

HENRY MACKENZIE: A FORERUNNER OF NINETEENTH-
CENTURY ENGLISH ROMANTICISM

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PREFACE

The rise of nineteenth-century romanticism was so gradual and exhibited so many phases that a specific date of its inception is nearly impossible to attain. Most critics of the romantic era are, however, prone to believe that the fundamental characteristics of this literary movement are to be found in the roots of sentimentalism that permeated the eighteenth-century mode of rhetorical expression. The task of modern scholarship, then, becomes a universal one in that literary parallels between romanticism and sentimentalism must be established. After a careful examination of each of these literary movements, one may enumerate the common characteristics of both sentimentalism and romanticism as being a profound emphasis upon individualism, nature-worship, simplicity in life, and the attraction to the morbid and melancholic aspects of life.

It is not enough for the interested critic of romanticism merely to assert, as does Sypher, that the primary features of eighteenth-century sentimentalism gave vent to the latter-day romantic movement. Nor is it enough for one to conclude that, simply because parallels between the movements exist, sentimentalism and romanticism are literary trends dependent upon one another. Thorough and intellectual literary investigation demands a much higher degree of proof than mere speculation. Consequently, the real validity of the

relationship between these two closely constructed movements lies with the critic's ability to correlate the most important comparisons of the genres and to relate them to specific literary works of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries.

One of the more significant writers of eighteenth-century sentimentalism who foreshadowed the future romantic trend in literature was Henry Mackenzie, an eighteenth-century Scottish writer who became an accomplished artist as far as the combination of the best features of both sentimentalism and romanticism are concerned. Through the pen of Mackenzie, sentimental, as well as romantic tendencies in literature flourished. Mackenzie, being a highly ambitious author, attempted to write in all of the literary genres of his day; therefore, because of his diverse rhetorical interests, romanticism invaded nearly all forms of eighteenth-century literature.

Subsequently, after the most obvious basic parallels between sentimentalism and romanticism have been clearly defined and established, the author of this research study discusses the extent to which each of these parallels is employed by Mackenzie in his endeavors in the leading eighteenth-century genres, namely, the novel, the prose essay, the drama, and the poetry. The influence of Mackenzie upon romanticism in each of these genres is discussed in terms of its importance and significance, and not necessarily in terms of its chronological order.

Deep gratitude is expressed to Dr. June Morgan for her aid in formulating this topic, as well as for her scholarly advice, her thorough criticism, and her patience in directing the present study. Sincere appreciation is also expressed to Dr. Charles E. Walton for his intelligent reading, his constructive comments, and his understanding.

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CHAPTER I

A DETAILED INVESTIGATION OF THE PARALLELS BETWEEN ROMANTICISM AND SENTIMENTALISM AS THEY WERE EMPLOYED BY HENRY MACKENZIE

Romanticism is believed to have received its inception with the publication of Lyrical Ballads by William Wordsworth in 1800.¹ Traditionally, the romantic movement was instigated as an effective means of weakening the strength of the "rationalistic tendencies" that were prevalent in the Enlightenment era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² Many scholars have aspired to formulate a workable definition of romanticism, but to no avail. Romanticism is a vague and nebulous term that can be defined only in terms of its tendencies or characteristics, and not in terms of actual, rigid definition. At the close of the eighteenth century, romanticism employed a new method "of expression" in relation to "many areas of human interest."³ For the first time in the history of literature,

¹George Benjamin Woods (ed.), English Poetry and Prose of the Romantic Movement, p. 343.

²Bruce Wilshire (ed.), Romanticism and Evolution, p. 9.

³Paul Kaufman, "Defining Romanticism: A Survey and a Program," MLN, XL (April, 1925), p. 193.

the common man and his search for a place in society became the main concern of writers; therefore, a sense of person "freedom" associated with an intense yearning for individualism developed as the essential attributes of romanticism.⁴ In order to accomplish this feat, writers had to abandon the somewhat antiquated features of traditional literature and carefully integrate new concepts or characteristics of expression into the mainstream of literary endeavors.⁵ The most obvious of these characteristics was the common acceptance of "imagination over reason," a concept that became, in effect, a complete and adequate negation of the predominant views expounded by the writers of the Age of Reason.⁶ In conjunction with the idea that imagination was superior to reason, the romantic writers became dependent upon those "sentimental contemplations" that authentically illustrated the way of thinking of many of the eighteenth-century forerunners of romanticism.⁷ These attitudes of sentimentalism and emotionalism that were incorporated into the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century romantic thinking, in turn, immediately gave vent

⁴Wilshire, op. cit., p. 9.

⁵Earl R. Wasserman, "Nature Moralized: The Divine Analogy in the Eighteenth Century," ELH, XX (March, 1953), p. 40.

⁶Woods, op. cit., p. ix.

⁷Loc. cit.

to a "return to nature" concept that became a second major feature of romanticism.⁸ This feeling of the need to restore nature to its rightful position as the teacher of man evoked a third major consideration of romanticism that became the tendency both for establishing an " . . . emotional sympathy with the humble life and an idealization of it."⁹ Thus, the rustic, humble life and associated activities were glorified through the written word. These three main features of romanticism naturally led to the extolling of sentimental "pleasures of melancholy" regarding death and the idea of a romantic eternity.¹⁰ Romanticism, then, implied an attitude of mind permitting " . . . a withdrawal from outer experience in order to concentrate on inner experience."¹¹ Consequently, since its scope at the close of the eighteenth century " . . . was not one of action, but one of feeling," content, rather than form, was stressed by these writers. Furthermore, with the idea in mind that imaginative responses could be "elicited" quite effectively in incomplete grammatical structures, romantic writers consistently began to "allude obliquely" to the

⁸Woods, op. cit., p. ix.

⁹Ibid., p. xii.

¹⁰Ibid., p. xiv.

¹¹Lexcelles Abercrombie, Romanticism, p. 51.

fragment as another romantic trait.¹² Finally, however, the main-spring of romanticism was identified when a man could say " . . . life is thus, but thus I will not have it. Standing on the intolerable reality, I recreate."¹³ Thus, romanticism became a new way of life. These features of romanticism were, of course, discernible in the works of such great romantic writers as Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Coleridge, and Byron; however, recent literary scholarship has emphasized the fact that traces of the romantic movement appeared even as early as the eighteenth century. Accordingly, Barzum maintains that the romantic movement was founded upon the works of the eighteenth-century poets, Burns and Blake.¹⁴ However, others believe that early sources of romanticism may be detected in the works of the sentimental writers of the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Abrams maintains that Wordsworth, the earliest and most important of the founding poets of romanticism, " . . . was more thoroughly immersed in certain currents of eighteenth-century thinking than any

¹²D. F. Rauber, "The Fragment as Romantic Form," MLQ, XXX (June, 1969), p. 212.

¹³Jacques Barzum, Classic, Romantic, and Modern, p. 11.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁵James L. Clifford, Man Versus Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain, p. vii.

of his contemporaries."¹⁶ Wordsworth, too, stressed imagination over reason, and sought to elevate the common, ordinary man through verse.¹⁷ Wordsworth succeeded in elaborating upon and qualifying the doctrines of individualism and romantic sentimentalism that the eighteenth-century forerunners of romanticism had formulated. For these reasons, in a penetrating study of the eighteenth-century writer and his feelings of sensibility, Sypher concludes that ". . . the era ended with manifestations of what is commonly called romanticism."¹⁸ Therefore, one sees the necessity of correlating the major attributes of romanticism to the sentimental movement of the eighteenth century and of relating these romantic tendencies to the leading literary genres of the eighteenth century, namely, the drama, poetry, fiction and prose essay. Once he has established a valid relationship between these two literary movements, he must show that these basic parallels of sentimentalism and romanticism were employed by Henry Mackenzie, a major proponent of eighteenth-century sentimentalism, and, hence, an important forerunner of the romantic movement in English literature. Before reaching any conclusion concerning the

¹⁶Meyer Howard Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and Critical Tradition, p. 103.

¹⁷Abrams, op. cit., p. 103.

¹⁸Wylie Sypher, Enlightened England, p. 5.

close relationship between Mackenzie and romanticism, one must carefully consider the circumstances surrounding the evolution of eighteenth-century sentimentalism, as several parallels between these two closely related movements may be drawn.

The first problem confronting the scholar is that of definition. As has already been stated, the labels romanticism and sentimentalism connote an overwhelming vagueness that can be clarified only in terms of the particular concepts relating to the movements. Perhaps the eighteenth century, more than any other period in English literature, has suffered "at the hands of labelers."¹⁹ Although it was heralded as "The Age of Reason," "The Age of Elegance," "The Neo-Classical Age," and identified as the age of "The Enlightenment," all of these terms seem to be appropriate. However, one suggests that they give false impressions of uninformed and cohesiveness actually not present in the eighteenth century. Scholars have become more skeptical about the validity of such labels, since increasing factual knowledge and critical study have created a deeper awareness of the complex controversies of this historical period.²⁰ According to Allen, the English writers were no longer ". . . relying

¹⁹Clifford, op. cit., p. vii.

²⁰Loc. cit.

upon the body of commonly held assumptions about man, God, and society," that, for so long a time, had been their main concern.

Instead, they were stressing the "paramount importance not of reason but of emotion."²¹ Novelists became more and more dependent upon

the attributes of "sensibility," which they defined as the "power of the organs of sense."²² As a result of their inability clearly to define

these abstract terms, three closely related concepts, "benevolence, sensibility, and sentiment," became the catchwords of the century.²³

Thus, one can clearly see that such attitudes as those of sentiment and emotion that were prevalent in the romantic era were also quite dominant in the forerunning romantic literary movement of sentimentalism.

