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THE POEMS OF ALEXANDER POPE

VOLUME IV

IMITATIONS OF HORACE

The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope

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GENERAL EDITOR: JOHN BUTT

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VOLUME I

PASTORAL POETRY and THE ESSAY ON CRITICISM
E. Audra, Professor of English, University of Lille.

VOLUME II

THE RAPE OF THE LOCK and other poems. Geoffrey Tillotson, Lecturer in English, University College, London.

VOLUME III

ETHIC EPISTLES. Maynard Mack, Instructor in English, Yale University, and F. W. Bateson.

VOLUME IV

IMITATIONS OF HORACE with AN EPISTLE TO DR ARBUTHNOT and THE EPILOGUE TO THE SATIRES. John Butt, Lecturer in English, Bedford College, University of London.

VOLUME V

THE DUNCIAD. James Sutherland, Professor of English, Birkbeck College, University of London.

VOLUME VI

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS. Norman Ault.

ALEXANDER POPE

IMITATIONS OF HORACE

With AN EPISTLE TO DR ARBUTHNOT

and THE EPILOGUE TO

THE SATIRES

*

Edited by
JOHN BUTT

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PREFACE

THIS edition of Pope's *Imitations of Horace*, *An Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, and *The Epilogue to the Satires* is one volume in a series of six which will comprise the complete poetical works of Pope, excluding the translations of Homer. As in Messrs Methuen's editions of Shakespeare and Marlowe, each volume has been entrusted to a separate editor, and textual and critical notes are given on the same page as the text.

In the disposal of the poems it has been found advisable to depart from the arrangement which has been traditional since Warburton's first edition of 1751, in order to avoid discrepancy in the size of the volumes and in the importance of their contents. The first and second volumes contain the majority of the early poems which Pope collected in 1717, before he stooped to truth and moralized his song. In the third volume will be found all that was published of the great scheme of *Ethic Epistles*. Volume iv contains the *Imitations of Horace*—and here the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* and *The Epilogue to the Satires*, the most Horatian of Pope's original work, are most suitably placed—and volume v contains the two versions of *The Dunciad*, to which equal importance has been given for the first time, just as the earlier and later versions of *The Rape of the Lock* are given equal importance in volume ii. In order to deal adequately with the recent large additions to the canon of Pope's works, a separate volume has been allotted to his miscellaneous poems: there will be found most of his experiments in metres other than the heroic couplet, and there, incidentally, are two of the three poems by which he is represented in *The Golden Treasury* and *The Oxford Book of English Verse*.

The tendency in English editing has lately been to care for the text at the expense of the annotations. There is never any doubt of what words Pope wrote in a poem which is indubitably his; instead, the difficulty has sometimes been to decide which of the authentic readings Pope intended for his final choice. Warburton states in his preface that he had the advantage of printing the corrections which Pope had made in his last illness, and that by the terms of Pope's will he had been bequeathed the property of the poet's works to be

published "without future alterations." Warburton's authority is occasionally suspect, but it is impossible to escape from it altogether. The editors have used their judgement, and allowed the reader to use his by placing the alternative readings in the apparatus.

Warburton also states that he has "ornamented this Edition with all the advantages which the best Artists in Paper, Printing, and Sculpture could bestow upon it." The effect is that in the use of capital letters and italic type, Warburton's text differs from any text with which Pope was acquainted. Printing-house methods were changing throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the tendency being to use less italic type, especially in the large quarto editions of collected works, which are almost free from it. This has complicated the choice of an edition to be followed in its typographical usage; but full consideration has shown the advantage of following the typography of the first edition of each poem, except where more powerful reasons dictated otherwise. Where Pope has corrected the first edition, the typography of his corrections has been modified so as to accord with the printing-house practice, recognized then, and unmistakable now. It will be admitted that this is a matter of taste, about which a general agreement can never be reached. We prefer to see Pope in a dress of his own day rather than in the new style which Warburton chose for him. For the same reason, the punctuation of the earliest editions has been chosen. Punctuation changes whimsically between one edition and another, which suggests that Pope took little heed of it. This is what might be expected in the man who sneered at those editors who set commas and points exactly right. Consequently changes in type and in punctuation do not appear in the textual notes of this edition, except where the meaning is thereby changed; and printers' errors have also been excluded, for these have no interest for a student of poetry. The textual notes record only the readings rejected from the authorized editions.

The readings of Pope's manuscripts have been omitted from the textual notes, chiefly for reasons of space, but partly because they cannot be considered authoritative. These readings belong to the unformed, pre-natal history of the poems. They had definitely been rejected as unsatisfactory. Our chief regret in omitting them is that we have not catered for the student of poetical origins; the com-

mon reader, we think, will be sufficiently occupied with the printed variants.

As suggested above, the editors have paid special attention to the elucidation of Pope's works. The nature of his poetry presents two great difficulties to those who would appreciate it; much of it is made out of echoes and imitations of earlier poets, to whose ideas Pope gives better expression, and much of his wit is to be understood only from knowledge of the secret history of his time. Pope himself seems to have recognized these difficulties, for he has given the lead to his editors by noting some of the echoes in the *Essay on Criticism* and *The Rape of the Lock*, and by explaining allusions in such poems as *The Dunciad* and the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*. The lead was followed by his contemporaries: the Dublin publishers filled up the blank names in *The Dunciad* and other poems from what knowledge they possessed; the second Earl of Oxford, Horace Walpole, William Cole, and John Wilkes amused themselves by annotating their copies of the poems; and, in 1740, William Clarke and William Bowyer began to make arrangements for publishing a collection of Pope's imitations, but desisted for fear of displeasing Pope by discovering what they supposed to be his "plagiarisms" (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, iv 429–37). Warburton explained some allusions and could have explained more. So too could Joseph Warton, who began to publish his garrulous notes in 1756, under the title of *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (vol. ii, 1782), and used them for his edition of 1797. Warton's energies, like those of Gilbert Wakefield,[1] his immediate predecessor, were directed towards collecting Pope's imitations, and from their ample collections all succeeding editors have borrowed. In the nineteenth century, Bowles (1806), Carruthers (1853), and Ward (1869) all did valuable work; but the most important edition, made possible by the researches of Dilke[2] and Croker, was that which was started by Elwin

1. His first volume was published in 1794; but finding that Warton was already engaged in an edition he desisted, but published a further volume of *Observations* in 1796. At the same time, Malone was working on an edition, which he relinquished for the same reason. His notes are in the Bodleian Library (MS. Malone 30).

2. Assembled in *The Papers of a Critic*, 1875. Croker's collections were handed over to Elwin when he commenced work on his edition.

in 1871, and concluded by Courthope in 1889. This great edition has many defects, not the least of which was the harshly unsympathetic attitude of Elwin; the text was crudely modernized so as to fill out Pope's careful elisions; the collations were spasmodic; and Pope's letters were put to but little use in the annotations. Yet in spite of this, there is a wealth of illustrative and explanatory material in the notes, to which every subsequent editor must of necessity be greatly indebted.

Since 1889 much has been discovered about Pope and his contemporaries, but the new material has not hitherto been incorporated in any complete edition of the poems. It is therefore the intention of the present editors to select all that is valuable from the work of their predecessors, and to add to it the discoveries which they themselves have made.

J. B.

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Page from Pope's autograph MS. of the Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace facing page 157

INTRODUCTION

THE poems in this volume, like those in vol. iii, were written under the influence of Bolingbroke. It was Bolingbroke who suggested the *Imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*; it was Bolingbroke who was chosen to receive the *Imitation* of Horace's Epistle to Maecenas (Ep. I i), and it was Bolingbroke who inspired the "patriotism" of the *Epilogue to the Satires*.

The first *Imitation of Horace* was written in the latter part of January 1732–3, when Pope was confined to his room with a fever. One of his visitors was Bolingbroke, who happened to take up a *Horace* which lay on Pope's table, and in turning over the leaves, chanced upon the first satire of the second book. "He observed," said Pope, recounting the incident to Spence, "how well that would hit my case, if I were to imitate it in English. After he was gone, I read it over; translated it in a morning or two, and sent it to the press in a week or fortnight after. And this was the occasion of my imitating some other of the satires and epistles afterwards."[1] The poem was entered at Stationers' Hall on February 14, and two days later Pope wrote to Swift that he had sent him "another thing of mine, which is a parody from Horace, writ in two mornings." Its reception was encouraging. Pope was able to write to Caryll on March 8 that this "last piece of song" had "met with such a flood of favour, that my ears need no more flattery for this twelvemonth." He continued to speak of it, however, in the tone of disparagement which he had already adopted in a letter to Richardson,[2] telling Caryll that it was but "a slight thing, the work of two days."

Horace's poem is an introduction to the satires which follow, and is an apology for writing satire. The reason why such a poem hit Pope's case was that he was still alarmed by the outcry at his *Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington*, published in December 1731, and now known as the fourth Moral Essay. The portrait of *Timon* in that poem had been angrily proclaimed as a portrait of the Duke of Chandos, and though Pope denied it, he was not believed. The clamour made him anxious for the reception

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 297. 2. EC ix 501.

of *Of the Uses of Riches, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Allen Lord Bathurst* (the third Moral Essay), upon which he had been at work since January 1730–1. On January 22, 1731–2, he wrote to Lord Oxford that he had decided to suppress the poem for fear of malicious misinterpretation, but by September[1] he had changed his mind, and in December expressed his apprehension to Caryll[2] of the "noise and calumny" which would attend its publication. It was published at last in January 1732–3. All Pope's references to this poem in his letters suggest the importance which he attached to it; and it is clear that the "slight" *Imitation of Horace* was intended as a rear-guard for this poem and the *Epistle to Lord Burlington*. It should be read in close connection with them. His "too bold" attacks upon "wise *Peter*" and *Chartres* (ll. 3, 4) had been made in the third Moral Essay (ll. 20, 123); he had "ridiculed all *Taste*" (l. 38) in the fourth Moral Essay, and "blasphemed *Quadrille*" in the third (l. 76); he had abused one of "the City's best good Men" (l. 39) in the same poem (l. 101); he had made a "hundred smart in *Timon*" (l. 42) in the fourth Moral Essay (ll. 99 ff), and in *Balaam* in the third (ll. 342–402); in the same poem he had castigated *Bond* (l. 100) and *Harpax* (l. 91); and the "Plums, and Directors, *Shylock* and his Wife," who are mentioned in l. 103 of the *Imitation*, had already been mentioned in ll. 94 and 117 of the third Moral Essay.

But it is not these references alone which connect the *Imitation* with the two Moral Essays. The *Imitation* is written in the same mood and in the same cause. In a letter written to Caryll on September 27, 1732, Pope had given an account of his studies: "they are directed," he wrote, "to a good end, the advancement of moral and religious virtue, and the disparagement of vicious and corrupt hearts. As to the former, I treat it with the utmost seriousness and respect. As to the latter, I think any means are fair and any method equal, whether preaching or laughing . . . I shall make living examples, which enforce best, and consequently put you once more upon the defence of your friend, against the roar and calumny which I expect, and am ready to suffer in so good a cause."[3] This is the mood in which the two Moral Essays were written; but these poems are more concerned with decrying false taste and the misuse

1. EC vi 334. 2. *ibid.*, 335. 3. cf. *Imit.* l. 117.

of riches than with expressing a sense of the righteous endeavour by which Pope was sustained. This he left for his apology, where in ll. 105–22 he gave exalted expression to his championship of Virtue.

Besides consolidating the position which he had taken up, Pope made some fresh attacks, of which two provoked replies. Lord Hervey, the vice-chamberlain and confidential adviser to the Queen, interpreted the reference to "Lord *Fanny*" in l. 6 as a reflection upon himself, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu supposed herself to be the "furious *Sappho*" of l. 83. These two were old acquaintances of Pope. Gay had pictured them both coming to welcome Pope on his return from Greece,[1] and Pope himself writes[2] of the friendship he had had with Hervey which was discontinued about the year 1725. With Lady Mary he had been intimate for many years, probably since 1715,[3] and had been fascinated by her wit. They had been associated in the trouble which arose when Curll published an unauthorized edition of *Court Poems* in 1716[4] and while Lady Mary was travelling in the East between 1716 and 1718 Pope addressed her numerous letters of a romantic and perhaps imaginary passion. After her return, in the early 1720's, Lady Mary came to live near Pope at Twickenham, and the friendship began to cool. She wrote to Lady Mar (?1722, *Letters*, ii 461) that she saw Pope very seldom and therefore could only repeat what she had heard about the progress of the grotto. The occasion of the eventual rupture is obscure. It has been ascribed[5] to Lady Mary's receiving Pope's declaration of love with an immoderate fit of laughter. This is plausible. It is "in character," and it provides an adequate explanation of what was to follow. Pope himself said[6] that he had left Lady Mary's company because she had too much wit for him, a statement which it is not impossible to reconcile with a MS. variant of the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, ll. 368–9:

1. *Mr Pope's Welcome from Greece*, 1720, v 8.
2. *Letter to a Noble Lord* (*Works*, 1751, viii 257, 278).
3. Sherburn, p. 203.
4. See N. Ault's account in *The Prose Works of Alexander Pope* (1936) I xciv–cvi.
5. By Lady Mary's grand-daughter (*Letters*, i 92).
6. *Letter to a Noble Lord*, p. 259. In a letter to Fortescue, September 13, 1729? EC ix 111, Pope writes, "my only fault towards her [Lady Mary] was, leaving off her conversation when I found it dangerous."

> Once, and but once, his heedless youth was bit,
> And lik'd that dang'rous thing, a female wit;

and with the account which Lady Mary gave to Spence in 1740: "I got a common friend to ask Mr Pope, why he had left off visiting me? he answered negligently, that he went as often as he used to do. —I then got Dr Arbuthnot to ask him, What Lady M. had done to him?—He said, that Lady M. and Lord Hervey had pressed him once together (and I don't remember that we were ever together with him in our lives), to write a Satire on some certain persons, that he refused it: and that this had occasioned the breach between us."[1]

To date the stages of the quarrel's progress is almost as difficult as to determine its occasion. There is printed evidence that by 1728 the rupture was complete. In March Pope and Swift published the "Last" volume of their *Miscellanies*, in which they included a coarse poem entitled *The Capon's Tale*, charging Lady Mary with repudiating her poems when she no longer found it convenient to own them.[2] The authorship is uncertain, but Pope would scarcely have allowed it to be published in a volume for which he was in part responsible unless he had already done with civility. Any remaining doubt about his feelings for her was dispelled by the publication of *The Dunciad* in the following May. In Book ii, ll. 115–16, Pope mentioned the predicament in which Lady Mary found herself with Rémond (see *Dia.* i 112*n*):

> Whence hapless Monsieur much complains at *Paris*
> Of wrongs from Duchesses and Lady *Marys*.

If Lady Mary retorted she took more pains than Pope to preserve anonymity. The following month, June 1728, Pope was attacked in a squib entitled *A Popp upon Pope*, which announced that he had been barbarously whipped while innocently walking in Ham Walks (see *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 349*n*). The report was false, and Pope immediately issued a denial. There is no evidence now available to

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 235. Pope seems to imply this, when explaining in *A Letter to a Noble Lord* (p. 259) why he had discontinued his acquaintance with Lord Hervey and Lady Mary: "I assure you my reason for so doing, was merely that you had both *too much wit* for me; and that I could not do, with *mine*, many things which you could do with *yours*."

2. Sherburn, pp. 206–7.

show who had written it, but Pope believed it to be Lady Mary's, and so it was reported in the *Grub-street Journal*, No. 20. Nor was this the only attack. On September 13 (1729?) Pope wrote to Fortescue saying that he had complained to Walpole that Lady Mary was libelling him,[1] and he also seems to have thought that she had a hand in Welsted's and Moore Smythe's *One Epistle to Mr Pope*,[2] published in the early summer of 1730.

Pope's revenge for these attacks was the notorious couplet (ll. 83–4) in the first *Imitation*, in poor taste if judged by later standards, but not more severe than many of the attacks on his own person. There can be no doubt that Pope had Lady Mary in mind when he wrote the couplet, and she too thought that the description was intended for her. In the circumstances it would have been wise to have taken no notice, but unfortunately the Town also recognized her as *Sappho*. Thereupon she enlisted Hervey's help in composing a ferocious reply, entitled *Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace*, which was published in the following month, March 1733, and at the same time represented her wrongs to Peterborough, as a friend of Pope, and to Walpole. Peterborough's reply was a masterly rebuke:

"Madame,

I was very unwilling to haue my name Made use of in an affair in which I had noe concern, and therefore would not engage my self to speak to Mr Pope, but he coming to my house the moment you went away, I gave him as exact an account as I could of our conversation. He said to me what I had taken ye Liberty to say to you, that he wonderd how the Town could apply those Lines to any but some noted common woeman, yt he should yett be more surprised if you should take them to your Self, He named to me fower remarkable poetesses & scribblers, Mrs Centlivre Mrs Haywood Mrs Manly & Mrs Been, Ladies famous indeed in their generation, and some of them Esteemed to have given very unfortunate favours to their Friends, assuring me yt such only were ye objects of his satire.

"I hope this assurance will prevent your further mistake, and any

1. EC ix 110. I am indebted for the suggested date to Professor Sherburn.
2. See *Grub-street Journal*, May 21, 1730.

ill consequences, upon so odd a Subject I have nothing more to add.
Your Ladyships
most humble & obedient servant
Peterborow."[1]

Lady Mary got little more satisfaction from Walpole. He used as a messenger his and Pope's friend Fortescue, to whom the *Imitation* was addressed. Fortescue's letters no longer survive, but Pope's replies suggest what they contained. Evidently Walpole asked that the offending couplet should be erased, for on March 8, 1732–3, Pope wrote to Fortescue:

"Your most kind letter was a sensible pleasure to me: and the friendship and concern shown in it, to suggest what you thought might be agreeable to a person whom you know I would not disoblige, I take particularly kindly. But the affair in question of any alteration is now at an end, by that lady's having taken her own satisfaction in an avowed libel, so fulfulling the veracity of my prophecy."

Being unable to make Pope withdraw the couplet, Walpole appears to have bound him over to keep the peace. Pope's reply (March 18) to the letter in which Fortescue announced this reads as follows: ". . . You may be certain I shall never reply to such a libel as Lady Mary's. It is a pleasure and comfort at once to find, that with so much mind as so much malice must have to accuse or blacken my character, it can fix upon no one ill or immoral thing in my life, and must content itself to say, my poetry is dull, and my person ugly. I wish you would take an opportunity to represent to the person who spoke to you about that lady, that her conduct no way deserves *encouragement* from him, or any other great persons; and that the good name of a private subject ought to be as sacred, even to the highest, as his behaviour towards them is irreproachable, legal, and respectful. What you writ of his intimation on that head, shall never pass my lips."[2]

Pope kept his word. He published no full-length reply to the *Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace*, except in the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, which is by no means confined to answering Lady Mary; but he

1. B. M. Egerton MS. 1949 f. 5. The letter, which is inscribed "For the Lady Mary Wortley," is undated.

2. EC misplaces the letter under the year 1732 instead of 1732–3.

was never tired of goading her in poem after poem, as *Sappho* again (*Moral Es.* ii 24; *Donne.* ii 6; *Dia.* i 15), as *Avidien's* wife (*Sat.* ii II 49), as *Fufidia* (*Sob. Adv.* 18), and without disguise (*Sob. Adv.* 2, 53, 125, 166; *Ep.* I i 164; *Dia.* i 112). He could never quite dismiss her from his mind. On January 1, 1741–2, he wrote to Hugh Bethel:

"... You mention the Fame of my old Acquaintance Lady Mary as spread over Italy. Neither you delight in telling, nor I in hearing, the Particulars wch acquire such a Reputation; yet I wish you had just told me, if the Character be more *Avaricious*, or *Amatory*? and which Passion has got ye better at last?"[1] And till the end of his life, he kept portraits of her on his walls at Twickenham.[2]

It was unwise of Lord Hervey to allow himself to become implicated in Lady Mary's revenge. The reference to *Lord Fanny* in line 6 of Pope's *Imitation* is mild, and though the name may have been meant to be applied to Hervey, there is nothing in the context to make the application certain, as Pope pointed out in his *Letter to a Noble Lord.* In fact, Hervey was being treated no more severely than Sir William Yonge, Bubb Dodington, Selkirk, or any other leading Whig. Just as Yonge was for Pope a type of fatuous orator, Hervey was a type of effeminate courtier-poet. They were public men and legitimate objects of satire. There is no need to look for Pope's deep-seated grudges, because in all probability they did not exist. Pope and Hervey had once been on friendly terms; they were friends no longer; and this seems to have been owing to some fancied slight which Pope detected in Hervey's bearing towards him.[3] Such a slight might account for such a casual reference as "Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day." It could not account for *Sporus.* And Pope might never have reached the stage of quivering resentment which fathered *Sporus* if Hervey had not entered into his ill-fated partnership with Lady Mary.

What help Hervey gave to Lady Mary in the *Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace* is uncertain. Pope himself would not pretend "to determine the exact method of this *Witty Fornication*"[4]; but "whoever *got* it", Hervey "*brought it forth.*" His own unaided work was no less scurrilous. *An Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity from a Nobleman*

1. B. M. Egerton MS. 1948 f. 52v. 2. Sherburn, p. 208.
3. *A Letter to a Noble Lord*, p. 259. 4. *ibid.*, p. 265.

at Hampton Court was written in August 1733 and published anonymously by its recipient, Dr Sherwin, in November. Pope suspected Hervey's authorship and sent Arbuthnot to inquire, to whom Hervey declared that Pope "was a rascal, had begun with me and deserved it; and that my only reason for being sorry the verses were printed, which I did not design they should be, was because I thought it below me to enter into a paper war with one that has made himself by his late works as contemptible as he was odious."[1] Soon after, he wrote to his friend Stephen Fox (December 6, 1733), "Pope is in a most violent fury and j'en suis ravi."[2]

The first reply which Pope projected was in prose and entitled *A Letter to a Noble Lord* (November 30, 1733); but after showing it to a few people Pope told Swift in a letter written on January 6, 1733–4, that he had decided to suppress it. The reason for his action, according to Horace Walpole, was that an abbey had been procured from Cardinal Fleury for his friend Southcote by Sir Robert and Horatio Walpole, who then desired him to suppress his *Letter*[3] (*Correspondence*, ed. Toynbee, iii 57). It was first published in the eighth volume of Warburton's first edition (1751). But a public reply was not long delayed. In June 1734 he was paying a round of visits to his friends' houses. On the 27th, Bolingbroke wrote to Swift[4] that Pope was then with Lord Bathurst at Cirencester. At the end of July he moved to Lord Peterborough's house near Southampton, and wrote to Arbuthnot on August 2 that he was studying and writing there.

Arbuthnot was suffering from the disease which killed him, and the seriousness of his condition roused him to make a last request from Pope: he begged that Pope would continue his disdain and

1. *Memoirs*, p. xliv.

2. *ibid.*, p. xlv.

3. Charles Yorke borrowed the *Letter* from Warburton in 1747 and read it to his sister. Miss Yorke told her brother Philip that it "was sent printed instead of written, wch gave great apprehensions that it was intended for the perusal of the public" (Harris, *Life of Hardwicke*, 1847, ii 353). Warburton corroborates this (see Griffith 1 ii 533), but it conflicts with Hervey's statement to Henry Fox (*Memoirs*, p. xlv), "Pope himself has not written one word, but a manuscript in prose never printed, which he has shown to several of his friends, but which I have never seen."

4. EC vii 322.

abhorrence of vice, and manifest it still in his writings. Pope replied that he would indeed do it with more restrictions and less personally, since this was more agreeable to his nature; but nowadays, he added, there was no force in general satire, and therefore some men had to be pilloried as examples to others.[1] This answer made Arbuthnot fear for Pope's safety; and accordingly, he sent him some advice on the avoiding of ill will from writing satire. Such advice from an old friend, written in what was likely to be his last illness, so much affected Pope that he wrote in reply on August 25: "I determine to address to you one of my Epistles, written by piecemeal many years, & wch I have now made haste to put together; wherein the Question is stated, what were, & are my Motives of writing, the objections to them, & my answers. It pleases me much to take this occasion of testifying (to ye public at least, if not to Posterity) my Obligation & Friendship for, & from, you, for so many years; that is all that's in it; for Compliments are fulsome & go for nothing."[2]

That is the first reference to the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*. Writing from Southampton on September 3, Pope was able to inform Arbuthnot that the poem was finished, but it was not published until January 2, 1734–5. The delay between the completion of the poem and its publication is puzzling but not beyond conjecture. Pope returned to Twickenham in the second week of September and set out for Bath a few days later with Bolingbroke.[3] He was back again in Twickenham at the beginning of October, "in my garden, amused and easy," as he wrote to Fortescue (October 5); yet he must have been putting the finishing touches to the *Characters of Women* and revising his poems for the second collected volume of his works to be published in the following year, an intention which he had already mentioned to Swift on September 15. In this volume the *Second Satire of Dr John Donne* was published for the first time; it is just possible that the volume was also to contain the "first edition" of the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, but that Pope later changed his mind and or-

1. The ethics of personal satire so much interested Pope that he wrote an elaborate defence and published it in the Quarto of 1737 as a reply to Arbuthnot's letter of July 17, 1734, suppressing the reply which he actually sent. Arbuthnot by that time was dead. See also *Dia.* ii 10*n* and following lines.

2. Aitken's *Life of Arbuthnot*, p. 152; the text is reproduced from Pope's MS.

3. Pope and Bolingbroke to Swift, September 15, 1734.

dered the publication of a separate edition. Arbuthnot's increasing weakness and the fear that the Collected Works would not be published before he died may have prompted this change of plan. Such a hypothesis does something to account for the strange differences between the text of the separate edition and of the "collected" edition.[1]

The account of the poem which Pope gave to Arbuthnot is not comprehensive. He deals with his motives for writing in ll. 125–46, 173–90, and 334–59; objections to his writings are made and answered in ll. 75–108, 305–9, and 360–7; and he testifies his obligation and friendship for Arbuthnot in ll. 27–8, 133–4, and 414–17. A better summary could be taken from a letter to Caryll, December 31, 1734, in which Pope describes the poem as a "just vindication from slanders of all sorts, and slanderers of what rank or quality soever." This description includes both "the *Burnets*, *Oldmixons* and *Cookes*" and Lord Hervey and Lady Mary, though it seems to refer more particularly to these last. In fact Pope tells us in his Advertisement that he had no thoughts of publishing the poem until he was attacked by the authors of *Verses to the Imitator of Horace* and of *An Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity from a Nobleman at Hampton Court*. Much of the poem must have been written in consequence of these attacks; but this statement certainly shows that Pope had them principally in mind when he was putting the poem into its final shape in August 1734. This need not conflict with what has been quoted from his correspondence with Arbuthnot. Probably Arbuthnot's last request and his advice upon avoiding ill will gave cohesion to the miscellaneous snatches of attack and defence which Pope had already written by suggesting a suitable theme from which they could arise. Lord Hervey got more than he deserved in *Sporus*, Lady Mary was made to wince again at the references to *Sappho*, and "His Father, Mother, Body, Soul, and Muse," abused by " the two *Curls* of Town and Court," are defended throughout the poem and in the notes which accompany it.

Pope told Arbuthnot that the poem had been "written by piecemeal many years"; he told the same story to Swift, "I redeem now and then," he wrote, on December 19, 1734, "a paper that has been abandoned several years; and of this sort you will soon see one,

1. These differences are discussed in a note on the text at pp. 92 ff.

which I inscribe to our old friend Arbuthnot"; and he repeated it again in the *Advertisement.* It is impossible to say how much of the poem is old work and how much is new. Certain passages we know were written some years earlier.

(1) ll. 151–214. Part of this passage, ll. 151–6, 193–214, was occasioned by the famous quarrel with Addison,[1] was probably sketched in the summer of 1715 and sent to Addison a year later. It was first printed, probably without Pope's permission, in *The St James's Journal* on December 15, 1722, and occasionally reprinted in this form; but it was not until 1727 that Pope made some show of owning it, by printing a version of ll. 151–214 with the title *Fragment of a Satire* in the Pope-Swift *Miscellanies.*[2] Seven years later Pope found a more suitable and permanent place for this "bill of complaint" amongst the other bills in the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.* While revising the lines he made an attempt to generalize the satire, reflecting no doubt that the quarrel was now a thing of the distant past and that Addison had been in his grave for fifteen years. Accordingly he substituted the pseudonym *Atticus* in l. 214 and omitted the only couplet which directly referred to the cause of the quarrel:

> Who, if two Wits on rival Themes contest,
> Approves of each, but likes the worst the best.

But the process of generalization was not completed; ll. 198 and 209 lose much of their point if deprived of their Addisonian context.[3]

(2) An abbreviated version of ll. 289–304 had been published as an imitation of Horace (*Sat.* I iv 81–5) in the *London Evening Post*[4] on January 22–5, 1731–2.

(3) Pope's mother had died in June 1733, eighteen months before the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* was published, but ll. 406–19, which describe Pope's vigil at his mother's bed had been written during her lifetime. A version of them is to be found in a letter from Pope to

1. A brief account of Pope's relations with Addison will be found in the Biographical Appendix. For a fuller treatment, see Sherburn, pp. 111–48, and a valuable appendix to it by A. E. Case, *Pope, Addison, and the "Atticus" Lines* (*Modern Philology*, 1935, xxxiii 187–93).

2. This version is printed with Pope's other "occasional" poems in vol. vi.

3. See footnotes to these lines.

4. I am indebted to Professor Sherburn for pointing this out to me.

Aaron Hill written on September 3, 1731, where Pope states that he had already sent a copy to a "particular friend," the "successful youth" of the first line in its original version. Who he was can only be guessed. Line 9 suggests that he was a friend of Bolingbroke too, and was very probably one of the young patriots whom Bolingbroke thrust into opposition against Walpole; perhaps Murray, as Bowles suggested, or perhaps Lyttelton.

The composition of the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* allowed Pope the opportunity of giving these three fragments a more permanent place in his works. They are the only passages which we know were written earlier than August 1734. Johnson mentions in his *Life of Thomson* "a poetical epistle" sent by Pope to Thomson when travelling in Italy, some of the lines of which are transplanted into this poem, but these lines have not been identified. And editors have suspected that the character of *Bufo* had a separate existence, like the characters of *Atticus*, *Macer*, and *Umbra*. Its parenthetic position in the *Epistle* makes this seem likely, and it is evident that Pope has "generalized" the satire. Addison was generalized into *Atticus* by omitting the only specific reference to an action of Addison; Bubb Dodington was generalized into *Bufo* by fusing his character with some traits of another patron, the Earl of Halifax.

In the meanwhile, Pope had been at work on other *Imitations of Horace*. A month after the publication of the first *Imitation*, he wrote to Caryll (March 20, 1732–3): "I have made noise enough for one winter, though I have done another of Horace's satires since I wrote to you last [March 8], and much in the same space of time as I did the former, though you do not believe when I speak truth." It would be difficult to say which *Imitation* Pope was referring to; not to the *Imitation of the Second Satire of the Second Book*, one must suppose, for to this he refers unmistakably as a poem just completed in a letter to Swift dated April 2, 1733, "this week, *exercitandi gratia*, I have translated, or rather parodied, another of Horace's, in which I introduce you advising me about my expenses, housekeeping, &c." This *Imitation* was not published until the beginning of July 1734.[1]

By that time Pope was already working at *Sober Advice*, an imita-

1. Griffith, 1 i 260.

tion of the second satire of Horace's first book. Bolingbroke wrote to Swift on June 27, 1734, describing Pope's visits to his friends, "He is now at Cirencester [with Lord Bathurst] . . . The demon of verse sticks close to him. He has been imitating the satire of Horace, which begins *Ambubaiarum collegia pharmacopolæ*, &c., and has chosen rather to weaken the images, than to hurt chaste ears overmuch. He has sent it me; but I shall keep his secret as he desires . . ." The poem was published anonymously on December 21, 1734,[1] not by Gilliver who at this time was the publisher of Pope's legitimate poetical offspring, but by T. Boreman, who paid Pope sixty guineas for the copyright.[2] The authorship was soon correctly guessed, and Pope was therefore forced to repudiate it. He wrote to the Earl of Oxford on December 30, commending himself in a postscript to his nephew, Viscount Dupplin, the "prating Balbus" of the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* (l. 276), and adding: "I hope he will defend me from the imputation which all the town I hear lay upon me, of having writ that impudent satire." The need for such repudiation is made clear by a passage in a letter to Caryll written the following day: "There is a piece of poetry from Horace come out, which I warn you not to take for mine, though some people are willing to fix it on me: in truth I should think it a very indecent sermon, after the Essay on Man." This is "genteel equivocation" rather than denial; so too is the inclusion of *Sober Advice*, with the title *The Second Satire of the First Book, Imitated in the Manner of Mr Pope*, in the collected editions of his works published in 1739, 1740, and 1743. Perhaps to aid in the deceit, Parnell's versification of Donne's *Third Satire* was printed in these editions immediately after *Sober Advice*. In 1751 Warburton reprinted Parnell's poem and omitted *Sober Advice*, and since then Warton and Dyce have been the only editors to restore it.

Of the remaining *Imitations*, three more were published in 1737—*Horace His Ode to Venus* in March, *The Second Epistle of the Second Book* in April, and *The First Epistle of the Second Book* (the *Epistle to Augustus*) in May[3]—and three more in 1738, *The Sixth Epistle of the*

1. *London Evening Post.*

2. According to Curll. See EC vi 437*n*.

3. The Earl of Orrery wrote to the Rev. Marmaduke Philips on January 18, saying that it was "to come out soon" (*Orrery Papers*, 1903, i 193).

First Book in January, *The Sixth Satire of the Second Book* and *The First Epistle of the First Book* in March. *The Seventh Epistle of the First Book* was first published in an octavo volume of the *Works* (vol. II, part ii) in 1739,[1] and the fragment of *The Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book* appeared posthumously in Warburton's edition, 1751. These are all that have survived, but Pope told Spence that he had imitated more than are printed, mentioning in particular the fourth satire of the second book, and he added, "Before this hint from Lord Bolingbroke, I had translated the first satire of the first book. But that was done several years ago, and in quite a different manner. It was much closer, and more like a downright translation."[2] This has not yet been found. Possibly it is the poem referred to by the author of *A True Character of Mr Pope, and His Writings* (1716), who rated his "present Imitation of *HORACE*" as the most execrable of all his performances.

Pope was doing nothing unusual in attempting to adapt ancient poetry to modern times. Johnson supposed[3] that Oldham[4] and Rochester[5] were the first to practise this way of writing in English. Oldham indeed shows consciousness of doing what had not been done before. After apologizing in his preface for offering one more version of the *Ars Poetica* when the public already possessed Ben Jonson's and Roscommon's—he continues:

". . . Wherefore, being prevail'd upon to make an Essay, I fell to thinking of some course, whereby I might serve my self of the Advantages, which those, that went before me, have either not minded, or scrupulously abridg'd themselves of. This I soon imagin'd was to be effected by putting *Horace* into a more modern dress than

1. Griffith No. 507. The date on the title page is 1738.

2. *Anecdotes*, p. 298.

3. *Lives of the Poets*, iii 176.

4. *Imitations of Horace*, *Sat.* I ix, *Od.* I xxxi, II xiv, *Ars Poetica*; *Juvenal*, *Sat.* III and XIII. Pope had studied Oldham's poetry. A copy of the *Works* (1692), which he bought in 1700, is now in the British Museum (C 45 a 1). It contains a few MS. comments, and a list of five poems which Pope considered "The most Remarkable Works in this Author." Amongst these is the imitation of Horace *Sat.* I ix, which Pope was later to imitate at a further remove through Donne's *Fourth Satire*. He may have remembered one of Oldham's phrases (see l. 116*n*), though otherwise he shows no indebtedness. But see his borrowings from Oldham in the fourth *Pastoral passim* (vol. i).

5. An Imitation of Horace, *Sat.* I x.

hitherto he has appear'd in, that is, by making him speak, as if he were living and writing now. I therefore resolv'd to alter the Scene from *Rome* to *London*, and to make use of *English* names of Men, Places, and Customs, where the Parallel would decently permit, which I conceiv'd would give a kind of new Air to the Poem, and render it more agreeable to the relish of the present Age . . . I have not, I acknowledg, been over-nice in keeping to the words of the Original, for that were to transgress a Rule therein contained. Nevertheless I have been religiously strict to its sence, and exprest it in as plain, and intelligible a manner, as the Subject would bear. Where I may be thought to have varied from it . . . the skilful Reader will perceive 'twas necessary for carrying on my propos'd design."[1] But we need not credit one man with an innovation which must have occurred simultaneously to many. This was a time when men approved of spirited translations, from which "imitations" were the inevitable development. The literalness of such work as Ben Jonson's version of the *Ars Poetica* was beginning to be disparaged, and instead translators attempted to make their author "speak that kind of English, which he would have spoken had he lived in England, and had written to this age."[2] This manner of translation had been discussed by Denham[3] and Cowley,[4] who allowed themselves considerable freedom in their renderings; but its most distinguished (and more moderate) exponent, both in theory and practice, was Dryden. "All translation," he wrote, in the preface to the translation of Ovid's *Epistles* (1680),[5] "may be reduced to these three heads. First, that of metaphrase, or turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another . . . The second way is that of paraphrase, or translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense . . . The third way is that of imitation, where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty, not only to vary from the words and

1. Advertisement to his imitation of the *Ars Poetica*, 1681. The original is printed in italic.

2. Dryden's *Essays*, ii 113.

3. *To Sir Richard Fanshaw upon his translation of Pastor Fido*; preface to *The Destruction of Troy*.

4. Preface to the *Pindarique Odes*.

5. *Essays*, i 237.

sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run division on the groundwork, as he pleases." Characteristically, Dryden compromised between the two extremes. He approved of paraphrase, and censured both the literalness of Jonson and what he considered the excessive freedom of Cowley and Denham. But his words did nothing to check the writing of imitations.[1] If the minor poets needed any authority to counterpoise against Dryden, they could have quoted Boileau's success in imitating the satires and epistles of Horace; but probably they did not feel the need, for they were writing in conformity with the spirit of the times, a spirit which impelled men to consolidate their heritage from the past and to make it more accessible to their fellows. "Wit and fine writing," Addison wrote,[2] "doth not consist so much in advancing things that are new, as in giving things that are known an agreeable turn. It is impossible for us, who live in the latter Ages of the world, to make observations in criticism, morality, or in any art or science, which have not been touched upon by others. We have little else left us, but to represent the common sense of mankind in more strong, more beautiful, or more uncommon lights." This passage expresses the spirit in which "imitations" were undertaken. Pope himself had expressed it even more concisely a few months before:

> True wit is nature to advantage dress'd;
> What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd.[3]

When Pope started upon his *Imitations of Horace*, then, he was writing in accordance with the spirit of the age, and in a form as clearly recognized as the pastoral.[4] The story already quoted of

1. "Imitations" are to be found amongst the poems of Congreve, Dennis, Diaper, Duke, Fenton, Hughes, King, Prior, Rowe, Stepney, Swift, Tickell, Walsh, Ward, and Wood. This list does not pretend to be complete, but it indicates the popularity of the form amongst Pope's contemporaries and immediate predecessors.

2. *Spectator*, No. 253.

3. *E on C*, ll. 297–8.

4. A critical anticipation of Pope's *Imitations of Horace* is to be found in Shaftesbury's *Advice to an Author* (1710) pt II section ii—further evidence, if any is needed, that Pope's form can have caused no surprise to his contemporaries: "The only Manner left, in which Criticism can have its just Force amongst us, is

Bolingbroke picking up a Horace which lay upon Pope's bedroom table is misleading if it suggests that the *Imitations* were the result of a lucky accident. Leaving out of account the force that tradition and the spirit of the age could exert, it is evident that Pope had been a translator and an imitator all his life. He told Spence that as a boy he read eagerly through a great number of English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets, not with any system, but dipping in here and there, and whenever he met with a passage or story that especially pleased him, he used to endeavour to imitate it or translate it into English; "this," he said, "gave rise to my Imitations published so long after."[1] It was by these translations and imitations that he shaped his own original work. "My first taking to imitating," he told Spence, "was not out of vanity, but humility: I saw how defective my own things were; and endeavoured to mend my manner, by copying good strokes from others."[2] This, according to his own account, must have been evident in his first extensive poem, an epic of 4,000 lines on Alcander, Prince of Rhodes, which he kept by him until 1722, when he burnt it on Atterbury's advice. "I endeavoured in this poem," he said, "to collect all the beauties of the great epic writers into one piece: there was Milton's style in one part, and Cowley's in another; here the style of Spenser imitated, and there of Statius; here Homer and Virgil, and there Ovid and Claudian."[3]

This is most revealing, for the account of Pope's method in this early poem is to a smaller extent true of his method in his maturer work. In spite of the unmistakable individuality of his writing, the reader is constantly made aware of the inspiration which Pope drew from the forms, the styles, and the thoughts of previous poets. Indeed, much of the pleasure of reading Pope is lost if the reader is

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the antient COMICK; of which kind were the first *Roman* Miscellany, or *Satirick* Pieces . . . And if our Home-Wits wou'd refine upon this Pattern, they might perhaps meet with considerable Success." Even if he had not read this, Pope must certainly have noticed the passage in Creech's preface to his translation of Horace (1684) where he relates that he had been advised to "turn the *Satyrs* to our own Times" by some who observed that "*Rome* was now rivall'd in her Vices, and Parallels for Hypocrisie, Profaneness, Avarice and the like were easie to be found."

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 193. 2. *ibid.*, p. 278. 3. *ibid.*, p. 277.

unaware of these imitations, if he does not recognize the burlesque of epic devices in the *Dunciad*, or the parody of Sarpedon's address to Glaucus in the "grave Clarissa's" speech added to the 1717 version of *The Rape of the Lock*, or the easy Horatian talk of the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* and the *Epilogue to the Satires*, or the countless smaller, more specific, echoes which Pope was so anxious for his readers to catch that he frequently indicated his sources in footnotes.

This life-long practice in imitation accounts for what otherwise would be surprising. Pope can follow Horace closely, and yet at the same time he can accommodate Horace's satire to his own time and make Horace fight his battles for him. As an anonymous critic has said, "The *Imitations of Horace* show the poet bound hand and foot and yet dancing as if free."[1] Of course Pope could not have danced with such grace and skill unless he had had a lifetime's practice in easier measures; nevertheless, the variety of purposes for which he found Horatian imitation suitable is surprising.

There are three subjects to which Pope keeps on returning in these imitations: autobiography, literary criticism, and politics. Presumably he selected for imitation those poems which most nearly "hit his case," and if he reproduced something of Horace's scepticism and epicureanism, it was because he recognized the sceptic and epicurean in himself. These were Pope's own opinions. He was not translating. There was no occasion for him to have imitated these poems of Horace unless he thought that what Horace said of himself could be made to apply to his imitator also. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in imitation, loose as it is, limits are defined, and by keeping within them Pope has occasionally created a false impression. For example, the resemblance between Latin and English literary history is sufficiently close to make an imitation of Horace's *Epistle to Augustus* tempting, but the resemblance breaks down at certain points and even Pope's ingenuity was insufficient to maintain the parallel. These passages, and those where other evidence gives reason to suppose that Pope misrepresented his own view of life by following Horace's words too closely, are indicated in the footnotes to the present edition.

1. *Times Literary Supplement*, October 25, 1934.

Pope's political reflections are also annotated. But whereas the reader may easily comprehend Pope's philosophy of life and books, so far as it is represented in this volume, without an editorial interpreter, he may well feel the need of a statement about Pope's politics and the political struggles of his time. The poems printed in this volume were written during the decline of Walpole's power. He had been chief minister with one brief intermission, since 1721. The virtues of his rule—his sound financial policy, his refusal to involve the country in European war—have appeared more commendable to historians than to many of his contemporaries, statesmen spoiling for office, idealists shocked at the spread of corruption in and out of parliament, country gentlemen, some of them still with Jacobite sympathies, chafing at the land-tax, merchants impatient because the government was not taking action against the Spanish guarda-costas who attacked their ships. Nevertheless Walpole's position was secure, partly because Queen Caroline—and therefore George II—had confidence in him, partly because he and the Duke of Newcastle knew how to manage the elections, partly because he met with no effectual opposition in Parliament.

The Tories had been out of countenance since Queen Anne's death. One of their leaders, the Earl of Oxford, had been committed to the Tower, and the other, Viscount Bolingbroke, had been impeached, and they themselves were divided. One group, led by Shippen, was openly Jacobite in sympathy, the other, led by Wyndham, lately converted from Jacobitism, retained the old policy of the Hanover Tories. From time to time the numbers of the opposition were increased by discontented Whigs. Of these the earliest adherents were Carteret, Barnard, a financial expert of great ability, and the two Pulteneys, William, brilliant in debate but hesitating in policy, and Daniel who alone seems to have recognized the essential weakness of the Opposition, its factiousness. He applied himself to organizing the Opposition, a work which was far from complete at his death in 1731. In this he had received assistance from Bolingbroke, who had returned to England in 1723, pardoned, but not restored to his seat in the House of Lords. Bolingbroke knew that he could never regain power except by Walpole's defeat. Being excluded from Parliament, he commenced a press campaign against Walpole in 1726. His journal was *The Craftsman*, edited by Nicholas Amhurst. With the help of the two Pulteneys, he main-

tained in its pages a remarkably high level of innuendo, a method of attack which Pope was later to use in passages of the *Epilogue to the Satires*. At the same time, by means of his ascendency over Wyndham, Bolingbroke was able to direct the policy of an important section of the Opposition in the House of Commons. The Opposition's first success was to compel Walpole to withdraw his Excise Bill in April 1733.[1]

Their prospects had never looked better: Walpole's position was weaker at court as a result of this defeat; their numbers were increased in the House of Lords[2] by a group of discontented Whigs, of whom the most important were Chesterfield, Cobham, Stair, and Marchmont; and a general election was close at hand. Chesterfield thought Walpole could scarcely last six months.[3]

To maintain the Opposition's advantage, Bolingbroke started (October 1733) a series of essays in *The Craftsman*, entitled *A Dissertation on Parties*. The time had now passed, he declared, when differences existed between Whigs and Tories, for honest men of both parties accepted the principles of the Revolution as a statement of political orthodoxy.[4] They must, therefore, unite against the common enemy, who is fostering corruption,[5] who is endeavouring to make a standing army in time of peace a part of the constitution,[6] who is concealing frauds and screening the fraudulent at the risk of ruining credit and destroying trade,[7] who is allowing a few men to monopolize the wealth of the whole nation,[8] who is prostituting the dignity and pawning the purse of Britain by entangling her with European powers who offer no reciprocal engagements. Bolingbroke could be trusted to provide a bankrupt Opposition with political philosophy and electioneering slogans. Such assistance was more grateful to the Tories than to Whigs like Carteret and Pulteney, who were in less need of philosophy because they had

1. See *Sat.* II ii 134*n*.
2. Until Carteret returned from Ireland in 1730, there was no one of outstanding ability amongst the Opposition Lords.
3. Chesterfield to Baron Torck, October 14, 1733. *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, ii 277.
4. cf. *Dia.* i 8; ii 96.
5. cf. *Dia.* i 159–70.
6. cf. *Sat.* II i 73; *Sat.* II ii 154.
7. cf. *Dia.* i 22.
8. cf. *Ep.* I i 77–133.

more hope of supplanting Walpole without disturbing his system. The essential cleavage between the two parties of the Opposition was made clear when in March 1734 the Tories, urged by Bolingbroke, moved the repeal of the Septennial Act, and lost their motion largely because of the apathy of Pulteney and his followers.

The General Election followed immediately, but it was a year too late for the Opposition. The Excise scare had subsided and Walpole had regained his ascendency. He was returned with a slightly decreased majority in the Commons, but with more supporters in the Lords, and though Chesterfield retained his optimism for another year,[1] it was clear to Bolingbroke that Walpole was as strong as ever. He retired to France in 1735. His reflections on the events of 1733–4 may be read in *A Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism* (1736), one more essay written to unify Walpole's opponents: "In parliament," he wrote, "the opposition was strenuously enough supported for a time; but there was so little disposition to guide and improve the spirit, that the chief concern of those who took the lead seemed applied to keep it down."[2]

The new parliament was brightened by the election of Pope's friends, Lyttelton and Polwarth; and a year later William Pitt was also returned for the first time. These young Whigs, who formed the nucleus of the "boy patriots" from whom Pope expected so much, had absorbed Bolingbroke's political philosophy and were inspired with a zealous idealism to make an end of corruption. Of the intentions of Carteret and Pulteney they—and Wyndham, too—became increasingly distrustful, and instead they began to place more reliance upon the Prince of Wales. Ever since he had come to England in 1728, the Prince had been at loggerheads with his father. George II's refusal to provide his son with a sufficient allowance increased the tension which naturally existed between the Hanoverian kings and their heirs; for so long as the Prince "remained on terms with the King he was a nonentity, excluded from all share in the government of the country, . . . but let him break with the King, and he became at once a political force of the first importance, the terror of his parent as the head of the body regarded not as His

1. Letters to Marchmont, August 27, 1734; to Torck, February 14, 1735; *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, ii 289, 299.

2. *Works*, 1754, iii 12.

Majesty's Opposition, but as the opposition to His Majesty . . . By so doing he performed the constitutional equivalent of heading an insurrection against his father, who was thereby exposed to the danger of being taken prisoner by his son."[1]

It came to Hervey's ears in 1733 that the Prince was maintaining a "clandestine correspondence"[2] with members of the Opposition, a rumour by no means improbable. He was on bad terms with Walpole, and seems to have had no wish to be reconciled.[3] Unless he was to renounce all political entanglements—and without help from politicians he had no chance of inducing the King to increase his allowance—he was forced to make overtures to the Opposition. But it was not until 1737 that he came out into open opposition to the court party. After threatening for the past three years[4] to have his allowance discussed by Parliament, in February of this year he at last decided to take action. Who prompted him, or whether he needed prompting, is not known. Hervey attributed the move to Chesterfield, Pitt, and Lyttelton—Carteret, he declared, was "not much for it," and Pulteney was "against it"; for Carteret merely wished to upset Walpole, not to antagonize the King and Queen, and Pulteney "was apparently much softened with regard to the court in his way of talking this year . . . and had listened to and encouraged a sort of treaty that was underhand carrying on to make him a peer, buy his silence, and give him rest."[5] Yet as leaders in the Lords and Commons, these men were forced to propose the motion. It was lost in both houses, but by a narrow majority for the Government in the Commons.

In spite of this decisive gesture of antagonism to the Court and to the Government, the King did not sever all relations with the Prince until seven months later, when the Prince gave further offence by removing his wife from Hampton Court to St James's in order (so it appeared) that his eldest child should not be born under the King's roof. Before the end of the year Queen Caroline had died, unreconciled to her son.

1. R. Sidgwick, introd. to Hervey's *Memoirs*, p. xxxii–xxxiii.
2. *Memoirs*, p. 235.
3. Egmont, i 387.
4. Hervey, *Memoirs*, p. 235. See below, *Ep.* i vi 83–4.
5. *Memoirs*, p. 667. See below, *Dia.* i 24*n*.

Walpole's position was weaker than it had been at any time since the Excise Bill. He had avoided defeat over the Prince's income by the narrowest majority, and in April 1737 when Parliament discussed what punishment should be inflicted upon the city of Edinburgh for the Porteous riots, Walpole had been forced to whittle down the bill of penalties as a result of strong opposition from the Duke of Argyle.[1] And now his most faithful supporter was dead. The opportunity was too good for the Opposition to miss. Chesterfield, optimistic as ever, wrote to Lyttelton, who was now the Prince's secretary: "Nothing will more hasten his [Walpole's] retreat, if he is inclined to retire, nor his ruin, if he is resolved to stand it out, than the part which the Prince may, ought, and therefore I am persuaded will act . . . the Prince at the head of the Opposition, and both encouraging and forcing the Opposition to act with vigour, has everything in his hands."[2] The raids of Spanish ships upon English merchantmen were becoming more frequent and were endangering the continuance of Walpole's peaceful policy. In March 1738, Pope's young friend Murray supported a deputation of English merchantmen before the bar of the House of Commons. Opinion against Spain was running high. Nevertheless, although the opportunity could scarcely have been improved, the Opposition remained ineffectual. At the moment of combining under the Prince's leadership, differences were once more discovered. Wyndham wished to continue the old method of attack by moving a reduction in the "standing army," but the Prince could not agree to weakening His Majesty.[3] In spite of this disagreement, a reduction in the numbers of the army was moved in the Commons by Shippen, and supported by Wyndham, Barnard, Pulteney, and the "boys." It was defeated, as was a similar motion in the Lords, the "mildness" of the minorities' attack being commented upon by Charles Howard when writing to the Earl of Carlisle.[4] The Opposition put up a more stubborn fight in May over an American trade bill, sponsored by Pulteney, but the despondency generally felt about its flaccid leadership was expressed by Marchmont in a letter

1. Yorke, *Life of Hardwicke*, 1913, i 184.
2. Phillimore, *Memoirs of Lyttelton*, 1845, i 89–91.
3. Egmont, ii 462.
4. HMC *Carlisle Papers*, pp. 192–3.

written to Montrose at the end of the session (May 12, 1738): "I look," he added, "as several others do, upon the opposition as at an end."[1]

This was the political situation when Pope published his two notable poems in support of the Opposition, the two dialogues "something like *Horace*" generally known as *The Epilogue to the Satires*. In the earliest *Imitations of Horace* there is little reflection of these struggles. Pope had many other things on his mind. 1733 was the year of the *Essay on Man*; in 1734 he was busy preparing his poems for the collected volume to be published early the next year, as well as writing *The Characters of Women* and completing the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*; and in 1735 the "unauthorized" edition of his letters was published, for which he had been manœuvring since March 1733.[2] Nevertheless it was obvious where his political sympathies lay. A jibe at the maintenance of standing armies or at the excise scheme[3] could be made only by an opponent of Walpole. But Pope's hostility was deeper than that of a man content with a passing stroke at unpopular measures. At this time of his life it often pleased him to represent two conflicting sets of values, on the one hand the old Roman simplicity of a secluded villa at Twickenham, and on the other the luxury and deceitfulness of life at Court. Today, perhaps, it is unusual to express this conflict of values in political terms, but for men living two hundred years ago there was no difficulty. The two parties might be known as Whigs and Tories; but the party in power was the court party, representing not merely the electors, but a king whom no one expected to show a modern sovereign's neutrality, and the party in opposition was the country party. One reason for Walpole's success in subduing his opponents was that, though he was the chief representative of the court, he was also a country gentleman talking to country gentlemen of the Opposition. Possibly that is why Pope was inclined to treat him with a certain degree of leniency. He had seen Walpole "in his happier hour Of Social Pleasure, ill-exchang'd for Pow'r."[4] How-

1. *Marchmont Papers*, ed. Rose, 1831, ii 100.

2. See the account of this transaction in C. W. Dilke, *The Papers of a Critic*, 1875, i 287 ff.

3. *Sat.* II i 73; ii 134; *Donne* ii 8.

4. *Dia.* i 29, 30.

ever much he detested what Walpole represented, Pope respected the man who preferred the pleasures of Houghton to the "well-dress'd rabble" of St James's.

In the *Imitations of the First and Second Satires* Pope is presenting this contrast of values which underlay the political conflict. The same contrast is also implicit in the *Versification of Donne's Fourth Satire*, whose publication intervened between the two *Imitations*. In this poem there is no description of the Twickenham scene; Pope's powers are concentrated on depicting what displeases him in the typical courtier. This fop cannot of course keep his talk free from the more immediate political issues of the day, so Pope gives some thirty lines[1] to reflexions on the supreme influence of Queen Caroline, on the Charitable Corporation scandal, on corruption in Parliament, on the mistaken policy of peace at any price, and on the transgression of the treaty of Utrecht. But Pope is chiefly concerned with disparaging the court, and these topical asides serve to show what scandalous rumours are bred in such an environment.

These three poems were written during the lifetime of the old parliament. When the new parliament met after the general election of 1734, a short period of political calm set in, which corresponds to the dearth of political reflexion in the poems which Pope published at this time, *Sober Advice*, *An Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, *The Characters of Women*, and the *Versification of Donne's Second Satire*. With the excitements of 1737, Pope's interest in politics also revived. The first two poems he published that year have little or no political importance. *Horace His Ode to Venus* is a charming compliment paid to his young friend, Murray; *The Second Epistle of the Second Book* is mainly concerned with autobiography and literary criticism; the reflexions it contains on the repressive anti-Catholic legislation were valid criticisms of the religious policy of either party. *The First Epistle of the Second Book* contains more dangerous matter. Ignorance of the character and personality of George Augustus II may prevent us from recognizing the superb irony of dedicating a criticism of contemporary taste in poetry and the drama to a man who paid no attention to either. And this king whose strutting dignity hindered him from recognizing that Walpole and the Queen were responsible for policy, a policy which in-

1. ll. 130–65.

evitably repressed his ruling passion for military glory, whose first love was not England but Hanover, where he spent his time in the arms of Madame Walmoden, this man is represented as the dignified defender of his country and the guardian of her morals and her laws. There was no redress for such irony. Indeed, by the vulgar it passed unnoticed; a writer in *Common Sense* (October 8, 1737) quaintly exclaimed: "Excepting a late Imitation of *Horace*, by Mr *Pope*, who but seldom meddles with publick Matters, I challenge the Ministerial Advocates to produce one Line of *Sense*, or *English*, written on their Side of the Question for these last Seven Years."[1] But the more straightforward speaking of the lines written in praise of Swift (ll. 225–8) brought Pope dangerously near to punishment from the House of Lords.[2]

Pope continued his attacks in the poems of 1738. In *The Sixth Epistle of the First Book* he praises Lord Cornbury for rejecting the offers of the Government to buy his support, and shows his contempt of moneyed interests and electioneering methods. In *The First Epistle of the First Book* he is boldness itself. The poem is addressed in the most reverential terms to the Government's arch-enemy, Bolingbroke, and the behaviour of the Court and the City is vigorously attacked. This noble satire provoked replies from writers employed by the Government. *The Daily Gazetteer* complained on April 6 that in several Imitations of the Epistles and Satires of Horace, lately published by a celebrated poet, "the Friends to the present *Government* are continually the Subject of his *Satire*, as they who are the avowed Enemies to their Country are thought worthy of his Panegyricks. Were not this obvious to whoever has read Mr. *P*—'s late Writings, I would quote Passages from them to prove what I have asserted; let it be sufficient, that the very last Epistle he imitated, begins with a complimentary Dedication to the late[3] Lord *B—ling—k*, who is always the Hero of his old Patriots, as the ingenious Mr. *L . . . n*[4] is of his young ones."[5] The paper repeated the

1. This reference was given me by Professor Sherburn.

2. See the footnotes to these lines. I have not discovered any contemporary comment on ll. 210–12, the severity of which Pope went out of his way to emphasize in a footnote to l. 204.

