Joseph Warton as a Critic of Romanticism

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JOSEPH WARTON AS A CRITIC OF ROMANTICISM

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Joseph Warton as a Critic of Romanticism

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Introduction.

Joseph Warton's age was one of highly conventionalized social standards; an age when form and polish were regarded as of more consequence than matter; and, finally, an age when deep feeling of any kind, enthusiasm, and religious imagination were regarded as marks of the vulgar and ill-bred and were, therefore, to be carefully avoided by sane and respectable people.

These influences were clearly reflected in the literature of the time. It was the period in English Literature known as the Classical or Augustan age. To the writers of the time, it mattered not so much what they said, as how they said it. Consequently, a piece of literature, to be considered excellent, must be clear, smooth, sound highly finished; and must be witty, satirical, or didactic in style.

The prevailing literary verse form was the heroic couplet, which under Dryden and Pope reached its highest point of perfection. Another literary characteristic of the age was its slavish adherence to French models. Voltaire and Boileau, for example, had a great influence upon England in the eighteenth century, which as Prof. Phelps says, "was wholly in the direction of clearness and restraint." Following out the Augustan theory that nature as seen in the manners of polite society and work of polite writers, was superior to nature as she appeared in a beautiful landscape, the writers of the time went to the works of the Ancient rather than to nature herself, for their knowledge of natural scenery and rural characters. Accordingly, we find Pope writing Pastorals adapted from Virgil, in which he betrays his scant knowledge of nature. Among other characteristics of the Augustans were their preference for town life over country life, and

their indifference to and contempt for old English authors.

Contemporary with Joseph Warton were quite a number of writers who are still famous up to the present time. As their list of publications is so long, only the more important ones can be given here. From the titles of these publications some idea may be gained of the general trend of thought during the life time of Joseph Warton.

In 1740 when Dr. Warton's "Enthusiast" was published also appeared David Hume's "Essays Moral and Political" and Isaac Newton's "Improvement of the Mind." Two years later appeared William Collin's "Persian Eclogues", Pope's "Dunciad" a satire on Dullness, Shefield's "School Mistress and Young's "Night Thoughts." During the next thirty years we find Johnson publishing "The Rambler" and his "Dictionary of the English Language", Smollet published "Advise and Satire"; Goldsmith, the "Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning", Gray; his "Pinderic Odes"; Macpherson; "Fragments of Ancient Poetry"; Chatterton published his "Aella"; Robert Blair; "The Grave"; Akenside "Pleasures of Imagination", Collin; "Odes"; Joseph Warton; "Essay on Pope" and Thomas Warton; "History of the English Language" and Observations on the Faery Queen". Thus from the titles of the literary productions written in the early part of the century, it is evident that the general preference was for didactic and satirical works. In the latter part of the century, however, the titles suggest a more imaginative and romantic type of poetry, thus indicating that a change was taking place in the public taste.

Although Pope had written the greater part of his works before Joseph Warton had begun his career as a poet and critic in 1740, the literary world was completely under Pope's sway, and explicit in his belief that poetry had found its highest expression in him. As the
Augustan ideals of restraint, finish, and brilliancy were best exemplified in Pope, any unfavorable criticism of him would be regarded as a direct assault upon the established order in literature.

Before Warton's "Enthusiast" was published, Romantic poems had appeared such as Thomson's "Seasons," that were revolutionary in form, mood, and substance to the prevailing literary mode, but not before Joseph Warton do we find one daring to attack boldly the complacent belief of the Augustans that they represented all that was best in literature. In his "Essay on Pope" in 1756, Warton dethroned Pope from his seat among the mightily in literature and gave him a place farther down between class two and three. In attacking Pope as a representative of Classicism, Joseph Warton brought upon himself fierce criticism from those in sympathy with Classicism, and praise and sympathy from those opposed it. The battle that raged off and on between these two parties concerning Pope's place in literature finally ended in favor of Warton. The very strength of the opposition to the "Essay on Pope" testified to its importance. While a change in literary ideals was unconsciously taking place before Joseph Warton's time, he through his "Essay" forced, as it were, and hastened it into a new channel and thus deserves credit as one of the early poets who did the greatest service to the Romantic School in England.
1.

Chapter 1.

Romantic Tendencies of Joseph Warton.

Although, as Lowell says, the "Essay on Pope" in 1756 was "the earliest public official declaration of war against the reigning mode in literature, Dr. Warton's volume of "Odes" published in 1746, were not only romantic in mood and substance, but also openly critical and rebellious to the conventional standards of the Augustans. The following quotation taken from the preface of the "Odes", very clearly reveals his attitude toward pseudoclassicism: "The public has been so much accustomed of late to didactic poetry alone, and essays on moral subjects, that any work where the imagination is much indulged, will perhaps not be relished or regarded. The author, therefore, of these pieces is at some pains, lest certain austere critics should think them too fanciful and descriptive. But as he is convinced that the fashion of moralizing in verse has been carried too far, and as he looks upon invention and imagination to be the chief faculties of a poet, so he will be happy if the following Odes may be looked upon as an attempt to bring back poetry into its right channel".¹

Even before his "Odes" were published, we find him openly critical toward the correct writers of his day in the lines:

"What are the lays of artful Addison
Coldly correct, to Shakespear's warblings wild?"² taken from "The Enthusiast" written in 1740. Prof. W. L. Phelps has said that "The Enthusiast" "was one of the most important poems of the Romantic movement."³ Mr. Courthope, in his edition of Pope's work.

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² Wooll's Memoirs of Warton. "120. "The Enthusiast".
has even gone farther and said that "The Enthusiast" may certainly be regarded as the starting point of the Romantic Revival."¹ Although Thomson's "Seasons" in 1730, and other poems of less renown, would disprove this claim, it is the first poem of the period to show such a thorough revolt against the literary creed of the Augustans. It is romantic not only in its verse form, its love of solitude and wild nature, in its sentiment for the Golden Age, and its Miltonic tones, but also in its critical comparison of Addison and Shakespeare as representatives of different types of poetry. Postponing for the time consideration of these romantic phases of "The Enthusiast", I shall now take up the discussion of his position with respect to the formal side of his verse.

In his "Ode to Mr. West", Joseph Warton again expresses his impatience with correct and polished verse, and his objections to it on the ground of its inability to express deep feeling. The following lines from the Ode will verify this statement:

"The fearful frigid lays of cold and creeping art
Nor can transport th' unfeeling heart".

In the next stanza he contrasts Pindars poetry with that of the Augustans.

"Away, enervate bards away
Who spin the courtly, silken lay
As wreaths for some vain Louis' head
Or mourn some soft Adonis dead;
No more your polished lyrics boast
In British Pindars strength oe'rwhelmed and lost;
As well ye might compare,"

2. Woolf's "Memoirs of Warton", p. 149
The glimmerings of a waxen flame,  
(Emblem of verse correctly tame)  
To his own Aetna's sulphur spouting caves,  
When to Heav'n's vault the fiery deluge raves,  
When clouds and herning rocks dart thro' the troubled air."

His "Verses to Delia" are also significant in showing his feelings in regard to the inadequacy of wit and polished verse to express true passion:

"No tuneful period, no well polished line
Can issue from a heart so fond as mine;
Wit is the language of a man at ease,
True passion feels too much with art to please.
Let rhyming triflers celebrate your eyes;
I only gaze in silence and in sighs."¹

Consistent with his statement made in the "Essay on Pope" that blank verse was undoubtedly preferable for a longer poem where any enthusiasm or emotion was to be expressed, ² Dr. Warton wrote his first long poem "The Enthusiast" in blank verse. "The Dying Indian"; the "Epistle from Thomas Hearne, Antiquary to the Author of the Companion to the Oxford Guide"; and several shorter poems in which he has wished to express deep feeling or enthusiasm are also written in blank verse.

Dr. Warton reflects the influence of Milton's minor poems in his use of iambic tetrameter. The "Ode to Solitude"; "Ode to Fancy", and "Revenge of America", are among the more important of his poems written in rhimed iambic tetrameter. The "Ode to Fancy is especially smooth and correct, so much so that one might accuse Warton in this

1. Wooll's "Memoirs of Warton" p. 166
2. Warton's "Essay on Pope". Vol. 2 p. 150
poem of "falling into that unpleasing and tiresome monotony" for which he criticized Pope's "Iliad."