Another parallel between sentimentalism and romanticism is related to the return to nature concept. Along with this literary glorification of nature, writers tended to exalt the common man and the ordinary events of life. According to Steeves, ". . . sentiment means consciousness of feeling."²⁴ This theory is further elevated

²¹Walter Allen, The English Novel, p. 84.

²²Loc. cit.

²³R. W. Babcock, "Benevolence, Sensitivity, and Sentiment in Some Eighteenth-Century Periodicals," MLN, LXII (June, 1947), p. 394.

²⁴Harrison Steeves, Before Jane Austin, p. 160.

by Nethercot when he explains that the new age of sentimentalism ". . . loved the thing out of the ordinary walks of life so long as absolute obscurity did not result."²⁵ The writers of the eighteenth-century no longer stressed the evil and "antiquated construction" of what their predecessors had termed a "ruggedness" in nature. Rather, in a discussion of nature in the eighteenth century, Sypher equates nature with the art and attributes the qualities of "beauty, sublimity, and picturesqueness" to both of these areas.²⁶ All of these characteristics were dealt with by the literary landscape artists of the eighteenth century. Thus, "manifestations" of God were made apparent through the devout and sincere treatment of nature during the eighteenth century.²⁷

With this new devotion to nature came an increased intensity for the treatment of humanity. Sentiments were generally associated with "social feelings," and mankind was united through benevolence to a greater degree than it had ever before been.²⁸ Steeves maintains

²⁵Arthur H. Nethercot, "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Johnson and the 'Romantic Revival,'" SP, XXII (January, 1925), p. 130.

²⁶Sypher, op. cit., p. 29.

²⁷Loc. cit.

²⁸Steeves, op. cit., p. 160.

that the sentimental novels of the eighteenth century, for several reasons, were more popular with women readers than with men.²⁹

He asserts that eighteenth-century sentimentalism appealed to women more readily than it did to men for the simple reason that the "tender" feminine natures were more susceptible to emotional display than were the "rugged" masculine natures.³⁰ In the same vein, Sypher comments that ". . . paradoxically enough, the age of reason was likewise the age of feeling."³¹ Sypher argues that the sentimental movement became a humanistic one in that the public "pitied" and glorified the more benevolent people in life to the extent that it soon began

. . . to embrace, with complacency, the fallen woman, the debtor and beggar, the drunkard, the slave, the imprisoned and orphaned, the insane, the peasant, and even beasts slaughtered for the table.³²

Thus, tears became an important attribute of sentimentalism. Sherbo explains these authors' frequent use of tears by stating that the sentimental response to tears was ". . . something peculiar to men and women of birth and culture."³³ Furthermore, he asserts that the

²⁹Ibid., p. 161.

³⁰Loc. cit.

³¹Sypher, op. cit., p. 23.

³²Ibid., p. 24.

³³Arthur Sherbo, English Sentimental Drama, p. 9.

frequent employment of tears was ". . . solicited for the spectacle of the sufferings of the soul and admiration for the virtuous."³⁴ Consequently, the idea of "essential goodness or perfection of human nature" that permeated the romantic movement was also evident in the sentimental movement.

Subsequently, the belief in the natural goodness of man, as well as in the consequent desirability of giving free play to the emotions, led to a feeling of melancholy that invaded all forms of writing. The ". . . tone and vocabulary of the sentimental writers became more gloomy" in the latter part of the eighteenth century.³⁵ The new prose sentence structure consisted of the use of verbs to perpetuate a "dramatic confrontation" of life.³⁶ The eighteenth-century "graveyard" poets, such as Young and Blair, relished the gloomy moods, and Thomas Gray, the creator of many melancholic odes, became not only a leading sentimental proponent, but "one of the chief precursors of Romanticism," as well.³⁷ Gray, however, was not the only poet in England to live under a "malady" of depression.

³⁴Ibid., p. 13.

³⁵Josephine Miles, "The Romantic Mode in Poetry," ELH, (March, 1953), p. 30.

³⁶Loc. cit.

³⁷Nethercot, op. cit., p. 95.

Nor was this characteristic of sentimentalism unique to the English writers. Sypher validates the universality of the eighteenth-century gloomy literary atmosphere in the following passage:

. . . When the French wanted to spend what they called an English morning, they shut themselves into the deepest shade of their garden to enjoy what Wordsworth later called "that sweet mood when pleasant thoughts bring sad thoughts to the mind"; and Voltaire jested about the "dark November days when the English hang themselves."³⁸

Consequently, Sypher attests to the universality of depression in the eighteenth century, and in the following centuries, as well.

Even though certain parallels may be drawn between sentimentalism and romanticism, there still remains the task of showing the manner in which these similar literary characteristics are employed in the leading literary genres of their time. In order to accomplish this feat, one must carefully examine the works of a writer that made extensive use of both sentimentalism and romanticism within his time. Such a man was Henry Mackenzie, the most distinguished exponent of sentimentalism, and, consequently, one of the foremost instigators of romanticism of the following century. Mackenzie was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1745.³⁹ Since his

³⁸Sypher, op. cit., p. 25.

³⁹Francis Espinasse, Dictionary of National Biography, XII, 594.

father was a notable physician and his mother was of aristocratic birth, he did not consider himself a common Scottish individual. For the most part, his career has been generally disregarded by literary scholars of the eighteenth-century; however, it must not be slighted. On the contrary, his involvement with the people and customs of his times provides scholars with an insight into the era in which he lived.

Thompson, in his novel compilation of Mackenzie's Anecdotes and Egotisms, discussed the accomplishments of this Scottish writer in the following manner:

. . . he [Mackenzie] served as literary page to the coterie of David Hume; became the most popular novelist of a decade; wrote the best periodicals and short tales of his century in Scotland; was the first important man of letters to greet the genius of Robert Burns; played a leading part in the stormy days of Revolution; started the career of Sir Walter Scott; gave the first encouragement to Byron; saw the rise of the Edinburgh Review and Blackwoods; and lived to be Nestor of Scottish letters, hailed by Whig and Tory as Ultimus Scotorum.⁴⁰

In 1765, Mackenzie became involved in the law profession, and, as was the custom of all young aspirants of the Scottish Exchequer practice, went to the London of Johnson, Garrick, and Goldsmith to complete his studies.⁴¹ He returned to Edinburgh three years later with some notes

⁴⁰Harold William Thompson, The Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831, p. 135.

⁴¹Ibid., p. xvii.

that he had made of his stay in London concerning a lonely " . . . sad boy who went to London for the reason of obtaining a lease to some crown lands," and who, upon returning to his native home " . . . was kind to beggars and servants, and loved an heiress above his own station, and died."⁴² Written in book form, these notes were not literarily conducive to form a very substantial plot for a novel. Nevertheless, Mackenzie was established in his literary career when he published, in 1771, his notes under the title of The Man of Feeling.⁴³ Even though the novel was regarded as whimsical and rather lackadaisical because of its great amount of sensibility, it provided, for Mackenzie, a literary permanence that would secure for him popularity and esteem among the learned circles of Britain and Scotland. It also bestowed upon him the title of "the man of feeling" for the rest of his life. This novel was soon followed by The Man of the World, in 1773, and by Julia de Roubigne, in 1777. In 1773, Mackenzie published a romantic tragedy in play form entitled The Prince of Tunis, and he had already tried his hand at writing poetry; therefore, in his sentimental style, he had invaded nearly all important literary genres of the day. All of the works by Mackenzie cited above, however, were

⁴²Ibid., p. xx.

⁴³Robert Morse Lovett and Helen Hughes (eds.), The History of the Novel in England, p. 135.

relatively unsuccessful as far as public sentiment and literary value were concerned. Consequently, many scholars are inclined to believe that the real merit and strength of Mackenzie's literary contribution to sentimentalism, as well as to romanticism, lies in his writing of the periodic essay.⁴⁴

During the time of his writing, Mackenzie belonged to a literary circle in Scotland known as the Mirror Club.⁴⁵ At Mackenzie's suggestion, and under his general editorship, this group of men established a weekly periodical modeled after The Spectator and entitled The Mirror. This magazine was the first Scottish periodical of its kind and appeared weekly from January, 1779, to May, 1789.⁴⁶ Five years later, this same group of men published, under the editorship of Mackenzie, a second periodical of its kind entitled The Lounger, that circulated from February, 1785, to January, 1787.⁴⁷ It is chiefly through his work as a publisher of these periodic essays that Mackenzie's influence upon romanticism may be traced.

Foerster justifies Mackenzie's affiliation with the romanticism of the nineteenth century by explaining that Scottish

⁴⁴Thompson, op. cit., p. xxi.

⁴⁵Loc. cit.

⁴⁶Loc. cit.

⁴⁷Loc. cit.

literature, in Mackenzie's day, was involved in a period of "transition," coinciding with the social and political reforms that were taking place at the same time.⁴⁸ The literature was moving toward a more subjective method of expression that was to ". . . aid immensurably in establishing the new age of criticism of the age of Wordsworth."⁴⁹ Mackenzie, however, was not the only writer in Scotland to break away from the neo-classical tradition of style in literature. Sir Walter Scott, a trusted friend of Mackenzie and the person responsible for tagging Mackenzie with the title of the "Scottish Addison," also introduced romantic tendencies into literature.⁵⁰ It was, in fact, Mackenzie's influence that caused Scott to become a writer in the first place, and it was to Scott, as well as to Mackenzie's own son, Lord Mackenzie, that Mackenzie left his unfinished manuscript of Anecdotes at his death in 1831.⁵¹ This manuscript was left unpublished; however, the mere fact that Mackenzie bequeathed it to Scott binds him not only to a fellow Scottish writer, but to a forerunner of romanticism as well.

