

NOTES

Short titles have been used for some internet sources cited in the notes, as follows: LION *Literature Online*. ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 1996–2003. Version 96.1 (December 1996) to version 03.4 (May 2003).

Introduction (Dis)establishing the Empire of English

1. Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, “Soliloquy: or Advice to an Author” (1710), in *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Philip Ayres, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 1:115.
2. John Kenyon, *The History Men: The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984), 234.
3. See Gerald Newman, “Anti-French Propaganda and Liberal Nationalism in the Early Nineteenth Century: Suggestions Toward a General Interpretation,” *Victorian Studies* 18 (1975): 385–418; Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740–1830* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987); Linda Colley, “The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760–1820,” *Past and Present* 102 (1984): 94–129; Colley, “Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750–1830,” *Past and Present* 113 (1986): 97–117; Colley, “Radical Patriotism in Eighteenth-Century England,” in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, ed. Raphael Samuel, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 1989), 1:169–87; Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument,” *Journal of British Studies* 31 (1992): 309–29; Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). See also Walter R. Johnson, “A Historiographical Sketch of English Nationalism 1789–1837,” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 19 (1992): 1–8.
4. Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy 1714–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 1; Daniel A. Baugh, “Great Britain’s Blue Water Policy, 1689–1815,” *International History Review* 10 (1988): 47.
5. In his recent book, Dipesh Chakrabarty suggests that “the region of the world we call ‘Europe’. . . has already been provincialized by history itself. . . [T]he so-called ‘European age’ in modern history began to yield place to other regional and global configurations toward the middle of the twentieth century,” and turns his attention instead to interrogating the intellectual inescapability of Eurocentric conceptions of modernity throughout the

- contemporary world (*Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000], 3). Chakrabarty's notion of "provincializing" Europe's cultural centrality is an important inspiration for my own examination of the *emergence* of metropolitan status for the English-language cultural sphere within the European world and, by extension, of the anglophone cultural sphere within the wider world. As Chakrabarty argues, "provincializing Europe is not a project of rejecting or discarding European thought," but of reconceptualizing it from a postcolonial perspective (16–17).
6. John Dryden, *Aureng-Zebe*, ed. Frederick M. Link (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 119–20.
 7. Jonathan Swift, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Language* (1712; repr., Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1969), 25–26; Alexander Pope, "Essay on Criticism," in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963), lines 40–41; Thomas Tickell, *On the Prospect of Peace* (1712), lines 464–67, in LION; Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, ed. B. R. S. Fone (1968; repr., Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2000), 129, 138, 174.
 8. There is now an important body of such work that has expanded our sense of the engagements of eighteenth-century British literature and culture. Much of this work is devoted to particular authors or works, but for some of the more wide-ranging work, see, e.g.: Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Laura Brown, *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Mita Choudhury, *Interculturalism and Resistance in the London Theater, 1660–1800: Identity, Performance, Empire* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2000); Moira Ferguson, *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Suvir Kaul, *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse of the Long Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century Narratives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Janet Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Rajani Sudan, *Fair Exotics: Xenophobic Subjects in English Literature 1720–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Charlotte Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties: Consumer Protest, Gender, and British Slavery, 1713–1833* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).
 9. Theodor Adorno et al., *Aesthetics and Politics*, ed. Ronald Taylor (London: Verso, 1980), 128–29.
 10. See, e.g., Isaiah Berlin, "The Bent Twig: On the Rise of Nationalism," in *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Human Ideas*, ed. Henry Hardy (London: John Murray, 1990); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Anthony Pagden, "The Effacement of Difference: Colonialism

- and the Origins of Nationalism in Diderot and Herder,” in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Developments*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).
11. See, regarding the case of England, E. C. W. Stratford, *The History of English Patriotism*, 2 vols. (London: John Lane, 1913); Hans Kohn, “The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1 (1940): 69–94; Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1953); and Christopher Hill, “The Norman Yoke,” in *Puritanism and Revolution* (1958; repr., Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1968), 58–125.
 12. See, e.g., Liah Greenfeld, “Science and National Greatness in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Minerva* 25 (1987): 107–22, and the same author’s *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics, and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Edwin Jones, *The English Nation: The Great Myth* (Phoenix Mill, England: Sutton, 1998).
 13. Margot Finn, “An Elect Nation? Nation, State and Class in Modern British History,” *Journal of British Studies* 28 (1989): 184.
 14. In viewing nationalism in terms of investments in national greatness (“national grandeur”) rather than simply in national identity, I depart from Colley’s and Newman’s emphasis on religious dimensions of eighteenth-century cultural nationalism in Britain.
 15. *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon*, ed. Lord Sheffield, 5 vols. (London: John Murray, 1814), 3:560.
 16. Thomas B. Macaulay, “Sir James Mackintosh” (1835), in *Critical and Historical Essays*, 6 vols. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1900), 3:308.
 17. Linda Colley, “The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History,” *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 359.
 18. British Library, Egerton MSS 242, p. 22, quoted in H.V. Bowen, *Revenue and Reform: The Indian Problem in British Politics 1757–1773* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 132.
 19. Bruce P. Lenman, “Colonial Wars and Imperial Instability, 1688–1793,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 165–67. C. A. Bayly offers a similar assessment of the situation of imperial Britain in the 1780s: “the 1770s and 1780s were a British recessional. The American empire was lost; the infant empire in Asia racked by warfare and mismanagement [including the defeat of the British in western India by the Marathas in 1779 and in Madras by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore in 1780]. In the eastern Mediterranean, French trade greatly outstripped English trade

- which had been dominant at the end of the previous century. . . . The profitability of the lucrative Caribbean islands was declining relative to the French West Indies. . . . Even the dependence of Ireland, the oldest colony, was in doubt. Whatever the underlying strength of the commercial economy, many Britons felt that their great days were over” (*Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780–1830* [London: Longman, 1989], 2).
20. Horace Walpole, *The Yale Edition of the Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, ed. W. S. Lewis, 48 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937–83), 35:310.
 21. Quoted in Gerald S. Graham, *British Policy and Canada 1774–1791: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Trade Policy* (1930; repr., Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), 52.
 22. H. M. Scott, “Britain as a European Great Power in the Age of the American Revolution,” in *Britain and the American Revolution*, ed. H. T. Dickinson (London: Longman, 1998), 180; John Cannon, “The Loss of America,” in *ibid.*, 235 (Frederick the Great), 234 (George III).
 23. John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, *The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich*, vol. 4, 1781–1782, ed. G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen. Publications of the Navy Records Society 78 (London, 1938), 26.
 24. William Cowper, “The Task,” in *The Task and Selected Other Poems*, ed. James Sambrook (London: Longman, 1994), lines 770, 773–74.
 25. J. H. Plumb, *The First Four Georges* (1956; repr., Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co., 1966), 34–36.
 26. Ralph S. Walker, ed., *James Beattie’s London Diary 1773* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1946), 39.
 27. Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15.
 28. John Milton, “Paradise Lost,” in *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), book 1, lines 648–49.
 29. Sir George Peckham, *A True Report of the Late Discoveries* (London, 1583), quoted in Klaus E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories 1570–1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), 30. The notion is repeated in the Virginia Company’s *True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (1610), which states that we “doe buy of them [the natives] the pearles of the earth, and sell to them the pearls of heaven” (quoted in Paul Stevens, “Paradise Lost and the Colonial Imperative,” *Milton Studies* 34 [1996]: 8).
 30. John Dryden, “The Hind and the Panther,” part 2, lines 572, 574, in *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), vol. 2. Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
 31. Thomas Sprat, *Observations on Mons. De Sorbriere’s Voyage into England* (London, 1665), quoted in Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 84 (see n. 12).
 32. Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society of London* (London, 1667), 129, quoted in Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 138.
 33. Matthew Prior, *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, ed. H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 1:226.

34. Edward Ward, "To the Pious Memory of the Most Sublime and Accurate Mr. John Dryden," in *The London-Spy* (1703), 422; John Dennis, *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward Hooker, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939), 2:213; Samuel Johnson, "Preface to the *Dictionary*," in *Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Frank Brady and W. K. Wimsatt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 296.
35. [Robert Southey?], *Quarterly Review* (1809), repr. in Richard Ruland, ed., *The Native Muse: Theories of American Literature*, vol. 1 (New York: Dutton, 1976), 71; *Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature*, ed. Hill Shine (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951), 6.
36. *Encyclopedia Britannica* quoted in Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 37; Thomas Wyse quoted in Carol Duncan, "Putting the 'Nation' in London's National Gallery," in *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, ed. Gwendolyn Wright (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 107.

Chapter 1 The Progress of English

1. Cornelius W. Schoneveld, "Bilderdijk between Pope and Byron: The Paradoxes of His Translation of *An Essay on Man* into Dutch," in *Centennial Hauntings: Pope, Byron and Eliot in the Year 88*, ed. C. C. Barfoot and Theo D'Haen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), 219.
2. Robert Southey, "Epistle to Allan Cunningham," in *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Collected by Himself*, 10 vols. (London: Longman et al., 1838), 3:305–18, lines 141–47. Line numbers for subsequent references to this poem are supplied in the text.
3. See Paul Dibon, "L'Université de Leyde et la République des Lettres au XVIIe siècle," *Quaerendo* 5 (1975): 4–38; Mordecai Feingold, "Reversal of Fortunes: The Displacement of Cultural Hegemony from the Netherlands to England in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688–89*, ed. Dale Hoak and Mordecai Feingold (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 234–61, 316–22 (notes); E. H. Kossmann, "The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment and Revolution*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 19–31; Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, "The Dutch Enlightenment: Humanism, Nationalism, and Decline," in *ibid.*, 197–223; Mijnhardt, "Dutch Culture in the Age of William and Mary: Cosmopolitan or Provincial?" in *The World of William and Mary*, ed. Hoak and Feingold, 219–33, 311–16 (notes).
4. John Adams, *Papers of John Adams*, vol. 10, *June 1780–December 1780*, ed. Gregg L. Lint et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 174.
5. In a letter of December 6, 1828, to William Wordsworth, Southey writes that he has been preparing various essays for the periodicals: "—these and an 'Epistle to Allan Cunningham' for his *Anniversary*, describing some of my portraits, make the main part of what I have done since my return from London. The plan of thus exhibiting myself is borrowed from a poem of

Bilderdijk's, part of which I have translated and introduced, and taken that opportunity of doing what justice I can to one of the most admirable men in all respects whom it has been my good fortune to know" (*New Letters of Robert Southey*, ed. Kenneth Curry, 2 vols. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1965], 2:329). In 1830, Southey had successfully recommended that Bilderdijk be elected an honorary member of the Royal Society of Literature (Cornelius De Deugd, "Friendship and Romanticism: Robert Southey and Willem Bilderdijk," in *Europa Provincia Mundi: Essays in Comparative Literature and European Studies Offered to Hugo Dyserinck on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Joep Leerssen and Karl Ulrich Syndram [Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992], 379).