3. Bolingbroke was so called because he had been deprived of his title on his impeachment.

4. Lyttelton. 5. See *Dia.* ii 138–9.

same charge on April 11 in some scurrilous verses entitled *The Fourth Epistle of the First Book of* Horace's *Epistles. A modern Imitation. By* A. P. *of* Twickenham, *Esq.*

Just as Pope had felt the need of explaining his position after the outcry raised by the *Epistle to Burlington*, so now he felt the need of defending the satire of the *Imitations of Horace*. He made his defence —his "protest," as he described it to Swift[1]—in the two dialogues "Something like Horace" entitled *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight*, and later renamed *The Epilogue to the Satires*. Pope's theme is the same theme which he had developed in his correspondence with Arbuthnot, mentioned above; that is, the urgency of making clear his abhorrence of vice, his conviction that general satire is useless, and that living examples must be made if any reform is to be effected. As he slowly develops his theme, Pope comments on the political situation, pillories the leading courtiers, and in the last thirty-five lines of the first dialogue, one of the grandest passages of his later poetry, he versifies the exhortation which Bolingbroke (now once more at his side) had delivered five years before in *A Dissertation on Parties*, that England's genius must be rescued from the Whig forces of fraud and corruption.[2] Warton reports[3] that these poems "were more diligently laboured, and more frequently corrected than any of our Author's compositions. I have often heard Mr. Dodsley say, that he was employed by the Author to copy them fairly. Every line was then written twice over; a clean transcript was then delivered to Mr. Pope, and when he afterward sent it to Mr. Dodsley to be printed, he found every line had been written twice over a second time." There can be no doubt that such labour was amply justified. Swift wrote to Pope on August 8, 1738, telling him that the second dialogue equalled almost anything he had ever written, an opinion which the reader may share who reflects on the fervour of such a passage as ll. 197–247, or on the astonishing virtuosity shown in Pope's use of the couplet.

In a note to the last line of the second dialogue, probably written in 1743,[4] Pope declares that on printing the poem he had resolved

1. May 17, 1739.
2. *Supra*, p. xxxii.
3. Pope's *Works*, ed. Warton, iv 294.
4. This and many other notes in the *Epilogue* were first printed in 1751. If they

to publish no more of this kind. "Could he have hoped to have amended any, he had continued those attacks; but bad men were grown so shameless and so powerful, that Ridicule was become as unsafe as it was ineffectual." No more poems of this kind were published, it is true, but it is difficult to decide whether this had always been Pope's settled determination. The reference in the first line to Paxton's employment as common informer of libels against the Government, and ll. 248–9, both suggest that he was aware of the danger of continuing his attacks. And with reason. In the following February (1739), Paul Whitehead and his publishers were summoned before the House of Lords to answer for a satire called *Manners*, which had been deemed libellous. This was regarded as a plain warning offered to Pope.

On the other hand, his interest in politics was still lively. In July 1738 he wrote to Fortescue telling him that he had a third dialogue in mind,[1] but there is no evidence to show that this was written. Indeed, he told Swift on May 17, 1739, that he was "sinking fast into prose," and added that he had written no more than ten lines, for insertion in *The Dunciad*, since completing the *Epilogue*. Yet his correspondence with Lyttelton in 1739 suggests that another poem in the same manner was maturing. Lyttelton was secretary to the Prince of Wales, to whom the Opposition was now looking for leadership more than ever, since the motives of Carteret and Pulteney had become suspect. The Opposition's hopes are well expressed in a letter written to Pope by Lyttelton on October 25, in which Pope is exhorted to be with the Prince as much as he can, "animate him to virtue—to the virtue least known to Princes, though most necessary for them—love of the publick; and think that the morals, the liberty, the whole happiness of this country depends on your success"; and he concludes, "In short, if you had any spirit in you, you would come to Bath, and let the Prince hear every day from the man of this age, who is the greatest dispenser of fame, and will be best heard by posterity, that if he would immortalize himself, the only way he can take is to deserve a place by

had been written in 1740 they would no doubt have been included in the edition of that year. References to the revised form of *The Dunciad* suggest that they were written in 1743 or 1744.

1. See *Dia.* ii 133*n*.

his conduct *in some writings*, where he will never be admitted only for his rank." Lyttelton's hint is plain enough, and though Pope makes no promises in his reply, yet the tenor of his letter, which reports a long conversation with Sir William Wyndham on the state of the Opposition and ends by encouraging the Prince to virtuous action,[1] shows that he was moved. It is not too fantastic to suggest that the fragment *1740*, which concludes with an exhortation to the Prince, was written as a result of Lyttelton's promptings.

1740 was never finished, perhaps for the reason which Pope offers in the note to the last line of the second dialogue, perhaps because his interest in politics was beginning to wane. Having come under the influence of Warburton, he began to turn his attention to a final revision of his poems, and to the completion of the *Essay on Man.*[2] His last word on politics is to be found in a letter to Ralph Allen, February 8, 1741–2.

"I never in my life wrote a Letter on these subjects [Public Affairs]: I content myself as you do, with honest wishes, for honest men to govern us, without asking for any Party, or Denomination, beside. This is all the Distinction I know: and tho th^{y} call Kings the Fountains of Honour, I think them only the Bestowers of Titles: wch they are generally most profuse of, to Wh—s and Kn—s."[3]

Pope states in the *Advertisement* to the *Imitations of Horace* that he had "versified" the *Satires of Dr Donne* "at the Desire of the Earl of *Oxford* while he was Lord Treasurer, and of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*" (P. 3), that is to say, between the years 1711 and 1714. But it is clear that the Earl of Oxford, who died in 1724, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, who died in 1718, cannot have seen the poems in the form in which Pope published them, for there is abundant internal evidence of revision in the early 1730's. A reference to the Excise in ii 8 and iv 147, and to the Polish Succession in iv 154, suggests that the revision was made in 1733. Yet on March 10, 1725–6, Edward, the second Earl of Oxford, wrote to Pope telling him he had found amongst his father's papers "your translation of one of Dr Donne's Satires." It seems probable that the Earl had come across the folio

1. See *1740*, 85*n*. 2. See *Dia.* ii 255*n*. 3. B. M. Egerton MS. 1947, f. 101v.

manuscript volume of poems now in the British Museum (Lansdowne 852). This collection seems to have been started for the amusement of the first Earl and continued by his son, who has annotated many pages of it. On fol. 94^{v} is found *The Second Satire of Dr Donne Translated by Mr Pope*, written in an unknown hand.[1] The poem is undated, and evidence for dating is meagre since the poems in this volume are not arranged in strictly chronological order. However, no poem to which a date is fixed was written later than 1726, and since *The Second Satire* follows immediately upon Swift's *Imitation of Horace*—"Harley, the Nation's great support"—dated 1713, there is no reason to doubt the truth of Pope's statement that this early version of *The Second Satire* was "translated" for the first Earl of Oxford—perhaps in 1713, too.[2] When Pope revised the poem in 1733, he retained only some 30 of the 120 and odd lines. This is not surprising since the two versions were written, clearly, with different intentions. The earlier version can best be described as a modernization—its place is with Pope's versions of Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale* and *Wife of Bath's Prologue*; the revision of 1733 was evidently made to bring this "translation" into satiric line with the *Imitations of Horace*. The Lansdowne version of *The Second Satire* is now printed for the first time (pp. 132ff). No earlier version of *The Fourth Satire* is known, though Pope's verse letter to Cromwell, written on July 12 or 13, 1707,[3] shows that he was already familiar with it at this early date.

Pope's attention to Donne's *Satires* should not give any cause for surprise. Though he and his contemporaries may not have read Donne with the enthusiasm with which we read him to-day, yet certainly they read him. Tonson, the publisher, considered that there was sufficient demand for a new edition of the poems in 1719; and fifteen of them are found in *Dryden's Miscellany*, the most popular and representative anthology of the period, re-issued for the fifth time in 1727. Spence records that Pope held Donne's poetry in high repute—though he credits him with the odd opinion

1. I am indebted to Mr Ault for drawing my attention to this MS. of the satire.

2. Incidentally, this was the year of *Windsor Forest*, of which l. 68 was suggested by the sixtieth line of Donne's satire.

3. Printed in vol. vi.

that "Donne had no imagination, but as much wit, I think, as any writer can possibly have"[1]—and commended his *Epistles*, *Metempsychosis*, and *Satires*, as "his best things."[2] One could wish for a fuller statement, but the motto chosen from Horace, and the very fact of his decision to versify, suggest that Pope would have subscribed to Dryden's views—"[Donne] gives us deep thoughts in common language, though rough cadence,"[3] and on another occasion, "Would not Donne's *Satires*, which abound with so much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words, and of his numbers?"[4] a question which Pope might well have been incited to answer without the encouragement of Oxford and Shrewsbury.

A note is prefixed to each poem relating the textual history of the poem and stating from what source the present text is derived. The general principle adopted has been to print Pope's final revisions but to follow the typography of the first editions, as explained in the Preface. The Latin texts have been restored to the positions from which they have been banished in all recent editions. The most famous editor of Horace in Pope's time was Bentley, but except in *Sober Advice* Pope never followed Bentley's text. Indeed he avoided it. Having accidentally printed one of Bentley's conjectures in the seventh epistle of the first book—*nitedula* in l. 29—he substituted the old reading *volpecula*, when revising the poem for the next edition. The text of Horace which Pope habitually used has not been discovered.[5]

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 136. 2. *ibid.*, p. 144. 3. *Essays*, i 52. 4. *ibid.*, ii 102.

5. It is of some interest to estimate the extent of Pope's indebtedness to Creech's *Horace*, the only complete translation available. The rendering of *rapit* (*Ep.* I i 15) by *drives*, of *vulpes* (*Ep.* I i 70) by *Reynard*, and of *sentit* (*Ep.* II ii 162) by *confesses* might have occurred to Pope independently of Creech; but when both are found translating *Lare* (*Ep.* I i 13) by *sect* and *irritabile* (*Ep.* II ii 102) by *waspish*, and conveying the effect of *fastu* and *molimine* (*Ep.* II ii 93) by the verb *strut*, the renderings are sufficiently unusual to justify the inference that Pope borrowed them from Creech. There are three other passages in which Pope was helped by Creech's translations: "our curious men" (*Sat.* II ii 17) and "who keeps the middle state, and neither leans &c" (*Sat.* II ii 61) are common to both, and are very free renderings of the Latin—and l. 96 of the same satire is taken verbatim from Creech. The comparison shows that Pope turned to Creech in occasional difficulties, and lifted some few good things which he considered worth the transport. See also *Windsor Forest*, l. 250*n*.

Since Pope is the most allusive of our poets, the amount of annotation is necessarily large. To relieve space at the foot of the page, all information about the lives of Pope's contemporaries has been removed to a Biographical Appendix. In view of the fullness and accuracy of Professor R. H. Griffith's work, bibliographical information has been reduced to a minimum.

Throughout the footnotes and the biographical appendix I have tried to show my indebtedness to the printed works of my predecessors and contemporaries. In particular, I have to thank Messrs Eyre and Spottiswoode for their courtesy in allowing me to quote from the text of Hervey's *Memoirs* published by them in 1931. It is a pleasure to record here the abundant help I have received from each of my fellow editors, the variety of which it would be impossible to specify at this point; Miss M. Andrewes, Dr R. W. Greaves, Mr Hugh Macdonald, Dr C. T. Onions, and Professor George Sherburn have generously supplied information on numerous occasions; and Professor D. Nichol Smith has never failed me with encouragement, information, and advice.

JOHN BUTT

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The standard biographies are G. Sherburn's *The Early Career of Alexander Pope*, 1934, and W. J. Courthope's life in vol. v of the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's works, 1871–89 .Sherburn's account stops in 1727.

1688 (May 21) Alexander Pope born in London of elderly parents.

*c.*1700 Pope's family moved to Binfield, in Windsor Forest, [?] to comply with anti-Catholic regulations.
Death of Dryden.

*c.*1705 Pope started to make acquaintance with the literary society of London.

1709 (May) The *Pastorals* published in the sixth part of Tonson's *Miscellanies.*

1711 (May) *An Essay on Criticism* published; praised in *The Spectator* by Addison, and damned by Dennis.

1712 (May) The *Messiah* published by Steele in *The Spectator.* Lintot's *Miscellany* published, containing the first version of *The Rape of the Lock*, and other poems by Pope. Pope was becoming acquainted with Swift, Gay, Parnell, and Arbuthnot, who together formed the Scriblerus Club.

1713 (March) *Windsor Forest.*
(April) Addison's *Cato* first acted, with a prologue by Pope. Pope was contributing to Steele's *Guardian.*
(October) Proposals issued for a translation of the *Iliad.*

1714 (March) The enlarged version of *The Rape of the Lock.*
(August) Death of Queen Anne.

(May) Curll's edition of Pope's letters.
Bolingbroke returned to France.

1737 (April) *Imitation of Horace* [Ep. II ii].
(May) Pope's edition of his letters.
Imitation of Horace [Ep. II i].
An Essay on Man attacked by Crousaz, Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy at Lausanne.

1738 (January–March) *Imitations of Horace* [Eps. I vi and I i].
(May–July) *Epilogue to the Satires*.
Warburton commenced his replies to Crousaz.
Pope visited by Bolingbroke.

1740 (April) Pope's first meeting with Warburton.

1742 (March) *The New Dunciad* [i.e. Book iv].

1743 (October) *The Dunciad* in four books with Cibber enthroned in the place of Theobald.

1744 (May 30) Death of Pope.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL POEMS
of Pope to be found in the other volumes

The Dunciad	in volume		v
Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady	,,	,,	ii
Eloisa to Abelard	,,	,,	ii
Essay on Criticism	,,	,,	i
Essay on Man	,,	,,	iii
January and May	,,	,,	ii
Messiah	,,	,,	i
Moral Essays	,,	,,	iii
Pastorals	,,	,,	i
The Rape of the Lock	,,	,,	ii
The Temple of Fame	,,	,,	ii
Translations from Ovid and Statius	,,	,,	i
The Wife of Bath	,,	,,	ii
Windsor Forest	,,	,,	i

The translation of Homer is not included in this edition. The remaining poems will be found in volume vi. The three-book *Dunciad* is referred to as *Dunciad A*, the four-book as *Dunciad B*. The same distinction is made in referring to *The Rape of the Lock*. The *Essay on Criticism* is referred to as *E on C*.

ABBREVIATED TITLES

of poems printed in this volume

Dia. i = *Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue I.*
Dia. ii = *Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue II.*
Donne ii = *The Second Satire of Dr John Donne.*
Donne iv = *The Fourth Satire of Dr John Donne.*
Ep. I i = *The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated* [to Bolingbroke].
Ep. I vi = *The Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated* [to Murray].
Ep. I vii = *The Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace. Imitated in the Manner of Dr Swift.*
Ep. II i = *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated* [to Augustus].
Ep. II ii = *The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace.*
Ep. to Arbuthnot = *An Epistle from Mr Pope to Dr Arbuthnot.*
Od. IV i = *Horace, His Ode to Venus, Lib. IV, Ode I.*
Od. IV ix = *Part of the Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book.*
Sat. II i = *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated* [to Fortescue].
Sat. II ii = *The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace Paraphrased* [to Bethel].
Sat. II vi = *An Imitation of The Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace.*
Sob. Adv. = *Sober Advice from Horace.*
1740 = *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty.*

FURTHER ABBREVIATIONS
used in the footnotes & in the biographical appendix

BEATSON = A Chronological Register of both Houses of Parliament. By R. Beatson. 3 vols., 1807. A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland. By R. Beatson. Third edition, 3 vols., 1806.

BIOG. APP. = Biographical Appendix.

BURNET = The History of My Own Time. 6 vols., 1823.

CARRUTHERS = The Poetical Works of Pope. Ed. R. Carruthers. 2 vol. edition of 1858 used.

COXE = Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole. By W. Coxe. 3 vols., 1798.

CROKER = Notes by Croker in the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's Works.

DNB = Dictionary of National Biography.

DRYDEN'S ESSAYS = Essays, selected and ed. W. P. Ker. 2 vols., 1900.

DRYDEN'S PROSE = The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden. Ed. E. Malone. 3 vols., 1800.

DYSON = Pope, Poetry and Prose. Ed. H. V. D. Dyson. 1933.

EC = The Works of Pope. Ed. W. Elwin and W. J. Courthope. 10 vols., 1871–89.

EGMONT = Diary of the Earl of Egmont. Hist. MSS. Comm. 3 vols., 1920–3.

EJD = Information kindly given by Miss E. Jeffries Davis.

GEC = The Complete Peerage of Great Britain. By G.E.C. A new edition in progress, by V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, and Lord Howard de Walden. 1910 etc.

GRIERSON = The Poems of John Donne. Ed. H. J. C. Grierson. 2 vols., 1912.

GRIFFITH = Alexander Pope. A Bibliography. By R. H. Griffith. 1 vol. in two parts, 1922, 1927.

GS = Information kindly given by Professor G. Sherburn.

HERVEY MEMOIRS = Memoirs of the Reign of George II. By John, Lord Hervey. Ed. R. Sedgwick. 3 vols, 1931.

JS = Information kindly given by Mr John Sparrow.

JOHNSON'S LIVES = Lives of the English Poets. By Samuel Johnson. Ed. G. Birkbeck Hill. 3 vols., 1905.

LADY MARY'S LETTERS = The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Ed. Lord Wharncliffe. 2 vols., 1893.

LECKY = A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By W. E. H. Lecky. 7 vols., 1878. Edition of 1892 quoted.

MALONE = Malone's MS. notes for an edition of Pope's works, Bodleian MS. Malone 30.

NICHOLS = Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. By John Nichols. The edition of 1812–15, in 9 vols., used.

OED = Oxford English Dictionary.

P = Note by Pope; usually followed by dates of the editions in which it was printed.

PATTISON = Pope's Satires and Epistles. Ed. Mark Pattison. 1872. Impression of 1925 used.

POLIT. HIST. ENG. = The Political History of England. Ed. W. Hunt and R. L. Poole. Vol. ix (1702–60), by I. S. Leadam, 1909.

POPE'S PROSE = The Prose Works of A. Pope. Ed. Norman Ault. Vol. i, 1936.

SHERBURN = The Early Career of A. Pope. By George Sherburn. 1934.

SPENCE = Anecdotes . . . of Books and Men. By Joseph Spence. Ed. S. W. Singer. 1820.

SUFFOLK = Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk. 2 vols., 1824.

SYKES = Edmund Gibson. By Norman Sykes. 1926.

WAKEFIELD = Works of A. Pope. Ed. Gilbert Wakefield. 1794. Observations on Pope. By G. Wakefield. 1796.

WALPOLE = Notes on the Poems of Pope, by Horatio, Earl of Orford, contributed by Sir W. A. Fraser. 1876. Also, Marginal notes from his copies of Warton's *Essay* and *Additions to Pope's Works* (1776), now in the British Museum.

WALPOLE ANEC. PAINTING = Anecdotes of Painting. By Horace Walpole. Ed. R. N. Wornum. 3 vols., 1888.

WARBURTON 1751 = Works of A. Pope. Ed. W. Warburton. 9 vols., 1751. First edition of 1751 quoted.

WARD = Poetical Works of A. Pope. Ed. A. W. Ward. 1869. Reprint of 1924 used.

WARTON = Works of A. Pope. Ed. J. Warton. 9 vols., 1797. Edition of 1822 quoted.

WILKES = A copy of "Warburton," with MS. notes by John Wilkes. British Museum, G. 12850–8.

WILLIAMS = The Works of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams. 3 vols., 1822.

THE FIRST SATIRE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF HORACE IMITATED

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated was first published as a 20-page folio in 1733. The text was revised when the poem was reissued with the first edition of the *Second Satire* in 1734. Further slight revisions were made for the quarto and two octavo editions of the collected works in 1735, and for the octavo *Works* of 1739. The present text observes the final revision of 1739, but follows the punctuation and typography of the first edition. The Latin text is reprinted from the first edition with one printer's error corrected. The index guides from the English to the Latin text have been omitted in each *Imitation of Horace*.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1733 = First edition, Griffith 288, 290–3 (five variants identical as regards the text).
1734 = Second edition, quarto, Griffith 341.
1735*a* = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735*b* = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735*c* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 388.
1735*d* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751*a* = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, large octavo, Griffith 646.
1751*b* = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, small octavo, Griffith 653.

ADVERTISEMENT

The Occasion of publishing these Imitations *was the Clamour raised on some of my* Epistles. *An Answer from* Horace *was both more full, and of more Dignity, than any I cou'd have made in my own person; and the Example of much greater Freedom in so eminent a Divine as Dr.* Donne, *seem'd a proof with what Indignation and Contempt a Christian may treat Vice or Folly, in ever so low, or ever so high, a Station. Both these Authors were acceptable to the Princes and Ministers under whom they lived: The Satires of Dr.* Donne *I versify'd at the Desire of the Earl of* Oxford *while he was Lord Treasurer, and of the Duke of* Shrewsbury *who had been Secretary of State; neither of whom look'd upon a Satire on Vicious Courts as any Reflection on those they serv'd in. And indeed there is not in the world a greater Error, than that which Fools are so apt to fall into, and Knaves with good reason to incourage, the mistaking a* Satyrist *for a* Libeller; *whereas to a* true Satyrist *nothing is so odious as a* Libeller, *for the same reason as to a man* truly Virtuous *nothing is so hateful as a* Hypocrite. [P. 1735–51]

—Uni aequus Virtuti atque ejus Amicis. [P. 1739–51]

Oxford held the office of Lord Treasurer from 1711 to 1714. He died in 1724. Two years later, his son the second Earl wrote to Pope (March 10, 1725–6), telling him he had found amongst his father's papers Pope's "translation of one of Dr. Donne's Satires." For Shrewsbury, see Biog. App., Talbot. The motto is from Horace, *Sat* II i 70.

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI SERMONUM LIBER SECUNDUS

HOR. SUNT *quibus in Satyra videar nimis acer, & ultra*
Legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat, similesque meorum
Mille die versus deduci *posse. Trebati!*
Quid faciam? Præscribe.

TREB. *Quiescas.*
HOR. *Ne faciam inquis,*
Omnino versus?
TREB. *Aio.*
HOR. *Peream male si non*
Optimum erat: verum nequeo dormire.
TREB. *Ter uncti*
Transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,
Irriguumve mero sub noctem corpus habento.

HORACE] *1751 adds the sub-title* To Mr. FORTESCUE.

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3. Referring to *Moral Es.* iii 123.

4. *ibid.* ll. 20, 86.

6. *Lord Fanny*] See Introduction, pp. xv–xx. "*Fanny* (my Lord) is the plain English of *Fannius*, a real person, who was a foolish Critic, and an enemy of *Horace*: perhaps a Noble one, for so . . . I must acquaint you, the word *Beatus* may be construed.

Beatus Fannius! ultro
Delatis capsis et imagine [*Sat.* I iv 21]."

A Letter to a Noble Lord [Hervey], *1751*, viii 262.

8. William Fortescue. See Biog. App. "Have you seen my imitation of Horace? I fancy it will make you smile; but though, when I first began it, I thought of you, before I came to end it, I considered it might be too ludicrous, to a man of

THE FIRST SATIRE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF HORACE

P. THERE are (I scarce can think it, but am told)
There are to whom my Satire seems too bold,
Scarce to wise *Peter* complaisant enough,
And something said of *Chartres* much too rough.
The Lines are weak, another's pleas'd to say,
Lord *Fanny* spins a thousand such a Day.
Tim'rous by Nature, of the Rich in awe,
I come to Council learned in the Law.
You'll give me, like a Friend both sage and free,
Advice; and (as you use) without a Fee.
F. I'd write no more.
P. Not write? but then I *think*,
And for my Soul I cannot sleep a wink.
I nod in Company, I wake at Night,
Fools rush into my Head, and so I write.

F. You could not do a worse thing for your Life.
Why, if the Nights seem tedious—take a Wife;
Or rather truly, if your Point be Rest,
Lettuce and Cowslip Wine; *Probatum est.*

11, 15 *F*] *L 1733.*

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your situation and grave acquaintance, to make you Trebatius, who was yet one of the most considerable lawyers of his time, and a particular friend of a poet. In both which circumstances I rejoice that you resemble him, but am chiefly pleased that you do it in the latter." Pope to Fortescue, Sunday, February 1732–3.

13. "I sleep in company, and wake at night, which is vexatious: if you did so, you at your age would make verses." Pope to Richardson, Nov. 21 [1739], EC ix 508.

18. *Lettuce and Cowslip Wine*] "Well, sir, for the future I will drown all high thoughts in the Lethe of cowslip-wine." Pope to Cromwell, May 10, 1708. ll.16, 17 suggest that Pope had in mind the anaphrodisiac as well as the soporific properties of lettuce, testified to in the herbals of Gerard and Culpeper.

Aut, si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude
Cæsaris *invicti res dicere, multa laborum*
Præmia *laturus.*

Hor. *Cupidum, pater optime! vires*
Deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina, *nec* fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo *describat vulnera Parthi.*

Treb. *Attamen & justum poteras & scribere fortem,*
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.

Hor. *Haud mihi deero,*
Cum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore *Flacci*
Verba per attentam non ibunt Cæsaris *aurem;*
Cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus.
Treb. *Quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi lædere versu*
Pantolabum Scurram, Nomentanumve nepotem?
Cum sibi quisque timet, quanquam est intactus, & odit.

19 will] may *1733–35b.* 25–6 Rend . . . Thunder] *add. 1734–51.*

19. *Celsus*] The chief Roman writer on medicine. EC notes the MS. reading *Hollins*, the name of Fortescue's doctor (EC ix 133).

20. *Hartshorn*] This was intended as a pleasantry on the novelty of the prescription [*Warburton*]. Pattison noticed "Sirop of cowslep, and hartshorn" in a sleeping potion prescribed for Swift in 1733; its efficacy may be doubted since hartshorn (i.e. ammonia) is a stimulant.

23. *Sir Richard*] Blackmore. See Biog. App.

rumbling] ". . . Sir Richard, in that rumbling old chariot of his . . ." Pope (quoting Lintot) to the Earl of Burlington [1716?], EC x 207. And cf. Dryden's *Prologue to the Pilgrim*, 41f:

> At leisure Hours in Epique Song he deals,
> Writes to the rumbling of his Coaches Wheels.

27. Referring to Budgell's ludicrous *Poem upon His Majesty's Late Journey to*

But talk with *Celsus*, *Celsus* will advise
Hartshorn, or something that shall close your Eyes.
Or if you needs must write, write CÆSAR's Praise:
You'll gain at least a *Knighthood*, or the *Bays*.
P. What? like Sir *Richard*, rumbling, rough and fierce,
With ARMS, and GEORGE, and BRUNSWICK crowd the Verse?
Rend with tremendous Sound your ears asunder,
With Gun, Drum, Trumpet, Blunderbuss & Thunder?
Or nobly wild, with *Budgell*'s Fire and Force,
Paint Angels trembling round his *falling Horse*?
F. Then all your Muse's softer Art display,
Let *Carolina* smooth the tuneful Lay,
Lull with *Amelia*'s liquid Name the Nine,
And sweetly flow through all the Royal Line.
P. Alas! few Verses touch their nicer Ear;
They scarce can bear their *Laureate* twice a Year:
And justly CÆSAR scorns the Poet's Lays,
It is to *History* he trusts for Praise.
F. Better be *Cibber*, I'll maintain it still,
Than ridicule all *Taste*, blaspheme *Quadrille*,
Abuse the City's best good Men in Metre,

25 your] our *1734–35c.* 29, *and subsequently. F*] *L 1733–35b.*

Cambridge and Newmarket, 1728, in which the fate of George II's illustrious steed, shot under him at the battle of Oudenarde, is sung. The trembling angels are Pope's invention.

30, 31. *Carolina . . . Amelia*] See Biog. App.

33–5. George II's well-known dislike of poetry is frequently the object of Pope's sarcasm. cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 222, *Ep.* II i 404.

34. *twice a Year*] The poet laureate's duties were to celebrate with odes the New Year and the King's Birthday, see E. K. Broadus, *The Laureateship* (1921), p. 102. At this time the office was held by Colley Cibber.

36. *to History*] A jibe at the office of historiographer royal, which had been re-created for James Howell in 1661.

38. *ridicule all Taste*] See *Moral Es.* iv *passim.*

blaspheme Quadrille] Referring to *Moral Es.* iii 76.

39. Referring to *Moral Es.* iii 101.

HOR. *Quid faciam? Saltat Milonius, ut semel icto*
Accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis.

Castor gaudet equis; ovo prognatus eodem
Pugnis: quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
Millia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba,
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
Ille, velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris; neque si male gesserat, usquam
Decurrens alio, neque si bene: quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Appulus anceps:
[*Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,*
Missus ad hoc pulsis (*vetus est ut fama*) *Sabellis;*

44 *Bond*] *B—nd 1733.* 46 *Scarsdale*] *Sc—le 1733–35d;*

40. *Peter*] Peter Walter. See Biog. App.

42. *Timon . . . Balaam*] Referring to *Moral Es.* iv ll. 99 ff, and *Moral Es.* iii ll. 339–402. "*Timon* is ingeniously introduced here to back up his declaration that the Duke of Chandos was not intended" [Pattison].

44. *Bond . . . Harpax*] Referring to *Moral Es.* iii 91, 100.

46. *Scarsdale*] Nicholas Leke, fourth Earl. See Biog. App.

Darty] Charles Dartineuf. See Biog. App.

Ham-Pye] EC quotes a recipe for Westphalia-Ham Pie from *The Complete Practical Cook* (1730) by Charles Carter, lately Cook to his Grace the Duke of Argyll: "First boil your Ham, but not too much; take off the Skin, and pare of all the Rust and Outside, and take out all the Bones; cut some Hacks in it in the Inside, and season it with Pepper, Cloves, Mace and Ginger, and wash the Top with the Yolk of an Egg, and season it, and strew over some Thyme and Parsly minc'd: Make a Coffin, and put in your Ham in the Middle; lay some Forc'd-meat round, and round that Partridges, Chickens, and Pigeons, and some Forc'd-meat between; season all, but lay over some hard Yolks of Eggs, Artichoke-bottoms quarter'd, and Chesnuts blanch'd; lay scalded Lettice, or Asparagus scalded in short Bunches; put over Butter, and close it, and bake it; cut it up, take out the Fat, put in some good Gravy, and shake it together, and put over it a Ragoust of Pallats and Sweetbreads, Cocks-combs, Morelles, Trouffles and Mushrooms, and serve it away hot to the Table: Garnish with the Cover cut."

And laugh at Peers that put their Trust in *Peter*.
Ev'n those you touch not, hate you.
P. What should ail 'em?
F. A hundred smart in *Timon* and in *Balaam*:
The fewer still you name, you wound the more;
Bond is but one, but *Harpax* is a Score.
P. Each Mortal has his Pleasure: None deny
Scarsdale his Bottle, *Darty* his Ham-Pye;
Ridotta sips and dances, till she see
The doubling Lustres dance as fast as she;
F— loves the *Senate*, *Hockley-Hole* his Brother
Like in all else, as one Egg to another.
I love to pour out all myself, as plain
As downright *Shippen*, or as old *Montagne*.
In them, as certain to be lov'd as seen,
The Soul stood forth, nor kept a Thought within;
In me what Spots (for Spots I have) appear,

Darty] *D—ty 1733–35d.* 48 fast] well *1733–35c.* 49 *F*—] —*1733.*

47. *Ridotta*] A name for a type of Society woman: from the Italian, *ridotto*, a social assembly consisting of music and dancing, introduced into England in 1722 [OED].

49. *F*—] Stephen Fox. His more famous brother Henry (who did not enter Parliament till 1735, and so cannot at this time have loved attendance there) is not known to have enjoyed the sports of Hockley Hole, though gossip credited him with spending "a fair younger brother's portion . . . in the common vices of youth, gaming included" (Chesterfield's *Works*, Dublin, 1777, i 352), the truth of which is denied by his latest biographer, Lord Ilchester.

Hockley-Hole] A Bear-garden near Clerkenwell Green, celebrated since Ben Jonson's days for the bull and bear baiting, which took place on Mondays and Thursdays (Cunningham and Wheatley, *London Past and Present*). A visit there is described in *Spectator* No. 436, and Lyttelton mentions that "the delighted beholders rewarded with showers of money, greater or less, in proportion as the combatants were more or less hurt" (*Letters from a Persian in England, No. 3*). cf. *Dunciad*, B i 222, 326.

55. "The best way to prove the clearness of our mind, is by shewing its faults; as when a stream discovers the dirt at the bottom, it convinces us of the transparency and purity of the water." *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, EC x 551.

Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
Sive quod Appula gens, seu quod Lucania Bellum
Incuteret violenta.]

Sed hic stylus haud petit ultro
Quenquam animantem; & me veluti custodiet ensis
Vagina tectus, quem cur distringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus? O Pater & Rex
Jupiter! ut pereat positum rubigine telum,
Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! at ille,
Qui me commorit (melius non tangere clamo)

64. *Verse-man or Prose-man*] Pope told Spence (p. 175) that Bathurst called Prior his verse-man and Lewis his prose-man.

64–6. Pope wrote to Caryll, who was also a Catholic, on 8 March, 1732–3, saying that "one or two good priests were gravelled" at these lines "not seeing so plain a meaning as that an honest man and a good catholic might be indifferent what the world called him, while he knew his own religion and his own integrity." Pope's open-mindedness in religious matters had been evident since the *Essay on Criticism*, see ll. 396–7, and Sherburn, pp. 61–3.

66. *Erasmus*] Pope writes to Swift, Nov. 28, 1729, that he is "of the religion of Erasmus, a catholic" and cf. *E. on C.* ll. 693–6. He bequeathed a copy of Erasmus's works in eleven volumes to Bolingbroke.

67–8. This was especially applicable to the year 1713, when Pope had celebrated the Tory peace in *Windsor Forest* and written a prologue to the Whig play, *Cato*. See Sherburn, p. 67. He wrote to Caryll, July 25, 1714, "You can hardly guess what a task you undertake when you profess yourself my friend; there are some tories who will take you for a whig, some whigs who will take you for a tory, some protestants who will esteem you a rank papist, and some papists who will account you a heretic. I find, by dear experience, we live in an

Will prove at least the Medium must be clear.
In this impartial Glass, my Muse intends
Fair to expose myself, my Foes, my Friends;
Publish the present Age, but where my Text
Is Vice too high, reserve it for the next:
My Foes shall wish my Life a longer date,
And ev'ry Friend the less lament my Fate.
My Head and Heart thus flowing thro' my Quill,
Verse-man or Prose-man, term me which you will,
Papist or Protestant, or both between,
Like good *Erasmus* in an honest Mean,
In Moderation placing all my Glory,
While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory.
Satire's my Weapon, but I'm too discreet
To run a Muck, and tilt at all I meet;
I only wear it in a Land of Hectors,
Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors.
Save but our *Army!* and let *Jove* incrust
Swords, Pikes, and Guns, with everlasting Rust!
Peace is my dear Delight—not *Fleury*'s more:

age where it is criminal to be moderate. . ."

71. *Hectors*] the name given to a group of dissolute young gentlemen in the second half of the seventeenth century, who swaggered "by night about [London], breaking windows, upsetting sedans, beating quiet men, and offering rude caresses to pretty women" (Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* ch. iii). Here, perhaps less specifically, "bullies."

72. *Supercargoes*] Officers on board merchant ships whose business it was to superintend the cargo and commercial transactions of the voyage. Fielding's use of the word (*Lottery* ii 14) shows that supercargoes were proverbial for their wealth [OED].

Directors] South-Sea Company directors. See *Moral Es.* iii 117.

73. "The maintenance of a standing army at the command of the sovereign had, since the revolution [the year of Pope's birth], been declaimed against by the tories as a constant menace to English liberty" (*Polit. Hist. Eng.*, ix 243); later, in the first two Hanoverian reigns, there were annual conflicts about the size of the forces, which in times of peace numbered about 17,000 men during Walpole's administration (Lecky, ii 144). See *Sat.* II ii 154.

Flebit, & insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

Cervius iratus leges minitatur & urnam;
Canidia Albuti, quibus est inimica, Venenum;
Grande malum Turius, si quid se judice certes;
Ut, quo quisque valet, suspectus terreat, utque
Imperet hoc natura potens; sic collige mecum.
Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit; unde nisi intus
Monstratum? Scævæ vivacem crede nepoti
Matrem: nil faciet sceleris pia dextra (mirum
Ut neque calce lupus quenquam, neque dente petit bos)
Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.
Ne longum faciam; seu me tranquilla senectus
Expectat, seu mors atris circumvolat alis;
Dives inops, Romæ seu sors ita jusserit, exul,
Quisquis erit vitæ, scribam, color.

82 Judge be *Page*] J---ge be — *1733*: Judge be * *1734–43*.
83 scarce a milder] yet a sadder *1733*.

78. Wakefield compares Dryden's Epilogue to *Aureng-zebe* ll. 5, 6:

The Action great, yet circumscrib'd by Time,
The Words not forc'd, but sliding into Rhime:

Warton compares Boileau, who writes of Horace,

Et malheur a tout nom qui, propre à la censure,
Put entrer dans un vers sans rompre la mesure!
(*Art Poétique*, ii 153–4)

81. *Delia*] Mary Howard, Countess of Delorain. See Biog. App.

82, var. *J—ge be—*] "Sir Francis Page, a judge well known in his time, conceiving that his name was meant to fill up the blank, sent his clerk to Mr. Pope, to complain of the insult. Pope told the young man that the blank might be supplied

But touch me, and no Minister so sore.
Who-e'er offends, at some unlucky Time
Slides into Verse, and hitches in a Rhyme,
Sacred to Ridicule! his whole Life long,
And the sad Burthen of some merry Song.
  Slander or Poyson, dread from *Delia*'s Rage,
Hard Words or Hanging, if your Judge be *Page*
From furious *Sappho* scarce a milder Fate,
P—x'd by her Love, or libell'd by her Hate:
Its proper Pow'r to hurt, each Creature feels,
Bulls aim their horns, and Asses lift their heels,
'Tis a Bear's Talent not to kick, but hug,
And no man wonders he's not stung by Pug:
So drink with *Waters*, or with *Chartres* eat,
They'll never poison you, they'll only cheat.
  Then learned Sir! (to cut the Matter short)
What-e'er my Fate, or well or ill at Court,
Whether old Age, with faint, but chearful Ray,
Attends to gild the Evening of my Day,
Or Death's black Wing already be display'd
To wrap me in the Universal Shade;
Whether the darken'd Room to muse invite,
Or whiten'd Wall provoke the Skew'r to write,

89 *Waters*] *W---t---rs 1733:* Walters *1735a, 1740–51. Chartres*] *Ch--t--rs 1733:* Charters *1734–35a.*

by many monosyllables, other than the judge's name:— "but, sir," said the clerk, "the judge says that no [other] word will make sense of the passage."—"So, then, it seems," says Pope, "your master is not only a judge, but a poet: as that is the case, the odds are against me. Give my respects to the judge, and tell him, I will not contend with one that has the advantage of me, and he may fill up the blank as he pleases." Johnson, *Works* (1824) xi 194*n*. See further, Biog. App.

83. *Sappho*] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. See Introduction, pp. xv*ff*.

88. *Pug*] This was the name of a Cornish boxer. See an anonymous poem, *Risum Teneatis? Amici*, 1732, p. 7.

89. *Waters*] Peter Walter, but "be sure to read *Waters*" [Pope's ironical erratum in 1735*b*]. He is similarly spelt at *Donne* ii 80.

TREB. *O puer, ut sis*
Vitalis, metuo; & majorum ne quis amicus
Frigore te feriat.

HOR. *Quid? cum est Lucilius ausus*
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere & pellem, nitidus *qua quisque per ora*
Cederet, introrsum turpis; *num Lælius, & qui*
Duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen,
Ingenio offensi? aut læso doluere Metello,
Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui
Primores *populi arripuit,* populumque *tributim;*

99. *the Mint*] A sanctuary for insolvent debtors and others in Southwark, so called because Henry VIII kept a Mint there. Nahum Tate, the poet laureate, died there in 1718 (Cunningham and Wheatley's *London*). Young had already jibed at debtor-poets in *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope, Concerning the Authors of the Age,* 1730, i 117–8.

> Such Writers have we! all, but Sense, they print;
> Ev'n *George*'s Praise is dated from the *Mint.*

See also *Ep. to Arbuthnot,* ll. 13, 156.

103. *Plums*] "A 'plum' is no temptation to [an honest man]. He likes and loves himself too well to change hearts with one of those corrupt miscreants, who amongst them gave that name to a round sum of money gained by rapine and plunder of the commonwealth" (Shaftesbury's *Characteristics,* ed. Robertson, i 86). cf. *Dia.* ii 49.

Directors . . . Wife] Referring to *Moral Es.* iii 117, 94.

105. *arm'd for Virtue*] "I am in no concern, whether people should say this is writ well or ill, but that this was writ with a good design.—'He has written in the cause of virtue, and done something to mend people's morals': this is the only commendation I long for.—*P*[*ope*]." Spence, p. 301. Cf. also Pope's letter to Warburton, Nov. 12, 1741. Aaron Hill's criticism is pertinent: "I am sorry to hear you say, you never thought any great matters of your poetry. It is, in my opinion, the characteristic you are to hope your distinction from. To be honest, is the

In Durance, Exile, Bedlam, or the Mint,
Like *Lee* or *Budgell*, I will Rhyme and Print.
F. Alas young Man! your Days can ne'r be long,
In Flow'r of Age you perish for a Song!
Plums, and Directors, *Shylock* and his Wife,
Will club their Testers, now, to take your Life!
P. What? arm'd for *Virtue* when I point the Pen,
Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men,
Dash the proud Gamester in his gilded Car,
Bare the mean Heart that lurks beneath a Star;
Can there be wanting to defend Her Cause,
Lights of the Church, or Guardians of the Laws?
Could pension'd *Boileau* lash in honest Strain
Flatt'rers and Bigots ev'n in *Louis*' Reign?
Could Laureate *Dryden* Pimp and Fry'r engage,
Yet neither *Charles* nor *James* be in a Rage?

100 *Budgell*] *B* – – – – *ll 1733–35a.*

duty of every plain man. Nor, since the soul of poetry is sentiment, can a great poet want morality. But your honesty you possess in common with a million, who will never be remembered, whereas your poetry is a peculiar, that will make it impossible you should be forgotten" (Hill to Pope, Jan. 28, 1730–1). To this Pope replied (Feb. 5): "I am very sensible, that my poetical talent is all that may, I say not, will, make me remembered: but it is my morality only that must make me beloved, or happy; and if it be any deviation from greatness of mind, to prefer friendships to fame . . . I fairly confess that meanness. Therefore it is, sir, that I much more resent any attempt against my moral character, which I know to be unjust, than any to lessen my poetical one, which, for all I know, may be very just."

107. *the proud Gamester*] Horace Walpole thought that Pope referred to Jansen (see *Donne* ii 88), but the reference is vague enough to allow another thrust at Chartres.

108. "Perhaps the best line Pope ever wrote," S. Rogers, *Table Talk*, 1856, p. 28.

112. *Flatt'rers and Bigots*] in *Le Lutrin*.

113. *Pimp and Fry'r engage*] united in the character of Friar Dominick in *The Spanish Friar* (1680). Charles II had no reason to be enraged, for Dryden was satirizing not loose morals in general but the morals of the Catholic clergy, and for that reason the play was banned by James II on Dec. 8, 1686 (A. Nicoll, *Hist. of Restor. Drama*, 1928, p. 10).

Scilicet UNI ÆQUUS VIRTUTI ATQUÆ EJUS AMICIS. 70

Quin ubi se a Vulgo *&* Scena, *in* Secreta *remorant*
Virtus Scipiadæ, *& mitis* Sapientia Læli;
Nugari cum illo, & discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti.

119–20 Yes . . . grave] *add. 1734–51.*
119 Yes] Know *1734–35b.*

116. *Un-plac'd* etc.] "I take myself to be the only Scribler of my Time, of any degree of distinction, who never receiv'd any Places from the Establishment, any Pension from a Court, or any Presents from a Ministry. I desire to preserve this Honour untainted to my Grave . . ." Pope to Lord Carteret, Feb. 16, 1722–3. As a Roman Catholic, Pope could not hold any Place; he had refused one pension from Lord Halifax, see Letter, Dec. 1, 1714, and another from Craggs, see Spence, pp. 305–8.

121. *To Virtue . . . Friend*] Pope concludes a letter to Richardson [1732–3: EC ix 502]: "I think I have made a panegyric of you all in one line, saying of myself that I am

'To Virtue only, and her friends, a friend'."

124. *my Grotto*] Pope's grounds at Twickenham were divided by the main road from London to Hampton Court. To avoid crossing it, Pope built an underground passage which also led to a stone arbour or temple, adorned with a large number of rare stones given to Pope by his friends. Here he was accustomed to sit. See further Biog. App. under *Serle*, Pope's letter to Blount, June 2, 1725, and verses *On his Grotto* (vol. vi).

126. *Statesmen, out of Place*] cf. Cleland's [or rather, Pope's] *Letter to the Pub-*

And I not strip the Gilding off a Knave,
Un-plac'd, un-pension'd, no Man's Heir, or Slave?
I will, or perish in the gen'rous Cause.
Hear this, and tremble! you, who 'scape the Laws.
Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave
Shall walk the World, in credit, to his grave.
To VIRTUE ONLY and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND,
The World beside may murmur, or commend.
Know, all the distant Din that World can keep
Rolls o'er my *Grotto*, and but sooths my Sleep.
There, my Retreat the best Companions grace,
Chiefs, out of War, and Statesmen, out of Place.
There *St. John* mingles with my friendly Bowl,
The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul:
And He, whose Lightning pierc'd th' *Iberian* Lines,
Now, forms my Quincunx, and now ranks my Vines,

120 the World . . . grave] in peace and credit to the grave *1734–35a:* the World in quiet to his grave *1735b:* in peace, and credit, to his grave *1735cd.*

lisher of the *Dunciad*, 1729, vol. v: "As his Satyrs were the more just for being delay'd, so were his Panegyricks; bestow'd only on such persons as he had familiarly known, only for such virtues as he had long observ'd in them, and only at such times as others cease to praise if not begin to calumniate them, I mean when out of Power or out of Fashion." See also *Dia.* ii 74–5 and note.

127–8. Griffith (1 i 193) notes that this couplet is in part borrowed from an anonymous poem, complimenting Bolingbroke, entitled *Dawley Farm.* The poem was published in *Fog's Weekly Journal* on June 26, 1731, and was attributed to Pope by a writer in the *Hyp-Doctor*, Nov. 9, 1731:

Wit more inspiring than his flowing Bowl;
The Feast of Reason, and the Flow of Soul.

129. *He*] *Charles Mordaunt* Earl of Peterborough, who in the Year 1705 took *Barcelona*, and in the Winter following with only 280 Horse and 900 foot enterprized, and accomplished the capture [Conquest *1735*]of *Valentia* [P. *1735–51*].

130. *Quincunx . . . Vines*] A quincunx is a disposition of five trees by which four are placed at the corners, the fifth at the centre, of a square. In Serle's plan of Pope's garden, the grove (south of the bowling green) is not planted quincuncially. The vineyard lay to the west of the bowling green.

—*Quicquid sum ego, quamvis*
Infra Lucili censum, ingeniumque, tamen me
Cum magnis vixisse *invita fatebitur usque*
Invidia, & fragili quærens illidere dentem,
Offendet solido;—
—*Nisi quid tu,* docte Trebati,
Dissentis.

TREB. *Equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum.*
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti
Incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum.
"Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina jus est
Judiciumque."

HOR. *Esto, siquis* mala; *sed* bona *siquis*
Judice condiderit laudatur CÆSARE: *siquis*

131. Pattison quotes from Gay's *Fables* (1738), vol. ii No. 15, ll. 89–90:

'Tis mine to tame the stubborn plain,
Break the stiff soil and house the grain.

Pope may also have had in mind two lines of Dryden (Virgil's *Georgics*, i 143, 4), of which he has marked his approval in his copy now in the British Museum:

For he with frequent Exercise Commands
Th' unwilling Soil, and tames the stubborn Lands.

133. *I live among the Great* etc.] cf. Cleland's *Letter*, op. cit.; "In one point I must be allow'd to think the character of our English Poet the more amiable. He has not been a follower of fortune or success: He has liv'd with the Great without Flattery, has been a friend to Men in power without Pensions, from whom as he ask'd, so he receiv'd no favour but what was done Him in his friends."

140. *Mob*] The abbreviation of *mobile vulgus*, which had recently become

Or tames the Genius of the stubborn Plain,
Almost as quickly, as he conquer'd *Spain*.
Envy must own, I live among the Great,
No Pimp of Pleasure, and no Spy of State,
With Eyes that pry not, Tongue that ne'er repeats,
Fond to spread Friendships, but to cover Heats,
To help who want, to forward who excel;
This, all who know me, know; who love me, tell;
And who unknown defame me, let them be
Scriblers or Peers, alike are *Mob* to me.
This is my Plea, on this I rest my Cause—
What saith my Council learned in the Laws?
F. Your Plea is good. But still I say, beware!
Laws are explain'd by Men—so have a care.
It stands on record, that in *Richard*'s Times
A Man was hang'd for very honest Rhymes.
Consult the Statute: *quart.* I think it is,
Edwardi Sext. or *prim. & quint. Eliz:*
See *Libels, Satires*—here you have it—read.
P. Libels and *Satires!* lawless Things indeed!
But grave *Epistles*, bringing Vice to light,

145 *Richard*'s] ancient *1733*. 149 here] there *1733–35c*.

popular. It was detested by Swift, who wrote in *Tatler* (1710), No. 230, "I have done my utmost for some years past, to stop the progress of *Mob* and *Banter*; but have been plainly born down by numbers, and betrayed by those who promised to assist me."

145. *in Richard's Times* etc.] *Stat. Westmin.* i c. 34, 3 Edward I was the first enactment against libel, which was further defined in 2 Ric. II *Stat.* i c. 5, and 12 Ric. II c. 11. The penalty was imprisonment, until the originator of the libel was found. 3 and 4 Edward VI c. 15 is "An Acte against fonde and fantasticall Prophesies": 1 Eliz. c. 6 is "An Acte for the explanation of the Statute [1 Ph. and Mary c. 3] of sedytyous Woordes and Rumours:" 5 Eliz. c. 15 deals with the same subject as 3 and 4 Edward VI c. 15. The maximum penalty allowed (1 Ph. and Mary) was imprisonment for life and loss of goods on the second offence.

150. *Satires . . . grave Epistles*] "You call your satires, libels: I would rather call my satires, epistles. They will consist more of morality than of wit, and grow graver, which you will call duller." Pope to Swift, Apr. 2, 1733.

Opprobrijs dignum laceraverit, integer ipse, 85
Solventur risu tabulæ; tu missus abibis.

FINIS

Such as a *King* might read, a *Bishop* write,
Such as Sir *Robert* would approve—
F. Indeed?
The Case is alter'd—you may then proceed.
In such a Cause the Plaintiff will be hiss'd,
My Lords the Judges laugh, and you're dismiss'd.

FINIS

153. *Sir Robert*] Walpole.

THE FOURTH SATIRE OF Dr. *JOHN DONNE*, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, VERSIFYED

Quid vetat, ut nosmet Lucili scripta legentes
Quærere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Versiculos natura magis factos, & euntes
Mollius? HOR. [*Sat.* I x 56-9]

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Impertinent, Or a Visit to the Court. A Satyr. By an Eminent Hand was first published, anonymously, as a 16-page folio in 1733. Pope acknowledged his authorship by publishing a corrected and enlarged version in the folio volume of the collected works in 1735, when the poem was renamed *The Fourth Satire of Dr. John Donne.* Further revisions were made for the first octavo edition of the *Works* in 1735, and for the octavo *Works* of 1739 and of 1740. One subsequent revision first appeared in Warburton's edition. The present text observes the revisions of 1740 and 1751, but follows the punctuation and typography of the first edition, except in the use of inverted commas and notes of exclamation which have been regularized to prevent the reader's confusion. A error of punctuation has been silently corrected in l. 236. The text of Donne's poem is taken from the folio edition of 1735, which was the first occasion on which Pope printed it. The "second" and "third" editions of *The Impertinent,* published in folio by E. Hill in 1733, are reprinted from the first edition, and have no textual authority.

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KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1733 = First edition, Griffith 317.
1735*a* = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735*b* = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735*c* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith, 388.
1735*d* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

THE FOURTH SATIRE OF Dr. *JOHN DONNE*

WELL; *I may now receive, and die. My sin*
Indeed is great, but yet I have been in
A Purgatory, such as fear'd Hell is
A recreation, and scant map of this.

My mind, neither with prides itch, nor hath seen,
Poyson'd with love to see or to be seen,
I had no suit there, nor new suit to show,
Yet went to Court; But as Glare *which did go*
To Mass in jest, catch'd, was fain to disburse
The hundred markes, which is the Statutes curse,
Before he scap't; So't pleas'd my destiny
(Guilty of my sin of going,) to think me
As prone to all ill, and of good as forget-
full, as proud, lustful, and as much in debt,
As vain, as witless, and as false as they
Which dwel in Court, for once going that way.

Therefore I suffer'd this; Towards me did run
A thing more strange, than on Niles slime, the Sun
E'er bred, or all which into Noah's *Ark came:*
A thing which would have pos'd Adam *to name:*
Stranger than seven Antiquaries studies,

Title. THE||IMPERTINENT,||OR, A||Visit to the COURT.|| A||SATYR.||*1733.*

THE FOURTH SATIRE OF Dr. *JOHN DONNE*

WELL, if it be my time to quit the Stage,
Adieu to all the Follies of the Age!
I die in Charity with Fool and Knave,
Secure of Peace at least beyond the Grave.
I've had my *Purgatory* here betimes,
And paid for all my Satires, all my Rhymes:
The Poet's Hell, its Tortures, Fiends and Flames,
To this were Trifles, Toys, and empty Names.
With foolish *Pride* my Heart was never fir'd,
Nor the vain Itch *t'admire*, or *be admir'd*;
I hop'd for no *Commission* from his Grace;
I bought no *Benefice*, I begg'd no *Place*;
Had no *new Verses*, or *new Suit* to show;
Yet went to COURT!—the Dev'l wou'd have it so.
But, as the Fool, that in reforming Days
Wou'd go to Mass in jest, (as Story says)
Could not but think, to pay his *Fine* was odd,
Since 'twas no form'd Design of serving God:
So was I punish'd, as if full as *proud*,
As prone to *Ill*, as negligent of *Good*,
As deep in *Debt*, without a thought to pay,
As *vain*, as *idle*, and as *false*, as they
Who *live* at *Court*, for going once that Way!
Scarce was I enter'd, when behold! there came
A Thing which *Adam* had been pos'd to name;
Noah had refus'd it lodging in his Ark,
Where all the Race of *Reptiles* might embark:
A verier Monster than on *Africk*'s Shore

4 Peace at least] Happiness *1733*.
19 So . . . full] Such was my Fate; whom Heav'n adjudg'd *1733–35b*.

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10. cf. *Ep.* I vi 1.

Than Africks Monsters, Guianaes rarities,
Stranger than strangers: One who, for a Dane,
In the Danes Massacre had sure been slain,
If he had liv'd then; and without help dies,
When next the Prentices 'gainst Strangers rise.
One whom the Watch at noon lets scarce go by;
One, to whom the examining Justice sure would cry,
Sir, by your Priesthood tell me what you are?

His cloaths were strange, though coarse, and black though bare,
Sleeveless his jerkin was, and it had been
Velvet, but 'twas now (so much ground was seen)
Become Tufftaffaty; and our children shall
See it plain Rash a while, then nought at all.

The thing hath travail'd, and faith, speaks all tongues,
And only knoweth what to all States belongs.
Made of th' Accents, and best phrase of all these.
He speaks one language. If strange meats displease,
Art can deceive, or hunger force my tast;
But Pedants motly tongue, souldiers bumbast,
Mountebanks drug-tongue, nor the termes of law,
Are strong enough preparatives to draw
Me to hear this, yet I must be content
With his tongue, in his tongue call'd Complement:
In which he can win widows, and pay scores,

32–43 The Watch . . . ordain'd] *add. 1735a–51.*
44–5 Our sons . . . away] *add. 1735c–51.*

30. The two rival collections of natural curiosities. Sloane's is now in the custody of the British Museum, Woodward's forms the nucleus of the Woodwardian Museum at Cambridge. See von Uffenbach's account of his visit to each (*London in 1710*, trs. Quarrell and Mare, 1934, pp. 176–8, 185–8) and Biog. App.