⁴⁸Donald M. Foerster, "Scottish Primitivism and the Historical Approach," PQ, XXIX (July, 1950), 323.

⁴⁹Loc. cit.

⁵⁰Thompson, op. cit., p. xiii.

⁵¹Loc. cit.

By concentrating wholeheartedly upon conveying genuine messages to his readers, Mackenzie dropped the social facade of his sentimentalism and depended solely upon the elements of romanticism to carry his words through to his public.⁵² In order, then, rightly to establish Mackenzie in the position of eighteenth-century forerunner to the romantic movement in English literature, one must briefly trace the romantic elements in each of the literary genres with which Mackenzie was concerned; therefore, one will consider Mackenzie in relation to the particular literary forms of the fiction, the essay, the drama, and the poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁵²Ibid., p. xxi.

CHAPTER II

MACKENZIE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RISE OF ROMANTICISM THROUGH HIS EIGHTEENTH- CENTURY NOVELS

Perhaps, the most profound influence of Mackenzie upon the beginning of the romantic movement in England may be seen through his contribution to the eighteenth-century novel, a literary genre which, in Mackenzie's time, was primarily coming of age. Even though scholars have continuously debated about the "origins and antecedents" of the English novel, all tend to agree that it "first developed as a modern genre in the eighteenth century."⁵³ In addition to the collective acceptance of the theory that the novel sprang to life in the eighteenth century, scholars also agree that the five leading novelists of the day who were responsible, in large part, for molding the sentimental novel into what later could be called the romantic novel were Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne.⁵⁴ Along with a group of less significant authors who were vitally interested in accelerating the genre of the eighteenth-century novel, these five major

⁵³Robert Donald Spector, Essay on the Eighteenth Century Novel, p. vii.

⁵⁴Loc. cit.

writers aspired to elevate the dramatic form of the novel through their fundamental expression of it. The novelists of the day were extremely concerned with presenting a very cogent and lucid picture of life as it really was. In essence, through their novels, they were laying the foundations for the romantic movement of the following century by employing the particular literary features which later became the major aspects of romanticism. The romantic writers relied very heavily upon those segments of sentimentalism that served as guidelines for the sentimental novelists. The important characteristics of romanticism, such as the need for stressing imagination over reason, the wish to extol the melancholic aspects of life, the desire to exalt the simple life of the ordinary man, and the common understanding of expressing oneself through the use of the romantic fragment, were stock features of the early romantic movement in the eighteenth century. Greater understanding of the distinctive traits of romanticism may be gleaned from a careful examination of the leading sentimental features that existed at the time in which the romantic concept of literature was formulated.

Modern scholars have given much thought to the origin and subsequent evolution of sentimentalism and romanticism insofar as the eighteenth-century novel is concerned. They appear to be in accordance with the idea that the novel in this era was becoming a "debased literary genre" incapable of producing "any marked degree of

excellence."⁵⁵ Accordingly, Sherbo writes of sentimental literature:

It is artificial; it exaggerates and distorts human nature and emotions; and it is conceived in terms of a view of life which is absolutely inconsistent with reality.⁵⁶

He does concede, however, that many sentimental novels were popular and he states that ". . . one cannot ignore the real fact that the genre was taken seriously."⁵⁷ Here, Sherbo summarizes the entire situation. Sentimentalism was taken quite seriously by the literary scholar, as well as by the average reader, of the day. It was regarded as a major literary movement of the eighteenth century. The doctrine of sentimentalism dispensed with reason, and ". . . insisted on the fundamental importance of feeling and innate ideas."⁵⁸ Sentimentalism was a humanistic movement that instigated such humanitarian reforms as improving the conditions of ". . . the poor, the prisoner, the slave, and the insane."⁵⁹ Thus, sentimentalism became a "return to nature" movement while at the same time, both the real and make-believe aspects of social life, and, ultimately, the essence of sentimentalism

⁵⁵Sherbo, op. cit., p. vii.

⁵⁶Loc. cit.

⁵⁷Loc. cit.

⁵⁸Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 133.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 134.

became a glowing tribute to the glorification of the sentimental or benevolent feelings of all eighteenth-century men.⁶⁰ These essential features of sentimentalism later became the major attributes of nineteenth-century romanticism, as well as the guidelines to the eighteenth-century novelists.

The English novel of sensibility which, in turn, gave vent to the later romantic novel, was introduced by Samuel Richardson with the publication of his Pamela in 1740.⁶¹ Baker quickly adds, however, that to Richardson, sensibility was merely an inner identification of himself and of his major literary characters; therefore, it was used by him only as a means to "inculcate prudence and self-control."⁶² Not all writers believe, moreover, that the sentimental novel was originally created by Richardson. Sherbo maintains that traces of sentimentalism can be seen as far back as the early morality plays in England.⁶³ On the basis of this belief, it is even possible to consider the beginning of sentimentalism in the popular early religious cycles. Some scholars have remarked that dramatic treatments of the "Prodigal Son" theme possess characteristics of sentimentalism.⁶⁴

⁶⁰Loc. cit.

⁶¹Ernest A. Baker, The History of the English Novel, p. 96.

⁶²Loc. cit.

⁶³Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 135.

⁶⁴Sherbo, op. cit., p. 17.

It is not an especially difficult task to equate the "Prodigal son with the repentant rake" who is a very constant and familiar character in sentimental fiction. Sherbo asserts that, for the reader, sentimental response ". . . is greater when the spectator identifies himself with a character who bears a name and surname like his own."⁶⁵ In other words, when the sentimental character represents "Everyman" or "Mankind," he will become more popular with his readers.

Richardson's literary characters failed to achieve this very important distinction of sentimentalism, because the author's use of sensibility never extended beyond the realm of his own identity. It remained, then, the task of writers following Richardson to mold sensibility into a genre of national prominence and interest.⁶⁶ Sterne later developed his widely imitated skill of manipulating time and atmosphere through the concept of a disjointed narrative and the use of fragments in his Sentimental Journey and, of course, Tristram Shandy: however, the essential qualities of sentimentalism were not fully established in literature until they were incorporated into Henry Mackenzie's highly successful novel of sentimentalism, The Man of Feeling.⁶⁷

A popular literary writer from Edinburgh, this

⁶⁵Loc. cit.

⁶⁶Baker, op. cit., p. 96.

⁶⁷Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 133.

eighteenth-century man of feeling embodies the best characteristics of both sentimentalism and romanticism within his novels. Scottish criticism, in Mackenzie's time, was fluctuating, so to speak, in a transitional manner from the "objectivism" of the formalistic type of writing to the more sentimental method of expression that, ultimately, led to the establishment of the new criticism of the age of Wordsworth.⁶⁸ This trend for the novel to become "increasingly sentimental or romantic" became, for Mackenzie, a style of writing in which he could personally excel.⁶⁹ Perhaps, Mackenzie was not the only Scottish writer who felt that the decline, temporarily, of the novel was not necessarily a tragic one, for his friend and contemporary, Sir Walter Scott, also defended what was commonly referred to as the "trash and rubbish" type of writing that characterized the sentimental fiction of the day.⁷⁰ Because Scott was the only pre-romantic writer who could accurately observe life in concrete rather than abstract terms, he demanded more of the fiction of his era than many other writers did; therefore, one is surprised to learn that he so highly

⁶⁸Foerster, op. cit., p. 323.

⁶⁹Ernest Bernbaum, "Recent Works on Prose Fiction before 1800," MLN, LV (January, 1940), 65.

⁷⁰W. F. Gallaway, Jr., "The Conservative Attitude Toward Fiction, 1770-1830," PMLA, LV (December, 1940), 1045.

praised Mackenzie's Man of Feeling.⁷¹ Even though his enthusiasm for the new trend in literature was far from genuine, Scott, nevertheless, sincerely hailed Mackenzie's novel as a creation which, in his own words, ". . . exhibits a hero constantly obedient to every emotion of his moral sense."⁷²

Mackenzie's novel was published in 1771, when he was only twenty-two years of age. He described The Man of Feeling as a real picture of his experiences in life up to that point. The book enjoyed a widespread literary appeal, and all copies had been distributed within a few months of its first publication. Scott was not the only romantic writer who applauded the book, for Robert Burns, the significant romantic poet, valued this book as his favorite "next to the Bible."⁷³ Even though the book lacks some of the essential intricacies of a good novel, nevertheless, it was the single, most important contribution to the rise of sentimentalism and to the permanent establishment of romanticism. With the publication of this book, Mackenzie demonstrated the "inevitable" Scottish sentimentalism that poured forth from Edinburgh, the city termed by Smollett the "hotbed of genius" in the

⁷¹Newman I. White, "The English Romantic Writers as Dramatists," Sewanee Review, XXX (April, 1922), 214.

⁷²Allen, op. cit., p. 88.

⁷³Henry Mackenzie, The Man of Feeling, p. vii.

eighteenth century.⁷⁴ Mackenzie published three major novels, The Man of Feeling (1771), The Man of the World (1773), and Julia de Roubigne (1777), and one may find romantic tendencies in each of these novels.

