenith and began to decline in the eighteenth century, and disappeared in the early years of the nineteenth century. The last two chapters have dealt with what seem to be its most important backgrounds and with the nature and scope of the historical sequences which it took as its object. The purpose of this chapter is to make more explicit the manner in which these sequences were objectified, and the method will be to review the types of imagery which recurred frequently enough to arouse in the reader the expectation of meeting similar images in other pieces. Since a good deal of attention has already been given the translatio metaphors, I will not discuss them here except incidentally, but will consider briefly the progress metaphor and the personification which it implies, and in more detail images of rivers and streams, plants and trees, light and darkness. Northrop Frye has written that "the study of genres has to be founded on the study of convention" and that "criticism which can deal with such matters will have to be based on that aspect of symbolism which relates poems to one another, and it will choose, as its main field of operations, the
symbols that link poems together. The images which I have named do not appear in every historical progress piece, but they appear sufficiently often, I think, to be considered ingredients in the convention. A review of these images and the manner in which they enter the poems should help to illuminate the formal aspect of the historical progress piece.

A good deal of attention has already been given the progress metaphor, which is the most important of these images, providing the main unifying principle of the pieces and giving them their name. The derivation of the metaphor from the royal progress has been mentioned, and it was suggested that the progresses of Queen Elizabeth may have been the historical source of the metaphor. It is at least fairly certain that the first essays of the progress piece occurred during the last days of Elizabeth's reign. In order to illustrate the literal meaning of the royal progress, however, it is not necessary to describe one of Elizabeth's extended journeys through England, and as a matter of fact such a description would do little to clarify the progress piece as it actually developed. More useful here is the fact that Thomas Tickell made a literal progress the object of a poem in 1714. Entitled the Royal Progress and published in the Spectator on November 15, 1714, the poem celebrates the journey of George Lewis, soon to be George I of England, from the continent to London in September of 1714,
following the death of Queen Anne in August. The geographical structure of the journey resembles the last stage in the typical historical progress piece, while George is glorified in terms suggestive of the central personification in many of these pieces. Tickell characterizes him as the savior-king answering the call of destiny:

By longing nations for the throne design'd,
And call'd to guard the rights of human-kind;
With secret grief his god-like soul repines....

It will be seen later that other details of the poem, specifically images of light, suggest that the progress piece convention helped to shape Tickell's treatment of the literal progress, reciprocating, as it were, for the gift of the progress metaphor.

The essential difference between the progress and the translatio metaphors is that the former implies an active, the latter a passive, object. The personification of the central idea of the progress piece is a natural result of this implication of activity, as well as a result of the specific connotations of the progress image. Even when an author does not develop the central idea in terms of a royal personage, as the progress metaphor would logically direct, he makes the central idea active by means of some form of personification. The central idea may be embodied, for example, in the poetic muse: "Thus over Greece the Muse dis-
play'd her light" (1761 a); or in a personification suggesting deity: "By slow degrees the godlike art advanced" (1694).

It is unnecessary to deal at length with the host of personifications which appear in these pieces, but a few general remarks will help to clarify their nature. There have been a number of recent studies of eighteenth-century personification, the most helpful for my purposes being that of Chester F. Chapin. Taking account of previous studies but in the main proceeding independently, Mr. Chapin finds that there are two types of eighteenth-century personification, "a type which approaches the nature of allegory and a type which shows certain of the characteristics of metaphor." He adds that there is no sharp line of division between these types. The personification which approaches allegory tends to include more pictorial details and to be developed at greater length, while personification which is used metaphorically tends to be less descriptive and to appear and disappear in the course of perhaps one line. Personification as metaphor is used "to enhance the values in poetry by giving dramatic emphasis to the idea or sentiment which the poet [is] concerned to express." Examples of this type of personification can be obtained almost at random in these pieces:

From Aegypt Arts their Progress made to Greece....
(1668)
From Greece to Rome the Art of Grammar stray'd... (1738 b)

To Aegypt, next, Physic directs her Flight... (1743 d)

In the middle years of the eighteenth century we can see the historical progress piece becoming more allegorical, although this trend did not include all the pieces which appeared, roughly, from 1735 to 1760. Allegorical personification appears in Thomson's Liberty, 1735-36, in which the poet in a vision among the ruins of Rome confronts the goddess Liberty and hears from her own lips the story of her progress through European nations. In London: or, the Progress of Commerce, 1739, Richard Glover surpasses Liberty in the detail with which he personifies Commerce. Collins's 1746 odes which adapt the progress structure show this tendency toward highly visualized and sustained personification, while the second canto of Thomson's Castle of Indolence presents a progress of Arts and Industries in terms of a fully developed Spenserian allegory. This trend toward elaborate personification can also be seen in 1760 in Michael Wodhull's To the Muses; and in Graphics, 1761, in which James Marriott devises a love affair between Apollo and Phantasia in order to generate the sister arts, Poesis and Graphis, prior to tracing the progress of Graphis as far as Greece. This tendency toward allegorical personification may be illustrated more
concretely with lines from Joseph Warton’s Ode to a Gentle-
man upon his Travels thro’ Italy, which, like several of
Collins’s odes, adapts the progress structure. Warton is
speaking of the oppression of Art and Poesy during the mid-
dle ages:

They, weeping Art in fetters bound,
And veil’d her charms in clouds of thickest night;
Sad Poesy, much-injur’d maid,
They drove to some dim convent’s shade,
And quench’d in gloomy mist her lamp’s resplendent
light. (1746 a)

These personifications may be compared with one by Dryden
embodiing a similar idea:

Long time the sister arts, in iron sleep,
A heavy Sabbath did supinely keep....(1694)

Warton’s lines emphasize visual details, Dryden’s do not,
and both modes of personification appear in the progress
piece, with the highly pictorial or allegorical type occur-
rning most frequently between 1735 and 1760, the metaphorical
type appearing throughout the eighteenth century.

In addition to the progress metaphor and personifica-
tion of the central idea, other images recur often enough
to be considered typical features of the historical progress
piece. Warton’s lines quoted above illustrate the most im-
portant of these images: light, in connection with the cen-
tral personification; and darkness, in connection with the
loss or suppression of this idea. Before discussing these widespread and richly suggestive symbols, however, I want to mention two other types of image which appear frequently and which help to define the manner of the historical progress piece, imagery of streams and rivers, plants and trees.

Sir John Denham's *Progress of Learning* makes use of all three types of image, with all three serving to express his pessimism and cyclical views. Denham recapitulates these views and this attitude in the last lines of the poem with the "Streams of Knowledge" metaphor. The first four lines of the following quotation summarize his cyclical views, with the river of Learning running a circular rather than linear course; while the last couplet reiterates Denham's Swiftian fear of the misuse of knowledge and his concern that knowledge be kept within strict limits:

Into Earth's Spungy Veins, the Ocean sinks
Those Rivers to replenish which he drinks;
So Learning which from Reasons Fountain springs,
Back to the source, some secret Channel rings.
'Tis happy when our Streams of knowledge flow
To fill their banks, but not to overthrow. (1666)

Ashley Cowper viewed learning more optimistically than Denham, but he recognized that it had suffered periodical declines, only to reappear triumphantly in another place and time. An Aristeusian stream suitably expresses this idea:

Till, (as some long-lost Stream renews its Source,
Which under-ground pursu'd its mazy Course,)
Science, again, to happier Climes restor'd,
Unveil'd her Charms--and was again ador'd. (1743 d)

Cowper's image seems to have been a popular one in the seventeenth century. J. B. Bury uses it to describe the views of Charles Perrault (Parallele des Anciens et des Modernes, 1688-96), implying that it was the image Perrault had used: "There are breaches of continuity. The sciences and arts are like rivers, which flow for part of their course underground, and then, finding an opening, spring forth as abundant as when they plunged beneath the earth." And Bacon, in the Wisdom of the Ancients, 1609, had employed the same type of image to express the periodical disappearance and return of learning: "...a season of barbarism sets in, the waters of Helicon being sunk under the ground, until, according to the appointed vicissitude of things, they break out and issue forth again, perhaps among other nations, and not in the places where they were before." Other instances of stream-river images occur in the historical progress piece without implying a philosophy of history. The goddess Liberty is addressing Greece, in lines suggestive of the stream imagery in the first stanza of Gray's Progress of Poesy:

'Heroic song was thine; the fountain-bard,
Whence each poetic stream derives its course!'
(1735-36, II)

Another representative example of this type of imagery appears
in William Boscawen's sketch of the history of satire:

Trace the strong current of her classic strains
From ancient Rome to Britain's favour'd plains....

Severer Satire, from a different source,
Flow'd with rough vehemence and turbid course. (1796)

The stream-river image appeared in only a minority of historical progress pieces, so that it can scarcely by itself be considered a convention of the form. Yet it was an appropriate ingredient and a not unexpected one, which the poet could use without suggesting an innovation or in anyway offending the decorum of the genre. The quoted examples show the adaptability of the image to different views of history, and it is unnecessary to go into the traditional associations of the image (life, fertility, rebirth, for example) to see its suitability as a symbol for the continuing or reviving tradition of the arts and sciences. The river can be a destructive as well as life-giving force, and Denham makes use of this ambiguity in the last couplet of his poem.

The plant-tree image occurred more frequently than metaphors of stream and river, entering the historical progress piece as a variation on the translatio metaphor. "Transplant" was an alternate term for "translate" or "transfer," and the poets were quick to revive this dead metaphor. In a quotation from Denham already given, the reference to "air" and "soil" makes clear the metaphorical intention in "transplanted":
Nor ought a Genius lesse than his that writ,
Attempt Translation; for transplanted wit
All the defects of air and soil doth share,
And colder brains like colder Climates are... 7

Dryden develops the plant metaphor more fully, but euphony
requires him to dispense with "transplanted":

Whether the fruitful Nile, or Tyrian shore,
The seeds of arts and infant science bore,
'Tis sure the noble plant, translated first,
Advanced its head in Grecian gardens nurst. (1664 c)

Other poets carried on the resuscitation of "transplant,"
but usually in less detail, Fenton, for example, stating
that the Arts "Transplant their Laurels to another Clime"
(1711 a). In the Progress of Learning, Dennaõ uses plant-
tree imagery, adapting it to his skeptical views. His first
statement of the ambiguous character of learning is cast in
these terms:

Tell (like a Tall Old Oak) how Learning shoots
To Heaven Her Branches, and to Hell Her Roots. (1668)

He uses a similar image to comment on the sterility of learn-
ing among the disputing philosophical sects after Aristotle:

The tree of Knowledge blasted by disputes,
Produces sapless leaves instead of Fruits....

Another sort of plant image serves to embody the idea of
false learning among these schools:
Too much manuring fill'd that field with weeds,  
Whilst Sects, like Locusts, did destroy the seeds....

It may be noted parenthetically that the locust image was taken up by later poets and became a recurring feature in the progress piece, usually in connection with the Gothic "swarms." Thus Fenton writes: "These Locusts ev'ry springing Art destroy'd..." (1711 a). Fenton, in addition, transfers the plant image from arts in general to specific practitioners, and thus he writes of Shakespeare and his followers:

Some Scions shot from this immortal Root,  
Their tops much lower, and less fair the Fruit.

Pope uses plant imagery, but without elaboration, in his progress of Dulness in Book III of the Dunciad, speaking of "the soil that arts and infant letters tore" (1728 e). John Bancks is more explicit in his use of the metaphor in his progress of language; he is alluding to the Spanish, Italian, and French languages:

Yet these grew worthy the Grammarian's Toil,  
To prune the Shoots, and cultivate the Soil...(1738 b)

Ashley Cowper uses the plant image to convey the desolation of learning after "the Gothic Swarms forsook their Hive": "Art's fairest Fruit, and Learning wither'd lie..." (1743 c). He continues this type of imagery in speaking of the revival of medicine in Arabia:
Of Medicine lo! the long uncultur'd Field
Began to smile—and a new harvest yield....

We saw in the last chapter that liberty was often looked upon as the condition necessary and sufficient for the growth of the arts. The poets sometimes used plant imagery to express this idea. Thomson's goddess Liberty is speaking:

...where my Spirit wakes the finer powers,
Athenian laurels still afresh shall bloom. (1735-36)

Julia Cowper Macan had anticipated Thomson's expression of the same idea:

'Twas liberty bestow'd the power to sing,
And bid the verse-rewarding laurel spring. (1731)

There are other examples of plant-tree imagery in the historical progress pieces, but perhaps enough instances have been given to suggest the wide currency of this type of metaphor. Like the stream-river imagery, these metaphors are used in connection with the westward movement of the arts and sciences, supplementing the progress metaphor. In some cases these images afford a particularization and elaboration of the translatio metaphor, while in other contexts they represent specialized versions of the metaphor inherent in "Renaissance."

More frequent in occurrence and richer in traditional associations than either of these types of image was imagery
of light in connection with the central idea of the historical progress piece. Throughout the brief history of this literary type, Learning, Poetry, Painting, Liberty, and the other ideas and activities chronicled in these pieces were conventionally associated with light and especially with the natural source of light, the sun. As early as 1648 Sir Richard Fanshawe begins his Canto of the Progress of Learning:

Say then how **Learnings Sunne** to shine began?  
And by what darke degrees it did goe back in man?

Denham, in addition to the two types of imagery already discussed, several times makes the sun a metaphor for knowledge; and like the plant-tree and stream-river images, the sun serves to express Denham's pessimism and his cyclical views of history. The sun of knowledge, like the sun of nature, "Gaz'd on too long, resumes the light he gave..." (1668). And learning pursues a circular course, in much the same way as the sun:

> When like a Bride-groom from the East, the Sun  
> Sets forth, he thither, whence he came doth run....

Pope, in his mock-progress in the **Dunciad**, objectifies Science in terms of the sun:

> How little, mark! that portion of the ball,  
> Where, faint at best, the beams of Science fall.  
> (1728 e)
The anonymous author of the Progress of Charity speaks of Charity's "healing ray" (1743 a). And William Hayley eulogizes Liberty in terms of sun imagery:

Such gifts, O Liberty, are only thine;  
Thy vital fires thro' kindling spirits run,  
Thou soul of life, thou intellectual sun;  
Thy rays call forth, profuse and unconfined,  
The richest produce of the human mind. (1778)

Sun imagery frequently appears in connection with the idea that the arts and sciences arose in the eastern world. We see a relic of the sun metaphor, incidentally, in the recurring 'Rise and Progress' title for historical treatises in the eighteenth century. Pope compares the birth of knowledge to that of the sun:

Far Eastward cast thine eye, from whence the Sun  
And orient Science at a birth begun. (1728 e)

John Whaley objectifies the idea of the growth of painting in terms of the rising sun:

From these small Hints the dawning Science sprung,  
Improv d by Time, and by degrees grew strong. (1732 c)

The anonymous Progress of Painting uses the same image in briefer fashion: "From Greece the dawn of social arts began..." (1743 c). And Thomson speaks of his Knight of Arts and Industries in similar terms:
It would exceed the purport of my song
To say how this best sun, from orient climes,
Came beaming life and beauty all along....(1746 a)

The apparent westward course of the sun allowed the poets to sustain the use of sun imagery beyond the first stages of a historical sequence. Thus Thomson is able to have Liberty speak:

West with the living day to Greece I came:
Earth smiled beneath my beam....(1735-36)

He sustains the sun imagery in connection with the westward manifestations of Arts and Industries:

Still, as he passed, the nations he sublimes,
And calls forth arts and virtue with his ray:
Then Egypt, Greece, and Rome their golden times Successive had....(1748 a)

Michael Wodhull celebrates the universal beneficence of the Muses, which like the sun smile on all alike:

Nor Helicon your realms can bound,
Nor from Parnassus only beams your ray;
In every region are ye found,
And on Cimmerian darkness pour the day. (1760 a)

As if continuing Wodhull's argument, James Marriott writes:

Thus over Greece the Muse display'd her light,
And with the Roman Eagles urg'd her flight....(1761 a)

John Brown uses the sun metaphor in connection with the historical continuity rather than geographical course of Satire:
Thro' ages thus hath Satire greatly shin'd,
The friend to truth, to virtue, and mankind... (1763 c)

Hayley resumes the sun metaphor to objectify Painting's career westward:

Her clouded beams, from Italy withdrawn,
On colder France with transient lustre dawn. (1778)

And later William Boscawen makes use of the sun's transitive nature in connection with the progress of Satire: "Still Satire shines with transitory rays..." (1798 b). 9

As sun-light imagery became a standard accouterment of the historical progress piece in regard to the rise in the East and westward movement of the arts and sciences, so imagery of darkness, night, and sleep was used to make concrete the idea that arts and learning suffered a decline in the middle ages. Few pieces appeared without incorporating some variation on the Dark Ages metaphor. Denham speaks of the middle ages as a time when "dark distinctions, Reasons light disguis'd":

Then Darkness, Europe's face did over-spread
From lazy Cells, where superstition bred,
Which, link'd with blind Obedience, so encreast
That the whole world, some ages they opprest....(1668)

Dryden is more indirect in his allusion to cultural night:

Long time the sister arts, in iron sleep,
A heavy Sabbath did supinely keep....(1674)
Whaley sees the Dark Ages in terms of the absence of the sun of Learning:

Long Europe, thus by Gotaick Pow'r opprest,
The sad effects of Ignorance confess;
Nor ever warm'd by Learning's kindly Ray,
Wrapt in Cimmerian Night dejected lay. (1732 c)

Seeming to echo the closing lines of the Dunciad, Ashley Cowper writes:

Chaos return'd—all Peace and Order fled—
O'er Customs, Languages, Laws, thick Night was spread. (1743 d)

Imagery of darkness overcoming light is central to the passage from Joseph Warton already quoted in connection with personification:

They, weeping Art in fetters bound,
And gor'd her breast with many a wound,
And veil'd her charms in clouds of thickest night;
Sad Poesy, much injur'd maids,
They drove to some dim convent's shade,
And quench'd in gloomy mist her lamp's resplendent light. (1746 a)

Michael Wodhull refers to the middle ages with a similar kind of elaborate imagery, here personifying the oppressor rather than oppressed:

Black superstition, bath'd in human gore,
With all her ghastly troop...(1760 a)

John Brown's personification is less pictorial: "Deep Superstition's night the skies o'erhung...(1763 c). Light-dark
imagery also serves William Hayley to express the decline of Painting:

Oh! lovely Painting! long thy cheering light
Was lost and buried in Tartaric night....(1775)

And so the trend continued, night and darkness supplying the favorite image for the idea that arts and sciences underwent injury and suppression at the hands of the northern invaders and, later, the Church Fathers.