In his "Ode to Mr. West" on his "Translation of Pindar", Dr. Warton has illustrated his statement made in his "Essay on Pope" that "more of that true harmony which will best support a poem, will result from a variety of pauses, and from an intermixture of those different feet (iambic and trochaic particularly) into which our language naturally falls than from a uniformity of similar expression." In the first two stanzas of the Ode, the prevailing foot and meter of the first line is iambic hexameter; the prevailing foot and meter of the next five lines is iambic pentameter; lines seven, eight and nine are iambic tetrameter, line ten is iambic pentameter. The rhythm of the remaining four stanzas is much the same, the length of the lines of each stanza varying from trimeter to hexameter. In the third and sixth stanzas, the first five lines are iambic tetrameter, the sixth is iambic pentameter, the seventh iambic trimeter, the eighth and ninth iambic tetrameter, the tenth and eleventh, iambic pentameter and the twelfth is iambic hexameter. In the fourth and fifth stanzas, the measure varies a little from the preceding ones. The first line in each is written in iambic hexameter, the next five lines are written in iambic pentameter, the next three in iambic tetrameter and the last one in iambic pentameter.

While the accent comes on the second syllable as a rule, occasionally we find a trochaic foot. By this varied rhythm, the poem gains strength and solidity. One cannot gallop over lines of unequal length in the same heedless manner that he is likely to do when the lines are of the same foot and meter throughout.

From these examples of his verse and his remarks on the re-
spective merits of rhyme and blank verse, it is easy to see that Warton was thoroughly out of sympathy with the prevailing ideas of the time in regard to the form of verse. Having pointed out the most noticeable romantic features of Warton's verse, I shall now take up his attitude toward Shakespeare, Milton and Spenser as another phase of his Romanticism.

Joseph Warton is thoroughly romantic in his attitude toward Shakespeare, Milton, and Spenser. During the classical period these writers had fallen into disrepute, being regarded with indifference or contempt. Warton resents the complacency and patronizing manner in which Pope speaks of Spenser. In this connection, we find Warton quoting Pope's words in which he says: "There is something in Spenser that pleases one as strongly in one's old age as it did in one's youth. I read the "Faery Queen" when I was about twelve with a vast deal of delight; and it gave me as much when I read it over about a year or two ago".

If imitation is sincerest flattery, Dr. Warton has shown his true feeling for Milton in his "Enthusiast" and "Ode to Fancy". Throughout the greater part of Warton's poems, one finds suggestions of Milton's minor poems, but his first poem especially, to quote Prof. Phelps' phrase, "vibrates with Miltonic tones". While the predominating mood of his poems, is that of "Il Penseroso", we find passages that resemble "L'Allegro". The following lines from "The Enthusiast":

"Oft near some crowded city would I walk
Listening the far off noises, rattling cars,
.................................
Or walking near the sea, attend the sounds
Of hollow winds, and ever beating waves."

Suggest the lines from Milton's "Il Penseroso":

"Oft near some crowded city would I walk
Listening the far off noises, rattling cars,
.................................
Or walking near the sea, attend the sounds
Of hollow winds, and ever beating waves."

Suggest the lines from Milton's "Il Penseroso":
And missing thee, I walk unseen
On the dry smooth shaven green
To behold the wandering moon
Riding near her highest noon

Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
I hear the far off curfew sound,
Over some wide watered shore,
Swinging slow with sullen war."

The personifications in the "The Enthusiast" such as "Philosophy clad in dun robes", and "Virgin Solitude", suggest the "pensive nun devout and pure, all in a robe of darkest grain", in Milton's "Il Penseroso". This quotation from the "Ode to Fancy":

Where Mirth and Youth each evening meet,
And lightly trip with nimble feet,
Nodding their lily crowned heads,
Where laughter rose-lip'd Hebe leads",

resemble the lines from "L'Allegro":

"Haste thee, Nymph, and bring with thee
Jest and youthful jollity.

Nods and beaks, and wreathed smiles
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,

And Laughter holding both his sides,
Come, and trip it as you go,
On the light fantastick: toe",

Warton has not only shown his partiality for Milton by imitat-
ing him, but he also in his "Ode to Health" represented Virgil and Musaeus as listening in silent wonder to Milton's loftier song. Again in his "Ode to A Gentleman on his Travels" he has placed Spenser, Milton, and Shakespeare in the first class of poets referring to them as "the best and favorite Three of the Sons of Poesy". This cool ignoring of Pope at a time when he was regarded as England's greatest poet shows great independence on the part of Warton.

In Thomas Warton's edition of Milton, Dr. Warton has recommended the study of "Lycidas" as a means whereby one may ascertain whether or not he has a true taste for poetry. According to Warton, anyone who is highly delighted with the perusal of Milton's "Lycidas" has a true taste for poetry.

Although Warton placed Shakespeare in the first class of poets along with Spenser and Milton, it would seem from his writings that he had not quite as high an opinion of him as a poet, as he had of the other two. In his paper for the "Adventurer" entitled "Observations on the Tempest of Shakespeare", Dr. Warton has said; "Shakespeare exhibits more numerous examples of excellences and faults of every kind than are to be discovered in any other". In his poems, one does not find nearly so many instances of Shakespeare's influence as of the other two, Warton's use of "the little Fays" adapted from Shakespeare's "Mid Summer Nights Dream" is one instance reflecting Shakespear's influence upon him.

The qualities that Warton admired in these writers are those that are decidedly romantic. The characteristics of Spenser, for example, that he emphasized most, are his "warm and graceful imagery", his tender and pathetic feeling", "the pleasing melancholy of his sentiments", and his appreciation of the "softness of nature".

In his "Essay on Pope", Warton has more to say about each of these three poets, whom he regarded as "the Favorite Three of Poesy", but as his remarks on these writers in that volume, are largely of the nature of a critical comparison of them with Pope, I shall reserve them until I take up the consideration of Joseph Warton's services as a critic.

Closely allied with Warton's love and admiration for Milton, is his love for nature and solitude, since it is these things that Milton so highly extolled in his minor poems of which Warton was such an ardent admirer. All through his poems, we see this preference for solitude and natural wild scenery to the crowded drawing rooms, and the formal gardens, which the pseudo-classicists regarded as the most exquisite form of nature. His first poem, "The Enthusiast, clearly reveals his attitude to formal gardens by his appeal to the green-robed Dryads to lead him from "gardens decked with art's vain pomp's to unfrequented meads, and pathless wilds". In the same stanza, Warton contrasts the attractions offered by formal gardens in the shape of gilt alcoves, marble-mimic gods, obelisks, urns, the long spreading lake, and converging vista, with the simple, artless attractions of nature where may be seen the squirrel leaping from bough to bough, the thrushes singing in the trees, and the playful fawn running about.

Warton's favorite time of the day is at dusk when nature seems to be in her softest and most peaceful mood. In no one of his poems has he shown this preference so much as in his "Ode to Evening". In reading the poem, one feels at once the soft approach of evening and the peaceful happiness of the scenes depicted. He has aptly chosen his words and phrases so as to give the impression of a quiet restful evening in the country. The first stanza of the poem gives a very
good illustration of this:

"Hail, meek-eyed maiden, clad in sober grey,
Whose soft approach the weary workman loves,
As, homeward bent to kiss his prattling babes,
He jocund whistles thro' the twilight groves."

In this stanza such phrases as "sober grey", "soft approach" and "twilight groves" are well chosen to give this picture of evening. In the following stanza, the phrases "misty meadows", "the drooping daisies bathe in dulcet dews", "the nodding violet", the evening dance of the Dryads, and the ploughman wrestling on the green at close of day are in keeping with a description of an evening in the country, and at the same time suggest Milton's minor poems. As will be seen from the first stanza, the poem anticipates Gray's "Elegy of the Country Churchyard.

There is the same picture of the weary laborer returning home at evening; the same mood and general tone throughout both poems.

The kind of nature Warton liked best may be seen from the following statement in regard to Thomson's "Seasons", taken from the "Essay on Pope": "Winter is, in my apprehension, the most valuable of these four poems; the scenes of it, like those of 'Il Penseroso' of Milton, being of that awful, solemn, and pensive kind, on which a great genius best delights to dwell".

We find Warton's love of solitude and his appreciation of the grandeur of wild scenery in the lines:

"Yet let me choose some pine-topt precipice
Abrupt and shaggy, whence a foamy stream,
Like Anio, tumbling roers, or some black heath,
Where straggling stands the mournful juniper."

1. Woll's "Memoirs of Warton". p. 139. "Ode to Evening".
In "The Enthusiast" Dr. Warton has shown nature in her varied aspects; in the peaceful brooding quiet of evening, in the cheerful brightness of morning, in all her charms of May, and in her severer aspects of stinging cold and "dark tempestuous nights" when "the fierce north oft smote with iron whip the shiv'ring limbs" of primitive man. In this poem also, he has expressed his idea of true bliss, which as will be seen from the following quotation, was thoroughly revolutionary to the popular conception of true happiness in the eighteenth century:

"You shepherd idly stretched on the rude rock,
List'ning to dashing waves, and sea-meu's clang
High-hovering o'er his head, who views beneath
The dolphin dancing o'er the level brine,
Feels more true bliss than the proud admiral,
Amid his vessels bright with burnished gold
And silken streamers, though his lordly nod
Ten thousand war-worn mariners revere." 2

Very much the same thought concerning the abiding place of true bliss is found in his poem "Ode to Content", in which he says that content has fled from courts and camps, and crowds, to his mean cottage. Thus from these poems it may be seen that Joseph Warton anticipates Wordsworth in his belief that true happiness is found in a close communion with nature.