Before he began writing these novels, Mackenzie decided that their subject matter must, in some way, represent his life as well as the life of all mankind. His theme of The Man of Feeling, then, is not concerned with the fact that he hates the world, but, rather that he pities, as does his narrator, the "men of it."⁷⁵ This theme is clearly stated in the last paragraph of the novel:

I sometimes visit his grave; I sit in the hollow of the tree. It is worth a thousand homilies! every nobler feeling arises within me! every beat of my heart awakens a virtue!--but it will make you hate the world--No: there is such an air of gentleness around, that I can hate nothing; but, as to the world--I pity the men of it.⁷⁶

Thus, Mackenzie concluded his first novel, and because of the immense amount of sentimentalism in the book, established, for himself, the permanent title of the "man of feeling." His sentimental romance stresses the use of imagination over reason insofar as the narrator and

⁷⁴Thompson, op. cit., p. xvi.

⁷⁵Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 137.

⁷⁶Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 133.

his experiences are concerned.⁷⁷ The book employs the elements of sentimentalism for purely "aesthetic" ends. It became an object of ridicule for later generations, because the characters, and, especially, the hero, Harley, are excessively prone to imaginative responses. Harley represents the nobler tendencies of mankind. Throughout the portrayal of the virtuous Harley, Mackenzie is depicting an evil society set against the "innocence and uncorrupted virtue of the idyllic countryside," therefore, the book became an instant success with sentimentalists and romanticists alike for its presentation of the ordinary man in a humble, rustic setting as well as for its tedious portrayal of a philosophy that dominated the popular moral ideas of Scotland at that time.⁷⁸

The book opens as the narrator, a "sportsman," is hunting with his dog and a "curate of the fallow ground." It is a warm September day, and as the hunters are resting in the shade of a "solemn" old house, the curate discusses the "whimsical character" of "one Harley" who once lived there. The curate also speaks of a "bundle of papers" given him by Harley's landlord. When the narrator expresses a desire to see them, the curate grants the wish by producing the manuscript

⁷⁷Ronald S. Crane, "Suggestions toward a Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling'," ELH, I (December, 1939), 206.

⁷⁸Allen, op. cit., p. 88.

which he has been using as a wadding for his gun.⁷⁹ Later, when the narrator returns to town, he reads the episodes in the manuscript that relate the adventures of Harley, the man of feeling, as he travels to London. While he is gone, he is confronted by various characters who have suffered as he has, but from more immediate and cruel social abuses.⁸⁰ He aids and influences all types of people. For example, he comforts a young girl in the Bedlan asylum who was "crazed" by her father's insistence on her marrying a fortune and, thus, denouncing her true love. He once restores a prostitute to a father, who, having himself been a "freethinker" must also share the blame for her downfall. In addition to providing aid to the romantically inclined, he also befriends a "crippled and discharged veteran" who is now a "ruined tenant-farmer." One recalls that nearly all of these characters had been previously typed by Smollett, Sterne, and earlier writers; however, Mackenzie presents these figures in a "fresh and enlightened" manner.⁸¹ In dealing with all of these people, Harley displays unique insight and wisdom surpassing that of ordinary man. Only when it comes to regarding his own interests, is he impractical. In love, his

⁷⁹Edmund Blunden, Votive Tablets, p. 187.

⁸⁰Steeves, op. cit., p. 197.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 198.

shyness is unconquerable, and it ultimately costs him his life. Harley is far too bashful to express his love for Miss Walton, a neighbor lady, who, socially, is above his station. He does not realize, however, that she, too, loves him until she visits him as he lies upon his deathbed.

Mackenzie describes Harley's death as follows: "He [Harley] seized her hand . . . a languid color reddened his cheek . . . a smile brightened faintly in his eye. As he gazed on her, it grew dim, it fixed, it closed."⁸² Here, the narrative ends. By revealing the moral and "pathetic protraiture" of life, a theme, which, until then, Richardson alone had surpassed, Mackenzie was instigating the major features of romanticism through his use of sentimentalism.⁸³

Another feature of romanticism that clearly may be seen in The Man of Feeling is the melancholic atmosphere that pervades the book. Harley, like Mackenzie, was appalled by the disgusting and cruel actions of mankind and viewed the world as a gloomy place in which only one's careful adherence to sentiments and feelings could triumph.⁸⁴ In its didactic form, the book, then, nearly becomes a

⁸²Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 130.

⁸³Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 135.

⁸⁴Walter Francis Wright, Sensibility in English Prose Fiction 1760-1814, p. 33.

melodrama.⁸⁵ Perhaps, Mackenzie, more than any other writer of his day, ". . . used the novel as a pulpit for preaching his own creed or advancing his own scheme of reform."⁸⁶ He wanted all mankind to be more humane in its dealings with others, and Mackenzie and his sentimental hero, Harley, saw that there was nothing they could do for the world other than to pity its men. Hence, they would weep for the loss of true sentimentality.⁸⁷ Allen, however, argues that Mackenzie must be given the benefit of the doubt, for it must be remembered that men of the eighteenth century were more apt to weep than are men of the modern day.⁸⁸ Harley, the narrator and setter of examples in the book, does often weep. He is a very sensitive person, quite successful in relieving distress throughout the book. The other characters, in following his example, are also frequently moved to tears. In indexing the number of times that tears are actually shed, Henry Morely has discovered that characters cry at least forty-seven times in this short, short novel!⁸⁹ Is it any wonder, then, that this highly emotional book

⁸⁵Winfield H. Rogers, "The Reaction Against Melodramatic Sensitivity in the English Novel, 1796-1830," PMLA, XLIX (March, 1934), 78.

⁸⁶Sir A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (eds.), The Cambridge History of English Literature, X, 46.

⁸⁷Allen, op. cit., p. 86.

⁸⁸Loc. cit.

⁸⁹Edward Wagenknecht, Cavalcade of the English Novel, p. 93.

should have received both praise and scorn for its sentimental content?

Regardless of the different merit ratings of the book, scholars agree that the plot of The Man of Feeling is a fairly simple one. In fact, some have argued that there is no plot at all. Contrary to popular belief, the lack of continuity in Mackenzie's novel is a conscious and deliberate oversight, to some extent. He was in London in 1767, when he began writing the book that he wanted to base, to a large degree, upon some of his own personal experiences. In order to concentrate fully upon his hero's feelings, he sought to avoid a complicated narrative by constructing the book in such a manner as to make it consist of a "set of episodes" purporting to be taken from an imperfect manuscript.⁹⁰ In addition to simplifying his plot, he ingeniously introduced the imaginary manuscript into the story to allow his reader the freedom to concentrate ". . . still more on the isolated feelings in Harley."⁹¹ Thus, the use of the romantic fragment as an effective literary device was established, through Mackenzie's novels, as a valid and permanent form of rhetorical expression. The fragmentary nature of this book is explained by the depredations of the curate. The narrator pretends to begin with chapter eleven, and, in order to produce a disjointed effect, the following chapters are not

⁹⁰Blunden, op. cit., p. 187.

⁹¹Mackenzie, op. cit., p. xiii.

numbered consecutively.⁹² Through the use of the romantic fragment, then, the novel becomes a combined series of sentimental essays and tales, woven together by the character of the hero, Harley. Consequently, the sentimental novel, in essence, presents a romantic interpretation of life.

In his next book, The Man of the World, Mackenzie returns to the same theme of an intense compassion for his fellow man; however, on this occasion, from an opposite point of view. In this novel, the hero is, indeed, a villain who embarks upon a ". . . long career of intrigue and seduction."⁹³ Here, as in The Man of Feeling, Mackenzie employs the romantic sentiments of imagination, nature worship, and submission to melancholia. The villain is distinguished ". . . by prudence and trickery and a hypocritical display of sentiment."⁹⁴ Furthermore, the romantic fragment that so sharply characterized the previous book also appears in The Man of the World. For example, the narrator, in returning to his home village following an extended absence, meets an old acquaintance, Jack Ryland, an enthusiastic fisherman, who mentions the sad death of Mr. Annesley, the town parson. Ryland takes the author for further information to the parson's

⁹²Loc. cit.

⁹³Thompson, op. cit., p. 57.

⁹⁴Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 135.

close friend and housekeeper, Mrs. Wistanly. The housekeeper presents the narrator with a stack of papers which relate the toils and pangs of life that the good parson was made to suffer at the hands of the villain.⁹⁵ The narrator, naturally, decides to sort the papers and from them constructs a disjointed narrative that concerns the relationship and the circumstances surrounding the life of the parson and the villain. Mackenzie's philosophy is clearly seen in the closing lines of the book:

. . . I have lived too long to be caught with the pangs of declamation, or the glare of an apophthegm; but I sincerely believe that you could not take them from a virtue without depriving them of a pleasure.⁹⁶

Thus, he subscribes to his philosophy which, in essence, becomes the "pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain."⁹⁷

He expounds this same principle again in 1777 with the publication of this last book, Julia de Roubigne. Some scholars argue that this is his greatest work, for it places him in ". . . the straight line of descent from Richardson."⁹⁸ The work is organized, ". . . on

⁹⁵Henry Mackenzie, The Works of Henry Mackenzie, I, 255. All further citations from this source will be listed simply as Works, followed by the appropriate volume and page numbers.

⁹⁶Ibid., II, 358.

⁹⁷Wasserman, op. cit., p. 33.

⁹⁸Thompson, op. cit., p. 57.

a much smaller scale; the intrigue is far simpler, and less elaborately planned.⁹⁹ In the epistolary form of a series of letters, the novel is written in the tradition of Smollett and other authors before him. The narrative centers around two young women who share letters concerned with their previous stay in a convent. Through these letters, the tragic life of Julia and her family unfolds. Sir Walter Scott was aware of the inception of this novel, because Mackenzie had previously explained to him that the book was to be ". . . a tragic novel without a villain" wherein a proud family is "seduced to penury" by misfortune and fate.¹⁰⁰ The book has been hailed as one of the few great tragedies to be found in the early stages of the English novel, and it portrays "sentiment" at its peak.¹⁰¹ In its employment of the leading romantic literary tendencies of the day, this work may also be termed a forerunner of romanticism.