6. Cf. the comments of Gunnar Brandell ("Weltliteratur and Literary Nationalism," in *Problems of International Literary Understanding: Proceedings of the Sixth Nobel Symposium Stockholm, September 1967*, ed. Karl Ragnar Gierow [Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968], 109–15) regarding the position of Kierkegaard (Denmark), Ibsen (Norway), and Strindberg (Sweden) in the wider world of European literature: "The fame of all three of them spread through Germany, where the language barrier was easy to overcome, and where reigned at that moment, around 1900, a particular receptiveness for impulses from the North. It is an open question if any of them had held the position they do to-day without the German assistance. And I should think this is not unique: by being important in France or Britain a writer becomes almost automatically part of the international literary scene, whereas a writer from a small country, if he is lucky, may be adopted in one of the great countries and afterwards, with this backing, eventually accepted by others" (113). Brandell also comments, "From around 1500 our world literature is heavily biased in favour of the politically dominating European powers. . . . The idea of an exchange between different literatures is, as a corollary, from now on undefinable without thinking in terms of big and small nations" (113).
7. Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder*, ed. James Leheny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 162.
8. John Florio, *His Firste Fruites* (1578; repr., New York: Da Capo, 1969), 50.
9. Milton, *Complete Poetry and Major Prose*, 668 (see intro., n. 28).
10. "The Case of Mary Carleton," in *Counterfeit Ladies: The Life and Death of Mal Cutpurse and The Case of Mary Carleton*, ed. Janet Todd and Elizabeth Spearing (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 87.
11. Thomas Rymer, *The Critical Works of Thomas Rymer*, ed. Curt Zimansky (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1956; repr., Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), 9–10.
12. Much the same is true of England's geopolitical standing in the European world. Under Charles I, J. R. Jones writes, "Powerlessness, combined with a busy diplomacy and grandiose pretensions, made England contemptible" in the eyes of Continental powers; a similar situation arises in the reign of Charles II. "English historians have described with some satisfaction the speed with which Charles detached himself from the French alliance and

- the Third Dutch War in 1674, and the way in which the French ambassador was taken by surprise: in reality the lack of French reaction, the absence of a determined attempt to preserve the English alliance, was a true but unflattering estimate of how much it was worth. In terms of French diplomatic activity and expenditure, England mattered far less than Brandenburg or Sweden, and when Louis did later respond to Charles's appeals for money the amounts which were paid put him on the same level as a minor French pensioner like the Elector of Trier. In 1688 Louis, by his decision to proceed with his aggression in the Rhineland, judged England to be less important than Cologne or the Palatinate" ("English Attitudes to Europe in the Seventeenth Century," *Britain and the Netherlands* 3 [1968], 39).
13. *The Yale Edition of the Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, 41:152 (see intro., n. 20).
 14. John Hale comments: "It was Latin that enabled the English, through the writings of such men as Bacon, Camden, the anatomist William Harvey and the physician—and metaphysician—Robert Fludd, to re-enter as intellectuals a continent which had rejected them—with the loss of Calais in 1558—as a political power" (*The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994], 152).
 15. Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Anecdotes of Samuel Johnson*, ed. S. C. Roberts (1925; repr., New York: Books for Libraries, 1980), 180; Bernard Kreissman, *Pamela-Shamela: A Study of the Criticisms, Burlesques, Parodies, and Adaptations of Richardson's "Pamela"* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), 83, n. 8.
 16. Bernhard Fabian, "English Books and their Eighteenth-Century German Readers," in *The Widening Circle: Essays on the Circulation of Literature in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul J. Korshin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 172; William Jervis Jones, "'Spuma Linguarum': On the Status of English in German-Speaking Countries before 1700," in *Images of Language: German Attitudes to European Languages from 1500 to 1800* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1999), 171.
 17. George Crabbe, *Selected Poems*, ed. Gavin Edwards (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 463; Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers*, ed. Robin Gilmour (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 168.
 18. Brief discussions of the frontispiece to *The Universal Visiter* are found in Trevor Ross, *The Making of the English Literary Canon: From the Middle Ages to the Late Eighteenth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 3–4, and in Richard Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past 1660–1781* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 58–59.
 19. Lady Mary Chudleigh, "To Mr. Dryden, on his Excellent Translation of Virgil," in *Poems on Several Occasions. Together with the Song of the Three Children Paraphras'd* (London: Bernard Lintot, 1703), 25–28. References to this poem will be given by line number in the body of the text.
 20. Ironically, though, Chudleigh's own poem, like many such critiques of rhymed verse, is itself written in rhyme. For a broad survey of the debate over rhyme in English poetry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Arthur Melville Clark, "Milton and the Renaissance Revolt against Rhyme," in *Studies in Literary Modes* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946),

- 105–41; and Morris Freedman, “Milton and Dryden on Rhyme,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 24 (1960–61): 337–44. The debate is of interest here because it is construed by its participants as an issue not simply of literary style or aesthetics, but of English cultural independence and cultural identity—much like the debate over the popularity of Italian opera in Britain, which I discuss in chapter 3.
21. Sir John Denham, “On Mr. Abraham Cowley, his Death and Burial amongst the Ancient Poets,” in *Poems and Translations* (London: H. Herringman, 1668), 89–94; John Oldham, “Bion. A Pastoral, in Imitation of the Greek of Moschus, Bewailing the Death of the Earl of Rochester,” in *The Works of Mr. John Oldham* (London: Jo. Hindmarsh, 1684), 73–87; Knightly Chetwood, “To the Earl of Roscommon on his Excellent Poem,” and John Dryden, “To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse,” both prefixed to *An Essay on Translated Verse. By the Earl of Roscommon* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1684), unpaginated; John Dryden, “To My Dear Friend, Mr. Congreve” (1694), in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 4, *Poems 1693–1696*, ed. A. B. Chambers and William Frost (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 432–34; Joseph Addison, “An Account of the Greatest English Poets,” *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq.*, 4 vols. (London: Jacob Tonson, 1721), 1:36–41; “Samuel Cobb, *Poetae Britannici* (London: A. Roper and R. Basset, 1700); Samuel Wesley, *An Epistle to a Friend Concerning Poetry* (London: Charles Harper, 1700); Jabez Hughes, “Verses Occasion’d by Reading Mr. Dryden’s Fables,” in *Dryden: The Critical Heritage*, ed. James Kinsley and Helen Kinsley (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971), 248–53; Elijah Fenton, “An Epistle to Mr. Southerne,” in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: Bernard Lintot, 1717), 67–83; George Sewell, “To Mr. Pope, on his Poems and Translations,” in *A New Collection of Original Poems, Never Printed in any Miscellany* (London: J. Pemberton and J. Peele, 1720), 58–62; Leonard Welsted, “Epistle to His Grace the Duke of Chandos,” in *The Works, In Verse and Prose, of Leonard Welsted* (London: Printed for the Editor, 1787), 73–75; John Dart, *Westminster-Abbey. A Poem* (London: J. Batley, 1721); Judith Cowper Madan, “The Progress of Poesy,” in *The Poetical Calendar*, ed. Francis Fawkes and William Woty, 12 vols. (London: J. Coote, 1763–64), 3:17–28; William Mason, “Musaeus, a Monody to the Memory of Mr. Pope,” in *The Works of William Mason*, 4 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811), 1:1–15; Thomas Gray, “The Progress of Poesy” (1757), in Thomas Gray and William Collins, *Poetical Works*, ed. Roger Lonsdale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 46–51.
 22. Cf. the chapter on “the progress-of-posesy poem” in Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past 1660–1781*, 35–62, esp. 49–57 (see n. 18).
 23. Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language*, 183 (see intro., n. 11).
 24. I draw the concept of the “apparatus of languages” from the work of René Balibar: see her *L’Institution du français: essai sur le colingisme des Carolingiens à la République* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985).
 25. Thomas Hobbes, “Answer to Davenant,” in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Joel E. Spingarn, 3 vols. (1908–09; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 2:65.

26. Swift, *A Proposal for Correcting . . . the English Language*, 32 (see intro., n. 7); Johnson, *Selected Poetry and Prose*, 334, 336 (see intro., n. 34).
27. Edmund Waller, "Of English Verse," in *Silver Poets of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. G. A. E. Parfitt (London: Dent, 1974), lines 5–6, 13–16. Subsequent references to this poem are given by line number in the text.
28. Sir William Temple, "An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning," in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Spingarn, 3:63 (see n. 25).
29. Pope, "Essay on Criticism," lines 482–83 (see intro., n. 7); Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 3:566.
30. Tickell, *On the Prospect of Peace*, lines 249, 251, 265–66 (see intro., n. 7).
31. Thomas Sheridan, *British Education: or, The Source of the Disorders of Great Britain* (1756; repr., Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1971), xvii.
32. I cite Boileau's original ("L'Art poétique") and the Soame–Dryden translation ("The Art of Poetry") from the parallel printing of the English and French works in *The Continental Model: Selected French Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, in English Translation*, ed. Scott Elledge and Donald Schier, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970). References to these works will be given by line number in the body of the text. (The quotation from Jacob Tonson is from *The Continental Model*, 386.)
33. A few years later, in 1686, the East India Company, under Sir Josiah Child, did send troops to India and declared war on the Mughal Empire. Despite military and naval support from James II, they were driven out of Surat, imperiled in Bombay, and defeated in Bengal. In September 1687, the Company was able to sue for peace, by agreeing to pay "a large sum in reparations." Only in 1690 was the Company allowed back into Bengal, "after a grovelling apology from it as well as a fine of 150,000 rupees (about £15,000 sterling)" (Bruce P. Lenman, *England's Colonial Wars 1550–1688* [London: Longman, 2001], 209–11).
34. It is noteworthy that the American colonies do not seem appropriate to these authors to invoke at this juncture. The imperial fantasies of British literary culture were oriented toward the Old World of the East, even though the so-called first British Empire was constructed in the "New World" of the West, with the gap between these two orders creating a space of imperial anticipation and design that accompanies and shapes British expansion in the East.
35. Samuel Johnson, *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* (London: J. and P. Knapton et al., 1747), 10.
36. Richard Bailey has gathered much material that bears on this topic in the chapter on "World English," in his *Images of English: A Cultural History of the Language* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 93–121.
37. Samuel Cobb, "Of Poetry," in *Poems on Several Occasions . . . To which is Prefix'd A Discourse on Criticism and the Liberty of Writing*, 3d ed. (London: James Woodward, 1710), lines 672–81.
38. John Dryden, "To My Honor'd Friend, Dr. Charleton," lines 21–22, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 1, *Poems 1649–1680*, ed. E. N. Hooker and H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956). Subsequent references to this poem will be supplied in the text.