The Sun e're got, or slimy *Nilus* bore,
Or *Sloane*, or *Woodward*'s wondrous Shelves contain;
Nay, all that lying Travellers can feign.
The Watch would hardly let him pass at noon,
At night, wou'd swear him dropt out of the moon,
One whom the mob, when next we find or make
A Popish plot, shall for a Jesuit take;
And the wise Justice starting from his chair
Cry, by your Priesthood tell me what you are?
Such was the Wight: Th' apparel on his back
Tho' coarse was rev'rend, and tho' bare, was black.
The suit, if by the fashion one might guess,
Was velvet in the youth of good Queen *Bess*,
But mere tuff-taffety what now remained;
So Time, that changes all things, had ordain'd!
Our sons shall see it leisurely decay,
First turn plain rash, then vanish quite away.
This Thing has *travell'd*, speaks each Language too,
And knows what's fit for ev'ry State to do;
Of whose best Phrase and courtly Accent join'd,
He forms one Tongue exotic and refin'd.
Talkers, I've learn'd to bear; *Motteux* I knew,
Henley himself I've heard, nay *Budgel* too:
The Doctor's Wormwood Style, the Hash of Tongues,
A Pedant makes; the Storm of *Gonson*'s Lungs,
The whole Artill'ry of the Terms of War,
And (all those Plagues in one) the bawling Bar;
These I cou'd bear; but not a Rogue so civil,

50 *Motteux*] *M–tt––x 1733–35b.* 51 *Budgel*] *B—dg—l 1733.*
53 *Gonson*'s] *G—s—n*'s *1733–35b.*

45. *rash*] a smooth textile fabric made of silk or worsted [OED].

52. This and *Dunciad* iv 231 are the first recorded instances of *Hash* used in the figurative sense. In the *Dunciad* the word is placed in Bentley's mouth, so Bentley may well be the doctor mentioned here, especially as *Wormwood Style*, i.e. a scolding style, describes Bentley's manner in controversy.

Make men speak treason, cozen subtlest whores,
Out-flatter Favorites, or outlie either
Jovius, or Surius, or both together.

He names me, and comes to me; I whisper, God
How have I sinn'd, that thy wraths furious rod,
This fellow, chuseth me! He saith, Sir,
I love your judgment, whom do you prefer
For the best Linguist? and I seelily
Said that I thought Calepines Dictionary.
Nay, but of men, most sweet Sir? Beza then,
Some Jesuits, and two reverend men
Of our two Academies I named: here
He stopt me, and said, Nay your Apostles were
Good pretty Linguists, so Panurgus was;
Yet a poor Gentleman; all these may pass
By travail. Then, as if he would have sold
His tongue, he prais'd it, and such wonders told,
That I was fain to say, If you had liv'd, Sir,
Time enough to have been Interpreter
To Babel's bricklayers, sure the Tower had stood.

66–7 Permit . . . name] *1733 reads*
Well met (he cries) and happy sure for each,
For I am pleas'd to learn, and you to teach;

61. See *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 146*n*. But perhaps Burnet, in this context, is the Bishop of Salisbury whose *History of his own Times* had given special offence to Pope's friend, Peterborough, on account of its "scandalous [mis]representations." See Spence, pp. 152, 4.

68. *The King's*] George II spoke with a German accent. The phrase *The King's English* had been in use since Shakespeare's day, see *Merry Wives* (I iv 5, *Arden* edition).

Whose Tongue can complement you to the Devil.
A Tongue that can cheat Widows, cancel Scores,
Make *Scots* speak Treason, cozen subtlest Whores,
With Royal Favourites in Flatt'ry vie,
And *Oldmixon* and *Burnet* both out-lie.
He spies me out. I whisper, gracious God!
What Sin of mine cou'd merit such a Rod?
That all the Shot of Dulness now must be
From this thy Blunderbuss discharg'd on me!
"Permit (he cries) no stranger to your fame
"To crave your sentiment, if—'s your name.
"What *Speech* esteem you most?"—"The *King*'s," said I,
"But the best *Words?*"—"O Sir, the *Dictionary*."
"You miss my aim; I mean the most acute
"And perfect *Speaker?*"—"*Onslow*, past dispute."
"But Sir, of Writers?"—"*Swift*, for closer Style,
"And *Ho—y* for a Period of a Mile."
"Why yes, 'tis granted, these indeed may pass
Good common Linguists, and so *Panurge* was:
Nay troth, th'*Apostles*, (tho' perhaps too rough)
Had once a pretty Gift of Tongues enough.
Yet these were all *poor Gentlemen!* I dare
Affirm, 'twas *Travel* made them what they were."
Thus others Talents having nicely shown,
He came by sure Transition to his own:

81 sure] soft *1733–35b*.

72. *closer*] i.e. more concise.

73. "As a [controversial] writer [Bishop Hoadly] possessed uncommon talents; his greatest defect was in his style, extending his periods to a disagreeable length, for which Pope has thus recorded him." Nichols iii 140. See also *Dunciad* A ii 370 (Pope's note).

75. For Panurge's fluency in languages see Rabelais, Book ii, Ch. ix.

He adds, if of Court life you knew the good,
You would leave loneness. I said, not alone
My loneness is; but Spartanes fashion
To teach by painting drunkards doth not last
Now, Aretines pictures have made few chaste;
No more can Princes Courts, though there be few
Better pictures of vice, teach me vertue.

He like to a high-strecht Lute-string squeakt, O sir,
'Tis sweet to talk of Kings. At Westminster,
Said I, the man that keeps the Abby tombs,
And for his price, doth with who ever comes
Of all our Harrys, and our Edwards talk,
From King to King, and all their kin can walk:
Your eares shall hear nought but Kings; your eyes meet
Kings only: The way to it is Kings street.
He smack'd, and cry'd, He's base, mechanique, course,
So' are all your Englishmen in their discourse.
Are not your Frenchmen neat? Mine, as you see,

86 for Courts . . . made] I love you, I profess, *1733*.
87 Why then . . . shade] But wish you lik'd Retreat a little less; *1733*.

83. *Druggerman*] A variant of *dragoman*, an interpreter, or more strictly one who interprets in countries where Arabic, Turkish, or Persian is spoken [OED].

91. From Cicero's *De Officiis* lib. III cap. i: Publium Scipionem . . . eum, qui primus Africanus appellatus sit, dicere solitum scripsit Cato, . . . *Numquam se*

Till I cry'd out, "You prove yourself so able,
"Pity! you was not Druggerman at *Babel*:
"For had they found a Linguist half so good,
"I make no question but the *Tow'r* had stood."
"Obliging Sir! for Courts you sure were made:
"Why then for ever buried in the shade?
"Spirits like you, believe me, shou'd be seen,
"The King would smile on you—at least the Queen?"
"Ah gentle Sir! you Courtiers so cajol us—
"But *Tully* has it, *Nunquam minus solus*:"
"But as for *Courts*, forgive me if I say,
"No Lessons now are taught the *Spartan* way:
"Tho' in his Pictures Lust be full display'd,
"Few are the Converts *Aretine* has made;
"And tho' the Court show *Vice* exceeding clear,
"None shou'd, by my Advice, learn *Virtue* there."
At this, entranc'd, he lifts his Hands and Eyes,
Squeaks like a high-stretch'd Lutestring, and replies:
"Oh 'tis the sweetest of all earthly things
"To gaze on Princes, and to talk of Kings!"
"Then happy Man who shows the Tombs!" said I,
"He dwells amidst the Royal Family;
"He, ev'ry Day, from *King* to *King* can walk,
"Of all our *Harries*, all our *Edwards* talk,
"And get by speaking Truth of Monarchs dead,
"What few can of the living, *Ease* and *Bread*."
"Lord! Sir, a meer *Mechanick*! strangely low,

89–91 *1733 reads*
"And (like *Ulysses*) visit Courts, and Men.
"So much *alone*, (to speak plain Truth between us)
"You'll die of Spleen" . . . Excuse me, *Nunquam minus* . . .

minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus; nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset.

95. Pietro Aretino wrote some lascivious sonnets (1523) to accompany drawings by Giulio Romano.

I have but one Sir, look, he follows me.
Certes they are neatly cloath'd. I, of this mind am,
Your only wearing is your Grogaram.
Not so Sir, I have more. Under this pitch
He would not fly; I chaf'd him: But as Itch
Scratch'd into smart, and as blunt Iron grown'd
Into an edge, hurts worse: So, I (fool) found,
Crossing hurt me. To fit my sullenness,
He to another key his style doth dress;
And asks, what news; I tell him of new playes,

He takes my hand, and as a Still which stayes
A Sembrief, 'twixt each drop, he niggardly,
As loath to inrich me, so tells many a ly,
More than ten Hollensheads, or Halls, or Stows,
Of trivial houshold trash: He knows, he knows
When the Queen frown'd, or smil'd, and he knows what
A subtle States-man may gather of that;
He knows who loves whom; and who by poyson
Hasts to an Offices reversion;

112 so] well *1733–35d.*

113. *Padua-soy*] A strong corded or gros-grain silk fabric, much worn in the eighteenth century by both sexes [OED].

116. cf. Oldham's *Imitation of Horace, Book I. Satyr IX*, ll. 16–17:

> Mean time, wild to get loose, I try all ways
> To shake him off...

See Introduction, p. xxvi*n*.

125. *Eunuchs*] see *Ep.* 1 i 105. *Harlequins*] a part in eighteenth-century pantomime, frequently played at this time by Rich (see Biog. App.).

126–9. I know you dread all those who write,
And both with mouth and hand recite;
Who slow and leisurely rehearse,

"And coarse of Phrase—your *English* all are so.
"How elegant your *Frenchman?*"—"Mine, d'ye mean?
"I have but one, I hope the Fellow's clean."
"Oh! Sir, politely so! nay, let me dye,
"Your only wearing is your *Padua-soy.*"
"Not Sir, my only—I have better still,
"And this, you see, is but my Dishabille—"
Wild to get loose, his Patience I provoke,
Mistake, confound, object, at all he spoke.
But as coarse Iron, sharpen'd, mangles more,
And Itch most hurts, when anger'd to a Sore;
So when you plague a Fool, 'tis still the Curse,
You only make the Matter worse and worse.
He past it o'er; affects an easy Smile
At all my Peevishness, and turns his Style.
He asks, "What *News?*" I tell him of new Plays,
New Eunuchs, Harlequins, and Operas.
He hears; and as a Still, with Simples in it,
Between each Drop it gives, stays half a Minute;
Loth to enrich me with too quick Replies,
By little, and by little, drops his Lies.
Meer *Houshold Trash*! of Birth-Nights, Balls and Shows,
More than ten *Holingsheds*, or *Halls*, or *Stows*.

122 affects] put on *1733*. 123 turns] chang'd *1733*.

As loath t'enrich you with their verse;
Just as a still, with simples in it,
Betwixt each drop stays half a minute.
That simile is not my own,
But lawfully belongs to Donne.

Pope to Cromwell, July 12, 1707. Mr Ault has pointed out to me that Pope used the same image in *Guardian* No. 92 (*Prose*, i 127).

130. *Birth-Nights*] the splendid celebrations on royal birthdays.

131. Holinshed's *Chronicles* was published in 1578, Hall's in 1542; for Stow see *Ep.* II i 66*n*. "Every reader of these old chroniclers knows how they mingle with their account of the greater events of each year mention of trifling events" [Grierson].

Who wasts in meat, in clothes, in horse, he notes,
Who loveth whores, and who boys, and who goats.
He knows who hath sold his land and now doth beg
A license, old iron, boots, shoes, and egge-
Shels to transport; shortly, boyes shall not play
At span-counter, or blow-point, but shall pay
Toll to some Courtier; and wiser then all us,
He knows what Lady is not painted. Thus
He with home meats cloyes me. I belch, spue, spit,
Look pale, and sickly, like a Patient, yet
He thrusts on more, and as he had undertook
To say Gallo-Belgicus without book,
Speaks of all States and deeds that have been since
The Spaniards came, to th' loss of Amyens.

132. *the Queen*] Donne was referring straightforwardly to the reigning monarch, Queen Elizabeth. But there was no need for Pope to make any change. Walpole, the "subtle minister," and indeed every one else except the King, recognized that though George II reigned, it was Queen Caroline who ruled.

134. *Rug*] i.e. safe. OED quotes *Tatler* No. 39: "all *rug*, as the gamesters say, when they have a trick to make the game secure."

142. Pope refers to the scandal of the Charitable Corporation, founded in 1730 to lend money to the Poor. Complaints began to be made in 1731, and in 1732 the directors were found guilty of embezzlement. See Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iii 100.

144. The turnpike system of exacting toll from travellers for road repairs was

When the *Queen* frown'd, or smil'd, he knows; and what
A subtle Minister may make of that?
Who sins with whom? who got his Pension *Rug*,
Or quicken'd a Reversion by a *Drug?*
Whose Place is *quarter'd out*, three Parts in four,
And whether to a Bishop, or a Whore?
Who, having lost his Credit, pawn'd his Rent,
Is therefore fit to have a *Government?*
Who in the *Secret*, deals in Stocks secure,
And cheats th'unknowing Widow, and the Poor?
Who makes a *Trust*, or *Charity*, a Job,
And gets an Act of Parliament to rob?
Why *Turnpikes* rise, and now no Cit, nor Clown
Can *gratis* see the *Country*, or the *Town?*
Shortly no Lad shall *chuck*, or Lady *vole*,
But some excising Courtier will have Toll.
He tells what Strumpet Places sells for Life,
What 'Squire his Lands, what Citizen his Wife?
And last (which proves him wiser still than all)
What Lady's Face is not a whited Wall?
As one of *Woodward*'s Patients, sick and sore,
I puke, I nauseate,—yet he thrusts in more;

144 rise] rose *1733–9*. now] why *1733–35b*.

started in Charles II's reign, but it made little headway against popular feeling until the middle of the eighteenth century. One of the government's excuses in 1737 for maintaining the army at the previous year's figure was that a large force was needed to deal with rioters who destroyed the turnpikes (Egmont, ii 350).

146. *chuck*] play at chuck-farthing.

vole] win all the tricks at ombre or quadrille.

147. *excising*] see *Sat.* II ii 134*n*.

152. Woodward's practice of administering emetics to his patients was a fruitful source of contemporary jest and controversy. See *Three Hours after Marriage* by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot *passim*, and L. M. Beattie, *John Arbuthnot*, 1935, pp. 242*ff*.

Like a big wife, at sight of loathed meat,
Ready to travail: so I sigh, and sweat
To hear this Makaron talk: in vain, for yet,
Either my humour, or his own to fit,
He like a privileg'd spie, whom nothing can
Discredit, libels now 'gainst each great man.
He names a price for every office paid;
He saith, our wars thrive ill, because delai'd;
That Offices are intail'd and that there are
Perpetuities of them, lasting as far
As the last day; and that great Officers
Do with the Spaniards *share, and* Dunkirkers.
I more amaz'd than Circes prisoners, when
They felt themselves turn beasts, felt my self then
Becoming Traytor, and methought I saw
One of our Giant Statutes ope his jaw,
To suck me in for hearing him: I found
That as burnt venemous Leachers do grow sound
By giving others their sores, I might grow

154 Trims . . . part] Shows *Poland*'s Int'rests, takes the *Primate*'s part, *1733*.

154, var. *Poland's Int'rests*] The Polish Succession was disputed on the death of Augustus II in 1733 by Augustus, the late king's son, and Stanislaus, who had previously been crowned by the Swedes and subsequently dethroned by the Russians. Stanislaus, who was supported by the French, was elected through the influence of the Primate of Poland, but was driven from his kingdom by the Russians, who forced the Poles to acknowledge Augustus. The Primate refused to take the new oath of allegiance and was sent prisoner to Elbing, where in spite of threats he persisted in fidelity to Stanislaus. George II's anti-French sympathies lay with Augustus, but Walpole, who favoured the claims of Stanislaus, contrived to keep England out of the war. The preliminaries of peace were signed in 1735, and a definite peace made in 1738.

155. *The London Gazette* has been in circulation since 1665; *The Post Boy* started in 1695, and continued as *The Daily Post Boy* from 1728 till 1735.

159. *the Great Man*] Walpole. See Pope's note to *Dia.* i 26. "Pope gives his satire a double edge by making the courtier confirm all the charges brought against Walpole's government by the opposition" [EC].

Trims *Europe*'s Balance, tops the Statesman's part,
And talks *Gazettes* and *Post-Boys* o'er by heart.
Like a big Wife at sight of loathsome Meat,
Ready to cast, I yawn, I sigh, and sweat:
Then as a licens'd Spy, whom nothing can
Silence, or hurt, he libels the *Great Man*;
Swears every *Place entail'd* for Years to come,
In *sure Succession* to the Day of Doom:
He names the *Price* for ev'ry *Office* paid,
And says our *Wars thrive ill*, because *delay'd*;
Nay hints, 'tis by Connivance of the Court,
That *Spain* robs on, and *Dunkirk*'s still a Port.
Not more Amazement seiz'd on *Circe*'s Guests,
To see themselves fall endlong into Beasts,
Than mine, to find a Subject staid and wise,
Already half turn'd Traytor by surprize.
I fear'd th'Infection slide from him to me,
As in the Pox, some give it, to get free;
And quick to swallow me, methought I saw

157 and sweat] I sweat *1733–35d.*
170 fear'd] felt *1733–35a, 1739–43.*

162. It was common knowledge that Walpole bribed extensively.

163. Walpole's policy of avoiding European wars was constantly criticized by the Opposition, who feared that the unchecked growth of French power would be a menace to English liberties.

165. Complaints were often made at this time of the seizure of English merchant ships by Spanish guarda-costas. These eventually led to the War of Jenkin's Ear (1739). See *Dia.* i 18*n.*

Dunkirk] By the ninth article of the Treaty of Utrecht (1712), it had been stipulated that France should demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, a port from which privateers inflicted considerable damage on English shipping. In 1715 Lord Stair had been sent to Paris to insist on the strict execution of this article (*Polit. Hist. Eng.* ix 234). In February 1730 Wyndham surprised the Government by bringing seamen to the bar of the House to testify that the harbour was being repaired (Egmont, i 35*ff.*). The charge was repeated in January 1733.

Guilty, and he free: Therefore I did show
All signes of loathing; but since I am in,
I must pay mine, and my forefathers sin
To the last farthing. Therefore to my power
Toughly and stubbornly I bear this cross; but the hower
Of mercy now was come: He tries to bring
Me to pay a Fine to 'scape his torturing,
And sayes, Sir, can you spare me? I said; willingly;
Nay, Sir, Can you spare me a Crown? Thankfully I
Gave it, as ransom; but as Fidlers, still,
Though they be paid to be gone, yet needs will
Thrust one more jigg upon you: so did he
With his long complemental thanks vex me:
But he is gone, thanks to his needy want,
And the Prerogative of my Crown: Scant
His thanks were ended, when I (which did see
All the Court fill'd with more strange things than he)
Ran from thence with such, or more haste than one
Who fears more actions, doth hast from prison.
At home in wholesom solitariness
My piteous soul began the wretchedness
Of suiters at court to mourn, and a Trance
Like his, who dream't he saw hell, did advance
It self o're me: Such men as he saw there

178 *Fannius*] *Naso*'s *1733*.
180 I quak'd at heart; and] I blest my Stars! but *1733*.
182 Ran] Run *1733–35d*.

173. See the conclusion of Donne's second satire.
175. A cask full of his lies is tilted up, and one is ready to flow over.
177. *Umbra*] see Pope's character of Umbra, vol. vi.
178. *Fannius self*] Lord Hervey. Pope alluded to this characteristic again in *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, ll. 319, 356.
186. cf. *Comus*, ll. 375–8:

And Wisdoms self

One of our Giant *Statutes* ope its Jaw!
In that nice Moment, as another Lye
Stood just a-tilt, the *Minister* came by.
Away he flies. He bows, and bows again;
And close as *Umbra* joins the dirty Train.
Not *Fannius* self more impudently near,
When half his Nose is in his Patron's Ear.
I quak'd at heart; and still afraid to see
All the Court fill'd with stranger things than he,
Ran out as fast, as one that pays his Bail,
And dreads more Actions, hurries from a Jail.

Bear me, some God! oh quickly bear me hence
To wholesome Solitude, the Nurse of Sense:
Where Contemplation prunes her ruffled Wings,
And the free Soul looks down to pity Kings.
There sober Thought pursu'd th'amusing theme

186 Where] Here *1733;* There *1735a–d.*
188 There . . . theme] Here still Reflection led on sober Thought, *1733.*

Oft seeks to sweet retired Solitude,
Where with her best nurse Contemplation
She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings.

Wakefield notes that Pope's friend, Hughes, had expressed the thought in the same words in *A Thought in a Garden* (1704), *Poems* (1735) i 171:

Here Contemplation prunes her Wings.

I saw at Court, and worse, and more. Low fear
Becomes the guilty, not th' accuser: Then,
Shall I, none's slave, of high born or rais'd men
Fear frowns; and my mistress Truth, betray thee
For th' huffing, braggart, puft Nobility?
No, no, Thou which since yesterday hast been
Almost about the whole world, hast thou seen,
O Sun, in all thy journey, Vanity,
Such as swells the bladder of our Court? I
Think he which made your Waxen garden, and
Transported it, from Italy, to stand
With us at London, flouts our Courtiers; for
Just such gay painted things, which no sap, nor
Taste have in them, ours are; and natural
Some of the stocks are, their fruits bastard all.

'Tis ten a clock and past; all whom the Mues,
Baloun, or Tennis, Diet, or the stews

189 Till . . . Dream] which Fancy colour'd, and a Vision wrought *1733*. 191 force] bring *1733*.

Donne l. 169. A Show of the Italian Gardens in Waxwork, in the time of King James the First. [P. *1735a–51*]. Grierson quotes a passage from Drayton's *Heroical Epistles* (1597) referring to these gardens.

206. A famous Show of the COURT of FRANCE in Waxwork. [P. *1733–51*].

Modelled by one of the Gossett family and exhibited in London in March 1731 (Egmont i 160).

213. *Fig's*, a Prize-fighter's Academy, where the young Nobility receiv'd instruction in those days: *White's* was a noted gaming-house. It was also customary for the nobility and gentry to visit the condemned criminals in Newgate. [P.

Till Fancy colour'd it, and form'd a Dream.
A *Vision* Hermits can to Hell transport,
And force ev'n me to see the Damn'd at Court.
Not *Dante* dreaming all th'Infernal State,
Beheld such Scenes of *Envy*, *Sin*, and *Hate*.
Base Fear becomes the Guilty, not the Free;
Suits Tyrants, Plunderers, but suits not me.
Shall I, the Terror of this sinful Town,
Care, if a livery'd Lord or smile or frown?
Who cannot flatter, and detest who can,
Tremble before a *noble Serving-Man?*
O my fair Mistress, *Truth*! Shall I quit thee,
For huffing, braggart, puft *Nobility?*
Thou, who since Yesterday, hast roll'd o'er all
The busy, idle Blockheads of the Ball,
Hast thou, O *Sun*! beheld an emptier sort,
Than such as swell this Bladder of a Court?
Now pox on those who shew a *Court in Wax*!
It ought to bring all Courtiers on their backs.
Such painted Puppets, such a varnish'd Race
Of hollow Gewgaws, only Dress and Face,
Such waxen Noses, stately, staring things,
No wonder some Folks bow, and think them *Kings*.
See! where the *British* Youth, engag'd no more
At *Fig*'s at *White*'s, with *Felons*, or a *Whore*,

193 Beheld such Scenes] Saw such a Scene *1733*.
212 See! where] And now *1733*. 213 at *White*'s] or *White*'s *1733–9*.

1735c–51]. For White's see *Donne*, ii 88*n*. Fig's was an amphitheatre in Marylebone owned by James Fig (d. 1734), who gave lessons in self-defence there, and provided exhibitions of bear-baiting, etc. Bramston wrote in his *Art of Politics* (1729) p. 41:

> A Man of Bus'ness won't 'till ev'ning dine,
> Abstains from Women, Company, and Wine:
> From *Fig*'s new Theatre he'll miss a Night,
> Tho' Cocks, and Bulls, and *Irish* Women fight.

Had all the morning held, now the second
Time made ready, that day, in flocks are found
In the Presence, *and I,* (*God pardon me*)
As fresh and sweet their Apparels be, as be
The fields they sold to buy them. For a King
Those hose are, cry the flatterers; And bring
Them next week to the Theatre to sell.
Wants reach all states: Me seems they do as well
At stage, as Court; All are players. Who e'r looks
(*For themselves dare not go*) *o'er Cheapside Books,*
Shall find their wardrobes Inventory. Now
The Ladies come. As Pirats, which do know
That there came weak ships fraught with Cutchanel,
The men board them; and praise (*as they think*) *well,*
Their beauties; they the mens wits; both are bought.
Why good wits ne'r wear scarlet gowns, I thought
This cause, These men, mens wits for speeches buy,
And women buy all reds which scarlets die.
He call'd her beauty limetwigs, her hair net:
She fears her drugs ill lay'd, her hair loose set.
Would not Heraclitus laugh to see Macrine
From hat to shoo, himself at door refine,
As if the Presence were a Mosch: and lift
His skirts and hose, and call his clothes to shrift,
Making them confess not only mortal
Great stains and holes in them, but venial
Feathers and dust, wherewith they fornicate:
And then by Durer's *rules survey the state*

219. cf. *Ep.* II i 332.

220. The Licensing Act was not passed until 1737, four years later; nor had Barnard's Licensing Bill yet been mooted. The line still awaits explanation.

233. Sir Fopling Flutter was a famous character in Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676).

236. Heraclitus was "the weeping philosopher." Pope suggests that even he

Pay their last Duty to the *Court*, and come
All fresh and fragrant, to the *Drawing-Room*:
In Hues as gay, and Odours as divine,
As the fair Fields they sold to look so fine.
"That's *Velvet* for a *King!*" the Flattr'er swears;
'Tis true, for ten days hence 'twill be *King Lear*'s.
Our Court may justly to our Stage give Rules,
That helps it both to *Fool's-Coats* and to *Fools*.
And why not Players strut in Courtiers Cloaths?
For these are Actors too, as well as those:
Wants reach all States; they beg but better drest,
And all is *splendid Poverty* at best.
Painted for sight, and essenc'd for the smell,
Like Frigates fraught with Spice and Cochine'l,
Sail in the *Ladies*: How each Pyrate eyes
So weak a Vessel, and so rich a Prize!
Top-gallant he, and she in all her Trim,
He boarding her, she striking sail to him.
"*Dear Countess*! you have Charms all Hearts to hit!"
And "*sweet Sir Fopling*! you have so much wit!"
Such Wits and Beauties are not prais'd for nought,
For both the Beauty and the Wit are *bought*.
'Twou'd burst ev'n *Heraclitus* with the Spleen,
To see those Anticks, *Fopling* and *Courtin*:
The *Presence* seems, with things so richly odd,
The Mosque of *Mahound*, or some queer *Pa-god*.
See them survey their Limbs by *Durer*'s Rules,
Of all Beau-kind the best proportion'd Fools!

216 In Hues] Colours *1733*. 232 *Dear Countess*] *Chere Comtesse 1733*.

would burst his spleen with laughter (a common expression) at these antics. There was no confusion in Pope's mind between Heraclitus and Democritus, "the laughing philosopher," as EC supposed.

238. *Presence*] presence-chamber.

240. *Durer's Rules*] Dürer's *Vier bücher von menschlicher Proportion* was published in 1528 a few months after his death.

Of his each limb, and with strings the odds tries
Of his neck to his leg, and waste to thighs.
So in immaculate clothes, and Symmetry
Perfect as Circles, with such nicety
As a young Preacher at his first time goes
To preach, he enters, and a Lady which owes
Him not so much as good will, he arrests,
And unto her protests, protests, protests,
So much as at Rome would serve to have thrown
Ten Cardinals into the Inquisition;
And whispers by Jesu *so oft, that a*
Pursevant would have ravish'd him away
For saying our Ladies Psalter. But 'tis fit
That they each other plague, they merit it.

But here comes Glorius *that will plague them both,*
Who in the other extreme only doth
Call a rough carelessness, good fashion:
Whose cloak his spurs tear, or whom he spits on,
He cares not, he. His ill words do no harm
To him; he rushes in, as if arm, arm,
He meant to cry; and though his face be as ill
As theirs, which in old hangings whip Christ, still
He strives to look worse; he keeps all in awe;
Jests like a licens'd fool, commands like law.
Tyr'd, now I leave this place, and but pleas'd so
As men from gaols t' execution go,
Go through the great chamber (why is it hung

243 Those . . . Straw] Each idle Atom, or erroneous Straw; *1733*.
244 But . . . Soul] What Terrors wou'd distract each conscious Soul *1733–35b;* the Soul] a Soul *1735c*.
245 Crime] Sin *1733*.

Adjust their Cloaths, and to Confession draw
Those venial sins, an Atom, or a Straw:
But oh! what Terrors must distract the Soul,
Convicted of that mortal Crime, a Hole!
Or should one Pound of Powder less bespread
Those Monkey-Tails that wag behind their Head!
Thus finish'd and corrected to a hair,
They march, to prate their Hour before the Fair,
So first to preach a white-glov'd Chaplain goes,
With Band of Lily, and with Cheek of Rose,
Sweeter than *Sharon*, in immaculate trim,
Neatness itself impertinent in him.
Let but the Ladies smile, and they are blest;
Prodigious! how the Things *Protest*, *Protest*:
Peace, Fools! or *Gonson* will for Papists seize you,
If once he catch you at your *Jesu! Jesu!*
Nature made ev'ry Fop to plague his Brother,
Just as one Beauty mortifies another.
But here's the *Captain*, that will plague them both,
Whose Air cries Arm! whose very Look's an Oath:
Tho' his Soul's Bullet, and his Body Buff!
Damn him, he's honest, Sir,—and that's enuff.
He spits fore-right; his haughty Chest before,
Like batt'ring Rams, beats open ev'ry Door;
And with a Face as red, and as awry,
As *Herod*'s Hang-dogs in old Tapestry,
Scarecrow to Boys, the breeding Woman's curse;
Has yet a strange Ambition to *look worse*:
Confounds the Civil, keeps the Rude in awe,

247 Those . . . Head] The Monkey-Tail that wags behind his Head *1733*. wag] wagd *1735a–d*.
260 them] you *1733*.
262 Tho' . . . Buff] What tho' his Soul be Bullet, Body Buff? *1733*.

267. cf. *E. on C.* l. 587.

With the seven deadly sins?) *being among*
Those Askaparts, men big enough to throw
Charing Cross for a bar, men that do know
No token of worth, but Queens man, and fine
Living; barrels of beef, flagons of wine.
I shook like a spied Spie—Preachers which are
Seas of Wit and Arts, you can, then dare,
Drown the sins of this place, for as for me
Which am but a scant brook, enough shall be
To wash the stains away: Although I yet
(*With* Maccabees *modesty*) *the known merit*
Of my work lessen, yet some wise men shall,
I hope, esteem my Writs Canonical.

275. The Room hung with [old *1740–51*] Tapestry, now very antient [*this phrase not in 1740–51*], representing the *Seven Deadly Sins* [P. *1733–51*]. Donne and Pope refer to the early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries, bought by Wolsey for the "Legate's chaumbre at Hampton Courte" in 1522, which now hang in the Great Watching Chamber there. It seems possible that these tapestries hung in the same position in late Elizabethan and Georgian days, for this room was used as the guard chamber of the Tudor Presence Chamber, which survived until Kent's alterations to the Palace in 1732; and it is clear that the poets

Jests like a licens'd Fool, commands like Law.
Frighted, I quit the Room, but leave it so,
As Men from Jayls to Execution go;
For hung with *Deadly Sins* I see the Wall,
And lin'd with *Giants*, deadlier than 'em all:
Each Man an *Ascapart*, of Strength to toss
For Quoits, both *Temple-Bar* and *Charing-Cross*.
Scar'd at the grizly Forms, I sweat, I fly,
And shake all o'er, like a discover'd Spy.
Courts are too much for Wits so weak as mine;
Charge them with Heav'n's Artill'ry, bold *Divine*!
From such alone the Great Rebukes endure,
Whose *Satyr's sacred*, and whose Rage *secure*.
'Tis mine to wash a few slight Stains; but theirs
To deluge Sin, and drown a Court in Tears.
Howe'er, what's now *Apocrypha*, my Wit,
In time to come, may pass for *Holy Writ*.

FINIS

280 too much] no match *1733–35d.*

noticed the Seven Deadly Sins when retiring from the Presence Chamber. In Cromwell's time, however, these tapestries hung in the Paradise Room. See H. C. Marillier, *The Tapestries at Hampton Court*, 1931, pp. 12–18; E. Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*, 1888, ii 281. (Mr Edward Yates kindly helped me to some of this information.)

276. *Ascapart*] A Giant famous in [divers *om. 1740–51*] Romances. [P. *1733–51*]. He was said to have been defeated by Sir Bevis of Southampton.

THE SECOND SATIRE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF HORACE PARAPHRASED.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace Paraphrased was first published with the second edition of the *First Satire* as a 42-page folio in 1734. A few slight revisions were made for the folio and two octavo editions of the collected works in 1735, and for the octavo *Works* of 1739 and 1740. A plural is corrected to a singular in Warburton's first edition, 1751, which may or may not have had Pope's authority; otherwise no changes were made. The present text accepts the final revision of 1740, but follows the punctuation and typography of the first edition, from which the Latin text (with nine errors silently corrected) is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1734 = First edition, quarto, Griffith 341.
1735*a* = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735*b* = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735*c* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 388.
1735*d* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, large octavo, Griffith 646.
1751*b* = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, small octavo, Griffith 653.

SATIRA IIda.

QUÆ *virtus & quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo,*
(*Nec meus hic* Sermo, *sed quem præcepit Ofellus*
Rusticus, abnormis *sapiens*, crassaque Minerva)
Discite non inter lances, mensasque nitentis,
Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus, *& cum*
Acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat;
Verum hic impransi *mecum disquirite. Cur hoc?*

Dicam si potero—
—Leporem sectatus, equove Lassus—
Cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis,
Sperne cibum vilem.—*Foris est Promus, & atrum*
Defendens pisces hyemat mare: cum sale panis
Latrantem stomachum bene leniet: unde? putas, aut
Qui partum? Non in caro nidore Voluptas
Summa, sed in teipso *est* * * *
Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone, *velis quin*
Hoc potius quam gallina, *tergere palatum—*
Tanquam ad rem attineat quidquam: num vesceris ista
Quam laudas, pluma?— Laudas insane, trilibrem
Mullum, *in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.*
Ducit te species video. Quo pertinet ergo
Proceros *odisse* lupos? *quia scilicet illis*
Majorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
Vellem (*ait* Harpyiis *gula digna rapacibus*) *at vos*
Præsentes Austri! coquite horum opsonia: Quamvis

SATIRE II.] *1751 adds the sub-title* To Mr. BETHEL.

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8. *mantling*] sparkling.

9. *Bethel's Sermon*] see Biog. App. "Have you seen the last Satire of Horace in wch you are so ill treated?" Pope to Bethel, Aug. 6 [1734], Egerton MS. 1948, f. 23.

17. *curious*] a hint taken from Creech's translation.

25. *Oldfield*] This eminent Glutton ran thro' a fortune of fifteen hundred

SATIRE II.

WHAT, and how great, the Virtue and the Art
To live on little with a chearful heart,
(A Doctrine sage, but truly none of mine)
Lets talk, my friends, but talk before we dine:
Not when a gilt Buffet's reflected pride
Turns you from sound Philosophy aside;
Not when from Plate to Plate your eyeballs roll,
And the brain dances to the mantling bowl.
Hear Bethel's Sermon, one not vers'd in schools,
But strong in sense, and wise without the rules.
Go work, hunt, exercise! (he thus began)
Then scorn a homely dinner, if you can.
Your wine lock'd up, your Butler stroll'd abroad,
Or fish deny'd, (the River yet un-thaw'd)
If then plain Bread and milk will do the feat,
The pleasure lies in *you*, and not the meat.
Preach as I please, I doubt our curious men
Will chuse a *Pheasant* still before a *Hen*;
Yet Hens of *Guinea* full as good I hold,
Except you eat the feathers, green and gold.
Of *Carps* and *Mullets* why prefer the *great*,
(Tho' cut in pieces e'er my Lord can eat)
Yet for *small Turbots* such esteem profess?
Because God made these large, the other less.
Oldfield, with more than Harpy throat endu'd,
Cries, "Send me, Gods! a whole Hog *barbecu'd!*"
Oh blast it, South-winds! till a stench exhale,

14 fish deny'd] kept from fish *1734–39*. 16 and not] not in *1734–35b*.

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pounds a year in the simple luxury of good eating. [Warburton]. Croker believes him to have been Richard Oldfield who contested Windsor in the elections of 1738, but the evidence for this attribution has not been discovered. Oldfield is mentioned again in *Ep.* II ii 87.

26. *barbecu'd*] A *West-Indian* Term of Gluttony, a Hog roasted whole, stuff'd with Spice, and basted with *Madera* Wine [P. *1735a–51*].

Putet *aper, rhombusque* recens, *mala copia quando*
Ægrum sollicitat *stomachum, cum* rapula *plenus*
Atque acidas *mavult inulas. Necdum* omnis *abacta*
Pauperies *epulis regum: nam* vilibus ovis
Nigrisque est oleis *hodie locus.*—

Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque ciconia nido,
Donec vos auctor docuit Pretorius. *Ergo*
Siquis nunc mergos *suaves edixerit* assos,
Parebit pravi docilis Romana Juventus.

Sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello
Judice: nam frustra vitiam vitaveris istud,
Si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus
(*Cui* Canis *ex vero ductum cognomen adhæret*)
Quinquennes oleas est, & sylvestria corna.

32 He . . . Meat] The sweetest thing will stink that he can eat *1734:*

37. *The Robin-red-breast*] A. Hayward (*Art of Dining*, 1883, p. 37) reports that the robin is "remarkable for a delicate bitter flavour," and quotes from the *Almanach des Gourmands:* "Cet aimable oiseau se mange à la broche et en salmi."

38. *a Martin's nest*] cf. *Guardian* No. 61, May 21, 1713, by Pope: "I fancy too, some Advantage might be taken of the common Notion, that 'tis ominous or unlucky to destroy some sorts of Birds, as *Swallows* and *Martins;* this Opinion might possibly arise from the Confidence these Birds seem to put in us by building under our Roofs, so that it is a kind of Violation of the Laws of Hospitality to murder them. As for *Robin-red-breasts* in particular, 'tis not improbable they owe their Security to the old Ballad of *the Children in the Wood.* However it be, I don't know, I say, why this Prejudice, well improved and carried as far as it would go, might not be made to conduce to the Preservation of many innocent Creatures, which are now exposed to all the Wantonness of an ignorant Barbarity."

39. *Becca-ficos*] A name given in Italy to small migratory birds of the genus

Rank as the ripeness of a Rabbit's tail.
By what *Criterion* do ye eat, d'ye think,
If this is priz'd for *sweetness*, that for *stink?*
When the tir'd Glutton labours thro' a Treat,
He finds no relish in the sweetest Meat;
He calls for something bitter, something sour,
And the rich feast concludes extremely poor:
Cheap eggs, and herbs, and olives still we see,
Thus much is left of old Simplicity!
The *Robin-red-breast* till of late had rest,
And children sacred held a *Martin*'s nest,
Till *Becca-ficos* sold so dev'lish dear
To one that was, or would have been a Peer.
Let me extoll a *Cat* on Oysters fed,
I'll have a Party at the *Bedford Head*,
Or ev'n to crack live *Crawfish* recommend,
I'd never doubt at Court to make a Friend.
'Tis yet in vain, I own, to keep a pother
About one Vice, and fall into the other:
Between Excess and Famine lies a mean,
Plain, but not sordid, tho' not splendid, clean.
Avidien or his Wife (no matter which,

He'll find . . . Meat *1735a–d.*

Sylvia, much esteemed as dainties in the autumn, when they have fattened on figs and grapes: identical with the British Pettychaps and Blackcaps [OED].

42. *Bedford Head*] A famous Eating-house [and Tavern *1739*]. [P. *1740–51*]. In Southampton Street, Covent Garden. See *Sob. Adv.* l. 150.

49. *Avidien . . . his Wife*] A letter from Horace Walpole to Bentley, Aug. 1756 (Toynbee, iii 444), shows that this passage was generally recognized as a portrait of Wortley Montagu and Lady Mary: "Old Wortley Montagu lives [at Wharncliffe Lodge] on the very spot where the dragon of Wantley did, only I believe the latter was much better lodged: you never saw such a wretched hovel; lean, unpainted, and half its nakedness barely shaded with harateen stretched till it cracks. Here the miser hoards health and money, his only two objects . . . I wanted to ask if Pope had not visited Lady Mary Wortley here during their intimacy, but could one put that question to *Avidien* himself?" See also a letter to Mann, Jan. 27, 1761, and Biog. App.

Ac nisi mutatum *parcit defundere* vinum, &
Cujus oderem olei nequeas perferre (licebit
Ille repotia, natales, *aliosque dierum*
Festus *albatus celebret) cornu ipse bilibri*
Caulibus *instillat;* veteris non parcus aceti.
Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, & horum
Utrum imitabitur? hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.

Mundus erit qui non offendat sordibus, atque
In neutram partem cultus miser. His neque servis
Albuti senis exemplo, dum munia didit,
Sævus *erit: nec sic ut simplex Nævius*, unctam
Convivis præbebit aquam: *vitium hoc quoque magnum.*

Accipe nunc, victus tenuis quæ quantaque secum
Afferat. In primis valeas bene: nam variæ res
Ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escæ
Quæ simplex olim *tibi sederat; at simul assis*
Miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
Dulcia se in bilem vertunt, stomachoque tumultum
Lenta feret pituita. Vides, ut pallidus omnis
Cena desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis, animum *quoque prægravat una,*
Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.

Alter ubi dicto citius curata sopori

51. *Sell . . . Partridges*] i.e. sell the presents which had been given to them. But compare *Ep.* II ii 234.

For him you'll call a dog, and her a bitch)
Sell their presented Partridges, and Fruits,
And humbly live on rabbits and on roots:
One half-pint bottle serves them both to dine,
And is at once their vinegar and wine.
But on some lucky day (as when they found
A lost Bank-bill, or heard their Son was drown'd)
At such a feast old vinegar to spare,
Is what two souls so gen'rous cannot bear;
Oyl, tho' it stink, they drop by drop impart,
But sowse the Cabbidge with a bounteous heart.
He knows to live, who keeps the middle state,
And neither leans on this side, nor on that:
Nor stops, for one bad Cork, his Butler's pay,
Swears, like Albutius, a good Cook away;
Nor lets, like Nævius, ev'ry error pass,
The musty wine, foul cloth, or greasy glass.
Now hear what blessings Temperance can bring:
(Thus said our Friend, and what he said I sing.)
First Health: The stomach (cram'd from ev'ry dish,
A Tomb of boil'd, and roast, and flesh, and fish,
Where Bile, and wind, and phlegm, and acid jar,
And all the Man is one intestine war)
Remembers oft the School-boy's simple fare,
The temp'rate sleeps, and spirits light as air!
How pale, each Worshipful and rev'rend Guest
Rise from a Clergy, or a City, feast!
What life in all that ample Body, say,
What heav'nly Particle inspires the clay?
The Soul subsides; and wickedly inclines
To seem but mortal, ev'n in sound Divines.
On morning wings how active springs the Mind,

62 nor] or *1734–35b*. 71 Where] When *1734–35b*.

56. *their Son*] See Biog. App., E. W. Montagu (1713–76).

Membra dedit, vegetus præscripta ad munia surgit.

Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam:
Sive diem festum *rediens advexerit annus,*
Seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus: *ubique*
Accedent anni, & tractari mollius ætas
Imbecilla *volet. Tibi quidnam accedet ad istam*
Quam puer & validus præ-sumis mollitiem? seu
Dura valetudo inciderit, seu tarda senectus?
Rancidum aprum *antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus*
Illis nullus erat, sed (credo) *hac mente, quod hospes*
Tardius adveniens, vitiatum commodius, quam
Integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!

Das aliquid Famæ? (*quæ* carmine gratior *aurem*
Occupat humanam.) *Grandes rhombi, patinæque*
Grande ferent una cum damno, dedecus. *Adde*
Iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum,
Et frustra mortis cupidum, cum deerit egenti
As, laquei *pretium.*—

95 More pleas'd] Better *1734–35d.* could] should *1751b.*

88. *Sickness of long Life*] Wakefield quotes Terence (*Phormio* IV i 9): Senectus ipsa est morbus.

89. *cordial drop*] See *Ep.* I vi 127*n.*

96. cf. Creech's translation, 1684:

Than eat it sweet, and by themselves at home.

98. *Coxcomb-pyes*] Bramston's *Man of Taste* (1733) was offended at "Sir Loins

That leaves the load of yesterday behind?
How easy ev'ry labour it pursues?
How coming to the Poet ev'ry Muse?
Not but we may exceed, some Holy time,
Or tir'd in search of Truth, or search of Rhyme.
Ill Health some just indulgence may engage,
And more, the Sickness of long Life, Old-age:
For fainting Age what cordial drop remains,
If our intemp'rate Youth the Vessel drains?

Our Fathers prais'd rank Ven'son. You suppose
Perhaps, young men! our Fathers had no nose?
Not so: a Buck was then a week's repast,
And 'twas their point, I ween, to make it last:
More pleas'd to keep it till their friends could come,
Than eat the sweetest by themselves at home.
Why had not I in those good times my birth,
E're Coxcomb-pyes or Coxcombs were on earth?
Unworthy He, the voice of Fame to hear,
(That sweetest Music to an honest ear;
For 'faith Lord Fanny! you are in the wrong,
The World's good word is better than a Song)
Who has not learn'd, fresh Sturgeon and Ham-pye
Are no rewards for Want, and Infamy!
When Luxury has lick'd up all thy pelf,
Curs'd by thy neighbours, thy Trustees, thy self,
To friends, to fortune, to mankind a shame,
Think how Posterity will treat thy name;

103 and] or *1734*.

and rumps of beef," but

"Pleas'd with frogs fricassed, and coxcomb-pies."

See also *Sat.* II i 46*n*.

101. *Lord Fanny*] Lord Hervey. The allusion in the next line still awaits explanation.

103. *Ham-pye*] see *Sat.* II i 46*n*.

—*Jure, inquis, Thrasius istis*
Jurgatur verbis; ego vectigalia magna
Divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus. Ergo
Quod superat, *non est* melius quo *insumere possis?*
Cur eget indignus quisquam *te divite? quare* 85
Templa *ruunt* antiqua *Deum? cur* improbe! *carę*
Non aliquid patriæ *tanto emetiris acervo?*
Uni nimirum tibi recte semper erunt res?

O magnus posthac inimicis risus! uter-ne

115. Wakefield compares Sheffield's *Ode on Brutus*, ll. 33, 4:

But Truth unvail'd like a bright Sun appears,
To shine away this Heap of sev'nteen hundred Years.

119. These were the churches in London and Westminster, provision for the building of which was made in the acts of 9 and 10 Anne and 1 Geo. I. Pope also refers to the dangerous condition of these churches in a note to *Moral Es.* IV 197, where he states that the fault lay with their being founded on boggy ground. This charge cannot be substantiated by reference to any contemporary or modern handbook, and I should have been puzzled for an explanation but for the help of Miss E. Jeffries Davis. St John's, Smith Square, stands on marshy ground. It was commenced by Archer in 1713; but in the course of building, it sank so much that an alteration in the plans was needed, and two porticos and four corner towers were added so that each side might sink equally. Since bills for repairs were being paid till 1737, it may be assumed that the vestry suffered a prolonged anxiety (J. E. Smith, *St. John the Evangelist, Westminster*, 1892, pp.24, 25, 30, 38–9; and J. E. Smith, *Local Government in Westminster*, p. 80). St Anne's, Limehouse, the work of Hawksmoor, was finished in 1724. It was later found that the tower, which was built on sand, had sunk and deranged the sides of the church (J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, II 82). St Luke's, Old Street, consecrated in 1733, was built on piles, because the soil was marshy (G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, p. 271); but no anxiety about its stability has been discovered. Pope must have felt confirmed in his forebodings when the roof of the portico of St Martin-in-the-Fields gave way in October 1737 (*Vestry Minutes*).

120. *Make Keys*] Pope refers to the need of an embankment on the river front at Whitehall. Wren had completed Queen Mary's Terrace in 1693, but this was

And buy a Rope, that future times may tell
Thou hast at least bestow'd one penny well.
"Right, cries his Lordship, for a Rogue in need
"To have a Taste, is Insolence indeed:
"In me 'tis noble, suits my birth and state,
"My wealth unwieldy, and my heap too great."
Then, like the Sun, let Bounty spread her ray,
And shine that Superfluity away.
Oh Impudence of wealth! with all thy store,
How dar'st thou let one worthy man be poor?
Shall half the new-built Churches round thee fall?
Make Keys, build Bridges, or repair White-hall:
Or to thy Country let that heap be lent,
As M**o's was, but not at five *per Cent.*
Who thinks that Fortune cannot change her mind,

only 280 feet long (*L.C.C. Survey of London*, vol. xiii, St. Margaret's, Westminster, part ii, p. 59), and a quay had been formed south of the Duke of Richmond's property (*ibid.* p. 215); but between these the river formed "a kind of an irregular bay . . . where great quantities of mud & filth collect & settle" (*ibid.*). Yet in spite of this nuisance, nothing was done. Since Pope's two other suggestions refer to Westminster, it seems unlikely that he had in mind the scheme for building a quay along the river front of the City, which had been under consideration since 1671 (see S. Perks, *The Water Line of the City of London after the Great Fire*, 1935).

build Bridges] The Thames at this time was crossed by London Bridge only, in the London area; but an Act was passed in 1736, in spite of the opposition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London (*Brit. Chronol.* Apr. 5, 1736), for the construction of Westminster Bridge. See Nicholas Hawksmoor's *Short Historical Account of London-Bridge; with a Proposition for a New Stone-Bridge at Westminster*, 1736, in which the possible sites for the new bridge are canvassed.

repair White-hall] Whitehall had been the King's palace since the time of Henry VIII. All but the banqueting hall was destroyed by fire in 1691 and 1698, and was never rebuilt, the ruins being allowed to cumber the ground for many years. See *Dunciad* A iii 324, and Pope's note.

122. The Duchess of Marlborough's own account (1737) reads: "From the beginning of the reduction of the interest I lent such sums to the government as reduced the interest from 6 *per cent* to 4 *per cent.*; thinking it would have a good effect for the security of the nation" (*Opinions*, 1788, p.49).

Ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius? hic, qui
Pluribus assuerit mentem corpusque superbum?
An qui contentus parvo, metuensque futuri,
In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello?

Quo magis hoc credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
Integris *opibus novi non latius usum,*
Quam nunc accisis. *Videas*, metato *in agello,*
Non ego, narrantem, temere edi luce profesta
Quidquam præter olus, *fumosæ cum pede pernæ.*

127 Or... care] Or whose wise forecast and preventing care *1734*.

129. Pope repeated this commendation in a letter to Allen; see Biog. App., Bethel.

133. *South-sea days*] The South Sea Bubble broke in the latter half of the year 1720, leaving in ruin thousands of people who had speculated. Pope wrote to Atterbury on Sept. 23 "As for the few who have the good fortune to remain, with half of what they imagined they had, (among whom is your humble servant,) I would have them sensible of their felicity." For the extent of Pope's speculations see EC v 184–7.

134. *Excis'd*] The excise was originally "a commodity tax paid indirectly by consumers as a contribution to the expenses of national defence" (Ashley, *Finan. and Commer. Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 1934, p. 62). But Walpole's Excise Bill of 1733 was a warehousing scheme designed to make England a storehouse for the temporary deposit of goods, and London a free port. The Opposition interpreted it as a general excise, which so much alarmed the public that Walpole decided to withdraw the measure. Pope wrote this line at the end of March 1733 (Introduction, p. xxiv), when the Government's success seemed a foregone conclusion. After Walpole had withdrawn the bill, the change from *ev'n* to *if* was obviously necessary.

135. *In Forest*] Binfield, in Windsor Forest, where the elder Pope had retired with his family about the year 1700 (Sherburn, p. 36).

136. *five acres*] at Twickenham, which Pope leased, with a house, from Thomas Vernon in 1718 (Sherburn, p. 217, and Biog. App., Vernon).

Prepares a dreadful Jest for all mankind!
And who stands safest, tell me? is it he
That spreads and swells in puff'd Prosperity,
Or blest with little, whose preventing care
In Peace provides fit arms against a War?
Thus Bethel spoke, who always speaks his thought,
And always thinks the very thing he ought:
His equal mind I copy what I can,
And as I love, would imitate the Man.
In *South-sea* days not happier, when surmis'd
The Lord of thousands, than if now *Excis'd*;
In Forest planted by a Father's hand,
Than in five acres now of rented land.
Content with little, I can piddle here
On Broccoli and mutton, round the year;
But ancient friends, (tho' poor, or out of play)

134 if] ev'n *1734–35c.* 135 Forest] Forests *1734–43.*

137. *Content with little*] "I could not live with my Ld Bo[lingbroke] or Mr Pope, they are both too temperate and too wise for me, and too profound, and too poor," Swift to Arbuthnot, 1734 (Aitken's *Life and Works of Arbuthnot*, p. 156). But Lord Bathurst held a different opinion; he wrote to Lady Suffolk, July 1734, "You do well to reprove [Pope] about his intemperance; for he makes himself sick every meal at your most moderate and plain table in England. Yesterday I had a little piece of salmon just caught out of the Severn, and a fresh pike that was brought me from the other side of your house out of the Thames. He ate as much as he could of both, and insisted upon his moderation, because he made his dinner upon one dish." (Suffolk,ii 81). Pope boasts of the simplicity of the diet at Twickenham in a letter to Atterbury, Mar. 19, 1721–2.

piddle] i.e. to toy with one's food [OED]. Pope speaks of piddling with his translation of Homer (Spence, p. 218), and also applies the word to Theobald (*Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 164).

138. *Broccoli*] Digby writes to Pope (Aug. 14, 1723), after visiting him at Twickenham, "How thrive your garden plants? How look the trees? How spring the brocoli and the fenochio? Hard names to spell!"

139. With Pope's own description of his hospitality compare Lord Orrery's (quoted by Sherburn, p. 290), ". . . he treated his friends with a politeness that charmed, and a generosity that was much to his honour. Every guest was made happy within his doors. Pleasure dwelt under his roof, and elegance presided at his table."

At mihi seu longum post tempus *venerat hospes,*
Sive operum vacuo, &*c.*—*bene erit, non* piscibus
urbe petitis,
Sed pullo *atque* hædo; *tum*—
—pensilis uva *secundas*
Et nux *ornabit mensas, cum* duplice ficu.

Posthac ludus erat Cuppa potare Magistra,
Ac venerata Ceres, *ut culmo surgeret alto,*
Explicuit vino contractæ seria frontis.
Sæviat atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus!
Quantum hinc imminuet? quanto aut ego *parcius, aut* vos,
O pueri nituistis, ut huc novus Incola *venit?*

143. *Bansted-down*] Banstead Downs, four miles from Epsom, are still noted for their sheep pasturage: ". . . it is a reason not to be nauseated even with mutton it self, though it came from *Bagshot*, or *Banstead-Downs*" (Sheffield's *Of Vulgar Errors*, *Works* (1723) ii 271).

144. *mutton . . . chicks*] This was the fare provided for Lord Oxford on a visit to Pope at Twickenham in February 1728–9. Oxford was asked, if he wished to drink good wine, to bring two bottles with him (EC viii 246–8).

147. *Espalier*] A fruit-tree trained on a lattice [OED].

152. *double-tax'd*] see *Ep.* II ii 60*n.*

154. *Standing Armies*] see *Sat.* II i 73*n.*

156. "I am but a *lodger* here: this is not an abiding city, I am only to stay out

That touch my Bell, I cannot turn away.
'Tis true, no Turbots dignify my boards,
But gudgeons, flounders, what my Thames affords.
To Hounslow-heath I point, and Bansted-down,
Thence comes your mutton, and these chicks my own:
From yon old wallnut-tree a show'r shall fall;
And grapes, long-lingring on my only wall,
And figs, from standard and Espalier join:
The dev'l is in you if you cannot dine.
Then chearful healths (your Mistress shall have place)
And, what's more rare, a Poet shall say *Grace*.
Fortune not much of humbling me can boast;
Tho' double-tax'd, how little have I lost?
My Life's amusements have been just the same,
Before, and after Standing Armies came.
My lands are sold, my Father's house is gone;
I'll hire another's, is not that my own,
And yours my friends? thro' whose free-opening gate
None comes too early, none departs too late;
(For I, who hold sage Homer's rule the best,
Welcome the coming, speed the going guest.)
"Pray heav'n it last! (cries Swift) as you go on;
"I wish to God this house had been your own:
"Pity! to build, without a son or wife:

150 a Poet] the Poet *1734*.

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my lease; for what has perpetuity and mortal man to do with each other? But I could be glad you could take up with an inn at Twitenham, as long as I am host of it." Pope to Bethel, Aug. 9, 1726.

159. *sage Homer's rule*] *Odyssey*, xv 83–4. Translated by Pope,

True friendship's laws are by this rule exprest,
Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest.

161. *cries Swift*] "In his last translation of Horace, I could willingly have excused his placing me not in that light which I would appear, and others are of my opinion, but it gives me not the least offence, because I am sure he had not the least ill intention, and how much I have always loved him, the world as well as your Lordship is convinced." Swift to Oxford, Aug. 30, 1734.