We saw that in some instances the tree-plant metaphor served to objectify the idea of the revival of arts and learning in the Renaissance. The sun metaphor was likewise used. As culture had first dawned in the East, so it dawned a second time in the West, putting an end to the Dark Ages. Darkness, superstition, "blind Obedience," oppressed the whole world, writes Denham:

Till through the Clouds, the Sun of Knowledge brake,
And Europe from her Lethargy did wake....(1668)

The same image informs Whaley's lines:

By slow degrees her Head fair Science rear'd
And waking Arts the lazy Darkness cheer'd. (1732 d)

Ashley Cowper speaks of medicine dawning again in Arabia:

The sable Night of Ignorance withdrawn,
From bless'd Arabia broke the cheerful Dawn....(1743 d)
Sun imagery also serves John Brown to celebrate the Renaissance:

At length, again fair science shot her ray,  
Dawn'd in the skies, and spoke returning day....  
(1763 c)

In similar terms William Hayley speaks of the birth of Painting in England:

When on this Isle, the Gothic clouds withdrawn,  
The distant light of Painting seem'd to dawn...  
(1778)

At times the sun-light imagery was transferred from the central personification to actual manifestations of this idea or activity, from Poetry, for example, to individual poets. Thus Fenton writes of Shakespeare: "He like the God of Day, was always bright..." (1711 a); and Brown celebrates the genius of Pope:

But genius fir'd by truth's eternal ray,  
Burns clear and constant, like the source of day;  
Like this, its beam prolific and refin'd,  
Feeds, warms, inspirits, and exalts the mind....  
(1763 c)

William Cowper's survey of genius, as we saw in the last chapter, depends heavily on sun-light-dark imagery:

Ages elaps'd ere Homer's lamp appear'd...  

Thus genius rose and set at order'd times,  
And shot a day-spring into distant climes,  
Ennobling ev'ry region that he chose;
He sunk in Greece, in Italy he rose;
And, tedious years of Gothic darkness pass't, c
Emerg'd all splendour in our isle at last.

... 

These were the chief: each interval of night
Was grac'd with many an undulating light.
In less illustrious bards his beauty shone
A meteor, or a star; in these, the sun. (1782)

In this connection, we can note that the one progress piece
which took as its object the literal journey of royalty,
Tickell's Royal Progress, 1714, uses light imagery in rela-
tion to George I, speaking of his "shining march" and refer-
ing to his processional train in terms of a comet's trail.

This accumulation of sun-light imagery, usually in
connection with the central personification, might arouse
the expectation of allusions to the Apollo myth, and in fact
such allusions occasionally appear. The Earl of Roscommon,
for example, uses Phoebus-sun imagery in relation to the
translato studii idea:

But now that Phoebus and the sacred Nine
With all their beams on our blest island shine,
Why should not We their ancient Rites restore;
And be what Rome or Athens were before? (1684 b)

William Dunkin, in the preface to Matthew Pilkington's poems,
speaks of the maturing of poetry in Ireland in terms of
Apollo-sun imagery:

The God of Numbers, and the God of Light
Rescues our Poets from the Shades of Night,
Thro' Northern Climes his Glance divine displays,
Ripens our Judgment, and sublimes our lays. (1731 b)

And James Marriott constructs an allegory of the birth of
the sister arts, making elaborate use of Apollo symbolism:

Exil'd by wrath of Jove, Apollo fled,
And veil'd in earthly clouds his radiant head:
That hand which guided through th' ethereal way
Immortal coursers, and the car of day....(1761 b)

While in seclusion, Apollo meets Phantasia, and as a result
Poesis and Graphis are born.

The mention of these allusions to Apollo serves to
stress the appropriateness of recurring light and sun imagery
in the historical progress piece. Not only does the ritual
of the sun's westward movement suit well with the order of
the historical sequence depicted in the typical piece, but
the traditional associations of light and the natural source
of light with cultural enlightenment, associations which
find a focus in the Apollo myth, serve to inform the ideas
in the historical progress pieces with emotional strength,
and thus to make this convention a more forceful vehicle
for expressing English cultural and patriotic aspirations
than the mere statement of translatio imperii or translatio
studii. We call the eighteenth century the Age of Enlighten-
ment; Marjorie Hope Nicolson has recorded the century's "ob-
session--the word is used advisedly--with Light itself";¹⁰
and Benedetto Croce writes: "'light,' 'illumination,' and
the like are words pronounced on every occasion and with ever increasing conviction and energy; hence the title 'age of light,' of 'enlightenment' or of 'illumination,' given to the period extending from Descartes to Kant.\textsuperscript{11} The historical progress pieces further document these statements. It should be stressed, however, that in these pieces light and the sun appear not for their own sake, as they often did in an age intoxicated by Newton's discoveries, but as part of the poetic objectification of ideas.

Images of sun and light, rivers and streams, plants and trees, were of course not confined to the historical progress piece, so that their mere appearance in these pieces does not constitute a differentiae to set off this from other species of poetry. The progress metaphor, stated or implied, in connection with a historical sequence, are the chief differentiae of the species. But these other metaphors contributed to the form, supplementing and enhancing the progress metaphor. The new poem born into the society of progress pieces need not have had these characteristics, but it would likely have had some of them and been stronger on account of this inheritance.
NOTES

1  

2  
    Spectator, No. 620 (London, 1747), VIII, 241. To prevent an excessive multiplication of notes to this chapter, I will hereafter only cite the date under which the quoted piece may be found in Appendix I.

3  

4  
    Chapin, p. 98.

5  

6  

7  
    "To the Author of this Translation," prefixed to Fanshawe's translation of Il Pastor Fido (London, 1648).

8  
    This image seems to have derived from the book of Revelation (9:3), perhaps by way of Milton. Cf. Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England, in The Works of John Milton (London, 1851), III, 69: "O let them not bring about their damned designs that stand now at the entrance of the bottomlesses pit expecting the Watch-word to open and let out those dreadful Locusts and Scorpions, to re-involve us in that pitchy Cloud of infernall darknes, where we shall never more see the Sunne of thy Truth againe, never hope for the cheerfull dawne, never more heare the Bird of Morning sing."

9  
    The sun image was also popular in surveys of learning
outside the progress piece. Thomas Burnet in 1692 writes: "Learning, like the Sun, began to take its Course from the East, then turned Westward, where we have long rejoiced in its Light. Who knows whether, leaving these Seats, it may not yet take a further Progress? Or whether it will not be universally diffused, and enlighten all the World with its Rays?" Archaeologiae Philosophicae; or, the Ancient Doctrine concerning the Originals of Things (London, 1692), p. 132, quoted in Ernest Lee Tuveson, Millenium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), p. 166. It is possible that this passage was influenced by Denham's piece; certainly Burnet uses "Progress" in full awareness of its metaphorical significance.

In 1699 John Edwards uses the sun image in the same way Burnet had used it: "Thus Learning, followed the Course of the Sun, (an Intimation of which seems to be in the Poets, when they made Phoebus the God of Light and Learning;) all humane Arts and knowledge were derived down to us from the Eastern Parts of the world, where Mankinde itself first had its rise." A Compleat History or Survey of all the Dispensations and Methods of Religion, from the Beginning of the World to the Consummation of all Things; as Represented in the Old and New Testament (London, 1699), II, 689, quoted in Tuveson, p. 139.

10 Newton Demands the Muse (Princeton, 1946), p. 36.

CHAPTER VII: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HISTORICAL PROGRESS PIECE

R. H. Griffith summarized the significance of the progress piece as follows: "It was only a fad, the composition of these Progress Pieces... And a fad is not to be taken too seriously. Yet even a fad may be indicative of a turn of mind."¹ This statement places sound limits, I think, on the evaluation of this literary phenomenon. In this chapter, I would like to reconsider the historical progress pieces in this light, trying to make more explicit how far they are to be considered a fad and to suggest in what ways they signify a climate of opinion. Examining the pieces from the point of view of their objects, we have seen that they reflect a broad segment of the eighteenth-century's interest in its cultural traditions. The attempt to explicate the manner of these pieces showed that their formal aspect, especially the prevalence of light-sun-Apollo imagery, reinforces their tribute to the cultural enlightenment believed manifest or imminent in England in the eighteenth century. With this evidence at hand, it is tempting to view the historical progress piece as an attempt of the literary community to shape from the materials of history and poetry a myth expressive of England's most valued aspirations at
this time, aspirations of intellectual, artistic, social, and imperial achievement. This way of looking at the historical progress piece would help to rescue it from the charge of insignificance but would perhaps tilt the scales too far in the other direction, making the type seem a more weighty accomplishment than it was. Reviewing these pieces from the point of view of their effects, the authors' controlling purposes as seen in the works themselves, should furnish a perspective helpful for assessing their historical significance. Since I have discussed them extensively in Chapter V, it will be unnecessary to reconsider all the pieces in order to set out the main purposes which determined their production.

It is obvious, I think, that the historical progress pieces are not significant as history, although some of them seem to have been intended primarily as summaries of historical information. No one today would turn to progress pieces in order to learn the history of poetry, painting, or civilization, no matter how impressive their array of facts and documentation, and I doubt that many readers turned to them for this purpose in the eighteenth century. For even the pieces in which the didactic effect is most apparent always reveal some purpose over and above didacticism, although this purpose may be little more than to season a solid intellectual repast with poetry. Such a literary
intention, however ancillary to the author's main purpose, results in adornments irrelevant to the history, and perhaps in over-selectivity and over-organization of the material. The pieces which sin least in these respects, such as the *Progress of Civil Society*, may be the most significant as history; they are also the least interesting as poetry; and I think there is a correlation between these facts. The writing of history requires submission to data; the writing of poetry, concession to poetic form, with facts being shaped, if need be distorted, in order to achieve for them a new life and meaning in the context of the poem. This is the reason, incidentally, it is proper to speak of history as the object as well as the subject of these poems. If it were possible to write a poem the sole purpose of which was to convey historical information, we should say that history was the poem's subject. But insofar as there is an aesthetic purpose operating, the poem can be thought of not as stating propositions about history so much as imitating historical propositions for the purpose of creating a poetic form which is important in its own right as well as for its instructional value. The line between history as subject and history as object in the progress pieces is admittedly vague, since the emphasis on teaching and art varies from poem to poem, and I raise the problem here merely in hopes of clarifying somewhat the frequent mention of the literary object
in these pages.

If there is an antithesis between poetry and historiography, it would appear that the authors of the progress pieces, had they intended to be serious historians, would have turned to expository prose, as Clara Reeve did in the \textit{Progress of Romance}, 1785, or as Lord Monboddo did in \textit{Of the Origin and Progress of Language}, 1773, a survey which ran to six volumes. That they preferred to write poems, usually short poems, argues for another controlling purpose. Griffith offers this explanation: "Men of letters wished to be classed among the wits; and wits abhorred pedantry--any show of learning. Knowledge must be worn debonairly, with grace and ease as a buttonhole bouquet. Progress poems permitted to the poet--surreptitiously, as it were, and without prejudice--the use of his information in the facts and theories of history and science."? This explanation, which may be the best one, cannot be verified, but if we shift emphasis from the poet to the poem, we may learn that the most didactically turned progress pieces reveal a high esteem for the central idea, and it is this esteem which, in my opinion, offers a demonstrable though partial account for the appearance of these pieces instead of an equal number of serious histories. It is unnecessary to write a full history of painting, even if one is qualified, in order to express admiration for art. The briefest poetical sketch
can reveal this esteem. William Hayley's *Essay on Painting* illustrates this point. Though rich in historical information, which is carefully documented, this poem shows an enthusiasm for painting which would be inappropriate if not impossible in a formal history. In this case, there is external evidence which strengthens the testimony of the poem that the history of painting was less an end in itself than a means to celebrating the art. In the preface to his *Poems and Plays*, Hayley writes in regard to this and other poems: "My principal design was to present a general view of the art in question, with a just and animating character of its most eminent professors. There is, I believe, a season of life, in which Poems of this nature may be read with the happiest effect. --The first, and perhaps the most important step towards forming a great artist in any line, is to inspire a youth of quick feelings with an enthusiastic passion for some particular art, and with an ingenuous delight, in the glory of its Heroes." In an earlier chapter I noted that this was the fullest historical poem on painting that I had found, and that it relied on many authorities for its information. Yet the poem suggests and this statement by Hayley supports the idea that he was primarily concerned to communicate an attitude toward painting rather than information about it. This celebrational purpose shows more clearly in shorter poems in which the historical data is more selec-
tive and the didactic effect less likely to obscure the panegyric quality. John Whaley, in his *Essay on Painting*, leaves little to inference as toward the end of the poem he makes clear the real meaning of his sketchy historical survey:

Hail, brightest Art, fair Goddess Painting, hail! Whose happy Influence can so far prevail! With prosp’rous Rays on fair Britannia shine, Join’d to thy Sisters, the harmonious Nine.

The point does not need laboring. With one or two possible exceptions, I find even the most didactically inclined progress pieces tending to subordinate the giving of information about the central idea to the expression and evocation of esteem for this idea. This purpose helps to explain why the most didactic of these poets wrote poetic instead of prose histories and why, I think, the historical progress piece appeared at all.

Of more interest than the historical information which these pieces contain are the assumptions about history which they state or imply. It is well known that the idea of progress, one of the most influential of modern ideas, developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One would expect this idea to figure prominently in a body of works having so promising a name, but he soon discovers that the idea of progress is seldom an important thesis, that "progress" refers mainly to the central metaphor and only inter-
mittently to a philosophy of history. It would be possible to examine these pieces from the point of view of the philosophy of history which they imply, but such a study would be primarily a footnote to the excellent surveys by Fury, Crane, Whitney, and Tuveson. It is beyond the scope of this study to undertake an elaborate analysis of this kind, but I would like to note briefly the directions in which I think such an analysis would lead.

In some of the historical progress pieces which appeared in the seventeenth century it would be possible to see the precise opposite of the idea of progress, the belief in the progressive decay of nature and man. Fanshawe's Canto of the Progress of Learning illustrates this thought pattern. Ernest Lee Tuveson has shown that the other face of this coin betokened a kind of optimism, a belief in God's providence, the decay of nature being often considered the necessary prelude to the millenium. The faith in providence and in the approaching millenium, the seventh age of the world which would be an eternal Sabbath, is the theme of William Gouge's sermon in 1645, the Progress of Divine Providence; and Keach'd Progress of Sin in 1684, echoes the faith in providence. This religious optimism, Tuveson believes, was part of the conditioning which prepared men's minds for the belief in secular progress. The other prime ingredient of the idea of progress, recognized by all
historians, was the developing faith in empirical science, which began emphatically with Francis Bacon and was institutionalized in the Royal Society.

Tuveson points to the emergence of cyclical views of history in the seventeenth century in opposition to the doctrine of decay; and these views allowed for the possibility if not the inevitability of progress. We have seen that Denham's Progress of Learning, 1668, reflects a cyclical philosophy of history, but Denham chose to accentuate the possibility of decay rather than of progress. A number of features in this poem encourage the guess that Denham's own madness, from which he recovered before his death, prompted his pessimism about man's intellectual capacities. At any rate, he denied both the religious and secular threads in the growing fabric of optimism. Learning was in the downward rather than upward curve of its circle, and modern hopes of scientific advance and "new light" were baseless. More moderate cyclical viewpoints lie back of the historical surveys in verse by Roscommon, Dryden, Fenton, and Pope, who assume that learning and the arts have periods of decline as well as of ascendance, while they hope that their own age will be one of cultural achievement, re-enacting the best days of Greece and Rome. The ideas of translatio imperii and translatio studii assume a cyclical view of history, although this assumption may not be immediately
apparent in the *translatio* metaphor, which emphasizes the continuity of empire and learning from one age and land to another rather than their rise, decline, and revival at different stages in their career. In Berkeley's *America or the Muse's Refuge*, written in 1726, we see a mixture of philosophical views in regard to history. Berkeley seems to hold cyclic views, for he envisions the rise, once more, of empire and of arts, this time in America. He also believes in a form of progress, for this will be the noblest era history has produced, with the improvement related directly to cultural primitivism; he speaks of America in terms of "happy Climes," "Innocence," "Nature," and "Virtue." Yet secular history is not ultimate. The old view of providence lingers in the poem, for the new age will be not only the noblest but also the last and will "close the Drama with the Day." Beyond it, we are left to infer, lies the eternal Sabbath proclaimed by earlier divines.

It was in the 1740's that the idea of progress first appeared clearly in historical progress pieces, although Thomson's *Liberty*, 1735-36, had contained traces of the idea. Thomson's main emphasis is on the transference to Britain of empire and arts founded upon liberty, and on the glorious future of the British empire; England, moreover, is Liberty's...

...best established, last,
And, more than Greece or Rome, my steady reign....
This condition would seem to suggest the possibility if not the certainty of progress. The *Castle of Indolence*, 1746, like *Liberty*, suggests a doctrine of progress. The later stanzas take on a religious tone and turn toward ideas of individual progress, a sort of neo-platonic perfectionism, in terms of ascension along the chain of being:

Heirs of eternity, yborn to rise
Through endless states of being, still more near
To bliss approaching, and perfection clear."

Between Thomson's poems, Ashley Cowper in the *Progress of Physic*, 1743, had proclaimed the idea of progress in medicine, basing his faith on the empirical method as defended by the Royal Society. He reserved "progress" for the denotation, 'improvement, growth,' and used such terms as "transplanted" and "fled" to describe the geographical and historical course of Physic. The faith in progress reappeared sporadically in later progress pieces. William Cowper's progress of genius in *Table Talk* reflects an idea of progress similar to that which Edward Young had expressed in 1759 in *Conjectures on Original Composition*, Cowper speaking of Virgil carrying nature "lengths unknown before."

One year following Cowper's poem, in 1763, appeared Henry James Pye's *Progress of Refinement*, which takes for granted the idea of progress and is a survey of cultural progress in the western world. Pye does not expound an unqualified
optimism, however, but views progress as both a good and a danger: It may produce luxury, softness, and, eventually, the loss of liberty.

From this brief summary it is possible to see two main threads in the doctrine of progress embodied in these pieces: the belief in human development along the chain of being prefiguring later evolutionary views (Thomson, W. Cowper), and the belief in intellectual and social advance, founded upon a method of inquiry, namely the empirical, or upon a condition of life, namely liberty (A. Cowper; Thomson, Fye). The ideas of human development and cultural improvement were both germinating in the eighteenth century, and both ideas appear in the progress piece. The idea of progress, however, was not the exclusive view of history assumed in the historical progress piece, but shared priority with pessimistic views of gradual decay and their optimistic counterpart, the belief that God's providence was bringing history to its end and fulfilment in the millenium; as well as with cyclical views reflecting various shades of optimism. The idea of progress was an incident in the historical progress piece; its history could be charted almost as well, I would think, in other eighteenth-century genres, such as the loco-descriptive poem, save for the fact that the historical nature of the progress pieces particularly invited the appearance of the idea, once the poets had begun to assimilate
it. The important feature common to most historical progress pieces was the consciousness that England and Englishmen stood as present representatives of a venerable past, and such a faith was possible within the framework of either cyclical or progressive views of history.