The "Ode to Solitude" reflects Milton's influence and voices Warton's feeling for solitude. In the poem he has chosen with great

1. Wooll's "Memoirs of Warton" p. 117 "The Enthusiast".
2. Wooll's "Memoirs of Warton" p. 115 "The Enthusiast".
care those words and phrases that best give the impression of loneliness and isolation. He has laid the scene of the poem far away from the town, the time; during the "deep dead of night" with the Muse arrayed in flowing black robe. The sentiment in the last four lines showing the influence of Milton's "Il Penseroso", occurs over and over again in his poems and is significant in showing that Warton had almost made a cult of solitude.

"O let me calmly dwell with thee,
From noisy mirth and bus'ness free
With meditation seek the skies,
This folly-fettere'd world despise!"

To any one who has read Warton's poems, his love of solitude and nature in all her aspects, and especially in her sterner aspects, is so evident that it seems scarcely necessary to dwell longer upon these features of his romantic qualities.

Dr. Warton's enthusiasm was one of his most unclassical tendencies. In direct opposition to the pseudo-classical idea of repression and restraint, he says: "True poetry cannot well subsist, at least is never so striking, without a tincture of enthusiasm." There are many phases of his enthusiasm. The first one of which one naturally thinks, is that reflected in "The Enthusiast" - a name which must surely have sounded a strange note in the ears of the early eighteenth century critics. In this poem, Warton's enthusiasm takes the form of an ecstatic delight in depicting nature in her various forms.

1. Wooll's "Memoirs of Warton", p. 147. "Ode to Solitude".
In a letter written in 1740, he goes into raptures over the work of Longinus. He says: "I shall read Longinus as long as I live; it is impossible not to catch the fire and rapture from his glowing style. The noble causes he gives (at the conclusion) for the decay of the sublime amongst men, to wit- the love of pleasure, riches, and idleness would almost make one look down upon the world with contempt, and rejoice in, and wish for toils, poverty, and dangers, to combat with". Here the nature of his enthusiasm is so evident that it needs no further comment: Warton everywhere in his works associates enthusiasm with true genius. Thus he says: "True genius seldom resides in a cold and phlegmatic constitution". Because of their lack of enthusiasm, Dr. Warton criticized Addison's poems addressed to Dryden, Sir John Somers, and King William as being "languid, prosaic, and void of any poetical imagery or spirit". He further says in criticizing the coldness of Addison's letters from Italy that "One would have expected a young traveller, in the height of his genius and judgment, would have broke out into some strokes of enthusiasm".

Another aspect of Warton's enthusiasm is his upholding Orientalism and Gothicism as important contributions to the literature of the time. While Oriental tales had always been more or less popular in English literature, the arbitrators of different literary fashions had used them as a vehicle in popularizing their own standards. Thus

Addison and Johnson used Oriental tales because they saw in them abundant illustrative material for didactic and moralistic purposes. The extent to which the Oriental tale was over-worked in the early years of the eighteenth century is shown by Warburton when he says: "The policy of some of the latter princes of the East greatly hurt the elegance and use of the composition, by setting all men upon composing in this way, to furnish matter for their coffee houses and public places of resort; which were enjoined to entertain their customers with a rehearsal of these works in order to divert them from politics and matters of state."  

It is characteristic of Warton's romantic qualities that, for him, the appeal of the Oriental tale and Gothic story, should be imaginative rather than didactic. Accordingly in criticizing the literature of his time, he says: These superstitions of the East are highly striking to the imagination. Since the time that poetry has been forced to assume a more sober, and perhaps a more rational air, it scarcely ventures to enter the fairy regions. There are some, however, who think it has suffered by deserting these fields of fancy, and by totally laying aside the descriptions of magic and enchantment."  

In this connection he cites Thomson's "Castle of Indolence" as an exquisite example of the charm of magic and enchantment as literary accessories. The solitude of the Eastern wilderness as pictures in Thomson's "Castle of Indolence also had its peculiar appeal for Warton. In his edition of Pope he says: "I cannot at present recollect any solitude so romantic, or peopled with beings so proper to the place and the spectator. The mind naturally loves to lose itself in one of these wildernesses, and to forget the hurry, the noise, and splendor of more

Warton, likewise, upholds Gothicism as a means of enriching the literature through its superior appeal to the imagination. In his "Essay on Pope, he says: These Gothic charms are, in truth, more striking to the imagination than the classical. The magician of Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, have more powerful spells than those of Apollonius, Seneca, and Lucan. The enchanted forest of Imeno is more awfully and tremendously poetical, than even the Grove which Caesar orders to be cut down in Lucan 1, 3, 400 which was so full of terrors that, at noon day or midnight, the Priest himself dared not approach it.

Dreading the Daemon of the Grove to Meet! Later he has expressed the same sentiment in his edition of Pope by saying that our Gothic ancestors had juster and manlier nations of magnificence on Greek and Roman ideas than these Mimies of Tast, who profess to study

only classical elegance." The fascination that the Gothic story had for Joseph Warton may be shown from the fact that when Ann Radcliffe's "Mysteries of Udolpho" came out in 1794, Warton "was so much entranced that he sat up the greater part of the night to finish it". Thus it would seem from Warton's remarks in regard to the Orient and the Middle Ages, that he saw in their unusualness and picturesque scenery one of the means by which poetry was to be brought "back into its right channel".

A new note in the literature of the time which Warton played an important role in ushering in, and one which was analogous to Warton's enthusiasm was Nationalism in literature. Hitherto, the critics had not shown much appreciation of England's literary productions in comparison with those of other countries, nor had they given much consideration of the possibilities of finding a rich store house of literary materials in the traditions and annals of their own country. For the Augustan critics, whatever was good and excellent in literature, must have its origin in the Greek or Latin literature or history, and must bear the stamp of approval of the leading French critics. Joseph Warton's pride in, and loyalty, to Great Britain made him rise up in rebellion against this attitude. In his "Essay on Pope" he says: we have been too long attached to Grecian and Roman stories. He suggests in the annals of England which, he says, "furnish many striking and pathetic events proper for the stage". As another substitute for these Greek and Roman stories, he suggests "domestica facta" as being more interesting as well as more useful. The arguments he uses in maintaining this proposition are both reasonable and

convincing. Thus he says: "domestic affairs are more interesting, because we all think ourselves concerned in the actions and fates of our countrymen; more useful, because the characters and manners bid the fairest to be true and natural".  

Warton apparently never missed a chance of comparing England and France, when he could do so to the disparagement of the latter. He resented the patronizing attitude of French critics toward England. Consequently, in his "Essay on Pope" he endeavored to show that the superiority of their work did not warrant their adopting such an attitude, and that England had reason to be proud of her attainments in the literary field. "The French critics themselves", he says, "acknowledge that they have produced nothing, in point of sublimity and majesty equal to Paradise Lost".  

Warton then takes pride in pointing out the fact that the English have excelled not only in the sublime and majestic, but also in that special field in which the French plumed themselves as being unsurpassed; namely, in wit and satire. He pronounces "The Rape of the Lock" as the best satire extant" and maintains that in point of delicacy, elegance, and fine-turned raillery, the French have produced nothing equal to it. From the standpoint of elegance and gallantry, he cites Waller's "Apology for Having Loved Before", as being superior to anything the French have ever produced.  

Another instance of Warton's resentment toward the French is shown in the following quotation: "Among other instances of vanity, the French are perpetually boasting, that they have been our Masters.
in many of the polite arts, and made earlier improvements in literature. But it may be asked, what contemporary poet can they name to stand in competition with Chatter except William de Lorris?" 1 Again he compares the attainment of England and France in regard to translations of ancient classics. He points out the fact that the English have "happy translations in verse, of almost all the great poets of antiquity; whilst the French have been poorly contented with only prose translations of Homer and Horace, which, says Cervantes, can no more resemble the original, than the wrong side of tapestry can represent the right". 2

Warton next points out that England has excelled in the drama and on the stage in having two such versatile geniuses as Shakespeare in being able to portray characters so very different as Falstaff and Macbeth; and Garrick in being able to personate to inimitably a Lear or Abel Drurger. 3 From the standpoint of regularity and correctness, he mentions Ben Jonson's "Silent Woman" performed in 1609, as superior to any dramatic piece the French have ever produced. 4

Having shattered the French claims to pre-eminence in the above fields of literature, he continues his work of undermining the reputation of France among the Augustans, by saying that Dryden's "Ode on the Power of music" had placed British lyric poetry above that of any other nation. 5 The distinguishing marks of this poem are "the rapidity, and yet the perspicuity, of thoughts, the glow, and expressiveness of the images" which reflect the work of a Master. Finally

he has placed Pope's "Moral Essays in Five Epistles" above those of
the five authors whom the patrons of French literature have regarded
as being unrivalled in their treatment of life and manners. These
authors are Montaigue, Charron, La Rochefoucault, La Bruyère and
Pascal. In Warton's opinion, the French could "boast of no author
who has so much exhausted the science of morals as Pope has in these
five Epistles".