39. Welsted, “Epistle to . . . Chandos,” lines 11, 17–22 (see n. 21).
40. “Some Thoughts on the English Language,” *The Universal Visiter* (January 1756): 6 (the author of this essay was probably Christopher Smart); *The Present State of the Republick of Letters* (November 1728): 399.
41. C. Lennart Carlson, *The First Magazine: A History of the Gentleman’s Magazine* (Providence, RI: Brown University, 1938), 81.
42. James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 41, 51, 409. Macpherson’s comment about the “metropolitan” function of the English language as a medium for international cultural exchange reiterates a claim made some years earlier, in 1756, by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), which sought “to introduce among the Highlanders a knowledge of the English language, to fit them for understanding and being understood by the rest of the world” (*Present State of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge* [Edinburgh, 1756?], 40, quoted in Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing*, 40 [see intro., n. 8]). We see in these remarks the interdependence between claims about English’s international standing and claims about its metropolitan function within the British Isles.
43. Thomas Sheridan, *A Discourse. Being Introductory to His Course of Lectures on Elocution and the English Language* (1759; repr., Augustan Reprint Society, no. 136, Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969), 12.
44. Adams, *Papers of John Adams*, 10:128.
45. *Ibid.*, 170.
46. David Hume, *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 2:170–71.
47. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersley, 3 vols. (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1994), 2:514, n. 8; Samuel T. Coleridge, *Coleridge’s Shakespearean Criticism*, ed. Thomas M. Raysor, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 1:254–55.
48. Francis Turner Palgrave, *The Golden Treasury*, ed. Christopher Ricks (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1991), 8; James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922; repr., New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), 40.
49. Sara Suleri, *Meatless Days* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 112.
50. Edwin Guest, *A History of English Rhythms*, ed. W. W. Skeat (1838; London: George Bell and Sons, 1882), 703, quoted in Alastair Pennycook, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* (London: Longman, 1994), 99.
51. Rev. James George, *The Mission of Great Britain to the World, or Some of the Lessons Which She Is Now Teaching* (Toronto: Dudley and Burns, 1867), 6, quoted in *ibid.*
52. United Kingdom, Committee on the Legal Status of the Welsh Language, *Report*, 1965, 9.

53. Sheridan, *A Discourse*, 39–40 (see n. 43).
54. “W.R.,” *Wallography* (1681), quoted in Prys Morgan, *The Eighteenth-Century Renaissance* (Llandybie, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1981), 20. See also, in this context, Thomas Rymer’s comment in 1692 on Taliessin and Merlin as early Welsh poets: “had they not written in Welch, [they] might yet deserve an esteem among us” (quoted in Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past 1660–1781*, 134 [see n. 18]).
55. Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. Peter Levi (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1984), 151. Subsequent references to this work are given in the text.
56. Samuel Johnson, *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Bruce Redford, 5 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992–94), 1:151–52. Johnson is evidently asking for a continuation of the kind of work begun in Edward Lhuyd’s *Archaeologia Britannica* (Oxford, 1707), in which Lhuyd investigated the affinities of Welsh with other Celtic languages, such as Breton.
57. Charles O’Conor, *Dissertations on the Ancient History of Ireland*, rev. ed. (London, 1766), iv, quoted in *ibid.*, 1:151, n. 4.
58. Thomas Watts, “On the Probable Future Position of the English Language,” *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 4 (1850): 209. Subsequent references are given in the text.
59. Pope, one might note, cited these two lines in *Peri Bathos* (1728) to illustrate the bathetic effect produced by anticlimax: the first line of the couplet, with its imperial conceit, raises expectations that are disappointed by the paltry success commemorated in the second line (*Poetry and Prose of Alexander Pope*, ed. Aubrey Williams [Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1969], 416).
60. Thomas B. Macaulay, “Minute on Indian Education,” in *Selected Writings*, ed. John Clive and Thomas Pinney (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 243.
61. John Hughes, *An Essay on the Ancient and Present State of the Welsh Language* (London: Privately printed, 1822), 52. Subsequent references are given in the text.
62. For a discussion of this “renaissance,” see Saunders Lewis, *A School of Welsh Augustans: Being a Study in English Influences on Welsh Literature during Part of the Eighteenth Century* (Wrexham, UK: Hughes and Son, 1924) and Morgan, *The Eighteenth-Century Renaissance* (see n. 54).
63. Roland Mathias, *Anglo-Welsh Literature. An Illustrated History* (Bridgend, UK: Poetry Wales Press, 1987), 53–54.
64. [John Wolcot], *The Poetical Works of Peter Pindar, Esq. A Distant Relation to the Poet of Thebes* (Dublin: A. Colles et al., 1791), 96 and unnumbered note.
65. This seems to me to mark the major limitation of the otherwise compelling recent scholarly work by Robert Crawford, Leith Davis, Janet Sorensen, and others on Anglo-Scottish literary and cultural relations since the Union of 1707. By focusing its attention on domestic “British” contexts, such work fails to assess the intersections of domestic hegemony, European rivalry, and overseas imperialism in the construction of the empire of English.

Chapter 2 The Republic of Letters

1. Marc Fumaroli, "The Republic of Letters," *Diogenes* 143 (1988), 136–39. For the fullest account of the early history of the phrase, see Françoise Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des Lettres? Essai de sémantique historique," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 147 (1989): 473–502. See also Elizabeth Eisenstein, "The Republic of Letters and the Printed Book-Trade," *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. in 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 136–59, esp. 137, n. 287 where she notes the use of the phrase in 1417.
2. Dibon, "L'Université de Leyde et la République des Lettres," 26–27 (see chap. 1, n. 3). The (religious) notion of "Christendom," however, was becoming outmoded by the early eighteenth century, if not already by the mid-seventeenth century, its place being taken by the newer (cultural or civilizational) notion of "Europe," and it is this latter concept that provides the contextual frame for the eighteenth-century republic of letters. On the shift from "Christendom" to "Europe," see Franklin Le Van Baumer, "The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945): 131–56; Denys Hay, "'Europe' and 'Christendom': A Problem in Renaissance Terminology and Historical Semantics," *Diogenes* 17 (1957): 45–55; Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*, rev. ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968); and Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*, 3–15 (see chap. 1, n. 14).
3. For general studies of the *érudit* republic of letters of the seventeenth century, see (in addition to the works cited previously): Hans Bots, "L'Esprit de la République des Lettres et la tolérance dans les trois premiers périodiques hollandais," *XVIIe Siècle* 116 (1977): 43–57; Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, eds., *Commercium Litterarium: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters 1600–1750* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1994); Lorraine Daston, "The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment," *Science in Context* 4 (1991): 367–86; Paul Dibon, "Communication in the *Respublica literaria* of the 17th Century," *Respublica Litteraria: Studies in the Classical Tradition* 1 (1978): 43–55; Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters 1680–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Maarten Ultee, "The Place of the Dutch Republic in the Republic of Letters of the Late Seventeenth Century," *Dutch Crossing* 31 (1987): 54–78; Maarten Ultee, "The Republic of Letters: Learned Correspondence, 1680–1720," *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987): 96–112; Maarten Ultee, "Res publica litteraria and War, 1680–1715," in *Res Publica Litteraria: Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedeman, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 2:535–46; Françoise Waquet, "De la lettre érudite au périodique savant: les faux semblants d'une mutation intellectuelle," *XVIIe Siècle* 140 (1983): 347–59; Françoise Waquet, "Les Éditions de correspondances savantes et les idéaux de la République des Lettres,"

XVIIe Siècle 178 (1993): 99–118. These scholars stress the foundation of the early republic of letters on personal (rather than institutional) relations and practices (Goldgar); the small size of the active community of the republic of letters—not more than 1,200 persons in any given year (according to Ultee, “The Republic of Letters,” 100); and the central importance of learned correspondences as the chief modality through which the republic of letters was sustained.

4. Guez de Balzac quoted in Waquet, “Qu’est-ce que la République des lettres?” 501, n. 125 (see n. 1); Sir Richard Blackmore, *Eliza: An Epick Poem. In Ten Books* (London: Awnsham and John Churchill, 1705), 89.
5. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 138 (see n. 1). Subsequent references to this work are given in the text.
6. Variations on the notion of the republic of letters recur in the writings of scores of English-language authors from George Wither in the mid-seventeenth century to Hazlitt and Southey in the early nineteenth century—including, Sir Thomas Browne; Sir Richard Blackmore; Thomas Rymer; John Dennis; John Dryden; Sir William Temple; John Locke; Joseph Addison; Samuel Cobb; Jonathan Swift; Charles Gildon; John Oldmixon; John Gay; Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury; Thomas Tickell; Jonathan Richardson; Henry Fielding; Edward Young; Samuel Derrick; John Langhorne; Charles Churchill; William Julius Mickle; Frances Burney; David Hume; Samuel Johnson; Laurence Sterne; George Huddesford; Thomas Jefferson; Joel Barlow; Lemuel Hopkins; James Boswell; Oliver Goldsmith; Christopher Anstey; William Hayley; Henry James Pye; Bishop Richard Hurd; and Samuel Ireland. I discuss a few of these examples more directly in the course of this chapter.
7. Thomas Chatterton. “The Whore of Babylon,” line 359, and “Kew Gardens,” line 859, both in vol. 1 of *The Complete Works of Thomas Chatterton*, ed. Donald S. Taylor, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Sir Joseph Banks’s letter and its translation by the French Ministry of Marine and Colonies quoted in G. R. de Beer, “The Relations between Fellows of the Royal Society and French Men of Science when France and Britain were at War,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 9 (1951–52): 271, 272; and Elizabeth Hamilton, *Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*, ed. Pamela Perkins and Shannon Russell (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1999), 55.
8. David Garrick, *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 1:143.
9. [N. Bonaventure d’Argonne], “Vigneul-Marvilliana,” in *Ana, ou Collection de bons mots, contes, pensées détachées, traits d’histoire et anecdotes des hommes célèbres, depuis la renaissance des lettres jusqu’à nos jours; suivis d’un choix de propos joyeux, mots plaisans, réparties fines et contes à rire. Tirés de différens recueils* [comp. Charles Georges Thomas Garnier], 10 vols. (Amsterdam: et se trouve, à Paris, Chez Visse, 1789), 5:414–17.
10. Henry Oldenburg, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, 9 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press,

- 1966), 2:27–28. It is perhaps worth remarking that, while “49 per cent of the Fellows of the Royal Society were foreigners” in 1740 (J. S. Bromley, “Britain and Europe in the Eighteenth Century,” *History* 66 [1981]: 394), “no woman was elected to full membership in the Royal Society until 1945” (Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?* 26 [see intro., n. 32]).
11. *Monthly Review* 18 (March 1758): 249–50.
 12. [N. Bonaventure d’Argonne], *Mélanges d’Histoire et de Littérature*, 3 vols. (Rotterdam: Chez Elie Yvans, 1700–02), 1:262.
 13. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L’An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante* (rev. ed., 1786), chap. 47, quoted in Edward D. Seeber, “Ideal Languages in the French and English Imaginary Voyage,” *PMLA* 60 (1945): 596.
 14. For a full discussion of the complex publishing history of this work, see John Dowling, *Diego de Saavedra Fajardo* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1977).
 15. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Respublica Literaria: or, The Republic of Letters; being a Vision*, trans. “J. E.” (London: S. Austen, 1727), 1–3. (Subsequent references to this work are given in the text.)
 16. It is perhaps worth noting that Dante’s palace of Limbo in canto 4 of the *Inferno* has often been construed as a palace of Fame, with its seven walls representing the seven liberal arts, and that its inhabitants—the poets, philosophers, and “great souled” men and women of Greece, Rome, the Islamic world, and Italy—form a kind of proto-republic of letters. Dante (d.1321) precedes the first recorded use of the phrase *respublica literaria* by a hundred years but his example suggests that the *concept* antedates the term—and his inclusion of figures like Avicenna, Averroes, and Saladin shows us that equating the idea of the republic of letters with the *respublica Christiana*, even in its early days, leads us to ignore the cultural work it is used to effect.
 17. Likewise, one might note, the only woman, ancient or modern, mentioned in Swift’s *Battle of the Books* (pub. 1704) is “Afra the Amazon” (i.e., Aphra Behn), though the forces of the moderns are numbered at “fifty thousand” (“A Full and True Account of the Battel Fought last Friday between the Antient and the Modern Books in St. James’s Library,” in *The Oxford Authors: Jonathan Swift*, ed. Angus Ross and David Woolley [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984], 16, 6).
 18. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu [Letter to Anna Maria van Schurman] (ca.1742–46), in *Essays and Poems and “Simplicity, a Comedy,”* ed. Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy (1977; repr. with new preface, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 166. Lady Mary, one recalls, reflected on the stigma attached to women’s participation in the republic of letters when she advised that a woman should “conceal whatever Learning she attains, with as much solicitude as she would hide crookedness or lameness” (quoted in Robert Halsband, “Ladies of Letters in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Lady of Letters in the Eighteenth Century. Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar January 18, 1969 by Irvin Ehrenpreis and Robert Halsband* [Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969], 35).
 19. David Hume, “Of Essay-Writing,” in *Essays, Moral Political and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller, rev. ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1987), 537. (Subsequent citations are given in the text.)

20. Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800* (London: Longman, 2001), 66.
21. Sarah Fielding, *The Adventures of David Simple*, ed. Peter Sabor (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), [3] (original in italics).
22. Halsband, “Ladies of Letters in the Eighteenth Century,” 50–51 (see n. 18).
23. [William Rose], Review of *History of England*, by Catherine Macaulay, *Monthly Review* 29 (1763): 372–82; Henry Mackenzie, *Letters to Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock*, ed. Horst W. Drescher (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1967), 70. The Restoration and eighteenth-century period witnessed, of course, the emergence of a number of important groupings of literary women from the circle around Katharine Philips, to the “female senate” around Swift, to the female coterie around Richardson, and the Bluestocking circles of the later eighteenth century.
24. *Critical Review*, 2d ser., 5 (1792): 132, quoted in Laura L. Runge, “Gendered Strategies in the Criticism of Early Fiction,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1995): 375.
25. Pope, “The Temple of Fame,” in *Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. Butt, lines 278–81, 288–91 (see intro., n. 7). Subsequent references to this poem are provided in the text.
26. Pope, “Essay on Criticism,” in *Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. Butt, lines 478–83 (see intro., n. 7).
27. Thomas Sheridan, *A Dissertation on the Causes of the Difficulties Which Occur, In Learning the English Tongue*, quoted in Adam Beach, “The Creation of a Classical Language in the Eighteenth Century,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 43 (2001): 125.
28. William Kenrick in the *Monthly Review* 21 (November 1759): 381, quoted in *The Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Arthur Friedman, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 1:247. Subsequent references to Goldsmith’s *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* are also from this edition and are provided in the text.
29. On the importance of this theme in eighteenth-century English literary culture, see Michael Meehan, *Liberty and Poetics in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).
30. Dibon writes regarding Grotius: “Pour lui, l’activité intellectuelle est essentiellement ordonnée à la praxis, au service de la cité” (“L’Université de Leyde et la République des Lettres,” 32) (see chap. 1, n. 3).
31. Joseph Addison, *Letters of Joseph Addison*, ed. Walter Graham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), 281.
32. Sir Joseph Banks, letter to Déodat de Dolomieu, 1801, quoted in de Beer, “The Relations between Fellows of the Royal Society and French Men of Science,” 275 (see n. 7).
33. Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robin Robbins, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 1:2–3. Subsequent citations of this work, all from volume one, will be incorporated into the text.
34. On Browne’s relation to the concept of the republic of letters, see R. J. Schoeck, “Sir Thomas Browne and the Republic of Letters: Introduction,” *English Language Notes* 19 (1982): 299–312 and Jean-Jacques

- Denonain, “Thomas Browne and the ‘Respublica Litteraria,’” *English Language Notes* 19 (1982): 370–81.
35. Cf. other seventeenth-century comments that emphasize the cultural nationalist import of writing in English: e.g., Sir Edward Coke explains why he wrote the first part of his *Institutes* (Coke on Littleton, 1628) in English: “This part we have . . . published in English, for that they are an introduction to the knowledge of the national law of the realm. . . . We have left our author to speak his own language, and have translated him into English, to the end that any of the nobility or gentry of this realm, or of any other estate or profession whatsoever, that will be pleased to read him and these Institutes, may understand the language wherein they are written” (quoted in John W. Cairns, “Blackstone, an English Institutist,” *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 4 [1984], 330). Similarly, Milton comments, in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643), that his work “might perhaps more fitly have been written in another tongue [i.e., Latin]: and I had done so, but that the esteem I have of my country’s judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to serve it first with what I endeavor, made me speak it thus, ere I assay the verdict of outlandish readers” (*Complete Poems and Major Prose*, 702 [see intro., n. 28]). One notes that in the postcolonial world, too, the choice of language in which to write is bound up with issues of cultural nationalism.
36. *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* did, of course, go on to acquire a wider European audience: it was translated into Dutch (in 1668), into German (in 1680), into French (in 1733), and from the French into Italian (in 1737). See Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
37. Likewise, the tendency to take note of French recognition of English literary achievements betrays a similar, though more direct, concern with extraterritorial opinion. Even so nationalistic a critic as John Dennis—who insists (as we will see in chapter 3) on the national distinctiveness of each culture on the basis of its “Religion, Climate, and Customs” (12) and who asserts, “I love my Country very well, and therefore should be ravished to see that we out did the *French* in Arts, at the same time that we contend for Empire with them” (10)—evidences this kind of deference to foreign opinions. In *The Impartial Critick* (1693), he writes of Edmund Waller: “We all of us have reason to Honour the Man, who has been an Honour to *England*: And it is with an inexpressible pleasure, that I find his Death lamented by two great *French* Wits, viz. *La Fontaine*, and Monsieur *St. Evremont*” (13). *La Fontaine* and *Saint-Evremont* thus function to ratify English self-regard. (All citations are from *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, vol. 1 [see intro, n. 34].) The character of English responses to French comments, whether positive or negative, about English culture bears a striking analogy, indeed, to Scottish and Irish responses to English comments on their cultural traditions and achievements.
38. Adam Smith, “Letter to the *Edinburgh Review*,” in *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, ed. W. P. D. Wightman and J. C. Bryce (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1982), 243.

39. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 28, 29.
40. The centrality of the notion of “emulation” to eighteenth-century British literary culture is highlighted by Howard Weinbrot in *Britannia’s Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), but he sees the concept as contributing to a benign cosmopolitanism, whereas I see it as feeding a competitive cultural nationalism.
41. Addison, writing before the Union of Scotland and England in 1707, works with an “English” framework, but Pope’s prefatory poem, originally published in Pope’s *Works* of 1720 and reprinted in Tickell’s edition of Addison’s *Works* in 1721, speaks in a “British” idiom. The poem was further revised in 1726, and published in the 1735 edition of Pope’s *Works*.
42. Joseph Addison, *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals. Especially in Relation to the Latin and Greek Poets* (wr. 1702; pub. 1721), in *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison*, ed. Richard Hurd, 6 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811), 1:339. (Pope’s prefatory “Verses” are found on pages 337–38. The text here prints the 1721 version of the poem, without the six lines [lines 5–10] that Pope added in 1726, and includes three substantive variants from the final version of the poem.) Subsequent references to these works will be provided in the body of the text.
43. The contrast between the opening section of the poem and its close is even more noticeable when one considers the six lines not included in this reprinting of the poem. In those lines, Pope describes critically some of the “wonders” of ancient Rome that have fallen into ruins or have disappeared altogether:

Imperial wonders rais’d on Nations spoil’d,
 Where mix’d with Slaves the groaning Martyr toil’d;
 Huge Theatres, that now unpeopled Woods,
 Now drain’d a distant country of her Floods;
 Fanes, which admiring Gods with pride survey,
 Statues of Men, scarce less alive than they. (lines 5–10)
 (see “To Mr Addison, Occasioned by his Dialogues on Medals,” in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, 215 [see intro., n. 7])

The message is clear that not only is it vain to imagine that such “wonders” will survive, but also that they are dubious achievements in the first place, being dependent on “slaves” and “martyr[s]” and on “nations” that have been despoiled. Given this emphasis, it is even more striking that by the end of the poem Pope should entreat his compatriots to emulate and succeed Rome.

Howard Erskine-Hill offers a rich reading of Pope’s poem (“The Medal Against Time: Pope’s Epistle to Mr. Addison,” in *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* [London: Edwin Arnold, 1983], 267–90), but one which, to my mind, too easily resolves the tension in the poem between its opening suspicion of Roman acts of glory and its concluding endorsement of British emulation of the ancient Romans. Pope’s poem may offer ways of

revivifying the decayed monumentality of Augustan Rome (by translating it into the career of modern Britain), but it never offers any adequate answer to the moral dubiousness of Roman grandeur.

44. A particularly telling instance of this inability to view the ancients except by way of the polite world of continental Europe occurs in Cynthio's praise of Horace's satiric finesse, in contrast to the crude management of "our English satirists" (369): "Horace knew how to stab with address," Cynthio declares, "and to give a thrust where he was least expected. Boileau has nicely imitated him in this, as well as his other beauties. But our English libellers are for hewing a man downright, and for letting him see at a distance that he is to look for no mercy." "I own to you," Eugenius responds, "I have often admired this piece of art in the two satirists you mention . . ." (370). Here, the "beauties" of Horace become indistinguishable from the beauties of Boileau, and it is almost as if Cynthio and Eugenius have learned to see in Horace what they have been trained to notice by Boileau.

Addison's remarks here echo Dryden's comments in his "Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" (1692): Dryden remarks on the "fineness of raillery" in artful satire that serves to distinguish "the slovenly Butchering of a Man," from "the fineness of a stroak that separates the Head from the Body, and leaves it standing in its place," before going on to instance his portrait of Zimri in *Absalom and Achitophel* as something he is proud of in this regard (*The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 4, 71 [see chap. 1, n. 21]). It is especially telling that while Addison seems to have Dryden's language in the back of his mind here, he evokes it only to criticize "our English satirists"—presumably, including Dryden himself. (Dryden's own comment has been related, through Thomas Rymer's 1674 translation, to René Rapin's *Reflexions sur l'Aristote*: see P. J. Smallwood, "A Dryden Allusion to Rymer's Rapin," *Notes and Queries* 23 [1976]: 554.)