We saw that the most didactic of historical progress pieces reveal an esteen for the central idea which suggests that celebrating the idea entered the purpose of the authors at least as much as distributing historical information about the idea. I would like to try to be more precise about the ways in which this purpose affected the historical progress piece. One way of celebrating the present manifestation of an esteemed tradition was through panegyric of contemporary Englishmen who were looked upon as active and contributing participants in the tradition. Thus the historical survey of any activity might lead up to a living practitioner of the activity, poet, painter, musician, or grammarian, the praise of whom turns out to be the main effect of the poem. In these personal panegyrics, emphasis tends to be on the individual rather than on the activity. Thus the progress structure tends to be a mere convention here more than in pieces with other controlling purposes. It sometimes seems that the poet, wanting to praise a modern, cast about for a medium and came up with the progress piece as a recognized form which he could easily adapt to his needs.
In such pieces, the fac-like quality of the progress piece is most apparent. The three progresses of beauty are obvious examples of appropriating the progress convention for complimentary purposes, Lansdowne, Delacourt, and the anonymous contributor to the Gentleman's Magazine all singing the praises of contemporary English or Irish beauties who carry on the tradition of beauty in the world, with the history of beauty being purely a device for leading into the panegyric, the real purpose of the poems. Dryden's complimentary epistles to Roscommon, Higden, and Kneller utilize the history of translated verse, satire, and painting, respectively, as preludes to panegyric on these modern practitioners of the arts. We cannot think that Dryden was uninterested in the history of these activities (he wrote a completely serious history of satire), but in these poems the tradition is clearly auxiliary to the panegyric. Other historical progress pieces which were personal panegyrics appeared during most of the eighteenth century, with varying degrees of emphasis on the individual and the art. Elijah Fenton, for example, in his Epistle to Mr. Southerne, 1711, bolsters his tribute to Southerne with historical surveys of drama and poetry, but he also shows real concern for these activities, so that we feel he is celebrating drama as well as a dramatist when he hopes that Southerne will "court her drama to be great again." On the other hand, Matthew
Pilkington in the *Progress of Musick in Ireland*, 1731, seems to rehearse the development of music from the peasant's reed to modern instruments only in order to praise Viner, Nicolini, and Dubourg. John Bancks, in his progress of language, 1738, addresses and compliments the grammarian, Loughton, but he also reveals a serious concern for language and especially for English, which "echoes still the honest open Heart," and thus a note of patriotism also enters the poem. There is a strong current of patriotism in Collins's *Epistle to Hanmer*, 1743, with the patriotism, the praise of Hanmer, and the celebration of literary tradition all converging into one stream. Collins anticipates a revival of the arts through the inspiration of Shakespeare, made available through Hanmer's edition, with the result that London will rival Athens in accomplishment, Shakespeare being the new Homer, Hanmer his compiler. The verses *To Mr. Urban* prefacing the 1740 volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* give a perfunctory survey of the development of learning for the purpose of leading into panegyric, this time of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which is presented as the apex of learning. John Brown took more pains with his historical survey in the *Essay on Satire*, 1763, but the main purpose is still panegyric, or more strictly, eulogy, of Pope, with whom the survey ends and whom Brown calls Satire's "choicest boon." A different use of the progress structure in panegyric verse occurs in James Marriott's
verses To the Queen, 1761, where Marriott incorporates a progress of poetry not as a means of praising the bride of George III, but in order to give a pedigree for these verses, which will sing her praises. Other instances could be given, but I have cited the main examples in which personal panegyric is one of the central purposes and effects of the historical progress piece. The handling of the progress varies in these poems, from the obviously perfunctory use of a popular convention in the progresses of beauty, where the main purpose is a pleasant compliment to contemporary ladies, to more serious uses in such poems as Collins's verses to Ham- mer, where personal panegyric merges with tribute to the literary tradition and to the community where the tradition is now manifest.

This celebration of the community is an important effect of the historical progress piece. We see it in the idea of translatio imperii when England is hailed as the new Greece or the new Rome; and part of this patriotic enthusiasm adheres to the idea of translatio studii, which emphasizes the reappearance of ancient learning in England. The progress piece does not achieve national panegyric as one of its major effects, however, until Thomson's Liberty, in 1735-36. Liberty is more than a patriotic poem; it is also a historical and a philosophic poem; but perhaps the effect that emerges most strongly, subordinating other effects to
itself, is that produced in the last part in Thomson's enthusiastic prospect of empire, which will be established through British sea-power and commerce. Britain will rival Rome in grandeur and Greece in art. These hopes, of commerce, empire, and art, depend upon the maintenance of Liberty in England, which in turn depends upon social love and its political manifestation, public zeal or "a passion for the commonweal." Didacticism and panegyric merge in the poem, both pointing to a greater England, in politics, commerce, public works, and arts. We have seen that Richard Glover's London: or, the Progress of Commerce, 1736, carries national panegyric to the point of chauvinism. Glover sees commerce as the foundation for England's national and cultural greatness, and this position, adhered to with strict logic, would condemn in harshest terms any commercial threat to England. Thus Glover closes the poem anathemizing Spain and boasting the might of England's "angry fleets." A maritime war with Spain did in fact break out in 1739. Public zeal takes a humanitarian form in the Progress of Charity, 1743. The anonymous author makes Charity coequal with Liberty in securing greatness for Britain, but this element of community panegyric is subordinate to the practical purpose of encouraging the establishment of public hospitals. A patriotic element appears also in the Progress of Painting, 1743, in which the author implies a causal relation between artistic
achievement and national eminence. The survey is not confined to painting but embraces the "social arts," including architecture, sculpture, poetry, philosophy, indeed, almost all branches of learning, to physics and statesmanship. Great actions inspire great art which in turn stimulates heroic actions. The genius of Greece and Rome appears now in English masters, from Inigo Jones to Isaac Newton, and one infers that England's national greatness corresponds with this cultural achievement. The progress structure was used in other poems in which there was a strong patriotic strain; Dyer's Fleece, for example, contains a survey of the wool industry from ancient times in which the note is sounded of English supremacy in the wool trade; and On Education, 1765, argues that Britain's imperial greatness depends directly upon her achievement in learning; but the impulse to turn the progress piece mainly to patriotic account was not strong after the 1740's, with the years 1735-1743 being the most fruitful of pieces in which the purpose of community panegyric was central. Patriotism continued for a long time, however, to be an ingredient of these pieces, manifesting itself most clearly in the conventional recognition of England as the home of freedom, which was the condition posited as essential for the flourishing of culture. Few historical progress pieces after Liberty neglected to express some variation on the theme. Thus Michael Woodhull writes, address-
ing the Muses:

In quest of liberty ye fly,
To tyranny your aid deny,
And find in western climes a happier seat....

And Mark Akenside's *Ode to Huntingdon*, 1746, which is related to the historical progress piece, elaborately argues that poetic talent and "high sentiments of Liberty, do reciprocally produce and assist each other." 10

While recognizing that the historical progress pieces are of some importance in the history of popularized ideas, I have been working toward the conclusion that their principal significance can best be recognized in the tendency toward panegyric, of the central ideas, of individuals in whom these ideas are manifest, and of the community. We might name these tendencies cultural panegyric, personal panegyric, and community panegyric. They are seldom perfectly distinguishable, but one is usually dominant in a given piece. The tendency toward personal panegyric shows most clearly the fad quality of the historical progress piece, as a ready-made convention, easily accessible to the poet who wanted to frame a pleasant compliment. But we saw that some personal panegyrics, such as Collins's *Epistle to Hanmer*, blend strong currents of cultural and community panegyric. The community panegyric reflects England's patriotic zeal in the eighteenth century, including its aspirations to empire, trade, public
works, and social welfare. The element of cultural panegyric accords with and reaffirms what we know about the eighteenth century's enthusiasm for enlightenment, reflected also in the recurring imagery of the historical progress piece. In the tendencies toward community and cultural panegyric, moreover, the historical progress piece answers to its backgrounds, the related ideas of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*. These ideas represent a typical Renaissance and Reformation way of viewing history, which the historical progress piece carries over into the eighteenth century. It is possible to say that the impulse to cultural panegyric carries on a characteristic impulse of the Renaissance; while the impulse to community panegyric continues a nationalistic trend beginning in the Reformation; so that in both backgrounds and effects the historical progress piece shows a continuation of Renaissance and Reformation ideas and attitudes, formalized in a convention, modified to suit eighteenth century needs, and gradually losing force as the eighteenth century passed. Admitting that the historical progress piece was in part a fad and recognizing that it was an easily imitated convention should not be taken as an attempt to deny its significance but to see its significance in perspective. It was something of a straw in the wind, but it was also an indication of the way important thought currents, which had their origin in previous centuries, were
traveling in the eighteenth century.

I have not considered the burlesque pieces here, since they were reviewed in a group in a previous chapter, but they should not be passed over in summarizing the major effects of the historical progress piece. It may appear that burlesques of the form in general and parodies of specific pieces constitute further evidence that the historical progress piece was not taken seriously. But the most forceful indictment that could be drawn up from these pieces would be that some writers ridiculed the form, and this would have to be modified by the knowledge that burlesque does not necessarily imply ridicule. The mock-epic passages interlacing the best works of the century show no purpose of denigrating the classics. Some of the burlesque pieces were, obviously, meant to disparage specific progresses. The Progress of Deformity and the Progress of Man were aimed at Lansdowne’s Progress of Beauty and Knight’s Progress of Civil Society, respectively. But the most important of these burlesques, Pope’s mock-progress of Dulness, adapts the form not to ridicule another progress piece nor playfully to ridicule the form itself, so far as I can tell, but to honor, indirectly, Science or learning, one of the principal ideas celebrated in the serious pieces, through satirizing false learning or Dulness and her votaries in England. If Pope did not take the progress form seriously, he used it to
defend seriously one of the ideals most often celebrated in the form. And we cannot assume that he did not take it seriously merely because he made it the object of parody; the Dunciad also parodies the Aeneid and Paradise Lost.

The chief purpose of Chapter VI was to clarify the manner of the historical progress piece, or to make more definite the nature of the convention in regard to form; while in this chapter I have made suggestions about its historical significance, through discussing the main effects of the pieces, or the purposes that controlled their composition as judged from the works themselves. A secondary purpose in both chapters has been to provide a context for discussing the artistically most accomplished of the historical progress pieces, other than the Dunciad, namely the pieces by Collins and Gray. To these I would now like to turn.
NOTES


2  Cf. Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, 1957), pp. 84-85: "For some reason it has never been consistently understood that the ideas of literature are not real propositions, but verbal formulas which imitate real propositions. The Essay on Man does not expound a system of metaphysical optimism founded on the chain of being; it uses such a system as a model on which to construct a series of hypothetical statements which are more or less useless as propositions, but inexhaustibly rich and suggestive when read in their proper context as epigrams."

3  Griffith, p. 229.

4  (London, 1785), I, xiv. The other poems alluded to by Hayley are an Essay on History and an Essay on Epic Poetry. While organized historically, they do not depend upon the typical organization nor the conventions of the progress piece and have therefore been omitted from this study.


6  See Ernest Lee Tuveson, Utopia and Millenium: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), Chapter II.


8  Thomson, p. 300.

CHAPTER VIII: THE PROGRESS POEMS OF COLLINS AND GRAY

William Collins wrote one historical progress piece and four other poems which seem to have been influenced by this form. *Verses Humbly Address'd to Sir Thomas Hanmer on His Edition of Shakespeare's Works* is a fairly typical example of the historical progress piece. The survey ends with Jonson and Fletcher, but Collins goes back to Shakespeare in his final emphasis, thereby suiting the poem to its occasion, the first Oxford edition of Shakespeare's works. A recently published fragment shows that Collins carried the survey on to Davenant, Otway, and the Restoration stage, but it is difficult to say whether these lines were deleted from the original poem in order to make it better conform to its occasional purpose or whether they were composed afterwards as a continuation.¹

The word "progress" does not occur in the Hanmer poem, but the idea does, both in the sense of 'improvement' and in the sense of 'journey.' In the second sense, however, the arts are usually spoken of as passive, as "remov'd" or "transferr'd," and thus the idea of the *translatio* of the empire of arts enters the poem. But under the influence of personification, the arts sometimes appear as active:
With gradual steps, and slow, exacter France
Saw Art's fair Empire o'er her Shores advance...²

and thus the progress metaphor, though unstated, is implied.

There is some confusion whether Collins believes in
gradual improvement in the arts. At one point he states it
as a general truth but excepts poetry:

Each rising Art by slow Gradation moves,
Toil builds on Toil, and Age on Age improves.
The Muse alone unequal dealt her Rage,
And grac'd with noblest Pomp her earliest Stage.

Yet some twenty lines later, after tracing the Muse from the
Greek drama (emphasizing tragedy), through the Roman (empha-
sizing comedy), through Dante, and through the troubadours
of Provence, Collins comes to Shakespeare with these lines:

But Heav'n, still rising in its Works, decreed
The perfect Feast of Time should last succeed.
The beauteous Union must appear at length,
Of Tuscan Fancy, and Athenian Strength....

Thus, in spite of the previous compliment to the "earliest
Stage," Collins sees Shakespeare's works as "the perfect
Feast of Time," combining the poetic might of the Greeks
and, apparently, Dante. Yet, just because of Shakespeare's
greatness, there may still be room for progress in the arts,
or if not for progress at least for revival, so that "Arts
consenting fix their empire here." On the whole, the trans-
latio idea outweighs the idea of improvement, although
Collins is loathe to relinquish the latter possibility.

On the note of Shakespeare's supremacy, Collins turns to the great dramatists of France, specifically Corneille and Racine, emphasizing their correctness, and seeing in them the excellence of Lucan and Virgil renewed. Beside them, Shakespeare is "wilder," "less artful." The rest of the poem is mainly Collins's appreciation of Shakespeare. He enthusiastically considers the power of Shakespeare to re-invigorate the sister arts, and to illustrate the possibility gives a pictorial description of scenes from *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* (Antony's funeral speech; Coriolanus's last and fateful interview with his mother). Jean H. Hagstrum writes, "These are the only lines in which Collins is avowedly iconic—in which, that is, his presentation of details is obviously guided by an imagined painting," and Hagstrum proposes the use of these lines "as a touchstone to detect the pictorialism of Collins's other poetry."³

Collins closes the poem repeating the inspirational power of Shakespeare and praising Hanmer's work in putting the plays in order. He compares Hanmer to "some former Hanmer" who in Greece brought together the scattered parts of Homer's poems. We have already seen that the poem's underlying patriotism, not of the chauvinistic sort as in Glover, appears most clearly in the last lines with their implicit comparison of Shakespeare-London to Homer-Athens.
This is the final expression in the poem of the *translatio* theme; the implication is that Shakespeare is to London as Homer was to Athens; and that Hanmer is the compiler of this English Homer. Collins's patriotism in this poem, therefore, depends for its emotional force not on the dream of imperial expansion but on a veneration for literary tradition.

Collins's poem to Hanmer has not received quite the attention which it deserves. Written while Collins was still an Oxford undergraduate, it has been easily dismissed as an immature occasional poem. H. W. Garrod has estimated it as follows: "I cannot think Collins' poem worthy either of himself (his years allowed) or of its occasion."\(^4\) I do not think the poem so unworthy, but I do not wish to defend its merits here. Clearly it is below Collins's best. I would like to emphasize, rather, the structural and conceptual relation of this poem to Collins's later, more successful, odes.

It has been pointed out that the odes to Pity, Fear, Simplicity, and Liberty are subtle variations on the historical progress piece.\(^5\) The verses to Hanmer can be looked upon as Collins's preliminary essay of the progress structure, prior to transmuting it to a new but related form in the odes. We saw that Collins's personification of the arts sometimes produces the effect of the progress, although the
word itself does not appear in the poem, and that the im-
plicit progress structure coexists with clear references to
the idea of *translatio studii*. The verses to Hanmer seem,
therefore, to be a link between the odes and both the pro-
gress convention and its backgrounds. In addition to the
progress structure, the verses relate to the convention in
other ways. Collins incorporates several of the typical
images of the historical progress piece. Speaking of the
failure of tragedy to flourish in Rome, he combines the
*translatio* and plant metaphors:

*Emissus* Laurels, tho' transferr'd with Toil,
Dropp'd their fair Leaves, nor knew th' unfriendly
Soil.

A few lines later he speaks of England's failure to produce
an equal to Shakespeare in these terms:

No second Growth the Western Isle could bear,
At once exhausted with too rich a Year.

Similar imagery serves to contrast Shakespeare's art with
that of Corneille and Racine:

But wilder far the British Laurel spread,
And Wreaths less artful crown our Poet's Head.

Although sun imagery is not prominent in these verses, it
does appear. Collins writes of Shakespeare:

Yet ah! so bright her Morning's op'ning Ray,
In vain our Britain hop'd an equal Day!
Here, as well as in the odes, Collins shows an affection for rivers which links him with Drayton and Spenser, but he does not use the river as a metaphor for the historical career of the arts. An interesting deviation from the usual piece occurs in Collins's treatment of the fall of Rome and the revival of arts. He makes no mention of the Goths, whereas the custom was to lament the 'Gothic hordes' and the cultural night which they brought on. Collins notes only that Rome 'stoop'd her conquer'd Head,' after which arts revived in Tuscany.

Not only is the Hymn to a historical progress piece and so a link between the progress convention and four of Collins's odes; it also contains the seeds of several ideas which figure centrally in these odes. Comparing Pity, Fear, and Simplicity with this poem, one can see that the central idea in each exists in embryo in the earlier piece. Referring to plays by Euripides and Sophocles, Collins writes:

Line after Line our pitying Eyes o'erflow,
Trace the sad Tale, and own another's Woe.

And alluding to Richard III: "Here gentler Edward claims a pitying Sigh..." The pictorial account of Antony's funeral oration evokes a Shakespearean scene in which the chief effect is pity:
And see, where Antony lamenting stands
In fixt Distress, and spreads his pleading Hands!
O'er the pale Corse the Warrior seems to bend,
Deep sunk in Grief, and mourns his murther'd Friend!
Still as they press, he calls on all around,
Lifts the torn Robe, and points the bleeding Wound.

Shakespeare also affords passages pre-eminently suited to
arouse fear. Continuing his address to young Edward in a
passage cited above, Collins writes:

The Time shall come, when Gloster's Heart shall bleed
In Life's last Hours, with Horror of the Deed:
When dreary Visions shall at last present
Thy vengeful Image, in the midnight Tent....

And the pictorial lines describing the meeting of Coriolanus
and his mother suggest a scene in which pity and fear merge:

But who is he, whose Brows exalted bear
A Rage impatient, and a fiercer Air?
Ev'n now, his Thoughts with eager Vengeance doom
The last sad Ruin of ungrateful Rome.
Till, slow-advancing o'er the tented Plain,
In sable Weeds, appear the Kindred-train:
The frantic Mother leads their wild Despair,
Beats her swoln Breast, and rends her silver Hair.
And see he yields!...the Tears unbidden start,
And conscious Nature claims th' unwilling Heart!
O'er all the Man conflicting Passions rise,
Rage grasps the Sword, while Pity melts the Eyes.

In introducing these pictorial passages, Collins writes in
terms suggesting the Ode to Simplicity:

Chaste, and subdued, the modest Colours lie,
In fair Proportion to th' approving Eye....

Although these ideas are not developed in the verses to
Hanmer, their presence is marked enough to show that the central ideas of several later odes were germinating in Collins's mind before he left Oxford. In structure, pictorialism, and ideas, the verses to Hanmer are a prelude to the *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects*.

In the Hanmer poem Collins revealed his interest in the drama, and after leaving Oxford and coming to London he projected a translation of the *Poetics*, to be accompanied by an extensive commentary. He never fulfilled this intention, but his concern for drama and dramatic theory is reflected in the first two odes of the 1746 volume, which were addressed to Pity and Fear, respectively, the passions which, according to Aristotle, it is the function of tragedy to arouse and purge. Both poems incorporate a skeletal progress structure. Perhaps the function of the progress can best be considered after noting the ways Collins particularizes and characterizes his central personifications or personae, around which the odes are constructed. Factors in the characterization of Pity are her functions in regard to man, her appearance, and, as part of her appearance, her signa, a term which Hagstrum uses to denote the emblematic objects associated with the persona (in the case of Pity, the Wren, Myrtles, Turtles, i.e. doves, and, perhaps we should add, the Lute). Pity's function is to comfort man's distress:
O Thou, the Friend of Man assign'd,
With balmy Hands his Wounds to bind,
And charm his frantic Woe...