In showing that French literature was excelled by the English
in the sublime and majestic, in wit and elegance, in the drama in
moral essays, in lyric poetry, and in verse translations of Ancient
classics, Warton has left a very narrow field of literature to the
French in which to vaunt their supremacy over the English. From War-
ton's critical comparison of England and France, it is clearly evident
that he was impatient of the yoke of established order, and at the
same time sets him apart as the forerunner of a new school in English
literature.

In conclusion it is necessary to say something of his senti-
ment for the Golden Age which figured so prominently in later Romantic
poetry. His dissatisfaction and impatience with the superficiality
of the age led him to express his longing for the Golden Age in his
first poem "The Enthusiast". He speaks of this Age as the ideal one,
where one may wander unrestrained and free from all care, among sunny
vallies, and where man lived in a state of innocence, free from the
baleful influence of Avarice and artificiality. The coming of the
luxuries of civilization have sapped the energy and virility of men
according to Joseph Warton. That he has caught the spirit of the
Golden Age may be seen throughout the whole of the stanza beginning:

"Happy the first of men, ere get confin'd
To smoky cities; who in sheltering groves,
Warm caves, and deep-suck vallies liv'd and lov'd,
By cares unwounded."

In this chapter I have endeavored to show that Warton was a thorough going Romanticist and that from the very beginning of his literary career, he has been trying to point out to his age that its standards were false and artificial, and that the only remedy for these conditions was a return to a simpler life and a more sympathetic communion with Nature.
Chapter 2.

Warton's Services as a Critic of Romanticism.

It is as a critic that Warton has done his best service to Romanticism. He has done this primarily by attacking Pope as the exponent of pseudo-classicism. His chief concern here has been, not so much to show that Pope was an inferior poet, as that the kind of poetry he wrote was not of the highest type; that "he stuck to describing modern manners; but these manners because they are familiar, uniform, artificial, and polished are, for these four reasons, in their very nature unfit for any lofty effort of the Muse". He admits that Pope had no superior in the kind of poetry he wrote, but that Pope in allowing himself to be governed by the dictates of his age, had stifled whatever genius he had originally possessed for portraying deep feeling or imagination. In forfeiting these things moreover, he forfeited those things that are vitally essential in a poet of first rank. Since he conformed so faithfully to the dictates of an unpoetical age, it was inevitable that he should fall short of becoming a great poet.

As for the age, Warton has strongly denounced its shallowness many times throughout his works, but perhaps in no place has he done so more forcibly than in one of his critical papers for the "Adventurer" when he says: "The character of the scholars of the present age will not be much injured or misrepresented by saying that they seem to be superficially acquainted with a multitude of subjects; but go to the bottom of very few. This appears in criticism and polite learning, as well as in the abstruser sciences: by the diffusion of knowledge its depth is allotted."2

In stating his position toward Pope in the beginning his Essay, Warton says: I revere the memory of Pope, I respect and honor his abilities; but I do not think him at the head of his profession.¹ Pope may have had a clear head, and an acute understanding, but Warton declares that these are not sufficient, alone, to make a poet; that it is only a creative and glowing imagination that can stamp a writer as a true poet.² Since this was not Pope's dominating talent, it follows that he could not rank as the highest type of poet.

With this new conception of what constituted a true poet, Warton makes another announcement that must have startled the complacency of the Augustans; namely, that "the sublime and pathetic are the two chief nerves of all genuine poetry."² True poetry carries one out of one's self and lifts one above the level of material things, transports one for the time being into a fairy world, as it were, where impossible things seem real. Warton has chosen Milton's "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" as a poem fulfilling the requirements of true poetry according to his definition. The poem is the work of a glowing imagination, with touches of the sublime that show the work of a real genius. Warton quotes quite freely, passages that seem to best illustrate his point.³ He has quoted, also, a stanza from the Fairie Queena which seemed to him a fine example of true poetry.

2. For Discussion see Introduction to Essay on Pope Vol. 1 pp 2-6
3. He quotes the following passages in illustration of that power of true poetry to "make impossible things seem real".

The Oracles are dumb;
No voice, or hideous hum,
Runs through the arched roof in woods deceiving; (over)
"Into that cave he creeps, and thenceforth there
Resolv'd to build his baleful mansion
In dreary darknesse, and continual feare
Of that rock's fall; which ever and anon
Threats with huge ruin him to fall upon,
That he dare never sleep, but that one eye
Still ope he keeps for that occasion;
Ne ever rests he in tranquillity.
The roaring billows beat his boure so boisterously".

"Here" say Warton, "all is in life and motion; here we behold
the true Poet or Maker; this is Creation; it is here might we cry out
to Spenser; it is here that you display to us, that you make us feel
the sure effects of genuine poetry." Because, therefore, the essen-
tial quality of true poetry was dependant upon something finer than
reason, that kind of composition that was governed by rules could not
be called real poetry in the truest sense of the word. "For" say

No nightly trance, or breathed spell
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell;

In consecrated earth,
And on the holy hearth,

The Lars and lemurs moan with midnight plaint;
In urns and altars round,
A drear and dying sound
Affrights the flames at their service quaint".

Warton, "the pathos in the tragic, the humour in comic, and the same holds of the sublime in narrative, and of every other species of excellence in universal poetry, is the object not of reason but of sentiment and can be estimated only from its impression on the mind, not by any speculative or general rules. Rules themselves are indeed nothing else but an appeal to experience; conclusions drawn from wide and general observations of the aptness and efficacy of certain means to produce the impression". 1 One who is delicately sensitive to the various moods of nature and a keen observer, need not depend upon reason or rules, he needs only to describe what he sees and feels; it is not necessary that he should have to recourse to those artificial assemblages of pleasing objects which are not to be found in nature.

Since he has defined the sublime and the pathetic as the chief nerves of all genuine poetry, it follows that wit and satire are not fit subjects for poetry. They do not spring from the deepest emotions of the heart; consequently, they are transitory and passing", but, on the other hand, since human nature remains fundamentally the same through all ages, that which appeals to the deeper emotions of man in one age, will have the same appeal in another. Wit and satire, however, spring from the intellect, and, as they are usually directed at the faults and foibles of the age, it is necessary for succeeding generations to have an intimate knowledge of that time, before they can fully appreciate the subtlety of the wit and satire in the poetry. Since the majority of readers never acquire such a knowledge, satirical poems are likely to fall into oblivion.

Perhaps it is a pardonable digression to explain that in his second volume of the "Essay", Warton has practically retracted this state

ment or at least may be said to have weakened the force of his argument made in the first volume in regard to the perishable nature of wit. In his second volume he says, that Pope, whose chief talent lay in didactical and satirical writing is a writer fit for universal perusal; adapted to all ages and stations. and that "the Odes of Horace which celebrated, and the Satires which ridiculed, well known and real characters at Rome, were more eagerly read, and more frequently cited than the Aeneid and the Georgics of Virgil."

Although the critics hold it against Warton that in his second volume of the essay on Pope, he has tried to mitigate his criticism of Pope made in the first, yet it did not hinder the progress of Romanticism, as the last volume was published twenty-six years after the first. During those years, the influence of the first volume was so widespread that it could not be counter-acted by anything he might say in his second volume. As a result of the first volume, people had begun to question Pope's superiority and to inquire into the nature of true poetry. In verification of this may be cited a passage in Beers' "English Romanticism" in which he quotes from a letter written by Byron, March 15, 1820, to Isaac Disraeli during the Bowles-Pope controversy. This letter contains a long passage in vindication of Pope, and in denunciation of contemporary poetry — a passage, Beers says, "which is important not only as showing Byron's opinion, but as testifying to the very general change in taste which had taken place since 1756, when Joseph Warton was so discouraged by the public hostility to his "Essay on Pope" that he withheld the second volume for twenty-six years". He quotes Byron as saying, "The great cause of the present deplorable state of English poetry is to be attributed to

that absurd and systematic depreciation of Pope in which, for the last few years, there has been a kind of epidemical concurrence. Men of the most opposite opinions have united upon this topic.\(^1\)

To return to Pope's satirical and didactic poetry, Warton maintains that the writer of this kind of poetry is more sure of immediate popularity as it lies more to the level of the general capacities of men, than the higher flights of more genuine poetry. "He that treats of fashionable follies, and the topics of the day, that describes present persons and recent events, finds many readers, whose understandings and whose passions he gratifies;\(^2\) but, because he was "skilful in painting modern life and the most secret foibles of his contemporaries," Dr. Warton believed Pope was therefore disqualified for representing the ages of heroism, and that simple life, which alone epic poetry can gracefully describe.\(^3\) Having spoken of wit and satire in a general way in regard to their fitness as subjects for poetry, I wish now to show how they affected Pope's poetry; likewise to show the effect of rhyme and generalities upon his poetry.