45. For one account of the demise of the republic of letters in the nineteenth century, precisely as the result of the increasingly irreconcilable divorce between scholarship and belles lettres over the course of the eighteenth century, see Joseph Levine, "Strife in the Republic of Letters," in *Commercium Litterarium*, ed. Bots and Waquet, 310–19 (see n. 3).
46. Antony van Zijlvelt's engraving is preserved in the Academisch Historisch Museum, Leiden; a reproduction is available in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden / E. J. Brill, 1975), 460.
47. In a letter to George Stepney, written from Vienna in November 1702, while he was at work on the *Dialogues upon Medals*, Addison writes: "I have endeavour'd to treat my subject, that is in itself very bare of ornaments, as divertingly as I could. I have propos'd to my self such a way of Instructing as in Dialogues on the Plurality of Worlds [by Fontenelle, 1686]. This very owning of designe will I believe look like a piece of Vanity . . ." (*Letters of Joseph Addison*, 35–36 [see n. 31]). This comment suggests the distance between Addison's polite discourse and the erudite discourse of the

- numismatists, and it indicates the exemplary status of French works both in leading this shift toward a broader readership and as models for emulation.
48. One discerns behind Addison's critical comments here a submerged awareness of Tacitus's discussion of cultural imperialism and the Roman arts of rule. Commenting on Agricola's Romanization of the Britons, Tacitus (*Agricola*, 21) writes: "Roman dress, too, became popular and the toga was frequently seen. Little by little there was a slide towards the allurements of degeneracy. . . . In their inexperience the Britons called it civilization when it was really all part of their servitude" (quoted in Peter Salway, *Roman Britain* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984], 142). Aping Roman attire is shameful, Addison knows, not only because it is unmerited and parodic, but also because it is a mark or a residue of colonization and subjection.
 49. For a useful discussion of representations of Britain in Roman literature, see Katharine Allen, "Britain in Roman Literature," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature* 3 (1919): 133–48.
 50. Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 28:144 (see intro., n. 20); Frances Burney, *Evelina, or The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, ed. Margaret Doody (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 7 (original in italics).
 51. Edward Gibbon, "Essai sur l'étude de la littérature," in *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon*, 4:27–28 (see intro., n. 15); Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963–65), 3:217.
 52. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela or, Virtue Rewarded*, ed. T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), 5. Subsequent references to this work are provided in the text.
 53. Anna Williams, "Verses Addressed to Mr. Richardson, on his History of Sir Charles Grandison," *Miscellanies* (London: T. Davies et al., 1766), 32.
 54. Joseph Addison, "An Essay on the Georgics," in *The California Edition of the Works of John Dryden*, vol. 5, *The Works of Virgil in English, 1697*, ed. William Frost and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 145.
 55. Fumaroli, "The Republic of Letters," 145 (see n. 1).
 56. Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso: A Comedy* (London: Henry Herringman, 1676), 2.
 57. Aphra Behn, "The Translator's Preface," to her translation of Fontenelle's *A Discovery of New Worlds* (1688), in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993), 4:75.
 58. *Mercure galant* (October 1694), quoted from Louis Réau, *L'Europe française au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1971), 23, with modifications based on Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours* (Paris: A. Colin, 1967), 5:137.
 59. Henry Fielding, *The Grub-Street Opera*, ed. Edgar V. Roberts (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 54.
 60. See Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des Journaux, 1600–1789*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991).

61. Voltaire, letter to Pierre Guyot, August 7, 1767, in *The Complete Works of Voltaire*, ed. Theodore Besterman, vol. 116 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1974), D14340.
62. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 147 (see n. 1).
63. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Grub Street Abroad: Aspects of the French Cosmopolitan Press from the Age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 38–39. Within France itself, through the mid-sixteenth century, more books were published in Latin than in French, but by the mid-seventeenth century, the Latin proportion had declined to about 20% of the total number of titles published. By 1700, the Latin proportion was approximately 10% of the total and “by 1764 publications in ancient and foreign languages only accounted for 4.5 per cent of printed output in the kingdom” (Françoise Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* [London: Verso, 2001], 81). Waquet also notes that “about 20 per cent” of the learned periodicals published in Europe between 1665 and 1747 were in Latin (84) and that 31% of the texts reviewed in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savants de l’Europe* between 1728 and 1740 were written in Latin (83–84).
64. Goldsmith, *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning*, 292 (see n. 28).
65. Bathsua Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* (1673), ed. Paula L. Barbour (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980), 34.
66. Jean Le Rond d’Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia of Diderot*, trans. Richard N. Schwab and Walter E. Rex (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 92–93.
67. “A Character of Saint-Evremond,” in *The California Edition of the Works of John Dryden*, vol. 20, *Prose 1691–1698*, ed. A. E. Wallace Maurer (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 7. (The second half of this “Character” is written by John Dryden.)
68. Pierre Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* [1684–87], repr. as vol. 1 of his *Oeuvres Diverses*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1727; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964–68). My citations of the *Nouvelles* are from the Olms photographic reprint of the *Oeuvres Diverses*, vol. 1, here, 416. Subsequent references to this work will be given by page number in the body of the text.
69. For a useful brief history of the periodical, see Raymond Birn, “Le *Journal des Savants* sous l’Ancien Régime,” *Journal des Savants* (1965): 15–35.
70. Pierre Desmaizeaux, *Lettres de M. Bayle, publiées sur les originaux, avec des remarques* (Amsterdam, 1729), quoted in Waquet, “Qu’est-ce que la République des Lettres?” 485 (see n. 1).
71. With regard to religious schisms in the republic of letters, see Rosalie Colie, who describes Bayle as one of “a host of men . . . who took advantage of increasing literacy to mobilize international Protestantism into a republic of letters” (“John Locke in the Republic of Letters,” *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 1, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann [London: Chatto and Windus, 1960], 118) and Mario Rosa, who speaks of an ecclesiastic or monastic republic of letters established by the Maurists (“Un ‘méditateur’ dans la

- République des Lettres: le bibliothécaire,” in *Commercium Litterarium*, ed. Bots and Waquet, 87 and 96) (see n. 3). However, I see these Protestant and Catholic formations as sectoral divisions within the European republic of letters rather than as autonomous formations in their own right. See also Peter van Rooden, “Sects, Heterodoxies, and the Diffusion of Knowledge in the Republic of Letters,” in *Commercium Litterarium*, ed. Bots and Waquet, 51–64 (see n. 3): Rooden argues that the Jewish intellectual world, while equally international in character, remained separate and apart from the European republic of letters, which never quite lost its roots in the notion of the common corps of Christendom.
72. Henri Basnage de Beauval, *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans* (November 1687), quoted in Bots, “L’Esprit de la République des Lettres,” 49 (see n. 3).
73. Descartes had already declared, in his “The Search After Truth by the Light of Nature,” that “it is no more the duty of an ordinary well-disposed man to know Greek and Latin than it is to know the languages of Switzerland or Brittany” and this work of his is designed to show, that “an unlettered man” is fully capable of philosophical inquiry even without school learning; nonetheless, this work was itself first published in 1701 *in Latin* (though it had been composed in French) (see *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, trans. Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross, 2 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931], 1:309, 304). In England, as William Sacksteder argues, the lifetime of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) serves to mark the shift away from Latin: Hobbes is “at the watershed between scholarly employment of Latin and creative philosophy in English. Previous British thinkers had written only popular works in the vernacular, and his successors wrote all major works therein” (33); still, Hobbes’s own practice of composing his major works in both English and Latin, and his constant utilization of the different conceptual resources and implications of Greek, Latin, and English terms suggest the limits of the vernacularization that has taken place by the Restoration period. (See William Sacksteder, “Hobbes: Teaching Philosophy to Speak English,” *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 16 [1978]: 33–45.) Similarly, Locke may have composed (and published) his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* in English, but when he prepared a Latin edition of the work, he undertook to revise it and wrote to his friend William Molyneux to request assistance in “paring off some of the superfluous repetitions . . . left in for the sake of illiterate men and the softer sex, not used to abstract notions and reasonings” (Locke to Molyneux, April 26, 1695, in John Locke, *Selected Correspondence*, ed. Mark Goldie [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002], 209). The late seventeenth-century shift in the language of composition noticed by Sacksteder is important, but the differentiation of Latin and English readerships continued to be significant throughout the eighteenth century for philosophical and other “serious” literature.
74. Sir William Temple, “Of Heroic Virtue,” in *The Works of Sir William Temple*, 4 vols. (London: S. Hamilton, 1814; repr. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 3:323. (Subsequent references to this work are provided in the text.)

75. Descartes, "Discourse on Method," in *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, trans. Haldane and Ross, 1:81, 119 (see n. 73).
76. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, "Preface to the *Novissima Sinica*," in *Writings on China*, ed. and trans. Daniel J. Cook and Henry Rosemont, Jr. (Chicago: Open Court, 1994), 45.
77. James Beattie, *Elements of Moral Science*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. Cadell and William Creech, 1790), 1:31.
78. [John Gilchrist], *The Oriental Linguist, An Easy and Familiar Introduction to the Popular Language of Hindoostan* (Calcutta: printed by Ferris and Greenway, 1798), dedication (original in italics).
79. Immanuel Kant, *Education*, trans. Annette Churton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 14–15.
80. Immanuel Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose," in *Kant's Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 47 (original in italics).
81. Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: 'What is Enlightenment?'" in *Kant's Political Writings*, ed. Reiss, 57.
82. See Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, no. 77 (December 11, 1750), in *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 4, *The Rambler*, ed. W. J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969), 41. For Wollstonecraft, see *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. Miriam Brody (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 271. For Thomas Jefferson, see his letter to John Hollins, February 19, 1809, in which he explains "the nature of the correspondence which is carried on between societies instituted for the benevolent purpose of communicating to all parts of the world whatever useful is discovered in any one of them": "These societies are always in peace, however their nations may be at war. Like the republic of letters, they form a great fraternity spreading over the whole earth, and their correspondence is never interrupted by any civilized nation" (*Thomas Jefferson: Writings* [New York: Library of America, 1984], 1201).
83. William Wordsworth, "Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1802)," in *The Oxford Authors: William Wordsworth*, ed. Stephen Gill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 606.
84. Smith, "Letter to the *Edinburgh Review*," 249 (see n. 38).
85. William Julius Mickle, *The Lusiad; or, the discovery of India. An Epic Poem. Translated from the Original Portuguese of Luis de Camoëns* (London: Cadell et al., 1776), 291, in LION (note to book 6, line 351).
86. Dibon, "Communication in the *Respublica Literaria* of the 17th Century," 54, n. 12 (see n. 3).
87. Edward Young, "Conjectures on Original Composition in a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison," in *Edward Young's "Conjectures on Original Composition" in England and Germany: A Study in Literary Relations* by Martin William Steinke (New York: Stechert, 1917), 41–73. French translation by Pierre Le Tourneur as "Conjectures sur la composition originale, Epître adressée à l'Auteur de Charles Grandison," in *Oeuvres Diverses du Docteur*