Mackenzie made one last attempt in the early 1820's to publish another novel, Anecdotes, which would have been a summation of his experiences in Scotland, particularly in Edingburgh, during his occupancy there. The manuscript, consisting of several hundred pages, ". . . mostly in quarto with perhaps fifty folio sheets and many stray

⁹⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁰Thompson, A Scottish Man of Feeling, p. 148.

¹⁰¹Godfrey Frank Singer, The Epistolary Novel, p. 101.

scraps of paper," remained unpublished at the time of his death in 1831.¹⁰² He left the task of future publication to his son, Lord Mackenzie, as well as to his trusted friend, Sir Walter Scott. The manuscript, as he left it, was never published; however, the fragmentary forms which are found in it, as well as the imaginative responses to life in Scotland, only provide a closer link between Mackenzie and the romantic writers of the next era.

¹⁰²Thompson, Anecdotes and Egotisms, p. xiv.

CHAPTER III

MACKENZIE'S INFLUENCE UPON ROMANTICISM THROUGH THE PERIODICAL ESSAY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although Mackenzie's greatest contribution to nineteenth-century romanticism lies within his influence upon the eighteenth-century sentimental novel, called, by some, romanticism's forerunner, one must not overlook Mackenzie's profound effect upon the periodical essay, among the most popular forms of rhetorical expression in his time. The eighteenth century has often been designated as a "century of prose."¹⁰³ Beginning with Addison's publication of such periodical essays as The Tatler and The Spectator, the continuous essay as a form of literary genre became a permanently established mode of expression. The reading public was steadily increasing, and booksellers and printers alike were busily attempting to satisfy as many members of their public as possible. It was soon discovered that, to a large extent, the periodical essay, in all of its diverse forms, pleased the readers, for, through these prose works, the reader could more readily project himself into the written word. Because of its overwhelming popularity, then, the continuous periodical essay invaded all

¹⁰³Sypher, op. cit., p. 41.

literary forms of expression. Novels, dramas, and poems were established, so to speak, through the periodical essay. The "urbanity" and "density" of Addison's style in regard to these eighteenth-century prose works established the rhetorical tone of the periodical essay; however, this particular stylistic form gained even greater prominence through the genius of Mackenzie as the result of his two, now forgotten, periodical publications, The Mirror and The Lounger.

Perhaps, it was Sir Walter Scott's dedication of his Waverly to Mackenzie, in 1814, wherein he named Mackenzie the "Scottish Addison" that suggested to the man of feeling that he should explore the realm of the periodic essay.¹⁰⁴ Or, perhaps, it was his keen desire to edit a periodical essay that induced Mackenzie to propose to his friends that such an undertaking be considered. At any rate, regardless of the particular reason for such an endeavor, The Mirror, a weekly periodical fashioned after its capable forerunner, The Spectator, appeared under the shrewd and practical editorship of Mackenzie and was the first Scottish periodical of its kind.¹⁰⁵ Scotland had never before enjoyed such a literary form as the periodical essay, and, for some reason, the Scottish people of Edinburgh did not even pay attention to these essays until they had become a popular, accepted

¹⁰⁴Thompson, Anecdotes and Egotisms, p. xiii.

¹⁰⁵Expinasse, op. cit., XII, 595.

form in England.¹⁰⁶

The first copy of The Mirror appeared on January 23, 1779.¹⁰⁷ Its purpose is explained in the second letter of The Mirror, in which Mackenzie writes that he entitled the series The Mirror, because he wanted to " . . . shew the world what it is, and will sometimes endeavor to point out what it should be."¹⁰⁸ He further explains that it is his intention " . . . to hold, as it were, The Mirror up to Nature, to show Virtue her own features, Vice her own image."¹⁰⁹ Thus, he was attempting, as did the later romantic writers, to make the world aware of its evils and to direct it toward universal betterment.

The essays and moral tales subsequently published in The Mirror were written by a group of young lawyers, calling themselves members of the Mirror Club. The periodical was published, anonymously, under Mackenzie's strict editorship.¹¹⁰ He considered his task as editor-in-chief very seriously, thinking of it as an important job that had to be done. He felt, at times, that he was

¹⁰⁶Thompson, Anecdotes and Egotisms, p. xxiii.

¹⁰⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁸Works, IV, 12.

¹⁰⁹Henry Mackenzie, The Mirror, I, 94.

¹¹⁰Espinasse, op. cit., XII, 595.

working under a severe handicap as editor of the periodical, for he was obligated to write ". . . frequently with a haste that destroys correctness, and in circumstances very unfavorable to composition."¹¹¹ He further explained that the other contributors are free to write whatever and whenever they choose; however, he believed the editor must write when the day of publication arrives. Of all of the members of this literary society, only Mackenzie was qualified to edit the papers. None of the other members had been concerned with a publication of any sort, and their names were altogether unknown to their public.¹¹² Because the purpose of the paper was to point out mankind's weaknesses to him and to show him the proper way in which he ought to live, the secrecy of the authors was a vital concern to them.

Here, perhaps, Mackenzie differs from his romantic descendents, since he was more concerned with the acquirement of public favor than were they. In the second issue of The Mirror, he discusses his feelings about public sentiment.¹¹³ He reveals that he was genuinely surprised, after the first copy of the paper was released, to hear no comments about it at all. Finally, however, he was fortunate enough to overhear a conversation concerning conjectures on

¹¹¹Works, IV, 3.

¹¹²Mackenzie, The Mirror, I, iii.

¹¹³Works, IV, 6.

the author of The Mirror. He was certainly appalled to learn that some people considered this unknown author to be a female critic, as such a title for an essay, they reasoned, would ". . . not readily, have occurred to a man."¹¹⁴ Others claimed that the work was a ". . . production of a disciple of Mr. John Wesley," as it was ". . . designed to propagate methodism."¹¹⁵ When Mackenzie returned home after listening to this conversation, he speculated as to whether or not he should make his name and literary station known at once to his general public, but he refrained from doing so, as he had the safety and privacy of the Society's other members to consider.

The various members of the Edinburgh society who contributed to both The Mirror and The Lounger were primarily unknown in the literary circles of the day. For example, the membership included such men as "Mr. R. Cullen, Mr. M'Leod Bannatyne, Mr. George Ogilvy, Mr. Alex Abercromby, and Mr. W. Craig."¹¹⁶ All were either aspiring or already established members of the Scottish law profession. Another member, George Home, served in the capacity of a principal clerk of the Scottish Court of Session, and, Mackenzie, too, was appointed to the position of Exchequer at Edinburgh;

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹⁶Mackenzie, The Mirror, I, iii.

therefore, all of these constituents of the Mirror Club, with the exception of Ogilvy who passed away soon after the first publication of The Mirror, shared a common profession as well as a common literary interest.¹¹⁷

Not all of the papers published in The Mirror, however, were the sole products of club members. Some were also contributed by correspondents and readers of The Mirror.¹¹⁸ Mackenzie no doubt wanted to cater to his public by making them an integral part of the publication itself.¹¹⁹

In the concluding paper of The Mirror, he discusses the disadvantages of maintaining utter secrecy. In the first place, an attitude of absolute secrecy renders it impossible for the members of the club to realize the "advantages" which "patronage and friendship" had to offer the writers that constantly contribute to the periodical. Secondly, it prevents all chances of fame and public sentiment that might otherwise become a benefit to the public. He also asserts that publishers and readers alike may tend to negate the validity and merit of a work that is anonymous and unknown.¹²⁰ Thus, he may have,

¹¹⁷Loc. cit.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. iv.

¹¹⁹Mackenzie, The Mirror, I, vi.

¹²⁰Works, IV, 83.

indeed, felt that the secrecy that he and the other members of the society once considered an advantage actually became a disadvantage, as far as future importance was concerned.

Even though Mackenzie may have differed from the romantics in terms of the secrecy he sought as far as his identification is concerned, the subjects he chooses to write upon, nevertheless, parallel the subjects with which the romantic writers dealt. For example, beauty in all forms was a favorite subject of Mackenzie and one with which he felt the most comfortable.¹²¹ The silent expression of the beauty of nature was, indeed, an integral aspect of his romantic nature. In addition to his love for beauty, he also concentrated in both his prose works and his pieces of prose fiction quite heavily upon the concept of nature as man's teacher.¹²² He states, in number eighty-five of The Mirror, that his periodical publication "is confined chiefly to prose compositions," mainly because poetry, he felt, was not suitable to fulfill the purposes of the literary aspects of The Mirror. Mackenzie, then, believed that the message within a prose piece of literature was much more cogent and lucid than was the message found in the poetical form of literature. It remained, consequently, the task of the romantic writers following Mackenzie to mold the romantic form of the poem

¹²¹Mackenzie, The Mirror, I, 12.

¹²²Loc. cit.

into a unique and gratifying genre.

The form and content of Mackenzie's next periodical essay, The Lounger, was quite similar to that of its predecessor, The Mirror. In fact, The Lounger was a continuation of The Mirror under the same general leadership and with the same set of anonymous contributors from the Edinburgh society.¹²³ Mackenzie explains that he chose the title, The Lounger, because this kind of person is the type who is one of the "best-natured characters in the world."¹²⁴ Mackenzie justifies the validity of such a character in the literary realm, because ". . . unknown as a man, and new as an author, The Lounger risks but little either in censure or in praise."¹²⁵ Thus, under the guise of The Lounger, Mackenzie continued to point out, or mirror, mankind's weaknesses much in the same manner that he had been able to use in his previous periodical essay. The first volume of The Lounger appeared in May, 1780, and it is in these early essays that Mackenzie is said to plagiarize Addison.¹²⁶ However true this accusation may be, he did not allow slanderous remarks to reduce either the rapidity or the quality of his literary productions. Regardless of the threat of slander,

¹²³Mackenzie, The Mirror, I, iii.