Pope's love of satire lead him to commit some of his worst errors. Warton points out that in many places, Pope has sacrificed propriety and decorum for the sake of making a satirical thrust at some one. As an instance of this, he cites the fourth book of Pope's "Dunciad" which was "tacked on" to a finished piece in order to satirize and proscribe infidels, and free thinkers. The addition of this book, Warton says, was so ill-placed and incongruous that it was "like introducing a crucifix into one of Tenier's burlesque conversation pieces."\(^4\)

1. Beers, "English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century" p71
4. 
Warton had a great deal to say about Pope's "Dunciad" throughout his critical works, as he felt that throughout the whole of the poem, Pope's love of satire had carried him too far. His remarks on this poem, in his edition of Pope's work, perhaps best illustrate his attitude toward this poem. Here he says: "What are the sensations of a man after reading Gray's "Odes" and "Elegy", and after he has been reading the Dunciad? What are the impressions left upon the mind after a perusal of this poem? Contempt, aversion, vexation, and anger. No sentiment that enlarge, ennoble, more or mend the heart! Inso-much that I know a person whose name would be an ornament to these papers, if I was suffered to insert it, who, after reading a book of the Dunciad, always soothes himself, as he calls it, by turning to a canto in the Fairy Queen. This is not the case in that very delightful and beautiful poem, "Mac Flecnoc", from which Pope has borrowed so many hints, and images and ideas. But Dryden's poem was the offspring of contempt, and Pope's of indignation: one is full of mirth, and the other of malignity. The numbers of the Dunciad, by being much laboured, and encumbered with epithets, have something in them of stiffness and harshness."¹

Pope's adherence to generalities as one of the tenth of pseudoclassicism was responsible for other errors in his poetry. Warton was directly opposed to using general and abstract terms so freely. In his opinion the ability to make clear, complete, and circumstantial images, and to turn the readers into spectators, was above all others the most essential in poetry.² In order to make these clear complete images, it is necessary to substitute specific words and phrases for general and abstract terms. In his attitude toward the use of "com-

mon and familiar words judiciously managed"¹ in poetry Warton again anticipates Wordsworth's idea inculcated in his "Lyrical Ballad" and in his preface to the same, concerning the poetic appeal of common words and familiar objects. Dr. Warton declares that it was an over fastidiousness and a false refinement growing out of their desire to avoid meanness, that prevented the poets of his day from making use of these things. In his opinion it was a fortunate circumstance that Homer wrote before general and abstract terms were invented. As a happy consequence of having escaped this period, "he points out every person and thing accurately and forcibly."² It is this ability to give concrete images in both Shakespeare and Homer that place them above all other poets.

Pope's constant employment of general and abstract terms naturally resulted in his inability to write good descriptive poetry. He has demonstrated this fact in his "Windsor Forest" Here "rural beauty in general and not the peculiar beauties of the Forest of Windsor are described".³ Again Warton illustrates this fact from a passage in Pope's "Essay on Criticism" which he says is usually mentioned as an instance of the strength of fancy, but which he criticizes on account of the images being too general and indistinct.

"So pleas'd at first the tow'ring Alps we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky;
Th' eternal snows appear already past,
And the first clouds and mountains seem the last:
But, those attain'd, we tremble to survey
The growing labours of the lengthen'd way;
Th' increasing prospect tires our wand'ring eyes;

Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise.\textsuperscript{1}

Among other things that were responsible for Pope's defects in his poetry, was his constant use of rhyme. Warton allows him to speak for himself in regard to his attitude toward rhyme thus, "I have nothing to say for rhyme; but that I doubt if a poem can support itself without it in our language, unless it be stiffened with such strange words as are likely to destroy our language itself.\textsuperscript{2}

According to Warton, constant use of rhyme was a defect because it made poetry monotonous. Cowley aids him here in saying that "There can be no music with only one note."\textsuperscript{3} Joseph Warton quotes a number of faulty expressions from Pope which were occasioned by his use of rhyme. Of these I shall quote a few, underlining those expressions that he criticized as faulty.

"Not Caesar's Empress would I \underline{deign to prove}\textsuperscript{--}

"If Queenberry to strip \underline{there's no compelling}\textsuperscript{-}

"Rapt into future times the \underline{bard begun}\textsuperscript{--}

"Nay, half in heav'n except \underline{what's mighty odd}\textsuperscript{--}"

The following couplets from "Windsor Forest" he also quotes as an instance where the rhyme and littleness of the scenery, has tamed the enthusiasm of the verse:

"Ye sacred nine! that all my soul possess
Whose raptures fire me, and whose visions bless,
Bear me, Ch bear me to sequester'd scenes,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} "Essay on Pope. Vol. 1, p. 134.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} " " Vol. 2, p. 150.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} " " " " " " " " " " " 152.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} " " " " " " " " " 148.
\end{itemize}
The bow'ry mazes, and surrounding greens".  

Because, therefore, rhyme was responsible for so many inaccuracies, for monotony and lack of enthusiasm, even in a poet so generally correct as Pope, Warton felt that it could only multiply the number of errors in an inferior versifier, and should on that account be avoided.

There are other defects in Pope's poetry for which his pseudo-classicism is responsible. For instance, because he was not a keen observer of nature, and because he failed to catch the spirit of the Golden Age, his Pastorals are lacking in propriety when he couples "Pactolus" with "Thames" and "Windsor" with Eybla. "Complaints of immoderate heat," he says, "and wishes to be convey'd to cooling caverns, when uttered by the inhabitants of Greece, have a decorum and consistency, which they totally lose in the character of a British Shepherd". Pope is further guilty of impropriety in introducing into a scene lying in Windsor Forest, the grateful clusters of grapes", "the pipe of reeds," the custom of "thanking Ceres for a plentiful harvest", the sacrifice of lambs"; images and customs that are peculiarly associated with the Greek Pastoral. In Warton's opinion Pope's imitations of Theocritus and Virgil deserve little praise.

In the following quotation taken from Pope's second Pastoral in which he appeals to the nymphs on the death of Daphnis:

"Where stray ye, Muses, in what lawn or grove,
While your Alexis pines in hopeless love?
In those fair fields where sacred Iris glides,
Or else where came his winding vales divides."  

2.  
He criticizes as cold and unpoeetical in comparison with Milton's lines in "Lycidas" on the same subject:

"Where were ye, nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas
For neither were ye playing on the steep
Where your old bards, the famous Druids, lie;
Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,
Nor yet where Deva spreads her wizard stream."1

As Pope failed to catch the spirit of the Greek Pastoral, the chief merit of his Pastorals "consists in their correct and musical versification."2 Thus it may be seen that those characteristics which made him a typical pseudo-classicist hindered him from becoming a happy imitator of descriptive or emotional poetry.

For this reason also, he failed in his imitation of Spenser.

In order to give a true representation of Spenser, who was a master of pathos, it is necessary that one should be able to feelingly portray the pathetic. Since Pope suppressed all signs of deep emotion, he could not do this. Warton complains that, in Pope's case, as in the case of most of the other imitations of Spenser at that time, the likeness "consisted rather in using a few of his ancient expressions, than in catching his real manner."3 He quotes the following stanza from Pope's imitation of one of the stanzas of the "Fairy Queen as an illustration of his misrepresentation of Spenser:

2. As exceptions to this statement, he mentions "The School-Mistress" by Shestone; "The Education of Achilles" by Mr. Bedingfield. "Essay on Pope" Vol. 2. p. 35.
"The snappish cur (the passengers annoy)
Close at my heel with yelping treble flies;
The whimp'ring girl, and hoarser-screaming boy,
Join in the yelping treble, shrilling cries;
The scolding queen to louder notes doth rise,
And her full pipes those shrilling cries confound,
To her full pipes the grunting hog replies;
The grunting hogs alarm the neighbors round,
And curs, girls, boys, and scolds, in the deep base are drowned."¹

His own statement in regard to this stanza best illustrates how strongly he felt in regard to Pope's misleading imitation of Spenser: "There is an assemblage of disgusting and disagreeable sounds which one is almost tempted to think, if it were possible, had been contrived as a contrast or rather burlesque, of a most exquisite stanza in the Fairy Queen."¹ On the other hand, he characterizes the sounds represented in the original stanza as a complete concert of the most delicious music.