Nam propriæ telluris *herum natura neque illum*
Nec me, aut quemquam statuit; nos expulit ille,
Illum aut Nequities, *aut* vafri inscitia juris,
Postremo expellit certe vivacior hæres,
Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, *nuper* Ofelli
Dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
Nunc mihi, nunc alii. Quocirca vivite fortes!
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

164. Referring to Swift's *Imit. Hor.*, *Sat.* II vi 1–10, printed below at p. 251.

168. *to Peter Walter*] Walter was buying up estates in Dorset at this time (Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, 1861, index). See Biog. App.

172. Pattison quotes from Hervey's *Memoirs* (p. 243): "Expedition was never reckoned among the merits of the Court of Chancery; but whilst Lord King presided there (1725–33) the delays of it were insupportable."

175. *Shades*] Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of Sir Francis, had built a mansion at Gorhambury near St Albans, which was finished in the year 1568. From the Bacon family it passed to the Meautis family, from whom it was purchased by Sir Harbottle Grimston, whose son left it at his death in 1700 to his great-nephew, William Luckyn. Luckyn took the name of Grimston, and was raised to the peerage in 1719. He sat as Whig M.P. for St Albans 1710–22, 1727–34, and

"Why, you'll enjoy it only all your life."—
Well, if the Use be mine, can it concern one
Whether the Name belong to Pope or Vernon?
What's *Property*? dear Swift! you see it alter
From you to me, from me to Peter Walter,
Or, in a mortgage, prove a Lawyer's share,
Or, in a jointure, vanish from the Heir,
Or in pure Equity (the Case not clear)
The Chanc'ry takes your rents for twenty year:
At best, it falls to some ungracious Son
Who cries, my father's damn'd, and all's my own.
Shades, that to Bacon could retreat afford,
Become the portion of a booby Lord;
And Hemsley once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a Scriv'ner or a City Knight.
Let Lands and Houses have what Lords they will,
Let Us be fix'd, and our own Masters still.

169 a Lawyer's] the Lawyer's *1734–35d.*
174 Who cries] That cries *1734–35c.* 175 Bacon] Ba**n *1734–35d.*
176 Become] Are now *1734–39.*

died in 1756. His reputation as a "booby Lord" is based on his play *The Lawyer's Fortune, or Love in a Hollow Tree*, 1705, which was reprinted in 1736 with derisive notes and a frontispiece in the foreground of which is an ass, wearing a coronet. Swift refers to him in *On Poetry*, ll. 375–7. See VCH *Herts* ii 396, GEC's *Complete Peerage*, and Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill-Powell, iv. 80, 485–7.

177. *proud Buckingham's delight*] Villers, Duke of Buckingham [P. *1734–51*]. Helmsley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, came into the possession of the Duke in 1657 on his marrying the daughter of Lord Fairfax, who then owned it. The house and estates were sold in 1692 to Sir Charles Duncombe, a London banker, for the sum of (it is said) £90,000; this was "the greatest purchase ever made by any subject in England" (DNB *sub* Duncombe). See VCH *Yorks N.R.*, i 492.

SOBER ADVICE

FROM

HORACE,

TO THE

Young GENTLEMEN about Town.

As deliver'd in his

SECOND SERMON.

Imitated in the Manner of Mr. *POPE*.

Together with the ORIGINAL TEXT, *as restored by the Rev^d.* R. BENTLEY, *Doctor of Divinity. And some Remarks on the* VERSION.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Sober Advice from Horace was first published anonymously as a 24-page folio in 1734. It was reprinted (in part) without change of text in 1735, and these sheets were reissued in 1738 with a new title, *A Sermon against Adultery, Being Sober Advice from Horace.* A few revisions were made in the text and the dedication and notes were dropped, when the poem was admitted into a volume of the collected works in 1738, with the title altered to *The Second Satire of the First Book of Horace. Imitated in the Manner of Mr Pope.* No further changes were made in the text for the editions of 1740 and 1743. The poem was not reprinted by Warburton (nor by Elwin and Courthope). The present text accepts the revisions of 1738 but follows the first edition in punctuation and typography. Contrary to his usual practice, Pope adopted Bentley's text of the Latin poem, which is here reprinted from the first edition with two errors silently corrected.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1734 = First edition, Griffith 347.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.

TO

ALEXANDER POPE, Esq;

SIR,

I Have so great a Trust in your Indulgence toward me, as to believe you cannot but Patronize this Imitation, so much in your own Manner, and whose Birth I may truly say is owing to you. In that Confidence, I would not suppress the Criticisms made upon it by the *Reverend Doctor*, the rather, since he has promised to *mend the Faults* in the next Edition, with the same Goodness he has practised to *Milton*. I hope you will believe that while I express my Regard for you, it is only out of Modesty I conceal my Name; since, tho' perhaps, I may not profess myself your Admirer so much as some others, I cannot but be, with as much inward Respect, Good-will, and Zeal as any Man,

Dear Sir,
Your most Affectionate
AND
Faithful Servant.

Dedication] *om. 1738–43.*

Q. HORATII FLACCI SERMO II. L. I.

TEXTUM *Recensuit*
V. R. RICARDUS BENTLEIUS, S. T. P.

Ambubajarum collegia, pharmacopolae,
Mendici, mimae, balatrones; hoc genus omne
Maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli:
Quippe Benignus *erat*—

—Contra hic, ne prodigus esse
Dicatur, metuens, inopi dare nolit amico,
Frigus quo duramque famem depellere possit.

Hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis
Praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
Omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis:
"*Sordidus, atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,*"
Respondet. laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.

Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis,

Heading] THE||SECOND SATIRE||OF THE||FIRST BOOK||OF||HORACE. *1738–43.*

[NOTÆ BENTLEIANÆ.] *Imitated.* Why Imitated? Why not translated? *Odi Imitatores!* A Metaphrast had not turned *Tigellius*, and *Fufidius*, *Malchinus* and *Gargonius* (for I say *Malchinus*, not *Malthinus*, and *Gargonius*, not *Gorgonius*) into so many LADIES. *Benignus, hic, hunc,* &c. all of the Masculine Gender: Every School-boy knows more than our Imitator. [P. 1734].

2. *Lord Fanny's, Lady Mary's*] Lord Hervey and Lady M. Wortley Montagu.

7–10. A similar story is told by Mrs Manley (*Secret Memoirs from the New Atlantis*, 1709, p. 43; *The Adventures of Rivella*, 1714, p. 33), and by Thomas Lediard (*Life of John, Duke of Marlborough*, 1736, i 29) of Lady Castlemaine and John Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough. Although Lady Castlemaine had given him thousands of pounds, he denied her "the common Civility of lending her Twenty Guineas at *Basset*." Anonymous annotators of copies of the poem in the Bodleian Library (*Godw. subt.* 248 and *G. Pamph.* 71) supposed the "knight"

SOBER ADVICE
From *HORACE*

Imitated from his
SECOND SERMON

THE Tribe of Templars, Play'rs, Apothecaries,
Pimps, Poets, Wits, Lord *Fanny*'s, Lady *Mary*'s,
And all the Court in Tears, and half the Town,
Lament dear charming *Oldfield*, dead and gone!
Engaging *Oldfield!* who, with Grace and Ease,
Could joyn the Arts, to ruin, and to please.
Not so, who of Ten Thousand gull'd her Knight,
Then ask'd Ten Thousand for a second Night:
The Gallant too, to whom she pay'd it down,
Liv'd to refuse that Mistress half a Crown.
Con. Philips cries, "A sneaking Dog I hate."
That's all three Lovers have for their Estate!
"Treat on, treat on," is her eternal Note,
And Lands and Tenements go down her Throat.
Some damn the Jade, and some the Cullies blame,
But not Sir *H—t*, for he does the same.
With all a Women's Virtues but the P—x,

4,5 Oldfield] O---f--ld *1734*.
11 *Philips*] *Ph-l-ps 1734*.

to have been Sir Edward Hungerford (1632–1711), whose extravagance gained him the title of "The Spendthrift." This attribution is supported by G. S. Steinman (*Memoir of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland*, 1871, p. 141), who quotes from Boyer's *Hist. Life and Reign of Q. Anne*, "And here we shall draw a vail over the life this lady [Castlemaine] led from henceforward; for it would look too invidious to . . . relate in what manner she trick'd Sir Edward Hungerford of the sum of ten thousand Pounds." The truth of the story is contested by Winston Churchill, *Marlborough, His Life and Times*, 1933, i 61–6.

11. *Con. Philips*] see Biog. App., Teresia Constantia Phillips.

16. *Sir H—t*] Horace Walpole and the anonymous annotators of Bodleian copies agree in supposing this to be Sir Herbert Pakington. I have not discovered to what the passage alludes.

Dives agris, dives positis in fenore nummis.
Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat; atque
Quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urguet.
Nomina sectatur, modo sumta veste virili
Sub patribus duris, tironum. Maxime, quis non,
Juppiter, exclamat, simul atque audivit? "At in se
"Pro quaestu sumtum facit hic." Vix credere possis
Quam sibi non sit amicus: ita ut Pater *ille, Terenti*
Fabula quem miserum gnato *vixisse* fugato
Inducit, non se pejus cruciaverit atque hic.
Si quis nunc quaerat, Quo res haec pertinet? Illuc:
Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
Malchinus tunicis demissis ambulat: est qui
Inguen *ad* obscaenum *subductis usque facetus:*
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.
Nil medium est. sunt qui nolint tetigisse, nisi illas,

18. *Fufidia*] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

21. Lady Mary's sister had married the Earl of Mar, the Jacobite leader, in 1714. In 1730 she went mad owing, it was said, to her husband's maltreatment. She returned to England from their exile in Paris, and was sent to Scotland by her brother-in-law, Lord Grange. On the road she was seized by the Lord Chief Justice's warrant, procured by Lady Mary, and brought back to London, where the Lord Chancellor declared her lunatic and delivered her into Lady Mary's custody. Neither party was disinterested. Lord Grange seems to have feared that Lady Mar would divulge Jacobite secrets; Lady Mary was anxious to drive a good bargain. At first it was agreed that Lady Mary should receive £200 a year for Lady Mar's custody as the price of the Earl of Mar's pardon, but eventually Lord Grange was forced to agree to pay £500 on behalf of his brother, and receive certain concessions, excluding the pardon. At the same time Walpole told him he believed that Lady Mary would spend no more than £200 on her sister. Lord Grange visited Lady Mar in 1731 and, of course, considered her recovered, an opinion which he shared with Arbuthnot and Lady Hervey; but he found her easily discomposed, for Lady Mary "went in rage to her poor sister, and so swagered and frighted her, that she relapsed" (Lord Grange to Thomas Erskine, *Spalding Club Miscellany*, 1846, iii 17). These reports of Lady Mary's jobbery and tantrums may have reached Pope from Arbuthnot. They are certainly prejudiced and probably exaggerated, for Lady Mary's letters to Lady Mar show that she was fond of her sister. From what is known of Lord Grange's

Fufidia thrives in Money, Land, and Stocks:
For Int'rest, ten *per Cent.* her constant Rate is;
Her Body? hopeful Heirs may have it *gratis.*
She turns her very Sister to a Job,
And, in the Happy Minute, picks your Fob:
Yet starves herself, so little her own Friend,
And thirsts and hungers only at one End:
A Self-Tormentor, worse than (in the Play)
The Wretch, whose Av'rice drove his *Son* away.

But why all this? I'll tell ye, 'tis my Theme:
"Women and Fools are always in Extreme.
Rufa's at either end a Common-Shoar,
Sweet *Moll* and *Jack* are Civet-Cat and Boar:
Nothing in Nature is so lewd as *Peg*,
Yet, for the World, she would not shew her Leg!

27 I'll tell ye] Beloved *1734*.

treatment of his wife (Alexander Carlyle's *Autobiography*, Ch. i), it is doubtful whether Lady Mar would have been any happier under his care. See also *Dia.* i 112.

23. *starves herself*] Compare Lady Mary's character as Avidien's wife (*Sat.* II ii 52–60).

25. *Play*] *See* My *Terence, Heautontimorumenos:* There is nothing in Dr. *Hare's.* BENT. [P. *1734*]. Hare (see Biog. App.) was an old friend of Bentley, and had received instruction from him in what was then an obscure subject, the metres of Terence, whose plays Bentley had intended to edit before he was deflected to more important work. Despairing of Bentley's edition, Hare set to work and published an edition in 1724. But by this time the two men had become estranged, and although Hare paid Bentley a handsome compliment in his preface, Bentley detected numerous disparaging reflections upon himself throughout the notes. He therefore reapplied himself to his edition and published it in 1726. "His censure of Hare, which unquestionably was the primary motive of the edition, is kept up in his notes from the first page to the last with unwearied severity." Monk's *Life of Bentley*, 1833, ii 217–35.

26. *Son*] For the escapades of Lady Mary's son, Edward Wortley Montagu, see Biog. App.

29. *Rufa*] She appears again in *Moral Es.* ii 21.

Common-Shoar] common sewer.

30. Lord and Lady Hervey.

Quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste:
Contra alius nullam, nisi olente in fornice *stantem.*

Quidam notus homo *cum exiret fornice; "Macte*
"Virtute esto, inquit sententia dia Catonis,
"Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
"Huc juvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas
"Permolere uxores.—

—Nolim laudarier, inquit,
Sic me, mirator CUNNI CUPIENNIUS ALBI*
Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
Qui moechos non voltis, ut omni parte laborent;
Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas,
Atque haec rara, cadat dura inter saepe pericla.
Hic se praecipitem tecto dedit: ille flagellis
Ad mortem caesus: fugiens hic decidet acrem
Praedonum in turbam: dedit hic pro corpore nummos:
Hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud

* CUNNI CUPIENNIUS ALBI, *Hoary Shrine.* Here the Imitator grievously errs, *Cunnus albus* by no means signifying a *white* or *grey Thing*, but a Thing under a *white* or *grey Garment*, which thing may be either black, brown, red, or parti-coloured. BENT. [P. *1734*].

34. *A Verse taken from Mr.* Pope [P. *1734*]. *Dunciad* (1728) ii 141.

39. *L—n*] i.e. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. See Biog. App.

40. *noted Dean*] Thomas Sawbridge, Dean of Ferns and Leighlin, who had been indicted for rape in 1730. See Biog. App.

44. *my Lord of—*] *Others read* Lord-Mayor [P. *1734*]. The blank should be filled by *York*—alluding to Archbishop Blackburne, see Biog. App.

45. *J—s*] For this story, see Biog. App., Mary Hill.

46. *Hi — sb — w*] Mary Hill, Viscountess Hillsborough. See Biog. App.

While bashful *Jenny*, ev'n at Morning-Prayer,
Spreads her Fore-Buttocks to the Navel bare.
But diff'rent Taste in diff'rent Men prevails,
And one is fired by Heads, and one by Tails;
Some feel no Flames but at the *Court* or *Ball*,
And others hunt white Aprons in the *Mall*.
My Lord of *L—n*, chancing to remark
A *noted Dean* much busy'd in the Park,
"Proceed (he cry'd) proceed, my Reverend Brother,
" 'Tis *Fornicatio simplex*, and no other:
"Better than lust for Boys, with *Pope* and *Turk*,
"Or others Spouses, like my Lord of—
May no such Praise (cries *J—s*) e'er be mine!
J—s, who bows at *Hi—sb—w*'s *hoary Shrine*.
All you, who think the *City* ne'er can thrive,
Till ev'ry Cuckold-maker's flea'd alive;
Attend, while I their Miseries explain,
And pity Men of Pleasure still in Pain!
Survey the Pangs they bear, the Risques they run,
Where the most lucky are but last undone.
See wretched *Monsieur* flies to save his Throat,
And quits his Mistress, Money, Ring, and Note!

39 *L—n*] *Lo—n 1734*.

53. *wretched Monsieur*] One, Rémond, who pestered Lady Mary with letters wherein gallantry was tempered by requests for financial advice. At her suggestion he bought South Sea stock and later sold it advantageously. Pleased with the success he brought her £900 and begged her to reinvest it. After some demur Lady Mary consented, and put the money back in South Sea stock just before the collapse. She retrieved £400 and sent him the news, to which he replied that he knew her tricks, was convinced that she had all his money untouched, and that he would print her letters unless she returned it. Eventually Rémond appears to have been satisfied, for his last letter renews his protestations of devotion. Pope had already referred to this in *Dunciad* A, ii 127, and he mentions it again in *Dia.* i 112. See Lady Mary's *Letters*, i 33–7, 450–8, and Introduction, p. xvi.

Accidit, ut cuidam* TESTIS, CAUDAMQUE SALACEM
Demeterent ferro. jure omnes. Galba negabat.

Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda!
Libertinarum dico: Sallustius in qua
Non minus insanit, quam qui moechatur. at hic si,
Qua res, qua ratio sauderet, quaque modeste
Munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
Esse; daret quantum satis esset, nec sibi damno
Dedecorique foret. verum hoc se amplectitur uno,
Hoc amat & laudat: Matronam nullam ego tango.

Ut quondam Marsaeus amator Originis, ille
Qui patrium mimae donat fundumque laremque,
Nil fuerit mi, inquit, cum uxoribus umquam alienis.
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus: unde
Fama malum gravius, quam res, trahit. an tibi abunde
Personam satis est, non illud, quicquid ubique
Officit, evitare? bonam deperdere famam,
Rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicumque. quid inter

55 See . . . ragged] *K* . . . of his Footman's borrow'd *1734*.

*—TESTIS CAUDAMQUE SALACEM *Demeterent ferro* (for so I say, and not *Demeteret* ferrum) *Bleeds in Person.* Silly! was he let Blood by a Surgeon? how short is this of the Amputation of the *Testes* and *Cauda salax?* What Ignorance also of Ancient Learning appears in his shallow Translation of *Perminxerunt,* totally missing the Mark, and not entring into the deep Meaning of the Author. [P. *1734*].

55. *Sir George*] Presumably Sir G. Oxenden, see Biog. App. The identity of *K*— has not been discovered.

60. *Budgel*] A Gentleman as celebrated for his Gallantries as his Politicks; an Entertaining History of which may be published, without the least Scandal on the Ladies. E. CURL. [P. *1734*]. See Biog. App., Budgell.

See good Sir *George* of ragged Livery stript,
By worthier Footmen pist upon and whipt!
Plunder'd by Thieves, or Lawyers which is worse,
One bleeds in Person, and one bleeds in Purse;
This meets a Blanket, and that meets a Cudgel—
And all applaud the Justice—All, but *Budgel.*
How much more safe, dear Countrymen! his State,
Who trades in Frigates of the second Rate?
And yet some Care of *S—st* should be had,
Nothing so mean for which he can't run mad;
His Wit confirms him but a Slave the more,
And makes a Princess whom he found a Whore.
The Youth might save much Trouble and Expence,
Were he a Dupe of only common Sense.
But here's his point; A Wench (he cries) for me!
"I never touch a Dame of Quality.
To *Palmer*'s Bed no Actress comes amiss,
He courts the whole *Personæ Dramatis:*
He too can say, "With Wives I never sin."
But Singing-Girls and Mimicks draw him in.
Sure, worthy Sir, the Diff'rence is not great,
With *whom* you lose your Credit and Estate?
This, or that Person, what avails to shun?
What's wrong is wrong, wherever it be done:

60 *Budgel*] *B—l 1734.* 71 *Palmer*'s] *P--l--r's 1734.*

63. *S—st*] H. Walpole and the annotator of Bodley Godw. subt. 248 are almost certainly correct in supposing that Bolingbroke is intended. When writing of this satire to Swift on June 27, 1734, he says "the rogue has fixed a ridicule upon me, which some events of my life would seem, perhaps, to justify him in doing," and no other passage suits him. Why Pope should call Bolingbroke Sallust, except that Bolingbroke was interested in the writing of history, and why he should suppress a harmless name, which is printed in full on the opposite page, have not yet been explained.

71. *Palmer*] A contemporary annotator of Bodley Godw. Pamph. 71 supposes him to be Sir Thomas Palmer. He died in 1723, but this is not an insuperable objection (see *1740*, 56*n* and Biog. App.).

Est in matrona, ancilla, peccesne togata?

Villius in Fausta Sullae gener, hoc miser uno
Nomine deceptus, poenas dedit usque, superque
Quam satis est; pugnis caesus, ferroque petitus,
Exclusus fore, cum Longarenus foret intus.

Huic si, mutonis verbis, mala tanta videnti
Diceret haec animus: Quid vis tibi? numquid ego a te
*Magno prognatum deposco consule** CUNNUM,
Velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?
Quid responderet? Magno patre nata puella est.

At quanto meliora monet, pugnantiaque istis
Dives opis natura suae! tu si modo recte
Dispensare velis, ac non fugienda petendis
Inmiscere.
—Tuo vitio, rerumne labores,
Nil referre putas? quare, ne poeniteat te,
Desine matronas sectarier: unde laboris
Plus haurire mali est, quam ex re decerpere fructus.

* Magno prognatum deposco consule *Cunnum.*
A Thing descended from the Conqueror.
A Thing descended—why Thing? *the Poet has it* Cunnum; *which, therefore, boldly place here.* BENT. [P. *1734*].

86. "Jacob Hall, the famous rope-dancer, was fashionable in London at that time [*c.* 1668]. His nimbleness and his strength greatly delighted his audience in public; so much so, that a desire arose to see what he was in private. . . This acrobat by no means disappointed conjectures which had been ventured on this subject by Lady Castlemaine—at least if the conjectures of the general public

The Ease, Support, and Lustre of your Life,
Destroy'd alike with Strumpet, Maid, or Wife.
What push'd poor *Ellis* on th' Imperial Whore?
'Twas but to be where CHARLES had been before.
The fatal Steel unjustly was apply'd,
When not his Lust offended, but his Pride:
Too hard a Penance for defeated Sin,
Himself shut out, and *Jacob Hall* let in.
Suppose that honest Part that rules us all,
Should rise, and say—"Sir *Robert!* or Sir *Paul!*
"Did I demand, in my most vig'rous hour,
"A Thing descended from the Conqueror?
"Or when my pulse beat highest, ask for any
"Such Nicety, as Lady or Lord *Fanny?*—
What would you answer? Could you have the Face,
When the poor Suff'rer humbly mourn'd his Case,
To cry "You weep the Favours of her GRACE?
Hath not indulgent Nature spread a Feast,
And giv'n enough for Man, enough for Beast?
But Man corrupt, perverse in all his ways,
In search of Vanities from Nature strays:
Yea, tho' the Blessing's more than he can use,
Shuns the permitted, the forbid pursues!
Weigh well the Cause from whence these Evils spring,
'Tis in thyself, and not in God's good Thing:
Then, lest Repentence punish such a Life,

81 *Ellis*] *E--s 1734.*

were to be believed, and the burden of innumerable street-ballads which did the dancer more honour than the Countess." *Memoirs of the Comte de Gramont*, trs. P. Quennell, 1930, p. 112.

88. Presumably Sir Paul Methuen. See Biog. App.

95. Spoken not of one particular Dutchess, but of divers Dutchesses [P. *1734*].

96. The original Manuscript has it,

—Spread a Feast
Of—enough for Man, enough for Beast:

but we prefer the present, as the purer Diction [P. *1734*].

Nec magis huic, inter niveos viridisque lapillos
Sit licet, o Cerinthe, tuo tenerum est femur, aut crus
Rectius: atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.
Adde huc, quod mercem sine fucis gestat; aperte
Quod venale habet, ostendit; neque si quid honesti est
Jactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet.
Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur; opertos
Inspiciunt: ne si facies, ut saepe, decora
Molli fulta pede est; emtorem ducat hiantem,
Quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.
Hoc illi recte. Tu corporis optima Lyncei
Contemplare oculis; Hypsaea caecior, illa
Quae mala sunt, spectas. O crus, o brachia! verum
Depugis, nasuta, brevi latere, ac pede longo est.

Matronae, praeter faciem, nil cernere possis;
Caetera, ni Catia est, demissia veste tegentis.
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata, (nam te
Hoc facit insanum) multae tibi tum officient res;
Custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae;
Ad talos stola demissa, & circumdata palla:
Plurima, quae invideant pure adparere tibi rem.

118. *Chaps*] abbreviation of *chapmen*.

121. *Ty—y*] James O'Hara, Baron Tyrawley. See Biog. App.

125. "Lady Mohun here is a famous story of her she was in a Hackney coach with some fellows and my Lord came up & would know who was there, she did not care to be found out at last she said that she would show her Bare Arse to him if that would satisfy him, he agreed & she put her Arse out at the Window to him and he went away." MS. Note in the second Earl of Oxford's copy in the

Never, ah, never! kiss thy Neighbour's Wife.
First, Silks and Diamonds veil no finer Shape,
Or plumper Thigh, than lurk in humble Crape:
And *secondly*, how innocent a *Belle*
Is she who shows what Ware she has to sell;
Not Lady-like, displays a milk-white Breast,
And hides in sacred Sluttishness the rest.
Our ancient Kings (and sure those Kings were wise,
Who judg'd themselves, and saw with their own Eyes)
A War-horse never for the Service chose,
But ey'd him round, and stript off all the Cloaths;
For well they knew, proud Trappings serve to hide
A heavy Chest, thick Neck, or heaving Side.
But Fools are ready Chaps, agog to buy,
Let but a comely Fore-hand strike the Eye:
No Eagle sharper, every Charm to find,
To all defects, *Ty—y* not so blind:
Goose-rump'd, Hawk-nos'd, Swan-footed, is my Dear?
They'l praise her *Elbow*, *Heel*, or *Tip o'th' Ear*.
A Lady's Face is all you see undress'd;
(For none but Lady M[illegible] shows the Rest)
But if to Charms more latent you pretend,
What Lines encompass, and what Works defend!
Dangers on Dangers! obstacles by dozens!
Spies, Guardians, Guests, old Women, Aunts, and
Cozens!

125 shows] show'd *1734*.

Bodleian Library (M.3 19 Art). Lord Mohun (1677–1712), the famous rake, married twice; (1) Charlotte Manwaring, d. 1705, (2) Elizabeth Griffith, d. 1725. From what is known of their exploits, this story might well be true of either. The change to *shows* in 1738 suggests that Pope was once more thinking of Lady Mary.

129. *Cozens*] There is a famous Stay-maker of this name, which stiffens the *double entendre* here meant [Curll, *1757*].

Altera nil obstat: Cois tibi pene videre est
Ut nudam; ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi:
Metiri possis oculo latus. an tibi mavis
Insidias fieri, pretiumque avellier, ante
Quam mercem ostendi?

—LEPOREM *venator ut alta*
In nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit:
Cantat, & adponit, MEUS *est amor huic similis: nam*
Transvolat in medio posita, & fugientia captat.
Hiscine versiculis speras tibi posse dolores,
Atque aestus, curasque gravis e pectore tolli?
Nonne, cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem,
Quid latura, sibi quid sit dolitura negatum,
Quaerere plus prodest; & inane abscindere soldo?
Num, tibi cum faucis urit sitis, aurea quaeris
Pocula? num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter
**Pavonem, rhombumque? tument tibi cum inguina, num, si*
Ancilla aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem
Continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?
Non ego: namque parabilem amo venerem, facilemque.

ILLAM, *Post paullo, Sed pluris, Si exierit vir,*
Gallis: Hanc, Philodemus ait sibi, quae neque magno
Stet pretio; nec cunctetur, cum est jussa venire.

* PAVONEM, Pea-Chicks] *Not ill-render'd, meaning a* young *or* soft Piece, *Anglice* a Tid-bit: *such as that Delicate Youth* Cerinthus, *whose Flesh, our* Horace *expressly says, was as* tender as a Lady's, *and our Imitator turn'd*

Such Nicety, as Lady or Lord F—

not amiss truly; it agrees with My own Reading of tuo femore, *instead of* tuum femur, *and savours of the true Taste of Antiquity.* BENT. [P. *1734*].

Could you directly to her Person go,
Stays will obstruct above, and Hoops below,
And if the Dame says yes, the Dress says no.
Not thus at *N—dh—m*'s; your judicious Eye
May measure there the Breast, the Hip, the Thigh!
And will you run to Perils, Sword, and Law,
All for a Thing you ne're so much as *saw?*
"The Hare once seiz'd the Hunter heeds no more
"The little Scut he so pursu'd before,
"Love follows flying Game (as *Sucklyn* sings)
"And 'tis for that the wanton Boy has Wings."
Why let him Sing—but when you're in the Wrong,
Think ye to cure the Mischief with a Song?
Has Nature set no bounds to wild Desire?
No Sense to guide, no Reason to enquire,
What solid Happiness, what empty Pride?
And what is best indulg'd, or best deny'd?
If neither Gems adorn, nor Silver tip
The flowing Bowl, will you not wet your Lip?
When sharp with Hunger, scorn you to be fed,
Except on *Pea-Chicks*, at the *Bedford-head?*
Or, when a tight, neat Girl, will serve the Turn,
In errant Pride continue stiff, and burn?
I'm a plain Man, whose Maxim is profest,
"The Thing at hand is of all Things the *best.*
But Her who will, and then will not comply,
Whose Word is *If, Perhaps*, and *By-and-By*,
Z—ds! let some Eunuch or Platonic take—

142 ye] you *1734.*

133. *N—dh—m*] Mother Needham (see Biog. App.) kept a notorious brothel in Park Place, St James's.

138. *Scut*] a hare's tail.

139. Nothing closely resembling these lines has been discovered in Suckling.

150. *Bedford-head*] See *Sat.* II ii 42*n.*

Candida rectaque sit; munda hactenus, ut neque longa,
Nec magis alba velit, quam det natura, videri.
Haec, ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum,
Ilia & Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi.
Nec vereor, ne, dum futuo, *vir rure recurrat;*
Janua frangatur; latret canis; undique magno
Pulsa domus strepitu resonet: ne pallida lecto
Desiliat mulier; miseram se conscia clamet;
Cruribus haec metuat, doti haec deprensa, egomet mi.
Discincta tunica fugiendum est, ac pede nudo;
Ne nummi pereant, aut puga, aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est: Fabio vel judice vincam.

158. *B—t*] Bathurst.

175. Here the Imitator errs. The *Latin* has it *dum futuo*, a most necessary Circumstance! which ought to be *restored;* and may, by the change of a *single Word*, be the *same* with that of the Author, and one which wou'd marvelously agree with the Ladies in the second Line. BENT. [P. *1734*].

176. See Biog. App., Mary Hill.

178. *L—l*] Richard Liddel, against whom his friend, Lord Abergavenny,

So *B—t* cries, Philosopher and Rake!
Who asks no more (right reasonable Peer)
Than not to wait too long, nor pay too dear.
Give me a willing Nymph! 'tis all I care,
Extremely clean, and tolerably fair,
Her Shape her own, whatever Shape she have,
And just that White and Red which Nature gave.
Her I transported touch, transported view,
And call her *Angel! Goddess! Montague!*
No furious Husband thunders at the Door;
No barking Dog, no Household in a Roar;
From gleaming Swords no shrieking Women run;
No wretched Wife cries out, *Undone! Undone!*
Seiz'd in the Fact, and in her Cuckold's Pow'r,
She kneels, she weeps, and worse! resigns her Dow'r.
Me, naked me, to Posts, to Pumps they draw,
To Shame eternal, or eternal Law.
Oh Love! be deep Tranquility my Luck!
No Mistress *H—ysh—m* near, no Lady *B—ck!*
For, to be taken, is the Dev'll in Hell;
This Truth, let *L—l*, *J—ys*, *O—w* tell.

FINIS

166 *Montague*] *M—ue 1734.*

brought an action for criminal conversation with the Lady Abergavenny, who had died of grief and shame for the discovery in December 1729. The case was heard on Feb. 16, 1729–30, and the plaintiff awarded £10,000 damages (A. Boyer's *Polit. State of Gt. Britain*, xxxix 217–220). See further Biog. App.

J—ys] see Biog. App., Mary Hill.

O—w] History has dealt kindly with the reputation of the Onslows. Endeavours to discover what underlay this reference have failed.

AN
EPISTLE
FROM
Mr. *POPE*,
TO
Dr. *ARBUTHNOT*.

Neque sermonibus Vulgi *dederis te, nec in* Præmiis *humanis spem posueris rerum tuarum: suis te oportet illecebris* ipsa Virtus *trahat ad verum decus. Quid de te alii loquantur, ipsi videant, sed loquentur tamen.*

TULLY.

[*De Re Publica*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIII].

NOTE ON THE TEXT

An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot was first published as a 24-page folio on January 2, 1734–5, the titlepage bearing the date 1734. It was reissued four times[1] during the course of the year, in the second volume of the collected works in folio and quarto, published towards the end of April, and in the two octavo editions of the works in July. The folio and quarto texts are identical, and differ in thirty-three of their readings both from the first edition and from the octavo editions, the differences involving an entire couplet on ten occasions. It would appear that when Pope revised the poem for the first of the octavo editions, he decided that his first thoughts were best, for on those thirty-three occasions he reverted to the original readings. Such indecision was not customary with Pope when once his poems were in print, and this simple explanation must probably be rejected. Yet the available evidence is so meagre that nothing more than a guess can be hazarded instead. Since Gilliver, Pope's publisher, announced early in February[2] that he would speedily publish the second volume of Pope's collected works, it seems possible that Pope would have sent him the copy for this large volume some time in December, and that Gilliver's printer would therefore be setting up the collected works and the folio edition of the *Epistle* at about the same time. The differences, then, between the texts might well have arisen through Pope making two independent transcripts from his rough copy, and correcting as he transcribed.[3] But this is to frolic in conjecture.

The eccentric line-numbering of the first edition implies that the book was produced in some haste, hurried perhaps by the seriousness of Arbuthnot's illness. Between ll. 70 and '76' there are seven lines instead of five; between ll. '85' and '90' (ll. 87–94), six lines instead of four; between ll. '235' and '240' (ll. 240–52; 245–8

1. A separate edition in octavo was published soon after the first edition. Since the text is identical with that of the first edition it has been ignored in the collations and in the present discussion.

2. Griffith I ii 282.

3. I am inclined to think that the folio-quarto text is the earlier. It preserves in ll. 289–304 the readings first published in *The London Evening Post* in 1732 (see p. xxiii). These are corrected in 1734 and the corrections retained in 1735*c* and subsequently.

were added later), six lines instead of four; and the same number between ll. '310' and '315' (ll. 321–33). This implies that a couplet was inserted at each of these places after the lines were numbered, and presumably just before the manuscript was sent to press. It may be conjectured that the insertion in the first place was ll. 73, 74; and in the second place, ll. 91, 92, which do not appear in the folio-quarto text. Collations show that the last part of the poem to receive final correction was the character of *Sporus*, two additions being made in the folio-quarto text; the false line-numbering shows that one more couplet was added at the last moment to the text of the first edition—perhaps ll. 328, 9, which later needed revision. Between ll. '325' and '335' (ll. 343–53) there are seven lines instead of nine. Here evidently a couplet has been omitted. Since l. '330' is unnumbered, this is presumably one of the lines left out; and it is at this point that the folio-quarto text provides a couplet not in the first edition. Perhaps this omission was the result of the compositor's "haplography," since l. '330' must have existed, and been numbered, on the fair copy.

When Pope revised the text for the first octavo edition, he chose between the readings of the first edition and those of the folio-quarto text. On thirty-three occasions he preferred the reading of the first edition, on twenty-seven occasions—most of them less momentous, such as the change from a singular to a plural—he chose the folio-quarto readings. The text so produced was the first stable text; only a few trivial corrections were made when the poem was revised for the second octavo edition of 1735 and for the octavo of 1739.

Warburton's text, 1751, is in all essentials the text of 1739, but it presents certain not altogether negligible differences. The poem was removed from the position it had previously held amongst the "occasional" verse epistles, and placed at the head of the *Imitations of Horace*; an addition was made to the title, which reads *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, being the Prologue to the Satires*; and some of the interjections were put into Arbuthnot's mouth, thus changing the poem from an epistle from Pope to Arbuthnot to a dialogue between them. That Pope had authorized all these changes is open to doubt. The new addition to the title he certainly did not authorize. Leaf B_5 on which this title is printed is a cancel. A copy of the volume with the original leaf was discovered by Courthope and reproduced in his edition (iii 534–5). It shows (in Courthope's words)

that "Warburton had written a long and satirical—and it may be added, a very stupid—note [on Mallet] upon the couplet found in Pope's MS. after verse six of that Epistle. He seems afterwards to have thought that it might be impolitic to provoke Mallet's resentment, and he accordingly cancelled the page. But as he had to supply the hiatus in the page, left by the removal of the note, he invented the title Prologue to the Satires."[1] The new addition to the title is implied in the new position which the poem occupies.[2] Even if Pope did not authorize this there can be little objection to it, for the poem is the most Horatian of Pope's original works, and its immediate occasion was the *Verses to an Imitator of Horace*. The change from epistle to dialogue may be the work of Pope. It has not been done systematically, and it is certainly a change for the worse. In this edition the benefit of the doubt has been given to Pope by reducing the dialogue once more to an epistle.

The present text observes the final corrections as they appear in the octavo of 1739. In typography and punctuation it follows the first edition, except in the use of inverted commas. Pope or his printer occasionally omits the closing commas. Since readers might find this confusing, commas have been silently supplied where necessary, so as to accord with modern practice. Only the most important textual changes in Pope's footnotes are recorded.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1734 = First edition, Griffith 352.
1735*a* = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735*b* = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735*c* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 388.
1735*d* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 1, octavo, Griffith 523.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 1, octavo, Griffith 583.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

1. Courthope was wrong in supposing that Warburton was also responsible for the title *The Epilogue to the Satires*. This change in the title of the Dialogues had been made by Pope in 1740.

2. Already in the advertisement to vol. i (p. vii), Warburton was referring to the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* as the *Prologue*, and in the table of contents to vol. iv it is listed as *Prologue to the Satires, in an Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*.

ADVERTISEMENT

THIS Paper is a Sort of Bill of Complaint, begun many years since, and drawn up by snatches, as the several Occasions offer'd. I had no thoughts of publishing it, till it pleas'd some Persons of Rank and Fortune [*the Authors of* Verses to the Imitator of Horace, *and of an* Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity from a Nobleman at Hampton Court,] *to attack in a very extraordinary manner, not only my Writings* (*of which being publick the Publick judge*) *but my* Person, Morals, *and* Family, *whereof to those who know me not, a truer Information may be requisite. Being divided between the Necessity to say something of* Myself, *and my own Laziness to undertake so awkward a Task, I thought it the shortest way to put the last hand to this Epistle. If it have any thing pleasing, it will be That by which I am most desirous to please, the* Truth *and the* Sentiment; *and if any thing offensive, it will be only to those I am least sorry to offend, the* Vicious *or* the Ungenerous.

Many will know their own Pictures in it, there being not a Circumstance but what is true; but I have, for the most part spar'd their Names, *and they may escape being laugh'd at, if they please.*

I would have some of them know, it was owing to the Request of the learned and candid Friend to whom it is inscribed, that I make not as free use of theirs as they have done of mine. However I shall have this Advantage, and Honour, on my side, that whereas by their proceeding, any Abuse may be directed at any man, no Injury can possibly be done by mine, since a Nameless Character can never be found out, but by its Truth *and* Likeness.

7. *Publick judge*] Public is judge *1751*.

Instead of the Advertisement, 1735ab print the following as a note:

This Epistle contains an Apology for the Author and his Writings. It was drawn up at several times, as the several Occasions offer'd. He had no thought of publishing it, till it pleas'd some Persons of Rank and Fortune to attack in a very extraordinary manner, not only his *Writings*, but his *Morals, Person,* and *Family:* of which he therefore thought himself obliged to give some account.

2. *by snatches*] see Introduction, pp. xxii–xxiv.

4. *Authors*] Lord Hervey and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. See Introduction, p. xv*f*.

18. *the Request*] See Introduction, p. xx*f*.

AN EPISTLE TO Dr. *ARBUTHNOT.*

SHUT, shut the door, good *John!* fatigu'd I said,
Tye up the knocker, say I'm sick, I'm dead,
The Dog-star rages! nay 'tis past a doubt,
All *Bedlam*, or *Parnassus*, is let out:
Fire in each eye, and Papers in each hand,
They rave, recite, and madden round the land.
What Walls can guard me, or what Shades can hide?
They pierce my Thickets, thro' my Grot they glide,
By land, by water, they renew the charge,
They stop the Chariot, and they board the Barge.
No place is sacred, not the Church is free,
Ev'n *Sunday* shines no *Sabbath-day* to me:
Then from the *Mint* walks forth the Man of Ryme,

5 each . . . each] their . . . their *1734–35b*.

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1. *good John*] Pope's servant, John Serle [Warburton]. See Biog. App.

3. *The Dog-star rages*] cf. Horace *Odes* III xiii 9:

flagrantis atrox hora caniculæ

and Dryden's translation of Juvenal *Sat.* iii 15:

Rogues that in Dog-days cannot Rhime forbear.

Pope combines both significances: the one, of maddening heat associated with the reappearance of the star Sirius in late summer; the other, of the custom in Juvenal's time of rehearsing poetry in August. The *Epistle* was put into final shape in August 1734.

4. The opening of this poem resembles the first of Edward Young's *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope, Concerning the Authors of the Age*, 1730. Young had also been irritated by a swarm of scribblers (ll. 1–20); like Pope in ll. 15–26, he surveys the various types (ll. 35–54), and inquires into their different motives for writing.

8. *my Grot*] see *Sat.* II i 124*n*.

10. *the Barge*] Pope employed a waterman to convey him between London and Twickenham, and to deliver messages. See his letter to Lord Oxford, Jan. 29, 1729–30.

11. A recollection of Boileau (*Art P.* iv 57–8), which Pope had already imitated in *E. on C.*, 622–5:

Il n'est temple si saint, des anges respecté,
Qui soit contre sa muse un lieu de sûreté.

13. *the Mint*] see *Sat.* II i 99*n*.

Happy! to catch me, just at Dinner-time.
Is there a Parson, much be-mus'd in Beer,
A maudlin Poetess, a ryming Peer,
A Clerk, foredoom'd his Father's soul to cross,
Who pens a Stanza when he should *engross?*
Is there, who lock'd from Ink and Paper, scrawls
With desp'rate Charcoal round his darken'd walls?
All fly to *Twit'nam*, and in humble strain
Apply to me, to keep them mad or vain.
Arthur, whose giddy Son neglects the Laws,
Imputes to me and my damn'd works the cause:
Poor *Cornus* sees his frantic Wife elope,
And curses Wit, and Poetry, and *Pope*.

19 Ink] pen *1735ab*.

14. Pope repeats the complaint in a letter to Allen (Apr. 7 [1736?], Egerton MS. 1947 f. 3v): "they [his servants] let in a Poet upon me at dinner, whom I never saw before, & who had nothing to say to me. It puts me in mind of what Mr. Craggs used to say of his Porter, when he was Secretary of State, 'This is a fellow I keep, to keep out every man I wish to see, & let in every man I hate to see.' "

15. Pope probably refers to the late poet laureate, Laurence Eusden—the word *bemus'd* echoes his name—who seems to have meant no more to him than a type of the Drunken Poet. cf. *Dunciad* A, ii 393. Nothing is known of Eusden "flying to Twitnam"; probably no reference to a particular event is intended. See further, Biog. App.

16. *A maudlin Poetess*] EC notes the reading *an Irish poetess* from the Chauncy MS. The reference was either to Mrs Sykins who visited Pope at Twickenham in 1730 with a letter from Swift (EC vii 177, 191), or to Mrs Barber who asked him to correct her verses (*ibid.* 223). The MS.'s individual reference is effaced, illustrating Pope's tendency to generalize his satire.

20. cf. Boileau, *Art P.* i 22:

Charbonner de ses vers les murs d'un cabaret.

—and Pope's *Sat.* II i 97–8.

23. *Arthur . . . Son*] Arthur Moore, and James Moore Smythe [Warburton]. See Biog. App.

25. *Cornus*] Formed from the Latin *cornu*, a horn. Horace Walpole supposed that Pope was referring to the notoriously bad relations of his eldest brother Robert with his wife, but the passage is general enough to allow of more than one application.

Friend to my Life, (which did not you prolong,
The World had wanted many an idle Song)
What *Drop* or *Nostrum* can this Plague remove?
Or which must end me, a Fool's Wrath or Love?
A dire Dilemma! either way I'm sped,
If Foes, they write, if Friends, they read me dead.
Seiz'd and ty'd down to judge, how wretched I!
Who can't be silent, and who will not lye;
To laugh, were want of Goodness and of Grace,
And to be grave, exceeds all Pow'r of Face.
I sit with sad Civility, I read
With honest anguish, and an aking head;
And drop at last, but in unwilling ears,
This saving counsel, "Keep your Piece nine years."

27 to] thro' *1735ab*. did not you] did'st not thou *1735ab*.
29, 30 *1735ab reads*
Dear Doctor! tell me, is not this a curse?
Say, is their Anger, or their Friendship worse?
32 If . . . dead] My Foes will write, my Friends will read me dead *1735ab*.
34 Who . . . who] I . . . I *1735ab*.

29. *Drop*] alluding to Ward's drop: see Biog. App., Joshua Ward.
32. *read me dead*] cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 475:
Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo;
and Young's *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*, i 15–17:
my tormented Ear
Less dreads a Pillory, than Pamphleteer;
I've *heard* myself to death.
33. *ty'd down*] Alluding to the scene [v. 3] in [Wycherley's] *Plain Dealer*, where Oldfox gags and ties down the Widow, to hear his well-penned stanzas [Warburton]. Warton compares the Ruso of Horace [*Sat.* I iii 89]:
Porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.
40. *Keep . . . nine years*]
si quid tamen olim
Scripseris, in Mæci descendat iudicis aures
Et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,
Membranis intus positis.
Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 386–9.

Nine years! cries he, who high in *Drury-lane*
Lull'd by soft Zephyrs thro' the broken Pane,
Rymes e're he wakes, and prints before *Term* ends,
Oblig'd by hunger and Request of friends:
"The Piece you think is incorrect: why take it,
"I'm all submission, what you'd have it, make it."
Three things another's modest wishes bound,
My Friendship, and a Prologue, and ten Pound.
Pitholeon sends to me: "You know his Grace,

49 sends to me] greets me thus *1735ab*.

41. *high*] i.e. in a garret.

Drury-lane] In Pope's time, this was the abode of harlots and other disreputable characters. cf. *Donne*, ii 64, *Dunciad* A, ii 26.

43. *before Term ends*] i.e. the legal terms, with which the publishing "seasons" synchronized. No doubt the reason for this was that there were more people in town when the courts were sitting, and therefore more potential book-buyers.

44. *Request of friends*] An apology frequently offered: cf. Pomfret's preface to his poems (1699) ". . . He could tell the world, according to the laudable custom of prefaces, that it was through the irresistible importunity of friends, or some other excuse of antient renown, that he ventured them to the press."

45, 6. cf. Boileau, *Art P.* i 219–20:

Cependant, à l'entendre il chérit la critique,
Vous avez sur ses vers un pouvoir despotique.

49. *Pitholeon*] The name taken from a foolish Poet at *Rhodes*, who pretended much to *Greek*. Schol. in Horat. lib. i [*so 1735c–43. 1751 adds*] Dr Bentley pretends, that this Pitholeon libelled Caesar also. See notes on Hor. Sat. x l.1 [v. 22] P.

In a copy of the poem now in the Bodleian Library, the second Earl of Oxford has written against *Pitholeon* "Welstead," and against *his Grace* "the Duke of Argile." EC found the former annotation corroborated by the Chauncy MS which reads:

Welsted this message sends: You know his Grace;

Nothing is known of Welsted's relations with the Duke of Argyle. He "pretended much to *Greek*" by publishing a translation of Longinus in 1712 (rptd 1724). See further Biog. App. and l. 375*n*.

The change of name from *Welsted* to *Pitholeon* was economical, for the passage might also be taken for a character of Cooke (see Biog. App.)—"The fewer still you name, you wound the more." Cooke too "pretended much to *Greek*" by translating Bion and Moschus (1724) and Hesiod (1728); he had written to Pope in apology for "libelling" him (Aug. 11, 1728); under the pseudonym of Atticus, he had attacked him in the *London Journal* (rptd with other *Letters of Atticus*,

"I want a Patron; ask him for a Place."
Pitholeon libell'd me—"but here's a Letter
"Informs you Sir, 'twas when he knew no better.
"Dare you refuse him? *Curl* invites to dine,
"He'll write a *Journal*, or he'll turn *Divine*."
Bless me! a Packet.—" 'Tis a stranger sues,
"A Virgin Tragedy, an Orphan Muse."
If I dislike it, "Furies, death and rage!"
If I approve, "Commend it to the Stage."
There (thank my Stars) my whole Commission ends,
The Play'rs and I are, luckily, no friends.
Fir'd that the House reject him, " 'Sdeath I'll print it
"And shame the Fools—your Int'rest, Sir, with *Lintot*."
Lintot, dull rogue! will think your price too much.
"Not Sir, if you revise it, and retouch."
All my demurrs but double his attacks,
At last he whispers "Do, and we go snacks."
Glad of a quarrel, strait I clap the door,
Sir, let me see your works and you no more.
'Tis sung, when *Midas*' Ears began to spring,
(*Midas*, a sacred Person and a King)
His very Minister who spy'd them first,
(Some say his Queen) was forc'd to speak, or burst.
And is not mine, my Friend, a sorer case,

60 The Play'rs] Cibber *1735ab*. 67 clap] clapt *1735d*.

1731); and DNB produces evidence of his interest in religious controversy at this time.

54. *turn Divine*] perhaps Pope had heard that Welsted was at work on *The Scheme and Conduct of Providence, from the Creation to the Coming of the Messiah*, which he addressed to the Duke of Chandos and published in 1736. And see l. 49*n*.

72. *his Queen*] The Story is told by some [Ovid *Met.* xi 146 and Persius *Sat.* i 121] of his Barber, but by *Chaucer* of his Queen. See Wife of Bath's Tale in *Dryden's* Fables [ll. 157–200]. [P. *1734–51*.]

The abruptness of transition is not apparent either in Persius or Boileau (*Sat.* ix 203–224), who both use the story for this same illustrative purpose.

When ev'ry Coxcomb perks them in my face?
"Good friend forbear! you deal in dang'rous things,
"I'd never name Queens, Ministers, or Kings;
"Keep close to Ears, and those let Asses prick,
"Tis nothing"—Nothing? if they bite and kick?
Out with it, *Dunciad!* let the secret pass,
That Secret to each Fool, that he's an Ass:
The truth once told, (and wherefore shou'd we lie?)
The Queen of *Midas* slept, and so may I.
You think this cruel? take it for a rule,
No creature smarts so little as a Fool.
Let Peals of Laughter, *Codrus!* round thee break,
Thou unconcern'd canst hear the mighty Crack.
Pit, Box and Gall'ry in convulsions hurl'd,
Thou stand'st unshook amidst a bursting World.

75–8 "Good . . . nothing"] *1751 gives this speech to Arbuthnot.*

76. A reflection upon the political alliance of Walpole and Queen Caroline.

80. i.e. that his ears (his marks of folly) are visible [Warburton].

85. *Codrus*] The name of a poet ridiculed by Virgil and Juvenal: "but it is generally believed, that . . . Codrus is altogether a fictitious name, . . . [applied] to those poetasters who annoyed other people by reading their productions to them" (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*). See also *Successio* (vol. vi) l. 20, and the *Publisher's Preface to the Dunciad.*

86–8. Alluding to Horace [*Ode* III iii 7, 8]

Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ. [P. *1735c–51*].

But Pope alludes more particularly to Addison's rendering of the lines (Dryden's *Miscellanies*, pt vi, 1709):

Should the whole frame of nature round him break,
In ruine and confusion hurl'd,
He, unconcern'd, would hear the mighty crack,
And stand secure amidst a falling world.

Pope had quoted the first and third lines in Ch. xii of *Peri Bathous* to show how "Sometimes a single *Word* [crack] will vulgarize a poetical idea."

87. *Pit, Box, and Gall'ry*] Bayes speaks of his latest play in *The Rehearsal* I i "In fine, it shall read, and write, and act, and plot, and shew, ay, and pit, box, and gallery, I gad, with any Play in *Europe*."

Who shames a Scribler? break one cobweb thro',
He spins the slight, self-pleasing thread anew;
Destroy his Fib, or Sophistry; in vain,
The Creature's at his dirty work again;
Thron'd in the Centre of his thin designs;
Proud of a vast Extent of flimzy lines.
Whom have I hurt? has Poet yet, or Peer,
Lost the arch'd eye-brow, or *Parnassian* sneer?
And has not *Colly* still his Lord, and Whore?
His Butchers *Henley*, his Free-masons *Moor?*
Does not one Table *Bavius* still admit?
Still to one Bishop *Philips* seem a Wit?

89, 90 *1735ab reads*
Scriblers like Spiders, break one cobweb thro',
Still spin the slight, self-pleasing thread anew;
91–2 Destroy . . . again] *om. 1735ab.* 93 his] their *1735ab.*
97 *Colly*] *C—lly 1734.* 98 *Henley*] *H—ley 1734. Moor*] *M—r 1734.*
99 *Bavius*] Arnall *1735ab.* 100 *Philips*] *Ph—ps 1734.*

89–94. "Aesop," in Swift's *Battle of the Books*, commenting on the episode of the Spider and the Bee, had noted the resemblance between the Spider and the Modern Scribbler.

96. *Parnassian sneer*] referring to *Dunciad* A ii 5:

Great Tibbald nods: The proud Parnassian sneer,
The conscious simper, and the jealous leer,
Mix on his look.

97. *Colly*] Cibber.

98. *His Butchers Henley*] Henley delivered his *Butchers Lecture* at Newport Market on Easter Day, 1729, taking for his text: *Thou has put all things in subjection under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field.* His purpose was "to display the religious History and Use of the Butchers Calling; to observe what Considerations offer in Scripture, and Learning, to the advantage of it; . . . to vindicate it from Objections commonly urg'd; and to plan the Theology of this Vocation." See Biog. App.

his Free-masons Moor] Moore-Smythe. He was of this society, and frequently headed their processions [Warburton].

99. *Bavius*] Bavius and Maevius were two poetasters who owe their immortality to the enmity which they displayed towards Virgil and Horace.

100. *to one Bishop*] Ambrose Philips had accompanied Hugh Boulter to Ireland as his secretary when he was translated to the see of Armagh in 1724.

Still *Sapho*—"Hold! for God-sake—you'll offend:
"No Names—be calm—learn Prudence of a Friend:
"I too could write, and I am twice as tall,
"But Foes like these!"—One Flatt'rer's worse than all;
Of all mad Creatures, if the Learn'd are right,
It is the Slaver kills, and not the Bite.
A Fool quite angry is quite innocent;
Alas! 'tis ten times worse when they *repent*.

One dedicates, in high Heroic prose,
And ridicules beyond a hundred foes;
One from all *Grubstreet* will my fame defend,
And, more abusive, calls himself my friend.
This prints my Letters, that expects a Bribe,
And others roar aloud, "Subscribe, subscribe."

101–4 "Hold! . . . these!"] *1751 gives this speech to Arbuthnot.*
101 for God-sake] nay see you *1734–35b.*
102 No Names—be calm—] Wit makes you foes, *1735ab.*
103 and I am] and sure am *1735ab.*
104 Foes like these] all these foes *1735ab.*
105–6 Of all . . . Bite] *om. 1735ab.*
107 Fool] Wit *1735ab.*
108 Alas! 'tis ten times worse] Trust me, 'tis ten times worse *1734;* The only danger is, *1735ab.*
113 This . . . Bribe] For song, for silence, some expect a bribe *1735ab.*

102. *learn Prudence*] cf. Pope's version of a letter addressed to him by Arbuthnot, July 17, 1734: "And I make it my last request, that you continue that noble disdain and abhorrence of vice, which you seem naturally endued with, but still with a due regard to your own safety; and study more to reform than chastise, though the one often cannot be effected without the other."

111. Possibly Pope refers to *The Grub-Street Journal*, started in 1730. See l. 378*n.*

113. *Letters*] Some of Pope's letters to Cromwell had been surreptitiously printed by Curll in his *Miscellanea*, 1726.

114. *Subscribe*] Books were frequently published by subscription; i.e., the friends of the author, and others, were induced to pay for one or more copies of

There are, who to my Person pay their court,
I cough like *Horace*, and tho' lean, am short,
Ammon's great Son one shoulder had too high,
Such *Ovid*'s nose, and "Sir! you have an *Eye*—"
Go on, obliging Creatures, make me see
All that disgrac'd my Betters, met in me:
Say for my comfort, languishing in bed,
"Just so immortal *Maro* held his head:"
And when I die, be sure you let me know
Great *Homer* dy'd three thousand years ago.

Why did I write? what sin to me unknown
Dipt me in Ink, my Parents', or my own?
As yet a Child, nor yet a Fool to Fame,

After l. 114 1735ab adds

Time, Praise, or Money, is the least they crave,
Yet each declares the other, fool or knave.

126 Parents'] Parent's *1734–35c:* parents *1735d–43.*

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the book before its publication, or to promise to take up a definite number of copies on publication.

116. *tho' lean*] Horace describes himself as being "corporis exigui" (*Ep.* I xx 24), yet "pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute" (*Ep.* I iv 15). He refers to his cough in *Sat.* I ix 32.

117. *Ammon's great Son*] Alexander the Great; see Pope's note to *Temple of Fame*, 152. Plutarch reports that he inclined his head a little on one side towards his left shoulder.

118. *an Eye*] cf. *Ep.* I vii 45.

125. Boileau propounds the same question to himself (*Sat.* ix 19 ff.)

Mais répondez un peu. Quelle verve indiscrète
Sans l'aveu des neuf Sœurs vous a rendu poète?

See also St John ix 2 (and Exodus xx 5).

127–30. Johnson was the first to draw attention (*Rambler*, 143) to a similar passage in Ovid (*Tristia* IV x 21–26):

Saepe pater dixit "studium quid inutile temptas?
Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes" . . .
Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos,
et quod temptabam dicere versus erat.