¹²⁴Works, V, 101.

¹²⁵Loc. cit.

¹²⁶Espinasse, op. cit., XII, 595.

The Lounger continued to deal with subjects similar to the subjects presented in The Mirror in that the more romantic aspects of life were discussed; however, the method of approach in The Lounger was that several sketches depicting examples of a loungeur were drawn. Six of the essays in this periodical were devoted to the introduction of Colonel Carstic, one of the best known loungeurs of all time. Perhaps, the only real value of this particular essay is its appeal to the romantic sentiments of this man.¹²⁷

The most famous essay in all that appeared in The Lounger is number ninety-seven, dated December, 1786, that dealt with the romantic poet, Robert Burns.¹²⁸ Burns, oddly enough, seemed to be exactly what the eighteenth-century men of feeling were interested in, for he was a true "child of nature." Burns, also, one must remember, was the man who so highly praised Mackenzie's The Man of Feeling as a work that he prized "next to the Bible."¹²⁹ Mackenzie had been the instigator for the publication of Burns' poems; therefore, the admiration and respect that the two men had for each other, both as individuals and as literary artists, was mutual. Of the work of Burns, Mackenzie wrote:

¹²⁷Works, V, ii.

¹²⁸Thompson, Anecdotes and Egotisms, p. xxi.

¹²⁹Loc. cit.

. . . His poetry possesses a high tone of feeling, a power and energy of expression, particularly and strongly characteristic of the mind and voice of a poet.¹³⁰

He, then, includes some of Burn's more famous poems as well as an explication of each of them. He found the stanzas on nature and beauty to be among the most meaningful aspects of the poetry of Burns. He closes the essay with what becomes almost a personal lament for Burns when he states that this poet possesses all of the vital characteristics that become the earmarks of a great poet. He feels that his native country of Scotland has treated her famous bard quite poorly and should strive to elevate Burns to a position of national importance rather than to force him into a life of indignation and obscurity. He believes that his country should " . . . repair the wrongs of suffering or neglected merit" and should extend to Burns the same type of laudable pride which Burns, in essence, had extended to his land through his poetical depiction of it. Thus, another link between romanticism and Mackenzie had been established through the close association of Mackenzie with one of the most famous forerunners, Robert Burns.

The last issue of The Lounger is dated June 6, 1787. In this essay, numbered 101, Mackenzie submits a final explanation of his endeavors in the periodical essay. He begins with the assertion that

¹³⁰Works, VI, 381.

the author of the periodical essay has a grave responsibility to his public. Because he is writing specifically for the day and not necessarily for all time, he was to keep in tune with the popular sentiments of his public. Mackenzie feels that he is obligated to his readers for reasons other than those just expressed. As readers, also, were allowed to express their feelings to their periodical essayist probably more readily than they could to any other type of writer, he believes that an essayist must be capable of entertaining as well as personally relating to the audience at hand. He adds to his essay a plea in which he sincerely hopes that he has gained public favor through his works. He states that the authors of this periodical essay will never reveal their true identity to their public, for that ". . . were to assume an importance to which they are not entitled."¹³¹ He does, however, admit to his public that the authors responsible for the instigation and the execution of The Lounger are the same set of authors who were responsible for the promotion of The Mirror. He also defends the title of "Lounger" by saying that the term presents an "aggregate name," similar to ". . . corporations" in that they can be known and impleaded."¹³² He concludes with the statement that these same authors will not attempt to publish a similar periodical essay in the

¹³¹Works, VII, 39.

¹³²Loc. cit.

in the future. He maintains that the twofold degree of success accorded these essays is indicative of great literary talent, and therefore, argues that the authors are entitled to rest, so to speak, on their laurels. His final statement foreshadows much of the romantic train of thought in the following century in that it closes with the glorification of the passing of time and the close relationship of men and nature which, in Mackenzie's time, were the major inducements used " . . . to win the manners to decency and to goodness."¹³³ Such a statement becomes truly romantic in its literary expression.

After he had ceased publication of both The Mirror and The Lounger, Mackenzie busied himself with the writing of biographies in essay form. Perhaps, his most famous biographical essay concerns the life and literary achievements of the blind poet, Dr. Blackwood.¹³⁴ The essay was originally written at the request of Blackwood's widow in 1773, and Mackenzie believes, as does the widow who wanted the essay written, that Blackwood's poetry will be appreciated to a greater degree by the public if it is made aware of the enormous amount of anxieties with which "nature and fortune" had confronted him. Then, in the identical sentimental tradition with which he wrote his three novels, Mackenzie discusses, in detail, the toils and hardships of

¹³³Ibid., p. 43.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 47.

Dr. Blackwood. The essay is redolent of the romantic sentiments which are often characteristic of undiscovered talent, which, according to Mackenzie, dictates the "purest spirit of piety, virtue, and benevolence," all outstanding features of a romantic spirit.¹³⁵

In addition to publishing biographical essays, Mackenzie also published some segments from the transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. These papers were read aloud, by Mackenzie, to members of the society and were, in most cases, biographical essays of people related to the Scottish courtroom activities. One of the most famous read aloud is that of Lord Abercromby, a man not given to any literary talent other than offering, to the listeners, a life "interesting to humanity."¹³⁶ Abercromby, one recalls, is one of the founders and contributors to both of the periodical essays edited by Mackenzie in Edinburgh. Mackenzie cites Abercromby's specific contributions as being the sum total of nineteen papers in both of the series. Mackenzie characterizes Abercromby's style as being that of a ". . . delicate and polished irony of a strain of manly, honorable, and virtuous sentiment."¹³⁷ Mackenzie concludes the essay on Lord Abercromby with the assertion that he was among the most "venerable

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 106.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 106.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 118.

and persuasive" of all who "invest the station of a judge with . . . authority."¹³⁸

Mackenzie also wrote an essay on the life of William Tytler, a man who possesses many of the fine characteristics of a Lounger in that his outstanding feature is the possession of " . . . an ardour and activity of mind, prompted always by a strong sense of rectitude and honor."¹³⁹ This essay was promptly followed by the more romantic, humane subject of female education in marriage, in addition to the abolition of slave concern. The latter areas became a favorite topic of possible reform among the romantic poets of the next century.

Ultimately, then, Mackenzie was becoming more strongly a forerunner of the romantic movement of the following century through his use of the periodical essay to expound his ideas. Through his essays, he wanted, as did the later romantic poets, to make man more aware of his own weaknesses as an individual. He was extremely interested in conveying to mankind a keener sense of awareness in his fellowman. And, finally, he aspired to elevate the common man to a higher, more esteemed and appreciated position in life. These literary ambitions of Mackenzie all became dominant features of nineteenth-century romanticism. Thus, the periodical essay became, for

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 128.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 195.

Mackenzie, a bond that associated him with the other romantic writers.

CHAPTER IV

MACKENZIE'S INFLUENCE UPON ROMANTICISM THROUGH DRAMA AND POETRY

The influence of Mackenzie upon the English romantic movement of the nineteenth century extends beyond the novel and the essay to that of the drama and the poetry of the eighteenth century. Even though each of these literary genres is, in its own right, vital to the romantic movement of the nineteenth century, inasmuch as Mackenzie fancied himself neither an important dramatist nor a poet, his influence is far more subtle, yet, at the same time, no less important than it is in either the novels or the prose essays previously discussed. Because he felt that he excelled in neither drama nor poetry, he accomplished little in each; hence, it is possible for one to discuss each of these influences within the same context, since Mackenzie made no real distinction between his influence in these literary types.

For the most part, eighteenth-century drama is considered inferior. For example, Thorndike maintains that it was "mediocre" and reflected, to a large degree, the inferior amount of culture possessed by the general public.¹⁴⁰ Nearly all eighteenth-century

¹⁴⁰Ashley H. Thorndike, "English Drama of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century," Yale Review, IV (June, 1915), 425.

scholars agree that the drama by emphasizing the fact that this particular type of communication had to please a wide variety of people in its audiences.¹⁴¹ As has been previously noted, the general reading public concentrated more heavily upon extolling the simpler, more emotional aspects of life than the so-called reasonable and rational segments of the world. For example, the concept of the "natural goodness of man" was exploited by many of the sentimental dramatists of the day.¹⁴² Four major elements, then, of eighteenth-century drama, are, surprisingly, comparable to the essential features of romanticism that include the stress of imagination over reason in the daily routine of life, the emphasis upon the moralizing element of literature that emphatically recognizes nature as the teacher of mankind, the belief that the melancholic aspects of life should be glorified, and, finally, the assertion that the goodness and wholesomeness of the common man are merely peretuator^s of his subsequent elevation in life.¹⁴³ These very same ideas promoted the romantic movement in the following century and produced what has been called the "Romantic egotism" of

¹⁴¹Maurice Shudofsky, "Charles Johnson and Eighteenth-Century Drama," ELH, (June, 1943), 141.