- Young, Traduites de l'Anglois*, 4 vols. (Paris: Le Jay, 1770), 3:227–360. (References to both works will be given by page number in the text.)
88. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). Subsequent references to this work will be incorporated into the body of the text.
 89. Eisenstein, *Grub Street Abroad*, 5 (see n. 63).
 90. The Enlightenment concept of the public thus already anticipates (unlike Habermas's formulation) the problem of minorities in majoritarian democracies, an issue developed in the nineteenth century by J. S. Mill, and one that has acquired a renewed importance in twentieth-century Western thinking about multicultural societies. The issue has also figured importantly in the African-American tradition and in the constitutional thought of independent India and post-apartheid South Africa, to cite a few significant instances.
 91. See, e.g., the documentation and discussion in Paul Merrill Spurlin, *The French Enlightenment in America: Essays on the Times of the Founding Fathers* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984).
 92. Bayle is reviewing Daniel Georg Morhof's, *De Patavinitate Liviana Liber* (1685), and refers here to Rapin's Comparison of Thucydides and Livy, an English translation of which was subsequently published at Oxford in 1694.
 93. Cf., e.g., a remark by La Rochefoucauld in his *Réflexions ou sentences et maximes morales* (1665), which Aphra Behn translates as follows: "The accent of the Country where we are born lives in our hearts, and minds, as well as on our tongues and in our Language" (*Reflections on Morality or Seneca Unmasked* [1685], in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd, vol. 4 [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993], 50).
 94. See Ruth Whelan, "République des Lettres et littérature: le jeune Bayle épistolier," *XVIIe Siècle* 178 (1993): 72, n. 6. Elisabeth Labrousse writes of Bayle's childhood in Le Carla at the foot of the Pyrenees: "The language he could hear all around him was Occitan, and though French was spoken in the household of his father, pastor Jean Bayle, it was with a thick southern accent which Pierre himself never lost" (*Bayle* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983], 12–13).
 95. This aspect of the hierarchical ordering of the cultural realm is, of course, no less relevant today than it was in the early modern period. Jacques Derrida, e.g., reflecting on his "French Algerian" origins, writes, "One entered French literature only by losing one's accent" (45)—which means, of course, by acquiring the *right* accent. Derrida continues,

I retain, no doubt, a sort of acquired reflex from the necessity of this vigilant transformation. I am not proud of it, I make no doctrine of it, but so it is: an accent—any French accent, but above all a strong southern accent—seems incompatible to me with the intellectual dignity of public speech. (Inadmissible, isn't it? Well, I admit it.) Incompatible, a fortiori, with the vocation of poetic speech: for example, when I heard René Char read his sententious aphorisms

with an accent that struck me as at once comical and obscene, as the betrayal of a truth, it ruined, in no small measure, an admiration of my youth. (*Monolinguisism of the Other; or the Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998], 46)

Derrida's remarks, in their bluntness, help us to reflect on how the issue of "Scotticisms" and a "Scotch" accent figured in the anglophone literary culture of the eighteenth century, and on how the accents of Third World Englishes resonate in the context of the modern internationalization of the language.

96. Garrick, *Letters of David Garrick*, ed. Kahrl and Little, 1:221 (see n. 8).
97. Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism: From "The Spectator" to Post-Structuralism* (London: Verso, 1984), 13.
98. Cf. Pierre Bourdieu's argument regarding the relative autonomy of the literary field and the consequences he draws thereby: "External determinants . . . , which the Marxists used to invoke, cannot exert themselves except through the intermediary of transformations in the structure of the field which results from them. The field exerts an effect of *refraction* . . . and it is only on the condition of knowing the laws specific to its function (its 'coefficient of refraction,' that is, its 'degree of autonomy') that one can understand what it is that occurs" ("Principles of a Sociology of Cultural Works," in *Explanation and Value in the Arts*, ed. Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 179).
99. Louis M. Chaudon, *Dictionnaire, Historique, Critique et Bibliographique*, 30 vols. (Paris: Ménard and Desenne, 1821), s.v. "Bayle, Pierre," 3:214.
100. Isaac D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature. Second Series* (New York: William Pearson, 1835), 400. D'Israeli is presumably referring to the Laurentian Library in Florence, founded in 1444 and opened to the public in 1571.
101. James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman, intro. Pat Rogers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 708.

Chapter 3 National Differences and National Autonomy

1. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1:62 (see chap. 1, n. 47). Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
2. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, "Relation de l'état présent de la République des Lettres," in *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, herausgegeben Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vierte Reihe, *Politische Schriften*, erster Band, 1667–1676 (Darmstadt: Otto Reichl Verlag, 1931), 568.
3. Voltaire, *Letters concerning the English Nation*, "A New Edition" [trans. John Lockman] (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1767), 83–84 (letter 14). Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
4. Friedrich Klopstock, *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik* (1774), quoted in Daston, "The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters," 373 (see chap. 2, n. 3).

5. D'Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia*, 88–89 (see chap. 2, n. 66). While acknowledging the use the Encyclopedists have made of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728), d'Alembert describes Chambers's compilation as simply a "translation" of various French writings, and positions the project he himself is engaged in as not so much itself a translation of Chambers as a transcendence of his work (109–11). Similarly, in his discussion of the relationship between Bacon's division of the various branches of the arts and sciences of memory, reason, and imagination, and the classificatory scheme adopted for the *Encyclopédie*, d'Alembert again walks a fine line between acknowledging derivation from and asserting superiority to the prior work (49–50, 76–77, 159–64). More generally, after a discussion of the achievements of Bacon, Descartes, Newton, and Locke, d'Alembert writes: "We may conclude from all this history that England is indebted to us for the origins of that philosophy which we have since received back from her" (85)—as though the question of national indebtedness were precisely what was at stake in his historical retrospective.
6. Edwin Cannan, commenting on this issue, remarks of the *Wealth of Nations*: "Its composition was spread over at least the twenty-seven years from 1749 to 1776. During that period economic ideas crossed and recrossed the Channel many times, and it is as useless as it is invidious to dispute about the relative shares of Great Britain and France in the progress effected" (*Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan [New York: Random House, 1937], lv).
7. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann cite this remark by Pascal and suggest that it may be said to contain "*in nuce*" the fundamental problem confronted by the sociology of knowledge, the problem of the "amazing variety of forms of thought" in historically and culturally distinct societies (*The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966], 5).
8. Cf. Howard Weinbrot, "Enlightenment Canon Wars: Anglo-French Views of Literary Greatness," *ELH* 60 (1993): 79–100.
9. Christine Gerrard, in her important study *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725–1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), explores the ways in which "the Patriot poets of the 1730s and early 1740s engaged in a process of recovering British cultural as well as constitutional roots," thus contributing to "current critical debates about the origins of literary nationalism" (121). As I show in this chapter, and more generally in this book as a whole, nationalism in English-language literary culture goes back well before the 1730s.
10. P.W.K. Stone, *The Art of Poetry 1750–1820: Theories of Poetic Composition and Style in the Late Neo-Classical and Early Romantic Periods* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 24–25.
11. Earl Miner, "Introduction: Borrowed Plumage, Varied Umbrage," in *Literary Transmission and Authority: Dryden and Other Writers*, ed. Earl Miner and Jennifer Brady (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3.

12. John Oldmixon, *Essay on Criticism* (1728), ed. R. J. Madden (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1964), 46. There is some discussion of this phenomenon in relation to Dryden in John Sherwood's "Dryden and the Rules: The Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*" (*Comparative Literature* 2 [1950]: 73–83). Sherwood argues: "One should not be misled by Dryden's statement that 'Aristotle with his interpreters, and Horace, and Longinus' are the authors to whom he owes his 'lights.' These authors were evidently consulted and may be found quoted in the Preface; but Aristotle is almost invariably seen through the eyes of the French 'interpreters' [especially Rabin and Le Bossu], and Longinus was evidently known to Dryden chiefly through the translation of Boileau" (75).
13. Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs. Par Adrien Baillet. [1685]. Revûs, corrigés, & augmentés par M. De la Monnoye de l'Académie Française*, 7 vols. (Paris: Charles Moette et al., 1722). References to this work, all taken from the first volume unless otherwise specified, will be given in the text.
14. Sir John Chardin, *Voyages en Perse* (1670, 1711), quoted in Warren E. Gates, "The Spread of Ibn Khaldun's Ideas on Climate and Culture," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 28 (1967): 418. Ibn Khaldun had adapted the climatological theory in the fourteenth century to valorize his own society, accepting the traditional argument that a temperate climate produced superior civilization, and merely adding that the Arabian climate was a temperate one (Charles Konigsberg, "Climate and Society: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 4 [1960]: 69). Ibn Khaldun's work was picked up and absorbed by Chardin, who, in turn, was the acknowledged source for Du Bos and an important influence both directly and through Du Bos on Montesquieu's climatological theory. Thus, "a theory of climate which had reached a dead end in Europe was suddenly revitalized by a contribution from the East, giving a new impetus to western social philosophy" (Gates, "The Spread of Ibn Khaldun's Ideas," 422).
15. There is an extensive bibliography of scholarship on this subject. For an introduction to it, see James William Johnson, "Of Differing Ages and Climes," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 21 (1960): 465–80; Pat Rogers, "North and South," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 12.2 (1988): 101–11; Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones* (see intro., n. 8); and Roxann Wheeler, "The Empire of Climate," in *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1–48 (esp. 21–28). For the extension of the theory of climate into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Mark Harrison, "'The Tender Frame of Man': Disease, Climate, and Racial Difference in India and the West Indies, 1760–1860," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 70 (1996): 68–93; David N. Livingstone, "The Moral Discourse of Climate: Historical Considerations on Race, Place, and Virtue," *Journal of Historical Geography* 17 (1991): 413–34; and Konigsberg (n. 14).
16. Baillet had argued, previously, that "Il y a de l'injustice à donner à toute une Nation les vices & les défauts que l'on aura remarqués dans quelques

particuliers, comme à rendre de bonnes qualités universelles lorsqu'elles ne sont que personnelles" (187). This objection against false or premature generalization should apply equally whether the generalizations are based on climatological or sociocultural hypotheses. It turns out, however, that Baillet objects more to negative characterizations of Europeans than to the making of stereotyping generalizations as such.

17. See, e.g., the discussion in chapter 2 of Saavedra Fajardo's *Republic of Letters*, a work that ignores the cultures of northern Europe as insignificant to the world of letters. Swift's image of "Gothic swarms" coming forth from "Ignorance's universal north" (in his "Ode to the Athenian Society," in *The Complete Poems*, ed. Pat Rogers [London: Penguin, 1983], lines 298–99) captures the traditional prejudice against the northern countries/climates, which equates them with ignorance and barbarity.
18. For Johnson's critique of the climatological theory, see *Idler* no. 11 (June 24, 1758) and his "Life of Milton." Like his contemporaries, Johnson frequently speaks of particular national characteristics, but that he views such characteristics in a sociocultural light, rather than as fixed, innate characteristics, is evident from his remark that "there is no permanent national character; it varies according to circumstances. Alexander the Great swept India; now the Turks sweep Greece" (Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 494 [see chap. 2, n. 101]). For Hume's views, see his essays "Of National Characters" (1748) and "Of Commerce" (1752) in *Essays, Moral Political and Literary* (see chap. 2, n. 19).
19. Addison and Steele, *The Spectator*, 1:268 (see chap. 1, n. 29). Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
20. Dominique Bouhours, *The Art of Criticism* (1705), intro. Philip Smallwood (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1981), 29. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
21. Cf. the comments of Matthew Prior in his commonplace book, ca. 1720–21: "I believe no Man now alive is so absolutely Master of the Greek or Latin tongue as to be able to read one Sentence without stopping a little to consider the Grammatical construction of it: add to this that the Customs of these Nations, their Cloathing, their Utensils, their Houses, husbandry, Encampments, their laws, the manner of their pleadings, and the placing their words, their proverbs in common discourse are so different from Ours, that whole Volumes of Critics & Commentators must not only be read but remembered before a Man is master of One oration of Demosthenes or Cicero or One Comedy of Aristophanes or a Satyr of Horace or Juvenal" (*The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, 1:1005–06 [see intro., n. 33]).
22. Dominique Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, ed. René Radouant (Paris: Editions Bossard, 1920), 57, 55. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
23. Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, trans. James Fentress (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 86.
24. John Oldmixon, *The Arts of Logick and Rhetorick* (1728) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), 173. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.