Here Pity is not merely personified but is also placed in an active, beneficent relationship to man. The word "personalized" would perhaps better express the full effect of this personification. The second stanza reveals that she is more than a person; she is a goddess, to be invoked in a blend of magic and religious ritual:

By Pella's Bard, a magic Name,
By all the Grief's his Thought could frame,
Receive my humble Rite....

Collins concludes this stanza with a pictorial image of Pity:

Long, Pity, let the Nations view
Thy sky-worn Robes of tend'rest Blue,
And Eyes of dewy Light!

The particularization of Pity proceeds in subsequent stanzas in the signa, Pity's soothing Lute, the Wren which sheds Pity's Myrtles on Otway, and the Turtles which mix their notes with Otway's.

There is at least one other important element in the particularization of Pity, and it is central to my purposes: I am speaking of the allusions to Pity's historical manifestations. These allusions relate the poem only distantly to the historical progress piece, because they are few and indirect, and because they have a precedent other than the
progress convention. Hagstrum has noted: "Although Collins' subjects are usually literary and aesthetic, occasionally political and patriotic, but never directly religious, the mood created is that of religious devotion. The entire ode is usually presented as a prayer, which becomes the unifying metaphor of the poem."11 One of the most universal types of prayer takes the form: "Even as thou didst of old, so do also now."12 Thus Diomed prays in the Iliad, Book X:

Daughter of Jove, un conquer'd Pallas! hear,
Great Queen of Arms, whose Favour Tydeus won,
As thou defend'st the Sire, defend the Son.
When on Aesopus' Banks the bended Pow'rs
Of Greece he left, and sought the Theban Tow'rs,
Peace was his Charge; receiv'd with peaceful Show,
He went a Legat, but return'd a Poe:
Then help'd by thee, and cover'd by thy Shield,
He fought with numbers, and made numbers yield.
So now be present, Oh celestial Maid!
So still continue to the Race thine Aid!13

A pure example of this type of prayer appears in Collins's Passions:

O Music, Sphere-descended Maid,
Friend of Pleasure, Wisdom's Aid,
Why, Goddess, why, to us deny'd?
Lay'st Thou thy antient Lyre aside?
As in that lov'd Athenian Bow'r,
You learn'd an all-commanding Pow'r,
Thy mimic Soul, O Nymph endear'd,
Can well recall what then it heard.
Where is thy native simple Heart,
Devote to Virtue, Fancy, Art?
Arise as in that elder Time,
Warm, Energetic, Chaste, Sublime!
Perhaps the allusions to Pity’s historical career can best be understood as an amplification of this devotional impulse to rehearse prior manifestations of the deity’s power and favor to man, and perhaps the interaction of the progress structure with this prayer convention accounts for the amplified form which the latter assumes in Collins’s odes. In Ode to Pity, the progress structure would be scarcely discernible, I think, if others of Collins’s poems did not alert us to it. Collins invokes Pity in the name of *Pella’s Bard,* Euripides. He prays further, "Long, Pity, let the Nation’s view/Thy sky-worn Rotes..." And he declares that Pity was manifest in Útway’s work. This is the substance of the progress element in the poem. It is not so full a treatment of Pity’s historical career as to mark the poem clearly a progress piece, but it is probably a fuller treatment than Collins would have given apart from the influence of the progress piece.

Looking at the allusions to Pity’s prior occasions from the point of view of the unifying prayer metaphor, they become a further way of particularizing, characterizing, and glorifying the persona. Then the Ode to Pity seems to represent a polar extreme of the roll-call, where we are given a chronological file of poets, for example, without any attempt to unify the sequence through viewing the poets as manifestations of one activity, *Poetry.* In the typical his-
torical progress piece, the personification appears as a unifying device, and thus the progress piece is a half-way station on the road to Collins's odes. In these odes the personification appears no longer as a means but an end, the focal point of the entire poem, invoked and supplicated as "Thou," an object which is also a subject and before which the poet feels himself an object. Whereas personification serves in the progress piece to unify a sequence of historical manifestations, these manifestations serve in Collins's odes to diversify the unity which is achieved in the prayer to the persona. They are a kind of rhetorical amplification which particularize the persona and illustrate the idea personified.

Not only do the historical allusions give variety to the poem; they also lead into the supplication, the second half of the entreaty, "Even as thou didst of old, so do also now."

Come, Pity, come, by Fancy's aid,
Ev'n now my Thoughts, relenting maid,
Thy Temple's Prize assign....

In these and subsequent lines, Collins expresses his hope for a revival of pity-evoking tragedy in England, and he implies his aspiration to the role of priest in Pity's Temple, delicately suggesting, perhaps, that he had ambitions to write tragedy, should Pity so inspire him.
Ode to Fear is clearly a companion piece and a contrast to the Ode to Pity. Collins does not separate the two tragic passions in reality, although he chooses to invoke them separately, for in Ode to Fear he writes:

Tho' gentle Pity claim her mingled Part,
Yet all the Thunders of the Scene are Thine!

The two poems contrast pointedly in tone. Pity offers to man spiritual comfort, binding his wounds with "balmy Hands," charming his "frantic Woe." The wren and dove are her messengers. The world of Fear is "lurid," "ghastly," of "shady Shapes," an "unreal Scene," a "world Unknown." Danger, Vengeance, Phantoms, Fiends compose her train. The contrast centers in the personae. Pity soothes and charms; she has "Eyes of dewy Light." Fear has a "hurried Step," a "haggard Eye." She is "frantic Fear," a "mad Nymph," a "Dark Fow'r."

What was said about the structure of the Ode to Pity applies approximately to this poem, but here the historical element is slightly more pronounced. It begins in the first line of the Epode, "In earliest Greece...," and this introductory phrase in an emphatic position alerts the reader to the progress more forcibly than does the allusion to "Pella's Bard" in the sister poem. But in citing the specific prior occurrences of Fear in tragedy Collins remains indirect. Introducing a patriotic element in his odes for the first time, he refers to Aeschylus as follows:
Yet He, the Bard who first invok'd thy Name,
Disdain'd in Marathon its Pow'r to feel:
For not alone he nurs'd the Poet's flame,
But reach'd from Virtue's Hand the Patriot's Steel.

He identifies Sophocles by recreating a scene from Oedipus

Tyrannus:

Wrapt in thy cloudy Veil, the Incestuous Queen
Sigh'd the sad Call her Son and Lustand near'd,
When once alone it broke the silent Scene,
And He the Wretch of Thebes no more appear'd.

Fear's progress between Sophocles and Shakespeare is surma-
rized at the beginning of the Antistrophe: "Thou who such
weary Lengths hast past...." Collins concludes his allusion
to Fear's prior manifestations in the last stanza, making
Shakespeare Fear's prophet; then supplicating Fear to teach
him, Collins, "but once like Him to feel."

The manner in which Collins alludes to Sophocles,
through recreating a famous scene, suggests a technique
which is of some importance in the odes, and particularly
in the two odes under discussion. Both poems open with a
dramatic scene. The dramatic element in the beginning of
Pity is clear in the second half of the stanza:

When first Distress with Dazzer Keen
Broke forth to waste his Destin' Scene,
His wild unsated Foe!

Though the subject requires that the opening action of Fear
be visually indistinct, it is nevertheless conceived as a
stage scene:

Thou, to whom the World unknown
With all its shadowy Shapes is shown:
Who see'st appall'd th' unreal Scene,
While Fancy lifts the Veil between:
Ah Fear! Ah frantic Fear!
I see, I see Thee near.

Collins uses the scene metaphor twice again in Ode to Fear. This procedure is obviously appropriate in poems addressed to the tragic passions, but perhaps its significance has a farther reach. Hagstrum points out the dramatic importance in the odes of the iconic element: "In the 'Ode to Fear' we can see clearly why the persona must be more than a capitalized noun. To justify the attitude of prayer the central and the attendant figures must seem iconically real enough to produce at least a genuflexion."\(^{16}\) Collins's pictorialism, this statement implies, results from and supports a dramatic purpose. The drama imagery also serves this purpose, and in fact the iconic and drama imagery cannot be separated in some instances. The iconically real personae are pictured as though they were part of a dramatic scene, and the pictorial and dramatic imagery supports the dramatic quality of the poem, creating a persona "real enough to produce at least a genuflexion."

The dramatic quality of these odes can be further pointed up by comparing them with the historical progress piece, this time in regard to the relation established
between poet, audience, and object. In the progress piece, the poet typically addresses an audience about an object. In these odes, Collins never speaks directly to his audience but only to his persona, while the audience looks on and overhears. He does not disappear as he would in a play. Rather, he assumes the speaking part within the poem, as the votary of his persona, an aspiring poet-prophet or poet-priest, performing a prayer rite in which he invokes, celebrates, and supplicates the goddess. I do not mean that the speaker is not Collins; he is Collins, but in the same way that the persona is pity or fear. On the allegorical level, both the quality and the poet are characters within the poem. I do not want to overstate this point, for Collins does not appear visually in these odes; only his voice is heard. However, it is not the voice of Collins in his own person but in a role ordained by the central prayer metaphor. The personification is mute but visualized; the poet is shadowy but articulate; yet his manner of address makes him as much a character in the allegory, I think, as Pity or Fear.  

If the statements made thus far are valid, their validity is slightly greater for Pity and Fear than for Ode to Simplicity, for in the latter poem Collins seems less intent on creating a powerful lyric utterance and more interested in the intellectual implications of his allegory. These implications are of two kinds, which receive equal
emphasis within the poem. In stanzas one, two, five, and eight, Collins dramatizes a set of critical ideas, namely facets of the idea of simplicity, while in stanzas three, four, six, and seven he traces the historical manifestations of the personification. While the historical emphasis is primary in these stanzas, critical ideas also appear. The last stanza is the poet's supplication to Simplicity for assistance in his poetry.

After describing the persona in stanza two in terms which also have a bearing on the critical ideas of the poem, Collins in stanza three recalls a past incarnation of Simplicity through invoking her in the name of Electra's poet, by whom he means Sophocles. He continues his survey in stanza four, invoking Simplicity in the name of "old Cepaisus deep," the largest river in ancient Attica where Simplicity had her most glorious reign, which was linked directly to Athenian democracy:

When holy Freedom died
No equal Haunt allur'd thy future Feet.

The allegory of stanza five has critical significance primarily, but in stanza six Collins returns to the history of his persona:

While Rome could none esteem
But Virtue's Patriot Theme,
You lov'd her Hills, and led her Laureate Band:
But staid to sing alone
To one distinguish'd Throne,
And turn'd thy Face, and fled her alter'd Land.

This stanza has caused difficulties of interpretation, with the chief stumbling-block being the word "staid." If interpreted 'remained,' it yields a sense which accords with historical fact, since Latin literature reached its height in the reign of the monarch, Augustus. But this interpretation makes Collins seem confused in his syntax, incoherent in his use of "But" and "And." The difficulty clears up if "staid" is read 'ceased' (NED, 2b). I hope it is not being over-sophistic to add that this reading does not make Collins contradict history, since it implies that Simplicity fled Rome after Rome became a monarchy but does not specify how long after. It does imply, however, that Simplicity's flight was a result of the changed political atmosphere brought about by absolute monarchy. According to Whig and moderate Tory views, absolute monarchy, loss of freedom, corruption of manners were factors in a single complex which was anathema to the state of mind necessary for poetic achievement, and this state of mind is part of what Collins means here by simplicity. Perhaps the clearest short statement of the conditions believed to result from monarchy was given almost a century earlier by James Harrington in *Oceana* (1656): "...where the Ballance changeth from Popular to Oligarchical, or Monarchial; the publick interest with the
reason and justice included in the same, becometh more private, Luxury is introduced in the place of Temperance and Servitude in that of Freedome which causeth such a corruption of manners both in the Nobility and the people, as by the Example of Rome, in the time of the triumvirs..."¹⁵

This doctrine and the commonplace that the arts follow liberty form the proper context for reading this stanza. Stanza seven continues the history by lamenting the loss of simplicity in later Roman literature. The historical reference is not exact but may have been meant to include later poetry written in romance tongues, perhaps including the poetry of Provence. At least the line, "Love, only Love her forceless Numbers mean," may be compared with a couplet from the Hanmer poem:

Their wanton Lyres the Bards of Provence strung,
Sweet flow'd the Lays, but Love was all they sung.

The chief problem in the poem is not the historical but the critical element, and it centers in the meaning of simplicity. In the first two odes, the meaning of pity and fear in dramatic criticism does not seem especially important. For one thing, the purpose of these earlier odes was mainly the creation of vigorous lyrics which assumed but made little attempt to define the conceptual meaning of the personae. Moreover, pity and fear do not require definition when used for this purpose, since they are symbols for emo-
tions which all men have experienced in fairly restricted contexts. In *Ode to Simplicity*, Collins places more emphasis on the conceptual reference of his allegory, and the central idea of the poem is one which, unlike pity and fear, can occur in a number of contexts. It can apply to all the arts, as well as to manners, fashion, character, religion, and many other things. "In the eighteenth century," R. D. Havens writes, "critics, essayists, and poets were constantly referring to [simplicity] as the supreme excellence in almost every field, the 'open sesame' to every door, whether of conduct, thought, taste, or artistic production."\(^{20}\) Collins is of course using the term in connection with poetry, in the final version of the poem,\(^{21}\) and this reduces the problem. Yet there are several factors in what we might call the poetic situation. There are the poet, the poem, the audience; and in regard to the poem, there are its object, manner, totality as an artifact. Since simplicity may relate to more than one of these factors, it seems best to be prepared for multiple shades of meaning. There has been a tendency, however, to equate Collins's simplicity with one idea. Garrod, for example, interprets the last line, "And all thy sons, O Nature, learn my Tale," to mean that Simplicity is Nature.\(^{22}\) S. Musgrove holds that Simplicity refers to the character of the Poet: "I suggest that this can be nothing else than that wholeness and simplicity of soul, that devotion to the
task for the task's love, that flaming sincerity which is
the halo of all youthful reformers, and not in poetry alone.
It is the recurrent 'return to nature,' the fierce longing
to describe 'things in themselves' which is the battle cry
of all poetical revolutions."23 This explanation, while it
begins by stating that Collins meant "nothing else than" the
count of the poet, ends by bringing in the inspiration
("return to nature") and object of poetry ("things in them-
selves"), and thus is not so univalent as it first appears.

As the poem opens, Collins suggests that simplicity
has its source in nature:

O Thou by Nature taught,
To breathe her genuine Thought,
In Numbers warmly pure, and sweetly strong....

Simplicity seems to be a quality of the poet who, inspired
by nature, imitates nature as his object; not external na-
ture, but essential, universal nature, the phrase "genuine
Thought" calling to mind the Platonic world of forms. This
imitation is presented in a poetic manner in which control
and vigor, delicacy and warmth, perfectly balance. The first
stanza continues:

Who first on Mountains wild,
In Fancy loveliest Child,
Thy Babe, or Pleasure's, nurs'd the Pow'rs of Song!

Thus Collins introduces a note of primitivism; Simplicity
appeared first in a rugged, natural setting. And if Simplicity is a quality of the poem in regard to object and manner, and of the poet who produces this kind of poetry, it is also, more specifically, a quality of the poet’s imagination, or Fancy. The relation between Simplicity and Fancy is expressed in the word, "nurs’d," which may suggest that Simplicity is a quality of Fancy in its infancy, in its historically or culturally remote occurrences. Thus Attica saw the supreme manifestation of Simplicity. This interpretation is perhaps strengthened by an earlier version of this poem, the first stanza of which reads:

O Fancy, Alter’d Maid  
Who now too long betray’d  
To Toys and Pageant wed’d thy cheated Heart  
Yet once with Chastest thought  
Far nobler triumphs sought  
Thrice Gentle Guide of each exalted Art! 

Simplicity is a quality of Fancy as she once was, not as she now is. Stanza two is primarily a description of the persona:

Thou, who with Hermit Heart  
Disdain’st the Wealth of Art,  
And Gauds, and pageant Weeds, and trailing Pall:  
But com’st a decent Maid  
In Attic Robe array’d,  
O chaste unboastful Nymph, to Thee I call!

The description also applies to the idea of simplicity; the emphasis on apparel makes the stanza seem particularly relevant to the manner of poetry, which appears to be ideally
characterized by Attic purity, absence of all inorganic adornment. Stanzas three and four are historical, but stanza five returns us to the meaning of simplicity:

O Sister meek of Truth,
To my admiring Youth,
Thy sober Aid and native Charms infuse!

It would seem that Simplicity and Truth are both daughters of Nature. Perhaps the difference is this. Truth states abstractly the "genuine thought" of Nature, while Simplicity, in poetry, infuses truth with life, presenting the abstract in the concrete, the idea in the personification. Simplicity, moreover, gives "sober Aid" to the poet, the better to discern the genuine, and "native Charms," the better to make it live. The stanza continues:

The Flow'rs that sweetest breatne,
Tho' Beauty cull'd the Wreath,
Still ask thy Han'd to range their order'd Hues.

Simplicity means not only the absence of "Gauds," but also the arrangement of parts into a totality which is organic, each part essential to the whole and each part in its place. This idea seems to be continued and enlarged in stanza eight:

Tho' Taste, tho' Genius bless,
To some divine Excess,
Faints the cold Work till Thou inspire the whole....

It would seem that Taste and Genius have here to do with the
creation and selection of parts, while Simplicity applies to the quality in the poet which orders the parts into a living totality, as well as to the effect of this ordering. "Inspire" should be read etymologically, 'breathe into,' which connotes the living quality of the ordered whole and is especially emphatic in juxtaposition to "Faints the cold Work." Collins completes his idea in the rest of the stanza:

What each, what all supply,  
May court, may charm, our Eye;  
Thou, only Thou, can'st raise the meeting Soul.

The elements contributed by Taste and Genius may please, but only the simplicity of the organic whole can compel response from the whole man.

Simplicity, to sum up, seems to mean 1) a quality produced in the poet through a close affinity with nature, by which quality he discerns the universals in nature and their relations and presents this "genuine Thought" in poems; 2) a quality of these poems, which imitate the universals of nature, from thence deriving vigor; which give this mimesis without unnecessary adornment, but rather with Attic restraint; and which achieve wholeness of effect compelling the reaction of the whole man.