I lisp'd in Numbers, for the Numbers came.
I left no Calling for this idle trade,
No Duty broke, no Father dis-obey'd.
The Muse but serv'd to ease some Friend, not Wife,
To help me thro' this long Disease, my Life,
To second, ARBUTHNOT! thy Art and Care,
And teach, the Being you perserv'd, to bear.

But why then publish? *Granville* the polite,
And knowing *Walsh*, would tell me I could write;
Well-natur'd *Garth* inflam'd with early praise,
And *Congreve* lov'd, and *Swift* endur'd my Lays;
The Courtly *Talbot*, *Somers*, *Sheffield* read,
Ev'n mitred *Rochester* would nod the head,
And *St. John*'s self (great *Dryden*'s friends before)

141 friends] friend *1743*.

Pattison noticed a further similarity: the introduction of personal history is followed by a commemoration of the poet's friends by name.

a Fool to Fame] cf. *Lycidas* l. 71.

130. *no Father dis-obey'd*] a reference to Moore-Smythe; see l. 23.

131–2. "Yet perhaps it is one of the best things that can be said of poetry, that it helps us to pass over the toils and troubles of this tiresome journey, our life" Pope to Judith Cowper, Nov. 9, [1723]. "My whole life has been but one long disease." Pope to Hill, Mar. 14, 1731. Had Pope read Katherine Philips's poems? Mr Ault has drawn my attention to a *Song to the Tune of Adieu Phillis* (*Poems*, 1678, p. 127) which commences:

> 'Tis true our Life is but a long disease
> Made up of real pain and seeming ease.

135. The enumeration of the choice spirits for whose praise the poet cared, gives effect by its contrast with the herd who decried him. In this artifice Pope imitates Boileau (*Ep.* vii conclusion), as Boileau had followed Horace (*Sat.* I x conclusion). [Pattison].

140. *Rochester*] Atterbury.

nod the head] Gay also records this characteristic gesture in *Mr Pope's Welcome from Greece*, l. 111:

> See Rochester approving nods his head.

141. *Dryden's friends*] All these were Patrons or Admirers of Mr. *Dryden*, tho' a scandalous Libel against him, entituled, *Dryden's Satyr to his Muse*, has been

With open arms receiv'd one Poet more.
Happy my Studies, when by these approv'd!
Happier their Author, when by these belov'd!
From these the world will judge of Men and Books,
Not from the *Burnets*, *Oldmixons*, and *Cooks*.
Soft were my Numbers, who could take offence
While pure Description held the place of Sense?

printed in the Name of the Lord *Somers*, of which he was wholly ignorant. [*So 1734–5b. 1735c–51 add*]

These are the persons to whose account the Author charges the publication of his first pieces: Persons with whom he was conversant (and he adds belov'd) at 16 or 17 years of age; an early period for such acquaintance! The catalogue might be made yet more illustrious, had he not confined it to that time when he writ the *Pastorals* and *Windsor Forest*, on which he passes a sort of Censure in the lines following,

While pure Description held the place of Sense, &c

P.

In *1735ab*, this paragraph reads: "These are the persons to whose account the Author charges the publication of his first Writings. The Catalogue might have been extended very much to his honour, but that he confin'd it to Friends of that early date."

Dryden's Satyr to his Muse had been ascribed to Lord S. in Rochester's *Miscellaneous Works* (1709) p. 111, and to Somers in Giles Jacob's *Hist. Account of Our most Considerable English Poets* (1720) p. 193. For Dryden's and Pope's relations with these men see Biog. App. under Walsh, Garth, etc.

144. ". . . while Mr. Congreve likes my poetry, I can endure Dennis and a thousand more like him; while the most honest and moral of each party think me no ill man, I can easily support it, though the most violent and mad of all parties rise up to throw dirt at me." Pope to Caryll, July 25, 1714.

146. Authors of secret and scandalous History [P. *1734–51*]. EC supposed that Pope was referring to Bishop Burnet, the historian, but more probably he had his son Thomas in mind. He is here measuring the great men who were his friends against the little men who had attacked him, and Bishop Burnet was not one of these. Furthermore, Warburton thought fit to soften the effect of this allusion by a note separating Burnet from the others and excusing him on account of his "honest warmth of temper, that allowed too little to an excellent understanding." There was some point in placating a man who had since risen to be Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. cf. the softening of *Dunciad* A iii 173–80 and note, to *Dunciad* B iii 179–84 and note. See further Biog. App.

148. *Description . . . Sense*] This is the distinction which Pope habitually made between his earlier and later poetry. See ll. 340–1, and note.

Like gentle *Fanny*'s was my flow'ry Theme,
A painted Mistress, or a purling Stream.
Yet then did *Gildon* draw his venal quill;
I wish'd the man a dinner, and sate still:
Yet then did *Dennis* rave in furious fret;
I never answer'd, I was not in debt:
If want provok'd, or madness made them print,
I wag'd no war with *Bedlam* or the *Mint*.
Did some more sober Critic come abroad?
If wrong, I smil'd; if right, I kiss'd the rod.

149 *Fanny*'s] *Damon*'s *1734*.
155 If want . . . print,] Hunger . . . print; *1735ab*.
157 Critic] Critics *1734*.

149. Lord Hervey [see *Sat.* II i 6*n*] wrote a number of poetical epistles from forsaken mistresses in the manner of *Eloisa to Abelard*.

150. *A painted Meadow, or a purling stream* is a Verse of Mr. *Addison* [P. *1739*].

My humble verse demands a softer theme,
A painted meadow, or a purling stream.

A Letter from Italy ll. 165–6, of which Pope told Spence that he "used formerly to like [it] . . . extremely, and still like it the most of all his poems" (p. 316).

151–192. A version of these lines originally introduced the character of Addison (Atticus), see vol. vi. Pope was referring (ll. 151–4) to the *True Character of Mr. Pope* (1716), an anonymous attack, which he believed had been written by Gildon and Dennis at Addison's instigation (see A. E. Case, *Pope, Addison, and the "Atticus" Lines, Mod. Phil.* xxxiii 187). As emended for insertion in this poem, the lines refer to Dennis's and Gildon's attacks on *The Rape of the Lock* and *Windsor Forest*, i.e. Gildon's *New Rehearsal* (1714) and Dennis's *Remarks upon Mr Pope's Translation of Homer. With Two Letters concerning Windsor Forest and the Temple of Fame* (1717), and *The Progress of Dulness* (1728), which contains Dennis's strictures on *The Rape of the Lock*.

154. *I never answer'd*] Spence records the following conversation with Pope (p. 275): "'Did you never mind what your angry critics published against you?'—Never much:—only one or two things, at first.—When I heard, for the first time, that Dennis had written against me, it gave me some pain: but it was quite over as soon as I came to look into his book, and found he was in such a passion." Pope wrote to Caryll, Aug. 2, 1711: "I shall never make the least reply to [Dennis], not only because you advise me, but because I have ever been of opinion that if a book cannot answer for itself to the public, it is no sort of purpose for its author to do it."

156. *the Mint*] see *Sat.* II i 99*n*.

Pains, reading, study, are their just pretence,
And all they want is spirit, taste, and sense.
Comma's and points they set exactly right,
And 'twere a sin to rob them of their Mite.
Yet ne'r one sprig of Laurel grac'd these ribalds,
From slashing *Bentley* down to pidling *Tibalds*.
Each Wight who reads not, and but scans and spells,
Each Word-catcher that lives on syllables,
Ev'n such small Critics some regard may claim,
Preserv'd in *Milton*'s or in *Shakespear*'s name.
Pretty! in Amber to observe the forms
Of hairs, or straws, or dirt, or grubs, or worms;
The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
But wonder how the Devil they got there?
Were others angry? I excus'd them too;

164 slashing *Bentley*] slashing *B—ley 1734:* daring Bentley *1735ab*. *Tibalds*] *T—ds 1734*.
165 Each] The *1734*. and but] but who *1735d*.
166 Each] The *1734*. 167 Ev'n such small] Such piece-meal *1734*.
171–2 The . . . there] *1735ab reads*
Not that the things are either rich or rare,
But all the wonder is, how they got there?

161 *ff*. The "verbal criticism" of Theobald and Bentley had already been derided in Mallet's *Verbal Criticism*, 1733, addressed to Pope, and in a poetical epistle addressed to Sir William Yonge, *Of Modern Wit* (1732) p. 10:

Glitt'ring in *Brass*, they seem in *Frantic Rage*,
The *Tibbald*, and the *B—tl—y* of the *Age;*
Who spell each Syllable; whose Glories rise,
From *misplac'd Words*, and blund'ring *Printers* Eyes:
Nor from these Arts alone they Merit claim,
But from their Author's Ruins, soar to Fame.
Hence *T—d*'s Genius with a *Shakespear*'s vy'd,
And *B—tl—y*'s *Wit* a *Milton*'s Sense supply'd.

164. *slashing Bentley*] see *Ep.* II i 104*n*.
167, var. *Such piece-meal Critics*] cf. *Dunciad* iv 229–37.
172. EC compares Dryden's Epilogue to *The Husband his own Cuckold*. l. 4:

And wonders how the Devil he durst come there.

Well might they rage; I gave them but their due.
A man's true merit 'tis not hard to find,
But each man's secret standard in his mind,
That Casting-weight Pride adds to Emptiness,
This, who can gratify? for who can *guess?*
The Bard whom pilf'red Pastorals renown,
Who turns a *Persian* Tale for half a crown,
Just writes to make his barrenness appear,
And strains from hard-bound brains eight lines a-year:
He, who still wanting tho' he lives on theft,
Steals much, spends little, yet has nothing left:
And he, who now to sense, now nonsense leaning,
Means not, but blunders round about a meaning:
And he, whose Fustian's so sublimely bad,
It is not Poetry, but Prose run mad:
All these, my modest Satire bad *translate,*
And own'd, that nine such Poets made a *Tate.*
How did they fume, and stamp, and roar, and chafe?
And swear, not *Addison* himself was safe.
Peace to all such! but were there One whose fires
True Genius kindles, and fair Fame inspires,
Blest with each Talent and each Art to please,

189 bad] bid *1734:* bade *1735a–c.*
192 And . . . safe] How did they swear, not *Addison* was safe *1734.*
193–214 *For the text of these lines previous to their appearance in this poem, see vol. vi.*

180. *a Persian tale*] Amb. Philips translated a Book called the *Persian Tales* [P. *1739–51*]. In 1714. Johnson comments, "The book is divided into many sections, for each of which if he received half-a-crown his reward, as writers then were paid, was very liberal; but half-a-crown had a mean sound" (*Lives of the Poets*, iii 313).

185. An earlier version (see vol. vi) shows that at one time Pope had Charles Johnson, the dramatist, in mind here. But without a specific name, such satire must be intended to be left general.

193–214. Earlier versions of the character of Atticus (Addison) are printed in vol. vi. See also Introduction, p. xxiii, Biog. App., Addison, and *Ep.* II i 215*n.*

And born to write, converse, and live with ease:
Shou'd such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the *Turk*, no brother near the throne,
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for Arts that caus'd himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend,
Dreading ev'n fools, by Flatterers besieg'd,
And so obliging that he ne'er oblig'd;

198. cf. Denham's *On Mr John Fletcher's Works* (1647), ll. 21–4:

> Nor is thy Fame on lesser ruines built,
> Nor needs thy juster Title the foul guilt
> Of Eastern Kings, who to secure their reign,
> Must have their Brothers, Sons, and Kindred slain.

Even if Pope had not read the poem, he would have met these lines quoted in *Spectator*, No. 253, a paper in which Addison reviews Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, and censures him for this very fault. Cf. also Pope's letter to Craggs, July 15, 1715: "We have it seems, a great Turk in poetry [Addison], who can never bear a brother on the throne" (printed by Pope in 1735).

201. Malone compares Wycherley's prologue to *The Plain Dealer:*

> First you who Scribble, yet hate all that Write,
> And keep each other Company in Spite,
> As Rivals in your common Mistriss, Fame,
> And, with faint Praises, one another Damn . . .

205. The ideal critic is one like Walsh (*E. on C.* 730),

> Who justly knew to blame or to commend.

208. *so obliging*] cf. Pope to Craggs, July 15, 1715: "But after all I have said of this great man [Addison], there is no rupture between us: We are each of us so civil and obliging, that neither thinks he is obliged: and I for my part treat with him, as we do with the Grand Monarch; who has too many great qualities not to be respected, tho' we know he watches any occasion to oppress us" (printed by Pope in 1735).

Like *Cato*, give his little Senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;
While Wits and Templers ev'ry sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise.
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep, if *Atticus* were he!
What tho' my Name stood rubric on the walls?
Or plaister'd posts, with Claps in capitals?
Or smoaking forth, a hundred Hawkers load,
On Wings of Winds came flying all abroad?
I sought no homage from the Race that write;
I kept, like *Asian* Monarchs, from their sight:
Poems I heeded (now be-rym'd so long)

209. Pope had already written in his prologue to Addison's *Cato* (1713) l. 23,

While Cato *gives his little Senate laws.*

Wakefield compares Lansdowne's poem occasioned by *Verses sent to the Author in his Retirement* (1690), ll. 35, 6:

Had CATO bent beneath the conqu'ring Cause,
He might have liv'd to give new Senates Laws.

211. "If Pope had in mind any one man in particular when he spoke of the Wits and Templars who 'every sentence raise . . .' it is safe to assume that he was [Thomas] Burnet." D. Nichol Smith's introd. to *Letters of Burnett to Duckett*, 1914, p. xxix.

214. *Atticus*] It was a great Falshood which some of the Libels reported, that this Character was written after the Gentleman's [*Addison's*] death, which see refuted in the Testimonies prefix'd to the Dunciad. But the occasion of writing it was such, as he would not make publick in regard to his memory; and all that could further be done was to omit the Name, in the Editions of his Works [P. *1735ab*, *1751*].

215. *stood rubric*] "Mr. LINTOT, in *Fleet-street*, is so fond of Red Letter Title-Pages to the Books he prints, that his Show-Boards and Posts before his Door are generally bedaubed with them." Curll's *Compleat Key to the Dunciad* (1728), note on *Dunciad* A i 28.

216. *Claps*] Bills to be clapped or stuck on a wall; posters. cf. French, *affiche* [OED].

218. Hopkins, in the 104th Psalm [P. *1739–51*]. The original reads:

Upon the wings riding
Of winds in the air.

No more than Thou, great GEORGE! a Birth-day Song.
I ne'r with Wits or Witlings past my days,
To spread about the Itch of Verse and Praise;
Nor like a Puppy daggled thro' the Town,
To fetch and carry Sing-song up and down;
Nor at Rehearsals sweat, and mouth'd, and cry'd,
With Handkerchief and Orange at my side:
But sick of Fops, and Poetry, and Prate,
To *Bufo* left the whole *Castalian* State.
Proud, as *Apollo* on his forked hill,
Sate full-blown *Bufo*, puff'd by ev'ry quill;
Fed with soft Dedication all day long,
Horace and he went hand in hand in song.
His Library, (where Busts of Poets dead
And a true *Pindar* stood without a head)
Receiv'd of Wits an undistinguish'd race,

223 or] and *1734*.

222. cf. *Sat.* II i 33–5 and *Ep.* II i 404.

225. *daggled*] to walk in a slovenly way (through mud or mire) [OED].

226. cf *E. on C.*, 417,

To fetch and carry nonsense for my Lord.

232. *Bufo*] A Theophrastan character of a Patron, composed of certain traits, intended to be universally true, which Pope had observed in Bubb Dodington and the Earl of Halifax. The name, which Pope changed from *Bubo* (Chauncy MS.), had already been used as that of a worthless patron by Mallet in *Of Verbal Criticism*, 1733, l. 46.

233. The Duchess of Marlborough remarked in the *Characters of her Contemporaries* that Halifax "had a vast deal of vanity and as much covetousness . . . He loved dedications and everything of that sort" (*Memoirs*, ed. King, 1930, p. 262).

234. A reference to Welsted's paraphrase of the first ode of Horace's first book (1727) in which Dodington becomes the modern representative of Maecenas [EC].

236. *Pindar*] ridicules the affectation of Antiquaries, who frequently exhibit the headless *Trunks* and *Terms* of Statues, for Plato, Homer, Pindar, &c. Vide *Fulv.*, *Ursin*, &c. [P. *1735c–51*]. Nine headless terms are found in Fulvius Ursinus *Illustrium Imagines ex Antiquis Marmoribus Expressæ* (1598), amongst them a headless statue of Pindar. Pope had already ridiculed the affectation in *Peri Bathous*, Ch. xi.

Who first his Judgment ask'd, and then a Place:
Much they extoll'd his Pictures, much his Seat,
And flatter'd ev'ry day, and some days eat:
Till grown more frugal in his riper days,
He pay'd some Bards with Port, and some with Praise,
To some a dry Rehearsal was assign'd,
And others (harder still) he pay'd in kind.
Dryden alone (what wonder?) came not nigh,
Dryden alone escap'd this judging eye:
But still the Great have kindness in reserve,
He help'd to bury whom he help'd to starve.

239 his . . . his] the . . . the *1734*.
245–8 *Dryden* . . . starve] *add. 1735a*. 248 whom] him *1735a–d*.

239. *his Seat*] Halifax does not appear to have possessed a seat. Dodington had inherited a place at Eastbury, Dorset, in 1720, which he employed Vanbrugh and Thornhill in adorning with every luxury. See *Moral Es.* iv 20.

242. Halifax's "Encouragements [to Learning] were only good Words and Dinners." Swift's MS. note on Macky's *Memoirs*, 1733, p. 54.

245. Applicable neither to Dodington, who was nine years old at Dryden's death, nor to Halifax, to whom Dryden wrote in Oct. 1699 asking for his encouragement in a translation of Homer (D's *Prose*, I i 90–2). Halifax had subscribed to his Virgil.

248. *help'd to bury*] Mr Dryden, after having liv'd in Exigencies, had a magnificent Funeral bestow'd upon him by the contribution of several Persons of Quality [P. *1735a–51*].

Dryden was buried on May 13, 1700. The funeral expenses, £45 17s. 0d., were subscribed for by members of the Kit Cat club (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 5th rpt. p. 359). Pope is no doubt alluding to Halifax's intention, which came to nothing, of erecting a monument to Dryden's memory in Westminster Abbey (see D's *Prose* I i 347–87).

Malone notes that Pope's lines were perhaps suggested by the following, from P.C.'s *On the Great Preparations made for the Funeral of John Dryden, Esq;* contributed to *Luctus Britannici*, 1700, p. 50:

> But wiser we, who all such Precepts scorn,
> And act without the Prospect of return,
> That *Starve* the *Poet*, and *Caress* his *Urn*.
> To a *Dead* Author wonderfully kind,
> But rank the Living with the Lame and Blind.

May some choice Patron bless each gray goose quill!
May ev'ry *Bavius* have his *Bufo* still!
So, when a Statesman wants a Day's defence,
Or Envy holds a whole Week's war with Sense,
Or simple Pride for Flatt'ry makes demands;
May Dunce by Dunce be whistled off my hands!
Blest be the *Great!* for those they take away,
And those they left me—For they left me GAY,
Left me to see neglected Genius bloom,
Neglected die! and tell it on his Tomb;
Of all thy blameless Life the sole Return
My Verse, and QUEENSB'RY weeping o'er thy Urn!
Oh let me live my own! and die so too!
("To live and die is all I have to do:")
Maintain a Poet's Dignity and Ease,
And see what friends, and read what books I please.
Above a Patron, tho' I condescend
Sometimes to call a Minister my Friend:
I was not born for Courts or great Affairs,
I pay my Debts, believe, and say my Pray'rs,

256 those they left] those they leave *1734–35b*.
261–4 Oh . . . please] *1734 reads*
Give me on *Thames*'s Banks, in honest Ease,
To see what Friends, or read what Books I please;
There let me live my own, and die so too,
"To live and die is all I have to do!"
265–6 Above . . . Friend] *om. 1735ab*. 268 say my] go to *1734*.

249–50. EC quotes MS. variants of this couplet which show that at the time of composition Pope's mind was still running on Dodington, with Theobald and Welsted as satellite poetasters. When revising for publication, Pope characteristically obscured the particular reference.

258. See Pope's epitaph on Gay in vol. vi.

260. *Queensb'ry*] See Biog. App., Douglas.

262. From Denham's *Of Prudence*, ll. 93, 4:

Learn to live well, that thou may'st dye so too;
To live and dye is all we have to do:

Can sleep without a Poem in my head,
Nor know, if *Dennis* be alive or dead.
Why am I ask'd, what next shall see the light?
Heav'ns! was I born for nothing but to write?
Has Life no Joys for me? or (to be grave)
Have I no Friend to serve, no Soul to save?
"I found him close with *Swift*"—"Indeed? no doubt"
(Cries prating *Balbus*) "something will come out."
'Tis all in vain, deny it as I will.
"No, such a Genius never can lye still,"
And then for mine obligingly mistakes
The first Lampoon Sir *Will.* or *Bubo* makes.

271–2 Why . . . write] *1735ab reads*
Why will the Town imagine still I write?
Why ask, when this or that shall see the light?
273–4 Has . . . save] *om. 1735ab.*

272. Pope re-expresses this at *Ep.* II ii 32.

274. "To write well, lastingly well, immortally well . . . is such a task as scarce leaves a man time to be a good neighbour, an useful friend, nay to plant a tree, much less to save his soul." Pope to Bolingbroke, April 9, 1724.

276. *prating Balbus*] Lord Orrery says, "Lord Dupplin." Pope has placed over the name "Balbus" in the Chauncy MS., the initial and final letters "K—l," which clearly stand for "Kinnoul" [EC]. Viscount Dupplin was the eldest son of the eighth Earl of Kinnoull (see Biog. App., Hay) and nephew of Pope's friend, the second Earl of Oxford. He became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Newcastle's second ministry (1758), and was reckoned among the thirty ablest men in the House of Commons. GEC quotes from a letter in the *Hardwicke Papers*, which corroborates the character Pope gives him: " . . . the incessant small talk of my good Lord Duplin, that flows and flows as smoothly as ever, and as uninterrupted in its course."

279ff. Boileau had suffered in the same way (*Ep.* VI 69*ff.*):

Vient-il de la province une satire fade,
D'un plaisant du pays insipide boutade?
Pour la faire courir on dit qu'elle est de moi:
Et le sot campagnard le croit de bonne foi.
J'ai beau prendre à témoin et la cour et la ville:
Non; à d'autres, dit-il: on connait votre style.

280. *Sir Will*] Yonge.

Bubo] Bubb Dodington. They are coupled together again in *Dia.* i 68. Some of

Poor guiltless I! and can I chuse but smile,
When ev'ry Coxcomb knows me by my *Style?*
Curst be the Verse, how well soe'er it flow,
That tends to make one worthy Man my foe,
Give Virtue scandal, Innocence a fear,
Or from the soft-ey'd Virgin steal a tear!
But he, who hurts a harmless neighbour's peace,
Insults fal'n Worth, or Beauty in distress,
Who loves a Lye, lame slander helps about,
Who writes a Libel, or who copies out:
That Fop whose pride affects a Patron's name,
Yet absent, wounds an Author's honest fame;

291 That] The *1734*.

Yonge's verses are printed in *Gent. Mag.* vi 103 and Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* (1782) vi 247. Pope had previously glanced at Yonge's poetical character in *Peri Bathous*, Ch. vi.

282. *Style*] "There is nothing more foolish than to pretend to be sure of knowing a great writer by his style." Pope recorded by Spence (p. 168).

289–304. An abbreviated version of these lines had been published in the *London Evening Post*, 22–25 January 1731–2 [GS]. Horace, *Sat.* 4. *Lib.* 1 [ll. 81–5] *paraphras'd. Inscribed to the Hon. Mr—.*

—[1]*Absentem* qui rodit Amicum:
[2]Qui non *defendit*, alio culpante: [3] Solutos
Qui captat *Risus* hominum, *Famamque dicacis:*
[4]Fingere qui *non visa* potest: [5] *Commissa tacere*
Qui nequit:—Hic Niger est: Hunc, tu Romane, caveto.

[1]The *Fop*, whose Pride affects a *Patron's* Name,
Yet *absent*, wounds an Author's honest Fame;
[2]That more abusive Fool, who calls me *Friend*
Yet wants the Honour, injur'd to defend:
[3]Who spreads a *Tale*, a *Libel* hands about,
Enjoys the *Jest*, and copies *Scandal* out:
Who to the *Dean* and *Silver Bell* can swear,
[4]And sees at *C—n—ns* what was never there:
[5]Who tells you all I *mean*, and all I *say*;
And, if he *lies* not, must at least *betray:*
'Tis not the *Sober Sat'rist* you should dread,
But such a *babling Coxcomb* in his Stead.

Who can your Merit selfishly approve,
And show the Sense of it, without the Love;
Who has the Vanity to call you Friend,
Yet wants the Honour injur'd to defend;
Who tells whate'er you think, whate'er you say,
And, if he lye not, must at least betray:
Who to the *Dean* and *silver Bell* can swear,
And sees at *Cannons* what was never there:
Who reads but with a Lust to mis-apply,
Make Satire a Lampoon, and Fiction, Lye.
A Lash like mine no honest man shall dread,
But all such babling blockheads in his stead.
Let *Sporus* tremble—"What? that Thing of silk,
"*Sporus*, that mere white Curd of Ass's milk?

297–300 Who . . . there] *couplets reversed in 1735ab.*
298 lye] lyes *1734.* 301–2 Who . . . Lye] *om. 1735ab.*
303 A Lash . . . dread] Let never honest Man my satire dread *1735ab.* 305–7 *Sporus*] *Paris 1734.*
305–8 "What . . . Wheel?"] *1751 gives this speech to Arbuthnot.*

299. *Dean*] See the Epistle to the Earl of *Burlington* [P. *1734–43*]. *Moral Es.* iv 141–150.

305. *Sporus*] It was originally *Paris*, but that Name having been, as we conceive, the only reason that so contemptible a Character could be applied to a Noble and Beautiful Person, the Author changed it to this of *Sporus*, as a Name which has never yet been so mis-applied. [*Note in 1735ab*]

A passage in Suetonius (*Nero*, XXVIII i) accounts for the change to a name of greater significance: "puerum Sporum exectis testibus etiam in muliebrem naturam transfigurare conatus cum dote et flammeo per sollemnia nuptiarum celeberrimo officio deductum ad se pro uxore habuit." This is a character of Lord Hervey.

Thing of silk] "The word *spins* [referring to *Imit. Sat.* II i 6] . . . was the literal translation of *deduci*; a metaphor taken from a *Silk-worm*, my Lord, to signify any *slight, silken*, or (as your Lordship and the Ladies call it) *flimzy* piece of work." *A Letter to A Noble Lord* [Hervey], *Works*, 1751, viii 263.

306. *Ass's milk*] Ass's milk was commonly prescribed as a tonic. Gay alludes to its use by "grave physicians" for repairing "the love-sick maid and dwindling beau" (*Trivia* ii 16), and Nicholas Robinson states that "in all weakly Constitutions, in emaciated Bodies, the Ass's Milk is certainly preferable [to the

"Satire or Sense alas! can *Sporus* feel?
"Who breaks a Butterfly upon a Wheel?"
Yet let me slap this Bug with gilded wings,
This painted Child of Dirt that stinks and stings;
Whose Buzz the Witty and the Fair annoys,
Yet Wit ne'er tastes, and Beauty ne'er enjoys,
So well-bred Spaniels civilly delight
In mumbling of the Game they dare not bite.
Eternal Smiles his Emptiness betray,
As shallow streams run dimpling all the way.
Whether in florid Impotence he speaks,
And, as the Prompter breathes, the Puppet squeaks;
Or at the Ear of *Eve*, familiar Toad,

307 Sense] Shame *1734*. can *Sporus*] he cannot *1735ab*.

Cow's], as being more thin, light, and easier of Digestion, and, of Consequence, softer, and fitter for the Nourishment of the several Parts" (*New Theory of Physick*, 1725, p. 208). We learn from the *Letter-Books* of the Earl of Bristol, Lord Hervey's father, that ass's milk "agreed wonderfully well" with Hervey in convalescence (ii 233); and Pope himself frequently had recourse to it. He writes to Caryll ("July" 30, 1717), "I also drink asses' milk, upon which I will make no jokes, though it be a fertile subject."

310. *painted Child*] The Duchess of Marlborough wrote of Hervey in 1737, "He has certainly parts and wit, but is the most wretched, profligate man that ever was born, besides ridiculous; a painted face, and not a tooth in his head." (*The Opinions of The Duchess of Marlborough* [ed. Lord Hailes], 1788, p. 42. And cf. *A Letter to a Noble Lord*, where Pope addresses Hervey and Lady Mary: "your faces [are] so finish'd, that neither sickness nor passion can deprive them of *Colour*." *Works*, 1751, viii 261.

319. In the fourth Book of *Milton* [l. 800], the Devil is represented in this Posture. It is but justice to own, that the Hint of *Eve* and the *Serpent* was taken from the *Verses on the Imitator of* Horace. [P. *1734. In 1735ab the note is omitted: 1735c–1751 read* see Milton, Book iv.] Pope alludes to ll. 52*ff*. of that poem:

> When God created Thee, one would believe,
> He said the same as to *the Snake of Eve;*
> *To human Race Antipathy declare,*
> *Twixt them and Thee be everlasting War.*

Eve is Queen Caroline. Pope had already alluded to Hervey's use of her ear in *A Letter to a Noble Lord* and in *Donne* iv (ll. 178, 179), and he mentions it again at l. 356. This might often have been observed. Hervey writes of the year 1733,

Half Froth, half Venom, spits himself abroad,
In Puns, or Politicks, or Tales, or Lyes,
Or Spite, or Smut, or Rymes, or Blasphemies.
His Wit all see-saw between *that* and *this*,
Now high, now low, now Master up, now Miss,
And he himself one vile Antithesis.
Amphibious Thing! that acting either Part,
The trifling Head, or the corrupted Heart!
Fop at the Toilet, Flatt'rer at the Board,
Now trips a Lady, and now struts a Lord.
Eve's Tempter thus the Rabbins have exprest,

323–5 His . . . Antithesis] *add. 1735a.*
326 Amphibious . . . Part,] Did ever Smock-face act so vile a Part? *1734*
327 The trifling] A trifling *1734.* or the] and a *1734.*
328–9 Fop . . . Lord] *add. 1735a.*

"Her Majesty always [hunted] in a chaise, and as she neither saw nor cared to see much of the chase, she had undertaken to mount Lord Hervey the whole summer . . , so that he might ride constantly by the side of her chaise, and entertain her" (*Memoirs*, p. 221).

320. *spits himself abroad*] "There is a woman's war declared against me by a certain Lord [Hervey]. His weapons are the same which women and children use, a pin to scratch, and a squirt to bespatter." Pope to Swift, Jan. 6, 1733–4.

321. *Tales*] Some suggestions for the character of Sporus were taken from a pamphlet entitled *A Proper Reply To a late Scurrilous Libel; intitled, Sedition and Defamation display'd* written by Pulteney under the name of Caleb D'Anvers, and dated Jan. 20, 1730–1. Pulteney is attacking Hervey, whom he describes as "A Circulator of Tittle-Tattle, a Bearer of Tales, a Teller of Fibs, a station'd Spy" (p. 7). For Pope's friendship with Pulteney, see Biog. App.

325. *Antithesis*] "The little, quaint Antitheses, the labour'd Gingle of the Periods, the great Variety of rhetorical Flourishes, affected Metaphors, and puerile Witticisms." *A Proper Reply*, p. 4.

329. *trips a Lady*] "Nay, you know that He is a *Lady* Himself; or at least such a nice Composition of the two Sexes, that it is difficult to distinguish which is most prædominant . . . But though it would be barbarous to handle such a *delicate Hermophrodite*, such a pretty, little, *Master-Miss* [cf. l. 324], in too rough a Manner; yet you must give me Leave, my Dear, to give you a little, gentle Correction, for your own Good. You have carried the Jest a little too far in your last Performance, and talk in the Stile of a dirty *Blackguard Boy* [cf. l. 310]." *A Proper Reply*. pp. 5, 6.

A Cherub's face, a Reptile all the rest;
Beauty that shocks you, Parts that none will trust,
Wit that can creep, and Pride that licks the dust.
Not Fortune's Worshipper, nor Fashion's Fool,
Not Lucre's Madman, nor Ambition's Tool,
Not proud, nor servile, be one Poet's praise
That, if he pleas'd, he pleas'd by manly ways;
That Flatt'ry, ev'n to Kings, he held a shame,
And thought a Lye in Verse or Prose the same:
That not in Fancy's Maze he wander'd long,
But stoop'd to Truth, and moraliz'd his song:
That not for Fame, but Virtue's better end,
He stood the furious Foe, the timid Friend,
The damning Critic, half-approving Wit,
The Coxcomb hit, or fearing to be hit;
Laugh'd at the loss of Friends he never had,
The dull, the proud, the wicked, and the mad;
The distant Threats of Vengeance on his head,
The Blow unfelt, the Tear he never shed;

334 Not . . . Fool] Oh keep me what I am! not Fortune's fool *1735ab.*
335 Not Lucre's] Nor Lucre's *1734–35d.*
336 Not proud] Nor proud *1734.*
340 That . . . long] In Fancy's Maze that wand'ring not too long *1734.*
341 But] He *1734.* 348–9 The distant . . . shed] *add. 1735a.*

331. Pattison shows that this belief was not uncommon, but how Pope came to learn that the *Rabbins* had expressed it is not known.

341. *stoop'd to Truth*] The poet "stoops" to Truth as a falcon is said to "stoop" to its prey. cf. Denham's address to his Muse, *The Progress of Learning* (preface, l. 4):

Now stoop with dis-inchanted wings to Truth.

moraliz'd his song] cf. *E. on Man* iv 391–3, where Pope credits Bolingbroke with changing the direction of his poetry from Fancy and "pure Description" (*Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 148) to Morality. Pope had collected most of his Fanciful work in 1717.

349. *The Blow unfelt*] Alluding to an anonymous pamphlet attributed to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (*Grub-Street Journal*, No. 20), entitled *A Popp upon Pope:*

The Tale reviv'd, the Lye so oft o'erthrown;
Th' imputed Trash, and Dulness not his own;
The Morals blacken'd when the Writings scape;
The libel'd Person, and the pictur'd Shape;
Abuse on all he lov'd, or lov'd him, spread,

350 The Tale . . . o'erthrown] The Tales of Vengeance; Lyes so oft o'erthrown *1734*.
351 Th'imputed] The imputed *1734*. and Dulness] the Dulness *1734, 1735cd*. 354 Abuse] Th'Abuse *1734–35b*.

Or, A true and faithful Account of a late horrid and barbarous Whipping committed on the Body of Sauny Pope, a Poet; as he was innocently walking in Ham-Walks (June, 1728). It was reprinted in Curll's *Popiad* (1728) with an advertisement from the *Daily Post* of June 14, signed A.P., denying the fact. There is a reference to this insult in the Portland Papers (*Hist. MSS. Com.* vii 465): Dr Stratford had inquired about it from the Earl of Oxford, and on receiving his reply (which no longer survives), had written (June 22, 1728): "I am glad Mr Pope's corpuscle is safe, he cannot afford to spare any of his body, as I could. But visitations of wit sometimes end in hearty drubbings . . . All great men in what kind soever must expect some alloy to the glory of their merit, from the envy that will pursue it."

350. *Lye*] [Such as those in relation to Mr. *A*—, that Mr. *P.* writ his Character after his death, *&c. 1734 only*] that he set his Name to Mr. *Broom*'s Verses, that he receiv'd Subscriptions for *Shakespear*, &c. which tho' publickly disprov'd [by the *Testimonies* prefix'd to the *Dunciad*, *1734 only*] were nevertheless shamelessly repeated in the Libels, and even in the Paper call'd, *The Nobleman's Epistle* [P. *1734–5b*, *1751*]. Hervey's *Nobleman's Epistle* (p. 7) mentions only that he "sold *Broome*'s Labours printed with *P—pe*'s Name."

351. *Trash*] Profane *Psalms*, *Court Poems*, and many Libellous [other scandalous *all later edd.*] Things in his Name, printed by *Curl*, &c. [P. *1734–51*].

His version of the first psalm and *Court Poems* were printed in 1716. For the psalm, see vol. vi and Biog. App., Blackmore. *Court Poems* was the work of Gay and Lady Mary (Sherburn, pp. 167–9; *Prose Works*, i xciv–cvi).

353. *the pictur'd Shape*] An illustration in *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility Examin'd* (1729) had represented Pope as a hunchbacked ape with human face, squatting on a pedestal and leaning on a pile of books. The cut is signed G.D., and Pope therefore supposed it was the work of George Duckett (see *Dunciad* Index and Pope's letter to Lord Oxford, May 16, 1729).

354. *Abuse*] Namely on the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Burlington* [Lord *Bathurst*, Lord *Bolingbroke add. 1735a–51*], Bishop *Atterbury*, Dr. *Swift*, Mr. *Gay*, Dr. *Arbuthnot*, his Friends, his Parents, and his very *Nurse*, aspers'd in printed Papers [by *James Moore* and *G. Ducket*, Esquires, *Welsted*, *Tho. Bentley*, and other obscure persons, *&c. add. 1735a–51*]. [P. *1734–51*]

A Friend in Exile, or a Father, dead;
The Whisper that to Greatness still too near,
Perhaps, yet vibrates on his SOVEREIGN'S Ear—
Welcome for thee, fair Virtue! all the past:
For thee, fair Virtue! welcome ev'n the *last!*
"But why insult the Poor, affront the Great?"
A Knave's a Knave, to me, in ev'ry State,
Alike my scorn, if he succeed or fail,
Sporus at Court, or *Japhet* in a Jayl,
A hireling Scribler, or a hireling Peer,
Knight of the Post corrupt, or of the Shire,
If on a Pillory, or near a Throne,
He gain his Prince's Ear, or lose his own.

360 "But... Great?"] *1751 gives this line to Arbuthnot.*
363 *Sporus*] *Glencus 1734.*

For Moore Smythe and Welsted, see Biog. App.; for Ducket, see previous note. Thomas Bentley was the nephew of the Master of Trinity. He was suspected by Pope of having written *A Letter to Mr. Pope, Occasioned by Sober Advice from Horace &c.*, 1735, in which Pope is reprimanded for attributing certain bawdy foot-notes in that poem to Richard Bentley. See *Dunciad* B, ii 205*n*, and Johnson's *Lives*, iii 276. Pope's nurse is mentioned in a satirical advertisement published, so Pope thought, by Moore Smythe in *The Daily Journal*, Apr. 5, 1728. See *Dunciad* A, Pope's Appendix II.

355. *Friend in Exile*] Atterbury.

356. *The Whisper*] This refers to Hervey (cf. l. 319 and *Donne* iv 178), and it is he, the whisperer, who is too near to Greatness.

363, var. *Glencus*] Croker plausibly suggests that this was intended for James Johnston, who as one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, was responsible for the investigation into the Glencoe massacre. At this time he was living in retirement at Twickenham, cultivating his garden and entertaining the Queen. Allusions to Johnston in *The Alley* (vol. vi) and in a letter to Lord Oxford (Sept. 7, 1725) show that Pope disliked his neighbour; but no reason for his dislike is known, unless it be that his whig and presbyterian principles were offensive. Pope may have reflected that *Glencus* was too complimentary a nickname and erased it accordingly.

Japhet] Japhet Crook, the forger. See *Moral Es.* iii 86*n*, and Biog. App.

365. *Knight of the Post*] One who got his living by giving false evidence [OED].

366. *Pillory... lose his own*] Pope writes with Japhet Crook's fate in mind.

Yet soft by Nature, more a Dupe than Wit,
Sapho can tell you how this Man was bit:
This dreaded Sat'rist *Dennis* will confess
Foe to his Pride, but Friend to his Distress:
So humble, he has knock'd at *Tibbald*'s door,
Has drunk with *Cibber*, nay has rym'd for *Moor*.
Full ten years slander'd, did he once reply?
Three thousand Suns went down on *Welsted*'s Lye:

372 *Tibbald*'s] *T—b—ld*'s *1734*.
373 drunk] drank *1734–35c*. *Cibber*] *C—r 1734*. *Moor*] *M—r 1734*.

368. This passage seems to have been modelled on Boileau, *Ep.* x 81ff.:

> Déposez hardiment qu'au fond cet homme horrible,
> Ce censeur qu'ils ont peint si noir et si terrible,
> Fut un esprit doux, simple, ami de l'équité . . .

At l. 93 Boileau starts to defend his parents like Pope at l. 381.

369. *bit*] "They would have been strangely bit [*MS.* caught], while they thought only to fall in love with a fair face, and you had bewitched them with reason and virtue . . ." Pope to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (*Sappho*), Aug. 18, 1716.

370. *will confess*] Dennis had died twelve months before the publication of this poem; but Pope professed not to know "if *Dennis* be alive or dead" (l. 270).

371. *Friend to his Distress*] The prologue which Pope wrote for *The Provoked Husband*, performed for Dennis's Benefit in 1733, is printed in vol. vi.

373. *Has drunk with Cibber*] Cibber also admitted his familiar acquaintance in his *Apology*, ch. ii. After reflecting on Pope's attacks, he continues: "to gratify the Unlearned, by now and then interspersing those merry Sacrifices of an old Acquaintance to their Taste, is a piece of quite right Poetical Craft."

rym'd for Moor] see Biog. App., J. M. Smythe.

374. *ten years*] It was so long, [after many libels *add. 1739–51*] before the Author of the *Dunciad* published that Poem, till when, he never writ a word in answer to [word of *1734*] the many Scurrilities and Falsehoods concerning him. [P. *1734–51*].

375. *Welsted's Lye*] This Man had the Impudence to tell in print, that Mr. *P.* had occasion'd a *Lady's death*, and to *name* a person he never heard of. He also publish'd that he had libelled the Duke of *Chandos*; with whom (it was added) that he had liv'd in familiarity, and receiv'd from him a Present of *five hundred pounds:* The Falsehood of which is known to his Grace, [whom Mr. *P.* never had the honour to see but *twice 1734–35b*]. Mr. *P.* [and *1734–35b*] never receiv'd any Present farther than the Subscription for *Homer*, from him, or from Any Great Man whatsoever. [P. *1734–51*]

The "three thousand suns" [i.e. ten years] which elapsed between Welsted's

To please a *Mistress*, One aspers'd his life;
He lash'd him not, but let her be his *Wife:*
Let *Budgel* charge low *Grubstreet* on his quill,

lie and Pope's retort in the *Dunciad* would suggest that Pope was referring to Welsted's *Palæmon to Cælia, at Bath* (1717) in which *Three Hours after Marriage* is adversely criticised and some abusive remarks about Pope are put into the mouth of Curll; but the more particular accusation was made in *One Epistle to Mr. Pope* (1730) in which Moore Smythe had collaborated with Welsted. ll. 25, 6 of this lampoon read:

Who from the Skies, propitious to the Fair,
Brought down *Cæcilia*, and sent *Cloris* there

and a footnote points the allusion to the *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady*. The *Lye* was repeated in ll. 69–74 of Welsted's *Of Dulness and Scandal. Occasioned by the Character of Lord Timon, in Mr. Pope's Epistle to the Earl of Burlington* (1732) where the lady's name is revealed, to be denied in Pope's note:

We've lost a *St. Leger*, and gain'd a *Pope*.

No mention is made in Welsted's poems of the Duke of Chandos or of his supposed present; but in ll. 171–8 of *Of False Fame* (1732), Welsted accuses Pope of similar meanness in more general terms:

Unmark'd at first! necessitous and scorn'd!
No patron own'd him, and no bays adorn'd;
One Critic's pupil, with one Bard he vy'd,
And knew not to be "sick with civil pride."
A hungry scribbler, and without a name;
Till fraud procur'd him wealth, and falshood fame!
That wealth obtain'd, faith, friendship he disclaims;
Sneers where he fawn'd, and where he prais'd defames.

376. It is not known to whom Pope refers.

378. *Budgel*] *Budgel* in a Weekly Pamphlet call'd the *Bee*, bestow'd much abuse on him, in the imagination that he writ some things about the *Last Will* of Dr. *Tindal*, in the *Grubstreet Journal;* a *Paper* wherein he never had the *least Hand, Direction,* or *Supervisal*, nor the *least knowledge of its author* [*Authors*. He took no notice of so frantick an Abuse; and expected that any man who knew himself Author of what he was slander'd for, would have justify'd him on that Article. *1734–35b*]. [P. *1734–51*]

That Budgell forged Tindal's will is almost certain from the circumstantial evidence provided by a pamphlet entitled *A Copy of the Will of Dr. Matthew Tindal, With An Account of what pass'd concerning the Same, between Mrs. Lucy Price, Eustace Budgell Esq; and Mr. Nicolas Tindal*, 1733. Budgell defended himself in *Bee* No. 37, but had to suffer further attack in the *Grub-Street Journal* (Nos. 199–231), a newspaper started in 1730, which seems to have specialized in attacking Pope's 'Dunces.' An epigram printed in No. 205 may have been the work of Pope; Budgell, at least, declared him the author in *Bee* No. 54. But Pope's connec-

And write whate'er he pleas'd, except his *Will*;
Let the *Two Curls* of Town and Court, abuse
His Father, Mother, Body, Soul, and Muse.
Yet why? that Father held it for a rule

tion with the *Journal* is still a matter of conjecture. The most recent research suggests that after the first year his contributions became less frequent but that he continued to use it for advertisements and announcements (see James T. Hillhouse, *The Grub-Street Journal*, 1928. But Professor Sherburn is even more cautious. He writes in *Modern Philology*, xxvi 361–7, "there seems as yet to be little or no sure evidence that Pope instigated or directed the foundation of the *Journal*").

379. Alluding to Tindal's Will: by which, and other indirect practices, Budgell, to the exclusion of the next heir, a nephew, got to himself almost the whole fortune of a man entirely unrelated to him [Warburton].

380. The Court *Curll* was Hervey.

381. In some of *Curl*'s and other Pamphlets, Mr. *Pope*'s Father was said to be a Mechanic, a Hatter, a Farmer, nay a Bankrupt. But, what is stranger, a *Nobleman* [*Hervey*] (if such a Reflection can be thought to come from a Nobleman) has dropt an Allusion to this pitiful Untruth, in his *Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity:* And the following line,

Hard as thy Heart, and as thy Birth Obscure,

had fallen from a like Courtly pen, in the *Verses to the Imitator of Horace* [*attributed to Hervey and Lady Mary*]. Mr. *Pope*'s Father was of a Gentleman's Family in *Oxfordshire*, the Head of which was the Earl of *Downe*, whose sole Heiress married the Earl of *Lindsey*.—His Mother was the Daughter of *William Turnor*, Esq; of *York:* She had three Brothers, one of whom was kill'd, another died in the Service of King *Charles*, the eldest following his Fortunes, and becoming a General Officer in *Spain*, left her what Estate remain'd after the Sequestrations and Forfeitures of her Family—Mr. *Pope* died in 1717, aged 75; She in 1733, aged 93, a very few Weeks after this Poem was finished. [*So 1734; 1735a–51 add*] The following Inscription was placed by their Son on their Monument, in the Parish of Twickenham, in Middlesex.

D.O.M.
ALEXANDRO POPE, VIRO INNOCUO,
PROBO, PIO, QUI VIXIT ANNOS LXXV, OB. MDCCXVII.
ET EDITHÆ CONJUGI INCULPABILI, PIENTISSIMÆ,
QUÆ VIXIT ANNOS XCIII, OB. MDCCXXXIII.
PARENTIBUS BENEMERENTIBUS FILIUS FECIT, ET SIBI.

[P.]

Pope was mistaken in what he relates of his father, who was 71 years old at his death, and came of an Andover family, apparently unrelated to the Popes of Oxfordshire (Sherburn, pp.27–30). In *Dean Jonathan's Parody on the Fourth Chap. of Genesis* (1729) it is alleged that Pope's father was a hatter; in *The Female Dunciad* (1728) p. 48, he was said to have been "no Stranger to a *Statute* of *Bankrupt*."

It was a Sin to call our Neighbour Fool,
That harmless Mother thought no Wife a Whore,—
Hear this! and spare his Family, *James More!*
Unspotted Names! and memorable long,
If there be Force in Virtue, or in Song.
Of gentle Blood (part shed in Honour's Cause,
While yet in *Britain* Honour had Applause)
Each Parent sprung—"What Fortune, pray?"—
Their own,
And better got than *Bestia*'s from the Throne.
Born to no Pride, inheriting no Strife,
Nor marrying Discord in a Noble Wife,
Stranger to Civil and Religious Rage,
The good Man walk'd innoxious thro' his Age.
No Courts he saw, no Suits would ever try,
Nor dar'd an Oath, nor hazarded a Lye:
Un-learn'd, he knew no Schoolman's subtle Art,
No Language, but the Language of the Heart.
By Nature honest, by Experience wise,
Healthy by Temp'rance and by Exercise:
His Life, tho' long, to sickness past unknown,
His Death was instant, and without a groan.

385 *More!*] *M* 1734–35c.*
390 sprung] sprang *1735d.* "What . . . pray?"] *1751 gives these words to Arbuthnot.*
391 *Bestia*'s] Clodio's *1735ab, but corr. to* Bestia's *in errata.* the] a *1734.*

391. *Bestia*] L. Calpurnius Bestia, who here seems to signify the Duke of Marlborough, was a Roman Consul, bribed by Jugurtha into a dishonourable peace. [Ward].

393. *marrying Discord*] Horace Walpole and other critics have supposed that this refers to Dryden's marriage with Lady Elizabeth Howard, and Addison's with the Countess of Warwick.

397. *dar'd an Oath*] see *Ep.* II ii 60*n.*

401. *Healthy by Temp'rance*] "He had lived in such a course of temperance as was enough to make the longest life agreeable to him." Pope to Blount on the elder Pope's death, Nov. 27, 1717.

403. "[My father] died easily, without a groan, or the sickness of two minutes, —in a word, as silently and peacefully as he lived." Pope to Gay, Nov. 8, 1717.

Oh grant me thus to live, and thus to die!
Who sprung from Kings shall know less joy than I.
O Friend! may each Domestick Bliss be thine!
Be no unpleasing Melancholy mine:
Me, let the tender Office long engage
To rock the Cradle of reposing Age,
With lenient Arts extend a Mother's breath,
Make Languor smile, and smooth the Bed of Death,
Explore the Thought, explain the asking Eye,
And keep a while one Parent from the Sky!
On Cares like these if Length of days attend,
May Heav'n, to bless those days, preserve my Friend,
Preserve him social, chearful, and serene,
And just as rich as when he serv'd a QUEEN!
Whether that Blessing be deny'd, or giv'n,
Thus far was right, the rest belongs to Heav'n.

418–19 Whether . . . Heav'n] *1751 gives the last two lines to Arbuthnot.*

406–19. Pope wrote to Aaron Hill on Sept. 3, 1731, informing him of Mrs Pope's illness: "In the mean time, I make a sort of Amusement of this melancholy Situation itself, and try to derive a Comfort in imagining I give some to her. I am seldom prompted to Poetry in these Circumstances; yet I'll send you a few Lines I sent t'other Day from her Bed-side to a particular Friend. Indeed I want Spirits and Matter, to send you anything else, or on any other Subject. These too are spirit-less, and incorrect.

While ev'ry Joy, successful Youth! is thine,
Be no unpleasing Melancholy mine.
Me long, ah long! may these soft Cares engage;
To rock the Cradle of reposing Age,
With lenient Arts prolong a Parent's Breath,
Make Languor smile, and smooth the Bed of Death.
Me, when the Cares my better Years have shown
Another's Age, shall hasten on my own;
Shall some kind Hand, like B****'s or thine,*
Lead gently down, and favour the Decline?
In Wants, in Sickness, shall a Friend *be nigh,*
Explore my Thought, *and watch my asking* Eye?
Whether that Blessing be deny'd, or giv'n,
Thus far, is right; the rest belongs to Heav'n."

See Introduction, pp. xxiii*f.*

THE SECOND SATIRE OF Dr. *JOHN DONNE*, Dean of St. PAUL's, VERSIFYED.

Quid vetat, ut nosmet Lucili scripta legentes
Quærere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Versiculos natura magis factos, & euntes
Mollius? HOR. [*Sat.* I x 56-9].

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The original version of *The Second Satire of Dr. John Donne* was written about the year 1713 and is now printed for the first time (see Introduction, p. xlii). The revised version was first published in the second volume of the collected works in folio, 1735. A few revisions were made for each of the two octavo editions of the *Works*, 1735, and for the octavo *Works* of 1739 and 1740. The present text accepts the final revision of 1740, but in punctuation and typography follows the first edition, from which the text of Donne's poem is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1735*a* = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735*b* = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735*c* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 388.
1735*d* = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

THE SECOND SATIRE OF Dr. *JOHN DONNE.*

Sir; though (I thank God for it) I do hate
Perfectly all this Town; yet there's one state
In all ill things so excellently best,
That hate towards them, breeds pity towards the rest.
Though Poetry, indeed, be such a sin,
As, I think, that brings dearth, and Spaniards in:
Though like the Pestilence, and old fashion'd love,
Ridlingly it catch men, and doth remove
Never, till it be starv'd out, yet their state
Is poor, disarm'd, like Papists, not worth hate;
One, (like a wretch, which at Barre judg'd as dead,
Yet prompts him which stands next, and cannot read,
And saves his life) gives Idiot Actors means,
(Starving himself) to live by his labour'd scenes.
As in some Organs, Puppits dance above
And bellows pant below, which them do move.

The SECOND SATIRE of Dr. DONNE TRANSLATED by Mr. POPE.

Tho' Heav'n be praisd, that ever since I knew
This Town, I had the Sense to hate it too;
There's yet in this, as in all Evills stil,
One supreme State, so excellently ill;
That perfect hate to that, now makes me more
Pity the rest, than I abhorrd before
Ev'n Poetry, tho tis indeed a Sin
Heinous enough to bring a Famine in;
A Plague, whose strange Infection men are sure,
To catch and then to starve by way of Cure:
Yet poor, disarm'd and helpless is their State
Like that of Papists, now not worth their Hate
One the most meagre of the hungry Train
Seeks from the Stage his vile Support to gain:
And as a Wretch, condemn'd, and judg'd as dead
May prompt and save His Life who cannot read:

THE SECOND SATIRE OF Dr. *JOHN DONNE.*

YES; thank my stars! as early as I knew
This Town, I had the sense to hate it too:
Yet here, as ev'n in Hell, there must be still
One Giant-Vice, so excellently ill,
That all beside one pities, not abhors;
As who knows Sapho, smiles at other whores.
I grant that Poetry's a crying sin;
It brought (no doubt) th' *Excise* and *Army* in:
Catch'd like the plague, or love, the Lord knows how,
But that the cure is starving, all allow.
Yet like the Papists is the Poets state,
Poor and disarm'd, and hardly worth your hate.
Here a lean Bard, whose wit could never give
Himself a dinner, makes an Actor live:
The Thief condemn'd, in law already dead,
So prompts, and saves a Rogue who cannot read.
Thus as the pipes of some carv'd Organ move,
The gilded Puppets dance and mount above,
Heav'd by the breath th' inspiring Bellows blow;
Th' inspiring Bellows lie and pant below.
One sings the Fair; but Songs no longer move,
No Rat is rhym'd to death, nor Maid to love:
In Love's, in Nature's spite, the siege they hold,
And scorn the Flesh, the Dev'l, and all but Gold.
These write to Lords, some mean reward to get,
As needy Beggars sing at doors for meat.
Those write because all write, and so have still
Excuse for writing, and for writing ill.

5 beside] beneath *1735ab*. 6 Sapho] Sa** *1735a–d*.
16 a] some *1735ab*.

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8. *th' Excise and Army*] See *Sat.* II i 73*n* and *Sat.* II ii 134*n*.
12. *Poor and disarm'd*] Cf. *Sat.* II ii 151–4, and *Ep.* II ii 67.

[DONNE] *One would move Love by rythmes; but witchcrafts charms*
Bring not now their old fears, nor their old harms.
Rams, and slings now are silly battery,
Pistolets are the best Artillery.
And they who write to Lords, rewards to get,
Are they not like singers at doors for meat?
And they who write, because all write, have still
That 'scuse for writing, and for writing ill.
But he is worst, who (beggerly) doth chaw
Others wits fruits, and in his ravenous maw
Rankly digested, doth those things out-spue,
As his own things; and they're his own, 'tis true,
For if one eat my meat, though it be known,
The meat was mine, th' excrement's his own.
But these do me no harm, nor they which use,
To out-doe Dildoes, and out-usure Jews,
T' out-drink the sea, to out-swear the Letanie,
Who with sins all kinds as familiar be
As Confessors, and for whose sinful sake
Schoolmen new tenements in hell must make:
Whose strange sins Canonists could hardly tell
In which Commandments large receit they dwell.

