THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

James Stevens Curl, 'The Tomb & The Garden: The influence of Young's *Night Thoughts*', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. XXV, 2017, pp. 185–206

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THE TOMB & THE GARDEN: THE INFLUENCE OF YOUNG'S *NIGHT THOUGHTS*

JAMES STEVENS CURL

'A garden cemetery is the sworn foe to preternatural fear and superstition … A garden cemetery and monumental decoration are not only beneficial to public morals, to the improvement of manners, but are likewise calculated to extend virtuous and generous feelings … They afford the most convincing tokens of a nation's progress in civilization and in the arts … The tomb has, in fact, been the great chronicler of taste throughout the world …'[1]

INTRODUCTION

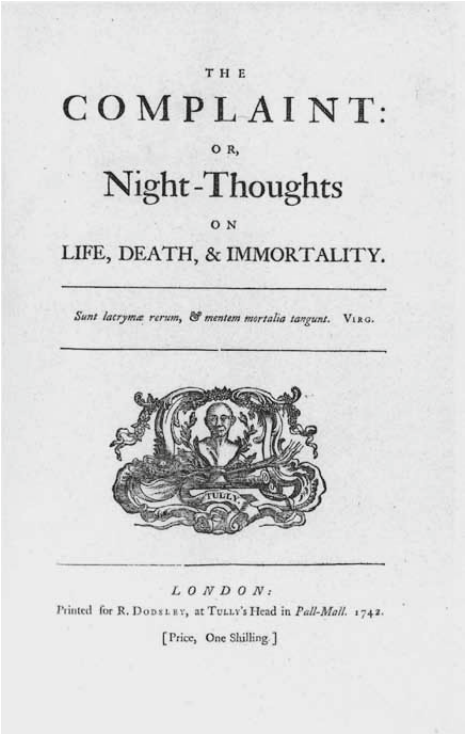
The name, Edward Young,[2] (Fig. 1) was once familiar in Anglophone countries. Robert Burns[3] had a copy of *Night Thoughts* in his own library,[4] and frequently quoted from it;[5] today, however, neither the English poet nor his once-famous work will ring many bells. This paper will outline his influence on late-eighteenth-century gardens and their transformation as garden-cemeteries.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Edward Young by Joseph Highmore (1692–1780) (*By permission of All Souls College, Oxford*)

Baptised in Upham, near Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire, Young was the son of Edward Young,[6] Rector of Upham from 1680, later[7] Dean of Salisbury, and his wife, Judith.[8] Edward Young, Jr., was educated at Winchester,[9] admitted in 1702 to New College, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, and then (1703) to Corpus Christi as a commoner. Nominated[10] by Thomas Tenison,[11] Archbishop of Canterbury from 1694, for a scholarship at All Souls, he was elected to a Law Fellowship there in 1709, graduated BCL[12] and DCL,[13] received Deacon's Orders in 1724, and was ordained Priest at Winchester in 1728. Presented by All Souls to the Rectory of St Mary, Welwyn, Hertfordshire (worth £300 *per annum*) in 1730, he remained there for the rest of his life.[14]

In the same year he was instituted Rector by the Bishop of Lincoln,[15] Young secretly married[16] Lady Elizabeth Lee,[17] daughter of Edward Henry Lee[18] (Earl of Litchfield from 1674) and Lady Charlotte Fitzroy[19] (granddaughter of King Charles II[20] and Barbara Palmer[21] [*née* Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine from 1661, *suo jure* Duchess of Cleveland from 1670]). Lady Elizabeth (*known as* Betty) was the widow of her first cousin, Colonel Francis Henry Lee (died 1730).[22]

Colonel Lee lost all his money, and that of his wife, in the pricking of the South Sea Bubble (1720), so Lady Betty was somewhat impoverished when she married Young a few months after her first husband's demise; the new Rector of Welwyn thereby acquired an impecunious wife and three step-children. Forster



THE

COMPLAINT:

OR,

Night-Thoughts

ON

LIFE, DEATH, & IMMORTALITY.

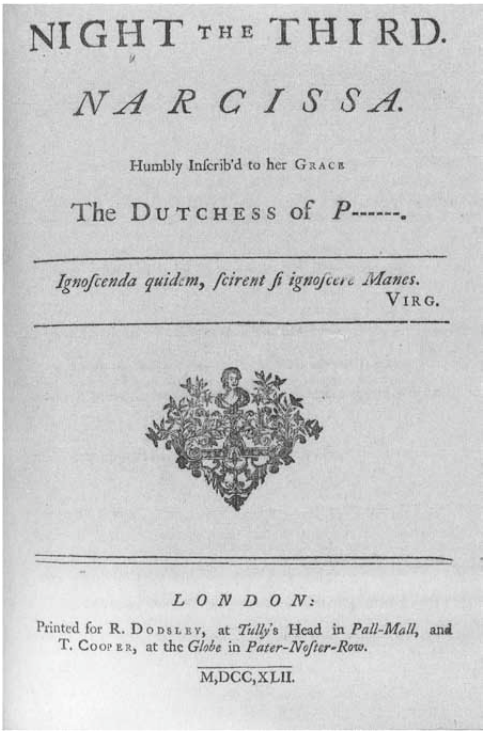
Sunt lacrymæ rerum, & mentem mortalia tangunt. VIRG.

LONDON:

Printed for R. DODSLEY, at TULLY'S Head in *Pall-Mall.* 1742.

[Price, One Shilling.]

Fig. 2. Title-page of the first volume of *Night Thoughts* (1742) (*Author's Collection*)



NIGHT THE THIRD.

NARCISSA.

Humbly Inscrib'd to her GRACE

The DUTCHESS of *P*------.

Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes.
VIRG.

LONDON:

Printed for R. DODSLEY, at *Tully's* Head in *Pall-Mall*, and T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-Noster-Row.*

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Fig. 3. Title-page of the third volume of *Night Thoughts* (1742) (*Author's Collection*)

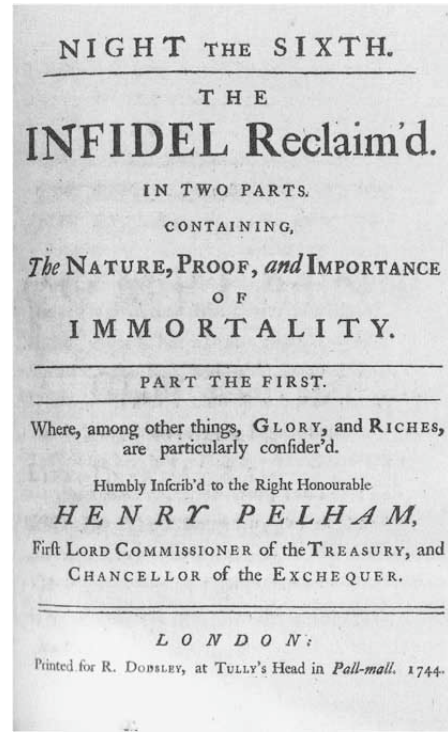
suggested that 'a comfortable Rectory may have seemed attractive' to Lady Betty:[23] she had Royal blood, but needed a husband and home for her three surviving children. In turn, Young needed a housekeeper.[24] However, bonds of affection grew between the couple, though their marriage was only openly acknowledged in May 1731.

Why was there a delay in making the union public? There was probably fear of disapproval; it occurred shortly after Colonel Lee's death, but there may have been a problem over Lady Betty's claim for a pension (granted in December 1730 by Royal Warrant as £100 *per annum* from Midsummer 1730). Young was not safely instituted as Rector until November 1730, a few weeks after he left All Souls, and he would not have wished to jeopardise his positions with either his College or Living. It may be significant that the union was acknowledged on 27 May, the day after the bride's birthday.[25]

Although he had written much by 1740,[26] most of Young's celebrity blossomed from the time of the publication in 1742 by Robert Dodsley,[27] at the sign of 'Tully's Head', of his *The Complaint: or, Night Thoughts on Life, Death, & Immortality*. (Fig. 2) 'Complaint', however, in this context does not mean dissatisfaction, but an expression of sorrow and suffering.[28] The title-page features a Rococo frame around Tully's[29] bust and a quotation from Virgil:[30] *sunt lacrymae rerum, & mentem mortalia tangunt*.[31] I suggest that 'there are tears for things, and human sufferings touch the mind', or perhaps 'here too are tears for misfortune, and mortal sufferings touch the heart', come near Virgil's intentions.