25. *London Journal* (May 1732), quoted in Roger B. Oake, "Political Elements in Criticism of Voltaire in England 1732–47," *Modern Language Notes* 57 (1942), 350; Walpole, *Yale Edition of the Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, 41:148, n. 1 (see intro., n. 20).
26. Charles Gildon, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, the late Eminent Tragedian* (1710; repr. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970).
27. Petronius, *The Works of Petronius Arbitr, in Prose and Verse* (1736; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1975).
28. [John Langhorne], *Letters Supposed to have passed between Mr. de St. Evremond and Mr. Waller. Now first Collected and Published* (London, 1770).
29. Dryden, "A Character of Saint-Evremond," 11 (see chap. 2, n. 67).
30. Saint-Evremond, "A Discourse upon the Grand Alexander," in *Works of Mr. de St. Evremond*, 2 vols. (London: Awnsham and John Churchill, 1700), 1:191. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
31. Saint-Evremond, "Reflections upon the Different Genius of the Roman People, at different Times of the Republick," in *Works of Mr. de St. Evremond*, 1:1–100. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
32. Saint-Evremond, "Upon Tragedies," in *Works of Mr. de St. Evremond*, 1:503–04. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
33. Saint-Evremond, "Of the English Comedy," *Works of Mr. de St. Evremond*, 1:518–20.
34. Cibber, *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, 169–70 (see intro., n. 7).
35. Voltaire, *An Essay upon the Civil Wars of France extracted from curious manuscripts. And also upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations, from Homer down to Milton* (1728), 104, repr. in *Le Bossu and Voltaire on the Epic*, ed. Stuart Curran (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1970).
36. Saint-Evremond, "Upon Comedies," in *Works of Mr. de St. Evremond*, 1:509–10 (see n. 30).
37. Le Bossu, *Monseieur Bossu's Treatise of the Epick Poem* (London, 1695), 2, repr. in *Le Bossu and Voltaire on the Epic* (see n. 35). Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
38. Francis Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807), 2:104–05.
39. Michel de Montaigne, "Of Custom," in *The Complete Works of Montaigne: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957), 86.
40. Cibber, *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, 19–20 (see intro., n. 7); Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (1762; repr. New York: Haskell House, 1969), 1:4; Robert Dodsley, "Sir John Cockle at Court," in *Miscellanies by the late R. Dodsley, Vól. 1*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Dodsley, 1777), 83.
41. The notion of national specificity and autonomous self-sufficiency that adheres to the common law tradition is nicely evoked by Sir John Davies in his *Irish Reports* (1612), where he writes that English customary law is "so framed and fitted to the nature and disposition of this people, as we may properly say it is connatural to the Nation, so as it cannot possibly be ruled

- by any other Law. This Law therefore doth demonstrate the strength of wit and reason and self-sufficiency which hath been always in the People of this Land, which have made their own Laws out of their wisdom and experience, (like a silk-worm that formeth all her web out of her self only) not begging or borrowing a form of a Commonweal, either from Rome or from Greece, as all other Nations of Europe have done” (quoted in J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* [1957; repr. New York: W. W. Norton, 1967], 33–34).
42. John Dennis, “Remarks on . . . Prince Arthur,” in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, 1:91 (see intro., n. 34).
 43. Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Book the First (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765), 14.
 44. Charles Gildon, *The Complete Art of Poetry*, 2 vols. (London: Charles Rivington, 1718), 1:135.
 45. Nathanael Culverwel, in *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* (1652), refers to innate ideas as the “first and Alphabetical notions” that enable us to “spell out the Laws of Nature”: “There are stamp and printed upon the being of man, some cleare and undelible Principles; some first and Alphabetical notions; by putting together of which it can spell out the Law of Nature” (Nathaniel Culverwell, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*, ed. Robert A. Greene and Hugh MacCallum [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971], 54).
 46. Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, no. 156 (September 14, 1751), in *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 5, *The Rambler*, ed. W. J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969), 66.
 47. It is worth remarking, perhaps, that Gildon himself writes elsewhere, “as in Physic, so in Poetry, there must be a regard had to the Clime, Nature, and Customs of the People, for the Habits of the Mind as well as those of the Body, are influenced by them” (“An Essay at a Vindication of the Love-Verses of Cowley and Waller” [1694], in *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century 1700–1725*, ed. Willard Durham [1915; repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961], 4). Here, the diversity of cultures (of literatures) is in fact produced, in part, by the diversities of nature, including those of climate. So, even for Gildon, the notion of “uniformity” across ages and nations is an extreme position.
 48. John Dennis, “The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry,” in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, 1:202 (see intro., n. 34).
 49. John Dennis, “Remarks on . . . Prince Arthur,” 1:96. Subsequent references to this work are provided in the text.
 50. John Dennis, “The Impartial Critick,” in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, 1:11. Subsequent references to this work are provided in the text.
 51. Sir William Davenant, “Preface to *Gondibert*,” in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn, 3 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 2:20.
 52. John Dryden, *All for Love*, ed. David M. Vieth (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 17.

53. Samuel Butler, "Upon Critics Who Judge of Modern Plays Precisely by the Rules of the Antients," in *Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose*, ed. René Lamar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 61.
54. [Elkanah Settle], *A Farther Defence of Dramatick Poetry* (London: Eliz. Whitlock, 1698), 28.
55. When Saul Bellow asserts, "Who is the Tolstoy of the Zulus? The Proust of the Papuans? I'd be glad to read them" (quoted in Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/ Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988], 256), he suggests a conditional claim along these lines: show me the African Tolstoy, *then* I will recognize the claims of African literature. Across the long eighteenth century, English-language writers understand that a similar demand directed by the French at English drama can only be satisfied if the claims of English literature are *first* accorded a measure of respect; otherwise, the demand will always only turn up a series of barbarian failures, including most of all that of Shakespeare. If Bellow understood better the historical dynamics through which European cultures achieved recognition, especially the English-language tradition in which he writes, he might be less inclined to pose as a kind of grand inquisitor of the claims of non-European cultures.
56. George Farquhar, "A Discourse upon Comedy, in Reference to the English Stage. In a Letter to a Friend," in *Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays*, ed. Scott Elledge, 2 vols. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1961), 1:85. Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
57. John Hayward, ed., *The Letters of Saint Evremond* (London: Routledge, 1930), 163–64.
58. Colley Cibber, *The Careless Husband*, ed. William W. Appleton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), epilogue, lines 2–3. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
59. *Monsieur Bossu's Treatise of the Epick Poem*, 18 (see n. 37).
60. Pope, "Essay on Criticism," in *Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. Butt, lines 711–22 (see intro., n. 7). Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
61. John Dryden, Prologue to *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 10, *Plays: The Tempest, Tyrannick Love, An Evening's Love*, ed. Maximillian E. Novak (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), lines 5–8 (italics reversed).
62. John Dryden, Preface to *Albion and Albanus*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 15, *Plays: Albion and Albanus, Don Sebastian, Amphitryon*, ed. Earl Miner (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 4–5.
63. I have discussed Farquhar earlier; Sir Richard Blackmore, in the preface to his *Paraphrase on the Book of Job* (1700), disputes in very similar terms the authority granted to Homer and Virgil as models of what epic poetry must be: "But upon what Authority is this imposed on the *World*? What *Commission* had these two *Poets* to settle the *limits* and *extent* of *Epick Poetry*, or who can prove they ever intended to do so? . . . 'Tis therefore to be wish'd

- that some *good Genius, qualify'd* for such an *Undertaking*, would break the *Ice*, assert the *Liberty of Poetry*, and set up for an *Original in Writing* in a way accommodated to the *Religion, Manners*, and other *Circumstances* we are now under” (quoted in David Womersley, ed., *Augustan Critical Writing* [London: Penguin, 1997], xxii–xxiii).
64. *Advertisements from Parnassus* (1704), quoted in Paul Spencer Wood, “The Opposition to Neo-Classicism in England between 1660 and 1700,” *PMLA* 43 (1928): 193. Otway assumes the place occupied by Tasso in the original version of this story.
 65. Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones A Foundling*, intro. Martin C. Battestin, ed. Fredson Bowers, 2 vols. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 1:77–78 (bk. 2, chap. 1).
 66. Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto, A Gothic Story*, ed. W. S. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 12. Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
 67. Goldsmith, *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*, 294 (see chap. 2, n. 28). Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
 68. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. Anne M. Cohler et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 315. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
 69. Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, 1:15 (see n. 40). Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
 70. Henry Boyd, trans., *The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri*, 3 vols. (London: T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1802), 1:1–2. One might compare the opening part of Boyd’s statement quoted in the text with the assertion of one of John Dennis’s characters in *The Impartial Critick* (1693): “the Authority of Aristotle avails little with me, against irrefutable Experience” (*The Critical Works of John Dennis*, 1:21 [see intro., n. 34]). After more than a century of reiteration, the appeal from Aristotle to “Nature” or to actual literary “Experience” might indeed be said to have “grown familiar.”
 71. Leslie Stephen, *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1904; repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1962), 2. Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
 72. Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 142.
 73. John Dryden, “Dedication of the Aeneis,” in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 5, *Poems: The Works of Virgil in English 1697*, ed. William Frost and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 267–341. References to this work will be provided in the text.
 74. Prior, Preface to *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*, in *Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, 1:309 (see intro., n. 33).
 75. Edward Young, “A Discourse on Lyric Poetry” (1728), in *The Complete Works, Poetry and Prose, of the Rev. Edward Young*, 2 vols. (London: William Tegg and Co., 1854), 1:419.

76. Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, ed. F. B. Kaye, 2 vols. (1924; repr. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1988), 2:297.
77. [George Lyttelton], "An Epistle to Mr. Pope. From Rome, 1730," in *A Collection of Poems in Six Volumes. By several Hands* (London: J. Dodsley, 1775), 2:37–38.
78. James Thomson, *The Seasons*, ed. James Sambrook (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), "Autumn," line 22.
79. Joseph Addison, "A Discourse of Ancient and Modern Learning," in *The Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison*, ed. A. C. Guthkelch (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914), 458–59. Subsequent references to this work will be given in the text.
80. Joseph Addison, "Letter from Italy," in *The Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison* (see previous note).
81. Joseph Warton, *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (London: W. J. and J. Richardson et al., 1806), 1:4–5. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
82. Royall Tyler, Prologue to *The Contrast: A Comedy*, intro. Thomas J. McKee (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), xxxviii (original in italics).
83. Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa Jemie, and Ihechukwu Madubuike, *Toward the Decolonization of African Literature: African Fiction and Poetry and Their Critics* (1980; repr. London: KPI Limited, 1985), 172.
84. William Mason, ed., *The Poems of Gray, To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings* (York: Printed by A. Ward, 1775), 90–91.
85. Goldsmith, *The Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, 1:113 (see chap. 2, n. 28).
86. Elizabeth Montagu, *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare, compared with the Greek and French Dramatic Poets. With Some Remarks upon the Misrepresentations of Mons. de Voltaire* (1769; repr. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970), 57.
87. Nicholas Rowe, *The Tragedy of Jane Shore*, ed. Harry William Pedicord (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 9 (prologue). Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
88. Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 2:69.
89. Jonathan Swift, *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, vol. 1, *Letters 1690–1714*, ed. David Woolley (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999), 239; Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), no. 4 (April 19, 1709); Addison and Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 5 (March 6, 1711) (see chap. 1, n. 29).
90. See Mita Choudhury, "The Italian Incursions and 'English' Opera," in *Interculturalism and Resistance in the London Theater, 1660–1800*, 35–60 (see intro., n. 8). William Hogarth's very popular print "The Bad Taste of the Town" (also referred to as "Masquerades and Operas") (February 1723/24) is a notable example of this contemporary critique of the taste for Italian operas. Ronald Paulson offers an extended reading of this work in his study of Hogarth (*Hogarth*, vol. 1, *The "Modern Moral Subject" 1697–1732* [New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991], 74–90), interpreting it in

terms of Addison's privileging of an aesthetics of "common sense" in the *Spectator* and in terms of Hogarth's own aesthetic preference for "nature" or "life" over "the opera's rendition of form" (76). The nationalistic emphasis of Hogarth's engraving is noted by Paulson but is more pungently expressed in Nikolaus Pevsner's summary comment that in this work Hogarth "castigate[s] Raphael and Michelangelo together with Italian opera for the neglect of home-made English art, represented by the works of Shakespeare, Jonson, Dryden, Congreve, and Otway carted away on a wheelbarrow as waste-paper" (*The Englishness of English Art* [1956; repr. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1964], 26).

Addison's influence on Hogarth is clear enough, but one might also point to a more proximate antecedent in Leonard Welsted's "A Prologue occasioned by the Revival of a Play of Shakespeare" (1721), which specifically evokes a scene of Shakespeare (and English drama more generally) being ousted from public favor by "alien toys," such as French tumblers and Italian opera singers:

To low provincial Drolls, in crowds, you run,
By foreign modes and foreign nonsense won;
To see French Tumblers three long hours you sit,
And Criticks judge of capers in the Pit.

What art shall teach us to refine your joys,
And wean your sickly taste from alien toys?
For this we toil, and in our cause engage
Th'immortal Writers of an earlier age:
.....
Fond labour! antient sense must quit the field,
And Shakespear to the soft Bercelli yield:
Whence is this change in nature! one would swear
That Eunuchs were not form'd to lead the Fair. (lines 39–52)

Welsted's equation of foreign arts with castrated masculinity ("Things that are not Men" [line 56]), in contrast to traditional English "True Masculinity" (line 54), strikes a characteristic note of this discourse of cultural nationalism.

91. Richard Steele, *The Tender Husband*, ed. Callhoun Winton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 78.
92. Cf. Steele's comment in a letter of October 7, 1708 to J. Keally: "The taste for Plays is expired. We are all Operas, performed by eunuchs every way impotent to please" (*Correspondence of Richard Steele*, ed. Rae Blanchard [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941], 25). This was a particularly common element in the critique of foreign arts (as inimical to English masculine virility), as we have already seen with Welsted's "Prologue" of 1721. So, too, the author of *To the Honble Sir J____B____* (1734), referring to "French Dancers and Harlequins, . . . Effeminate Eunuchs, and Sod[omitica]l *Italians*," exclaims that English is "so debauch'd with Effeminy and *Italian*

- airs . . . [that] we daily see our Male Children . . . dwindle almost into Women” (quoted in Kathleen Wilson, “The Good, the Bad, and the Impotent: Imperialism and the Politics of Identity in Georgian England,” in *The Consumption of Culture*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer [London: Routledge, 1995], 243). Similarly, the author of *Satan’s Harvest Home* (1749) associates the Italian opera’s “*Corruption of the English stage*” with other “corruptions” of aristocratic manners, such as the “*Contagion*” of men kissing each other and their degeneration into “enervated effeminate Animal[s]” given to “unnatural Vices” (quoted in Michael McKeon, “Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660–1760,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 [1995]: 321, n. 68, 311).
93. On the logic of the mean in “neoclassical” literary culture see Edward Pechter, *Dryden’s Classical Theory of Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) and Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).
 94. The editors of *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 4, *The Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, acknowledge the inadequacy of the traditional “classic to romantic” narrative but their response is to eschew categorizing labels altogether rather than to offer a counter-narrative (“The present volume has in general sought to avoid categorisations, whether of the traditional or revisionist varieties” [xv]—the reference being to Northrop Frye’s replacement of “preromanticism” with the notion of an “age of sensibility”). But as I argued at the start of this chapter, such attempts to bury well-established narratives under a mound of silence are bound to fail. If one wants to prevent the constant return of the dead, one needs to drive a stake through its heart by offering an account that could take its place as an explanatory narrative of literary historical change across the period in question.
 95. Douglas Lane Patey, “The Institution of Criticism in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 4, *The Eighteenth Century*, 22 (see previous note). In another essay in this volume, Patey does acknowledge that French “cultural nationalism” had already reached a kind of climax in the 1670s and 1680s (“Ancients and Moderns,” 36).
 96. William Collins, “Oriental Eclogues,” in *The Works of William Collins*, ed. Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 2–3 (italics reversed).
 97. One might compare Collins’s remarks with Aphra Behn’s comment in her “epistle dedicatory” to *Oronooko* (1688): “If there be any thing that seems Romantick, I beseech your Lordship to consider, these Countries do, in all things, so far differ from ours, that they produce unconceivable Wonders; at least, they appear so to us, because New and Strange” (*The Works of Aphra Behn*, vol. 3, *The Fair Jilt and Other Short Stories*, ed. Janet Todd [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995], 56 [original in italics]).
 98. Hugh Blair, “Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian,” in *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh

- University Press, 1988), 345. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
99. In his *History of English Poetry* (1781), Thomas Warton is able to quote with approval Hobbes's dictum that, "In a good poem both judgment and fancy are required; but the fancy must be more eminent, because they please for the EXTRAVAGANCY, but ought not to displease by INDISCRETION" (quoted in Earl Wasserman, *Elizabethan Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1947], 231).
 100. Richard Hurd, *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, intro. Hoyt Trowbridge (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1963), 63. Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text.
 101. Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole*, 121 (see n. 9). See, e.g., such important works as Walter Jackson Bate's *From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), Norman Maclean's "From Action to Image: Theories of the Lyric in the Eighteenth Century," in *Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern*, ed. R. S. Crane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), M. H. Abrams's *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), and René Wellek's *A History of Modern Criticism 1750–1950*, vol. 1, *The Later Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1955). But the narrative logic I am discussing is so pervasive as to be found almost anywhere.
 102. Thus, e.g., regarding Henry Mackenzie's description of Robert Burns as a "Heaven-taught ploughman" in his famous review of the latter's poems in 1786, Robert Crawford notes: "his discussion of natural literary genius is of a piece with the view of genius put forward by [Hugh] Blair and other eighteenth-century teachers of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and dates back at least to the seventeenth-century *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote* (1674) by René Rapin, who writes of a poet's 'elevation of Soul that depends not on Art or Study, and which is purely a Gift of Heaven, and must be sustain'd by a lively Sence and Vivacity' " ("Robert Fergusson's Robert Burns," in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. Robert Crawford [1996; repr. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997], 2). (One might, indeed, trace this view back to Bede's description of Caedmon.) Likewise, regarding the twin principles of "historical" criticism—that in interpreting a work we must place it within the cultural context of its own age, and that in evaluating it we must attend to the literary conventions and expectations that prevailed when it was written—Hoyt Trowbridge remarks that neither of these ideas "was at all novel" in the hands of the Wartons and others in the late eighteenth century: "Wellek, Wasserman, and Wimsatt and Brooks [have shown] that similar statements were made by sixteenth-century Italian defenders of Ariosto, by Chapelain and Dryden in the seventeenth century, and by Hughes, Upton, and other commentators on Shakespeare, Spenser, and Ben Jonson in the eighteenth century. The same slogans were applied to Hebrew poetry by Lowth, to Homer by Blackwell and Wood, and to the

- Greeks and Romans generally by Gibbon, but the finest statement of these ideas, as well as their most impressive exemplification in practice, was probably the preface and notes of Dr. Johnson's edition of Shakespeare (1765)" (Hurd, *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, intro. Trowbridge, iv–v [see n. 100]).
103. See, e.g., the important work of Edward Pechter on Dryden's criticism (n. 93), and Emerson R. Marks's studies of neoclassical criticism, *Relativist and Absolutist: The Early Neoclassical Debate in England* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955) and *The Poetics of Reason: English Neoclassical Criticism* (New York: Random House, 1968).
 104. With regard to this point, and the more general issue at stake in this section of the chapter, see Ralph Cohen, "Some Thoughts on the Problems of Literary Change 1750–1800," *Dispositio* 4 (1979): 145–62; A. D. Harvey, "Neo-classicism and Romanticism in Historical Context," in his *Literature into History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 125–70; Clifford Siskin, *The Historicity of Romantic Discourse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Robert J. Griffin, "The Eighteenth-Century Construction of Romanticism: Thomas Warton and the Pleasures of Melancholy," *ELH* 59 (1992): 799–815; Griffin, *Wordsworth's Pope: A Study of Literary Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); David Fairer, "Historical Criticism and the English Canon: A Spenserian Dispute of the 1750s," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 24 (2000): 43–64; and Terry, "Classicists and Gothicists: The Division of the Estate," in *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past 1660–1781*, 286–323 (see chap. 1, n. 18). As Griffin states in his 1992 essay, what we need to understand is "not how mirror became lamp, but how this particular episode of literary history came to be constructed in that way" (802).
 105. John Keats, "Sleep and Poetry," in *The Oxford Authors: John Keats*, ed. Eleanor Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), line 181.
 106. Wasserman, *Elizabethan Poetry in the Eighteenth Century*, 35 (see n. 99). Subsequent references to this work will be provided in the text. (More recently, Margaret Anne Doody's *The Daring Muse: Augustan Poetry Reconsidered* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985] implicitly develops certain continuities between Elizabethan and Augustan poetry by reexamining the characteristics of the latter poetic mode.)
 107. R. S. Crane has sought to preserve some of this sense of things in his essays on the history of criticism in the eighteenth century. He refers to "a more or less common framework of characteristic fundamental terms and distinctions which critics throughout the period, for all their disagreements on points of doctrine or appreciation, found it natural to utilize in the statement of their questions and the justification of their answers" ("On Writing the History of Criticism in England 1650–1800," in *The Idea of the Humanities and Other Essays*, 2 vols. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967], 2:167). Crane's account of "neoclassical" criticism is an important contribution to my own understanding of "critical pluralism," but his larger narrative of a shift from this "neoclassical" criticism to

“romantic” aesthetics reinstalls the traditional narrative of a linear shift from one set of critical concerns to another new one. We are left with the familiar narrative of a movement from classic to romantic, even though Crane has usefully reinterpreted what the basic characteristics of this “classic” critical mode were.

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