[POPE I] So the learnd Bard that starves with all his Sence
Makes Idiot Actors live at his Expence
In Organs thus the mounting Puppetts move
On the high Frame, and dance in Air above,
Heav'd by the Breath th' inspiring Bellows blow;
Th' inspiring Bellows lie and pant below.
One wou'd move Love; by Rhymes; but Verses charms
Like those of Witchcraft now can work no harms:
The Fair are furnish'd of Defensive Arms:
Against the Witty, Gallant, Brave and Bold,
In Nature's spight, the Stubborn Siege they hold
And scorns all Arms, all Battery—but Gold
Some write to Lords in hope reward to get,
As needy Beggars sing at Doors for Meat
Some write, because all write; and thus have stil
Excuse for writing and for writeing ill.
Vile tho' they be, by far the vilest yet
Is He who makes his Meals of Others Wit;
Tis chang'd indeed from what it was before
His rank Digestion makes it Wit no more.
What tho he swears tis all his own, and new;
He swears but Truth, to give the Divel his due:

Wretched indeed! but far more wretched yet
Is he who makes his meal on others wit:
'Tis chang'd no doubt from what it was before,
His rank digestion makes it wit no more:
Sense, past thro' him, no longer is the same,
For food digested takes another name.
I pass o'er all those Confessors and Martyrs
Who live like S—tt—n, or who die like Chartres,
Out-cant old Esdras, or out-drink his Heir,
Out-usure Jews, or Irishmen out-swear;
Wicked as Pages, who in early years
Act Sins which Prisca's Confessor scarce hears:
Ev'n those I pardon, for whose sinful sake
Schoolmen new tenements in Hell must make;
Of whose strange crimes no Canonist can tell
In what Commandment's large contents they dwell.

31 'Tis chang'd no doubt] 'Tis chang'd indeed *1735a–c*, *1739*; 'Tis true 'tis chang'd *1735d*.

36. *S—tt—n*] Horace Walpole is probably correct in stating that Pope had General Richard Sutton in mind, and not his more famous namesake, Sir Robert. Satirical references to Sir Robert had been expunged at Warburton's request. See Biog. App. and *Dia.* i 16*n*.

40. *Prisca*] i.e. a sinner of a bygone generation.

[DONNE] *But these punish themselves. The insolence*
Of Coscus, *only, breeds my just offence,*
Whom time, (which rots all, and makes botches pox,
And plodding on, must make a calf an ox)
Hath made a Lawyer; which (alas) of late;
But scarce a Poet: jollier of this state,
Then are new benefic'd Ministers, he throws
Like nets, or lime-twigs, wheresoe'er he goes
His title of Barrister on every wench,
And wooes in language of the Pleas and Bench.
A motion, Lady: Speak Coscus. I have been
In love ever since tricesimo *of the Queen:*
Continual claims I've made, Injunctions got
To stay my rival's suit, that he should not
Proceed; spare me: in Hillary term I went,
You said, if I return'd next size in Lent,
I should be in Remitter of your grace;
In th' interim my letters should take place
Of Affidavits. words, words, which would tear
The tender labyrinth of a Maids soft ear;
More, more then ten Sclavonians scolding, more
Than when winds in our ruin'd Abbyes roar.

[POPE I] For tho' the meat whereon he fed, be known
To have been mine, the Excrement's his own
Well let Them pass and so may those that use
T' out doe Italians, and out usure Jews;
Out drink the Sea and that bold Wretch outswear,
That acts more Crimes than Confessors e'er hear.
Ev'n those I pardon, For whose sinful Sake
Schoolmen new Tenements in Hell must make;
And whose strange Sins no Canonist can tell,
In which Commandments large Receit they dwell.
All these their Hell in their own Bosom find,
And all its Furies in a guilty Mind.
Tis *Coscus* only breeds my just Offence,
Coscus renown'd for matchless Insolence;
Whom ripening Time, that Turns a Clap to Pox
That plodding on must make a Calf an Ox
And brings all Natural Events to pass:
Has made of late a Lawyer of an Asse.
Not Young Divines, new-benefic'd can be
More pert, more proud, more positive than he.
Vain of this State, what does my Coxcomb do
But turns a Wit, and writes Love Verses too?

One, one man only breeds my just offence;
Whom Crimes gave wealth, and wealth gave impudence:
Time, that at last matures a Clap to Pox,
Whose gentle progress makes a Calf an Ox,
And brings all natural events to pass,
Hath made him an Attorney of an Ass.
No young Divine, new-benefic'd, can be
More pert, more proud, more positive than he.
What further could I wish the Fop to do,
But turn a Wit, and scribble verses too?
Pierce the soft lab'rinth of a Lady's ear
With rhymes of this *per Cent.* and that *per Year?*
Or court a Wife, spread out his wily parts,
Like nets or lime-twigs, for rich Widows hearts?

57 Or court] To court *1735a–d, 1739.* spread out] and spread *1735a–d;* or spread *1739.*

[DONNE] *When sick with Poetry, and possest with Muse*
Thou wast, and mad I hop'd; but men which chuse
Law practice for meer gain; bold soul repute
Worse than imbrothel'd strumpets prostitute.
Now like an owl-like watchman he must walk
His hand still at a bill, now he must talk
Idly, like prisoners, which whole months will swear
That only suretyship hath brought them there,
And to every suitor lye in every thing,
Like a Kings Favorite—or like a King.
Like a wedge in a block, wring to the barre,
Bearing like Asses, and more shameless farre
Than carted whores, lye to the grave Judge; for
Bastardy abounds not in King's titles, nor
Simony and Sodomy in Church-men's lives,
As these things do in him; by these he thrives.
Shortly (as th' sea) he'll compass all the land,
From Scots *to* Wight, *from* Mount *to* Dover *strand,*
And spying heirs melting with luxury,
Satan will not joy at their sins, as he;
For (as a thrifty wench scrapes kitching-stuffe,
And barrelling the droppings, and the snuffe

[POPE I] Displays his Titles, lays forth all his Parts,
Like Netts or Limetwiggs for the Ladies Hearts,
Calls himself Barrister to ev'ry Wench,
And woes in Language of the Pleas and Bench
Language so harsh, 'tis sure enough to tear
The tender Labyrinth of a Virgins Ear:
Not Winds that round our ruin'd Abbeys roar,
Nor ten *Sclavonians*, scolding, deaf me more
How'ere some pleasure 'tis, this Fool to see
Possest with Muse, and sick with Poetry;
Madness, I hope is in the next Degre
But Curst be he, who basely sells a Cause,
And Trafficks in the prostituted Laws:
More hireling and more mercenary far,
Than ev'n in Brothels venal Strumpets are.
To sigh each Bill, about he now must walk;
Now with set-looks to his bilk'd client talk:
To no more purpose, than when pris'ners swear
That only suertyship has brought them there:
To ev'ry Suitor lie in ev'ry thing,
Like a King's Favourite—or like a King:
Drudge like an Ass, and labour at the Laws:

Call himself Barrister to ev'ry wench,
And wooe in language of the Pleas and Bench?
Language, which Boreas might to Auster hold,
More rough than forty Germans when they scold.
Curs'd be the Wretch! so venal and so vain;
Paltry and proud, as drabs in Drury-lane.
'Tis such a bounty as was never known,
If Peter deigns to help you to your *own:*
What thanks, what praise, if Peter but supplies!
And what a solemn face if he denies!
Grave, as when Pris'ners shake the head, and swear
'Twas only Suretyship that brought 'em there.
His *Office* keeps your Parchment-Fates entire,
He starves with cold to save them from the Fire;
For you, he walks the streets thro' rain or dust,
For not in Chariots Peter puts his trust;
For you he sweats and labours at the Laws,

66, 67, 74 Peter] Coscus *1735ab.*

64. *Drury-lane*] See *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 41*n*.
66. *Peter*] Peter Walter, once more.
70. *Suretyship*] responsibility taken by one person on behalf of another, as for payment of a debt [OED].

[DONNE] *Of wasting candles, which in thirty year*
(Reliquely kept) perchance buyes Wedding chear)
Piecemeal he gets lands, and spends as much time
Wringing each Acre, as Maids pulling prime.
In parchment then, large as the fields, he draws
Assurances, big as gloss'd civil laws,
So huge, that men (in our times forwardness)
Are Fathers of the Church for writing less.
These he writes not; nor for these written payes,
Therefore spares no length, (as in those first dayes
When Luther *was profest, he did desire*
Short Pater nosters, *saying as a Fryer*
Each day his beads, but having left those laws,
Adds to Christs prayer, the power and glory clause.)
But when he sells or changes land, h'impaires
The writings, and (unwatch'd) leaves out, ses heires,
As slily as any Commenter goes by
Hard words, or sense; or, in Divinity
As controverters in vouch'd Texts, leave out
Shrewd words, which might against them clear the doubt.
Where are those spred woods which cloth'd heretofore
Those bought lands? not built, nor burnt within doore.

[POPE I] Stick to the Bar and barefac'd plead the Cause
Shameless as carted Whores, that with a Grace,
Can lye to the grave Judges formal Face
Not Bastardy can more abounding be
In Noble's Titles; Pride and Simony,
Not to say worse in pamper'd Churchmens Lives
Than these in him; by these he lives and thrives
Soon, like the Sea, he'l compass all the Land,
From Scots to Wight, From Mount to Dover Strand;
Nor *Satans* self shall joy so much as hee
At sight of Heirs dissolv'd in Luxury.
Piecemeal he gains this Acre first, then that,
And gathers by Degrees, a vast Estate.
Then to Confirm his Title by the Laws,
On Parchment long Assurances he draws:
Large as his Fields themselves, and huger far
Than Civil Laws, with all their Glosses, are:
So vast our best Divines, we must confess,
Are Fathers of the Church for writing less.
Yet when he sells, the writings he impairs
And if unwatch'd is sure t' omit Ses Heires:
No Commentat[r] more dextrously can pass

Takes God to witness he affects your Cause,
And lyes to every Lord in every thing,
Like a King's Favourite—or like a King.
These are the talents that adorn them all,
From wicked Waters ev'n to godly —
Not more of Simony beneath black Gowns,
Nor more of Bastardy in heirs to Crowns.
In shillings and in pence at first they deal,
And steal so little, few perceive they steal;
Till like the Sea, they compass all the land,
From Scots to Wight, from Mount to Dover strand.
And when rank Widows purchase luscious nights,
Or when a Duke to Jansen punts at White's,
Or City heir in mortgage melts away,
Satan himself feels far less joy than they.
Piecemeal they win this Acre first, then that,
Glean on, and gather up the whole Estate:
Then strongly fencing ill-got wealth by law,
Indentures, Cov'nants, Articles they draw;
Large as the Fields themselves, and larger far
Than Civil Codes, with all their glosses, are:
So vast, our new Divines, we must confess,
Are Fathers of the Church for writing less.
But let them write for You, each Rogue impairs
The Deeds, and dextrously omits, *ses Heires:*
No Commentator can more slily pass

80 Waters] W**rs *1735ab.*
87 And] Oh! *1735ab.*
88 Jansen] J**n *1735ab.*

80. *Waters*] i.e. Peter Walter. See *Sat.* II i 89.

godly—] Paul Foley, according to Lord Orrery [EC]. Macaulay describes him as a lawyer of "spotless integrity and munificent charity" (*History*, Ch. xx). But can Pope have had in mind a man who died so far back as 1699?

88. *a Duke*] Wriothesley Russell, third Duke of Bedford (1708–1732). On Nov. 27, 1731, he lost £3,800 to Janssen after playing for twenty-five hours running (Egmont, i 207). The incident caused some stir and made the Duke "a

[DONNE] *Where the old Landlords Troops, and Almes? In Halls*
Carthusian Fasts, and fulsome Bacchanals
Equally I hate. Mean's blest. In rich men's homes
I bid kill some beasts, but no Hecatombs,
None starve, none surfeit so. But (oh) we'allow
Good works, as good, but out of fashion now,
Like old rich Wardrobes. But my words none draws
Within the vast reach of th'huge Statutes jawes.

[POPE I] O'er a learn'd, un-intelligible Place;
Nor disputant, in vouching Texts, leave out
Shrewd words, which woud against him clear the doubt
But when he purchases, it were not fit
He the least point shoud shorten or omit
Who neither writes nor pays for what is writ
So *Luther* thought the *Pater noster* long,
When doom'd to say his Beads and Ev'ning Song:
But having cast his Hood and left those Laws,
Adds to Christs Prayer the *Power* and *Glory Clause.*
The Lands are bought but where are to be found
Those ancient Woods that shaded all the Ground?
And yet no new built Palaces aspire,
Nor Kitchen shine with more than usal Fire
Where are those Troops of Poor that throng'd before
The good old Landlords hospitable Door?
Well, I cou'd wish that still in Richmens Homes
Some Beasts were kill'd, tho' not whole Hecatombs:
That both Extreams were banisht from their Halls,
Carthusian Fasts, and fulsom *Bacchanalls*:
And all mankind wou'd that blest Mean observe
In which none 'ere cou'd surfiet, none could starve

O'er a learn'd, unintelligible place;
Or, in Quotation, shrewd Divines leave out
Those words, that would against them clear the doubt.
So Luther thought the Paternoster long,
When doom'd to say his Beads and Evensong:
But having cast his Cowle, and left those laws,
Adds to Christ's prayer, the *Pow'r and Glory* clause.
The Lands are bought; but where are to be found
Those ancient Woods, that shaded all the ground?
We see no new-built Palaces aspire,
No Kitchens emulate the Vestal Fire.
Where are those Troops of poor, that throng'd of yore
The good old Landlord's hospitable door?
Well, I could wish, that still in lordly domes
Some beasts were kill'd, tho' not whole hecatombs,
That both Extremes were banish'd from their walls,
Carthusian Fasts, and fulsome Bacchanals;
And all mankind might that just mean observe,
In which none e'er could surfeit, none could starve.

by-word in the walks of fashion for his depth of play, and the graceful *nonchalance* with which he gave new wings to his wealth" (J. H. Wiffen, *Memorials of the House of Russell*, 1833, ii 332). Twenty-four years later Horace Walpole was still using this record as a standard of loss, see his letter to Bentley, Feb. 23, 1755.

White's] A chocolate-house established in St. James's Street about the year 1698, and converted into a private club in 1736. White's was notorious as a gaming-house: the extravagance of the betting may be illustrated by a couplet from Bramston's *Man of Taste* (1733):

> Had I whole Counties, I to *White's* would go
> And set lands, woods, and rivers at a throw.

See further *Moral Es.* iii 67, *Dunciad*, B i 203, and J. Timbs, *Club Life of London* (1866) i 108–21.

108. *Pow'r and Glory clause*] Grierson states that the "power and glory clause" which is not found in the Vulgate, was taken by Erasmus (1516) from all the Greek codices, though Erasmus did not regard it as genuine. "Thence it passed into Luther's (1521) and most Reformed versions. In his popular and devotional *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers* (1519) Luther makes no reference to it."

[POPE I] These as good works, tis true, we all allow,
But oh, those Works are out of Fashion now:
And but esteem'd as antient Wardrobes are,
Which tho they're rich, are Things that none will wear
Thus much I've said, I trust without Offence;
And hopes no captious Fools will wrest my sense
Nor sly Informer watch my Words to draw
In the vast reach of our huge Statute Law

These, as good works 'tis true we all allow;
But oh! these works are not in fashion now:
Like rich old Wardrobes, things extremely rare,
Extremely fine, but what no man will wear.
Thus much I've said, I trust without offence;
Let no Court-Sycophant pervert my sense,
Nor sly Informer watch these words to draw
Within the reach of Treason, or the Law.

121. *good works*] a satirical reference, perhaps, to the twelfth of the thirty-nine Articles of the English Church, which allows that good works are "pleasing and acceptable to God."

THE FIRST ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF HORACE.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Horace His Ode to Venus, Lib. iv Ode 1 was first published as a 10-page folio in 1737. It was included, with the revised title and one trivial revision in the text, in a volume of the octavo edition of the collected works in 1738, but not in the editions of 1740 and 1743. The present text is taken from the first edition.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1737 = First edition, Griffith 443.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. vi, Griffith 648.

Q. HORATII FLACCI ODARUM LIB. IV. ODE. I.

AD VENEREM.

INTER *missa Venus diu*
Rursus bella moves? parce precor, precor!
Non sum qualis eram, bonæ
Sub regno Cynaræ: Desine, dulcium
Mater sæva Cupidinum,
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis: abi
Quo blandæ juvenum te revocant preces.
Tempestiviùs in domo
Paulli, *purpureis ales oloribus,*
Comessabere Maximi,
Si torrere jecur quæris idoneum.
Namque et nobilis & decens,
Et pro solicitis non tacitus reis,
Et centum puer artium,
Latè signa feret militiæ tuæ.
Et quandoque potentior
Largis muneribus riserit æmuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
Ponet marmoream, sub trabe citrea.

Illic plurima naribus
Duces thura; lyræque & Berecynthiæ
Delectabere tibiæ

---

4. Cinara was the name of one of Horace's mistresses.
6. *Super fifty*] Pope was born in 1688.

THE FIRST ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF HORACE:

TO VENUS.

AGAIN? new Tumults in my Breast?
Ah spare me, Venus! let me, let me rest!
I am not now, alas! the man
As in the gentle Reign of My Queen *Anne*.
Ah sound no more thy soft alarms,
Nor circle sober fifty with thy Charms.
Mother too fierce of dear Desires!
Turn, turn to willing Hearts your wanton fires.
To *Number five* direct your Doves,
There spread round MURRAY all your blooming Loves;
Noble and young, who strikes the heart
With every sprightly, every decent part;
Equal, the injur'd to defend,
To charm the Mistress, or to fix the Friend.
He, with a hundred Arts refin'd,
Shall stretch thy Conquests over half the kind:
To him each Rival shall submit,
Make but his riches equal to his Wit.
Then shall thy Form the Marble grace,
(Thy Græcian Form) and Chloe lend the Face:
His House, embosom'd in the Grove,
Sacred to social Life and social Love,
Shall glitter o'er the pendent green,
Where Thames reflects the visionary Scene.
Thither, the silver-sounding Lyres
Shall call the smiling Loves, and young Desires;
There, every Grace and Muse shall throng,

5 thy] the *1737*. 10 MURRAY] M**y *1737*, *1738*.

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9. *Number five*] Murray's lodgings in King's Bench Walk.

Mistis carminibus, non sine fistulâ.
Illic bis pueri die
Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
Laudantes, pede candido
In morem Salium ter quatient humum.
Me nec femina, nec puer
Jam, nec spes animi credula mutui,
Nec certare juvat mero:
Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.
— Sed cur, heu! Ligurine, cur
Manat rara meas lacryma per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro
Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
Nocturnis te ego somniis
Jam captum teneo: jam volucrem sequor
Te, per gramina Martii
Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.

Exalt the Dance, or animate the Song;
There, Youths and Nymphs, in consort gay,
Shall hail the rising, close the parting day.
With me, alas! those joys are o'er;
For me, the vernal Garlands bloom no more.
Adieu! fond hope of mutual fire,
The still-believing, still-renew'd desire;
Adieu! the heart-expanding bowl,
And all the kind Deceivers of the soul!
— But why? ah tell me, ah too dear!
Steals down my cheek th'involuntary Tear?
Why words so flowing, thoughts so free,
Stop, or turn nonsense at one glance of Thee?
Thee, drest in Fancy's airy beam,
Absent I follow thro' th'extended Dream,
Now, now I seize, I clasp thy charms,
And now you burst, (ah cruel!) from my arms,
And swiftly shoot along the Mall,
Or softly glide by the Canal,
Now shown by Cynthia's silver Ray,
And now, on rolling Waters snatch'd away.

PART OF THE
NINTH ODE
OF THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
HORACE.

THE NINTH ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF HORACE

Pope's Autograph MS. Attached to the Flyleaf of a copy of Thomson's Works, *1738, in the British Museum* (*C 28. e. 17*)

NOTE ON THE TEXT

This imitation was first published by Warburton in *Works*, 1751, vol. vi. Pope's autograph manuscript is now in the British Museum,[1] attached to the last flyleaves of Thomson's *Works*, 1738, pressmark C.28.e.17. It bears no indication of the date of composition. On the verso of one half sheet is written: "This Original MS of Mr Pope's was given to me by Mr Warburton April 25th 1752. W. Mason." The photograph, which is reproduced by permission of the Director of the British Museum, serves to show the difficulty both of printing from a manuscript of Pope's and of indicating the manuscript changes. To print exactly what Pope wrote would be a pedantic misinterpretation of his intention, for he would never have permitted such abbreviations as *wch*, *ye*, or & in print, and he would not have left the second verse without punctuation. An editor must therefore exercise his judgement in setting Pope's commas and points "exactly right." A textual apparatus might be devised to carry the manuscript changes, but it is doubtful whether anything would be satisfactory short of the treatment which Aldis Wright gave to the Trinity College manuscript of Milton's *Minor Poems*.

The verses of Horace's ode which Pope has imitated are 1, 2, 3, 7.

1. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Norman Ault, who drew my attention to the manuscript.

LIBER IV.
ODE IX.

Ne forte credas interitura, quæ
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
Non ante vulgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis;

Non, si priores Maeonius tenet
Sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
Ceaeque, et Alcaei minaces
Stesichorique graves Camenae:

Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit aetas: spirat adhuc amor,
Vivuntque commissi calores
Aeoliae fidibus puellae.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urguentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

PART OF THE NINTH ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK

LEST you should think that Verse shall die,
Which sounds the Silver Thames along,
Taught on the Wings of Truth, to fly
Above the reach of vulgar Song;

Tho' daring Milton sits Sublime,
In Spencer native Muses play;
Nor yet shall Waller yield to time,
Nor pensive Cowley's moral Lay.

Sages and Chiefs long since had birth
E're Cæsar was, or Newton nam'd,
These rais'd new Empires o'er the Earth,
And Those new Heav'ns and Systems fram'd;

Vain was the chief's and sage's pride
They had no Poet and they dyd!
In vain they schem'd, in vain they bled
They had no Poet and are dead!

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8. See *Ep.* II i 75*n.*

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF HORACE, IMITATED by Mr. *POPE*.

Ludentis speciem dabit & torquebitur—[HOR. *Ep. II. ii. 124.*]

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace was first published as a 20-page folio in 1737. The text was revised when the poem was printed in a volume of the collected works in octavo in 1738. All but two of these revisions are found in Warburton's text (1751). For these two he reverts to the readings of the first edition, a change for which he may have had Pope's authority. The present text follows Warburton's, but observes the punctuation and typography of the first edition. The Latin text is reprinted from the octavo of 1738, in which it first appeared in full; for in the first edition, only the initial line of each paragraph is printed.

*

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1737 = First edition, Griffith 447.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

[Q. HORATII FLACCI EP. II. LIB. II.]

FLORE, *bono claróque fidelis amice Neroni,*
Si quis fortè velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis: & tecum sic agat: "Hic &
"Candidus, & talos à vertice pulcher ad imos,
"Fiet erítque tuus nummorum millibus octo,
"Verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus heriles,
"Litterulis Græcis imbutus, idoneus arti
"Cuilibet: argillâ quidvis imitaberis udâ;
"Quin etiam canet indoctum, sed dulce bibenti.
"Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi pleniùs æquo
"Laudet venales, qui vult extrudere, merces.
"Res urget me nulla: meo sum pauper in ære.
"Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi: non temere à me
"Quivis ferret idem, semel hic cessavit: &, ut fit,
"In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenæ.
"Des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga *lædat.*

Ille ferat pretium, pœna securus, opinor.
Prudens emisti viciosum: dicta tibi est lex.
Insequeris tamen hunc, & lite moraris iniquâ.

---

1. *Dear Col'nel*] His identity has not yet been determined. Warton, without stating his evidence, declared him to be Colonel Cotterell, of Rousham, near Oxford; but I have been unable to substantiate this. Besides being a friend of Cobham, the colonel was a peer (l. 14), and was the *tenant* of Abscourt farm, near Walton-on-Thames (ll. 232–3), the *owner* of which was George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, then a youth of twenty-one. The parish records show that Halifax regularly paid his poor rate as one of the inhabitants, but this is not a final proof of his residence. Who his tenant was I do not know.

4. *Blois*] Blois seems to have owed its reputation as a town in which French was spoken with exceptional purity to Charles Maupas, who established him-

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF *HORACE*

DEAR Col'nel! *Cobham*'s and your Country's Friend!
You love a Verse, take such as I can send.
A Frenchman comes, presents you with his Boy,
Bows and begins.—"This Lad, Sir, is of Blois:
"Observe his Shape how clean! his Locks how curl'd!
"My only Son, I'd have him see the World:
"His French is pure; his Voice too—you shall hear—
"Sir, he's your Slave, for twenty pound a year.
"Mere Wax as yet, you fashion him with ease,
"Your Barber, Cook, Upholst'rer, what you please.
"A perfect Genius at an Opera-Song—
"To say too much, might do my Honour wrong:
"Take him with all his Virtues, on my word;
"His whole Ambition was to serve a Lord,
"But Sir, to you, with what wou'd I not part?
"Tho' faith, I fear 'twill break his Mother's heart.
"Once, (and but once) I caught him in a Lye,
"And then, unwhipp'd, he had the grace to cry:
"The Fault he has I fairly shall reveal,
"(Cou'd you o'erlook but that)—it is, to steal.
If, after this, you took the graceless Lad,
Cou'd you complain, my Friend, he prov'd so bad?
Faith, in such case, if you should prosecute,

---

self there at the end of the sixteenth century and taught French to "many lords and gentlemen of divers nations." Its reputation in England in the second half of the seventeenth century was consolidated by a group of French teachers who came to London from Blois and taught its accent. Of these, the most famous were Claude Mauger and Paul Festeau. Festeau's grammar, which reached a sixth edition in 1701, was advertised as the work of a "native of *Blois*, where the true tone of the French Tongue is found" (Arber, *Term. Cat.* iii 280). See K. Lambley, *The French Language in England* (1920). Blois is in Touraine, and Professor Audra tells me that the Tourangeau accent is still thought better than that of either the North or the South of France.

Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi
Talibus officiis prope mancum: ne mea sævus
Jurgares ad te quod epistola nulla veniret.
Quid tum profeci, mecum facientia jura
Si tamen attentas? quereris super hoc etiam, quod
Exspectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.
Luculli miles collecta viatica, multis
Ærumnis lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
Perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupus, & sibi & hosti
Iratus pariter, jejunis dentibus acer,
Præsidium regale loco dejecit, ut aiunt,
Summè munito, & multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum, donis ornatur honestis,
Accipit & bis dena super sestertia nummûm.
Forte sub hoc tempus castellum *evertere prætor*
Nescio quod *cupiens, hortari cœpit eundem*
Verbis, quæ timido quoque possent addere mentem:
I bone, quo virtus tua te vocat: i pede fausto,
Grandia laturus meritorum præmia. quid stas?
Post hæc ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, "Ibit,
"Ibit eo, quo vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.

Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri,

24. *Sir Godfry*] An eminent Justice of Peace, who decided much in the manner of Sancho Pança [P. *1738–51*]. Sir Godfrey Kneller. "This alluded to his dismissing a soldier who had stolen a joint of meat, and accused the butcher of having tempted him by it" (Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ii 210).

43. *some Reward*] a departure from the Latin in order to reflect upon Marl-

I think Sir Godfry should decide the Suit;
Who sent the Thief that stole the Cash, away,
And punish'd him that put it in his way.
Consider then, and judge me in this light;
I told you when I went, I could not write;
You said the same; and are you discontent
With Laws, to which you gave your own assent?
Nay worse, to ask for Verse at such a time!
D'ye think me good for nothing but to rhime?
In ANNA's Wars, a Soldier poor and old,
Had dearly earn'd a little purse of Gold:
Tir'd with a tedious March, one luckless night,
He slept, poor Dog! and lost it, to a doit.
This put the Man in such a desp'rate Mind,
Between Revenge, and Grief, and Hunger join'd,
Against the Foe, himself, and all Mankind,
He leapt the Trenches, scal'd a Castle-Wall,
Tore down a Standard, took the Fort and all.
"Prodigious well!" his great Commander cry'd,
Gave him much Praise, and some Reward beside.
Next pleas'd his Excellence a Town to batter;
(Its Name I know not, and it's no great matter)
"Go on, my Friend (he cry'd) see yonder Walls!
"Advance and conquer! go where Glory calls!
"More Honours, more Rewards, attend the Brave"—
Don't you remember what Reply he gave?
"D'ye think me, noble Gen'ral, such a Sot?
"Let him take Castles who has ne'er a Groat."
Bred up at home, full early I begun

25 that] who *1737*.

borough's avarice.

52–3. Spence's account confirms this: "Mr Pope's first education was under a priest, and I think his name was Banister. He set out with the design of teaching him Latin and Greek together." Then, after quoting Pope's story of his meagre schooling up to the age of twelve, he continues (in Pope's words): "When I had

Iratus Graiis quantùm nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ:
Scilicet ut possem curvo *dignoscere* rectum,
Atque inter silvas Academi quærere *verum.*
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato;
Civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma,
Cæsaris Augusti *non responsura lacertis.*
Unde simul primùm me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris *& fundi, paupertas impulit audax*
Ut versus facerem: sed, quod non desit, habentem,
Quæ *poterunt unquam satis expurgare* cicutæ,
Ni melius dormire putem, quàm scribere versus?

done with my priests, I took to reading by myself . . . and in a few years I had dipped into a great number of the English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets" (pp. 192, 3).

57. *Maudlin*] He had a partiality for this College in Oxford, in which he had spent many agreeable days with his friend Mr. Digby [Warton].

60. *certain Laws*] The following were the most important repressive measures taken against the Catholics during Pope's life-time. (1) 1 Wm and M., 9, "for the amoving papists . . . from the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles distance from the same." (2) 11 Wm III, 4, which forbade priests to say mass or catholic schoolmasters to teach, under pain of perpetual imprisonment. Catholics were disabled from inheriting or purchasing land, and were forced to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. (3) 1 Geo. I, st. 2, c. 13, which provided that the oaths should be tendered to all suspected papists, who, if they refused to take them, would be deprived of employment in the civil service, the defence forces, and the legal profession, etc. (4) 1 Geo. I, st. 2, c. 50, 55, passed as an act of reprisal after the 1715 rebellion. By it all Catholics were compelled to register their names and real estates; two-thirds of each estate were to be appropriated for the use of the public, either "by seizing the said two-third part . . . or by laying some tax or charge upon their estates in lieu thereof." (5)

To read in Greek, the Wrath of Peleus' Son.
Besides, my Father taught me from a Lad,
The better Art to know the good from bad:
(And little sure imported to remove,
To hunt for Truth in *Maudlin*'s learned Grove.)
But knottier Points we knew not half so well,
Depriv'd us soon of our Paternal Cell;
And certain Laws, by Suff'rers thought unjust,
Deny'd all Posts of Profit or of Trust:
Hopes after Hopes of pious Papists fail'd,
While mighty WILLIAM's thundring Arm prevail'd.
For Right Hereditary tax'd and fin'd,
He stuck to Poverty with Peace of Mind;
And me, the Muses help'd to undergo it;
Convict a Papist He, and I a Poet.
But (thanks to *Homer*) since I live and thrive,
Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive,
Sure I should want the Care of ten *Monroes*,
If I would scribble, rather than repose.

9 Geo. I, 18, which provided for £100,000 to be assessed on all papists over and above the double taxes by land tax mentioned in No. 4. Lecky believed that these acts were not rigorously enforced at all times (i 342–55); nevertheless it appears that Pope had to vacate his house at Twickenham when the court went to Hampton Court (Pope to Allen, Oct. 10 [1738?], Egerton MS. 1947, f. 28^{v}), and owing to the issue of a proclamation in April 1744, he found it inadvisable to come to town for medical attention in his last illness (EC ix 241). See also EC vi 283.

62. *Hopes* &c.] William III came from a country where religious liberty had been established; he had promised the Emperor to procure a repeal of the penal laws; and on his arrival in England he had promised freedom of conscience to all who would live peaceably. But though he prevented persecuting laws being passed against the Catholics at the beginning of his reign, he was unable to induce Parliament to agree to the fulfilment of his promises. See Lecky, i 343, 4.

63. Imitated from *Iliad*, ix 666:

While Meleager's thundering arm prevail'd.

70. *Monroes*] *Dr.* MONROE, *Physician to Bedlam Hospital* [P. *1737–51*]. See Biog. App.

Singula de nobis anni prædantur *euntes;*
Eripuere jocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
Tendunt extorquere poemata. quid faciam vis?

Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque.
Carmine tu gaudes: hic delectatur iambis;
Ille Bioneis sermonibus, & sale nigro.
Tres mihi convivæ prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multùm diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod jubet alter:
Quod petis, id sanè est invisum acidumque duobus.

Præter cætera, me Romæne *poemata censes*
Scribere posse, inter tot curas totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
Omnibus officiis: cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremo in Aventino; visendus uterque.
Intervalla vides humane commoda! "Verum
"*Puræ sunt plateæ, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.*"
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor;
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum:
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris:
Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus.

72. *Years foll'wing Years*] "I heartily thank you for those lines translated, *Singula de nobis anni, &c.* You have put them in a strong and admirable light." Swift to Pope, Feb. 9, 1736–7. See *Ep.* II i 221*n.*

Years foll'wing Years, steal something ev'ry day,
At last they steal us from our selves away;
In one our Frolicks, one Amusements end,
In one a Mistress drops, in one a Friend:
This subtle Thief of Life, this paltry Time,
What will it leave me, if it snatch my Rhime?
If ev'ry Wheel of that unweary'd Mill
That turn'd ten thousand Verses, now stands still.
But after all, what wou'd you have me do?
When out of twenty I can please not two;
When this Heroicks only deigns to praise,
Sharp Satire that, and that Pindaric lays?
One likes the Pheasant's wing, and one the leg;
The Vulgar boil, the Learned roast an Egg;
Hard Task! to hit the Palate of such Guests,
When Oldfield loves, what Dartineuf detests.
But grant I may relapse, for want of Grace,
Again to rhime, can *London* be the Place?
Who there his Muse, or Self, or Soul attends?
In Crouds and Courts, Law, Business, Feasts and Friends?
My Counsel sends to execute a Deed:
A Poet begs me, I will hear him read:
In Palace-Yard at Nine you'll find me there—
At Ten for certain, Sir, in Bloomsb'ry-Square—
Before the Lords at Twelve my Cause comes on—
There's a Rehearsal, Sir, exact at One.—
"Oh but a Wit can study in the Streets,
"And raise his Mind above the Mob he meets."
Not quite so well however as one ought;
A Hackney-Coach may chance to spoil a Thought,
And then a nodding Beam, or Pig of Lead,

87 Dartineuf] Dar---n--f *1737*.

76. Pope had in mind the first line of Milton's sonnet:
How soon hath Time the suttle theef of youth . . .
87. *Oldfield*] See *Sat.* II ii 25. For Dartineuf, see Biog. App.

I nunc, & versus tecum *meditare canoros.*
Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, *&* fugit urbes,
Rite cliens Bacchi, somno gaudentis & umbra.
Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
Vis canere, & contacta sequi vestigia vatum?

Ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumsit Athenas,
Et studiis annos septem *dedit, insenuitque*
Libris & curis, statuâ taciturnius exit
Plerumque, & risu populum quatit: hìc ego rerum
Fluctibus in mediis, & tempestatibus Urbis,
Verba lyrae motura sonum connectere digner?

Frater erat Romæ Consulti Rhetor; ut alter
Alterius sermone meros audiret honores:
Gracchus ut hic illi foret, hic ut Mucius illi.
Quî minùs argutos vexat furor iste poetas?

104. *Guild-hall's . . . Pass*] i.e. Guildhall Alley, a narrow passage, not named on the maps, leading from Basinghall street to the back of the Guildhall. See Ogilby and Morgan's Map (1677), fascimile published by London and Msx Archaeolog. Soc., and H. A. Harben's *Dictionary of London* [EJD].

107. *S—r—v—nce*] Sir-reverence, i.e. human excrement.

Carr] Since this word was normally used in the sense of "triumphal chariot" (cf. *Dunciad*, iv 133, *Dia.* i 151), the line would seem more ludicrous to eighteenth-century than to modern readers.

God knows, may hurt the very ablest Head.
Have you not seen at Guild-hall's narrow Pass,
Two Aldermen dispute it with an Ass?
And Peers give way, exalted as they are,
Ev'n to their own S-r-v--nce in a Carr?
Go, lofty Poet! and in such a Croud,
Sing thy sonorous Verse—but not aloud.
Alas! to Grotto's and to Groves we run,
To Ease and Silence, ev'ry Muse's Son:
Blackmore himself, for any grand Effort,
Would drink and doze at *Tooting* or *Earl's-Court.*
How shall I rhime in this eternal Roar?
How match the Bards whom none e'er match'd before?
The Man, who stretch'd in Isis' calm Retreat
To Books and Study gives sev'n years compleat,
See! strow'd with learned dust, his Night-cap on,
He walks, an Object new beneath the Sun!
The Boys flock round him, and the People stare:
So stiff, so mute! some Statue, you would swear,
Stept from its Pedestal to take the Air.
And here, while Town, and Court, and City roars,
With Mobs, and Duns, and Soldiers, at their doors;
Shall I, in *London*, act this idle part?
Composing Songs, for Fools to get by heart?
The *Temple* late two Brother Sergeants saw,
Who deem'd each other Oracles of Law;
With equal Talents, these congenial Souls
One lull'd th' *Exchequer*, and one stunn'd the *Rolls;*

113. *Tooting or Earl's-Court*] Two Villages within a few [3 or 4 *1737*] Miles of London [P. *1737–51*]. Blackmore had a country house at Earl's Court (Hughes, *Letters*, 1772, i 145). He had stated in the preface to his revised edition of *King Arthur* (1697), p. v, that "*for the greatest part that* Poem *was written in* Coffee-houses, *and in passing up and down the Streets; because I had little leisure elsewhere to apply it.*"

117. *sev'n years*] the term for completing the M.A. degree.

Carmina *compono, hic* elegos; "*mirabile visu!*
"*Caelatumque novem Musis opus!*" *Adspice primùm,*
Quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus ædem.
Mox etiam (si forte vacas) sequere, & procul audi,
Quid ferat, & quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
Cædimur, & totidem plagis consumimus hostem,
Lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
Discedo Alcæus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
Quis, nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere visus,
Fit Mimnermus, & optivo cognomine crescit.

Multa fero, ut placeam genus irritabile vatum,
Cùm scribo, & supplex populi suffragia capto:
Idem, finitis studiis, & mente receptâ,
Obturem patulas impunè legentibus *aures.*

Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina: verùm
Gaudent scribentes, & se venerantur, & ultro,
Si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere, beati.
At qui legitimum *cupiet fecisse poema,*
Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti:
Audebit quæcunque parum splendoris *habebunt,*
Et sine pondere *erunt, &* honore indigna *ferentur,*

---

139. *Lord . . . strut*] perhaps suggested by Creech's version:

See how we strut . . .

Merlin's Cave] See *Ep.* II i 355*n.*

140. *Stephen*] Stephen Duck. See Biog. App.

146. Wakefield notes the imitation of Dryden's Virgil, *Ecl.* iii 162:

Each had a Gravity wou'd make you split,
And shook his head at *Murray*, as a Wit.
'Twas, "Sir your Law"—and "Sir, your Eloquence"—
"Yours *Cowper*'s Manner—and yours *Talbot*'s Sense."
Thus we dispose of all poetic Merit,
Yours *Milton*'s Genius, and mine *Homer*'s Spirit.
Call *Tibbald Shakespear*, and he'll swear the Nine
Dear *Cibber!* never match'd one Ode of thine.
Lord! how we strut thro' *Merlin*'s Cave, to see
No Poets there, but *Stephen*, you, and me.
Walk with respect behind, while we at ease
Weave Laurel Crowns, and take what Names we please.
"My dear *Tibullus!*" if that will not do,
"Let me be *Horace*, and be *Ovid* you.
"Or, I'm content, allow me *Dryden*'s strains,
"And you shall rise up *Otway* for your pains."
Much do I suffer, much, to keep in peace
This jealous, waspish, wrong-head, rhiming Race;
And much must flatter, if the Whim should bite
To court applause by printing what I write:
But let the Fit pass o'er, I'm wise enough,
To stop my ears to their confounded stuff.
In vain, bad Rhimers all mankind reject,
They treat themselves with most profound respect;
'Tis to small purpose that you hold your tongue,
Each prais'd within, is happy all day long.
But how severely with themselves proceed
The Men, who write such Verse as we can read?
Their own strict Judges, not a word they spare

132 *Murray*] *M----y 1737-43.* 150 court] seek *1737.*

Tell that, and rise a *Phœbus* for thy pains.

148. Both Creech and Pope translate *irritabile* by *waspish*. But perhaps the rendering would not appear uncommon to a contemporary.

159. *Their own strict Judges*] an echo of *Temple of Fame*, 167:

His own strict Judge . . .

Verba movere loco; quamvis invita *recedant,*
Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestæ:
Obscurata *diu populo* bonus *eruet, atque*
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
Nunc situs informis premit & deserta vetustas:
Adsciscet nova, *quæ* genitor produxerit usus:
Vehemens & liquidus, *puroque simillimus amni,*
Fundet *opes, Latiumque beabit divite linguâ:*
Luxuriantia compescet: nimis aspera sano
Levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet.
Ludentis *speciem dabit,* & torquebitur; *ut qui*
Nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur:

Prætulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent *mala me, vel denique* fallant,
Quàm sapere, & ringi. Fuit haud ignobilis *Argis,*
Qui se credebat miros audire tragœdos,
In vacuo *lætus sessor plausorque* theatro:
Cætera qui vitæ servaret munia recto
More; bonus sanè vicinus, amabilis *hospes,*
Comes *in uxorem;* posset *qui ignoscere servis,*
Et signo læso non insanire *lagenæ:*

168. The writings of Bacon and Raleigh were still easily accessible. *B.M. Cat.* records that an edition of Bacon's *Works* was published in 1730, of the *Philosophical Works* in 1733, of the *Essays* in 1701, 1706, and 1720, of the *Letters* in 1702, 1734, and 1736. An edition of Raleigh's *Remains* was published in 1702; in the same year his grandson published the *Three Discourses* on war and eccle-

That wants or Force, or Light, or Weight, or Care,
Howe'er unwillingly it quits its place,
Nay tho' at Court (perhaps) it may find grace:
Such they'll degrade; and sometimes, in its stead,
In downright Charity revive the dead;
Mark where a bold expressive Phrase appears,
Bright thro' the rubbish of some hundred years;
Command old words that long have slept, to wake,
Words, that wise *Bacon*, or brave *Raleigh* spake;
Or bid the new be *English*, Ages hence,
(For Use will father what's begot by Sense)
Pour the full Tide of Eloquence along,
Serenely pure, and yet divinely strong,
Rich with the Treasures of each foreign Tongue;
Prune the luxuriant, the uncouth refine,
But show no mercy to an empty line;
Then polish all, with so much life and ease,
You think 'tis Nature, and a knack to please:
"But Ease in writing flows from Art, not Chance,
"As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance.
If such the Plague and pains to write by rule,
Better (say I) be pleas'd, and play the fool;
Call, if you will, bad Rhiming a disease,
It gives men happiness, or leaves them ease.
There liv'd, *in primo Georgii* (they record)
A worthy Member, no small Fool, a Lord;
Who, tho' the House was up, delighted sate,
Heard, noted, answer'd, as in full Debate:
In all but this, a man of sober Life,

168 Words, that] Such as *1737*.

siastical power; and in 1736, Oldys produced his edition of the *History of the World*. When talking over the design of a standard English Dictionary with Warburton, Pope accepted Bacon as an authority but rejected Raleigh as "too affected" (Spence, p. 310).

178–9. Slightly altered from *E. on C.*, ll. 362–3.

Posset *qui rupem, & puteum vitare patentem.*
Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus
Expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco,
Et redit ad sese: "Pol me occidistis, amici,
Non servastis, ait; cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demtus per vim mentis gratissimus error.

Nimirum sapere est abjectis utile nugis,
Et tempestivum pueris *concedere ludum;*
Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
Sed veræ numerosque modosque *ediscere* vitæ.

Quocirca mecum *loquor hæc, tacitusque recordor:*

Si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphæ,
Narrares medicis: quod quanto plura parasti,
Tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?

Si vulnus tibi monstratâ radice vel herbâ

198 *plain*] then *1737*.

190. EC compares "the standard of female self-restraint" in *Moral Es.* ii 268:

And Mistress of herself, tho' China fall.

208. EC observes that Pope leaves Horace here to borrow from Boileau (*Ep.* vi 27–8):

Fond of his Friend, and civil to his Wife,
Not quite a Mad-man, tho' a Pasty fell,
And much too wise to walk into a Well:
Him, the damn'd Doctors and his Friends immur'd,
They bled, they cupp'd, they purg'd; in short, they cur'd:
Whereat the Gentleman began to stare—
My Friends? he cry'd, p—x take you for your care!
That from a Patriot of distinguish'd note,
Have bled and purg'd me to a simple *Vote*.
Well, on the whole, *plain* Prose must be my fate:
Wisdom (curse on it) will come soon or late.
There is a time when Poets will grow dull:
I'll e'en leave Verses to the Boys at school:
To Rules of Poetry no more confin'd,
I learn to smooth and harmonize my Mind,
Teach ev'ry Thought within its bounds to roll,
And keep the equal Measure of the Soul.
Soon as I enter at my Country door,
My Mind resumes the thread it dropt before;
Thoughts, which at Hyde-Park-Corner I forgot,
Meet and rejoin me, in the pensive Grott.
There all alone, and Compliments apart,
I ask these sober questions of my Heart.
If, when the more you drink, the more you crave,
You tell the Doctor; when the more you have,
The more you want, why not with equal ease
Confess as well your Folly, as Disease?
The Heart resolves this matter in a trice,
"Men only feel the Smart, but not the Vice."
When golden Angels cease to cure the Evil,

209 the]my *1737*.

Tantôt, cherchant la fin d'un vers que je construi,
Je trouve au coin d'un bois le mot qui m'avait fui.

Hyde Park Corner was on the outskirts of London in Pope's day.

218. It was generally believed as late as Stuart times that King's Evil (i.e.

Non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herbâ
Proficiente nihil curarier: audieras, cui
Rem Dî donarent, illi decedere pravam
Stultitiam; & cùm sis nihilo sapientior, ex quo
Plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus iisdem?

At si divitiæ prudentem reddere possent,
Si cupidum timidumque minùs te: nempe ruberes,
Viveret in terris te si quis avarior uno.

Si proprium *est, quod quis librâ mercatur & ære est,*
Quædam (*si credis* consultis) *mancipat* usus:
Qui te pascit ager, tuus est; & villicus Orbi,
Cùm segetes occat, tibi mox frumenta daturus,
Te dominum sentit—
—das nummos; accipis uvam,
Pullos, ova, cadum temeti: nempe modo isto
Paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis,
Aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emtum.
Quid refert vivas numerato nuper, *an* olim?
Emtor Aricini quondam, Veientis & arvi,
Emtor cœnat olus, quamvis aliter putat; emtis

222 *D---*] Duke *1738–43*. 229 *D****] vile Van-muck *1738–43*.

Scrofula) could be cured by the royal touch. Queen Anne "touched," but the power was not claimed for George I or subsequent kings. The angel was a gold coin presented by the king to each patient. "When it ceased to be coined, small medals having the same device were substituted for it, and were hence called *touch-pieces*" [OED]. See *Macbeth*, IV iii 141–56.

220. *servile Chaplains* &c.] Taken as alluding to White Kennett, who was believed to have owed his promotion to the deanery of Peterborough in 1708 to a funeral sermon preached on the first Duke of Devonshire in the previous year. Kennett had died in 1728, and the second Duke in 1729. Pattison plausibly suggests that the old story was resurrected in order to insult the third Duke, a steady supporter of Walpole. See Biog. App., Cavendish.

229, var. *vile Van-muck*] The reading of *1738* (and subsequent lifetime editions).

You give all royal Witchcraft to the Devil:
When servile Chaplains cry, that Birth and Place
Indue a Peer with Honour, Truth, and Grace,
Look in that Breast, most dirty *D——!* be fair,
Say, can you find out one such Lodger there?
Yet still, not heeding what your Heart can teach,
You go to Church to hear these Flatt'rers preach.
  Indeed, could Wealth bestow or Wit or Merit,
A grain of Courage, or a spark of Spirit,
The wisest Man might blush, I must agree,
If *D* * * * lov'd Sixpence, more than he.
  If there be truth in Law, and *Use* can give
A *Property*, that's yours on which you live.
Delightful *Abs-court*, if its Fields afford
Their Fruits to you, confesses you its Lord:
All Worldly's Hens, nay Partridge, sold to town,
His Ven'son too, a Guinea makes your own:
He bought at thousands, what with better wit
You purchase as you want, and bit by bit;
Now, or long since, what diff'rence will be found?
You pay a Penny, and he paid a Pound.
  Heathcote himself, and such large-acred Men,
Lords of fat *E'sham*, or of Lincoln Fen,

234 Worldly's] He---te's *1737*. 240 Heathcote] H—te *1737*.

Pope is reflecting on Joshua [?] Vanneck, who in the autumn of 1738 had offered to buy Dawley Farm from Bolingbroke at a price which proved unacceptable. See further, Biog. App.

*D**** stands for *Devonshire* (see l. 220*n*).

232. The estate of Apps-Court (or Abscourt), near Walton-on-Thames, was at this time owned by the Earl of Halifax (see l. 1*n*). It has since been excavated to form a reservoir.

232–3. Creech translates the passage:

> ... The fruitful Clod, that must afford
> Good Corn to Thee, confesses thee his Lord.

234. *Worldly*] i.e. Wortley Montagu. Cf. *Sat.* II ii 51.

Sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat ahenum.
Sed vocat *usque* suum, *quâ populus adsita certis*
Limitibus vicina refugit jurgia: tanquam
Sit proprium *quidquam, puncto quod mobilis horæ,*
Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc sorte supremâ
Permutet dominos, & cedat in altera jura.

Sic, quia perpetuus *nulli datur* usus, *& hæres*
Hæredem alterius, velut unda supervenit undam:
Quid vici *prosunt, aut* horrea? *quidve Calabris*
Saltibus adjecti Lucani; si metit Orcus
Grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?

Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas,
Sunt qui non habeant; est qui non curet habere.

Cur alter fratrum cessare, & ludere, & ungi,
Præferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus; alter
Dives & importunus, *ad umbram lucis ab ortu*

247. *Perpetuity*] "Unlimited duration; exemption from intermission or ceasing, where, though all who have interest should join in a covenant, they could not bar or pass the estate. It is odious in law, destructive to the commonwealth, and an impediment to commerce, by preventing the wholesome circulation of property" [Wharton's *Law Lexicon*].

248. Pope had already treated this theme at the conclusion of *Sat.* II ii.

256. The year before this *Imitation* was written, Lord Bathurst had consulted

Buy every stick of Wood that lends them heat,
Buy every Pullet they afford to eat.
Yet these are Wights, who fondly call their own
Half that the Dev'l o'erlooks from Lincoln Town.
The Laws of God, as well as of the Land,
Abhor, a *Perpetuity* should stand:
Estates have wings, and hang in Fortune's pow'r
Loose on the point of ev'ry wav'ring Hour;
Ready, by force, or of your own accord,
By sale, at least by death, to change their Lord.
Man? and *for ever?* Wretch! what wou'dst thou have?
Heir urges Heir, like Wave impelling Wave:
All vast Possessions (just the same the case
Whether you call them Villa, Park, or Chace)
Alas, my BATHURST! what will they avail?
Join *Cotswold* Hills to *Saperton*'s fair Dale,
Let rising Granaries and Temples here,
There mingled Farms and Pyramids appear,
Link Towns to Towns with Avenues of Oak,
Enclose whole Downs in Walls, 'tis all a joke!
Inexorable Death shall level all,
And Trees, and Stones, and Farms, and Farmer fall.
Gold, Silver, Iv'ry, Vases sculptur'd high,
Paint, Marble, Gems, and Robes of *Persian* Dye,
There are who have not—and thank Heav'n there are
Who, if they have not, think not worth their care.
Talk what you will of Taste, my Friend, you'll find,
Two of a Face, as soon as of a Mind.
Why, of two Brothers, rich and restless one

Pope about some alterations to his seat near Cirencester: "Besides this you will see that I have brought a great quantity of very good hewn stone from the old house at Saperton to the great centre in Oakley wood. Nothing is wanting but your direction to set the work forward. I have also begun to level the hill before the house, and an obelisk shall rise upon your orders to terminate the view" (Aug. 14, 1736); but Pope preferr'd "a solid pyramid of a hundred feet square, to the end there may be something solid and lasting of your works" (Sept. 15).

Silvestrem flammis & ferro mitiget agrum;
Scit Genius, *natale comes qui temperat astrum:*
NATURÆ DEUS HUMANÆ, *mortalis in unum—*
Quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus & ater.

Utar, & ex modico, quantum res poscit, acervo
Tollam; nec metuam, quid de me judicet hæres,
Quod non plura datis *invenerit. & tamen idem*
Scire volam, quantùm simplex hilarisque nepoti
Discrepet, & quantum discordet parcus avaro;
Distat enim, spargas tua prodigus, an neque sumtum
Invitus facias, neque plura parare labores;
An potiùs, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,
Exiguo gratoque *fruaris tempore* raptim.

Pauperies immunda domûs procul absit. ego, utrûm
Nave ferar magnà *an* parvâ; *ferar* unus & idem.
Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo:
Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris.
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,

273. The Grosvenor family had owned coal mines in North Wales since the sixteenth century (G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, 1875, ii 836). When Pope wrote, they had only recently started to develop their Westminster property, which was to add so greatly to the family wealth. For Townshend, see Biog. App.

Ploughs, burns, manures, and toils from Sun to Sun;
The other slights, for Women, Sports, and Wines,
All *Townshend*'s Turnips, and all *Grovenor*'s Mines:
Why one like *Bu*— with Pay and Scorn content,
Bows and votes on, in Court and Parliament;
One, driv'n by strong Benevolence of Soul,
Shall fly, like *Oglethorp*, from Pole to Pole:
Is known alone to that Directing Pow'r,
Who forms the Genius in the natal Hour;
That God of Nature, who, within us still,
Inclines our Action, not constrains our Will;
Various of Temper, as of Face or Frame,
Each Individual: His great End the same.
  Yes, Sir, how small soever be my heap,
A part I will enjoy, as well as keep.
My Heir may sigh, and think it want of Grace
A man so poor wou'd live without a *Place:*
But sure no Statute in his favour says,
How free, or frugal, I shall pass my days:
I, who at some times spend, at others spare,
Divided between Carelesness and Care.
'Tis one thing madly to disperse my store,
Another, not to heed to treasure more;
Glad, like a Boy, to snatch the first good day,
And pleas'd, if sordid Want be far away.
  What is't to me (a Passenger God wot)
Whether my Vessel be first-rate or not?
The Ship it self may make a better figure,
But I that sail, am neither less nor bigger.
I neither strut with ev'ry fav'ring breath,

274. *Bu*—] Bubb Dodington.

288. *no Statute*] See l. 60*n. supra.*

300. *strut*] swell, or protrude. Pope contrasts the picture of a man swaggering along, head back and chest puffed out, with that of a man forcing his way, head forward, against a strong wind.

Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.

Non es avarus: abi. quid? cætera jam simul isto
Cum vitio fugere? caret tibi pectus inani
Ambitione? caret mortis formidine & irâ?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala rides?
Natales gratè numeras? ignoscis amicis?
Lenior & melior fis accedente senectâ?
Quid te exemta juvat spinis de pluribus una?

Vivere si rectè nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satìs, edisti satìs, atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est: ne potum largiùs æque
Rideat, & pulset lasciva decentiùs ætas.

Nor strive with all the Tempest in my teeth.
In Pow'r, Wit, Figure, Virtue, Fortune, plac'd
Behind the foremost, and before the last.
"But why all this of Av'rice? I have none."
I wish you joy, Sir, of a Tyrant gone;
But does no other lord it at this hour,
As wild and mad? the Avarice of Pow'r?
Does neither Rage inflame, nor Fear appall?
Not the black Fear of Death, that saddens all?
With Terrors round can Reason hold her throne,
Despise the known, nor tremble at th' unknown?
Survey both Worlds, intrepid and entire,
In spight of Witches, Devils, Dreams, and Fire?
Pleas'd to look forward, pleas'd to look behind,
And count each Birth-day with a grateful mind?
Has Life no sourness, drawn so near its end?
Can'st thou endure a Foe, forgive a Friend?
Has Age but melted the rough parts away,
As Winter-fruits grow mild e'er they decay?
Or will you think, my Friend, your business done,
When, of a hundred thorns, you pull out one?
Learn to live well, or fairly make your Will;
You've play'd, and lov'd, and eat, and drank your fill:
Walk sober off; before a sprightlier Age
Comes titt'ring on, and shoves you from the stage:
Leave such to trifle with more grace and ease,
Whom Folly pleases, and whose Follies please.

FINIS

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF HORACE, IMITATED.

Ne Rubeam, pingui donatus Munere!—HOR. [*Ep. II. i. 267.*]

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated was first published as a 28-page folio in 1737. The text was revised when the poem was reprinted for inclusion in a volume of the collected works in octavo in 1738. A few more revisions were made at a later date which were first incorporated in Warburton's text (1751). The present text follows Warburton's, but observes the punctuation and typography of the first edition. The Latin text is reprinted from the octavo of 1738, in which it first appeared in full.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1737 = First edition, Griffith 458.
1737*b* = Edition in octavo, Griffith 459.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.
TPQ = Thick Paper Quarto of uncertain date, Griffith 514?

ADVERTISEMENT

THE *Reflections of* Horace, *and the Judgments past in his Epistle to* Augustus, *seem'd so seasonable to the present Times, that I could not help applying them to the use of my own Country. The Author thought them considerable enough to address them to His Prince; whom he paints with all the great and good Qualities of a Monarch, upon whom the* Romans *depended for the Encrease of an* Absolute Empire. *But to make the Poem entirely English, I was willing to add one or two of those which contribute to the Happiness of a* Free People, *and are more consistent with the Welfare of* our Neighbours.