Night The Second. On Time, Death, Friendship, dedicated to Spencer Compton[32] (1st Earl of Wilmington from 1730), also appeared in 1742, but this time Dodsley collaborated with Thomas Cooper.[33] *Night the Third*, subtitled *Narcissa* (Fig. 3), from the point of view of this paper the most influential of all the volumes that made up *Night Thoughts*, was published (1742 again) by Dodsley and Cooper, and the title-page was inscribed with a line from Virgil's *Georgics*: *ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes*,[34] loosely translated as 'pardonable indeed, if departed spirits knew forgiveness'. The inscription was to the 'Dutchess of P…' (Margaret Cavendish Bentinck *née* Harley[35] [Duchess of Portland from 1734], friend and patroness of Young).

Night the Fourth, dedicated to the Hon. Philip Yorke[36] [2nd Earl of Hardwicke from 1764]), came out in 1743, when further editions of *Nights I* to *III* were issued, and late that year *Night the Fifth* was brought out by Dodsley, but by then many pirated editions were printed which Dodsley unsuccessfully attempted to stop. *Night the Fifth* was inscribed to George Henry Lee[37] (3rd Earl of Litchfield from 1743, and Young's nephew by marriage). Then


NIGHT THE SIXTH.

THE

INFIDEL Reclaim'd.

IN TWO PARTS.

CONTAINING,

The NATURE, PROOF, *and* IMPORTANCE OF IMMORTALITY.

PART THE FIRST.

Where, among other things, GLORY, and RICHES, are particularly consider'd.

Humbly Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable

HENRY PELHAM,

First LORD COMMISSIONER of the TREASURY, and CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.

LONDON:

Printed for R. DODSLEY, at TULLY's Head in *Pall-mall.* 1744.

Fig. 4. Title-page of the sixth volume, part 1, of *Night Thoughts* (1744) (*By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library*)

followed (1744) *Night the Sixth* (Fig. 4), dedicated to Henry Pelham[38] (First Lord of the Treasury in 1743): only the First Part was published by Dodsley. George Hawkins[39] was responsible for the Second Part, *Night the Seventh* (1744), printed by Samuel Richardson[40] (author of the phenomenally successful *Pamela*[41] and *Clarissa*,[42] who became a close friend of Young). Hawkins also published (1745) *Night the Eighth* and soon after *Night the Ninth and Last* (dedicated to Thomas Pelham-Holles[43] [Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne from 1715 and 1st Duke of Newcastle under Lyme from 1756]). The Virgilian quotation was *Fatis Contraria Fata rependens*,[44] loosely translated as 'Doom balanced against Doom', or 'Fates weighed against Fate', or sometimes 'Repaying Destiny with Destiny', but although the date 1745 was given, the book did not appear until January 1746. Dodsley then issued the first six *Nights* (March 1746), and Hawkins the remainder (1748). Many editions followed thereafter.[45]

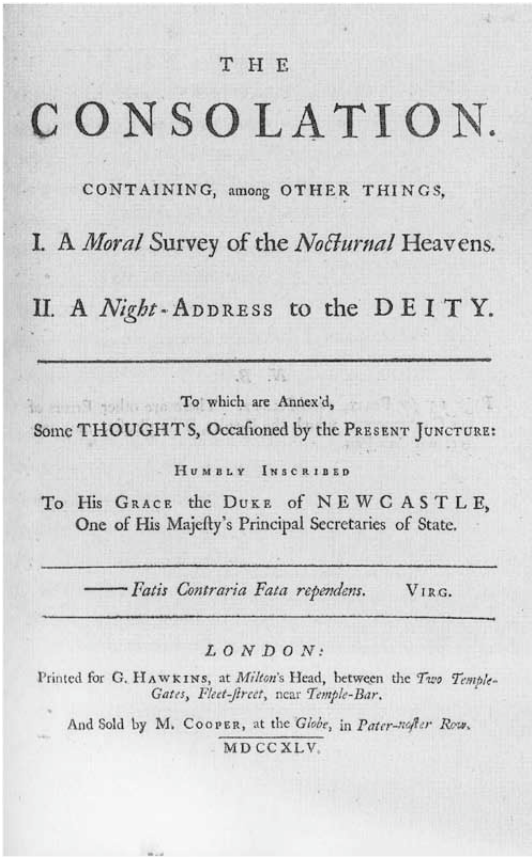
From the beginning, *Night Thoughts* was a success: it was hugely significant in Enlightened and early-Romantic Europe, especially in France and the German-speaking lands.[46] For far more than a century *Night Thoughts* was one of the most admired and widely-quoted poems to emerge in English Letters.[47]

The fact that it was a seminal influence on the 'secular cult of sepulchral melancholy',[48] will form the kernel of this paper.

THE ESSENCE OF *NIGHT THOUGHTS*

In 1741 Edmund Curll[49] and others brought out a two-volume edition of Young's collected poems when his literary career appeared to be virtually over.[50] Young became life-threateningly unwell in 1740, and from then his sleep-patterns became erratic. His health and depression were deeply affected by the deaths of his step-daughter, Elizabeth Temple (1736), Elizabeth's widower, the Honourable Henry Temple (1740), and Lady Betty (also 1740), and during long bouts of insomnia he dwelt on life's fragility, on immortality seen from a Christian perspective, and on gloomths experienced in the dark, silent nights of a Georgian country rectory. Thus the content of *Night Thoughts* was exactly reflected in its title.[51] The work is and was associated with Burkean notions of the Sublime,[52] and a searching for the meaning of the Deity, prompted by sleepless suffering through bereavement. Darkness was invoked to aid 'Intellectual Light',[53] and silences of the Night were held to be 'Sacred … whispering Truths Divine',[54] so the night hours (which were darker and quieter than in over-lit, over-populated Hertfordshire today) assisted in poetical creativity and religious ponderings. Young considered the power of night's 'mitigated Lustre'[55] as having 'more Divinity'[56] than daylight because it struck 'Thought inward',[57] so was an aid to Revelation, a contrary view to perceptions of Apollonian Reason associated with the Enlightenment. Young suggested that darkness encouraged virtue,[58] for 'Night is fair Virtue's immemorial Friend',[59] and indeed 'By Night an Atheist half-believes a God'.[60] Nature was 'Christian',[61] a 'friend to Truth[62] and 'Mankind',[63] and spoke Wisdom:[64] the 'Seas, Rivers, Mountains, Forests, Desarts, Rocks,'[65] and Storms[66] suggested the Sublime.[67] Other themes included infinity, limitlessness, the Universe,[68] the Deity's Eternal Presence,[69] and evoked notions concerning improvement of the 'noble Pasture of the *Mind*',[70] connected with what Young referred to as 'The Garden of the DEITY'.[71] And Young was to influence many gardens.

Running through *Night Thoughts* are reminders of Mortality and Divine Judgement (Fig. 5); these demonstrate that, contrary to received opinion, partly fostered by the Victorians, the Georgians were not indifferent to religious matters. *Night Thoughts* is full of heart-felt sensibility, shot through with melancholy and a sense of loss: a contemplative work, steeped in religious concerns, it is packed with



THE

CONSOLATION.

CONTAINING, among OTHER THINGS,

I. A *Moral* Survey of the *Nocturnal* Heavens.

II. A *Night*-ADDRESS to the DEITY.

To which are Annex'd,
Some THOUGHTS, Occasioned by the PRESENT JUNCTURE:

HUMBLY INSCRIBED

To His GRACE the DUKE of NEWCASTLE,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

—— *Fatis Contraria Fata rependens.* VIRG.

LONDON:

Printed for G. HAWKINS, at *Milton's* Head, between the *Two Temple-Gates, Fleet-street*, near *Temple-Bar*.

And Sold by M. COOPER, at the *Globe*, in *Pater-noster Row*.

MDCCXLV.