Again, Pope's use of generalities made his imitation of Spenser's allegorical figures "Obloquy", "Slender", "Envy" and "Malice; distinctly inferior to the originals. They have no distinct attributes; "they are not those living figures, whose attitudes and behavior Spenser has minutely drawn with so much clearness and truth; that we behold them with our own eyes."³

Likewise Pope's imitation of Chancer gave a wrong impression of him. By imitating only his lighter, and humorous pieces, he has

given the impression that Chancer's shining talent lay in his method of treating light and ridiculous subject, whereas Warton points out that his genius was by no means confined to that kind of composition, but that his "Palamon and Arcite" and his "Troilus and Cresida" furnish ample proof that he equally excels in the pathetic and sublime.

Pope, however, has been successful in his imitations of Cowley, Waller, and Swift, since the predominating talents of these authors lay in didactic or satirical writing. Where he tried to imitate those authors whose talent was best adapted for imaginative or emotional poetry, he failed.

While Pope's poetry has certain defects growing out of his pseudo-classicism, there are certain aspects of it that give him a place that is unique in English Literature. If ability to excell in wit, in didactic and polished verse, could make a great poet, Pope would take the highest rank; but Warton emphasized the fact that the ability to do this was not compatible with the highest type of poetry: that a creative and glowing imagination alone, gave one the right to be called a great poet. Pope might be called "a most excellent improver" but not "a great original inventor." 1

The "Essay on Criticism" Warton concedes as a master piece of its kind since it represented that type of poetry that best gave scope for Pope's genius for writing didactic and correct verse. Yet even in this poem Warton could not forbear pointing out some mistakes he thought were not wholly pardonable. For example, he cites the following lines as an instance where Pope has confused the attributes of a horse and the writer:


"Thus Pegasus, a nearer way to take,
May boldly deviate from the common track;
From vulgar bounds with brave disorder part,
And snatch a grace beyond the reach of art,
Which, without passing thro' the judgment gains
The heart, and all its ends at once obtains." ¹

Warton points out that it is perfectly right for Pegasus to take a
easier way, and to deviate from a track, "but how", he asks, "how can
a horse" snatch a grace" or gain a heart".

From the same poem, he quotes Pope's lines on painting, re-
ferring to them as the most beautiful lines that have ever been writ-
ten on the art of painting.² In the same connection, he quotes Dry-
den's lines on the same subject, showing how far superior Pope's were
to the latter. It was Pope's love of art that made him such a fine
critic of painting.

Warton frequently takes this method of criticizing a piece of
work; that is, by placing beside the lines under discussion, a similar

2. The lines under discussion are these:

"So when the faithful pencil has design'd
Some bright idea of the master's mind,
When a new world leaps out at his command,
And ready nature waits upon his hand;
When the ripe colours soften and unite,
And sweetly melt into just shade and light;
When mellowing years their full perfection give,
And each bold figure just begins to live,
The treacherous colours the fair art betray,
And all the bright creation fades away".
passage from an author of unquestioned merit, and pointing out wherein one is more valuable or less so than the other. He frequently quotes Homer or Virgil in comparison with some lines of Pope's in order to show wherein he failed to catch the real spirit of the classics.

Pope's "Essay on Man" has won more unreserved praise from Warton than his "Essay on Criticism". In his chapter on this Essay, he extols Pope for his avoidance of digressions, his concise figurative, forcible, and elegant style; his judicious use of metaphors and images to ornament the driest passages. Finally he concludes his eulogy of the essay with these lines: "If any beauty in this Essay be uncommonly transcendent and peculiar, it is, Brevity of Diction which, in few instances and those pardonable, has occasioned obscurity." He has selected the following passage from this Essay, as an example of the force and energy of its diction; "for the peculiar and discriminating expressiveness of its epithets":

From the green myriads in the peopled grass-
The moles dim curtain, and the lynx's beam;
Of smell the headlong lioness between,
And bourn sagacious on the tainted green;
The spider's touch how exquisitely fine,
Feels at each thread, and lines along the line."¹

In speaking of the "peculiar and discriminating expressiveness of its epithets- he has in mind the underscored words. Again, in the following lines we have what Warton regarded as the best example that

could be given of his compact and comprehensive style:

"He from the wind'ring furrow call'd the food,
Taught to command the fire, controul the flood,
Draw forth the monsters of th' abyss profound,
Or fetch the aerial eagle to the ground."¹

Warton has a keen perception of the faults and excellencies of poetry. He commends the opening lines on the "Essay on Man" for their peculiar forcefulness in commanding the attention of the reader at once:

"Awake, my St. John! leave all meaner things
To low ambition, and the pride of kings."²

The metaphors in the succeeding lines, drawn from the field sports of setting and shooting, he criticizes on the ground of their king beneath the dignity of the subject:

"Eye nature's walks, shoots folly as it flies,
And catch the manners living as they rise."²

There are many passages throughout the poem which Warton quotes as representative of different phases of poetical excellence. He admired the lines beginning:

"Lo the poor Indian! whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in wind,"³

for their delightful representation of undisguised nature and artless innocence. He speaks feelingly of the sublimity of Pope's description of the Deity in the lines beginning:

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul."\(^1\)

Here he feels "almost tempted to retract" his assertion made in his first volume "that there is nothing transcendently sublime in Pope. In spite of his high praise of different parts of this poem, Warton regards Pope's genius at its best in the "Rape of the Lock," where he gives free play to his imagination. In the end of his work on Pope, he declares that Pope's fame will depend upon the "Rape of the Lock," "Windsor Forest" and his Abelard and Eloisa". "The Rape of the Lock" was first published in two cantos, and met with such wide success that he decided to expand it into five cantos by the addition of the Sylphs. Although Pope was indebted to a French book called "Le Comte de Gabolis" for the general idea of the sylphs, he is original in his treatment of them: According to Warton" the insertion of the machinery of the sylphs in proper places, without the least appearance of its being awkwardly stitched in, is one of the happiest efforts of judgment and art."\(^2\) If Pope had any claim to be ranked as a poet of the imagination, it would rest on this poem.

While Warton extolls Shakespeare's delicate imagination as evinced by his use of the Fairies in "Mid Summer Nights Dream", yet he quotes the following passage from the "Rape of the Lock" in which Pope "by the addition of the most delicate satire to the most lively fancy, has excelled anything in Shakespeare, or perhaps in any other

---

"Cur humbler province is to tend the fair;  
Not a less pleasing, though less glorious care;  
To save the powder from too rough a gale,  
Nor let th' unprison'd essence exhale;  
To draw fresh colours from the vernal flowers,  
To steal from rain-bows, ere they drop in showers,  
A brighter wash; to curl their waving hairs,  
Assist their blushes, and inspire their airs;  
May, oft in dreams invention we bestow,  
To change a flounce, or add a furbelow."

Again, he commends the delicacy of Pope's satire in his employment of the implements and articles of the toilette, as instruments of punishment to those spirits who shall be careless of their charge of guarding the curl.

In this poem Pope has shown himself a master in his dignified treatment of so trivial a subject; his intermixture of comic and ridiculous images, with serious and important ones, is not only permissible in this kind of poetry, but also adds to its beauty.

In Warton's opinion, Pope's "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady" and his Epistle of "Eloisa and Abelard" are the only instances of the pathetic that he has given us. His sympathetic treatment of the hopeless passion of Eloisa and Abelard, and the isolation of the unfortunate lady in her unhappiness show flashes of feeling that had broken through the crust of his Augustan reserve. I shall quote a few passages that Dr. Warton felt best illustrated this phase of his poetry, before closing this discussion of the defects and ex-

2. See Rape of the Lock" Canto 2, verse 125 and following.
cellencies of Pope's poetry.

The opening lines of the "Elegy to an Unfortunate Lady" are cited as an especially striking and forceful way of opening the Elegy:

"What beck'ning ghost along the moonlight shade, Invites my steps, and points to yonder glade? 'Tis she! - But why that bleeding bosom goryd? Why dimly gleams the visionary sword?"¹

There is an element of mystery in the lines that arouses the curiosity of the reader at once. His description of the unfortunate woman dying in a remote country place, away from friends and relatives, is, as Warton points out, touched with great tenderness and tends to aggravate her lamentable fate:

"No friends complaint, no kind domestic tear, Pleas'd thy pale ghost, or grace'd thy mournful bier:
By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd,
By foreign hands thy decent limbs compos'd,
By foreign hands thy humble grave adorn'd,
By strangers honour'd, and by strangers mourn'd"¹

By the repetition of the word "foreign" he has secured the desired effect of loneliness. That Pope has shown real feeling in this poem is due to the fact that the occasion of it was real. Pope's sympathy for the lady, who was evidently a friend of his, explains his unusual show of feeling in this poem.

Much of the success of "Eloisa and Abelard" was due to Pope's

religious sympathies. Many of the best passages in the poem are those describing religious rites and ecclesiastical houses. Warton quotes the succeeding lines as the most truly poetical of any in this poem if not in all Pope’s works:

"In these lone walls (their days eternal bound,)
These moss-grown domes, with spiry turrets crown’d,
Where awful arches make the noon day night,
And the dim windows shed a solemn light;
Thy eyes diffus’d a reconciling ray"  

Warton has emphasized the underscored words on account of their picturesqueness and their power to give pensive pleasure and a sacred awe.