This Epistle will show the learned World to have fallen into two mistakes; one, that Augustus was a Patron of Poets in general; *whereas he not only prohibited all but the Best Writers to name him, but recommended that Care even to the Civil Magistrate:* Admonebat Prætores, ne paterentur Nomen suum obsolefieri, *&c. The other, that this Piece was only a* general Discourse of Poetry; *whereas it was an* Apology for the Poets, *in order to render* Augustus *more their Patron.* Horace *here pleads the Cause of his Cotemporaries, first against the Taste of the Town, whose humour it was to magnify the Authors of the preceding Age; secondly against the Court and Nobility, who encouraged only the Writers for the Theatre; and lastly against the Emperor himself, who had conceived them of*

1 *his*] *this 1737.*
7 *of those which*] *such, as 1737: of those Virtues which 1738–43.*
14 *The other, that*] *The other to imagine 1737.*
14 *was only*] *to be 1737.* 15 *was*] *is 1737.*

4. This poem is addressed to George II, also christened Augustus; but since the king was openly contemptuous of letters, and Pope (and the Opposition for whom he is speaking) disliked the Court, the compliments, imitated from those sincerely paid by Horace to Augustus, are to be construed ironically. The contrast between the two Augustuses occurred independently to Hervey, who writes: "Not that there was any similitude between the two princes who presided in the Roman and English Augustan ages besides their names, for George Augustus neither loved learning nor encouraged men of letters, nor were there any Maecenases about him. There was another very material difference too between these two Augustuses. For as personal courage was the only quality necessary to form a great prince which the one was suspected to want, so I fear it was the only one the other was ever thought to possess" (*Memoirs*, p. 261).

13. *Admonebat* &c] from Suetonius, *Augustus*, sect. 89.

little use to the Government. He shews (by a view of the Progress of Learning, and the Change of Taste among the Romans) *that the Introduction of the Polite Arts of* Greece *had given the Writers of his Time great advantages over their Predecessors, that their* Morals *were much improved, and the Licence of those ancient Poets restrained: that* Satire *and* Comedy *were become more just and useful; that whatever extravagancies were left on the Stage, were owing to the Ill Taste of the Nobility; that Poets, under due Regulations, were in many respects useful to the* State; *and concludes, that it was upon them the Emperor himself must depend, for his Fame with Posterity.*

We may farther learn from this Epistle, that Horace *made his Court to this Great Prince, by writing with a decent Freedom toward him, with a just Contempt of his low Flatterers, and with a manly Regard to his own Character.*

[Q. HORATII FLACCI EP. I. LIB. II.]

CUM *tot sustineas & tanta negotia, solus;*
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes; in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar.

Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Castore Pollux,
Post ingentia facta, Deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros adsignant, oppida condunt;
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit Hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit Invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes
Infra se positas: extinctus amabitur idem.

Præsenti Tibi maturos *largimur honores:*

HORACE] *1751 adds the sub-title* To AUGUSTUS, *which had been used in advertisements in the London Evening Post, July 28, 1737, and*

1. *sustain . . . World*] Pope seems to imply that Walpole's pacific policy prevented England from taking her full part in foreign affairs.

2. *open*] probably OED's sense 12, to render available for trade, used ironically. Complaints of Spanish attacks upon English merchantmen were becoming more frequent.

3. See l. 397*n*. It should be remembered that this was written before George II's exploits at the battle of Dettingen.

abroad] This poem was published four months after the King's return from a visit

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF *HORACE*

WHILE You, great Patron of Mankind, sustain
The balanc'd World, and open all the Main;
Your Country, chief, in Arms abroad defend,
At home, with Morals, Arts, and Laws amend;
How shall the Muse, from such a Monarch, steal
An hour, and not defraud the Publick Weal?
Edward and Henry, now the Boast of Fame,
And virtuous Alfred, a more sacred Name,
After a Life of gen'rous Toils endur'd,
The Gaul subdu'd, or Property secur'd,
Ambition humbled, mighty Cities storm'd,
Or Laws establish'd, and the World reform'd;
Clos'd their long Glories with a sigh, to find
Th' unwilling Gratitude of base mankind!
All human Virtue to its latest breath
Finds Envy never conquer'd, but by Death.
The great Alcides, ev'ry Labour past,
Had still this Monster to subdue at last.
Sure fate of all, beneath whose rising ray
Each Star of meaner merit fades away;
Oppress'd we feel the Beam directly beat,
Those Suns of Glory please not till they set.
To Thee, the World its present homage pays,

the Daily Gazetteer, Aug. 3, 1737, and in the tables of contents of 1738 and 1740.

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to Hanover so prolonged, that "almost universal dissatisfaction" was expressed at his conduct (Hervey, pp. 609, 638; Egmont, ii 325, 330).

4. See Biog. App., George II.

7. Edward III and Henry V.

15–16. cf. Waller's *A Panegyrick to my Lord Protector*, ll. 147–8:

> But living virtue, all achievements past,
> Meets envy still, to grapple with at last.

Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum *aliàs*, nil ortum tale *fatentes.*

Sed tuus hoc populus sapiens & justus in uno,
Te nostris Ducibus, Te Graiis *anteferendo,*
Cætera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
Æstimat; &, nisi quæ terris semota, suisque
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit & odit.
Sic fautor Veterum, *ut tabulas peccare vetantes,*
Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum,
Vel Gabiis, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,
Dictitet Albano Musas *in monte locutas.*

Si, quia Græcorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
Scripta, vel optima; Romani pensantur eadem
Scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur:
Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.
Venimus ad summum fortunæ; pingimus, *atque*

36. *rust we value*] cf. *Ep. to Addison* (vol. vi) l. 36.

37. Except by Dryden, Pope, and a few others, Chaucer was generally regarded at this time as merely a bawdy poet. For Pope's attitude to Chaucer, see preface to vol. ii.

38. *beastly Skelton*] Poet Laureat to Hen. 8. a Volume of whose Verses has been lately reprinted, consisting almost wholly of Ribaldry, Obscenity, and Scurrilous [Billingsgate *1737*] Language [P. *1737–51*]. Skelton's works were reprinted in 1736 for the first time since 1568. Dyson plausibly suggests that Pope may have heard of the volume's reception at the universities from Spence; they had discussed Skelton together, and Pope had said, "Skelton's poems are all low and bad: there's nothing in them that's worth reading" (*Anecdotes*, p. 173). Warton perpetuated Skelton's reputation for "coarseness, obscenity, and

The Harvest early, but mature the Praise:
Great Friend of LIBERTY! in *Kings* a Name
Above all Greek, above all Roman Fame:
Whose Word is Truth, as sacred and rever'd,
As Heav'n's own Oracles from Altars heard.
Wonder of Kings! like whom, to mortal eyes
None e'er has risen, and none e'er shall rise.
Just in one instance, be it yet confest
Your People, Sir, are partial in the rest.
Foes to all living worth except your own,
And Advocates for Folly dead and gone.
Authors, like Coins, grow dear as they grow old;
It is the rust we value, not the gold.
Chaucer's worst ribaldry is learn'd by rote,
And beastly Skelton Heads of Houses quote:
One likes no language but the Faery Queen;
A Scot will fight for Christ's Kirk o' the Green;
And each true Briton is to Ben so civil,
He swears the Muses met him at the Devil.
Tho' justly Greece her eldest sons admires,
Why should not we be wiser than our Sires?
In ev'ry publick Virtue we excell,
We build, we paint, we sing, we dance as well,
And learned Athens to our Art must stoop,

scurrility" (*History of Poetry*, 1778, ii 341).

40. *Christ's Kirk o' the Green*] A Ballad made by a King of Scotland [P. *1737–51*]. Variously attributed to James I and James V. The poem had been reprinted frequently in Pope's life-time: by Edmund Gibson in his edition of Drummond's *Polemo-Middinia*, 1691; it was the first poem in James Watson's *Choice Collection of Scots Poems*, 1706, and it had been reprinted with additions by Allan Ramsay in 1718, 1720, 1722, and 1723, as well as in his own *Poems*, 1721, to which Pope was a subscriber. *Fight* was no doubt suggested by the local patriotism of Ramsay's preface to *The Ever Green*, in which *Christ's Kirk* was also reprinted.

42. The Devil Tavern, where Ben. Johnson held his Poetical Club [P. *1737–51*].

Psallimus, & luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit;
Scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus?
Scriptor ab hinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet, an inter
Viles atque novos? excludat jurgia finis.

"*Est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.*

Quid? qui deperiit minor uno mense, vel anno;
Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poetas,
An quos & præsens & postera respuet ætas?
"*Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur* honestè,
"*Qui vel mense brevi, vel toto est junior anno.*

Utor permisso, caudæque pilos ut equinæ
Paulatim vello, & demo unum, demo etiam unum;
Dum cadat elusus, ratione ruentis acervi,
Qui redit ad fastos, & virtutem æstimat annis,
Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina *sacravit.*

Ennius (& sapiens, & fortis, & alter Homerus,
Ut Critici dicunt) *leviter curare videtur,*
Quo promissa *cadant*, & somnia Pythagorea.
Nævius in manibus non est: at mentibus hæret
Pæne recens:

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48. A reference to the contemporary popularity of pantomime. See Biog. App., Rich.

62. *Courtesy of England*] A legal term signifying the custom by which a husband, after his wife's death, holds certain kinds of property which she has inherited. The husband will not be disturbed in his tenure of property, nor the poet in his tenure of fame, in spite of their being unable to make out a prescriptive title.

66. *Stowe*] "The most accurate and businesslike of the Elizabethan chroniclers" (DNB). His *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* was published in 1565 and his

Could she behold us tumbling thro' a hoop.
If Time improve our Wit as well as Wine,
Say at what age a Poet grows divine?
Shall we, or shall we not, account him so,
Who dy'd, perhaps, an hundred years ago?
End all dispute; and fix the year precise
When British bards begin t'Immortalize?
"Who lasts a Century can have no flaw,
"I hold that Wit a Classick, good in law.
Suppose he wants a year, will you compound?
And shall we deem him Ancient, right and sound,
Or damn to all Eternity at once,
At ninety nine, a Modern, and a Dunce?
"We shall not quarrel for a year or two;
"By Courtesy of England, he may do.
Then, by the rule that made the Horse-tail bare,
I pluck out year by year, as hair by hair,
And melt down Ancients like a heap of snow:
While you, to measure merits, look in Stowe,
And estimating Authors by the year,
Bestow a Garland only on a Bier.
Shakespear, (whom you and ev'ry Play-house bill
Style the divine, the matchless, what you will)
For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
And grew Immortal in his own despight.
Ben, old and poor, as little seem'd to heed

Annales in 1580. When Pope wrote they had not been reprinted since the early years of the last century; but an edition of his *Survay of London* (1598) had been published by Strype in 1720.

69. Shakespear and Ben. Johnson may truly be said not much to have thought of this Immortality [Immortal Fame *1737*], the one in many pieces composed in haste for the Stage; the other in his Latter works in general, which *Dryden* call'd [calls *1737*], his *Dotages* [in *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, *Essays*, i 81]. [P. *1737–51*].

72. Coleridge corrects Pope's assertion in *Biographia Literaria*, ch. ii, with quotations from Shakespeare's 81st and 86th sonnets.

"*Adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema!*
"*Ambigitur quoties, uter utro sit prior; aufert*
"*Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti:*
"*Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro;*
"*Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;*
"*Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.*
"*Hos ediscit, & hos arcto stipata theatro*
"*Spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas*
"*Ad nostrum tempus, Livî scriptoris ab ævo.*

Interdum vulgus rectum videt: est ubi peccat.

75. After more than forty years of great popularity and respect, Cowley's reputation declined with the turn of the century, when "correctness" of versification and restraint of expression came to be valued, and no further editions of his works were required after 1721. His wit had been adversely criticized by Dryden in the *Preface to the Fables*, and by Addison in *Spectator* 62; Gildon and others had published their disapproval of his epic, the *Davideis*; and the taste for Pindarique imitations was going out. As early as 1728, Oldmixon could write that as a poet Cowley seemed "to have lost almost all his merit in our time." Pope had been an admirer of Cowley in his youth and had frequently "imitated" and echoed him. This passage represents his more considered opinion: "Cowley is a fine poet, in spite of all his faults," he said to Spence (p. 173). Cowley's morality, which Pope also praises in *Ode* IV ix 8 (p. 159), may be found, though not exclusively, in his essays and the accompanying poems, the "language of his Heart" there also and in such a poem as *On the Death of Mr. William Harvey*. See J. Loiseau, *Abraham Cowley's Reputation in England*, Paris, 1931.

77. *Pindaric Art*] which has much more merit than his *Epic:* but very unlike the Character, as well as Numbers, of Pindar [P. *1737–51*].

82-3. *Art . . . Nature*] e.g. Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. cf. *Dunciad* A ii 216.

84. *Beaumont's Judgment*] Frequently mentioned; e.g. Langbaine's *Account of the English Dram. Poets*, 1691, p. 204, "Mr. *Fletcher*'s Wit was equal to Mr. *Beaumont*'s Judgment, and was so luxuriant, that like superfluous Branches, it was frequently prun'd by his Judicious Partner."

The Life to come, in ev'ry Poet's Creed.
Who now reads Cowley? if he pleases yet,
His moral pleases, not his pointed wit;
Forgot his Epic, nay Pindaric Art,
But still I love the language of his Heart.
"Yet surely, surely, these were famous men!
"What Boy but hears the sayings of old Ben?
"In all debates where Criticks bear a part,
"Not one but nods, and talks of Johnson's Art,
"Of Shakespear's Nature, and of Cowley's Wit;
"How Beaumont's Judgment check'd what Fletcher writ;
"How Shadwell hasty, Wycherly was slow;
"But, for the Passions, Southern sure and Rowe.
"These, only these, support the crouded stage,
"From eldest Heywood down to Cibber's age.
All this may be; the People's Voice is odd,

74 in ev'ry] that makes a *1738–43*.

85. *Shadwell . . . Wycherly*] Nothing was less true than this particular: But the whole [this *1737*] Paragraph has a mixture of Irony, and must not altogether be taken for Horace's own Judgment, only the common Chatt of the pretenders to Criticism; in some things right, in others wrong: as he tells us in his answer,

Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.
[P. *1737–51*].

The criticism was made by Rochester in his Imitation of Horace, ll. 41–3:

Of all our Modern Wits, none seem to me
Once to have touch'd upon true COMEDY,
But hasty SHADWELL and slow WYCHERLY.

Lansdowne had observed the falseness of the criticism in a *Character of Mr. Wycherley* (1712), and Pope remarked to Spence: "Lord Rochester's character of Wycherley is quite wrong. He was far from being slow in general, and in particular, wrote the Plain Dealer in three weeks" (p. 200). For Wycherley's relations with Pope, see vol. i.

86. *Southern . . . Rowe*] The principal followers of Otway in sentimental tragedy. See Biog. App.

88. John Heywood (1497?–1580?) was the author of several interludes, amongst them *The Four P's* and *The Pardoner and the Friar*. See *Dunciad*, A i 96. *Eldest* distinguishes him from the Jacobean dramatist, Thomas Heywood. Pope might have read of them both in Langbaine.

Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas,
Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet: errat:
Si quædam nimis antiquè, *si pleraque* durè
Dicere credit eos, ignavè *multa; fatetur;*
Et sapit, & mecum facit, & Jove judicat æquo.
Non equidem insector, delendaque carmina *Livî*
Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum, mihi parvo,
Orbilium *dictare.*—

Sed emendata videri
Pulchraque, & exactis minimum distantia, miror:

91. *Gammer Gurton,* a piece of very low humour, one of the first printed Plays in English, and therefore much valued by some Antiquaries. [P. *1737–51*]. It was reprinted in 1661. Before the discovery of *Ralph Roister Doister* about the year 1818, this was the earliest example of English comedy.

92. *the Careless Husband*] A successful comedy by Cibber, first produced in 1704. In *A Letter to Mr. Pope* (1742), Cibber observes that this couplet appears to contradict ll. 87–8, and continues (p. 52): "The late General *Dormer* intimated to me, that he believ'd Mr. *Pope* intended them as a Compliment to *The Careless Husband*; but if it be a Compliment, I rather believe it was a Compliment to that Gentleman's Good-nature, who told me a little before this Epistle was publish'd, that he had been making Interest for a little Mercy to his Friend *Colley* in it."

97. *Spenser . . . obsolete*] Particularly in the Shepherd's Calendar, where he imitates the unequal Measures, as well as the Language, of Chaucer [P. *1737–43*]. Pope is quoting from Ben Jonson's *Discoveries* (*Workes*, 1641, p. 116): "*Spencer*, in affecting the Ancients writ no Language."

98. *on Roman feet*] Specimens of Sidney's elegiacs and sapphics are found in the *Arcadia*, Book I. His works had been reprinted by Curll and others in 1725.

100. *in prose*] EC notes the same opinion in Dryden's preface to *Sylvae* (*Essays*, i 268): "Milton's *Paradise Lost* is admirable; but am I therefore bound to maintain, that there are no flats amongst his elevations, when 'tis evident he creeps

It is, and it is not, the voice of God.
To Gammer Gurton if it give the bays,
And yet deny the Careless Husband praise,
Or say our fathers never broke a rule;
Why then I say, the Publick is a fool.
But let them own, that greater faults than we
They had, and greater Virtues, I'll agree.
Spenser himself affects the obsolete,
And Sydney's verse halts ill on Roman feet:
Milton's strong pinion now not Heav'n can bound,
Now serpent-like, in prose he sweeps the ground,
In Quibbles, Angel and Archangel join,
And God the Father turns a School-Divine.
Not that I'd lop the Beauties from his book,
Like slashing Bentley with his desp'rate Hook;
Or damn all Shakespear, like th' affected fool
At Court, who hates whate'er he read at School.
But for the Wits of either Charles's days,
The Mob of Gentlemen who wrote with Ease;

along sometimes for above an hundred lines together?"

101. *Quibbles*] e.g. *Par. Lost*, vi 609–28.

102. *School-Divine*] e.g. *ibid.* iii 80–134.

104. *Like slashing Bentley*] cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 164. Bentley's eccentric edition of *Paradise Lost* was published in 1732.

Hook] In a note to *Dunciad*, B iv 194, Pope, mimicking Bentley, uses the word to designate the square brackets within which Bentley enclosed passages which he considered to be spurious. Warburton believed that Pope was referring to this practice here, though the metaphor from hedging is also apparent.

106. Pope refers to a passage in Hervey's *Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity*, published without permission in 1733:

> ... That all I learn'd from *Doctor Freind* at School,
> By *Gradus*, *Lexicon*, or Grammar-Rule ...
> Has quite deserted this poor *John-Trot* Head,
> And left plain native *English* in its stead.

108. cf. Young's *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*, 1730, p. 40:

> Write *not* like *Gentlemen*, with ease exceeding;
> Such easy writing is not easy reading.

Pope writes to Cromwell, of Crashaw, Dec. 17, 1710, "I take this poet to have writ like a gentleman, that is, at leisure hours, and more to keep out of idleness

Inter quæ verbum emicuit *si forte* decorum, &
Si versus *paulo* concinnior *unus & alter;*
Injuste totum *ducit venditque poema.*

Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia crassè
Compositum illepideve putetur, sed quia nuper;
Nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem & præmia posci.

Recte necne crocum floresque *perambulet* Attæ
Fabula, *si dubitem; clamant periise pudorem*
Cuncti pæne patres, *ea cum reprehendere coner,*
Quæ gravis Æsopus, *quae doctus* Roscius *egit.*
Vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducunt;
Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, &, quæ
Imberbes didicere, senes perdenda fateri.

than to establish a reputation, so that nothing regular or just can be expected from him."

109. *Sprat*] Thomas Sprat (1635–1713); Bishop of Rochester, 1684. As a poet, he was a follower of Cowley—"a worse Cowley," Pope thought him (Spence, p. 173), but recognized his pre-eminence in prose (*ibid.* p. 310). He is still remembered for his *History of the Royal Society* (1667).

Carew] Thomas Carew (1595?–1639?). A lyric poet whose work sometimes resembles Jonson's and sometimes Donne's. A number of his poems were reprinted in the fifth part of Dryden's *Miscellanies*. Pope once called him "a bad Waller" (Spence, p. 21).

Sedley] Sir Charles Sedley (1639–1701), a lyric poet of the Restoration Court circle. Pope rated him lower than modern critics would agree to; "Sedley is a very insipid writer;" he told Spence, "except in some few of his little love-verses" (p. 136).

113. "There are Amplifiers who can extend half a dozen thin thoughts over a whole Folio" (Pope's *Peri Bathous*, ch. viii).

120. In the preface to his edition of Shakespeare (1725) Pope detected cer-

Sprat, Carew, Sedley, and a hundred more,
(Like twinkling Stars the Miscellanies o'er)
One Simile, that solitary shines
In the dry Desert of a thousand lines,
Or lengthen'd Thought that gleams thro' many a page,
Has sanctify'd whole Poems for an age.
I lose my patience, and I own it too,
When works are censur'd, not as bad, but new;
While if our Elders break all Reason's laws,
These fools demand not Pardon, but Applause.
On Avon's bank, where flow'rs eternal blow,
If I but ask, if any weed can grow?
One Tragic sentence if I dare deride
Which Betterton's grave Action dignify'd,
Or well-mouth'd Booth with emphasis proclaims,
(Tho' but, perhaps, a muster-roll of Names)
How will our Fathers rise up in a rage,
And swear, all shame is lost in George's Age!
You'd think no Fools disgrac'd the former Reign,
Did not some grave Examples yet remain,
Who scorn a Lad should teach his Father skill,

tain weeds, such as "exaggerated Thoughts," "bombast Expression," "pompous Rhymes," and "mean buffoonry," and accounted for them by observing that Shakespeare had to hit the taste of his audience. Many of these weeds are rooted out in Pope's text. See J. Butt, *Pope's Taste in Shakespeare*, 1936.

123. *with emphasis*] Chetwood (*Gen. Hist. Stage*, 1749, p. 94) quotes Aaron Hill's account of Booth's art: "He could soften, or slide over, with a kind of elegant Negligence, the Improprieties in a Part he acted; while, on the contrary, he would dwell with Energy upon the Beauties, as if he exerted a latent Spirit, which had been kept back for such an Occasion, that he might alarm, waken, and transport, in those Places only, where the Dignity of his own good Sense could be supported with that of his Author."

124. An absurd Custom of several Actors, to pronounce with Emphasis the meer *Proper Names* of Greeks or Romans, which (as they call it) *fill the mouth* of the Player [P. *1737–51*].

127. "Some old men by continually praising the time of their youth, would almost persuade us that there were no fools in those days; but unluckily they are left themselves for examples." *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, EC x 553.

Jam Saliare Numæ carmen *qui laudat, & illud,*
Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri;
Ingeniis non ille favet, plauditque sepultis,
Nostra sed impugnat, nos, nostraque lividus odit.
Quod si tam Græcis novitas *invita fuisset,*
Quam nobis; quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet,
Quod legeret, tereretque viritim publicus usus?

Ut primum positis nugari Græcia bellis
Cœpit, & in Vitium fortuna labier æqua;
Nunc Athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum;
Marmoris, aut eboris fabros, aut æris amavit;
Suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella;
Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragœdis:

131–4. The same thought is found in Dryden's dedicatory epistle to *Examen Poeticum* (*Essays*, ii 4): "We have two sorts of those gentlemen in our nation; some of them, proceeding with a seeming moderation and pretence of respect to the dramatic writers of the last age, only scorn and vilify the present poets, to set up their predecessors." Dryden proceeds to quote two lines from the passage which Pope is here imitating.

132. *Merlin's Prophecy*] Translated from the Welsh by Geoffrey of Monmouth and embodied in his *Historia Regum Britanniæ* (Book vii), an English translation of which was made by Aaron Thompson (1718). But Merlin's reputation as a prophet at this time was owing to John Partridge (d. 1715), whose almanacs, entitled *Merlinus Liberatus*, were still published every year. Merlin's Cave (see l. 355), completed in 1735, also served to keep his memory alive. Curll published a descriptive pamphlet entitled *The Rarities of Richmond* (1736), which contained four of Merlin's prophecies with interpretations; and *The Craftsman* (No. 480) made political capital out of a prophecy said to have been heard there.

139*ff*. This passage is paralled in *E. on C.* ll. 534–59.

142. *A Verse of the Lord* Lansdown [P. *1737–51*]. From *The Progress of Beauty* (*Genuine Works*, 1732, i 78):

All, by the King's Example, live and love.

And, having once been wrong, will be so still.
He, who to seem more deep than you or I,
Extols old Bards, or Merlin's Prophecy,
Mistake him not; he envies, not admires,
And to debase the Sons, exalts the Sires.
Had ancient Times conspir'd to dis-allow
What then was new, what had been ancient now?
Or what remain'd, so worthy to be read
By learned Criticks, of the mighty Dead?
In Days of Ease, when now the weary Sword
Was sheath'd, and *Luxury* with *Charles* restor'd;
In every Taste of foreign Courts improv'd,
"All, by the King's Example, liv'd and lov'd."
Then Peers grew proud in Horsemanship t' excell,
New-market's Glory rose, as Britain's fell;
The Soldier breath'd the Gallantries of France,
And ev'ry flow'ry Courtier writ Romance.
Then Marble soften'd into life grew warm,
And yielding Metal flow'd to human form:
Lely on animated Canvas stole

143. *Horsemanship . . . Romance*] The Duke of Newcastle's Book of Horsemanship: the Romance of *Parthenissa*, by the Earl of Orrery, and most of the [all the *1737*] French Romances translated by *Persons of Quality* [P. *1737–51*].

The Duke of Newcastle wrote two books on Horsemanship, *Methode et Invention Nouvelle de Dresser les Chevaux* (Antwerp, 1658) and *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses* (1667). The first part of *Parthenissa* in 6 vols was published in 1654. It is stated on the title pages of two of Gabriel de Bremond's novels that the translation was done by "a Person of Quality"—*The Happy Slave* (1677) and *The Triumph of Love over Fortune* (1678).

144. *New-market*] Racing at Newmarket dates from the time of James I. Its fame greatly increased under the patronage of Charles II.

147–8. Notably in the hands of Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630–1700), Colley's father, and Grinling Gibbons (1648–1720).

149. Sir Peter Lely (1618–80) was a Dutchman by birth. He came to England in 1641 in the train of the Prince of Orange and established a reputation as a portrait-painter, but his greatest fame and prosperity was gained after the Restoration. The phrase "animated canvas" echoes *Temple of Fame*, 73:

Heroes in animated marble frown.

Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
Quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.
Quid placet, aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?
Hoc Paces habuere bonæ, ventique secundi.

Romæ dulce diu fuit & solenne, reclusa
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura,
Cautos nominibus certis expendere nummos,
Majores *audire, minori dicere, per quæ*
Crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.

Mutavit mentem populus levis, & calet uno
Scribendi *studio; pueri, patresque severi*
Fronde comas vincti cœnant, & carmina *dictant.*

Ipse ego, qui nullos me affirmo scribere versus,
Invenior Parthis mendacior, *& prius orto*
Sole, vigil calamum, & chartas, & scrinia posco.

153. The Siege of Rhodes [1656] by Sir William Davenant, the first Opera sung in England [P. *1737–51*].

160. Wakefield compares Prior's *Letter to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux* (1704):

... That, tho' amongst our selves, with too much Heat,

The sleepy Eye, that spoke the melting soul.
No wonder then, when all was Love and Sport,
The willing Muses were debauch'd at Court;
On each enervate string they taught the Note
To pant, or tremble thro' an Eunuch's throat.
But Britain, changeful as a Child at play,
Now calls in Princes, and now turns away.
Now Whig, now Tory, what we lov'd we hate;
Now all for Pleasure, now for Church and State;
Now for Prerogative, and now for Laws;
Effects unhappy! from a Noble Cause.
Time was, a sober Englishman wou'd knock
His servants up, and rise by five a clock,
Instruct his Family in ev'ry rule,
And send his Wife to Church, his Son to school.
To worship like his Fathers was his care;
To teach their frugal Virtues to his Heir;
To prove, that Luxury could never hold;
And place, on good Security, his Gold.
Now Times are chang'd, and one Poetick Itch
Has seiz'd the Court and City, Poor and Rich:
Sons, Sires, and Grandsires, all will wear the Bays,
Our Wives read Milton, and our Daughters Plays,
To Theatres, and to Rehearsals throng,
And all our Grace at Table is a Song.
I, who so oft renounce the Muses, lye,
Not —'s self e'er tells more *Fibs* than I;
When, sick of Muse, our follies we deplore,
And promise our best Friends to ryme no more;
We wake next morning in a raging Fit,

173 To . . . throng] To Op'ra's, Theatres, Rehearsals throng *1738–43*.

We sometimes wrangle, when We should debate;
(A consequential Ill which Freedom draws;
A bad Effect, but from a Noble Cause) . . .

Navem agere ignarus *navis timet: abrotonum ægro*
Non audet, nisi qui didicit, *dare: quod* medicorum *est,*
Promittunt Medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hic error tamen & levis hæc insania, quantas
Virtutes habeat, sic collige; Vatis avarus
Non temere est animus: versus amat, hoc studet unum;
Detrimenta, fugas *servorum,* incendia *ridet;*
Non fraudem Socio, *puerove incogitat ullam*
Pupillo: *Vivit siliquis, & pane secundo.*

Militiæ *quanquam piger & malus,* utilis urbi,
Si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna juvari,
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat:

182. *Ward*] A famous Empirick, whose Pill and Drop had several surprizing effects, and were one of the principal subjects of Writing and Conversation at this time [P. *1737–51*]. See Biog. App.

183. *Radcliff*] See Biog. App.

195. *Flight of Cashiers*] Robert Knight, cashier of the South Sea Company, fled to France on Jan. 22, 1721–2, after being found guilty of notorious breach of trust by the House of Lords. His son told Lord Egmont in 1742 (*Diary*, iii 269) that Knight had fled to save the reputation of the then ministry who promised he should be speedily recalled.

197. *Peter*] i.e. Peter Walter. See Biog. App. Bowles states that the *friend* was George Pitt of Shroton, Dorset, who lived abroad and paid Walter £400 p.a.

And call for Pen and Ink to show our Wit.
He serv'd a 'Prenticeship, who sets up shop;
Ward try'd on Puppies, and the Poor, his Drop;
Ev'n Radcliff's Doctors travel first to France,
Nor dare to practise till they've learn'd to dance.
Who builds a Bridge that never drove a pyle?
(Should Ripley venture, all the World would smile)
But those who cannot write, and those who can,
All ryme, and scrawl, and scribble, to a man.
Yet Sir, reflect, the mischief is not great;
These Madmen never hurt the Church or State:
Sometimes the Folly benefits mankind;
And rarely Av'rice taints the tuneful mind.
Allow him but his Play-thing of a Pen,
He ne'er rebels, or plots, like other men:
Flight of Cashiers, or Mobs, he'll never mind;
And knows no losses while the Muse is kind.
To cheat a Friend, or Ward, he leaves to Peter;
The good man heaps up nothing but mere metre,
Enjoys his Garden and his Book in quiet;
And then —a perfect Hermit in his Diet.
Of little use the Man you may suppose,
Who says in verse what others say in prose;
Yet let me show, a Poet's of some weight,
And (tho' no Soldier) useful to the State.

195 Mobs] Fires *1737*.

for managing his estates. Walter went down to Dorset once a year, but charged £800 for extra services. This was contested in Chancery.

204. Horace had not acquitted himself much to his credit in this capacity; (*non bene relicta parmula*, [*Od.* II vii 10]) in the battle of Philippi. It is manifest he alludes to himself in this whole account of a Poet's character; but with an intermixture of Irony: *Vivit siliquis & pane secundo* has a relation to his Epicurism; *Os tenerum pueri*, is ridicule: The nobler office of a Poet follows, *Torquet ab obscœnis—Mox etiam pectus—Rectè facta refert, &c.* which the Imitator has apply'd where he thinks it more due than to himself. He hopes to be pardoned, if, as he is sincerely inclined to praise what deserves to be praised, he arraigns what deserves to be arraigned, in the 210, 211, and 212th Verses [P. *1737–51*].

Torquet ab obscænis *jam nunc sermonibus aurem;*
Mox etiam pectus præceptis format amicis,
Asperitatis, & invidiæ corrector, & iræ.
Recte facta refert; orientia tempora notis 130
Instruit exemplis: inopem *solatur*, *&* aegrum.

212. *lewd*] not unjustly applied to George II's court.

un-believing] The queen was believed to be a "freethinker."

214. *Roscommon*] Wentworth Dillon, fourth Earl of Roscommon (1633?–1685), whose *Essay on Translated Verse* was published in 1684. He is commended in *E. on C.* ll. 725–6.

215. *Courtly stains*] Warburton reports that Pope had Addison's *To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, With the Tragedy of Cato. Nov. 1714* in mind. Cibber, no doubt thinking of this passage, remarks in his *Apology* (ch. ii), "When I read those mortifying Lines of our most eminent Author, in his Character of *Atticus* . . . though I am charm'd with the Poetry, my Imagination is hurt at the Severity of it; and tho' I allow the Satyrist to have had personal Provocation, yet, methinks, for that very Reason, he ought not to have troubled the Publick with it . . . But the Pain which the Acrimony of these Verses gave me, is, in some measure, allay'd, in finding that this inimitable Writer, as he advanced in Years, has since had Candour enough to celebrate the same Person for his visible Merit."

221–8. On Dec. 2, 1736, Swift wrote to Pope, asking incidentally if he could "hope for more Epistles of morality," and added, "I assure you, my acquaintance

What will a Child learn sooner than a song?
What better teach a Foreigner the tongue?
What's long or short, each accent where to place,
And speak in publick with some sort of grace.
I scarce can think him such a worthless thing,
Unless he praise some monster of a King,
Or Virtue, or Religion turn to sport,
To please a lewd, or un-believing Court.
Unhappy Dryden!—In all Charles's days,
Roscommon only boasts unspotted Bays;
And in our own (excuse some Courtly stains)
No whiter page than Addison remains.
He, from the taste obscene reclaims our Youth,
And sets the Passions on the side of Truth;
Forms the soft bosom with the gentlest art,
And pours each human Virtue in the heart.
Let Ireland tell, how Wit upheld her cause,
Her Trade supported, and supply'd her Laws;
And leave on SWIFT this grateful verse ingrav'd,

215 stains] strains *1737*.

resent that they have not seen my name at the head of one." In his reply, dated Dec. 30, Pope took no notice of this inquiry. He may, however, have enclosed a transcript of ll. 221–8 and ll. 72*ff*. of *Ep.* II ii without comment—a passage in the letter on the loss of friends is in tune with *singula de nobis*—or more probably, they were sent with a letter which no longer survives. Swift replied on Feb. 9, 1736–7 that these lines would do him "the greatest honour I shall ever receive from posterity, and will outweigh the malignity of ten thousand enemies." (The letter is misdated and misplaced in *Letters*, 1741, and EC). He received his copy of the poem in May and reported Dublin opinion of it to Pope on May 31. A month later he heard from Alderman Barber that these lines had given great offence: Barber added "I am assured, [it] was under debate in the Council, whether he [Pope] should not be taken up for it, but it [the opposition to Wood's Halfpence] happening to be done in the late King's time, they passed it by" (Swift *Corr.* ed. Ball, vi 25).

222. *Trade supported*] He refers to Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (1720).

supply'd] i.e. made up for the deficiences of her laws.

Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Disceret unde preces, *vatem ni Musa dedisset?*
Poscit opem Chorus, & præsentia numina *sentit;*
Cœlestes implorat aquas docta prece blandus;
Avertit morbos, metuenda pericula *pellit;*
Impetrat & Pacem, *& locupletem frugibus annum:*
Carmina Dì superi placantur, carmine Manes.

Agricolæ prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
Corpus, & ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, & pueris & conjuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus & vino Genium memorem brevis ævi.

226. *the Idiot and the Poor*] A Foundation for the maintenance of Idiots, and a Fund for assisting the Poor, by lending small sums of Money on demand [P. *1737–51*].

Swift had referred to his intention of founding a hospital in the verses on his death. He left over £10,000 for this purpose, and the hospital was opened in 1757. Pope also refers to the subject in a letter which may be dated Sept. 1735 (EC vii 337).

230. The famous metrical version of the Psalms was initiated by Sternhold, who published nineteen psalms in 1549 and finished eighteen more before his death. The work was completed by Hopkins and others in 1562. The version still enjoyed a great reputation in the eighteenth century in spite of the more

The Rights a Court attack'd, a Poet sav'd.
Behold the hand that wrought a Nation's cure,
Stretch'd to relieve the Idiot and the Poor,
Proud Vice to brand, or injur'd Worth adorn,
And stretch the Ray to Ages yet unborn.
Not but there are, who merit other palms;
Hopkins and Sternhold glad the heart with Psalms;
The Boys and Girls whom Charity maintains,
Implore your help in these pathetic strains:
How could Devotion touch the country pews,
Unless the Gods bestow'd a proper Muse?
Verse chears their leisure, Verse assists their work,
Verse prays for Peace, or sings down Pope and Turk.
The silenc'd Preacher yields to potent strain,
And feels that grace his pray'r besought in vain,
The blessing thrills thro' all the lab'ring throng,
And Heav'n is won by violence of Song.
Our rural Ancestors, with little blest,
Patient of labour when the end was rest,
Indulg'd the day that hous'd their annual grain,
With feasts, and off'rings, and a thankful strain:
The joy their wives, their sons, and servants share,
Ease of their toil, and part'ners of their care:
The laugh, the jest, attendants on the bowl,

227 brand] lash *TPQ*. 234 a proper] the proper *1737b*.

recent version by Tate and Brady (1696).

236. *sings . . . Turk*] "My name is as bad an one as yours, and hated by all bad poets, from Hopkins and Sternhold to Gildon and Cibber. The first prayed against me joined with the Turk . . ." (Pope to Swift, Oct. 15, 1725). The allusion is to a line in the prayer at the end of the metrical psalms:

From Pope and Turk defend us, Lord

[Croker].

241*ff*. Pope is not well served by the need to imitate Horace at this point. Latin satire was of native growth; the satire of Hall and the later Elizabethans was inspired by literary models.

Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit;
Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter: donec jam sævus apertam
In rabiem verti cœpit jocus, & per honestas
Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento
Dente lacessiti: fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
Describi. Vertere modum, formidine fustis
Ad benedicendum, delectandumque *redacti.*

Græcia capta, ferum victorem cepit, & Artes
Intulit agresti Latio, sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, *& grave virus*
Munditiæ *pepulere: sed in longum tamen ævum*
Manserunt, hodieque manent, vestigia ruris.
Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et post Punica bella *quietus, quærere cœpit,*

257. *statutes*] See *Sat.* II i 145*n*.

263. Greek literature was adopted and imitated by the Romans quite independently of the subjugation of Greece. If we allow "Græcia capta victorem cepit" as a rhetorical contrast, not as cause and effect, we may allow Pope's transfusion [Pattison].

267. Mr Waller about this time [1664], with the E. of Dorset, Mr. Godolphin, and others, translated the Pompey of Corneille; and the more correct French Poets began to be in reputation [P. *1737–51*].

The multiple authorship is referred to in *The Session of the Poets, to the Tune of Cook Lawrel*, vv. 29–31 (*Poems on Affairs of State*, 1703, i 209–10):

> *B*[uckhur]*st* and *Sydley*, with two or three more
> Translators of *Pompey*, dispute in their claim;
> But *Apollo* made them be turn'd out of door,
> And bid them be gone like Fools as they came.

Smooth'd ev'ry brow, and open'd ev'ry soul:
With growing years the pleasing Licence grew,
And Taunts alternate innocently flew.
But Times corrupt, and Nature, ill-inclin'd,
Produc'd the point that left a sting behind;
Till friend with friend, and families at strife,
Triumphant Malice rag'd thro' private life.
Who felt the wrong, or fear'd it, took th' alarm,
Appeal'd to Law, and Justice lent her arm.
At length, by wholesom dread of statutes bound,
The Poets learn'd to please, and not to wound:
Most warp'd to Flatt'ry's side; but some, more nice,
Preserv'd the freedom, and forbore the vice.
Hence Satire rose, that just the medium hit,
And heals with Morals what it hurts with Wit.
We conquer'd France, but felt our captive's charms;
Her Arts victorious triumph'd o'er our Arms:
Britain to soft refinements less a foe,
Wit grew polite, and Numbers learn'd to flow.
Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught to join
The varying verse, the full resounding line,
The long majestic march, and energy divine.

Old *Waller* heard this, and was sneaking away,
But somebody spy'd him out of the Crowd;
Apollo tho h' had not seen him many a day,
Knew him full well, and call'd to him aloud;

My old Friend Mr. *Waller*, what make you there,
Among those young Fellows that spoil the *French* Plays?
Then beck'ning to him, whisper'd in his Ear,
And gave him good Counsel instead of the Bays.

Act I is ascribed to Waller by Fenton on the evidence of a letter from Katherine Philips to Sir Charles Cotterel.

"The triplet with the last line an alexandrine is introduced more frequently by Dryden than by any other great master of the heroic couplet, and Pope uses it here to illustrate the qualities he mentions" [Dyson].

268. Pope has Dryden's pindaric odes in mind.

Quid Sophocles, & Thespis, & Æschylus utile ferrent:
Tentavit quoque rem si digne vertere posset;
Et placuit sibi, natura sublimis, & acer:
Nam spirat tragicum satis, & feliciter audet:
Sed turpem putat in scriptis, metuitque lituram.

Creditur, ex medio *quia res arcessit, habere*
Sudoris minimum; sed habet comœdia *tanto*
Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus. Adspice Plautus
Quo pacto partes tutetur *amantis ephebi,*
Ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi?
Quantus sit Dorsennus edacibus in parasitis!
Quam non astricto *percurrat pulpita* socco!
Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
Securus, cadat, an recto stet fabula talo.

278. Thomas Otway (1652–1685), tragic dramatist; author of *The Orphan*, 1680, and *Venice Preserved*, 1682. EC quotes from Dryden's *Parellel of Poetry and Painting* (ed. Ker, ii 145): "I will not defend everything in his *Venice Preserved*; but I must bear this testimony to his memory, that the passions are truly touched in it, though perhaps there is somewhat to be desired, both in the grounds of them, and in the height and elegance of expression; but nature is there, which is the greatest beauty."

280. cf. Jonson's *Discoveries* (*Workes*, 1641, p. 97): "*I remember*, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to *Shakespeare*, that in his writing, (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand."

280–1. Pope told Spence (p. 281), "I learned versification wholly from Dryden's works; who had improved it much beyond any of our former poets; and would, probably, have brought it to its perfection, had not he been unhappily obliged to write so often in haste."

287. *Congreve's Fools*] Pope probably refers to Brisk, the "pert Coxcomb" in *The Double Dealer*, and more particularly to Witwoud, whose character Con-

Tho' still some traces of our rustic vein
And splay-foot verse, remain'd, and will remain.
Late, very late, correctness grew our care,
When the tir'd nation breath'd from civil war.
Exact Racine, and Corneille's noble fire
Show'd us that France had something to admire.
Not but the Tragic spirit was our own,
And full in Shakespear, fair in Otway shone:
But Otway fail'd to polish or refine,
And fluent Shakespear scarce effac'd a line.
Ev'n copious Dryden, wanted, or forgot,
The last and greatest Art, the Art to blot.
Some doubt, if equal pains or equal fire
The humbler Muse of Comedy require?
But in known Images of life I guess
The labour greater, as th' Indulgence less.
Observe how seldom ev'n the best succeed:
Tell me if Congreve's Fools are Fools indeed?
What pert low Dialogue has Farqu'ar writ!
How Van wants grace, who never wanted wit!
The stage how loosely does Astræa tread,

greve mentions in the epistle dedicatory to *The Way of the World*, as intended for an unusual type of fool, who "should appear ridiculous, not so much through a natural folly . . . as through an affected wit." The criticism was not peculiar to Pope. Gerard writes: "The usage of an admired genius will procure approbation even to *faults*, from one whose taste is languid . . . one may be too much pleased with Congreve's wit, to remark its incongruity to the characters to which it is ascribed" (*Essay on Taste*, 1764, p. 133).

288. *Farqu'ar*] George Farquhar (1677–1707), author of *The Beaux Stratagem* (1707) and other comedies.

289. *Van*] Sir John Vanbrugh, the comic dramatist. See Biog. App.

290. *Astræa*] [A Name taken by *1738–51*] Afra Behn, [Mrs. Behn, *1738–51*] Authoress of several obscene Plays, &c. [P. *1737–51*].

B. 1640, d. 1689. "The second line is as quick as the first is slow—before we know where we are in a play of Mrs. Behn, couples right and left are retiring to privacy with a haste which is as indecent as the collapsing tumble of the line is headlong" (Tillotson, *On the Poetry of Pope*, 1938, p. 92).

Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso gloria curru,
Exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:
Sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
Subruit, aut reficit: valeat res ludicra! si me
Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.

Sæpe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam;
Quod numero plures, virtute & honore minores,
Indocti, stolidique, & depugnare parati
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum *aut* pugiles: *his nam plebecula gaudet.*
Verum Equitis *quoque jam migravit ab* aure *voluptas*
Omnis, ad incertos oculos, *& gaudia vana.*
Quatuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas;
Dum fugiunt equitum *turmæ, peditumque catervæ:*
Mox trahitur manibus Regum *fortuna retortis;*

310 What . . . affords!] For Farce the people true delight affords, *1737.*

293. In comparing the comic actors, Bullock and Penkethman, *The Tatler* (No. 188) observes: "*Penkethman* devours a cold Chick with great Applause; *Bullock's* Talent lies chiefly in Sparagrass." Pattison states that it was in the character of Don Lewis in Cibber's *Love Makes a Man* (Act IV) that Penkethman ate two chickens in three seconds. The play was first performed in 1700 and frequently revived, once for Penkethman's benefit in 1702 (A. Nicoll, *Hist. of Early Eighteenth-century Drama*, 1929, pp. 37, 307). See further Biog. App., Penkethman.

309. *Black-joke*] *The Coal Black Joke* was a popular air. Various songs were set to it, some of them indecent; it is no doubt one of these which a ballad-singer is holding in plate 3 of Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*. A polite version was sung in an opera entitled *The Beggar's Wedding* (1729), and was reprinted in *The Musical*

Who fairly puts all Characters to bed:
And idle Cibber, how he breaks the laws,
To make poor Pinky eat with vast applause!
But fill their purse, our Poet's work is done,
Alike to them, by Pathos or by Pun.
O you! whom Vanity's light bark conveys
On Fame's mad voyage by the wind of Praise;
With what a shifting gale your course you ply;
For ever sunk too low, or born too high!
Who pants for glory finds but short repose,
A breath revives him, or a breath o'erthrows!
Farewel the stage! if just as thrives the Play,
The silly bard grows fat, or falls away.
There still remains to mortify a Wit,
The many-headed Monster of the Pit:
A sense-less, worth-less, and unhonour'd crowd;
Who to disturb their betters mighty proud,
Clatt'ring their sticks, before ten lines are spoke,
Call for the Farce, the Bear, or the Black-joke.
What dear delight to Britons Farce affords!
Ever the taste of Mobs, but now of Lords;
(Taste, that eternal wanderer, which flies
From heads to ears, and now from ears to eyes.)

311 Ever] Farce, long *1737:* Farce once *1738–43.*
312 Taste, that] For Taste, *1738–43.* which] now *1738–43.*

Miscellany (1730) and *The Vocal Miscellany* (1738). See also *Brit. Mus. Music Cat.* The air retained its popularity for over a hundred years (OED, *sub* joke), and was once performed in Plymouth in circumstances resembling those which Pope describes. Kemble was playing *Hamlet.* In III 3, where Hamlet begs Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to play upon the pipe which he offers to them, the actor who played Guildenstern, instead of protesting that he had not the skill, exclaimed, "Since you seem so much to wish it, I'll do my best to oblige you," and taking up the pipe, played the Black Joke (*Athenæum,* Aug. 11, 1877, p. 167).

313. From *Plays* to *Operas,* and from Operas to *Pantomimes* [Warburton]. For opera, see *Dunciad,* iv 45–60; for pantomime, see Biog. App., John Rich.

Esseda festinant, pilenta, pertorrita, naves,
Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.

Si forret in terris, rideret Democritus; seu
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo,
Sive elephas albus *vulgi converteret ora:*
Spectaret populum *ludis attentius ipsis,*
Ut sibi præbentem mimo spectacula plura:
Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
Fabellam *surdo.* —
— *Nam quæ pervincere voces*
Evaluere sonum referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire *putes* nemus, *aut* mare Tuscum;
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, & artes,
Divitiæque peregrinæ, *quibus* oblitus actor
Cum stetit in scena, concurrit dextera lævæ.
"*Dixit adhuc aliquid?*" *Nil sane. Quid placet ergo?*
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

315. *scenes*] The flats which met in the centre to form a painted scene, and were drawn apart to reveal the inner stage.

319. The Coronation of Henry the Eighth and Queen Anne Boleyn, in which the Playhouses vied with each other to represent all the pomp of a Coronation. In this noble contention, the Armour of one of the Kings of England was borrowed from the Tower, to dress the Champion [P. *1737–51*].

George II was crowned on Oct. 11, 1727. On Oct. 26, Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* was performed at Drury Lane with Booth as Henry, Cibber as Wolsey, Wilks as Buckingham, and Mrs Porter as Queen Catherine. Special attention was paid to the coronation of Anne Boleyn, which alone cost the managers £1,000. So popular was this spectacle that when Booth grew tired of acting his part after some twenty performances, it was decided to retain it and add it to every other play performed. This continued for about forty nights. The theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields provided a "mock coronation," but it did not please. See Genest, *Account of Eng. Stage*, 1832, iii 197–209.

328. *Orcas*] The farthest Northern Promontory of Scotland, opposite to the

The Play stands still; damn action and discourse,
Back fly the scenes, and enter foot and horse;
Pageants on pageants, in long order drawn,
Peers, Heralds, Bishops, Ermin, Gold, and Lawn;
The Champion too! and, to complete the jest,
Old Edward's Armour beams on Cibber's breast!
With laughter sure Democritus had dy'd,
Had he beheld an Audience gape so wide.
Let Bear or Elephant be e'er so white,
The people, sure, the people are the sight!
Ah luckless Poet! stretch thy lungs and roar,
That Bear or Elephant shall heed thee more;
While all its throats the Gallery extends,
And all the Thunder of the Pit ascends!
Loud as the Wolves on Orcas' stormy steep,
Howl to the roarings of the Northern deep.
Such is the shout, the long-applauding note,
At Quin's high plume, or Oldfield's petticoat,
Or when from Court a birth-day suit bestow'd
Sinks the lost Actor in the tawdry load.
Booth enters—hark! the Universal Peal!
"But has he spoken?" Not a syllable.

Orcades [P. *1737–51*].

331. *Quin's high plume*] Addison remarks (*Spect.* 42) that "the ordinary method of making an Hero, is to clap a huge Plume of feathers upon his head, which rises so very high, that there is often a greater length from his chin to the top of his head, than to the sole of his foot . . . This very much embarrasses the Actor, who is forced to hold his neck extremely stiff and steady all the while he speaks." Quin is represented wearing such a plume while playing Coriolanus in a contemporary engraving reproduced in Doran's *Annals of the Stage*, 1888, ii 160.

Oldfield's petticoat] "A Princess generally receives her grandeur from . . . the broad sweeping train that follows her in all her motions, and finds constant employment for a boy who stands behind her to open and spread it to advantage" (Addison, op. cit.).

332. *birth-day suit*] one of the magnificent suits worn at royal birthday celebrations. Pope mentions them in *Ep.* I vi 33, and *Rape*, B i 23. See also *Donne*, iv 218–25.

Ac ne forte putes, me, quæ facere ipse recusem,
Cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne;
Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire Poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter *angit,*
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magnus, & modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.

Verum age, & his, qui se lectori *credere malunt,*
Quam spectatoris *fastidia ferre superbi,*
Curam redde brevem; si munus Apolline dignum
Vis complere *libris, & vatibus addere calcar,*
Ut studio majore petant Helicona virentem.

Multa quidem nobis facimus mala sæpe poetæ,
(Ut vineta egomet cædam mea) cum tibi librum
Sollicito *damus aut* fesso: *cum lædimur,* unum
Si quis amicorum *est ausus reprendere* versum:
Cum loca iam recitata revolvimus irrevocati:

337. See Addison's *Cato* (1713) v i, where the initial stage direction reads "CATO solus, *sitting in a thoughtful posture* . . ."

354; Latin, 217. *Munus Apolline dignum*] The Palatine Library then building by Augustus [P. *1737–51*].

355. *Merlin's Cave*] A Building in the Royal Gardens of Richmond, where is a small, but choice Collection of Books [P. *1737–51*].

The *Gent. Mag.* announced in June 1735 that "A subterraneous Building is by her Majesty's Order carrying on in the Royal Gardens at *Richmond*, which is to be called *Merlin's Cave*, adorned with Astronomical Figures and Characters" (vol. v, p. 331). "The building . . . was designed by Kent, & was by no means a cave but a thatched House with small gothic windows, & furnished with book-cases. At one end were Six waxen figures large as life: Merlin & his Secretary

"What shook the stage, and made the people stare?"
Cato's long Wig, flowr'd gown, and lacquer'd chair.
Yet lest you think I railly more than teach,
Or praise malignly Arts I cannot reach,
Let me for once presume t'instruct the times,
To know the Poet from the Man of Rymes:
'Tis He, who gives my breast a thousand pains,
Can make me feel each Passion that he feigns,
Inrage, compose, with more than magic Art,
With Pity, and with Terror, tear my heart;
And snatch me, o'er the earth, or thro' the air,
To Thebes, to Athens, when he will, and where.
But not this part of the poetic state
Alone, deserves the favour of the Great:
Think of those Authors, Sir, who would rely
More on a Reader's sense, than Gazer's eye.
Or who shall wander where the Muses sing?
Who climb their Mountain, or who taste their spring?
How shall we fill a Library with Wit,
When Merlin's Cave is half unfurnish'd yet?
My Liege! why Writers little claim your thought,
I guess; and, with their leave, will tell the fault:
We Poets are (upon a Poet's word)
Of all mankind, the creatures most absurd:
The season, when to come, and when to go,

writing at a table, & Two female personages . . . representing the Queen of Henry 7th, Queen Elizabeth, & two Characters out of Ariosto, who celebrated the House of Este from which the House of Brunswick descended" (a note by Hor. Walpole to Wm Mason's *Heroic Epistle*, ed. Toynbee, 1926, p. 59). These figures are described in the *Gent. Mag.* (Aug. 1735, v 498), where it is stated that "Her Majesty has order'd also a choice Collection of *English* Books to be placed therein; and appointed Mr. *Stephen Duck* to be Cave and Library Keeper, and his Wife Necessary Woman there." Duck was allowed to charge a fee for showing the cave to the public (Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ii 396). Mason records the demolition of Merlin's Cave by "Capability" Brown in the *Heroic Epistle* (1773) ll. 53–62.

Cum lamentamur non apparere *labores*
Nostros, & tenui *deducta poemata* filo:
Cum speramus eo rem venturam, ut simul atque
Carmina *rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro*
Arcessas, *& egere vetes, &* scribere cogas.

Sed tamen est operæ pretium *cognoscere*, quales
Ædituos *habeat belli spectata domique*
Virtus, indigno *non committenda* poetæ.

Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui versibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.
[*Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt*
Atramenta, fere scriptores carmine fœdo
Splendida facta linunt. idem rex ille, poema]
Qui tamen ridiculum tam carè prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit, ne quis se, *præter Apellem,*

372. Dryden and Shadwell had held the office of historiographer royal (re-created in 1661) with the laureateship. See E. K. Broadus, *The Laureateship*, 1921, pp. 62, 63.

375. Boileau and Racine were appointed historiographers to Louis XIV in 1677.

378. *some Minister*] Walpole appointed Cibber poet laureate in 1730. Cibber believed he owed his appointment to having written *The Nonjuror* (1717), a satire upon Jacobitism (*Apology*, ch. xv).

381. Bernini was the architect who designed the great colonnade of St Peter's. His bust of Charles I was made in Rome in 1636–7 from a triple portrait painted

To sing, or cease to sing, we never know;
And if we will recite nine hours in ten,
You lose your patience, just like other men.
Then too we hurt our selves, when to defend
A single verse, we quarrel with a friend;
Repeat unask'd; lament, the Wit's too fine
For vulgar eyes, and point out ev'ry line.
But most, when straining with too weak a wing,
We needs will write Epistles to the King;
And from the moment we oblige the town,
Expect a Place, or Pension from the Crown;
Or dubb'd Historians by express command,
T' enroll your triumphs o'er the seas and land;
Be call'd to Court, to plan some work divine,
As once for Louis, Boileau and Racine.
Yet think great Sir! (so many Virtues shown)
Ah think, what Poet best may make them known?
Or chuse at least some Minister of Grace,
Fit to bestow the Laureat's weighty place.
Charles, to late times to be transmitted fair,
Assign'd his figure to Bernini's care;
And great Nassau to Kneller's hand decreed
To fix him graceful on the bounding Steed:
So well in paint and stone they judg'd of merit:
But Kings in Wit may want discerning spirit.
The Hero William, and the Martyr Charles,
One knighted Blackmore, and one pension'd Quarles;

by Vandyke for this purpose, and was presented by the Pope to Henrietta Maria. It perished in the fire at Whitehall in 1696. (See C. F. Bell in *The Times*, Sept. 13, 1921, and Eric Maclagan in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. xl, p. 63.)

382. Kneller's equestrian portrait of William III with allegorical figures, now at Hampton Court, was painted in 1701 to commemorate William's return to England after signing the peace of Ryswick in 1697.

387–9. Blackmore was knighted for his services as court physician, not for his poetry. Nothing is known of Quarles's pension or Jonson's reference to it. The meaning of ll. 388–9 still awaits explanation.