Fig. 5. Title-page of the ninth volume of *Night Thoughts* (1745) (*Author's Collection*)

Fig. 6. Illustration from Blair's *The Grave*, drawn by Thomas Uwins (1782–1857), engraved by James Stewart (1791–1863), to face page 21 (Edinburgh: Stirling & Kenney 1826) (*Author's Collection*)

meditations on death, for time was recognised as short, and life precarious, as painfully demonstrated by Young's recent bereavements. Thus Young is regarded as one of the 'Graveyard Poets', with Robert Blair[72] and Thomas Gray.[73]

In 1743 Blair published his once-celebrated *The Grave* in which the horrors of decay, dark burial-grounds, dank vaults, and the inescapable facts of death were unsparingly revealed (Fig. 6), while Gray brought out his reflective and hugely successful *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* in 1750. These poems considered death as the leveller, respecting neither social 'Station'[74] nor seniority.[75] The only certainty in life, in fact, is death: Young acknowledged that his themes formed a well-beaten 'Track',[76] for mankind's birth is only the beginning of a journey ending in death, and so life should be lived with death and eternity in mind. It used to be thought that contemplation of death was seen as wise, a corrective to hedonistic living, and a sensible way of dealing with the terrors and despoliation otherwise associated with the Gleeful Reaper as depicted in the decorations of the *Book of Common Prayer*[77] and those Dances of Death embellishing mediaeval charnel-houses.[78] The 'Sting'[79] of death was to be 'crush'd',[80] dread of death was to be itself

'Intomb'd',[81] and the 'stingless'[82] Reaper should be seen as a 'Friend'.[83] *Night Thoughts* therefore urged virtuous living to ensure the good death,[84] and so set out Protestant attitudes to mortality. Recurring rebirth apparent in the Seasons,[85] in natural phenomena,[86] in the 'Chain unbroken'[87] of Being,[88] and in the qualities of matter itself, were called upon to suggest the intertwined relationships of Nature, the Everlasting, Reality, and the Deity.

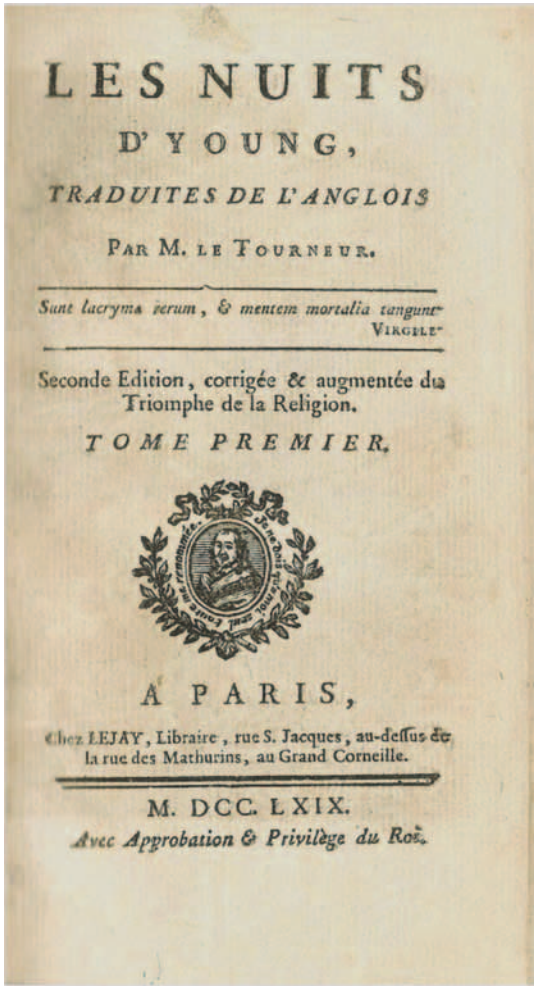

LES NUITS
D' YOUNG,
TRADUITES DE L'ANGLOIS
PAR M. LE TOURNEUR.
Sunt lacrymæ rerum, & mentem mortalia tangunt.
VIRGILE.
Seconde Edition, corrigée & augmentée du Triomphe de la Religion.
TOME PREMIER.
A PARIS,
Chez LEJAY, Libraire, rue S. Jacques, au-dessus de la rue des Mathurins, au Grand Corneille.
M. DCC. LXIX.
Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi.

Fig. 7. Title-page of the first volume of Le Tourneur's translation of *Night Thoughts* (1769) (*Author's Collection*)

THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT OF *NIGHT THOUGHTS*

From the middle of the eighteenth century *Night Thoughts* enjoyed celebrity (Fig. 7), owing much to the universal themes it embraced, but it also contained memorable and rather splendid lines. Typical of *Night I* is:

> '*This* is the Desert, *this* the Solitude;
> How populous? How vital, is the Grave?
> *This* is Creation's melancholy Vault,
> The Vale funereal, the sad *Cypress* gloom;
> The land of Apparitions, empty Shades:
> All, all on earth is *Shadow*, all beyond
> Is *Substance*; the reverse is Folly's *creed*;
> How solid all, where Change shall be no more?
> *This* is the bud of Being, the dim Dawn,
> The twilight of our Day; the Vestibule,
> *Life*'s Theater as yet is shut, and Death,
> Strong Death alone can heave the massy Bar,
> This gross impediment of Clay remove,
> And make us Embryos of Existence free.'[89]

Phrases that were once familiar also occur in the once-celebrated:

> 'Be wise today, 'tis madness to defer; …
> *Procrastination* is the Thief of Time,[90]

and:

> 'At *thirty* man *suspects* himself a Fool;
> *Knows* it at *forty*, and reforms his Plan;
> At *fifty* chides his infamous Delay,
> Pushes his prudent Purpose to *Resolve*;
> In all the magnanimity of Thought
> Resolves; and re-resolves: then dies the same.
> And Why? Because he thinks himself Immortal:
> All men think all men Mortal, but themselves'.[91]

Yet in the triumphant dissemination of what became known as 'Youngism' throughout Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century there were shifts of emphasis. Young's poem began to be regarded as a key work in the fashion for interest in sepulchres, melancholy, and ruins. As 'progressive' European tastes began to reject orthodox Christian beliefs in eternal life, they began

to focus on contemplative reveries, ideas of how to remember the dead, and the whole messy business of memorialisation and means of disposing of the dead. Images of burial-grounds, solitary mourners by tombs in twilight, owls as harbingers of death, and Gothick ruins appealed in a climate that encouraged a new tenderness towards the dead. Young, as a celebrant of profound grief caused by death, was perceived as such because the original *Preface* to *Night IV*, subsequently reprinted at the beginning of the entire work, stated that 'the Occasion of this Poem was *Real*, not *Fictitious*'.[92] This perception gained acceptance after the publication (1769) in two volumes in Paris by Lejay of *Les Nuits d'Young*,[93] a free translation of the original by Pierre-Prime-Félicien Le Tourneur[94] (Fig. 8). Le Tourneur's first book depicts Young standing in a landscape with lake by an altar embellished with wreathed skull and bones, holding a lyre in his left hand and offering his book to '*L'Éternel*': this was drawn by Clément-Pierre Marillier[95] and engraved by C.-A. Mercier.[96]

Le Tourneur's *Nuits*, however, was hardly a 'translation'. Much of the Christian emphasis was expunged, theological matters were distilled into notes, and the essence of the poem was altered to suggest the lonely poet's sorrow as he wandered among the tombs. However, as Harold Forster has observed, the 'tide of "Youngism" in Europe flowed in two separate waves: the Germanic and the Gallic. The first had already reached its height at the time of the poet's death; the French wave rose later, but more abruptly, and spread wider' because the French language was more widely known.[97] 'Thus, while the conscientious Germans tried to render the *Nights* as faithfully as possible in their translations and were duly followed' by the Danes, Swedes, and Dutch, the 'French translator did not hesitate to civilize and re-arrange Young's nine chaotic books into the epic number of twenty-four, neat, coherent, and emasculated, and it was this version that was passed on to the rest of Europe', in Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Russian, Polish, and eventually Magyar, Czech, Turkish, modern Greek, and even Maltese. 'One way of another the name and spirit of Young reached the farthest confines of Europe, and in both forms it caused profound changes in the literary atmosphere of the various countries'.[98] And it was not only the 'literary atmosphere' that was changed.