I feel that this interpretation falls short of full explication of the poem's ideas, but such an interpretation is impossible apart from the poem's historical context, and
time does not permit bringing to bear on the ode all the pertinent critical ideas of Collins's day. One suggestion about the poem's background will have to suffice. Collins provides the clue to this background in the last paragraph of the Passions, where he addresses Music, "Warm, Energetic, Chaste, Sublime!" The juxtaposition "Chaste, Sublime" is suggestive, and R. D. Havens provides further light by which to see the pertinence of these lines to Ode to Simplicity: "Johnson also agreed with Boileau, Horace Walpole, Joseph Priestley, and others that simplicity of style contributes to sublimity in writing...."25 A fuller understanding of Collins's idea of simplicity requires that it be seen in relation to the idea of the sublime, as expounded by Longinus and, especially, as interpreted in Boileau's translation, Traité du Sublime.26

We saw in the first three lines that Simplicity is taught by Nature; that it imitates Nature's "genuine Thought," which would result in both simplicity and vigor in the poetry; and that this mimesis of essential nature is controlled by art, the poetry combining strength and warmth with purity of style. On the Sublime, Chapter II, opens with a passage that somewhat parallels these lines. The author raises the question whether there can be an art of the sublime or elevated in poetry. Some hold that a lofty tone is innate, owing entirely to nature, and that rules of art can only
enfeeble native elevation in writing. Longinus agrees that nature plays the first part, but holds that nature requires the control of art to insure sublimity of effect:

...while nature as a rule is free and independent in matters of passion and elevation, yet is she wont not to act at random and utterly without system. Further, nature is the original and vital underlying principle in all cases, but system can define limits and fitting seasons, and can also contribute the safest rules for use and practice. Moreover, the expression of the sublime is more exposed to danger when it goes its own way without the guidance of knowledge,—when it is suffered to be unstable and unballasted,—when it is left at the mercy of mere momentum and ignorant audacity. It is true that it often needs the spur, but it is also true that it often needs the curb.27

Boileau adds emphasis to the claim of Longinus for the "primacy of native gift," yet agrees with Longinus that even nature does not act entirely without system.28 Then Boileau diverges somewhat from the original, and the variation is worth noting. Nature is "le principe, et le premier fondement" of literary productions, "Mais aussi il est certain que notre esprit a besoin d'une méthode pour lui enseigner à ne dire que ce qu'il faut, et à le dire en son lieu; et que cette méthode peut beaucoup contribuer à nous acquérir la parfaite habitude du sublime...."29 The sublime effect is the gift of nature, but method can help writers to acquire "la parfaite habitude du sublime" (a translation which has no warrant in the original),30 and this method reduces to the principle, To say only that which is necessary, and
to say it in its place. The proximity of this idea to the ideas in *Simplicity* is apparent.

The second stanza of *Simplicity*, in addition to describing the persona, can be read as an indictment of poetry which says more than is needful. *Simplicity* disdains "Gauds, and pageant Weeds, and trailing Pall." She is clad, rather, in an "Attic Robe," "a decent Maid," a "chaste unboastful Nymph." Longinus in his discussion of amplification may give the seed of Collins's thought:

Now the definition given by the writers on rhetoric does not satisfy me. Amplification is, say they, discourse which invests the subject with grandeur. This definition, however, would surely apply in equal measure to sublimity and passion and figurative language, since they too invest the discourse with a certain degree of grandeur. The point of distinction between them seems to me to be that sublimity consists in elevation, while amplification embraces a multitude of details. Consequently, sublimity is often comprised in a single thought, while amplification is universally associated with a certain magnitude and abundance.31

Boileau makes some slight but suggestive alterations, which I have underlined: "...le sublime consiste dans la hauteur et l'élévation, au lieu que l'amplification consiste aussi dans la multitude des paroles. C'est pour quoi le sublime se trouve quelquefois dans une simple pensée; mais l'amplification ne subsiste que la pompe et dans l'abondance."32 Jules Brody has pointed out that in "pompe," "though with no unfavorable nuance, there are associations of extraordinary and external splendor," while in "paroles" Boileau
"has injected the idea of verbosity, sharpening the contrast he was always ready to see between essential grandeur and the outward trappings that can be mistaken for it." Boileau in Chapter XXV (Longinus, XXX, XXI) deals with choice of words in a way which further suggests Collins. Beautiful words are the natural and proper light of our thoughts. "Il faut prendre garde néanmoins à ne pas faire parade par-toute de 'une vaine enflure de paroles....'" The metaphorical similarity between Boileau's "pompe" and "parade" and Collins's "pageant Weeds, and trailing Fall" is perhaps merely coincidental. But the ideas which Boileau expresses in these words are also the ideas of Simplicity, further suggesting that Collins was working in the same or a closely similar universe of discourse.

Stanza five stresses the part of Simplicity in the ordered arrangement of elements, after Beauty makes the selection. Longinus emphasizes the importance of selection and arrangement of parts in attaining the sublime:

Let us next consider whether we can point to anything further that contributes to sublimity of style. Now, there inhere in all things by nature certain constituents which are part and parcel of their substance. It must needs be, therefore, that we shall find one source of the sublime in the systematic selection of the most important elements, and the power of forming, by their mutual combination, what may be calle[d] one body. The former process attracts the hearer by the choice of the ideas, the latter by the aggregation of those chosen.35

In his translation of this passage Boileau places even more
weight on these related processes, calling them "un secret infaillible pour arriver au grande...." 36

The stress on order in stanza five leads Collins naturally into considering the work in its wholeness in stanza eight, after two historical stanzas. He is especially concerned with the effect of the work:

Tho' Taste, tho' Genius bless,
To some, divine Excess,
Faints the cold Work till Thou inspire the whole;
What each, what all supply,
May court, may charm, our Eye;
Thou, only Thou, can'st raise the meeting Soul!

The last line has troubled commentators, 37 but its difficulty is largely removed when the stanza is read in the light of Longinus and Boileau. Longinus writes:

2. For, as if instinctively, our soul is uplifted by the true sublime; it takes a proud flight, and is filled with joy and vaunting, as though it had itself produced what it has heard. 3. When, therefore, a thing is heard repeatedly by a man of intelligence, who is well versed in literature, and its effect is not to dispose the soul to high thoughts, and it does not leave in the mind more food for reflection than the words seem to convey, but falls, if examined carefully through and through, into disesteem, it cannot rank as true sublimity because it does not survive a first hearing. For that is really great which bears a repeated examination, and which it is difficult or rather impossible to withstand, and the memory of which is strong and hard to efface. 38

The equivalent of "raise the meeting soul" is contained in the statement, "our soul is uplifted by the true sublime," but the rest of the passage does not seem closely related to
Collins. Boileau's translation provides a closer parallel, with the most pertinent additions occurring in the passage which corresponds with that beginning with Arabic numeral three in the above quotation:

Quand donc un homme de bon sens, et habile en ces matières, nous récitera quelque endroit d’un ouvrage; si, après avoir ouï cet endroit plusieurs fois, nous ne sentons point qu’il nous éleve l'ame et nous laisse dans l'esprit une idée qui soit même au-dessus de ce que nous venons d'entendre; mais se, au contraire, en le regardant avec attention, nous trouvons qu'il tombe et ne se soutienne pas; il n'y a point là de grande, puisqu'enfin ce n'est qu'un son de paroles qui frappe simplement l'oreille, et dont il ne demeure rien dans l'esprit. La marque infaillible du sublime, c'est quand nous sentons qu'un discours nous laisse beaucoup à penser, qu'il fait d'abord un effet sur nous auquel il est bien difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de résister, et qu'ensuite le souvenir nous en dure et ne s'efface qu'avec peine.  

The thought is not precisely the same as Collins's in stanza eight but it is strikingly similar. The passage which I have underlined is wholly Boileau's addition, and with minor differences reads much like a paraphrase of the last three lines of stanza eight. The idea that the sublime elevates the soul appears earlier in the quotation from Boileau, as well as in a number of other passages. It is present in the definition of the sublime in his preface: "Il faut donc savoir que par sublime Longin n'entend pas ce que les créateurs appellent le style sublime, mais cet extraordinaire et ce merveilleux que frappe dans le discours, et que fait qu'un ouvrage enlève, ravit, transport."
Thus, the sublime, as understood by Boileau, seems to be essentially the effect of Collins's Simplicity, "Thou, only Thou, can'st raise the meeting Soul!" Brody writes that for Boileau, "simplicity is not merely a characteristic of the Sublime: it is its essence," and on the basis of stanza eight it appears that for Collins, the final effect of simplicity is the sublime. Reduced to essentials, the aesthetic position of both the Traité du Sublime and the Ode to Simplicity seems to be that literary power and literary form are inseparable. Artistic restraint does not abate natural vigor but channels it to its most intense effect, the effect of the sublime. The following estimate of Boileau's position applies also to Collins's ode: "It is as if Boileau's underlying impulse were to wrench the principles of vitality and control out of their historical antagonism and weld them together, on a plane beyond the private scope of each into the single infallible faculty which in the translation proper emerged as 'la PARFAIT HABITUDE du Sublime.'"

Ideas of the sublime effect of natural settings are to be found in Collins, though not in Boileau. In Ode to Liberty, for example, Collins speaks of a "Cliff sublime and hoary." A suggestion of the natural sublime may also enter the Ode to Simplicity, for "first on Mountains wild" Simplicity "nurs'd the Pow'rs of Song." It may be guessed, and it is no more than a guess, that this rugged, primitive setting
for the birth of poetry contains the germ of the idea that the grandeur of external nature fosters in the poet the capacity for attaining the sublime in poetry, although the primary idea which Collins suggests is the simplicity of this natural setting, which nurtures poetic simplicity. It is possible too that Collins did not wish to distinguish between natural sublimity and natural simplicity any more than Boileau, and apparently Collins too, would separate simplicity and sublimity in literature.

The pastoral setting alluded to in the last stanza emphasizes the temperance rather than wildness of nature, reinforcing the poem's stress on the controlling, formal element of poetry. The poet seeks Simplicity's "temperate Vale,"

Where oft my Reed might sound
To Maids and Shepherds round,
And all thy Sons, O Nature, learn my Tale.

It is not necessary to identify Simplicity with Nature here; the last line may be reconciled with the first line of the poem by assuming that "thy Sons" are those to whom Nature has taught Simplicity. Nor does the stress on the temperance of nature weaken the idea that control is ancillary to vigor, that simplicity effects the sublime. In the last lines of the Passions, where Greek Music is invoked as "Chaste, Sublime," we read:
'Tis said, and I believe the Tale,
Thy humblest Reed could more prevail,
Had more of Strength, diviner Rage,
Than all which charms this laggard Age....

These lines, immediately following the poet's plea to Attic Music to inspire poetry, fuse the ideas of artistic simplicity and artistic rage, and give perhaps as good a commentary as can be written on the theme of the Ode to Simplicity.

Ode to Liberty does not have quite the unified effect of the odes to Pity, Fear, and Simplicity. The poet still addresses the persona, the goddess Liberty, throughout, but the sense of interaction between the persona and the poet is less than in the other odes. Part of the reduction in the sense of relationship between the speaker and the persona lies, I think, in the lack of pictorial details in the treatment of Liberty. The most obvious visualization of the goddess occurs toward the end of the poem in two lines which have been severely criticized:

Our Youths, enamour'd of the Fair,
Play with the Tangles of her Hair....

Garrod objects to Collins's reducing the goddess Liberty to an "eighteenth-century Fair." I shall note below another passage which, though not pictorial, suggests strongly the speaker's vision of the persona. If the lack of pictorial
treatment of the persona is a cause of the reduced sense of emotional proximity between the speaker and the persona, it is also possible that this absence of pictorial characterization is a result of Collins's less intense personal feeling about his central idea. Liberty is a community rather than personal attribute; the political unit rather than the poet is the proper sphere of liberty's manifestation; although, according to eighteenth century doctrine, liberty is a public condition necessary for poetic achievement. Since the immediate relationship is between Liberty and Britain, not Liberty and the poet, the self-doubt and modesty of the speaker-poet do not come into play as they do in previous odes to intensify Collins's supplication to the persona. The conventions of this panegyric, moreover, would make fervent supplication additionally inappropriate, since Britain was already supposed to be Liberty's "best established, last, and...steady reign." Hence the optimism, rather than doubtful expectancy, in the closing lines.

Yet the implied metaphor, if not the fervency, of prayer remains. Strictly of course it is a pagan prayer, and it contains an element of magic incantation. In Ode to Pity we saw that Euripides was brought in as part of a magic rite. In the last four lines of the Epode Collins unifies his recital of the manifestations of Liberty from Greece to Britain under this conception. The chanting, to the poet's
"Shell," of the great past occasions of Liberty has been a charm to evoke a reappearance of the goddess:

The Magic works, Thou feel'st at the Strains,
One holier Name alone remains;
The perfect Spell shall then avail,
Hail Nymph, ador'd by Britain, Hail!

"Thou feel'st at the Strains," though not a pictorial phrase, suggests better than any other in the poem the living presence of the persona in the poet's vision.

Several details in the poem's historical sequence are noteworthy. The opening lines have been a source of some difficulty:

Who shall awake the Spartan Fife,
And call in solemn Sounds to Life,
The Youths, whose Locks divinely spreading,
Like vernal Hyacinths in sullen Hue,
At once the Breath of Fear and Virtue shedding,
Applauding Freedom lov'd of old to view?
What New Alcmaeus, Fancy-blest,
Shall sing the Sword, in Myrtles crest,
At Wisdom's Shrine a-while its Flame concealing,
(What Place so fit to seal a Deed renown'd?)
Till she her brightest Lightnings round revealing,
It leap'd in Glory forth, and dealt her prompted Wound!

Garrod sets out the problem and some possible solutions:

By the 'Spartan Fife' I used to suppose Collins, to mean quite generally, a warlike strain——some such warlike strain as that of Tyrtaeus....'The Youths' would, then, be, not any Spartan youths, but the Athenian pair, not named, but celebrated, in lines 7-12, Harmodius and Aristogiton. But Collins' editors seem to understand the verses differently. They suppose the Youths to be, not Harmodius and Aristogiton, but the warlike youths
of Sparta generally; they suppose Collins to go, first to Sparta, and then (line 7) to Athens, for examples of the spirit of Liberty. This has the advantage that certainly these two states were, to the poets of this time, the patterns of free government. As such they figure in the second book of Thomson's poem Liberty.... If the Youths are Spartan youths, then I should be inclined to think them, not as the editors do, any Spartan youths, but those two pre-eminent Youths of Sparta, Castor and Pollux. This Spartan pair will then balance well the Athenian pair. 

Garrod's comment on "Wisdom's Shrine" is helpful: "I conjecture that Wisdom stands for that patron Goddess of Wisdom, Athena; and that the Shrine is the Temple, in Athens, of Athena Polias, with which historians associate the 'Deed renown'd' of Harmodius and Aristogiton." Whether these opening lines allude to Sparta and Athens equally, or primarily to Athens, they serve to illustrate Collins's poetic power and the difference of his method from the usual historical progress piece. Swiftlum eulogized the lines as "an overture worthy of Milton's or of Handel's Aachen, a prelude that peals as from beneath the triumphal hand of either of these demigods of music," although he did not think this excellence sustained throughout the poem. The difference from the poetry of statement usually encountered in the historical progress piece is clear. Collins deals here mainly in particulars which suggest but do not state generalizations.

After alluding to Greek liberty Collins addresses the persona directly for the first time, saying that he will not
sadden her by telling the fall of Rome, and this assertion serves to narrate what he would not tell. He deals with Rome's fall in one metaphor extended through eight lines. Rome was a "Giant-statue" which the "Northern Sons of Spoil" pushed from its base and "to thousand Fragments broke."

Thus ends the strophe. The Epode begins:

Yet ev'n, where'er the least appear'd,
Th'adming World thy Hand rever'd;
Still 'midst the scatter'd States around,
Some Remnants of Her Strength were found....

Garrod comments: "In the second line 'thy Hand' is the hand of Liberty, in the fourth line 'Her Strength' is the strength of Rome. But in the first line, "Yet ev'n, where'er the least appear'd," what meaning has 'the least'? Is not 'the' a mere blunder for 'She' (i.e. Rome)?" No emendation is needed, for this line continues the "Giant-statue" metaphor of the Strophe, "the least" meaning the least of the "thousand Fragments." In an unobtrusive way Collins continues this metaphor through the first fourteen lines of the Epode. The isolated occurrences of Liberty in Italy following the fall of Rome are seen in terms of fragments of the statue, "Remnants," "a humbler Relick," of the once "perfect Form," which could still be reconstructed in thought from the pieces which "escap'd the Storm." Such were Florence and Pisa, and here Collins abandons his metaphor, as well as San Marino and Venice.
After completing, in the Epode, the review of Liberty's prior occasions, Collins devotes the twenty-five lines of the Antistrope to a mythological account of Britain's geological "Divorce" from the continent, her becoming an island, a distinction which befits her, for she is Liberty's "lovd," "last Abode." Then in the Second Epode, Collins treats of Liberty's ancient temple in the center of Britain.

The presentation of Liberty's "Shrine" repeats and enlarges on a device already encountered in the odes to Pity, Fear, and Simplicity. In each poem Collins envisions a place where his persona may dwell and where he may approach her. He speaks of Pity's "Shrine" and of her "Temple's Pride," of Fear's "haunted Cell" or "hollow'd Seat," and of Simplicity's "temp'rate Vale." The allegorical meaning of this recurring device is not perfectly clear. Logically, the shrine for the literary qualities pity, fear, and simplicity would be literary works. To dwell in Pity's temple may mean to construct tragedies in which pity is a dominant quality. Were the poet allowed to dwell with Pity, she would

...again delight

To hear a British Shell!

In Ode to Fear, Collins seems to equate dwelling with Fear and repeating Shakespeare's accomplishments:
Teach me but once like Him to feel:
His Cypress Wreath my Reed Decree,
And I, O Fear, will dwell with Thee!

In Simplicity's "temperate Vale" oft the poet's Reed might sound." It appears, then, that the store which Collins recurrently imagines for his persons betokens literary accomplishment which manifests the literary quality personified. If so, these poems may point to ambitions really entertained by Collins. On the other hand, projected literary feats make appropriate conclusions for poems celebrating literary qualities and so perhaps should not be given heavy biographical significance.

Collins's treatment of Liberty's temple varies from these other cases. In the first place, this shrine existed in England long ago, has since vanished, and no one knows precisely where it stood. The Platonic "model" still remains in the heavens, however, and though the poet is "favor'd" to envision it, it is not related exclusively to him but to the patriotic community:

There on the Walls the Patriot's Sight,
May ever hang with fresh Delight,
And, grav'd with some Prophetic Rags,
Read Albion's Fame thro' ev'ry Age.

In these lines Collins seems to transform the temple of Liberty from almost a literal shrine existing in the dim past to a symbol for the history of England, which, envi-
sioned anew, may call forth a fresh manifestation of Liberty in the land. The poets ("Ye Laureate Bard") are stationed near the "inmost Altar" of the temple, recalling the reciprocal relation the eighteenth century saw between poetry and freedom. To carry on the allegorical interpretation, poets have been central in British history, nurtured by freedom and in turn sustaining freedom. Collins invokes these "Forms Divine," voices of the past, and one thinks here particularly of Spenser, to persuade Liberty to add "Concord's social Form" to her train. Liberty thus accompanied,

Her let our Sires and Matrons hear
Welcome to Britain's ravaged Shore....

In this concluding passage there is evidence to strengthen Garrod's suggestion that the poem was written with the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and the Battle of Culloden of 1746 in mind. Perhaps thinking of this theme to Britain's unity, Collins is appealing to traditions of British freedom and concord as inspiration for present political liberty and unity. Such a condition would also be the suitable context for realizing the achievements which seem to be projected at the end of the odes previously discussed.

When Gray's Pindaric odes, the Progress of Poesy and the Bard, appeared in 1757, they met with both acclaim and
bewilderment. Dr. Johnson, writing some years later, records this mingled reaction, while clearly believing that the poems were more puzzling than laudable: "My process has now brought me to the wonderful 'Wonder of Wonders,' the two Sister Odes; by which, though either vulgar ignorance or common sense at first universally rejected them, many have been since persuaded to think themselves delighted.