The passage which Warton selects as the most truly poetical of Pope’s work, is that one that shows the influence of Milton’s "Il Penseroso". The description of "the studious cloysters pale" and "the high embowed roof"

"With antick pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light:
Likewise "the peaceful hermitage"

"The hairy gown and mossy cell".

of Milton’s hermit in his "Il Penseroso" reveal the source of Pope’s description of the monastery with its moss-grown domes"

"Where awful arches make the noon day night,
And the dim windows shed a solemn light".

This goes to show that the passage Warton selects as the most truly poetical was not one original with Pope; that the part he likes

best in Pope's poem is the one he borrowed from Milton. He selects
the following couplet referring to Abelard, as "a circumstance pecu-
liarily tender and proper"

"Thy voice I seem in every hymn to hear,
With every bead I drop too soft a tear."¹

The description of high mass that occurs in the poem is striking
and sublime. Warton speaks elsewhere of the peculiar appeal of
high mass to the emotions. He is loyal enough to the Church of Eng-
land, however, to say that we ought to be "on our guard against the
insinuating nature of so pompous and alluring a religion."²

From these selections, it may be seen that Pope was not entire-
ly lacking in imagination nor in the sublime and pathetic, but Dr.
Warton maintained that these were not his predominating talents; that
their occurrence in his poetry was the exception rather than the rule;
that in the main, his poetry consisted of reflections on the life and
manners of his time; of satirical thrusts at their weaknesses, all of
which were couched in the most correct and polished verse. Pope might
have been a poet after Dr. Warton's own heart if he had not tried to
suppress all emotion, but in catering to the tastes of the age, he
forfeited his right to be called a poet of first rank.

Warton did a great service to Romanticism not only in upholding
his new conception of poetry and in showing that Pope was not Eng-
land's one great poet as the pseudo-classicists thought, but also in
showing that other English poets had equalled or excelled him. Of his
attitude toward Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, enough has been
said, but it may not be amiss to say something of Warton's attitude
toward his contemporaries.

Warton has expressed his opinion in the most concise manner, perhaps, in his comment on Dr. Warburton's remarks occasioned by one of Pope's lines in the "Essay on Criticism. Warburton mentions with warm approbation, the prophetic instinct in Pope when as a youth, he wrote the line:

"The last, the meanest of your sons inspire". ¹

According to Warburton, Pope was the last of the sons of Poesy. Warton, however, says: "I am not persuaded that all true genius died with Pope: for one would be tempted to think that the "Seasons" of Thomson, the "Leonidas" of Glover, the "Pleasures of Imagination" and the "Cdes" of Akenside, the "Right Thoughts" of Young, the "Elegy" of Gray, and "Cde on Eton College", the truly pathetic "Monody on Lady Lyttleton", together with many pieces in Dodsley's Miscellanies, were not published when Dr. Warburton delivered this insinuation of a failure of poetical abilities."²

Warton was a warm admirer of Thomson's strong fancy. He praised him for having "enriched poetry with a variety of new and original images, which he painted from nature itself, and from his own actual observation". Because Thomson was an actual observer of Nature, "his descriptions have a distinctness and truth, which are utterly lacking in those poets who have only copied from each other, and have never looked abroad on the objects themselves."³ Warton characterizes the diction of "The Seasons" as somewhat harsh, inharmonious, and obscure, yet on account of the numberless strokes of nature in which it abounds, he calls it "one of the most captivating and amusing poem in our language".⁴

In regard to Dr. Young, Warton says that while he is too often incorrect, there is enough of the sublime in his "Night Thoughts", and high strokes of character in his "Zanga" to mark him for a sublime and original genius. For Gray, however, he had nothing but praise. There are many touches of the sublime in Gray, that he admires. "In the art of inserting reflections, moral or pathetic in descriptive poems", he says, "no writer has excelled Gray in his enchanting "Elegy". The exalted strain in which "The Bard" of Gray was written placed it at the head of modern Lyric compositions."

In all these writers, it is those characteristics that distinguish them as Romantic poets, that meet with Warton's approbation.

With this mention of Warton's attitude toward some of his contemporaries, I have finished the discussion of his services as a critic as evinced by his "Essay on Pope" and his edition of Pope's works. I have tried to show his revolutionary attitude toward Pope as an exponent of pseudo-classicism; also his new conception of poetry as opposed to that of the Augustans. Again, I wished to point out, that in Warton's opinion, wit and satire were not fit subjects for poetry, in that they were too light to be worthy of serious consideration; that only those things that had an imaginative emotional appeal were fit to be taken as subjects for poetry. In showing Warton's criticism of the defects and excellencies of Pope's poetry, I have quoted freely, because it seemed to me, that there was no way of showing so satisfactorily the real critic, as in letting him speak for himself. In concluding the chapter, I shall take up briefly the consideration of Warton's papers written for the Adventurer.

The critical papers in the "Adventurer" written in 1753, have a certain significance as Romantic documents. In these papers, Warton shows himself consciously Romantic in his criticism of the Age, in his effort to revive an interest in Milton and Shakespeare among the critics, and in his attempt to improve the tastes of the age. In these papers, he takes much the same position in regard to the comparative excellencies of ancient and modern poets, and to writers like Pope and Shakespeare, as he does in his "Essay on Pope".

Mr. Chalmers in speaking of Warton's critical papers in the "Adventurer" says: "Of these, a few are of the humorous cast, but the greater part consist of elegant criticism; not that of cold sagacity, but warm from the heart, and powerfully addressed to the finer feelings as well as to the judgment. His critical papers on "Lear" have never been exceeded for just taste and discrimination. His disposition lay in selecting and illustrating those beauties of ancient and modern poetry, which, like the beauties of nature strike and please many who are yet incapable of describing or analysing them". ¹ That he had a recognized standing as a critic among his contemporaries may be seen from the fact that Dr. Johnson wrote to him, asking him to furnish critical papers for the Adventures in 1753. Upon the completion of the work the next year, we find Dr. Johnson writing to Warton as follows:

"Dear Sir,- I can not but congratulate you upon the conclusion of a work, in which you have borne so great a part with so much reputation. I immediately determined that your name should be mentioned, but the paper having been sometime written, Mr. Hawkesworth, I suppose, did not care to disorder its text, and therefore put your eulogy in a

In his first paper on the Adventurer entitled "Parallel between Ancient and Modern learning", Warton condemns the shallowness of the French moralists and critics. Montaigne and Rochefoucault, who were such popular moralists during his time, had wit, quick penetration, and a perfect knowledge of the human heart, yet Warton declares that the reflection of these qualities in their poetry was not enough to insure permanent fame; that it was only their vanity and lack of foresight that could induce them to think they could entertain future ages with wanton sallies of imagination, by useless and impertinent digressions on the life and manners of their time. He has more tolerance for La Bruyere, however, because he has drawn his characters with more spirit and propriety. On the other hand, Rapin, the most popular of the French critics, furnishes us with an excellent example of the superficiality of those who set the standards for the Augustans. Rapin undertook to criticize Homer, Demosthenes, and Plato, being totally ignorant of the Greek language. As the French knew so little of the Greek language, only a very imperfect knowledge of the ancients could be obtained upon consulting the works of modern writers. This first paper then, is significant as an indirect attack upon pseudo-classicism, by pointing out the defects of the chief promoters of that school. His second series of papers consist of an interesting comparison of the respective merits of "The Odyssey" and "The Iliad".

In these papers, Warton aims to show that "The Odyssey" is equal to "The Iliad", and for purposes of study, it is more useful than the latter. He maintains that its moral is more useful than that

of the Iliad; that the latter in showing the effect of discord among rulers, has a message only for the ruling class, while the patience, prudence, wisdom and bravery of Ulysses in "The Odyssey" affords a lesson for all ranks of society. The Odyssey, likewise has a stronger appeal than the other, to young people, because of the great variety of events and scenes it contains; because the characters and images are drawn from familiar life, and are therefore, more useful to the great majority of readers. He has made a rather striking comparison of the two poems in the end of his second paper in "The Odyssey". Here he says: "Homer in the Iliad resembles the river Nile when it descends in a cataract that deafens and astonishes the neighboring inhabitants. In the Odyssey, he is still the same Nile, when its genial inundations gently diffuse fertility and fatness over the peaceful plains of Egypt." Warton's concluding paper on this poem maintains that it is a better poem for the perusal of young people, because it is a truer representation of the manners and customs of antiquity, that it more nearly satisfies Aristotle's idea of a great poem, because it contains a complex fable. According to Aristotle, a complex fable contains a discovery and a peripetia. It is therefore far superior to a simple fable like that of the Iliad "because they more deeply interest and more irresistibly move the reader, by adding surprise and astonishment to every other passion which they excite."