Night Thoughts was translated into German[99] by Johann Arnold Ebert,[100] and published (1751–2) in Braunschweig, with two further editions (1753,[101]

Fig. 8. Frontispiece of the first volume of Le Tourneur's translation of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1769), showing Young offering his work to God. Drawn by Clément-Pierre Marillier (1740–1808), engraved by C.-A. Mercier (*Author's Collection*)

1756). Another version by Christian Bernhard Kayser,[102] encouraged by the Swiss-born scientist, anatomist, and philologist, Albrecht von Haller,[103] appeared in Göttingen in 1752.[104] In 1760–1 Ebert produced a handsome, annotated, large edition with the English text facing the translation, and Kayser also issued a revised variant.[105] Young's German admirers included Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock[106] and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,[107] who held *Night Thoughts* to be a great work of the Sublime: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe[108] used *Night Thoughts* as his English reader. Klopstock, known as the 'German Milton', published an *Ode to Young*,[109] and Johann Gottfried Herder[110] remained an admirer of Young's work for the rest of his life.[111] Young's themes are particularly evident in two of Goethe's books:[112] *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers,*[113]and *Die Wahlverwandtschaften.*[114] Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller,[115] too, was influenced by Young (for example in his poem, *Der Abend* [1776]).[116] In short, Young's *Night Thoughts* was a formative and decisive factor[117] in the *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress) movement.

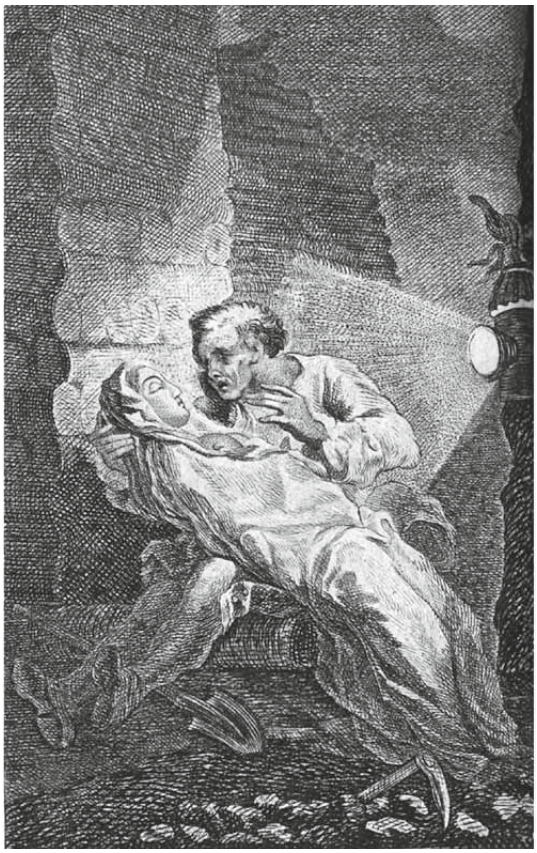


Fig. 9. Frontispiece of the second volume of Le Tourneur's translation of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1769), showing Young about to bury 'Narcissa' in a 'stolen grave'. Drawn by Marillier and engraved by Mercier (*Author's Collection*)

From *c.*1752 'Youngism' became something like a cult, and the *Nachtgedanken* acted as a catalyst for German imitators, or grave-loving 'Younglings'[118] (a reference to the German *Jüngling*, meaning a youth, young man, or stripling), not all of whom came up to the mark: Christian Adolph Klotz[119] thought Young a menace to German Letters,[120] King of the Night-Owls.[121] Johann Georg Jacobi,[122] though an admirer of Young's own work, detested his many German 'unwise imitators', calling them 'funeral bards', 'black prophets', and much else.[123] Christoph Martin Wieland,[124] who at one time believed Young was almost angelic, changed his mind, and questioned the Englishman's taste, considering it, as did Klotz, a corrupting influence.[125] However, Young's impact on German sensibilities is clear, and Goethe himself was to acknowledge the importance of *Night Thoughts* in the making of his own runaway success, *Werther*, so it reasonable to regard Young as a key figure in German Romanticism.

Several years before Le Tourneur's *Nuits* was published, the first French translations of *Night I* (1762) and *Night II* (1764) appeared: they were by Claude de Thyard, Comte de Bissy:[126] Thyard went so far as to compare Young's work with those of Pindar[127] and Homer.[128] Le Tourneur, in the *Preface* to his 1769 version, held that the work was a Sublime Elegy on the unavoidable miseries of the human condition, but he abstracted from the English Young a French Young by re-assembling all the 'fragments',

and excising anything he regarded as unworthy. Le Tourneur's work was hailed (not least by Voltaire) and had an immediate following, so 'Youngising' was embraced in France too.

This extraordinary European success, as it had become by 1789, was amazing. In its original English, *Night Thoughts* is frequently critical of 'Papistry', yet even the Spanish Inquisition could not get Young's poem suppressed, although much that might be regarded as worthy of censure was removed[129] by the tutor to the Prince of the Asturias, Don Juan de Escoiquiz Morata,[130] who, however, was working from Le Tourneur's 'translation'. (Fig. 9) The episode of Narcissa's burial in *Night III*, an obvious candidate for excision because of its bitter criticisms of how 'heretics' were treated in the *ancien régime* of France, was included and illustrated in Le Tourneur's 1769 version. Now this episode was once famous throughout Europe, and was one of the most influential parts of *Night Thoughts*: it created a sensation, and prompted movements to commemorate the dead in gardens. Thus an episode in a poem, sparked by a 'Real', not 'Fictitious … Occasion',[131] became a significant factor in the nascent movement to establish garden-cemeteries.

NARCISSA'S BURIAL

'Narcissa' was Elizabeth Lee, Young's step-daughter. Having married Young's friend, the Hon. Henry Temple[132] (son of Henry Temple[133] [created 1st Viscount Palmerston in the Irish Peerage from 1723]), in 1735, while still only in her teens, she died of tuberculosis in 1736, the year in which the Temples, Young, and Lady Betty travelled to the French Riviera, and was interred in the Cemetery of the Reformed Religion of the Swiss Nation at the *Hôtel-Dieu* in Lyons at eleven p.m. *Night III* described the events leading to the death and burial, suggesting the distress and horror of burial in the darkness in someone else's grave (a 'stolen grave' as he called it).[134] Surreptitious burial by night of Protestants is also mentioned in the play, *Harry Wildair* (1701), by George Farquhar:[135] this has an episode in which 'Lady Wildair' is buried secretly at night in Montpellier, and it was true that, in certain Roman Catholic countries, such as France and Spain, burial of Protestants was a problem, and often had to be performed secretly in ground not consecrated by the Roman Church. In Spain, for example, even beaches were used for that purpose. The 'Narcissa Episode' is thus a cry of anguished outrage against the unfeeling attitudes of French clerical authorities to the dignified burial of those who were not Roman Catholics (i.e. 'heretics'):

> 'Snatcht e'er thy Prime! …
> And on a Foreign Shore! Where Stangers wept!
> Strangers to Thee, and more surprizing still,
> Strangers to Kindness, wept: Their eyes let fall
> Inhuman Tears; strange tears! That trickled down
> From marble Hearts! obdurate Tenderness!
> A Tenderness that call'd them more severe,
> In Spight of Nature's soft Persuasion Steel'd:
> While *Nature* melted, *Superstition* rav'd;
> *That*, mourn'd the Dead; and *This* deny'd a Grave.
> Their Sighs incenst; Sighs foreign to the Will!
> Their Will the *Tyger* suckt, outrag'd the Storm:
> For oh! The curst Ungodliness of Zeal!
> While *sinful Flesh* relented, *Spirit* nurst
> In blind *Infallibility*'s embrace,
> The *Sainted Spirit* petrify'd the breast:
> Deny'd the Charity of Dust, to spread
> O'er Dust! A charity their Dogs enjoy.
> What cou'd I do? What Succour? What Resource?
> With pious Sacrilage, a Grave I stole;
> With impious Piety, that Grave I wrong'd;
> Short in my Duty! Coward in my Grief!
> More like her Murderer, than Friend, I crept
> With soft-suspended Step, and muffled deep
> In midnight Darkness, *whisper'd* my Last Sigh …
> Pardon Necessity, Blest Shade! Of Grief,
> And Indignation rival bursts I pour'd;
> Half-execration mingled with my Pray'r;
> Kindled at man, while I his God ador'd;
> Sore-grudg'd the Savage land her Sacred Dust;
> Stampt the curst Soil; and with Humanity,
> (Deny'd *Narcissa*,) wisht them All a Grave.'[136]