I am one of those that are willing to be pleased, and therefore would gladly find the meaning of the first stanza of the 'Progress of Poetry'." In these poems, Gray, like Collins before him, departed radically from satiric and didactic poetry of statement. A recent critic has gone so far as to make Gray the father of modern poetry. Edmund Gosse writes, referring to the last epode of the Progress of Poetry: "This manner of rhyming, this rapid and recurrent beat of song, was the germ out of which sprung all later metrical inventions, and without which Mr. Swinburne himself might now be polishing the heroic couplet to its last perfection of brightness and sharpness." An overstatement perhaps, but it points up the novelty of Gray's accomplishment in his own day and suggests the possibility of his appeal to the modern reader, whose literary tastes have been prepared, as Johnson's were not, for the sort of poetry to be found in the Progress of Poetry. Though new in some ways, this ode was still written within certain eighteenth century
conventions, some knowledge of which is necessary to the full appreciation of the poem. Hagstrum has analyzed the pictorial qualities of the poem with illuminating results. What has been said in previous chapters about the historical progress piece will serve as a partial context for analyzing the structure and poetic manner of the ode.

Unlike most of his precursors who attempted the Pindaric ode in English, the scholarly Gray adhered to the strict Pindaric form. The poem has three parts identical in form, each part having the three-stanza division, the strophe and the antistrope alike in verse pattern, the epode different from the other two stanzas. Gray showed much ingenuity and will-power in working out and carrying through this complicated structure, but seems to have felt its artificiality, for he wrote in a letter to Thomas Warton (March 9, 1755): "...setting aside the difficulty of execution, methinks it has little or no effect on the ear, which scarce perceives the regular return of metres at so great a distance from one another...."

Not only is the repetition imperceptible to the ear, but the stanzaic divisions do not accord with the argument of the poem, which follows its own line of development, freely cutting across stanzas and parts alike. The first four stanzas (I.1, 2, and II.1) can, for example, be considered a unit. Poetry, emerging from primitive springs of inspiration, enlivens
and beautifies its objects (I.1), has power to calm violent passions (I.2), to motivate tender ones (I.3), and to mitigate the sorrow of man (II.1). The poem's original title, the **Power of Poetry**, approximately indicates the intellectual meaning of these stanzas. In the middle of the poem comes a stanza (II.2) which makes a transition from the philosophical to the historical point of view, from the power to the progress of poetry. Gray repeats the idea of poetry's primitive beginnings, this time not in terms of primordial inspiration but through reference to primitive peoples. Having located poetry in time and place, Gray has prepared for the last four stanzas, in which he gives the historical course of poetry from Greece through Rome to England; and in England, from Shakespeare, through Milton and Dryden, to himself. In this transitional stanza he also states a theme that reappears in the later stanzas, the mutual encouragement of poetry and freedom. On these sentiments, which we recognize as a commonplace, almost a convention, of the progress piece, Dr. Johnson remarks, revealing his exacting requirement of truth in poetry: "His position is at last false: in the time of Dante and Petrarch, from whom we derive our first school of Poetry, Italy was overrun by 'tyrant power' and 'coward vice'...."

The ideas of the poem are familiar ones, and it is not for originality or depth of thought that the Progress of
Poetry merits attention. Its Pindaric form, though ingeniously and skilfully perfected, is more a curiosity than a strong factor in the poem's success, since by Gray's own testimony the ingenuity contributes little to the poem's sensuous appeal, and since the argument follows a line of development independent of the organization by parts and stanzas. But if the Pindaric form does not add appreciably to the poem's value, the general poetic manner does, for it is the sustained excellence of sound and movement, diction and imagery through which Gray presents his common sense and learning that gives the poem its excellence and justifies the statement of humble pride in the closing lines. The first epoch has been justly praised as an example of sound echoing sense, but it is only the most obvious example of Gray's sustained versifying power. No reader of the Essay on Criticism could overlook the artistry of the lines which describe the dancing of the Loves, Sports, and Pleasures, contrasted with the majestic approach of Aphrodite:

To brisk notes in cadence beating
Glance their many-twinkling feet.
Slow melting strains their queen's approach declare...

Almost any line could be quoted to illustrate the high quality of Gray's diction, which combines dignity with vigor. The imagery, though drawn from conventional sources (nature, mythology, painting, personification), receives new life in
Gray's hands. His most conventional images can be fresh and surprising, with the surprise that comes from the commonplace stated uncommonly well. The figure of the sun rising (II.1) is an image of this type:

Till down the eastern cliffs afar
Hyperion's march they spy, and glittering shafts of war.

The mythological allusion is entirely conventional, but Gray's elaboration in which the sun's rays become "glittering shafts" to war with the powers of night introduces vigor unknown to Cowley's lines which Gray imitated:

Or seen the morning's well-appointed step,
Come marching up the eastern hills afar.

The image of the Theban eagle (Pindar) in the last epode illustrates as well as any passage the combination of sound, imagery, and diction in exalted but controlled poetry:

Oh! Lyre divine, what daring Spirit
Wakes thee now? Th'o' he inherit
Nor the pride, nor ample pinion,
That the Theban Eagle bear
Sailing with supreme dominion
Thro' the azure deep of air....

If the symbolic method can be distinguished from the allegorical by saying that it begins with the physical object and works toward abstraction, while allegory begins with abstraction and attempts to give it concreteness, then
this poem, while it employs both methods, uses the symbolic method primarily. Music is the pervading symbol in the early stanzas, and it connotes poetry. The music imagery is introduced in the first line in the "Aeolian lyre," which suggests festive Greek music and also the poetry of Pindar, who often applied the term "Aeolian" to his poetry. Gray repeats this metaphor at the beginning of the next two stanzas and again in the last stanza of the poem. The music-poetry association is strengthened in the third line in "Helicon's harmonious springs," and a new image is introduced in "springs," which Gray continues and develops in the remaining lines of the stanza. The spring and music imagery fuse in the seventh line, "Now the rich stream of music winds along," after which the spring-rill-stream imagery stands alone as a symbol of music which is the symbol of poetry. This complexity is apt to be applauded by a modern reader, but to Johnson it was merely confused: "Gray seems in his rapture to confound the images of 'spreading sound and running water'." The music imagery is sustained through stanzas two and three in a different manner, as Gray dramatizes the effects of music (poetry) on the violent and tender passions. Both stanzas are pictorial and allegorical, Gray presenting, as in a painting, the effects of music-poetry on Mars, Jove's eagle, Venus, and her attendants. In stanza four (II.1), with the shift in idea from the emotional
effects of poetry to its intellectual and moral effects, in mitigating human misery, the music motif disappears to remain subdued until the final stanza. Stanza four is Gray's claim for the moral seriousness of poetry. The pessimistic ideas stated here could have been voiced by Johnson; thus his comment is not surprising, that this stanza "endeavours to tell something, and would have told it, had it not been crossed by Hyperion..."56 The stanza reads:

Man's feeble race what ills await,  
Labour, and Penury, the racks of Pain,  
Disease, and Sorrow's weeping train,  
And Death, sad refuge from the storms of Fate!  
The fond complaint, my Song, disprove,  
And justify the laws of Jove,  
Say, has he giv'n in vain the heav'nly Muse?  
Night, and all her sickly dews,  
Her Spectres wan, and birds of toiling cry,  
He gives to range the dreary sky:  
Till down the eastern cliffs afar  
Hyperion's march they say, and glittering shafts of war.

A possible interpretation is to consider the last five lines a metaphorical restatement of the first seven. Then poetry stands in relation to human misery as Hyperion to the specters of night, somehow dispelling or transmuting them. Admittedly, any truth involved here is quite generally and indirectly stated, but poetic excellence rather than truth was Gray's purpose if we may judge by the result. In this parallelism, "the heavenly Muse" becomes associated with Hyperion and hence with the sun. Mythology, as well as the
image patterns which we have seen to be typical of the historical progress piece, makes this association a natural rather than arbitrary one; and it is strengthened in the next stanza ("The Muse has broke the twilight-gloom...Her track, where'er the Goddess roves..."), Gray treating the birth of poetry among primitive peoples in terms of a dawning of light. The imagery of the following two stanzas is not particularly notable. In II.3 Gray reminds of Collins's *Ode to Simplicity*, in the nature imagery which he uses in tracing the progress of poetry from Greece to England; while he devotes III.1 to an allegory on Shakespeare in which imagination seems to have given place to mechanical contrivance. Dealing with the pictorial effects of the stanza, Hagstrum finds it, to the modern reader, "pompous and affected."57 But when Gray takes up the second of his English poets, Milton (III.2), he returns to imagery of sky, flame, and light, uses it with feeling, and retains it to the end of the poem, combining it in the last stanza with the music motif.

The poem for the most part shows itself the product of imagination or fancy, the watchword of the Warton-Collins-Gray group, with association rather than calculation playing the major part in the development of the symbols, which usually seem natural, indeed inevitable, seldom laboriously contrived, never hit upon by hazard. The most obviously
mechanical stanza, the one on Shakespeare, is likely to strike the modern reader as a failure compared with the rest of the poem. A different kind of intellectual contrivance appears in the last line, with its clever yet serious and effective word play in which Gray seems to admit he falls short of Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden in his poetic flights, though in making the attempt he rises above mere worldly success: "Beneath the Good how far—but far above the Great." In the last epode Gray writes of Dryden:

Hark, his hands the lyre explore!
Bright-eyed Fancy hovering o'er
Scatters from her pictur'd urn
Thoughts, that breathe, and words, that burn.

The last line seems also descriptive of Gray at his best, and can be applied, without overstatement, to this poem.
NOTES


6. Although the verses to Hamar have patriotic implications, there is no allusion in the poem to liberty. Perhaps it was after coming to London that Collins came into close contact with the current ideas about liberty, which found a focus in Thomson's poem, and which form the substance of Collins's other historically organized ones.

7. It is perhaps worth noting that here and in the *Ode to Pity* Collins thinks of pity differently from a contemporary critic, James Harris, whom Collins admired (Cf. "Lines Addressed to James Harris," *Drafts & Fragments of Verse*, p. 19). Harris writes, attempting to clarify what Aristotle meant by pity: "...the Philosopher in this place by Pity means not Philanthropy, Natural Affection, a Readiness to relieve others in their Calamities and Distress; but, by Pity, he means that Senseless Effeminate Consternation, which seizes weak Minds, on the sudden Prospect of any thing disastrous...." *Three Treatises* (London, 1744), p. 87 n.

Hagstrum’s term. The following discussion owes a heavy debt to Mr. Hagstrum’s treatment of Collins in The *Sister Arts*, pp. 266 ff.

Here and throughout this discussion it may be useful to refer to Hagstrum’s schematic analysis of the *Ode to Pity* as an example of Collins’s ode form at its purest: “It consists of five closely related sections presented in the following order: (1) the invocation to the personified quality, beginning here and elsewhere ‘O Thou’; (2) the description of the personification and its attendant train (a section that resembles the assigning of descriptive attributes to the Deity in prayer); (3) the manifestations—or the incarnations—of the quality in past literary and cultural history; (4) the present need in England and in the poet himself, a need that is, however, not presented satirically or rhetorically but in penitent humility of spirit as though the presentation were a prayer of humble access; and finally (5) the supplication of the personified quality to dwell once again among men and the pledge that the heart of the suppliant will be prepared to receive the indwelling.” p. 268.

Hagstrum, p. 269.


Earl R. Wasserman’s article, “The Inherent Values of Eighteenth-Century Personification,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, LXV(1950), 435-63, helps to make more comprehensible this relationship between the poet and the persona. Mr. Wasserman shows that the eighteenth century viewed personification as “not the work of rational calculation, not the labor of artistry, but the natural language of an intense passion and of an imagination operating too spontaneously and vehemently to allow much rational control. In a ‘serious personification,’ according to Joseph Priestly, ‘the mind is under a temporary deception, the personification is neither made nor helped out by the speaker, but it obtrudes itself upon him; and, while the illusion continues, the passions are as strongly affected,
as if the object of them really had the power of thought"."

p. 445. The frame of mind described by Priestly seems close
to that assumed by Collins in his odes.

15
Cf. McKillop, pp. 15 ff. "The real subject of Col-

lins's odes...is the concept of poetry; simplicity, Fear,

Pity, and the rest are only ancillary to an idea of inspira-
tion which is conceived as intensely desired, but never
fully realized."

16
Hagstrom, p. 275.

17
Professor Alan D. McKillop has pointed out to me
that Ode to Evening affords the clearest example of the
poet's appearance in the poem.

18
Cf. Garrod, pp. 61-62.

19

20
Raymond D. Havens, "Simplicity, a Changing Concept,"
Journal of the History of Ideas, XIV(1953), 3.

21
Cf. Drafts & Fragments of Verse, pp. 1-3. In this
earlier version Collins seems to make simplicity an attri-
but of Grecian Fancy, as expressed in all the arts and not
in poetry alone or primarily.

22
Garrod, p. 67.

23
Notes and Queries, CLXXV, no. 5 (October, 1943),
217.

24

25
Havens, p. 16.

26
I am gratefully indebted to Professor McKillop for
first suggesting to me that Longinus and Boileau provide an illuminating context for reading Ode to Simplicity.


30 Brody, p. 46.

31 Longinus, p. 77 (Ch. XII).

32 Boileau, p. 65.

33 Brody, p. 93.

34 Boileau, p. 130.

35 Longinus, p. 69 (Ch. XI).

36 Boileau, p. 54.

37 Cf. Garrod, p. 64.

38 Longinus, pp. 55-56 (Ch. VII).

39 Boileau, p. 35.

40 Boileau, p. 10. It should be noted that another passage in Longinus, while emphasizing the power of the sublime to "transport" the audience, seems to contrast the
sublime effect with the effect of the ordered whole: "The effect of elevated language upon an audience is not persuasion but transport. At every time and in every way imposing speech, with the spell it throws over us, prevails over that which aims at persuasion and gratification. Our persuasions we can usually control, but the influences of the sublime bring power and irresistible might to bear, and reign supreme over every hearer. Similarly, we see skill in invention, and due order and arrangement of matter, emerging as the hard-won result not of one thing nor of two, but of the whole texture of the composition, whereas Sublimity flashing forth at the right moment scatters everything before it like a thunderbolt, and at once displays the power of the orator in all its plenitude." Longinus, p. 43 (Ch. I). But in other passages Longinus makes the aggregation of parts contributory to the sublime effect, and the statement here that sublimity flashes forth "at the right moment" implies some sort of arrangement for effect.

41 Brody, p. 91.
42 Brody, pp. 31-32.
43 See Garroć, p. 90.
44 Garroć, pp. 36-37.
45 Garroć, p. 86.
46 Quoted by Garroć, p. 65.
48 Johnson, pp. 373-74.
50 See Hagstrum, pp. 301-306.

52. Johnson, p. 375.


54. Quoted in Gray, p. 86 n.


57. Hagstrum, p. 144.
APPENDIX I: REGISTER OF SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PROGRESS PIECES

This register lists in chronological order the works on which this study is based. The material included in each entry is arranged as follows:

(a) Date of first publication. If the date of writing is known to precede the publication by many years, as in some of Donne's poems, or if a play's date of performance precedes its publication appreciably, I have entered the piece under the earlier date. Works of the same year have been differentiated by small letters following the date and have been arranged chronologically where their exact chronology is known; otherwise, alphabetically by title, except when two or more belong to the same author, in which case they have not been separated.

(b) Title. If the piece appeared separately, I have included the place of publication and repeated the date after the title. The name Griffith or Aubin in parenthesis following the title indicates that the piece was listed in R. H. Griffith's checklist in the Texas Review, V (1920), 230-33 or in Robert A. Aubin's supplement to Griffith's list in Modern Language Notes, XLIX (1934), 405-407. Other abbreviations for bibliographical
sources are as follows: Watt = Robert Watt, Bibliotheca Britannica; BMC = British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books; STC = Short Title Catalogue.

(c) Author, if known.

(d) Edition actually used, if different from the title entry. Adjacent to this information I have included any additional comment which seemed pertinent on the dates of writing and publication.

(e) Commentary. When the piece is discussed in the body of the dissertation, reference is made to the pages where the main discussion occurs. When the piece is not discussed earlier, brief commentary is given in the appendix. Occasionally commentary here supplements discussion in the text.

(f) Medium, i.e. prose or verse; if verse, the specific form is given. For convenient reference, I have noted the verse form of all poems, even when quotations in the commentary make this notation unnecessary.

(g) Length, stated in pages for prose, in lines for verse.
1593-98 (written)

Loves Progress (Elegie XVIII). (Griffith)

John Donne, c. 1572-1631.


Grierson (II, 62) conjectures that Donne wrote this poem between 1593 and 1598. It was first published in the first collected edition of Donne's poems, 1633.

Donne gives the first third of this mock-Georgic to clarifying the proper destination of love:

Perfection is in unitie: preferr
One woman first, and then one thing in her. (ll.9-10)

The destination decided, he marks out the way. First he charts the wrong way, which has its origin at the face, and proceeds by hair, brow, nose, lips, and chin downward. Then he tells the proper course, which begins at the foot, but he describes this journey in far less detail. Throughout the poem the woman is treated in terms of topography and the lover's actions in terms of a voyage of discovery. This poem has no progeny among later progress pieces.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 96 lines.

1596

A Progressse of pietie. Or the Harbour of heavenly harts ease, to recreate the afflicted soules of all such as are shut up in anye inward or outward affliction (London, 1596).
John Norden, 1548-1625(?).

This work is not a progress piece but a manual of devotion, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The title apparently applies to the book's day-by-day organization, each day being a station in the soul's journey through the year.

1601 (written)

The Progress of the Soule.

Donne.

Poems, ed. Grierson, I, 295-316 (text); II, xvii-xx, 218-25 (commentary).

Donne dated the poem "16 Augusti 1601." It was published first in 1633.

See pp. 133-37.

The tongue-in-cheek use of the transmigration of souls motif had an early precedent in Lucian's dialogue, The Dream, or the Cock, between Xicyllus the cottler and his cock, who was Pythagoras reincarnated. The career of Pythagoras, as told by the cock, had included being a king, a poor man, a satrap, a horse, a jackdaw, a frog. Dryden later used the motif for purposes of eulogy in

To the Pious Memory...of Mrs. Anne Killegrew:

But if thy pre-existing soul
Was formed, at first, with myriads more,
It did through all the mighty poets roll,
Who Greek or Latin laurels wore,
And was that Sapho last, which once it was before.

(stanza II)
Fope used the idea comically once more in the *Dunciad*, 1728, III, burlesquing Anchises' meeting with Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, Book VI; Settle is speaking to his 'son,' Theobald:

What mortal knows his pre-existent state?
Who knows how long, thy transcendental soul
Did from Eoeitian to Eoeitian roll?
How many Dutchmen save voucheas it to turie?
How many stages thro' old feoffs and firms? (II...)

Ten-line stanzas. 520 lines.

1601-1602 (acted)

The *Return from Parnassus: or The Source of Simony* (London, 1606).


The second *Return* was acted in January, 1601-1602 at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was published in 1606.

See pp. 16-19.

2223 lines.

1607

The *Differences of the Ages of Man's Life; together with the original causes, progress, and end thereof* (London, 1607).

Henry Cuffe, c. 1560-1601.

This treatise is not a progress piece but pseudo-scientific exposition on the stages of man's life, com-
pared to the four seasons.

1612

Of the Progress of the Soule. Wherein, By occasion of the Religious death of Miss Elizabith Dryvy, the in-
commodities of the Soule in this life, and her exaltation in the next, are contemplated. The second Anniversary.
(Griffith)

Donne.

Poems, ed. Grierson, i, 245-66.

See p. 20.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 520 lines.