The papers on "The Tempest" and "Lear", in which he comes out so strongly in favor of Shakespeare at a time when he was regarded as having had his day, serve to emphasize the individuality and independence Warton showed in his "Enthusiast" in 1740. He groups Shakespeare's characteristic excellences under three general heads:"
"his lively creative imagination; his strokes of nature and passion, and his preservation of the consistency of his character". He asserts that no other character except Homer has been able to portray his characters so uniformly.

"The Tempest" of Shakespeare is "the most striking instance of his creative power". It is essentially an imaginative play "where he has carried the romantic, the wonderful and the wild "to the most pleasing extravagance". Warton quotes the passage enumerating the duties of Ariel, beginning:

"-To tread the ooze
Of the salt deep;
To run upon the sharp wind of the north:
To do business in the veins o' th'earth,
When it is baked with frost"

as an example of Shakespeare's "amazing wildness of fancy." He cites many other passages exemplifying Shakespeare's poetical excellence and wildness of fancy. His concluding statement and quotation are significant in showing his Romantic preference. He speaks of Shakespeare as a "magician more powerful than his own Prospero." In "The Tempest" we are transported into fairy land; we are wrapped in a delicious dream, from which it is a misery to be disturbed: all around is enchantment!

"The isle is full of noises, sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not"1

During the eighteenth century, it was the prevailing opinion that no tragedy could be successful that was not founded on "gallantry and love. Warton, however, says that Boileau was mistaken when he affirmed.

To this statement he opposes "Hamlet", "Caesar", "Macbeth" and "Lear" as examples of interesting tragedies not founded on gallantry and love.

In taking up the discussion of "Lear", Warton says Shakespeare has excelled in those scenes in which he portrays Lear's passion and grief at the ingratitude of his daughters Regan and Goneril. He also, comments on the effectiveness of making nature in sympathy with hers at the time of his great distress. He has analyzed the play minutely, pointing out step by step, the action and excellencies of the tragedy and at the same time quoting many passages revealing powerful emotion and pathos. The lines containing Lear's answer, after all his suffering, to Cordelia's plea for his benediction, are filled with pathos:

"Pray do not mock me:
I am a very foolish, fond old man,
Four score and upward; and to deal plainly
I fear I am not in my perfect mind!
Methinks I should know you, and know this man;
Yet I am doubtful; for I am mainly ignorant
What place this is.- Do not laugh at me,
For, as I am a man, I think this lady
To be my child Cordelia".

In spite of all the excellencies of this great tragedy, Warton thinks there are some imperfections in it that are inexcusable. For example, "The plot of Edmund against his brother, which distracts

the attention, and destroys the unity of the fable; the cruel and horrid extinction of Glo'sters eyes, which ought not to be exhibited on the stage; the utter improbability of Glo'ster's imaginings, though blind, that he had leaped down Diver cliff."

The articles on "In what arts the Ancients Excell the Moderns and visa versa", consist of an examination of statement made by Addison that "we fall short at present of the ancients in poetry, painting, oratory, history, architecture, and all the noble arts and sciences which depend more upon genius than experience; but we exceed them as much in doggerel, humour, burlesque, and all the trivial arts of ridicule". Warton admits that except in regard to painting, that the statement is true. Such paintings as Michael Anglo's "Lost Judgment"; Raphael's "Transfiguration" and Guido's "Aurora", establish the reputation of the moderns for supremacy in art. He accounts for ancients' being more proficient in the serious arts by the fact of the difference in their civilization. "The ancient" he says, had more liberty and seriousness, the modern more luxury and laughter. Hence they excelled in humor and all the arts of ridicule.

Dr. Warton's paper on the "Blemishes of Paradise Lost" has a certain importance in revealing his intimate knowledge of, and admiration for Milton's works, and in giving the public the benefit of this knowledge, likewise his "The Mercy of Affliction" is significant in showing his romantic taste for the Oriental tale. The final article he sent to the Adventurer was his own confession of his hopes and efforts to improve the learning and tastes of his age through his writings.

In this paper he makes a plea to the men of genius and of literary standing, that they be not content to waste their time in
the trivial conversational topics of polite society, and moreover, that they may not exclude literary subjects from conversation.

On the whole, there is the same general tone in these papers as in his other works. In these papers, as in his poems and "Essay on Pope", he advocates a simpler life; a closer communion with nature and a more sympathetic study of the serious arts.
Conclusion.

In concluding the discussion of Joseph Warton as a critic of Romanticism, I wish to speak briefly in a general way of his influence in the eighteenth century, and of some of the channels through which this influence was transmitted to the nineteenth century. The most influential of his works was his "Essay on Pope" which went through several editions. Some idea of the popularity of his "Essay" during his time may be obtained from the following extracts from Mrs. Montagu's letter written to him in 1782:

"You must know, my dear Sir, that at every chapter of your incomparable "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope", I felt a strong impulse to express to you my delight and admiration---------but I was restrained by an apprehension that you would think any praise I could give a work universally admired by the judicious, ingenious and learned to be more presumptuous than obliging------I think the world obliged to you for a work not only so excellent in itself, but in giving directions and inclinations to other to excel in various species and modes of composition, the best pattern for future critics, the best guide for future poets."  

Again Cowper shows high estimate of Warton's critical abilities, in his letter to L. S. Rose. Here he says: "If you should happen to fall into company with Dr. Warton again, you will not, I dare say, forget to make him my respectful compliments and to assure him that I felt not a little flattered by the favorable mention he was pleased to make of me and of my labors. The poet who pleases a man

like him has nothing left to wish for".  

Another testimonial of his influence during his age, may be
found in an article in the Quarterly Review. The writer in speaking
of the change taking place in the literary ideals says that "this
change may be traced to Winchester which under Dr. Warton had become
a nursery of poets;" The article likewise points out that Bampfylde,
Russel, and Bowles were pupils of Dr. Warton and followers of his
literary principles.

While the early death of the first two of these poets, hindered their exerting a very large influence, yet Russel serves as a
connecting link between the Wartons and Bowles. Seccombe in his "Age
of Johnson" says, "the credit of the revival of the sonnet must re-
main largely with the Wartons. The Wartons handed on the torch to
Thomas Russel, a scholar of Winchester, who studied our earlier poetry
with an enthusiasm inspired by his master, Joseph Warton." Seccombe
also speaks of Landor and Wordsworth as admirers of Russel.

Beers, however, speaks of Bowles as contributing most to the
sonnet revival through his influence upon Wordsworth. It is certain
the Bowles lived to attain more prominence in the literary world than
either of the other two young poets from Warton's school. He has
acknowledged his indebtedness to his master Joseph Warton, in his
"Monody on the Death of Dr. Warton".

Coleridge in turn acknowledged his indebtedness to Bowles not
only for his idea of the sonnet, but also for "having withdrawn him
from a too exclusive devotion to metaphysics, and a strengthened per-
ception of the essentially un poetic character of Pope's poetry".

Bowles' criticisms in his edition of Pope's work are only a more radical statement of the conclusions drawn by Dr. Warton in his "Essay on Pope".

Phelps speaks of Bishop Richard Hurd as a conspicuous follower of Warton in the eighteenth century. His "Letters on Chivalry and Romance" published in 1762, "show on every page the influence of the Warton brothers, but he took a much bolder and more confident position than either of them had dared to assume".\(^1\) Phelps' next sentence, stating that between 1756 and 1762, Romanticism had made rapid progress, is significant in revealing the fact that Warton's "Essay" had paved the way for Hurd's book by showing to the public what was and what was not true poetry. The public having been prepared for such revolutionary statements as he makes, it was easier for Hurd to speak with more confidence.

Another writer showing the influence of Dr. Warton, was Mathew Arnold. Phelps says of him\(^2\): "The critical judgments on poetry made by Mathew Arnold are really a simple re-statement of what Joseph Warton and Hurd laid down a hundred years before".

Thus it is evident that it would be no small task to trace Warton's influence through succeeding writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the very beginning of his career as a writer; in his "Enthusiast" in 1746; in his "Odes" in 1746; in his Critical papers in the Adventurer in 1753; and in his "Essay on Pope" in 1756, he reveals not only his decidedly Romantic temper, but also his efforts to improve the tastes and raise the literary standards of his time. As a means of improving the literary tastes of the time, he pointed out wherein its standards were false in comparison with

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2. " " " " " " " " 115.
those of such writers as Homer, Virgil, and Theocritus among the ancients, and more especially with Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton among the moderns. In removing Pope from the exalted position he held in the first half of the eighteenth century to a place between Milton and Dryden, and in showing that the kind of poetry he represented was not true poetry, Joseph Warton did his most daring and effective service for Romanticism. Other writers before Warton had revealed Romantic tendencies in their work, but none had dared to come before the public in such open defiance to the principles laid down by the Augustans. For the impetus and direction, he thereby gave the Romantic movement, he stands unique among the pioneers of that movement.
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