So Young arranged and paid for 'Narcissa's' private interment late at night: it cost him 729 *livres* and 12 *sous*.[137] By a process of osmosis, this factual burial became confused with the fictional one of 'Lady Wildair': even the *Biographia Britannica*'s entry on Young (1766) claimed that 'Narcissa's' body was 'carried' to Montpellier, and Le Tourneur further clouded matters, partly because Young had written:

> 'Soon as the Lustre languisht in her Eye, …
> … with haste, parental haste,
> I flew, I snatcht her from the rigid North,
> Her native Bed, on which bleak *Boreas* blew,
> And bore her nearer to the Sun …'[138]

Le Tourneur spiced his 'translation' to suggest Young had taken 'Narcissa' to Montpellier, and the second volume of his *Nuits d'Young* contained the celebrated illustration showing the English poet placing her in the 'stolen' grave. With an eye not unattuned to the posssibilities of profit, the Keeper of the *Jardin Royale* at Montpellier cooked up a fantasy in which Young bribed a former Keeper to prepare a grave, and 'Narcissa', wrapped only in a sheet, was laid in her clandestine resting-place.[139] By 1787 English tourists in Montpellier made pilgrimages to the lugubrious grove where melancholy shadows were cast over the mythical place of burial. Liberal-minded Frenchmen, stung by Young's censures, even made proposals to put up a memorial over the unhallowed spot, but this was opposed by clerical authorities offended that a 'heretic' might be commemorated.[140] This conveniently overlaps with the speech by the character 'Dick' in Farquhar's play:

> 'Those cursed barbarous devils, the French, would not let us bury her … She was a heretic woman and they would not let her corpse be put in their holy ground … [We] carried her out … through a back door at midnight and laid her in a grave that I dug for her myself with my own hands.'[141]

Matters were further confused when Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford,[142] organised excavations of the Montpellier site, disinterring some human remains. As a result, despite clerical protests, a monument, inscribed *PLACANDIS NARCISSAE MANIBUS*,[143] was put up, and soon became one of Montpellier's attractions, even though a black marble tombstone, commemorating Mrs Lee with a Latin inscription, existed in the burial-ground of the *Hôtel-Dieu* in Lyons.[144]

Walter William Thomas,[145] the French biographer of Young,[146] argued against charges of insensitivity laid against France, and stated that burial at night was usual for Protestants (it was also not unusual in England either, where entombment within churches in the hours of darkness added solemnity to such occasions), and that Young's only cause for outrage was the exorbitant fee charged by the authorities. Nevertheless, discomfort over strongly expressed charges of lack of human feelings made by Young in *Night III* led to responses among open-minded Frenchmen. Anti-clerical scepticism was becoming overtly expressed in the climate of the early Enlightenment,[147] and a fresh spirit, a proto-Romanticism, heralded change, encouraged through Freemasonry, an organisation within which 'heretical' themes might be explored by the like-minded without fear of repercussions from reactionary authorities.[148]

THE ARCADIAN LANDSCAPE

Richard Etlin, discussing the transformation of the French cemetery,[149] sagely observed that the tomb entered the garden with the beginnings of the first exemplars of the Picturesque landscape. Even in the seventeenth century, some English poets alluded to tombs set in gardens, influenced by Classical Antiquity and celebrations of the Elysian Fields by Hesiod,[150] Virgil, and others. And Alexander Pope[151] went further: he created from 1719 a garden of

Fig. 10. Elysian Fields, Stowe, Buckinghamshire, with Temple of British Worthies (*c.*1735) by William Kent (*c.*1685–1748) (*Author's Collection*)

Memory and Meditation as a memorial to his mother at Twickenham featuring an obelisk set in a cypress grove. The elegiac character of Pope's garden, with its visual and emotional climax in the monument, was much admired. Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld,[152] in his *Theorie der Gartenkunst*,[153] mentioned it, and stressed the importance of the gardens at Stowe, where the Elysian Fields and many allusive *fabriques* suggested Arcady and commemoration of the dead, exercising a profound influence over Continental visitors during the next decade or so.[154] (Fig. 10) Another poet, William Shenstone,[155] popularised the creation of memorials set in gardens as triggers for jogging memories: Etlin noted that the 'connection between the elegiac sentiment and the landscape could not be made more explicit.'[156] (Fig. 11) At The Leasowes, in Worcestershire, Shenstone laid out a garden with walks leading past an urn sited in a grove and other elements intended to evoke the realm of an idealised Arcady: according to Virgil, Arcady's exquisite landscapes basked in perpetual Spring, and indeed Virgil himself may well have been responsible for 'erecting' the first literary tomb in his evocative creation, when friends of 'Daphnis' raised a monument to him.[157] The Leasowes embraced features commemorating contemporaries of Shenstone, and within the grounds was an 'Elysium' embellished with an obelisk dedicated to Virgil: thus the urn, associated with the grey-white calcined remains of the dead, the funerary marker, and the memorial began to be regarded as essential artefacts to ornament gardens of allusion.

Jonathan Tyers[158] drew on poetry by John Milton[159] in his gardens.[160] At Vauxhall *L'Allegro* (1645) was the inspiration,[161] but at Denbies, near Dorking in Surrey, it was *Il Penseroso* (*also*

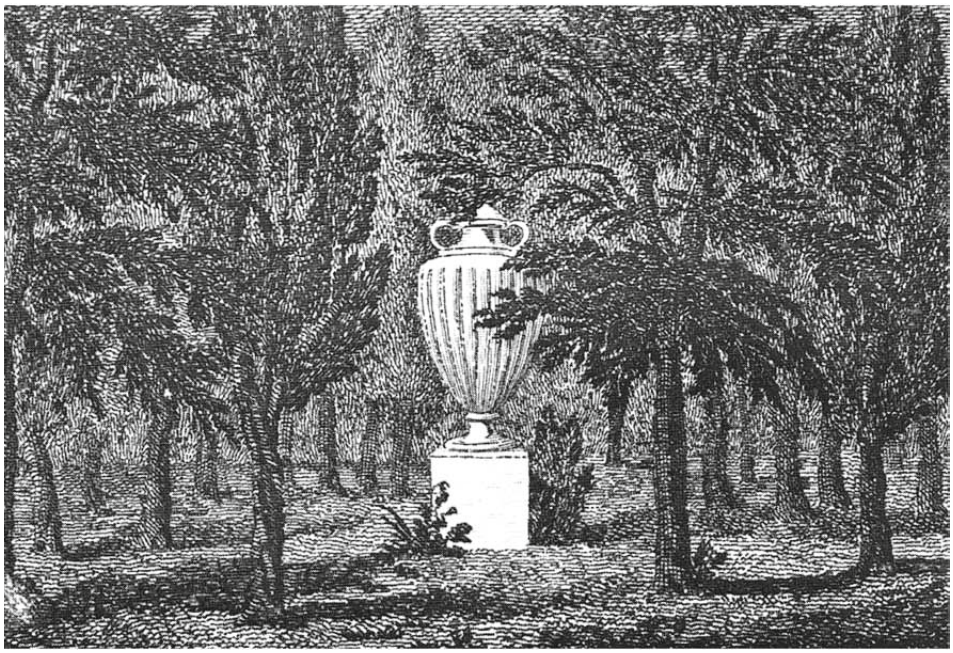


Fig. 11. Funerary urn at The Leasowes, Worcestershire
(*Reproduced from the 1764 edition of Shenstone's works, published by R. & J. Dodsley*)
(*Author's Collection*)