¹⁴²George H. Nettleton and Arthur E. Case (eds.), British Dramatists from Dryden to Sheridan, p. 708.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 396.

the times.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, these concepts are the same set of ideals to which Mackenzie subscribed in writing his dramas. He was, therefore, expressing the dramatic sentiments of his era. His main fault, however, lies in the fact that his drama was to sentimental and vile to contain a great deal of verisimilitude.¹⁴⁵ According to White, the shift in drama to the sentimental style of Mackenzie was nearly "revolutionary" in its execution. It was a sudden movement that successfully negated the common theory that the simple, rustic features in life were to be nothing more than a "target for ridicule" by the public.¹⁴⁶ Here, again, the decline in public taste toward dramatic endeavors is believed to be the primary reason for a misconception of the virtue in the ordinary walks of life.¹⁴⁷ In essence, the entire era of the eighteenth century became a target for scorn and ridicule, and, ultimately, became known for its decadent society that could produce and appreciate only literature concerned with the debased aspects of society. The decline of drama challenged the playwrights, and each dramatist sought, in an individualistic manner, to put an end to the battle of conflicting ideas in drama and to produce some semblance of

¹⁴⁴White, op. cit., p. 215.

¹⁴⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 214.

¹⁴⁷Julian L. Ross, "Dramatist Versus Audience in the Early Eighteenth Century," PQ, XI (June, 1933), 74.

unity and order within this form of literature.

Mackenzie was no exception. His first play, The Prince of Tunis (1773), was a successful romantic tragedy. It has been heralded by Thompson as being the most successful Scottish play of the eighteenth century, after Home's Douglas.¹⁴⁸ In a private letter to his cousin, Mistress Rose, Mackenzie boasted that its first seven performances drew capacity crowds and that it received favorable reviews from the critics throughout its stage history.¹⁴⁹ The setting is a "wild romantic scene" that is portrayed through the "solemn music" of the play as well as through the dialogue of the actors.¹⁵⁰

The prologue is spoken by Mrs. Yates, a portraiture of the "Genius of Scotland." Her opening lines echo the spirit of Sir Walter Scott in that the love for "sacred solitude" and the reverence for the Scottish homeland are discussed as the ultimate glorifications of life.¹⁵¹ The play is a five-act tragedy, with all significant players dead at the end of the fifth act. Its theme, perhaps, is contained in the speech of a soldier of the Prince of Tunis who states that the ". . . paths of falsehoods,

¹⁴⁸Harold William Thompson, A Scottish Man of Feeling: Some Account of Henry Mackenzie, Esq. of Edinburgh and of the Golden Age of Burns and Scott, p. 162.

¹⁴⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁰Works, VIII, 113.

¹⁵¹Thompson, op. cit., p. 163.

though they lead to justice, are not approved by heaven." (I. 146)¹⁵²

Hence, the play, written as a parody of Shakespeare's literary style, consists of "complicated anguish," in that its characters, especially Zulima, the heroine, ". . . thrive on sorrow and misfortune."¹⁵³ The plot is quite simple insofar as characterization and action are concerned. It depicts a solitary Scottish youth, who, in search for the real answer to life, ". . . asks no praise but what the heart may give."

(I. 14)¹⁵⁴ Mackenzie's early attempts, then, to promote romantic tendencies through his works are not totally unsuccessful, even though the works themselves are not always well received by the public. Thus, Mackenzie is dwelling upon the same theme that he will later develop in The Man of The World in 1773. He is also telling the world, much as he did in his periodical essays, that, in order to enforce universal improvement, it must cultivate its virtues and, at the same time, forsake its vices. Probably the greatest result of the play was that, through its stage presentation, Mackenzie was able to meet and become acquainted with the "greatest actor of the time," David Garrick.¹⁵⁵ When asked to judge this play, Garrick was not very enthusiastic,

¹⁵²Works, VIII, 173.

¹⁵³Thompson, op. cit., p. 164.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁵⁵Loc. cit.

nevertheless, because Mackenzie respected this actor's talent and literary skill, Garrick became a critic of nearly all of the later dramatic works of Mackenzie.¹⁵⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, to hear that Garrick was asked by Mackenzie to review The Spanish Father, a Tragedy, another sentimental tragedy with as many romantic characteristics as The Prince of Tunis.¹⁵⁷ Garrick felt that the plot of this particular play was too brutal for the stage, and he also felt that such a portrayal of the less humane aspects of life would probably be unsuccessful in its presentation.¹⁵⁸ Mackenzie, however, through its actual presentation, he was conducting a type of "valedictory intercourse" with his public. He also argued that the real feelings of "tenderness" and "humility" expressed in his drama were flattering to himself, both as a writer and as a man of the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁹ The idea for this play relates to the Moorish invasion of Spain. A principal amount of assistance in this significant invasion came from "Count Julian," the man "whose daughter the Spanish monarch had seduced."¹⁶⁰ The play was never presented on the stage; however, it

¹⁵⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁷Works, VIII, 205.

¹⁵⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 205.

was printed in Mackenzie's collected Works, with the following explanatory note:

The character which most impressed itself on my imagination in writing this drama, was that of Alphonzo. In the enthusiasm natural to youth, I had conceived it standing on the high ground of heroic virtue and honour, fierce and implacable in vindication of those principles, yet open to that humanity and tender feeling, which I had perceived frequently to belong to minds of that description.¹⁶¹

Again, the drama was, as Garrick had predicted, unsuccessful in its presentation and reception; nevertheless, it has some merit as poetry, and it is significant in that it adapts both "sentimental subjects and characters to romantic tragedy."¹⁶² This particular play demonstrates, as did its immediate forerunner, the extent to which Shakespeare's dramas, especially Othello and King Lear, influenced the Scottish playwrights of the eighteenth century.¹⁶³ It also depicts Mackenzie's talent for imitation, as well as his ability to combine successfully the type of "sentiment and heroic romance that preludes" the writing of Sir Walter Scott.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹Loc. cit.

¹⁶²Thompson, op. cit., p. 165.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁶⁴Loc. cit.

Still, the drama of the eighteenth century "languished."¹⁶⁵

The few meager attempts that serious-minded playwrights, like Steele and Colly Cibber, made were not enough to prevent sentimental drama from finally becoming so ridiculous that future writers, including Goldsmith and Sheriden, had no real choice other than to return to what was commonly referred to as "laughing comedy."¹⁶⁶ The comedy of sentiment, then, became the type of drama that dominated the stage.¹⁶⁷ Mackenzie, too, was concerned with the nature of comedy, the subject of his letter fifty in The Lounger. In this essay, he assumes that the most important purpose or aspect of comedy is to ". . . purge vices and follies, by ridicule."¹⁶⁸ He states that, only by laughing at himself, can man fully be made aware of his innate weaknesses and recognize himself for what he is--an insignificant being in the universe. Subsequently, his one attempt at a comedy is entitled False Shame, or the White Hypocrite, a Tragedy. He is among the first to admit that this play received a rather cool reception from the audience. The situation depicted is one in which a young man ". . . of the most virtuous disposition and amiable feelings is enticed" into "false shame,"

¹⁶⁵Sypher, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁶⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁷Arthur Stanley Turberville, Johnson's England, p. 160.

¹⁶⁸Works, VIII, 3.

and is compelled to commit acts which, in essence, are beneath his dignity.¹⁶⁹ Mackenzie realized that this sentimental comedy would probably not be a success; nevertheless, he decided to present the play at any cost with the fervent hope that his audience would recognize its strong features and overlook its weak ones. This play describes the circumstances around which Sedly, a young man of feeling, nearly loses the hand of Miss Mountfort, a sentimental heroine whose father returns from India in disguise. The play has little value other than its "mild pretence to sentiment" in the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Mackenzie's sentimental comic characters, here, are representative of all sentimental comic characters of the day. Such a character is clearly defined and distinguished through his susceptibility to virtue and his constant exposure to vice. This type of individual is usually an isolated person who dictates to his audience that, even though he is allowing them to share with him is anything but common and ordinary.¹⁷¹ This type of bard is the forerunner of the common man for whom the romantic bards of the next century have much respect and admiration.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 292.

¹⁷⁰Thompson, op. cit., p. 168.

¹⁷¹Stanley T. Williams, "The English Sentimental Drama from Steele to Cumberland," Sewanee Review, XXXIII (October, 1925), 408.

Consequently, drama lagged in the eighteenth century, ceasing to be a respected and valid form of literary expression; instead, becoming degenerate. It was, however, successful in the sense that it produced some features of romanticism that opened the way for the new movement of the nineteenth century. Mackenzie's influence upon romanticism through his dramatic works may be clearly seen by the student of both nineteenth-century romanticism and eighteenth-century sentimentalism, because the sentimental characteristics that Mackenzie employed became integral aspects of the romantic movement. The failure of his sentimental drama paralleled the failure of drama in general in the eighteenth century.

What the drama lacked in the eighteenth century, the poetry possessed. Although Mackenzie's poetry really enjoyed no greater success than did his drama, the romantic features of his work must, nevertheless, not be discounted. It is no great revelation to the reader of the romantic era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to learn that the really genuine and overwhelming victories of romanticism are "won" almost entirely in poetry. English romanticism attained its highest development in the poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁷² Hooker maintains that this romantic concept

¹⁷²Hoxie N. Fairchild, "The Romantic Movement in England," PMLA, LV (March, 1940), 24.

of the poet and the poem did not gain universal acceptance. Nevertheless, it originated in the eighteenth century with the idea that the essence of poetry was the breaking away from the formality of content and form that had been the appeal of classic poetry and the moving toward the less rigidly structured imaginative and creative poetry.¹⁷³ The gradual evolution of the structure of the poem, then, began in the eighteenth century, and, by the nineteenth century had become an established genre all its own. The romantic poets, both of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, valued content more than had their poetic forerunners.¹⁷⁴ For the first time in the history of poetry, the poet was considered as an individual in his form of literary expression rather than simply as a promoter of structure.¹⁷⁵ The romantic poets were searching for a more meaningful mode of expression of their ideas; therefore, they concentrated, not upon construction, but, rather, upon content. In depending solely upon his imaginative powers to convey the poetic message to his reader, the poet had to fill the gap which the nearly total disregard of the form had created. Consequently,

¹⁷³Edward Niles Hooker, "The Reviewers and the New Trends in Poetry," MLN, (April, 1936), 209.