1617

The Heavenly Progress (London, 1617). (STC)

Richard Middleton, d. 1641.

I have not seen this piece.

1630

The Progress of Saints into full Holiness: described in sundry Apostolicall Aphorisms (London, 1630). (STC)

Thomas Taylor, 1576-1633.

I have not seen this piece.

1645


William Gouge, 1572-1653.

See pp. 169-70.

Prose. 40 pages.
1648

A Canto of the Progress of Learning. (Griffith)
Sir Richard Fanshawe, 1608-1666.


See pp. 173-75.

Spenserian stanzas. 252 lines.

1668

The Progress of Learning. (Griffith)
Sir John Denham, 1615-1669.


See pp. 175-79.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 224 lines.

1678

The Pilgrim's Progress, from this World to That which is to Come (London, 1678). (Griffith)
John Bunyan, 1628-1688.


See pp. 23-36.

1681


Thomas D'Urfey, 1653-1723.

This poem is an allegory which unlike Fanshawe's is highly pictorial. The speaker retreats one summer's

evening from city to country, where nature seems to curse
"The unnatural Craft of silly, yet conceited man" (p. 1). The setting has sublime elements, "craggy" rocks and
"swift Cataracts." Two allegorical figures appear, Hon-
esty and his son Error. Their ensuing debate covers the
same ground as Absalom and Achitophel. D'Urfey's sympa-
thies are the same as Dryden's, with Charles II and the
Duke of York, against "Hells curst Agents" who are prim-
ing Monmouth for the throne. Why D'Urfey used "progress"
in the title is hard to say. It may refer to Honesty's
success in covertly Error to his point of view, or to
the course of political events in Honesty's narrative.
Irregular. 860 lines.

1684 (a)
The Progress of Sin, or the Travels of Ungodliness (Lon-
don, 1684). (Griffith)
Benjamin Keach, 1640-1704.
Sixth edition (Boston, 1744).
See pp. 170-71.
Prose. 188 pages.

1684 (b)
Wentworth Dillon, Fourth Earl of Roscommon, 1633-1685.
Second edition (1685).
See pp. 183-84.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 14 lines (progress element only).

1684 (c)

To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse.

John Dryden, 1631-1700.
Prefix to 1684 (b), A2-4.

See pp. 184-85.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 78 lines.

1687

To Henry Higden, Esq., On His Translation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal.

Dryden.


Dryden's poem originally prefaced Higden's translation, which was dated 1687.

See 196-97.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 43 lines.

1692 (?)


Thomas Bromley.


In the Advertisement, this tract is said to have been published for a second time in 1692.
This piece of Christian Neo-Platonism charts the way of the soul in its "Progress and Growth towards Perfection..." (p. 3). Bromley combines exposition with mystical and often mystifying allegory, of which the following is an example:

Therefore our Progress is from the Outward through the Inward, to the Inmost. The Outward is the Place of Good and Evil, and as to its corrupt state, the Kingdom of the Beast. The Inward is two-fold, either the Dark or Light World. The Dark, is the Kingdom of the Dragon, the center of Evil and Wrath: The Light World is the Paradisical Sphere, or that Garden of Eden, which is situate also in its Mesopotamia, betwixt the two great Rivers of Wrath and Love....The Inmost, is the eternal Sanctuary, or the True eternal Tabernacle of God, and that spiritual Land of Peace, where...all the glorified, departed Saints live and inhabit" (pp. 14-15)

Prose. 60 pages.

1693

Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire. (Griffith)

Dryden.

Works, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, XIII, 1-123.

Dryden dated this essay Aug. 18, 1692. It appeared as the preface to his translations of Juvenal and Persius in 1693.

Although Dryden treats his subject in historical order, the essay has no other marks of the progress piece. Moreover, it came too late to have influenced the development of that form.
1694

To Sir Godfrey Kneller, Principal Painter to His Majesty. Dryden.
Works, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, XI, 82-89.

See pp. 201-202.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 166 lines.

1701

The Progress of Beauty. (Griffith)
George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, 1667-1735.


See pp. 111-12.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 305 lines.

1705


"In 1705 J. Blake issued a shameless book under the title of The Progress of the Christian Pilgrim, which was The Pilgrim's Progress merely Latinized, but on the title page of which there was no mention of Bunyan's name. The veil under which the book was disguised was the most transparent possible: Christian became Christianus; Pliable, Easie; Worldly Wiseman, Politick Worldly; and so on." John Brown, John Bunyan (London, 1928), p. 35.
1711 (a)
An Epistle to Mr. Southerne. (Aubin)
Ez1jah Fenton, 1683-1730.
Poems on Several Occasions (London, 1717), pp. 67-83.
See pp. 185-87.
Iambic pentameter couplets. 291 lines.

1711 (b)
An Essay on Criticism, part III, ll. 72-185 (London, 1711).
Alexander Pope, 1688-1744.
See pp. 199-201.
Iambic pentameter couplets. 114 lines (progress only).

1713
Life's Progress. (Griffith)
Anne Kingsmill Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, 1661-1720.
See pp. 37-38.
Five-line stanzas. 45 lines.

1714
The Royal Progress. (Griffith)
Thomas Tickell, 1685-1740
1717

The Art of Dress (London, 1717). (Griffith)

See p. 223.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 329 lines.

1718

Alma: or, the Progress of the Mind. (Griffith)

Matthew Prior, 1664-1721.


See pp. 55-60.

Octosyllabic couplets. 1683 lines.

1722 (written)

The Progress of Marriage. (Griffith)

Jonathan Swift, 1667-1745.


First published in Works, ed. Deane Swift, 1765.


See pp. 72-73.

Octosyllabic couplets. 166 lines.

1723

The Progress of Deformity, Occasioned by Reading my Lord Lansdowne's "Progress of Beauty." (Griffith)

I have not seen this piece, which Edmund Curll published in the now rare volume cited above. See pp. 223-24.

1725

The Muse's Choice; or, The Progress of Wit.

William Bond, d. 1735.


Iambic pentameter couplets. 260 lines.

1726 (a) (written)

America or the Muse's Refuge. A Prophecy. (Griffith)

George Berkeley, 1685-1753.


See pp. 179-80.

Four-line stanzas. 24 lines.

1726 (b)

The Progress of Language, An Essay, Wherein is prov'd the first Language: Occasion'd by his Majesty's Bounty and Encouragement of Modern Languages (London, 1726).

John Mawer.

See pp. 181-82.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 998 lines.

1727

An Essay on Painting.
Walter Harte, 1709-1744.

Poems on Several Occasions (London, 1727), pp. 33-37.


Iambic pentameter couplets. 62 lines (progress only).

1728 (a)

Phillis, Or, The Progress of Love. (Griffith)

Swift.

Poems, ed. Williams, I, 221-25.

First published in Miscellanies. The Last Volume,
1728, p. 236. Written 1719.

See pp. 67-69.

Octosyllabic couplets. 100 lines.

1728 (b)

The Progress of Beauty. (Griffith)

Swift.


First published in Miscellanies. The Last Volume,
1728, p. 247. Written 1719.

See pp. 69-71.

Four-line stanzas. 120 lines.

1728 (c)

The Progress of Poetry. (Griffith)

Swift.

First published in Miscellanies. The Last Volume, 1728, p. 243. Written 1720 (?).

See p. 71.
Octosyllabic couplets. 46 lines.

1728 (d)

The Progress of Dulness. (Griffith)
Henry Stanhope, pseud. [William Bond].

I have not seen this piece, which is a satire on Pope originally published in 1720 as The Parallel, a Poem Comprising the Poetical Productions of Mr. Pope, with the Prophetical Predictions of Mr. Campbell. The 'Mr. Campbell' is Duncan Campbell, the deaf and dumb seer who enjoyed considerable fame during the early eighteenth century. He was the subject of a biography by Defoe. It seems likely that the Dulness title was given to the old poem in 1728 to capitalize on the publicity surrounding the appearance of the Dunciad, which was known prior to publication as the Progress of Dulness.

1728 (e)

The Dunciad, part III, 11. 59-222 (London, 1728). (Griffith)

Pope.

This poem was once known as the *Progress of Dulness*. Sutherland writes: "The first reference to the poem in the newspapers appeared just one week before the date of publication, when a letter (which Pope afterwards ascribed to Dennis) was published in the *Daily Journal* of May 11, stating that Pope was now writing *The Progress of Dulness*—a progress, the writer added, that had begun in *Windsor Forest, The Temple of Fame, and so on*" (p. xvii). Sutherland adds in a footnote, "Until shortly before its publication the *Dunciad* was always referred to by Pope and his friends as the 'Dulness.' The change to 'Dunciad' was announced by Pope in a letter to Swift, dated March 23, 1728. No doubt Pope felt that the original title offered too easy a mark for the critics." The action of the poem is based on an analogy with the idea of *translatio imperii*. Pope, in *Martinus Scriblerus, Of the Poem*, wrote: "...the Action of the *Dunciad* is the Removal of the Imperial seat of Dulness from the City to the polite world; as that of the *Aenid* is the Removal of the empire of Troy to Latium. But as Homer, singing only the Wrath of Achilles, yet includes in his poem the whole history of the Trojan war, in like manner our author hath drawn into this single action the whole history of Dulness and her children" (p. 51). Aubrey L. Williams, in *Pope's Dunciad*, discusses at length the progress elements in the poem. In fulfillment of Pope's claim to give "the whole history of Dulness
and her children," part III, ll. 59-222 (1728), brings us close to a typical historical progress piece.

See pp. 119-20.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 164 lines (progress and roll-call only).

1728 (f)

The Progress of Patriotism. A Tale. (Griffith)

Originally published in the Craftsman, August 3, 1728. Swift published a slightly revised version in the Intelligencer, XII, 1728. Griffith lists two pieces with this title, under the dates 1730 and 1731. Possibly both entries refer to this poem.

See pp. 73-77.

Octosyllabic couplets. 200 lines.

1730 (a)

Autumn, ll. 43-143.

James Thomson, 1700-1748.


See p. 219.

Blank verse. 101 lines (progress element only).

1730 (b)

The Progress of Wit: A Caveat. (Griffith)
Aaron Hill, 1683-1750.

The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq. (London, 1753), III, 371-86.


Iambic pentameter couplets. 300 lines.

1731 (a)

The Progress of a Harlot. (Griffith)

I have been unable to trace this reference.

1731 (b)

The Progress of Musick in Ireland. (Griffith)
Matthew Pilkington, d. 1774.

Poems on Several Occasions (London, 1731), pp. 1-17.

See pp. 207-208.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 220 lines.

1731 (c)

The Progress of Patriotism. (Griffith)

See 1728 (f).

1731 (d)

The Progress of Poetry. (Griffith)

Julia Cowper Madan.


See pp. 115-16, 188.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 280 lines.
1732 (a)

The Progress of Beauty (Dublin, Printed. London, Reprinted. 1732). (Griffith)

James Delacourt, 1709-c.1781.7

See p. 112.

The Wren Catalogue (Austin, 1920, I, 167) attributes this poem to Henry Carey, but it is almost certainly Delacourt's. Delacourt's poem, A Prospect of Poetry, 1734, which has the same printing circumstances as the Progress of Beauty (Dublin, Printed. London, Reprinted. For J. Roberts), contains two sets of complimentary verses which probably allude to Delacourt's authorship of the Progress of Beauty. In the verses signed W. Walsh we read:

On Cupid's pinions sure thy fancy flew!
Ev'n beauty palls when not describ'd by you....(P. 4)

Those signed C. White are more definite, and are supplemented with a footnote:

The bright perfections of the female kind
By you describ'd leave nature far behind!
From charm to charm my eyes incessant roll,
Devour thy beauties, and admire thy soul,
That cou'd describe the fair so many ways,
And in variety of beauty please.∗

∗The Progress of Beauty. (p. 8)

Iambic pentameter couplets. 396 lines.
1732 (b)

The Progress of a Harlot. As she is described in Six Prints, by the Ingenious Mr. Hogarth (London, 1732).

See p. 78.

Prose. 47 pages.

1732 (c)

The Harlot's Progress: or, The Humours of Drury Lane. In Six Cantos, Being the tale of the noted Moll Hackabout, in Hudibrastic Verse, containing her whole Life; which is a key to the Six Prints lately publish'd by Mr. Hogarth (London, 1732). (Griffith)

See p. 78.

1732 (d)

The Progress of Love. In Four Eclogues. (Griffith)

George Lord Lyttelton, 1709-1773.


See pp. 89-91.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 374 lines.

1732 (e)

An Essay on Painting.

John Whaley.


See pp. 202-203.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 576 lines.
1732 (f)

The Progress of a Rake...To which is prefixed, by way of Introduction, A Poem, call'd, The Rakes Night (London, 1732). (BMC)

See p. 78.

1732 (g)

The Progress of a Rake; or, The Templar's Exit. In Ten Cantos, in Hudibrastick Verse...By the Author of The Harlot's Progress (London, 1732). (Griffith)

See p. 78.

Griffith's 1733 entry, Rake of Progress, seems to be a reference to these verses. He refers to Notes & Queries, 7th series, I, 127, which in turn deals with the present piece.

1732 (h)

An Essay of the Learned Martinus Scriblerus, Concerning the Origine of Sciences. Written to the most Learned Dr. ____ F. R. S. from the Deserts of Nubia. (Griffith)


Prose. 12 pages.

1732 (i)

Taste and Beauty, An Epistle to the...Lord Chesterfield. (Aubin)

I have not seen this piece, which contains a progress of architecture.
1733 (a)

The Jew Decoy'd; or the Progress of a Harlot. A New Ballad Opera of Three Acts; The Airs set to old Ballad Tunes (London, 1733).

See pp. 78-79.

1733 (b)

The Harlot's Progress, or, The Riddotto Al Fresco.
Theopilus Cibber, 1703-1758.

See p. 79.

1733 (c)

Mr. Gay's Harlot's Progress (cover). Morality in Vice: an Heroi-Comical Poem. In Six Cantos. By Mr. Joseph Gay. Founded Upon Mr. Hogarth's Six Prints of a Harlot's Progress; and Illustrated with them. Necessary for all Families, wherein there are Females; especially, Boarding Schools (London, 1733).

[John Durant Breval, 1680?-1738.]

See p. 79.

1733 (d)

The Progress of Matrimony. (Griffith)

I have been unable to trace this reference.

1734 (a)

The Progress of Corruption or a Journey thro' Westminster.

T. English.

I have been unable to trace this reference.

1734 (b)

A Prospect of Poetry (Dublin Printed: London Reprinted, 1734). (Griffith)
James Delacourt (See 1732 a).

This poem is not a progress piece but an art of poetry; the first two lines indicate its scope;

What various styles to different strains belong,
What time to rise, and when to sink in song....

1735 (a)
The Chase, part I, 11.32-83. (Griffith)
William Somerville, 1675-1742.

Near the beginning of this long Georgic, Somerville devotes some fifty lines to what could be called the origin and improvement of hunting. He does not use the word "progress," and his lines approximate but very slightly the usual progress structure. Nimrod was the father of hunting; the art improved slowly; in England "our painted ancestors" were sluggards in the chase, until William the Conqueror taught our Saxon fathers hunting skills; these skills have been improved by successive huntsmen—such is the burden of Somerville's brief survey, after which he turns to practical instruction in the hunting art. The first lines of the survey may be noted as suggesting the idea of evolution in art, based on a similar process in nature:

Nature, in her productions slow, aspires
By just degrees to reach Perfection's height:
So mimic Art works leisurely, till Time
Improve the piece, or wise Experience give
The Proper finishing. (I, 32-36)

Blank verse. 52 lines (progress element only).

1735 (b)

The Progress of a Divine. A Satire. (Griffith)
Richard Savage, 1697?-1743.

See pp. 81-82.
Iambic pentameter couplets. 434 lines.

1735 (c)

Love's Progress.
Hildebrand Jacob, 1693-1739.

See p. 61.
Octosyllabic couplets. 27 lines.

1735 (d)

The Progress of Man. (Griffith)

See p. 38.
Iambic pentameter couplets. 277 lines.
1735 (e)

The Rake's Progress; or, The Humours of Drury-Lane. A Poem. In Eight Cantos. In Hudibrastick Verse. Being the Ramble of a Modern Oxonian; which is a complete Key to the Eight Prints lately published by the Celebrated Mr. Hogarth (London, 1735).

See p. 80.

Octosyllabic couplets. 1296 lines.

1735 (f)

The Rake's Progress: or, the Humours of St. James (London, 1735).

See p. 80.

1735 (g)


Walter Harte, 1709-1774.

Second edition (1735).

See pp. 60-61.

This crude summary of Locke is contemporaneous with the first version of David Hartley's influential reworking of the great philosopher. Hartley seems to have employed the progress metaphor also. In a letter to John Lister, December 12, 1736, he wrote that a year and a half ago he had finished two treatises called "The Progress to Happiness deduced from reason," and starting with the principle of association. These treatises later became the Observations on Man, 1749. Dictionary of National Biography, IX, 67.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 22 lines (progress only).
1735-36

Liberty: A Poem. In Five Parts (London, 1735-36). (Griffith)

Thomson.


See pp. 208-211.

Blank verse. 3378 lines.

1736 (a)

The Beeriad, or Progress of Drink. An Heroic Poem, in Two Cantos, the first being an imitation of The Dunciad, the second a description of a Ram Feast, held annually in a particular small district in Hampshire. By a Gentleman in the Navy (Gosport, 1736). (Griffith)

Walter Hamilton writes: "The first canto of this poem is printed side by side with a reprint of the first book of Pope's Dunciad.

"The Beeriad commences thus:--

Beer and the men (a mighty theme!) I sing, Who to their mouths the brimming Pitcher bring. Say Sons of midnight! (since yourselves inspire, This drunken Work; as Jove and Drink require!) Say from what cause, in vain unquench'd the Thirst, Still reigns to-day as potent as at first.

In eldest time ere mortals were so dry, E'er Bacchus issued from the Thund'rer's Thigh, Strong Drink o'er some possess'd its native right,-- Lord of delusion, Sov'raign of the Night." Parodies (London, 1889), VI, 180.

1736 (b)

The Progress of Infidelity. (Griffith)

A progress piece in name only, this letter denounces some unspecified attacks on clergymen of the Church of England (see 1735 b).

Prose. 2 pages.

1737


Hildebrand Jacob, 1693-1739.

See pp. 171-72.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 125 lines.

1738 (a)

**The Progress of Petitioning; in Three Epistles to Mr. Pope.** (Aubin)

John Bancks, 1709-1751.


See pp. 83-84.

Mr. Aubin attributed this poem to William Carteret, apparently because that name appeared on the title-page of the 1752 edition, in which Mr. Aubin discovered the poem. I have not been able to confirm the existence of a poet named William Carteret, and although I have not seen the 1752 edition, I assume it contains Bancks's poems, re-issued in the name of a fictitious author in order to spur sales. Bancks had died the year before. Octosyllabic couplets. 456 lines.
1738 (b)

To Mr. Loughton, on His Practical Grammar of the English Tongue.

Bancks.


See pp. 182-83.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 75 lines.

1738 (c)

The History of Love. (Griffith)

Gentleman's Magazine, VIII, 651.

This allegorical poem presents the birth of Love, who is the son of Plenty and Poverty, and who derives his traits from this paradoxical union.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 76 lines.

1739 (a)

The Progress of a Female Rake. (Aubin)

The Curiosity: Or, Gentleman and Lady's Library, 2nd ed., pp. 35-47.