1645) that struck the solemn note. Tyers had purchased Denbies in 1734, and there he created an extraordinary woodland garden, since destroyed, through which a labyrinth of walks was constructed, at almost every turn of which was an admonition or moral instruction. Near the entrance to the paths was a thatched Gothick 'Temple of Death' containing a lectern to which were chained copies of *Night Thoughts* and *The Grave*. Around the walls were panels inscribed with verses concerned with fleeting pleasures and vanity; a clock chimed every minute, reminding the visitor that time was short; and the dominant feature was a stucco monument (1745–50)[162] to Robert James, 8th Baron Petre,[163] the botanist and gardener, by Louis-François Roubiliac,[164] which featured an angel blowing the Last Trump, thus causing a fat obelisk to crumble and the body of His Lordship within it to rise, casting its grave-clothes aside. Resurrected corpses are uncommon in eighteenth-century English funerary monuments, but Roubiliac used similar elements for his work at the Mary Myddelton[165] memorial in St Giles's Church, Wrexham, Denbighshire (1751–2), which anticipates the sensational monument (1756–7) to General William Hargrave[166] in the south nave-aisle of Westminster Abbey.[167]

The perambulation to the 'Temple of Death' seems to have represented the tedious journey through life, but then the visitor passed through a macabre gateway flanked by two coffins set on end and surmounted by real skulls (one supposedly a highwayman's and the other a courtesan's) that gave access to the 'Valley of the Shadow of Death';[168] the path led to a large *fabrique* containing a statue of Truth (again probably by Roubiliac) which directed

Fig. 12. 'Death of an Unbeliever' or 'The BAD MAN at the HOUR of DEATH', engraved by Chambars from a painting by Hayman, published (1783) by Boydell (*Author's Collection*)

attention to two pictures representing 'Death of a Christian' and 'Death of an Unbeliever' painted by Francis Hayman[169] (Fig. 12), now only known from engravings by Thomas A.E. Chambars[170] published in 1783 by John Boydell.[171] Hayman also designed the grisly frontispiece to the 1756 edition of *Night Thoughts*, engraved by Charles Grignion,[172] in which a skeletal Death comes to the bedside of the poet.

Denbies was not by any means the only garden influenced by Young's writings. Giustiniana (Justine) Wynne,[173] widow of Philipp Joseph, Graf von Orsini und Rosenberg,[174] described, in a work[175] edited by Comte Bartolommeo Benincasa,[176] the garden belonging to the Venetian intellectual, Angelo Quirini,[177] at Alticchiero near Padua, which contained a *Bois de Young*, a gloomy area of semi-wild woodland inspired by *Night Thoughts*: this was one of the most significant landscapes of the Enlightenment in Italy. There were others: at Arkadia, the celebrated garden created (1776–1821) for Princess Helena Radziwiłłowa[178] near Nieborów, Poland, the 'Tomb of Illusions', designed by Henryk Ittar,[179] was inscribed with quotations from *Night Thoughts*, and indeed the route led from this 'Tomb' to a waterfall, where Young's work could be pondered over to the soothing murmurs of falling water.[180]

A fashion to introduce tombs, cenotaphs, and memorials into gardens was undoubtedly influenced by Nicolas Poussin's[181] second version of his painting, *Et in Arcadia Ego*, showing four figures in Classical Antiquity examining an ancient tomb set in a grove within an unspoiled Arcady. (Fig. 13) In the Age of Enlightenment this composition was interpreted to suggest the person entombed had once known the beautiful landscape, and so memorials in gardens could evoke the shades of the Departed. Here was a complete contrast to unsavoury urban burial-grounds: it was a re-creation of an Arcady where the dead could be remembered among the beauties of Nature; a fit setting for the tomb, monument, and memorial; an environment for deep reveries and the cultivation of tender sentiment; and a place free from terrors, where Death was tamed.[182]

The German edition of *Night Thoughts* (1751–2) influenced Salomon Gessner,[183] whose *Idyllen* came out in German in 1756, with a subsequent French edition in 1762.[184] (Fig. 14) Gessner's pastoral poems enjoyed a sensational success in literary history comparable to that of *Night Thoughts*, and were admired by Hirschfeld and others for whom they greatly surpassed in excellence the poetry of Antiquity. Many Continental aristocrats who had laid out gardens were profoundly affected by Gessner's work. The Swiss author celebrated the virtues of ordinariness, such as family affection, mutual respect, gratitude, consideration, fidelity, and compassion. His *Idylls* inspired changes in behaviour through the encouragement of heightened sensibility

Fig. 13. Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* (*Reproduced from James Stevens Curl:* Freemasonry & the Enlightenment *[London: Historical Publications Ltd., 2011], p. 180*) (*Author's Collection*)

Fig. 14. The Tomb in the Landscape with shepherds, from the 1797 edition of Gessner's *Idylls* (*Author's Collection*)

Fig. 15. 'Glicère' pouring a libation at her mother's tomb. Illustration by Jean-Michel Moreau (1741–1814) for the 1797 edition of Gessner's *Idylls* (*Author's Collection*)

and by virtuous example. Throughout his work ran threads of elegiac nostalgia and acute longing: he described tombs in landscapes as playing major rôles in the evolution of sentimental and tender feelings. (Fig. 15) Gessner promoted the Romantic notion of the visit to the tomb of a Loved One, so places of burial or entombment and associated memorials began to become integral elements within idealised Arcadian 'landskips' where the living (who would draw much moral uplift from visits to the tomb) could reflect, shed decorous tears, and 'reach out' to the dead. Gessner's *Idylls* contain descriptions of graves over which honeysuckle tumbled, shaded by weeping willows, and softened by creeping ivies, all placed in beautiful contrived landscapes, where the living could pour libations as they did in Classical Antiquity, and recall to mind the *Manes* of their dead. There is little in Gessner's work to suggest that any shepherd, sporting with Amaryllis in the shade, behaved indecorously: his 'weeping pastorals' were widely read and quoted on an international scale.

In 1773–8 Louis Carrogis, known as Carmontelle,[185] laid out the landscape of allusions at Monceau[186] for the Anglophile Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc de Chartres,[187] Grand Master of the Grand Orient of France. (Fig. 16) This *Parc*, one of the first 'naturalistic' French gardens designed on principles of the *jardin Anglo-Chinois*, and now a public park in the 8th *Arrondissement*, included a section called the *Bois des Tombeaux* where pyramids, pedestals, and urns were erected among the trees: Primitivist architectural treatments of parts of these *fabriques* suggested Antiquity and the Egyptianesque, connecting Freemasonic concerns with Ancient Mysteries and with Hermeticism.[188] Later (1801), Nicolas-Thérèse-Benoist, Comte Frochot,[189] proposed that the *Parc* should be transformed into a modern cemetery, with real

Fig. 16. *Bois des Tombeaux* in the *Parc Monceau*, Paris, designed by 'Carmontelle' (Louis Carrogis [1717–1806]) and engraved by L. Lesueur (*fl.*1770s) (*Reproduced from Carmontelle:* Jardin de Monceau, près de Paris … *[Paris: Delafosse 1779]*) (*Author's Collection*)

Fig. 17. Rousseau's tomb on the *Île des Peupliers*, in the *Élysée* at Ermenonville, by Jean-Michel Moreau (1778) (*Reproduced from James Stevens Curl:* Freemasonry & the Enlightenment *[London: Historical Publications Ltd., 2011], p. 187*)

tombs, thereby adding to the impact of the garden by enhancing the flavour already established.