¹⁷⁴Dr. Haiko Gerrit DeMaar, A History of Modern English Romanticism, p. 4.

¹⁷⁵Catherine Walsh Peltz, "The Neo-Classic Lyric 1660-1725," ELH, XI (June, 1944), 92.

from "liberated imagination" grew the outstanding features of the eighteenth-century poetry which later evolved into romantic poetry.¹⁷⁶ With this greater freedom of romantic expression came the unvarying "motif of escape" that later was the controlling feature of the poetry of the most famous romantic poet, William Wordsworth. Thus, the depiction of solitude became a special characteristic of eighteenth-century poetry. Even though this solitude did not necessarily mean a serene state of solitude, it meant a love for solitude and a respect for the simple, less cultured, features of life which often prevents retardation, if not total annihilation, of creativity. The type of solitude sought was, more or less, a "philosophic" one which would enable them to escape from the cruelty and suffering of the dreary world.¹⁷⁷ The genuine implication, then, of devotion to escapism on the part of the romantic thinker actually did not become a goal of poetry until it was made manifest in the works of the significant romantic poets of the nineteenth century. Consequently, one of the more significant links between romanticism of the nineteenth century and the sentimental aspects of eighteenth-century poetry is established.

¹⁷⁶Richard E. Jones, "Romanticism Reconsidered," Sewanee Review, XLI (October, 1933), 410.

¹⁷⁷Abbott C. Martin, "The Love of Solitude in Eighteenth-Century Poetry," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXIX (January, 1930), 53.

Because the sentimental features of the eighteenth century became the essential tendencies of romanticism in the nineteenth century, one concludes that sentimentalism influence the evolution and growth of romanticism in the genre of poetry. From this premise, then, one sees the necessity of correlating romanticism with sentimentalism through an investigation of the leading forerunners of romanticism in the eighteenth century. As Mackenzie is, without a doubt the major proponent of eighteenth-century sentimentalism, and, as has already been shown, his literary endeavors with the novel, the essay, and the drama of the eighteenth century are clearly pronounced, his influence upon the romantic poetry of the nineteenth century must also be carefully examined.

One must remember that Mackenzie's concept of poetry was very different from his concept of prose. This profound difference becomes evident in letter eighty-five of The Mirror in which he explains that, while a poem contains "considerable merit" and is worthy of universal recognition, its length, subject matter, and general appearance would not readily lend itself to a position with the major prose pieces of his periodical essay. Consequently, because he failed to recognize any literary type of compatibility between poetry and prose, Mackenzie published all poetical works separately, and without any type of recognition or relation to each other. He never considered himself much of a poet, and for this reason ". . . ceased

to write poetry at a more advanced period of life.¹⁷⁸ He felt totally inadequate to express himself intelligently and cogently through poetry, and his ideas were reinforced when the new poems that he did publish failed to achieve any literary prominence.

Mackenzie's poetry reflects the characteristic Scottish poetry of the eighteenth century. His first attempt at writing poetry occurred when he was eleven years old with a short lyric entitled "Happiness."¹⁷⁹ This poem, printed anonymously in the Scots Magazine in 1763, foreshadows his romantic view of poetry in that it describes the beauty and tranquility of a humble, rustic setting of solitude.¹⁸⁰ He followed this poem with a few odes constructed after the manner of Collins and Gray; however, not until he attempted the ballad, one of the most popular forms of eighteenth-century Scottish poetry, did he attain to any degree of poetic excellence.¹⁸¹ "Duncan," written in 1764, became his best-known ballad.¹⁸² Its idea must be attributed to a fragment from an old Scottish manuscript. The poem was published, anonymously, in The London Chronicle as well as in

¹⁷⁸Works, I, v.

¹⁷⁹Thompson, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁸¹Sir A. W. Word and A. R. Valley (eds.), The Cambridge History of English Literature, XI, 159.

¹⁸²Works, VIII, 1.

Clark's Collection of Ancient Ballads, shortly after the time it was produced. The situation depicted in "Duncan" is one typical of Scottish ballads in that physical strength and the willingness to defend honor are exploited as attributes of a Scottish nobleman. Even though "Duncan" received a fair amount of good publicity, Mackenzie's second ballad "Kenneth," a romantic fragment, becomes, ". . . the first romantic ballad composed in Britain in the eighteenth century."¹⁸³ "Kenneth" describes a battle scene in which father and son are slain together, whereupon the wife and mother simply has nothing to do but to let death, through grief, possess her too. In this sentimental description, Mackenzie is pointing in the direction of Sir Walter Scott's later romantic ballads.¹⁸⁴ Even though Mackenzie's use of the ballad form was "experimental and instinctive," it, nevertheless, influenced the style of later ballad writers like Burns and Scott.

He soon begins to write poetic moral tales after the manner of More's Fables.¹⁸⁵ Here, amidst the "prosaic expression and trite morality," the concepts of imagination over reason and the sentimental contemplations upon melancholic subjects are found. In his poem, "The Exile" (1780), he establishes a concrete link between his sentimentalism and nineteenth-century romanticism. It is ". . . an elegy

¹⁸³Thompson, op. cit., p. 76.

¹⁸⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁵Works, VIII, 25.

based on an inscription on the window" of a Scottish Inn.¹⁸⁶ It was, no doubt, written from genuine feelings and depicts the common Scotsman forced to leave his country and seek a new home elsewhere. With the portrayal of the solitary man, isolated from his homeland and the pathetic and melancholic attitudes that depress him beyond all human telling, Mackenzie lays the foundation for a poetical expression upon which the romantic writers of the next century could build.

With the exception of an earlier poem, written in 1764 when he was only nineteen, where he defended the literary merit of the works of the arch-satirist of Scots and Scotland, Charles Churchill, Mackenzie's poetry achieved little literary merit or significance.¹⁸⁷ Even though the quantity of his poetry was not outstanding, its quality was such that Burns, as established proponent of romanticism, was influenced. Burns, it must be remembered, regarded Mackenzie's novel The Man of Feeling, to be among his favorites, and, likewise, Mackenzie highly praised the work of Burns as being that of the only person " . . . creative enough to possess the spirit as well as the fancy of a poet."¹⁸⁸ Burns was compelled to leave his native land, as

¹⁸⁶Works, IV, 327.

¹⁸⁷Richard E. Quaintance, Jr., "Charles Churchill as Man of Feeling: a Forgotten Poem by Mackenzie," MLR, LVI (January, 1961), 75.

¹⁸⁸Works, VI, 390.

was Mackenzie's Scottish gentleman in "The Exile;" therefore, Mackenzie immediately felt sympathy for this misunderstood and mistreated poet. Through his essays on Burns, he gained universal recognition as an influencer of poetry, for, in these essays, he determines the criteria for the evaluation of both poetry and poetical works. He believed, as did his romantic followers, that the humble, rustic life of an individual must be esteemed. Because Burns became the "great poet of rustic life," Mackenzie maintained that Burns should be regarded as a representative Scottish bard, rather than an exile. In addition to the fact that, because Mackenzie sought to elevate the literary status of Burns, Burns, in turn, was influenced by the literary genius of his liberator.¹⁸⁹ Thus, through his own poetry, as well as through his friendship with Burns, Mackenzie influenced the romantic movement of the nineteenth century.

Ultimately, Mackenzie becomes a literary forerunner of nineteenth-century romanticism. Even though his contributions to romanticism have been virtually dismissed by literary scholars, the individual genres, considered collectively, produce a potent effect which, subsequently, led to the establishment of romanticism. Mackenzie's most significant contribution to the English romantic movement remains with his three sentimental novels, The Man of Feeling, The

¹⁸⁹Ward and Waller, XI, 233.

Man of the World, and Julia de Roubigne. The major characteristics of sentimentalism that are found in these novels became the essential features of the romantic movement of the following era. Mackenzie, also, influenced romanticism through his use of eighteenth-century periodical essays The Mirror (1779-1780) and The Lounger (1785-1787). These essays contain notable critiques of the poetry of Burns and mention Mackenzie's association with Sir Walter Scott; therefore, they, too, signify influences upon nineteenth-century romanticism. Through the genres of drama and poetry, Mackenzie also influences the romantic movement. Through his principal plays, The Prince of Tunis; The Spanish Father, a Tragedy; and False Shame, or The White Hypocrite, a Tragedy, one may trace the basic romantic tendencies. Finally, Mackenzie's influence upon romanticism extends to the genre of the poem. Here, his influence becomes a direct one through his own poetry, as well as an indirect one through his association with Burns, an established forerunner of romanticism. Throughout each of these eighteenth-century literary genres, influences upon nineteenth-century sentimentalism, such as placing the concepts of imagination over reason, stressing the return to nature theory as the teacher of man, glorifying the rustic life of the common man, and regarding the pleasures of melancholy, all, in time, became the major characteristics of the nineteenth-century romantic movement. The romantic writers, then, had merely to draw upon the sentimental tendencies to

their forerunners, and, especially, upon the particular features of the major proponent of eighteenth-century sentimentalism and nineteenth-century romanticism as expressed by Mackenzie for encouragement and support of their literary endeavors.

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