I have not seen this piece.

1739 (b)

The Progress of Honesty. (Griffith)

I have been unable to trace this item.

1739 (c)

The Progress of Language. A poetical Essay. To Mr. William Loughton. (Griffith)
1739 (d)


Richard Glover, 1712-1785.


Blank verse. 589 lines.

1740

Admiral Haddock: or, the Progress of Spain. A Poem. (Griffith)

See pp. 215-16.

1741


See p. 42.

Prose. 49 pages.

1743 (a)

The Progress of Charity, a Poem, Occasion'd by a Paper of Considerations with Regard to the Establishment of a County-Hospital at Northampton. By a Young Lady. (Griffith)


See p. 216.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 104 lines.
1743 (b)


William Collins, 1721-1759


See pp. 283-90.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 160 lines.

1743 (c)

The Progress of Painting. (Griffith)

Gentleman's Magazine, XIII, 100, 153-54.

See pp. 206-207.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 168 lines.

1743 (d)

The Progress of Physic. (Griffith)

Ashley Cowper, d. 1788

The Norfolk Poetical Miscellany (London, 1744), II, 3-35.


Iambic pentameter couplets. 269 lines.

1743 (e)

The Progress of Time; or, an Emblematical Representation of the Four Seasons and Twelve Months, As Marching in Procession round their Annual Circle In Imitation of Spencer's Fairy Queen (London, 1743).

Thomas Gardner, 1690?-1769.

Gardner describes personifications of the four
seasons, beginning with spring, and of the twelve months, beginning with March, devoting three to five couplets to each of these figures.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 113 lines.

1745

Sickness, Book III ("The Progress of Sickness"). (Griffith)

William Thompson, 1712?-1766?

Poems on Several Occasions (Oxford, 1757), pp. 243-64.

Thompson exposit the course of disease through various symptoms, then discusses the sources of aid for the sick person: patience and hope, prayer, physic, and friends.

Blank verse. 341 lines.

1746 (a)

Ode to a Gentleman upon his Travels thro' Italy.

Joseph Warton, 1722-1800.


See p. 190.

Six-line stanzas. 66 lines.

1746 (b)

The Progress of Glory. (Griffith)

I have been unable to find this piece.
1746 (c)

Ode to Pity. (Griffith)
Collins.

See pp. 293-94.
Six-line stanzas. 42 lines.

1756 (c)

Ode to Fear. (Griffith)
Collins.

Poems, ed. Stone, pp. 31-32.
See pp. 295-97.
Pindaric Ode. 71 lines.

1746 (e)

Ode to Simplicity. (Griffith)
Collins.

Poems, ed. Stone, pp. 11-16.
See pp. 216-17.
Six-line stanzas. 56 lines.

1746 (f)

Ode to Liberty. (Griffith)
Collins.

Poems, ed. Stone, pp. 42-47.
See pp. 315-22.
Pindaric Ode. 175 lines.
1747

The Progress of Beauty. (Griffith)

Gentlemen's Magazine, XVII, 61, 2.

See pp. 112-13.

Four-line stanzas. 16 lines.

1743 (a)

The Castle of Indolence, Canto II. (Griffith)

James Thomson.


See 313-20.

Spenserian stanzas. 729 lines.

1743 (b)

The Progress of Corruption. A Satire. (Griffith)

Gentlemen's Magazine, XVIII, 11, 275-76.

See pp. 43-47.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 406 lines.

1743 (c)

An Ode to the Right Honourable the Earl of Huntingdon (London, 1743).

Earl Alnside, 1731-1779.


Pindaric ode. 240 lines.

1743 (d)

Life's Progress Through the Passions: Or, the Adventures of Nature (London, 1743). (Griffith)
Eliza Haywood, 1693?-1756


Novel. 231 pages.

1748 (e)

To Mr. Urban on his compleating the XVIIIth Volume of the Gentleman's Magazine. (Griffith)

Gentleman's Magazine, XVIII, preface.

See pp. 180-81.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 64 lines.

1750 (a)

The Progress of Discontent. (Griffith)

Thomas Warton, 1728-1790.


See pp. 84-85.

Octosyllabic couplets. 134 lines.

1750 (b)

The Progress of Physic. (Griffith)

Watt lists an entry of this title for 1751, "By a physician." Cowper's poem (1743 d), however, is the only piece of this title which I have been able to find.

1751

The Progress of Envy (Newberry, 1751). (Griffith)

Robert Lloyd, 1733-1764.
See pp. 49-50.
Spenserian stanzas. 270 lines.

1752

The Progress of Man. In Two Epistles to a Clergyman. (Aubin)

(Thomas) Hadson.

Poems on Several Occasions (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1752), pp. 145-59.
I have not seen this piece.

1757 (a)

The Fleece, Book II.
John Dyer, 1699-1757.

In Book II Dyer gives a survey, combining legend with history, of wool culture and trade from earliest times to his own day, beginning with Phoenicia and ending with America. Although Dyer does not mention a progress, he follows the convention rather closely. See p. 214.
Blank verse. 230 lines (progress only).

1757 (b)

The Progress of Poesy. (Griffith)

Thomas Gray, 1716-1771.

The Poems of Mr. Gray, To Which Are Prefixed Memoirs of His Life and Writings by W. Mason, 2nd ed. (London, 1775), pp. 18-25.
See pp. 322-31.
Pindaric ode. 123 lines.

1760 (a)

To the Muses.
Michael Wodhull, 1740-1816.
   See pp. 192-93.
Pindaric ode. 258 lines.

1760 (b)


The contents of this volume are forty-four sets of doggerel verses on a variety of subjects. There is a faint continuity in the pieces, which record the author's observations as he ranges through life and thus give some idea of his growth from youth to maturity. A number of the poems are in epistolary form, and some of these are satirical observations on life at Bath. Thus Ranger's Progress is a precursor of the New Bath Guide, but it cannot be considered an important influence on Anstey's work, even if Anstey's knowledge of it were certain.

Some of these verses appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, XXVIII, 1758.
Miscellaneous verse forms. 120 pages.
1761 (a)

To the Queen.
James Marriott, 1730?-1803.

Poems Written Chiefly at the University of Cambridge
(Cambridge, 1761), pp. Iv-v.

See pp. 193-94.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 16 lines (progress only).

1761 (b)

Marriott.

Poems Written Chiefly at the University of Cambridge,
pp. 12-17.

See pp. 203-204.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 142 lines.

1761 (c)

Origin of Man. (Griffith)

Gentleman's Magazine, XXXI, 280.

This short poem is not a progress piece.

1762


I have not seen this piece.

1763 (a)

The Pleasure of Poetry. An Ode. (Griffith)

Robert Vansittart, 1728-1789 (?).

Dodsley's Collection of Poems, 2nd ed. (London, 1768),

This poem is not a progress piece. The title gives an accurate idea of the contents.

1763 (b)

The Power of Poetry. (Griffith)
Rolle (?).

Dodsley's Collection, 2nd. ed., III, 231-33.

Although the title is appropriate, this poem bears a faint relation to the progress piece, for the writer illustrates the power of poetry by three historical allusions, to Greece (Homer), to Rome (Virgil), and to England (Pope).

Eight-line stanzas. 48 lines.

1763 (c)

An Essay on Satire, occasioned by the Death of Mr. Pope, part 3.

John Brown, 1715-1766.

Dodsley's Collection, 2nd ed., III, 331-37.

See pp. 197-98.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 174 lines.

1764 (a)

The Progress of Advice. A Common Case. (Griffith)

William Shenstone, 1714-1763.

See p. 85.

Four-line stanzas. 16 lines.

1764 (b)

The Progress of Taste: Or, the Fate of Delicacy. A Poem on the Temper and Studies of the Author; and how great a Misfortune it is, for a Man of small Estate to have much Taste. (Griffith)

Shenstone.

Works in Verse and Prose, I, 262-84.

See pp. 91-93.

Octosyllabic couplets. 614 lines.

1765

The Progress of a Female Mind (London, 1765). (Watt)

I have not seen this piece.

1766

On Education.

Poetical Blossoms: or, the Sports of Genius. By the Young Gentlemen of Mr. Rule's Academy at Islington (London, 1766), pp. 26-27.

See pp. 216-17.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 40 lines.

1767 (a)

The Concubine, or The Progress of Dissipation. (Griffith)

William Julius Mickle, 1734-1788.


See pp. 93-94.
"Sir Martyn was published first in 1767, under title of The Concubine, or The Progress of Dissipation. The poem went through several editions, and when Mickle published it again with additions and changes in 1777, he renamed it Sir Martyn, explaining that readers had found the other title misleading." Sister M. Eustace Taylor, William Julius Mickle (1734-1788) A Critical Study (Washington, 1937), p. 95.

1767 (?)

The Progress of Science. (Watt)

Sneyd Davies, d. 1769.

I have not seen this piece.

1770 (?)

The Progress of War; a Poem. By an Officer (Norwich, n.d.). (Aubin)

T. F. Christian, 7

I have not seen this piece.

1771-1774

The Minstrel: or, the Progress of Genius. A Poem, in Two Books. (Griffith)

James Beattie, 1735-1803.


See pp. 94-97.

Spenserian stanzas. 1098 lines.
1772-73

**The Progress of Dulness.** (Griffith)

John Trumbull, 1750-1831.

**Poetical Works** (Hartford, 1820), II, 7-90.

See pp. 85-87.

Octosyllabic couplets. 1678 lines.

1773

**The Progress of Love.** (Griffith)

**Gentleman's Magazine**, XLIII, 94.

See pp. 61-62.

Four-line stanzas. 16 lines.

1774 (a)

**The Progress of Gallantry. A Poetical Essay, in three Cantos.** (Griffith)

Richard Graves, 1715-1804.

**Euphroisyne:** Or, Amusements on the Road of Life, 2nd ed. (London, 1780), I, 177-90.

See pp. 97-98.

Griffith's 1773 entry of this title almost certainly refers to the same poem as Aubin's entry for 1776, which date Aubin took from the first edition of **Euphroisyne**.

My dating of the poem's publication as 1774 is based on entries in the **British Museum Catalogue** and Watt's **Bibliotheca Britannica**.

Octosyllabic couplets. 298 lines.
1774 (b)

The Progress of Melancholy. A Vision. To a Friend. (Aubin)

William Richardson, 1743-1814.

Poems and Plays (Edinburgh, 1805), I, 168-82.


Blank verse. 349 lines.

1774 (c)

An Essay on Painting.

Samuel Bentley, 1720?-1803.

Poems on Various Occasions (London, 1774), PP. 163-177.

See pp. 204-205.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 292 lines.

1775

The Progress of Painting. (Aubin)

Samuel Jackson Pratt, 1749-1814.

I have not seen this piece.

1778

An Essay on Painting: In Two Epistles to Mr. Romney. (Aubin)

William Hayley, 1745-1820.


See pp. 205-206.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 1028 lines.
1780 (a)

The Progress of Religion (In Latin). (Aubin)
John Walters, 1759-1789.
I have not seen this piece.

1780 (b)

The Progress of Science. A Poem Delivered at Harvard College April 21, 1780, By a Junior Sophister. (Aubin)
Samuel Dexter, 1761-1816
I have not seen this piece.

1782 (a)

The Progress of Error. (Griffith)
William Cowper, 1731-1800.
See p. 172.
Iambic pentameter couplets. 624 lines.

1782 (b)

Table Talk, 11. 556-661). (Griffith)
Cowper.
See pp. 194-95.
Iambic pentameter couplets. 106 lines (progress only).

1783

The Progress of Refinement. A Poem. In Three Parts (Oxford, 1783). (Griffith)
Henry James Pye, 1745-1813.

See pp. 220-22.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 2062 lines.

1784 (a)

The Progress of Balloons. (Griffith)

Philip Freneau, 1752-1832.


Occasioned by recent experiments in balloon flight
(Rozier, 1753; Cavallo, 1782), this humorous piece begins:

Assist me, ye muses, (whose harps are in tune)
To tell of the flight of the gallant balloon!

Freneau then performs mock-speculation about the uses of
balloons in warfare, planetary observation, transportation,
and commerce.

Anapastic pentameter couplets. 100 lines.

1784 (b)


Edward Jerningham, 1737-1812.

See pp. 195-96.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 408 lines.

1785 (a)

The Progress of Romance, through times, countries, and manners; with remarks on the good and bad effects of it,
on them respectively; in a course of evening conversations.

Clara Reeve, 1729-1807.


In a series of dialogues, Miss Reeve seeks to delineate the types and history of Romance. She proposes "to trace Romance to its Origin, to follow its progress through the different periods to its declension, to shew how the modern Novel sprung up out of its ruins, to examine and compare the merits of both, and to remark upon the effects of them" (p. 8). Her thesis is that romances, if read indiscriminately, "are at best unprofitable, frequently productive of absurdities in manners and sentiments, sometimes hurtful to good morals; and yet from this Genus there may be selected books that are truly respectable, works of genius, taste, and utility, capable of improving the morals and manners of mankind" (p. 7).

After surveying her subject from earliest times she comes to the novel, which she differentiates from the romance as follows:

The Romance is an heroic fable, which treats of fabulous persons and things.—The Novel is a picture of real life and manners, and of the times in which it is written. The Romance in lofty and elevated language, describes what never happened nor is likely to happen.—The Novel gives a familiar relation of such things, as pass every day before our eyes, such as may happen to our friend, or to ourselves, and the perfection of it, is to represent every scene, in so easy and natural a manner, and to make them appear so probable, as to deceive us into a persuasion (at least while we are reading) that all is real, until we are affected by the joys or distresses, of the persons in the story, as if they were our own (p. 111).
She then surveys the eighteenth century novel extensively though not in detail, and in this survey lies the chief interest of the book.

This work reflects an eighteenth century practice of using the progress title for ambitious essays on learned subjects. Because of the literary mold in which Miss Reeve shaped this work, I have included it out of a long list of possible examples. Among these are John Brown's *History of the Rise and Progress of Poetry* (1764), Lord Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, six volumes (1773), and James Talbot Dillon's *Letters from Spain, in 1778, on the Origin and Progress of Poetry in that Country*.

Prose. 248 pages.

1785 (b)

*The Task*, Book I, ll. 1-88. (Griffith)

Cowper.


See pp. 226-27.

Blank verse. 88 lines (progress element only).

1786

*The Progress of Fashion* (London, 1786). (Griffith)

I have not seen this piece.
1789 (a)

On the Female Right to Literature. To a Young Lady, Written from Florence. (Griffith)

Thomas Seward.

Bell's Fugitive Poetry (London, 1789), VI, 17-23.

See pp. 213-14.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 166 lines.

1789 (b)

The Progress of Liberty. (Griffith)

Richard Owen Cambridge, 1717-1802.


See p. 227.

Anaplectic tetrameter couplets. 42 lines.

1792

The Progress of Refinement, A Poem, in Three Books (Boston, 1792).

Thomas Odiorne, 1769-1851.

Addressed to the president of Dartmouth University, this philosophical poem traces the refinement of man through three stages. The first stage results from the influence of nature; the second from the influence of the fine arts, which are imitations of nature; and the third from the influence of virtue, which is inspired by nature and art. I was unable to see this poem in time to discuss it in the body of the dissertation.

Blank verse. 1796 lines.
1794

The Progress of Poetry, Painting, and Music. (Aubin)
John Bidlake, 1755-1814.

Poems (Plymouth, 1794), pp. 1-49.
I have not seen this piece.

1796

The Progress of Civil Society. A Didactic Poem, in six books (London, 1796). (Griffith)

Richard Payne Knight, 1750-1824.

See p. 222.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 3238 lines.

1798 (a)

The Progress of Man. (Griffith)

George Canning, 1770-1827, and John Hookham Frere, 1769-1846.


Iambic pentameter couplets. 172 lines.

1798 (b)

The Progress of Satire: An Essay in Verse (London, 1798). (Griffith)

[William Boscawen, 1752-1811.]

See pp. 198-99.

Iambic pentameter couplets. 288 lines.
1800 (a)

The Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent, in Jacobinical Times (London, 1800).

Mary Ann Burges, 1763-1813.


In the introduction, dated Sept. 24, 1813, James Bland Burges revealed his sister's authorship of this piece for the first time. She had died six weeks before, on Aug. 10, 1813.

See pp. 42-46.

Prose. 191 pages.

1800 (?)

The Progress and Comforts of Religion; an Essay in Blank Verse (Stourport, 1800?). (BMC)

I have not seen this piece.
APPENDIX II: CHECK LIST OF NINETEENTH CENTURY PROGRESS PIECES

The following list is restricted to title, author, and brief publishing data and bibliographic sources when available and needed. It includes the pieces cited by Griffith and Aubin and supplements their lists but does not aim at completeness.

1806 (a)

Progress of Evening.
Walter Savage Landor.

1806 (b)

The Progress of Melancholy, A Fragment. (Aubin)
Mary Robinson.

1807 (?)

The Progress of Despotism. (Griffith)

1808

The Progress of Love. (Aubin)
Martin Kidgwin Masters.

1810 (?)

The Progress of Genius. (Aubin)
Thomas Rhodes.


1810 (?)

The Progress of Envy. (Aubin)
Rhodes.

Poetical Miscellanies, pp. 78-82.

1812

Progress of the Arts and Sciences; a Poem. (Watt)

1817 (a)

Sleep and Poetry. (Griffith)
Keats.

1817 (b)

The Progress of Society. A Poem in Three Parts. (Griffith)

1818

The Progress of Time. (Aubin)

The Rivers of Axedge and the Progress of Time, a Moral and Descriptive Poem (Macclesfield, 1818).

1820 (a)

The Ages. (Griffith)
William Cullen Bryant.

1820 (b)

Ode to Liberty. (Griffith)
Shelley.
1820 (?)

*The Progress of Industry. A Tale, in Verse, with Coloured Illustrations.* (BMC)

1821

*Prophecy of Dante.* (Griffith)

Byron.

1821-24 (?) Written

*The Progress of Rhyme.* (Griffith)

John Clare.

1823

*The Progress of Poetry.* (Aubin)

John Petre.

*Trifles*, pp. 1-4.

1826

*The Progress of Fashion from our first parents through succeeding ages and nations...to our present times, In a series of letters* (London, 1826). (BMC)

1833

*The Rake's Progress. A drama in three acts.*

William Leman Rede.

1833

*Progress of Unbelief.*

Cardinal Newman.


1838

The Progress of Mind: An Ode. (Aubin)
W. B. Scott.

Hades; or, The Transit; and The Progress of Mind. Two Poems (London, 1838), pp. 31–47.

1839

The Political Pilgrim’s Progress.*

C. 1839 (written)

The Progress of Spring.
Tennyson.

1841

The Progress and Prospects of Society (London, 1841). (BMC)

1852

The Progress of Freedom; and other poems (New York, 1852).
Barnard Shipp.

1853

The Drunkard's Progress.*

1858

The Progress of Truth. (London, 1858). (BMC)

A Fragment of a Sacred Poem (London, 1861-65, written)

1867

The Progress of Poesy.

Matthew Arnold.
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Bernhard, Richard. Looke Beyond Luther. London, 1623 (University Microfilms).

The Holy Bible. King James Version.


Breton, Nicholas. The Pilgrimage to Paradise. Oxford, 1592 (University Microfilms).


*Sources for the progress pieces are given in Appendices I and II. A few of these sources which also provide secondary comment are listed here as well as in the Appendices.


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