From the time of the evolution of the elegiac 'landskip' enriched with cenotaphs and monuments, it was a natural evolution to bury real bodies in real gardens. There had been, of course, mausolea in great estates, but the first most influential burial in an eighteenth-century designed landscape was that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau[190] on the *Île des Peupliers* in the gardens of René-Louis, Marquis de Girardin[191] at Ermenonville. (Fig. 17) The *Île* was set in an *Élysée* based on descriptions of 'Julie's' creation in Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*,[192] and on it, over the grave, was a funerary urn set on a pedestal. This was to prove a potent exemplar, and was copied in several gardens after images of it were published. Girardin had also been profoundly influenced by The Leasowes which he had visited in the 1760s. Now Rousseau had been born a Protestant, and the Marquis was not only emulating an English garden on French soil, but demonstrating his Enlightened attitudes by entombing and commemorating a 'heretic' on a poplar-framed island set in a lake in his own English-inspired garden. He was thus responding, in a very public way, to the 'Narcissa Episode' in *Night Thoughts.* Hirschfeld immediately understood that Rousseau's tomb in the garden was of huge importance as a model for future developments.[193]

Ermenonville's essence was developed from Stowe's Elysian Fields too, and contained monuments commemorating real people, as well the actual grave of the Alsatian painter Georges-Frédéric Mayer,[194] who, like Rousseau, died when at Ermenonville.[195] Thus Girardin had two real bodies buried in his landscape garden, and so not only looked back to Young, Stowe, and The Leasowes, but forward to the development of the

garden-cemetery. Hirschfeld celebrated the elegiac garden, but also proposed real tombs in landscape gardens, thereby extending the themes established by influential exemplars such as Stowe, and making them more piquant. Owners of extensive parks could lay out beautiful family cemeteries which would would trigger tender memories and noble uplifting thoughts. Hirschfeld mentioned other tombs in gardens such as those of Johann Georg Sulzer,[196] champion of the informal 'English' landscape garden in Germany,[197] and of the Landgräfin Henriette Christiane Karoline of Hesse-Darmstadt,[198] with its funerary urn carefully placed within a peaceful naturalistic Arcady. With such exemplars death began to lose much of its fearfulness and its ability to inspire terror.

Then came (1782) *Les jardins*:[199] it made a case for the erection of tombs set among yews, pines, cypresses, and flowers, for Nature, to the Abbé Jacques Delille,[200] could provide settings for the tomb to which the bereaved could pay tearful visits. Bernardin Saint-Pierre[201] brought out his *Études de la Nature*,[202] advocating an *Élysée* for worthy dead as well as huge public cemeteries designed as landscape gardens beautified with *fabriques* that would double as mausolea and funerary monuments. Not only would this be a great improvement on the aesthetically disgusting churchyards, but would help to promote moral feelings, sweet melancholy, gentle remembrance, national pride, and much else.

A forerunner of the garden-cemetery, with clear Freemasonic connections, was the imaginative garden at Franconville-la-Garenne, created in the 1780s by Claude-Camille-François, Comte d'Albon,[203] and partly inspired by the ideas of his friend, Court de Gébelin,[204] linguist, author of *Monde Primitif*,[205] Protestant, and Freemason. (Fig. 18) Images of the *fabriques* in this elegiac garden, since destroyed, were drawn by Angélique Charlotte de Castellane,[206] Comtesse d'Albon from 1772, and these, with other illustrations engraved by E. Lepagelet,[207] were published in 1784.[208] They included a *Caverne d'Young* in memory of the author of *Night Thoughts*, a Pantheon-like temple (common in Masonic iconography), a Primitive Hut, and much else, wide-ranging in themes and styles, with mnemonic intentions.

Also connected with Young was the cenotaph in memory of Albrecht von Haller, who, it will be recalled, championed Young in German-speaking lands: it was in the form of a truncated pyramid with an urn set on top, and with four poplars set around it, a nod to the *peupliers* of Rousseau's grave at Ermenonville. (Fig. 19) But more significantly, d'Albon caused the body of Court de Gébelin to be buried in his garden, and over it he caused a tomb of four 'ruined' columns in the Antique Primitive style

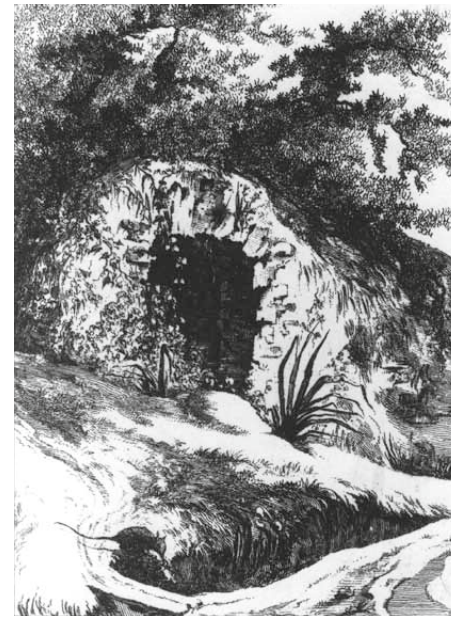


Fig. 18. *Caverne d'Young*, Franconville-la-Garenne, drawn and engraved by E. Lepagelet, from Marie de Lussy, *Vues des monuments construits dans les jardins de Franconville-la-Garenne* … etc. (Paris: Chez Moutard, 1784), given hereafter as Lussy (*Reproduced from James Stevens Curl:* Freemasonry & the Enlightenment *[London: Historical Publications Ltd., 2011], p. 192*)

Fig. 19. Cenotaph of Albrecht von Haller at Franconville-la-Garenne, drawn by Lussy, and engraved by Lepagelet, from Lussy (*Reproduced from James Stevens Curl:* Freemasonry & the Enlightenment *[London: Historical Publications Ltd., 2011], p. 191*)

set around a blocky sarcophagus-like monument to be erected, an arrangement echoing the four trees around von Haller's cenotaph. (Fig. 20) This was therefore a demonstration that d'Albon was not like the 'Strangers to Kindness' whom Young had denounced in the 'Narcissa Episode' in *Night Thoughts*,[209] but was civilised and open-minded, a stance underscored by the Haller cenotaph and the *Caverne d'Young*. Thus d'Albon, an enlightened French aristocrat and his gifted Countess, buried and commemorated their friend, a 'heretic' and Freemason, in their own garden, and demonstrated to the world that they understood Young's strictures, responded positively to them, and in so doing, helped to create a climate in which the first garden-cemeteries came into being, starting with the great *Cimetière du Père-Lachaise* in Paris. That New Eden, New Arcady, a Terrestrial Paradise, where the landscape garden was transformed into the garden-cemetery, was the prototype for many nineteenth-century metropolitan cemeteries thereafter: a development which civilised the disposal of the dead in numerous countries on both sides of the Atlantic. Such great urban *necropoleis* owed their origins to a series of shifts and influences prompted by Young's *Night Thoughts*, and they would not have come into being in the absence of the literary works mentioned in this essay.

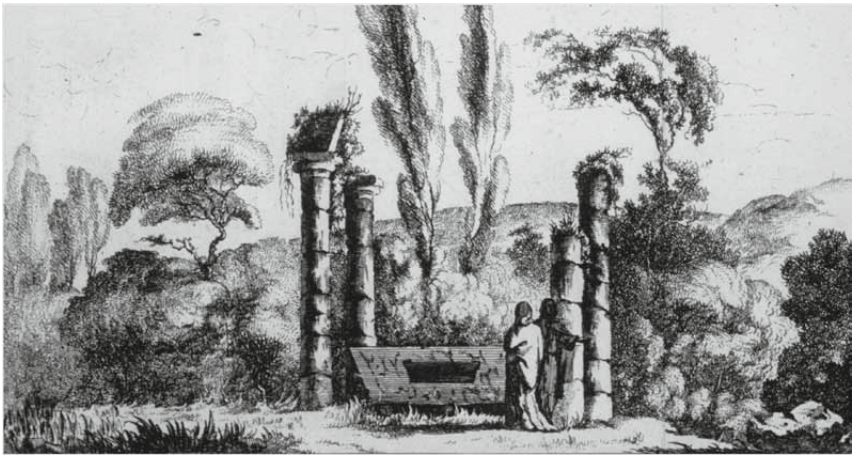


Fig. 20. Tomb of Court de Gébelin, Franconville-la-Garenne, drawn by Lussy, and engraved by Lepagelet, from Lussy (*Reproduced from James Stevens Curl:* Freemasonry & the Enlightenment *[London: Historical Publications Ltd., 2011], p. 191*)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An early version of this paper was written when the author was Visiting Fellow at Peterhouse, University of Cambridge, in 1991–2. He thanks the Master, Fellows, and Governing Body of Peterhouse for this honour, enabling him to pursue many lines of enquiry uninterrupted by more mundane matters. It later appeared as 'Young's *Night Thoughts* and the Origins of the Garden Cemetery' in *The Journal of Garden History*, 14/2 (Summer, 1994), pp. 92–118, and this revised version, incorporating earlier and new material, is published with the permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd., www.tandfonline.com. He is also grateful to Lucas Elkin, of Cambridge University Library, for help with various matters, to John Richardson, of Historical Publications Ltd., for permissions relating to the re-use of material originally published by him, to Dr Geoffrey Tyack, for his patience and care, and he acknowledges the kindness of Dr Sarah Beaver, Bursar/Academic Administrator of All Souls College, Oxford, in relation to permission to reproduce the portrait of the poet. Finally, he thanks Dr Susan Wilson most warmly for her expertise in arranging the illustrations for this paper in publishable form.

ENDNOTES

1 JOHN STRANG (1795–1863): *Necropolis Glasguensis; with Osbervations* [sic] *on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture* (Glasgow, 1831), pp. 58–9 and *passim. See also* JOHN CLAUDIUS LOUDON (1783–1843): *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of CEMETERIES; and on the Improvement of Churchyards* (London, 1843), p. 11 and *passim.*
2 1683–1765.
3 1759–96.
4 Burns's copy was published in Glasgow (1764), printed by J. Young & R. Smith for Robert Smith, Jr.
5 *See* Julia D. Prandi, *The poetry of the Self-Taught* (New York, 2008); Kenneth G. Simpson, 'Wraiths, Rhetoric, and "The Sin of Rhyme" ', in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 39/1 (2013), pp. 104–14.
6 1641/2–1705.
7 1702.
8 1645–1714.
9 1695–1702.
10 1708.
11 1636–1715.
12 1714.
13 1719.
14 *ODNB*, 60 (2004), pp. 881–7.
15 Harold Forster, *Edward Young: The poet of the* Night Thoughts, *1683–1765* (Alburgh, Harleston, 1986), p. 138.
16 At St Mary-at-Hill, City of London.
17 1694–1740.
18 1663–1716.
19 1664–1718
20 *r.*1660–85.
21 1640–1709.
22 Colonel Lee and Lady Elizabeth married in 1717 and had four children: Elizabeth (1718–36), Charles Henry (*c.*1720–44), George Henry (died in infancy 1728), and Caroline (*c.*1727–51—who was to marry [1748] Captain [later General] William Haviland [1718–84]). For Haviland *see ODNB*, 25 (2004), pp. 866–7.
23 Forster (1986), *op. cit.*, p .139.
24 *Ibid.*
25 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
26 *See*, for example, Edward Young, *A Poem on the Last Day* … etc. (Oxford, 1713); Forster (1986), *op. cit.*, *passim*; *ODNB*, 60 (2004), pp. 882–7.
27 1704–64.
28 Suggesting, perhaps, *Psalm* 142.2 ('I poured out my complaints before him: and shewed him of my trouble'). *See also* Steven Cornford (ed.), *Preface* in his edition of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 320.
29 Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC).
30 70–19BC.
31 *Aeneid*, I, 462.
32 1673–1743.
33 Died 1743.
34 *Georgics*, IV, 489.
35 1715–85.
36 1720–90.
37 1718–72.

38 1694–1754.
39 Died 1780.
40 1689–1761.
41 1740.
42 1747–8.
43 1693–1768.
44 *Aeneid*, I, 239.
45 David Fairweather Foxon (ed.), *English Verse, 1701–1750: A Catalogue* … etc. (Cambridge, 1975).
46 *See* Harold Forster, 'Some uncollected authors: Edward Young in Translation', in *Book Collector*, 19 (1970), pp. 481–500, and 20 (1971), pp. 47–67, 209–24.
47 Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. ix.
48 *Ibid.*
49 1674/5–1747.
50 Edward Young, *The Poetical Works* … etc. (London, 1741).
51 Forster (1986), *op. cit.,* p. 174. *See also* Henry Charles Shelley, *The Life and Letters of Edward Young* (London & New York, 1914); Cecil Vivian Wicker, *Edward Young and the Fear of Death* … etc. (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1952).
52 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757), *passim.*
53 IX, 2411. The numbers relate to the Book (IX) and the line (2411) in the definitive edition of Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*
54 IX, 2411–12.
55 IX, 724.
56 V, 128.
57 V, 129.
58 V, 138.
59 V, 177.
60 V, 176.
61 IV, 704.
62 IV, 703.
63 IV, 704.
64 VI, 673.
65 IX, 908.
66 IX, 620–30.
67 IX, 635.
68 IV, 427, 512.
69 IX, 835 ff.
70 IX, 1039.
71 IX, 1042.
72 1699–1746.
73 1716–71.
74 Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, VI, 287.
75 VI, 550–5; VIII, 433–5.
76 VIII, 98.
77 *See The BOOK of Common Prayer and Administration of the* SACRAMENTS *and other* Rites *and* Ceremonies … *according to the use of the UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND* … etc. (London, 1853), containing woodcuts by Mary Byfield (1795–1871) from designs by various masters, notably Dürer and Holbein.
78 *See* T.S.R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages* … etc. (London, 1972), pp. 104–6.
79 Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, IV, 287.
80 *Ibid.*
81 IV, 619.
82 IV, 656.
83 IV, 656–7.
84 V, 367–8
85 VI, 678–89.
86 VI, 649–51.
87 VI, 724.
88 VI, 723–34.
89 I, 114–21.
90 I, 389–90.
91 I, 416–23.
92 Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 35
93 Pierre-Prime Le Tourneur, *Les Nuits d'Young* (Paris, 1769).
94 1737–88.
95 1740–1808.
96 *Fl.*1760s-70s.
97 Forster (1986), *op. cit.*, p. 387.
98 *Ibid.*
99 John Louis Kind, *Edward Young in Germany* … etc. (New York, 1966), a reprint of the earlier edition (New York, 1906), p. 77.
100 1723–95.
101 Johann Arnold Ebert, *Dr. Eduard Young's Klagen, oder Nachtgedanken über Leben, Tod, und Unsterblichkeit* (Braunschweig & Hildesheim, 1753).
102 1720–78.
103 1708–77. Haller was an important figure of the *Aufklärung*, though perhaps less well known in Anglophone countries.
104 By Johann Wilhelm Schmidt, 'Univ. Buchhändler'.

105 *Dr. Eduard Youngs Klagen* … etc. (Hannover, 1760–1): it was favourably reviewed, and considered at the time to be a more satisfactory work than Ebert's version. *See also* Kind, *op. cit.*
106 1724–1803.
107 1729–81.
108 1749–1832.
109 *An Young.* The first line reads *Stirb, prophetischer Greis, stirb!* (Die, prophetic Old Man, die!) (Leipzig, 1753).
110 1744–1803.
111 Kind, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
112 *Ibid.*, pp. 109–10.
113 Translated as *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (Leipzig, 1774).
114 Translated as *Elective Affinities* (Tübingen, 1809).
115 1759–1805.
116 Kind, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–12.
117 Curl (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 94
118 Forster (1986), *op. cit.*, p. 387.
119 1738–71.
120 Kind, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
121 Walter Thomas, *Le Poète Edward Young, 1683–1765* … etc. (Paris, 1901), p. 533; Forster (1986), *op. cit.*, p. 387.
122 1740–1814.
123 Kind, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–17.
124 1733–1813.
125 Kind, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
126 1721–1810.
127 518-*after* 446BC.
128 Probably eighth century BC.
129 Don Juan de Escoiquiz, *Obras Selectas de Eduardo Young* (Madrid, 1797).
130 1762–1820.
131 *Preface* to the first edition of *Night IV*, quoted in Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 35.
132 *c.*1704–40.
133 1672/3–1757.
134 Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, III, 172.
135 1679–1707.
136 Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, III, 150–88.
137 Reckoned to be about £35 *at that time*, so an enormous sum of money, probably somewhere near £3,000 or more today.
138 Cornford (ed.), *op. cit.*, III, 111–19.
139 Forster (1986), *op. cit.*, p. 151.
140 *Ibid.*, p. 152. The story was repeated by Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone (1721–93), in his *Travelling Memorandums* … etc. (Edinburgh, 1791–5), I, p. 187.
141 George Farquhar (1930): *Complete Works* Charles Stonehill (ed.) (London, 1930), I, pp. 172–3.
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