Pingeret, *aut alius Lysippo duceret* æra
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia: *quod si*
Judicium subtile videndis artibus illud
Ad libros, & ad hæc Musarum dona vocares,
Bœotum in crasso jurares aere natum.
[At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia, atque
Munera quae, multa dantis cum laude, tulerunt
Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poetæ:]
Nec magis expressi vultus per ahenea signa,
Quam per vatis opus mores, animique virorum
Clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem
Repentes per humum, quam res *componere* gestas,
Terrarumque situs, & flumina dicere, & arces
Montibus impositas; & barbara regna, *tuisque*
Auspiciis totum confecta duella *per* orbem,
Claustraque Custodem Pacis *cohibentia Janum,*
Et formidatam Parthis, *te Principe, Romam.*
Si quantum cuperem, possem quoque: sed neque parvum
Carmen Majestas *recipit* tua, *nec meus audet*
Rem tentare pudor, quam vires ferre recusant.
Sedulitas autem stultè *quem* diligit, *urget,*
Præcipuè cum se numeris *commendat & arte.*
Discit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud.
Quod quis deridet, *quam quod* probat & veneratur.

Nil moror officium quod me gravat; ac neque ficto
In pejus *voltu proponi cereus usquam,*
Nec pravè factis decorari versibus, opto:
Ne rubeam pingui *donatus* munere; *& una*

394. Homer was thought to have been an inhabitant of Maeonia.

397. Walpole's pacific policy, reluctantly adopted by George II, was becoming increasingly unpopular. *Dearly* is especially ironical. Cf. *Dia.* i 151–160.

410. Dyson quotes Shaftesbury's *Advice to an Author*, Part II, Sect. 1 (ed. 1710,

Which made old Ben, and surly Dennis swear,
"No Lord's anointed, but a Russian Bear."

Not with such Majesty, such bold relief,
The Forms august of King, or conqu'ring Chief,
E'er swell'd on Marble; as in Verse have shin'd
(In polish'd Verse) the Manners and the Mind.
Oh! could I mount on the Mæonian wing,
Your Arms, your Actions, your Repose to sing!
What seas you travers'd! and what fields you fought!
Your Country's Peace, how oft, how dearly bought!
How barb'rous rage subsided at your word,
And Nations wonder'd while they dropp'd the sword!
How, when you nodded, o'er the land and deep,
Peace stole her wing, and wrapt the world in sleep;
Till Earth's extremes your mediation own,
And Asia's Tyrants tremble at your Throne—
But Verse alas! your Majesty disdains;
And I'm not us'd to Panegyric strains:
The Zeal of Fools offends at any time,
But most of all, the Zeal of Fools in ryme.
Besides, a fate attends on all I write,
That when I aim at praise, they say I bite.
A vile Encomium doubly ridicules;
There's nothing blackens like the ink of fools;
If true, a woful likeness, and if lyes,
"Praise undeserv'd is scandal in disguise:"

p. 73; *Characteristicks*, 1711, i p. 226): "Vile *Encomiums* and wretched *Panegyricks* are the worst of *Satyrs*."

413. A quotation from an anonymous poem, *The Celebrated Beauties*, in Dryden's *Miscellany*, vi (1709) [Carruthers].

Cum scriptore meo, capsa porrectus aperta,
Deferar in vicum vendentem thus & odores,
Et piper, & quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis. 270

417. See Biog. App.
418. cf. Boileau, *Sat.* ix 69–74:

> Vous pourrez voir, un temps, vos écrits estimés
> Courir de main en main par la ville semés;
> Puis de là, tout poudreux, ignorés sur la terre,
> Suivre chez l'épicier Neuf-Germain et la Serre;
> Ou, de trente feuillets réduits peut-être à neuf,
> Paver, demi-rongés, les rebords du Pont-Neuf.

Well may he blush, who gives it, or receives;
And when I flatter, let my dirty leaves
(Like Journals, Odes, and such forgotten things
As Eusden, Philips, Settle, writ of Kings)
Cloath spice, line trunks, or flutt'ring in a row,
Befringe the rails of Bedlam and Sohoe.

FINIS

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and a passage from the 1711 translation of Boileau's satire, ll. 81–2:

> Your Works so highly by your self esteem'd
> To Trunks or *London Bridge* may be condemn'd.

419. *Befringe . . . Bedlam*] Gray alludes to this method of displaying pamphlets for sale in a letter to Wharton, Sept. 18, 1754: "Guy, Earl of Warwick . . . died a Hermit (as you may see in a penny History, that hangs upon the rails in Moorfields)," where Bethlehem (or Bedlam) Hospital was then established.

THE SIXTH EPISTLE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF HORACE IMITATED.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated was first published as a 20-page folio in 1738, the title page bearing the date 1737. One line was revised, and a few trivial alterations were made when the poem was reprinted for inclusion in a volume of the collected works in octavo, 1738. No further revisions were made for the octavos of 1740 and 1743, and none are found in Warburton's text, 1751. The present text accepts the revisions of 1738, but in punctuation and typography follows the first edition, from which the Latin text is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1737 = First edition, Griffith 476.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EPIST. VI. LIB. I. AD NUMICIUM.

NIL Admirari, *prope res est una, Numici!*
Solaque, quæ possit facere & servare beatum.

Hunc Solem, & Stellas, & decedentia certis
Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti, spectent.—

— Quid censes munera Terræ?
Quid Maris, extremos Arabas ditantis, & Indos?
Ludicra quid, plausus, & amici dona Quiritis,
Quo spectanda modo, quo sensu *credis, &* ore?

Qui timet *his adversa, fere miratur eodem*
Quo cupiens *pacto; pavor est* utrique *molestus;*
Improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat, an doleat, cupiat, metuatve, quid ad rem?
Si, quicquid vidit melius, pejusve sua spe,
Defixis oculis, animoque & corpore torpet?

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3. *Plain Truth*] "*Nil Admirari*, is as true, in relation to our opinion of authors, as it is in morality; and one may say, *O, admiratores, servum pecus!* full as justly as *O, Imitatores!*" Pope to Spence, *Anecdotes*, p. 217.

4. *Creech*] From whose Translation of *Horace* the two first lines are taken [P. *1738–51*]. Creech's version runs:

Not to admire, as most are wont to do,
It is the only method that I know,
To make Men happy, and to keep 'em so.

THE SIXTH EPISTLE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF *HORACE.*

"NOT to Admire, is all the Art I know,
"To make men happy, and to keep them so."
[Plain Truth, dear MURRAY, needs no flow'rs of speech,
So take it in the very words of *Creech.*]
This Vault of Air, this congregated Ball,
Self-centred Sun, and Stars that rise and fall,
There are, my Friend! whose philosophic eyes
Look thro', and trust the Ruler with his Skies,
To him commit the hour, the day, the year,
And view this dreadful All without a fear.
Admire we then what Earth's low entrails hold,
Arabian shores, or Indian seas infold?
All the mad trade of Fools and Slaves for Gold?
Or Popularity, or Stars and Strings?
The Mob's applauses, or the gifts of Kings?
Say with what eyes we ought at Courts to gaze,
And pay the Great our homage of Amaze?
If weak the pleasure that from these can spring,
The fear to want them is as weak a thing:
Whether we dread, or whether we desire,
In either case, believe me, we admire;
Whether we joy or grieve, the same the curse,
Surpriz'd at better, or surpriz'd at worse.

HORACE] *1751 adds the sub-title* To Mr. MURRAY.

Thomas Creech (1659–1700) was a Fellow of All Souls and Headmaster of Sherborne School, whose best known work is a verse translation of Lucretius (1682), commended by Dryden. His pedestrian translation of Horace was published in 1684; for Pope's acquaintance with it, see Introd. p. xliii*n.*

14. *Strings*] the ribbons of the knightly Orders. Cf. *E. on Man*, iv 205; and Swift, *On Poetry*, l. 463-4:

When on thy Breast and Sides *Herculean*
He fixt the *Star* and *String Cirulean.*

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est, virtutem *si petat ipsam.*

I nunc, argentum & marmor vetus, *æraque &* artes
Suspice; cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores:
Gaude, quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem:
Gnavus mane forum, & vespertinus pete tectum:
Ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mucius. Indignum, quod sit pejoribus ortus!
Hic tibi sit potius, quam tu mirabilis illi?
Quicquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet Ætas,
Defodiet, condetque nitentia. Quum bene notum
Porticus Agrippæ, & via te conspexerit Appi,
Ire tamen restat Numa *quo devenit &* Ancus.

33. Suits worn at the court festivities on the King's Birthday were unusually magnificent. Cf. *Rape*, B i 23, *Ep.* II i 332.

36. i.e. in Parliament, the Court of Chancery, and the High Court of Justice.

39. *noble Wife*] cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 393.

42. *Chloe*] Charles Butler (*Reminiscences*) and Campbell (*Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*) say that these lines and the *Ode to Venus* refer to an unsuccessful address made to a young lady by Murray in his penniless youth. Horace Walpole glosses the passage "Miss Foley"; perhaps she was the sister of Lord Foley, Murray's

Thus good, or bad, to one extreme betray
Th' unbalanc'd Mind, and snatch the Man away;
For Vertue's self may too much Zeal be had;
The worst of Madmen is a Saint run mad.
Go then, and if you can, admire the state
Of beaming diamonds, and reflected plate;
Procure a *Taste* to double the surprize,
And gaze on Parian Charms with learned eyes:
Be struck with bright Brocade, or Tyrian Dye,
Our Birth-day Nobles splendid Livery:
If not so pleas'd, at Council-board rejoyce,
To see their Judgments hang upon thy Voice;
From morn to night, at Senate, Rolls, and Hall,
Plead much, read more, dine late, or not at all.
But wherefore all this labour, all this strife?
For Fame, for Riches, for a noble Wife?
Shall One whom Nature, Learning, Birth, conspir'd
To form, not to admire, but be admir'd,
Sigh, while his Chloë, blind to Wit and Worth,
Weds the rich Dulness of some Son of earth?
Yet Time ennobles, or degrades each Line;
It brighten'd CRAGS's, and may darken thine:
And what is Fame? the Meanest have their day,
The Greatest can but blaze, and pass away.
Grac'd as thou art, with all the Pow'r of Words,
So known, so honour'd, at the House of Lords;
Conspicuous Scene! another yet is nigh,
(More silent far) where Kings and Poets lye;

school-fellow, who had helped him to study for the bar with a gift of £200 a year.

45. *brighten'd Crags's*] "His early career is involved in considerable obscurity, and though the assertion that he commenced life as a country barber is probably untrue, it is quite likely that his earlier occupations were not of the very highest character" (DNB sub J. Craggs, senior).

darken] Murray was the son of Viscount Stormont.

50. *another*] He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Si latus, aut renes morbo tententur acuto,
Quere fugam morbi—

— Vis recte vivere? quis non?
Si Virtus hoc una *potest dare, fortis* omissis
Hoc age deliciis—
— Virtutem verba putas, ut
Lucum ligna? cave ne portus occupet alter,
Ne Cybiratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas.
Mille talenta rotundentur, *totidem altera: porro*
Tertia succedant, & quæ pars quadret *acervum.*
Scilicet Uxorem cum dote, fidemque, & Amicos,

53. *Hyde*] First Earl of Clarendon. Charles II's chief adviser and Lord Chancellor.

56. Joshua Ward, the quack doctor; see Biog. App. Writing of him in 1735, Boyer remarked: "he acquired so great Fame in that Kingdom [France], that he was invited to return to *England*, by some *English* Gentlemen of Quality, whom he had cured of some Distempers there" (*Political State*, vol. xlix, p. 32).

57. *Dover*] see Biog. App.

61. *Disdain*] "On Lord Hyde's return from his travels [in 1732], his brother-

Where MURRAY (long enough his Country's pride)
Shall be no more than TULLY, or than HYDE!
Rack'd with Sciatics, martyr'd with the Stone,
Will any mortal let himself alone?
See Ward by batter'd Beaus invited over,
And desp'rate Misery lays hold on Dover.
The case is easier in the Mind's disease;
There, all Men may be cur'd, whene'er they please.
Would ye be blest? despise low Joys, low Gains;
Disdain whatever CORNBURY disdains;
Be Virtuous, and be happy for your pains.
But art thou one, whom new opinions sway,
One, who believes as Tindal leads the way,
Who Virtue and a Church alike disowns,
Thinks that but words, and this but brick and stones?
Fly then, on all the wings of wild desire!
Admire whate'er the maddest can admire.
Is Wealth thy passion? Hence! from Pole to Pole,
Where winds can carry, or where waves can roll,
For Indian spices, for Peruvian gold,
Prevent the greedy, and out-bid the bold:
Advance thy golden Mountain to the skies;
On the broad base of fifty thousand rise,
Add one round hundred, and (if that's not fair)
Add fifty more, and bring it to a square.
For, mark th' advantage; just so many score
Will gain a Wife with half as many more,

56 See . . . Beaus] Rather than so, see Ward *1737*.

in-law, the Lord Essex, told him, with a great deal of pleasure, that he had got a pension for him. It was a very handsome one, and quite equal to his rank.—All Lord Hyde's answer was: 'How could you tell, my lord, that I was to be sold? or at least, how could you know my price so exactly?'—P. [It was on this account that Mr Pope compliments him with that passage—

'disdain, what Cornbury disdains.'—Spence]"

Anecdotes, p. 292. See Biog. App., Hyde.

Et genus *&* formam *regina Pecunia donat:*
Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela, Venusque.
Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex;
Ne fueris hic tu—

— Chlamydes Lucullus (ut aiunt)
Si posset centum Scenæ præbere rogatus,
Qui possum tot? ait: tamen & quæram, & quot habebo
Mittam. Post paulo scribit, sibi millia quinque
Esse domi chlamydum: partem, vel tolleret omnes.
Exilis domus est, ubi non & multa supersunt,
Et dominum fallunt, *&* prosunt furibus. *Ergo,*

Si res sola potest facere & servare beatum,
Hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
Si Fortunatum species & gratia præstat,
Mercemur *servum, qui dictet nomina, lævum*
Qui fodiat latus, & cogat trans pondera dextram
Porrigere, Hic multum in Fabia *valet, ille* Velina:
Cuilibet hic fasces dabit, eripietque curule
Cui volet importunus *ebur. Frater, pater, adde:*
Ut cuique est ætas, ita quemque facetus *adopta.*

81. Alluding to the City Knighthoods, where wealth and worship go together [Warburton].

83-4. The King and Queen had been greatly angered in the previous year (1737) by the Opposition calling the attention of Parliament to the meanness of the Prince of Wales's income, which had been a matter of semi-private dispute for some time.

85. *Timon*] see *Moral Es.* iv 99*ff.*

87. *a luckless Play*] Warburton may have known to what incident this refers, but he refused to tell. I have been unable to confirm Warton's hesitating con-

Procure her beauty, make that beauty chaste,
And then such Friends—as cannot fail to last.
A Man of wealth is dubb'd a Man of worth,
Venus shall give him Form, and Hercules Birth.
(Believe me, many a German Prince is worse,
Who proud of Pedigree, is poor of Purse)
His Wealth brave Timon gloriously confounds;
Ask'd for a groat, he gives a hundred pounds;
Or if three Ladies like a luckless Play,
Takes the whole House upon the Poet's day.
Now, in such exigencies not to need,
Upon my word, you must be rich indeed;
A noble superfluity it craves,
Not for your self, but for your Fools and Knaves;
Something, which for your Honour they may cheat,
And which it much becomes you to forget.
If Wealth alone then make and keep us blest,
Still, still be getting, never, never rest.
But if to Pow'r and Place your Passion lye,
If in the Pomp of Life consist the Joy;
Then hire a Slave, (or if you will, a Lord)
To do the Honours, and to give the Word;
Tell at your Levee, as the Crouds approach,
To whom to nod, whom take into your Coach,
Whom honour with your hand: to make remarks,
Who rules in Cornwall, or who rules in Berks;
"This may be troublesome, is near the Chair;

jecture that the play was Young's *Busiris*, or Malone's that it was Breval's *Plot*. The "Poet's day" was the performance for the poet's Benefit.

104. *Who rules in Cornwall*] A matter of great importance since the county and its boroughs returned forty-four members to parliament. Corruption was notoriously rife there. Walpole employed Edgcumbe to dispose of Government money in buying the elections, and had him raised to the peerage to prevent his being examined (Horace Walpole to Mann, Apr. 22, 1742).

Berks] Pope may be hinting at court influence upon the Windsor seats; or he may have been in need of a rhyme.

Si, bene qui cænat, bene vivit; "*lucet, eamus*
"*Quo ducit gula: piscemur, venemur:*" *ut olim*
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos,
Differtum transire forum populumque jubebat,
Unus ut e multis populo spectante referret
Emptum mulus aprum—

—Crudi, tumidique lavemur,
Quid deceat, *quid non, obliti: Cerite cera*
Digni, remigium vitiosum *Ithacensis Ulyssei,*
Cui potior patria *fuit interdicta voluptas.*
Si (*Mimnermus uti censet*) *sine* amore, jocisque,
Nil est jucundum; vivas in amore, jocisque.
Vive, vale! si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

110 your] our *1737*.

112. *Up, up*] Wakefield compares Dryden's translation of Persius, *Sat.* v 191:

Up, up, says Avarice; thou snor'st again.

115. *Russel*] "There was a Lord Russell who, by living too luxuriously, had quite spoiled his constitution. He did not love sport, but used to go out with his dogs every day, only to hunt for an appetite. If he felt anything of that, he would cry out, "Oh, I have found it!" turn short round and ride home again, though they were in the midst of the finest chase.—It was this Lord, who, when he met a beggar, and was entreated by him to give him something because he was almost famished with hunger, called him "a happy dog!" and envied him too much to relieve him.—P." (Spence, p. 291). Walpole guessed "Lord Edward," EC Lord Francis, son of the first duke of Bedford. Neither guess is substantiated.

121. *K—l's . . . Ty—y's*] George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, and James O'Hara,

"That makes three Members, this can chuse a May'r."
Instructed thus, you bow, embrace, protest,
Adopt him Son, or Cozen at the least,
Then turn about, and laugh at your own Jest.
Or if your life be one continu'd Treat,
If to live well means nothing but to eat;
Up, up! cries Gluttony, 'tis break of day,
Go drive the Deer, and drag the finny-prey;
With hounds and horns go hunt an Appetite—
So Russel did, but could not eat at night,
Call'd happy Dog! the Beggar at his door,
And envy'd Thirst and Hunger to the Poor.
Or shall we ev'ry Decency confound,
Thro' Taverns, Stews, and Bagnio's take our round,
Go dine with Chartres, in each Vice out-do
K—l's lewd Cargo, or Ty—y's Crew,
From Latian Syrens, French Circæan Feasts,
Return well travell'd, and transform'd to Beasts,
Or for a Titled Punk, or Foreign Flame,
Renounce our Country, and degrade our Name?
If, after all, we must with Wilmot own,
The Cordial Drop of Life is Love alone,

120 Chartres] Charters *1737*. 121 K—l's] K—'s *1737*.

Baron Tyrawley, ambassadors at Constantinople and Lisbon. See further, Biog. App.

127. *The Cordial Drop*] Rochester's *Letter from Artemisa, in the town, to Cloe in the country*, ll. 40–5:

> *Love*, the most gen'rous Passion of the Mind;
> The softest Refuge Innocence can find;
> The safe Director of unguided Youth:
> Fraught with kind Wishes, and secur'd by Truth:
> That Cordial-drop Heav'n in our cup has thrown,
> To make the nauseous Draught of Life go down.

Apparently a well-known passage; EC notes that l. 44 is quoted by Mrs Pendarves in a letter (1728) to Mrs Delany (*Autobiography*, i 150).

And Swift cry wisely, "Vive la Bagatelle!"
The Man that loves and laughs, must sure do well.
Adieu—if this advice appear the worst,
E'en take the Counsel which I gave you first:
Or better Precepts if you can impart,
Why do, I'll follow them with all my heart.

128. *And Swift* &c.] "Neither is my Lord Bolingbroke untinged with [inattention]: all for want of my rule, *Vive la bagatelle!*" Swift to Gay, July 10, 1732.

AN IMITATION OF THE SIXTH SATIRE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF HORACE

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Swift's Imitation of *The Sixth Satire of Horace's Second Book* was written in August 1714 (*Letters of Swift to Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith, 1934, p. 44) and was first published in the "last" volume of the *Miscellanies*, 1727. Pope's addition was published with a reprint of Swift's poem as a 28-page folio in 1738. The new matter consists of ll. 9–28, 133–221. Ll. 133–221 are generally ascribed to Pope and may be accepted as his without hesitation. Courthope and Griffith give ll. 9–28 to Pope, and their indication in *1738a* by marginal commas might be quoted in evidence for this ascription; but Williams, in his edition of Swift's *Poems*, 1937, is inclined to ascribe them to Swift on the evidence of a letter written to Swift by Lord Bathurst on Oct. 5, 1737, which reads:

"That very pretty epistle which you writ many years ago to Lord Oxford, is printed incorrectly. I have a copy, of which I send you a transcript, which has some very good lines in it, that are not in the printed copy, and besides, if you will compare it with the original, you will find that you left off without going through with the epistle. The fable of the country and city mouse is as prettily told as anything of that kind ever was . . . "

Swift, endorsing the letter, notes "20 lines added." All of which is too ambiguous for certain ascription. A few slight revisions were made when the poem was reprinted in the collected works in 1738, 1740, and 1751. The present text embodies the final revisions of 1751, but in punctuation and typography follows the folio of 1738, from which the Latin text is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1727 = Pope-Swift Miscellanies, "last" volume.
1738*a* = Folio edition, Griffith 479.
1738*b* = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. 6, Griffith 648.

ADVERTISEMENT

THE World may be assured, this Publication is no way meant to interfere with the *Imitations* of *Horace* by Mr. *Pope*: His Manner, and that of Dr. *Swift* are so entirely different, that they can admit of no Invidious Comparison. The Design of the one being to sharpen the Satire, and open the Sense of the Poet; of the other to rend[er] his native *Ease* and *Familiarity* yet more easy and familiar.

Q. HORATII FLACCI SAT. VI. LIB. II.

Hoc erat in votis; modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi, & tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons,
Et paulum sylvæ super his foret: auctius atque

Dii melius fecere: bene est: nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria *hæc mihi munera faxis.*

Si neque majorem feci ratione mala rem,
Nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
Si veneror stultus nihil horum; "O si angulus ille
"Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!
"O si urnam argenti fors quæ mihi monstret, ut illi,
"Thesauro invento qui mercenarius agrum
"Illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
"Hercule! si quod adest, gratum juvat; hac prece te oro
Pingue pecus domino facias, & cætera, præter
Ingenium; utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis!
Ergo ubi me in montes & in arcem ex urbe removi,
Quid prius illustrem Satiris, Musaque pedestri?
Nec mala me Ambitio perdit, nec plumbeus Auster,
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinæ quæstus acerbæ.

Matutine pater, seu Jane libentius audis,
Unde homines operum primos vitæque labores

1 I've often] I often *1727*.

THE SIXTH SATIRE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF *HORACE.*

I'VE often wish'd that I had clear
For life, six hundred pounds a year,
A handsome House to lodge a Friend,
A River at my garden's end,
A Terras-walk, and half a Rood
Of Land, set out to plant a Wood.
Well, now I have all this and more,
I ask not to increase my store;
But here a Grievance seems to lie,
All this is mine but till I die;
I can't but think 'twould sound more clever,
To me and to my Heirs for ever.
If I ne'er got, or lost a groat,
By any *Trick*, or any *Fault;*
And if I pray by Reason's rules,
And not like forty other Fools:
As thus, "Vouchsafe, oh gracious Maker!
"To grant me this and t' other Acre:
"Or if it be thy Will and Pleasure
"Direct my Plow to find a Treasure:"
But only what my Station fits,
And to be kept in my right wits.
Preserve, Almighty Providence!
Just what you gave me, Competence:
And let me in these Shades compose
Something in Verse as true as Prose;
Remov'd from all th' ambitious Scene,
Nor puff'd by Pride, nor sunk by Spleen.
In short, I'm perfectly content,
Let me but live on this side *Trent:*

29 In short, I'm] But should be *1727*. 30 Let me] Could I *1727*.

10. See *Sat.* II ii 161–4.

Instituunt (sic diis placitum) tu carminis esto
Principium.
—Romæ sponsorem me rapis: eja,
Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urgue:
Sive Aquilo radit terras, seu bruma nivalem
Interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
Postmodo, quod mihi obsit, clare certumque locuto,
Luctandum in turba; facienda injuria tardis:
Quid vis insane? & quas res agis? Improbus urguet
Iratis precibus; tu pulses omne quod obstat,
Ad Mœcenate memori si mente recurras.

39. "The allusion is to Swift's expenses in entering upon the Deanery of St Patrick's," H. Williams, Swift's *Poems*, 1937.

49. *Ribbons*] the insignia of the Orders of the Garter and the Thistle. Swift's

Nor cross the Channel twice a year,
To spend six months with Statesmen here.
I must by all means come to town,
'Tis for the Service of the Crown,
"Lewis, the Dean will be of use,
"Send for him up, take no excuse.
The toil, the danger of the Seas;
Great Ministers ne'er think of these;
Or let it cost five hundred pound,
No matter where the money's found;
It is but so much more in debt,
And that they ne'er consider'd yet.
"Good Mr. Dean go change your gown,
"Let my Lord know you've come to town.
I hurry me in haste away,
Not thinking it is Levee-day;
And find his Honour in a Pound,
Hemm'd by a triple Circle round,
Chequer'd with Ribbons blue and green;
How should I thrust my self between?
Some Wag observes me thus perplext,
And smiling, whispers to the next,
"I thought the Dean had been too proud,
"To justle here among a croud."
Another in a surly fit,
Tells me I have more Zeal than Wit,
"So eager to express your love,
"You ne'er consider whom you shove,
"But rudely press before a Duke.
I own, I'm pleas'd with this rebuke,
And take it kindly meant to show

53 Dean] D—n *1738a*. 54 a] the *1751*.

contempt for the servility for which these ribbons were the reward is expressed in the *Voyage to Lilliput*, ch. iii.

Hoc juvat, & melli est, non mentiar: at simul atras
Ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
Per caput & circa saliunt latus. Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.
De re communi scribæ magna atque nova te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.
Imprimat his cura Mæcenas signa tabellis.
Dixeris, Experiar: Si vis, potes, addit, & instat.

Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus,
Ex quo Mæcenas me cœpit habere suorum
In numero, duntaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rheda
Vellet, iter faciens, & cui concredere nugas
Hoc genus; Hora quota est? Threx est Gallina Syro par?
Matutina parum cautos jam frigora mordent:
Et quæ rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.

84. Swift was first introduced to Harley on Oct. 4, 1710. See *Journal to Stella.*
94. Three of Swift's fellow-members of the Scriblerus Club. "The only meet-

What I desire the World should know.
I get a whisper, and withdraw;
When twenty Fools I never saw
Come with Petitions fairly penn'd,
Desiring I would stand their friend.
This, humbly offers me his Case—
That, begs my int'rest for a Place—
A hundred other Men's affairs
Like Bees are humming in my ears.
"Tomorrow my Appeal comes on,
"Without your help the Cause is gone—
The Duke expects my Lord and you,
About some great Affair, at Two—
"Put my Lord Bolingbroke in mind,
"To get my Warrant quickly sign'd:
"Consider, 'tis my first request.—
Be satisfy'd, I'll do my best:—
Then presently he falls to teize,
"You may for certain, if you please;
"I doubt not, if his Lordship knew—
And, Mr. Dean, one word from you—
'Tis (let me see) three years and more,
(October next it will be four)
Since HARLEY bid me first attend,
And chose me for an humble friend;
Wou'd take me in his Coach to chat,
And question me of this and that;
As, "What's o'clock?" And, "How's the Wind?"
"Who's Chariot's that we left behind?
Or gravely try to read the lines
Writ underneath the Country Signs;
Or, "Have you nothing new to-day
"From Pope, from Parnel, or from Gay?

ings that we can specifically date took place in 1714" (Sherburn, p. 78), the year in which this poem was written.

Per totum hoc tempus subjectior in diem & horam
Invidiæ. Noster ludos spectaverat una;
Luserat in Campo: Fortunæ filius; omnes.

Frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor:
Quicunque obvius est, me consulit; O bone (nam te
Scire, Deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet)
Num quid de Dacis audîsti? Nil equidem: Ut tu
Semper eris derisor! At omnes Dii exagitent me,
Si quicquam. Quid? militibus promissa Triquetra
Prædia Cæsar, an est Itala tellure daturus?
Jurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
Scilicet egregii mortalem altique silentî.

Perditur hæc inter misero lux, non sine votis:

100. *Charing-Cross*] where Royal Proclamations are read.
114. The Emperor was the only allied power who refused to make peace with

Such tattle often entertains
My Lord and me as far as Stains,
As once a week we travel down
To Windsor, and again to Town,
Where all that passes, *inter nos*,
Might be proclaim'd at Charing-Cross.
Yet some I know with envy swell,
Because they see me us'd so well:
"How think you of our Friend the Dean?
"I wonder what some people mean;
"My Lord and he are grown so great,
"Always together, *tête à tête*,
"What, they admire him for his jokes—
"See but the fortune of some Folks!
There flies about a strange report
Of some Express arriv'd at Court,
I'm stopp'd by all the fools I meet,
And catechis'd in ev'ry street.
"You, Mr Dean, frequent the great;
"Inform us, will the Emp'ror treat?
"Or do the Prints and Papers lye?
Faith, Sir, you know as much as I.
"Ah Doctor, how you love to jest?
" 'Tis now no secret—I protest
'Tis one to me—"Then tell us, pray,
"When are the Troops to have their pay?
And, tho' I solemnly declare
I know no more than my Lord Mayor,
They stand amaz'd, and think me grown
The closest mortal ever known.
Thus in a sea of folly toss'd,
My choicest Hours of life are lost;
Yet always wishing to retreat,

France in 1713 on terms especially favourable to England.

O rus quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit,
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno & inertibus horis,
Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?

O quando faba Pythagoræ cognata, simulque
Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo?
O noctes cœnæque deûm! quibus ipse meique,
Ante larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
Pasco libatis dapibus. Prout cuique libido est,
Siccat inæquales calices conviva solutus
Legibus insanis; seu quis capit acria fortis
Pocula, seu modicis uvescit lætius. Ergo
Sermo oritur non de villis domibusve alienis,
Nec, male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, & nescire malum est, agitamus: utrumne
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati:
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne trahat nos?
Et quæ sit natura boni, summumque quid ejus?

Cervius hæc inter vicinus garrit aniles
Ex re fabellas. Siquis nam laudat Arelli
Solicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit. Olim
Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum;
Asper, & attentus quæsitis, ut tamen arctum
Solveret hospitiis animum: quid multa? neque ille
Sepositi ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ:

137. Ward quotes Pope's account of Bolingbroke's frugal fare: "for one whole day, we have had nothing for dinner but mutton-broth, beans, and bacon, and

Oh, could I see my Country Seat!
There, leaning near a gentle Brook,
Sleep, or peruse some ancient Book,
And there in sweet oblivion drown
Those Cares that haunt the Court and Town.
O charming Noons! and Nights divine!
Or when I sup, or when I dine,
My Friends above, my Folks below,
Chatting and laughing all-a-row,
The Beans and Bacon set before 'em,
The Grace-cup serv'd with all decorum:
Each willing to be pleas'd, and please,
And even the very Dogs at ease!
Here no man prates of idle things,
How this or that Italian sings,
A Neighbour's Madness, or his Spouse's,
Or what's in either of the *Houses:*
But something much more our concern,
And quite a scandal not to learn:
Which is the happier, or the wiser,
A man of Merit, or a Miser?
Whether we ought to chuse our Friends,
For their own Worth, or our own Ends?
What good, or better, we may call,
And what, the very best of all?
Our Friend Dan *Prior* told, (you know)
A Tale extreamly *à propos:*
Name a Town Life, and in a trice,
He had a Story of *two Mice.*
Once on a time (so runs the Fable)
A Country Mouse, right hospitable,
Receiv'd a Town Mouse at his Board,
Just as a Farmer might a Lord.

a barn-door fowl" (to Swift, June 28, 1728).

Aridum & ore ferens acinum, semesaque lardi
Frustra dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cœna
Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo:
Cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
Esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
Tandem urbanus ad hunc, Quid te juvat, inquit, amice,
Prærupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
Vis tu homines urbemque feris præponere sylvis?
Carpe viam (mihi crede) comes, terrestria quando
Mortales animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
Aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo bone circa,
Dum licet, in rebus jucundis vive beatus:
Vive memor quam sis ævi brevis. Haec ubi dicta
Agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit: inde
Ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
Mœnia nocturni subrepere: jamque tenebat
Nox medium cœli spatium, cum ponit uterque
In locuplete domo vestigia; rubro ubi cocco
Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos:
Multaque de magna superessent fercula cœna,
Quæ procul extructis inerant hesterna canistris.

175–6, *1738b–43 read*
"As sweet a Cave as one shall see!
"A most Romantic hollow Tree!

167. "I found my wife vexed at her people for grumbling to eate Suffolk

A frugal Mouse upon the whole,
Yet lov'd his Friend, and had a Soul;
Knew what was handsome, and wou'd do't,
On just occasion, *coute qui coute.*
He brought him Bacon (nothing lean)
Pudding, that might have pleas'd a Dean;
Cheese, such as men in Suffolk make,
But wish'd it Stilton for his sake;
Yet to his Guest tho' no way sparing,
He eat himself the Rind and paring.
Our Courtier scarce could touch a bit,
But show'd his Breeding, and his Wit,
He did his best to seem to eat,
And cry'd, "I vow you're mighty neat.
"But Lord, my Friend, this savage Scene!
"For God's sake, come, and live with Men:
"Consider, Mice, like Men, must die,
"Both small and great, both you and I:
"Then spend your life in Joy and Sport,
"(This doctrine, Friend, I learnt at Court.)
The veriest Hermit in the Nation
May yield, God knows, to strong Temptation.
Away they come, thro' thick and thin,
To a tall house near Lincoln's-Inn:
('Twas on the night of a Debate,
When all their Lordships had sate late.)
Behold the place, where if a Poet
Shin'd in Description, he might show it,
Tell how the Moon-beam trembling falls
And tips with silver all the walls:

"A pretty kind of savage Scene!
"But come, for God's sake, live with Men:
177–80 *No initial inverted commas in 1738a.*

cheese, which I also am vexed at." Pepys's *Diary*, Oct. 4, 1661.

Ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
Agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes,
Continuatque dapes; nec non vernaliter ipsis
Fungitur officiis, prælambens omne quod affert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte, bonisque
Rebus agit lætum convivam; cum subito ingens
Valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque;
Currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
Exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
Personuit canibus. Tum rusticus, Haud mihi vita
Est opus hac, ait, & valeas: me sylva cavusque
Tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.

Palladian walls, Venetian doors,
Grotesco roofs, and Stucco floors:
But let it (in a word) be said,
The Moon was up, and Men a-bed,
The Napkins white, the Carpet red:
The Guests withdrawn had left the Treat,
And down the Mice sate, *tête à tête.*
Our Courtier walks from dish to dish,
Tastes for his Friend of Fowl and Fish;
Tells all their names, lays down the law,
"*Que ça est bon! Ah goutez ça!*
"That Jelly's rich, this Malmsey healing,
"Pray dip your Whiskers and your Tail in".
Was ever such a happy Swain?
He stuffs and swills, and stuffs again.
"I'm quite asham'd—'tis mighty rude
"To eat so much—but all's so good.
"I have a thousand thanks to give—
"My Lord alone knows how to live".
No sooner said, but from the Hall
Rush Chaplain, Butler, Dogs and all:
"A Rat, a Rat! clap to the door—
The Cat comes bouncing on the floor.
O for the Heart of Homer's Mice,
Or Gods to save them in a trice!
(It was by Providence, they think,
For your damn'd Stucco has no chink)
"An't please your Honour, quoth the Peasant,
"This same Dessert is not so pleasant:
"Give me again my hollow Tree!
"A Crust of Bread, and Liberty.

198 walks] skips *1738b–43.* 218 An't] Now *1738b–43.*

THE SEVENTH EPISTLE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF HORACE

Imitated in the Manner of Dr. SWIFT

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace. Imitated in the Manner of Dr Swift was first published in vol. ii, part 2, of Pope's collected works in octavo, 1739 (the titlepage bears the date 1738). No changes are found in the text as printed in the octavos of 1740 and 1743, but a few trivial revisions appear in Warburton's text in 1751. Presumably these are Pope's. They are incorporated into the present text, which otherwise follows the text of the first edition.

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1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. vi, Griffith 648.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EP. VII. LIB. I.

QUINQUE *dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,*
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui
Si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
Quam mihi das ægro, dabis ægrotare timenti,
Mæcenas, veniam; dum ficus prima calorque
Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris;
Dum pueris omnis pater & matercula pallet;
Officiosaque sedulitas, & opella forensis
Adducit febres, & testamenta resignat.

Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,
Ad mare descendet vates tuus, & sibi parcet,
Contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset
Cum Zephyris, si concedes, & hirundine prima.

Non quo more pyris vesci Calaber jubet hospes,
Tu me fecisti locupletem: "Vescere sodes.
Jam satis est. "At tu quantum vis tolle. Benigne.

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1. When Pope imitated Horace's first epistle to Maecenas he addressed it to Bolingbroke, which argues that this imitation of another epistle to Maecenas may have been addressed to Bolingbroke as well. Lines 12 and 82 might be quoted in frail support of this view; on the other hand, Bolingbroke had few favours to bestow in the seventeen-thirties (l. 21), and was not besieged by

THE SEVENTH EPISTLE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF *HORACE*

Imitated in the Manner of Dr. SWIFT

'TIS true, my Lord, I gave my word,
I would be with you, June the third;
Chang'd it to August, and (in short)
Have kept it—as you do at Court.
You humour me when I am sick,
Why not when I am splenatick?
In town, what Objects could I meet?
The shops shut up in every street,
And Fun'rals black'ning all the Doors,
And yet more melancholy Whores:
And what a dust in ev'ry place!
And a thin Court that wants your Face,
And Fevers raging up and down,
And W* and H* both in town!
"The Dog-days are no more the case."
'Tis true, but Winter comes apace:
Then southward let your Bard retire,
Hold out some months 'twixt Sun and Fire,
And you shall see, the first warm Weather,
Me and the Butterflies together.
My lord, your Favours well I know;
'Tis with Distinction you bestow;
And not to every one that comes,
Just as a Scotsman does his Plumbs.
"Pray take them, Sir,—Enough's a Feast:
"Eat some, and pocket up the rest—"

14 W* and H*] P—x and P** *1738–43*.

fools with compliments (l. 29). Ll. 3, 15, 73 suggest that the poem was written in the autumn of 1737.

14. *W* and H**] Possibly Ward and Henley, as two representative quacks for bodily and mental ailments [Ward].

"*Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.*
Tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus.
"*Ut libet: hæc porcis hodie comedenda relinques.*
Prodigus & stultus donat quæ spernit & odit:
Hæc seges ingratos tulit, & feret omnibus annis.
Vir bonus & sapiens dignis ait esse paratus;
Nec tamen ignorat quid distent æra lupinis.

Dignum præstabo me etiam pro laude merentis.
Quod si me noles usquam discedere, reddes
Forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos;
Reddes dulce loqui; reddes ridere decorum, &
Inter vina fugam Cynaræ mærere protervæ.

Forte per angustam tenuis nitedula rimam
Repserat in cumeram frumenti; pastaque rursus
Ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra:
Cui mustela procul, Si vis, ait effugere istinc,
Macra cavum repetes arctum, quem macra subisti.

29 *Horace, nitedula*] Bentley's conjecture, now usually accepted. P corrects to *volpecula* in *1740*.

45. *the lively Eye*] cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 118. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who saw Pope in 1740, was impressed by his "large and very fine eye" (Prior's *Life of*

What rob your Boys? those pretty rogues!—
"No Sir, you'll leave them to the *Hogs*."
Thus Fools with Compliments besiege ye,
Contriving never to oblige ye.
Scatter your Favours on a Fop,
Ingratitude's the certain crop;
And 'tis but just, I'll tell you wherefore,
You give the things you never care for.
A wise man always is or should
Be mighty ready to do good;
But makes a diff'rence in his thought
Betwixt a Guinea and a Groat.
Now this I'll say, you'll find in me
A safe Companion, and a free;
But if you'd have me always near—
A word, pray, in your Honour's ear.
I hope it is your Resolution
To give me back my Constitution!
The sprightly Wit, the lively Eye,
Th' engaging Smile, the Gaiety,
That laugh'd down many a Summer's Sun,
And kept you up so oft till one;
And all that voluntary Vein,
As when Belinda rais'd my Strain.
A Weasel once made shift to slink
In at a Corn-loft thro' a Chink;
But having amply stuff'd his skin,
Cou'd not get out as he got in:
Which one belonging to the House
('Twas not a Man, it was a Mouse)
Observing, cry'd, "You scape not so,

33 you] ye *1751*. 34 give] gave *1738–43*.
47 Summer's] Summer *1751*.

Malone, 1860, p. 429).
50. i.e. when he wrote *The Rape of the Lock*.

Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno:
Nec somnum plebis laudo, satur altilium, nec
Otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
Sæpe verecundum laudâsti; rexque paterque
Audisti coram; nec verbo parcius absens:
Inspice si possum donata reponere lætus.

* * * * *

Parvum parva decent: mihi jam non regia Roma,
Sed vacuum Tibur placet, aut imbelle Tarentum.
Strenuus & fortis rebusque Philippus agendis, &c.

67. Mr. Craggs gave him some South-sea subscriptions. He was so indifferent about them as to neglect making any benefit of them. He used to say it was a satisfaction to him that he did not grow rich (as he might have done) by the

"Lean as you came, Sir, you must go."
Sir, you may spare your Application
I'm no such Beast, nor his Relation;
Nor one that Temperance advance,
Cramm'd to the throat with Ortolans:
Extremely ready to resign
All that may make me none of mine.
South-sea Subscriptions take who please,
Leave me but Liberty and Ease.
'Twas what I said to Craggs and Child,
Who prais'd my Modesty, and smil'd.
Give me, I cry'd, (enough for me)
My Bread, and Independency!
So bought an Annual Rent or two.
And liv'd—just as you see I do;
Near fifty, and without a Wife,
I trust that sinking Fund, my Life.
Can I retrench? Yes, mighty well,
Shrink back to my Paternal Cell,
A little House, with Trees a-row,
And like its Master, very low,
There dy'd my Father, no man's Debtor,
And there I'll die, nor worse nor better.
To set this matter full before you,
Our old Friend Swift will tell his Story.
"Harley, the Nation's great Support,"—
But you may read it, I stop short.

81 you] ye *1751*.

public calamity [Warburton].

79. Pope's father died at Chiswick in 1717.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF HORACE IMITATED.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The First Epistle of The First Book of Horace Imitated was first published as a 22-page folio in 1738, the titlepage bearing the date 1737. Several revisions were made in the text when the poem was reprinted for inclusion in the octavo volume of the collected works later in the same year, and a few more appear for the first time in Warburton's edition, 1751. These final revisions are accepted in the present text which follows the first edition in typography and punctuation, except where confusion might arise through leaving inverted commas open. The Latin text is also taken from the first edition, two misprints being silently corrected.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1737 = First edition, Griffith 480.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EPIST. I. LIB. I. AD MÆCENATEM.

PRIMA *dicte mihi, summâ dicende Camenâ!*
Spectatum satis, & donatum jam rude, quæris
(Mæcenas) iterum antiquo me includere ludo?
Non eadem est ætas, non mens. Vejanius Armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro,
Ne populum extremâ, toties, exoret arenâ.

Est mihi, purgatam crebro qui personet aurem;
"Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
"Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat."

Nunc itaque, & Versus & cætera ludicra *pono,*
Quid verum *atque* decens, *curo & rogo, &* omnis *in hoc sum.*
Condo & compono quæ mox *depromere possim.*

EPISTLE I.] *1751 adds the sub-title* To L. BOLINGBROKE

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3. *Sabbath*] i.e. The forty-ninth year, the age of the Author [Warburton]. Pope had already turned forty-nine.

7. *Gen'rals . . . Garden gates*] Warton has preserved the tradition that Pope was alluding to the entrance of Lord Peterborough's Lawn at Bevismount, near Southampton. Peterborough had died in 1735; but that is not necessarily an objection to the truth of the tradition, for Pope had published the lines describing his care for his dying mother in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* eighteen months after her death. Cf. *Moral Es.* iv. 30.

14. Audra (*L'Influence Française*, p. 362) compares the 1711 translation of Boileau's Tenth Epistle, ll. 63–6:

> His *Pegasus* shou'd now the Race give o're,
> He's Old and Weak, and shou'd be Rid no more,

EPISTLES OF HORACE.
BOOK I. EPISTLE I.

ST JOHN, whose love indulg'd my labours past
Matures my present, and shall bound my last!
Why will you break the Sabbath of my days?
Now sick alike of Envy and of Praise.
Publick too long, ah let me hide my Age!
See modest Cibber now has left the Stage:
Our Gen'rals now, retir'd to their Estates,
Hang their old Trophies o'er the Garden gates,
In Life's cool evening satiate of applause,
Nor fond of bleeding, ev'n in BRUNSWICK's cause.
  A Voice there is, that whispers in my ear,
('Tis Reason's voice, which sometimes one can hear)
"Friend Pope! be prudent, let your Muse take breath,
"And never gallop Pegasus to death;
"Lest stiff, and stately, void of fire, or force,
"You limp, like Blackmore, on a Lord Mayor's horse."
  Farewell then Verse, and Love, and ev'ry Toy,
The rhymes and rattles of the Man or Boy:
What right, what true, what fit, we justly call,

1 ST JOHN,] S** *1737*. 10 BRUNSWICK's] BR—'s *1737*.
15 or] and *1737*.

Least, his Wind broke, and ev'ry Limb unsound,
He falls, and leaves his Master on the Ground.

16. *Blackmore*] The fame of this heavy Poet, however problematical elsewhere, was universally received in the City of London. His versification is here exactly described: stiff, and not strong; stately and yet dull, like the sober and slow-paced Animal generally employed to mount the Lord Mayor: and therefore here humourously opposed to Pegasus [P. *1751*].

"His residence was in Cheapside, and his friends were chiefly in the city. In... Blackmore's time a citizen was a term of reproach; and his place of abode was another topick to which his adversaries had recourse, in the penury of scandal." Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ii 236. See further Biog. App.

18. *rattles*] Cf. *E. on Man*, ii 275–82.

Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, *quo* Lare *tuter?*
Nullius addictus jurare in verba Magistri,
Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor Hospes.
Nunc agilis *fio, & mersor* civilibus undis,
Virtutis veræ Custos, rigidusque satelles.
Nunc in Aristippi furtim *præcepta* relabor
Et mihi res, non me rebus, submittere conor.

Ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque
Longa videtur opus debentibus, *ut piger annus*
Pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum:
Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque *tempora, quæ spem*
Consiliumque morantur *agendi gnaviter* id, *quod*
Æque pauperibus *prodest,* locupletibus *æque,*
Æque neglectum pueris, senibusque *nocebit.*

Restat, *ut his ego me ipse regam, solerque,* Elementis.

26. *Montagne . . . Lock*] "There are, also, four dialogues in prose [by Prior], between persons of characters very strongly opposed to one another, which I thought very good . . . [One] between Montaigne and Locke, on a most regular and a very loose way of thinking." Pope to Spence (before 1730), p. 49.

27. *Patriot*] A member of the Opposition. See Pope's note to *Dia.* i 24.

31. Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res [P. *1737–51*]. Pope quotes from Horace, *Ep.* I xvii 23. Aristippus was the founder of the Cyrenaic school of Philosophers, who held that, since the present only can be experienced, momen-

Let this be all my care—for this is All:
To lay this harvest up, and hoard with haste
What ev'ry day will want, and most, the last.
But ask not, to what Doctors I apply?
Sworn to no Master, of no Sect am I:
As drives the storm, at any door I knock,
And house with Montagne now, or now with Lock.
Sometimes a Patriot, active in debate,
Mix with the World, and battle for the State,
Free as young Lyttelton, her cause pursue,
Still true to Virtue, and as warm as true:
Sometimes, with Aristippus, or St. Paul,
Indulge my Candor, and grow all to all;
Back to my native Moderation slide,
And win my way by yielding to the tyde.
Long, as to him who works for debt, the Day;
Long as the Night to her whose love's away;
Long as the Year's dull circle seems to run,
When the brisk Minor pants for twenty-one;
So slow th' unprofitable Moments roll,
That lock up all the Functions of my soul;
That keep me from Myself; and still delay
Life's instant business to a future day:
That task, which as we follow, or despise,
The eldest is a fool, the youngest wise;
Which done, the poorest can no wants endure,
And which not done, the richest must be poor.
Late as it is, I put my self to school,

tary pleasure is the chief good. Aristippus was Bolingbroke's favourite philosopher (Swift to Pope, Apr. 5, 1729).

St. Paul] Pope had in mind such verses as these: "Even as I please all men in all things . . . [that they may be saved]" (1 Cor. x 33), and "Let your moderation be known unto all men" (Phil. iv 5).

32. *Candor*] i.e. Impartiality.

45. *can . . . endure*] i.e. can want nothing.

Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi:
Nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,
Nodosâ corpus nolis prohibere chiragrâ.
Est quâdam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.

Fervet Avaritia, miseroque Cupidine pectus?
Sunt verba *&* voces, *quibus hunc lenire dolorem*
Possis, & magnam morbi deponere partem.
Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa piacula, *quæ te*
Ter *pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.*
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, Amator,
Nemo adeo ferus *est ut non mitescere possit,*
Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem.

Virtus est vitium fugere, & Sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse—
—Vides, quæ maxima credis
Esse mala, exiguum censum, turpemque repulsam,
Quanto devites animi, capitisque labore?
Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem *fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:*
Ne cures ea que stulte *miraris & optas*
Discere, & audire, & meliori credere non vis?

51. Mead was the most famous physician of his day, and Cheselden the most famous surgeon. Both were on friendly terms with Pope; after mentioning their attention to him in his last illness in a letter to Allen, May 7, 1744, he continues: "there is no end of my kind treatment from y^e^ Facultie they are in general y^e^ most Amiable Companions and y^e^ best friends as well as the most learned men I know I hope both you and I shall preserve y^e^ frienship of all we know" (Egerton MS. 1947, f. 151^r^, amanuensis). See also Biog. App.

And feel some comfort, not to be a fool.
Weak tho' I am of limb, and short of sight,
Far from a Lynx, and not a Giant quite,
I'll do what MEAD and CHESELDEN advise,
To keep these limbs, and to preserve these eyes.
Not to go back, is somewhat to advance,
And men must walk at least before they dance.
Say, does thy blood rebel, thy bosom move
With wretched Av'rice, or as wretched Love?
Know, there are Words, and Spells, which can controll
(Between the Fits) this Fever of the soul:
Know, there are Rhymes, which (fresh and fresh apply'd)
Will cure the arrant'st Puppy of his Pride.
Be furious, envious, slothful, mad or drunk,
Slave to a Wife or Vassal to a Punk,
A Switz, a High-dutch, or a Low-dutch Bear—
All that we ask is but a patient Ear.
'Tis the first Virtue, Vices to abhor;
And the first Wisdom, to be Fool no more.
But to the world, no bugbear is so great,
As want of figure, and a small Estate.
To either India see the Merchant fly,
Scar'd at the spectre of pale Poverty!
See him, with pains of body, pangs of soul,
Burn through the Tropic, freeze beneath the Pole!
Wilt thou do nothing for a nobler end,
Nothing, to make Philosophy thy friend?
To stop thy foolish views, thy long desires,
And ease thy heart of all that it admires?

52. *these eyes*] Pope complains of short-sightedness in a letter to Cromwell, July 17, 1709, and as early as 1717 he was receiving treatment (EC vi 246). Towards the end of his life, he suffered from cataract (letters to Warburton, Jan. 18, 1742–3, June 5, 1743; to Cheselden, Nov. 21).

70. *pale Poverty*] Pope has borrowed from and improved upon Creech's rendering:

and leave pale Want behind.

"*Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum—*
"*O cives, cives! quærenda Pecunia primum est,*
"*Virtus post nummos—Hæc* Janus summus *ab* imo
Prodocet: hæc recinunt juvenes dictata, senesque,
Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.

Est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua, fidesque—
Si quadringentis sex, septem millia desint,
Plebs *eris*—

At pueri ludentes, 'Rex *eris* (*aiunt*)
"*Si recte facies.*" *Hic* murus aheneus *esto*,
Nil conscire *sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ!*

88 Dorimant] Bestia fain *1737*.

82. *low . . . high*] These words had been in use since about the beginning of the century to designate the two parties in the English church. See *Tatler*, No. 220.

The Dean of St Paul's, Francis Hare, had shown his High-Churchmanship by attacking the Bishop of Bangor's views in a pamphlet entitled *Church Authority Vindicated*, 1719. Secker, the Rector of St James's, Westminster, had also taken the High Church side in the Bangorian controversy; but his Whig politics and the favour in which he was held at court must have associated him in Pope's mind with the Low Church party. See further, Biog. App.

84. *Sticks*] Exchequer tallies; i.e. sticks cut into two parts, on each of which is marked with notches, what is due between debtor and creditor. It was the ancient mode of keeping accounts; one part was held by the creditor, and the other by the debtor. The use of tallies in the Exchequer was abolished in 1783. (Wharton's *Law Lex.*)

87. *Harness*] the order of the Garter, which "Bug" had been given in 1712.

88. *Bug*] the nickname of Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent, according to Horace

Here, Wisdom calls: "Seek Virtue first! be bold!
"As Gold to Silver, Virtue is to Gold."
There, London's voice: "Get Mony, Mony still!
"And then let Virtue follow, if she will."
This, this the saving doctrine, preach'd to all,
From low St. James's up to high St. Paul;
From him whose quills stand quiver'd at his ear,
To him who notches Sticks at Westminster.
BARNARD in spirit, sense, and truth abounds.
"Pray then what wants he?" fourscore thousand pounds,
A Pension, or such Harness for a slave
As Bug now has, and Dorimant would have.
BARNARD, thou are a *Cit*, with all thy worth;
But Bug and D*l, Their *Honours*, and so forth.
Yet every child another song will sing,
"Virtue, brave boys! 'tis Virtue makes a King."
True, conscious Honour is to feel no sin,
He's arm'd without that's innocent within;
Be this thy Screen, and this thy Wall of Brass;
Compar'd to this, a Minister's an Ass.

90 But . . . *Honours*] Bestia and Bug, Their *Honours 1737:* But wretched Bug, His *Honour 1738–43*.

Walpole and a correspondent of the Duchess of Marlborough (*Letters*, 1838, i 243). Its origin is suggested in a note of the Earl of Dartmouth to Burnet's *History of his Own Times* (v 140): "The Earl of Kent was strong in nothing but money and smell, the latter to a high degree." See further Biog. App.

Dorimant] a young fop in Etherege's *Man of Mode*.

89. *Cit*] Short for *citizen*. "A pert low townsman; a pragmatical trader." OED, from Johnson.

worth] EC points out that Horace's Roman was not entitled to sit as an *eques* in the senatorial ranks at the theatre because he did not possess 40,000 sesterces. Money alone, in fact, conferred a status. But what Barnard, the city merchant, lacked in order to be honoured like Bug, was not money but birth.

90. *D*l*] Perhaps Francis Scott, the young Earl of Delorain [Croker].

95. *Screen*] Warburton quotes from Dacier's note on *murus aheneus:* " 'an *old veteran*, armed cap-à-pie in *brass*, and *placed to cover his Fellow*.' Our Poet has happily served himself of this impertinence to convey a fine stroke of Satire."

96. The point of this addition to the Latin is explained in a note to *Dia.* i 22.

Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex, an puerorum
Nœnia? quæ regnum recte facientibus offert,
Et Maribus Curiis, *& decantata* Camillis?

Isne tibi melius suadet, qui "Rem facias, rem,
"Si possis, recte, si non, quocunque modo rem."
Ut proprius spectes lacrymosa Poemata Pupi!
An, qui Fortunæ te responsare superbæ
Liberum & erectum, præsens *hortatur, & aptat?*

Quod si me Populus Romanus forte roget, cur
Non, ut porticibus, sic judiciis fruar iisdem,
Nec sequar aut fugiam, quos diligit ipse, vel odit?
Olim quod Vulpes ægroto cauta Leoni
Respondit, referam: "Quia me vestigia terrent
"Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

Bellua multorum *est* capitum, *nam quid sequar aut quem?*

105. *Eunuchs*] The most famous *castrato* of the day was Farinelli (1705–82). He came to England for three seasons in 1734, and excited great enthusiasm at the opera. The following *castrati* were also fulfilling operatic engagements in London at about this time, Bernacchi, Caffarelli, Carestini, Gizziello, and Senesino (Grove's *Dict. of Music*).

106. *a King*] George II was an enthusiastic patron of Handel's operas.

112. *S*z*] Augustus Schutz, Keeper of the Privy Purse. See Biog. App.

And say, to which shall our applause belong,
This new Court jargon, or the good old song?
The modern language of corrupted Peers,
Or what was spoke at CRESSY and POITIERS?
Who counsels best? who whispers, "Be but Great,
"With Praise or Infamy, leave that to fate;
"Get Place and Wealth, if possible, with Grace;
"If not, by any means get Wealth and Place.
For what? to have a Box where Eunuchs sing,
And foremost in the Circle eye a King.
Or he, who bids thee face with steddy view
Proud Fortune, and look shallow Greatness thro':
And, while he bids thee, sets th' Example too?
If such a Doctrine, in St. James's air,
Shou'd chance to make the well-drest Rabble stare;
If honest S*z take scandal at a spark,
That less admires the Palace than the Park;
Faith I shall give the answer Reynard gave,
"I cannot like, Dread Sir! your Royal Cave;
"Because I see by all the Tracks about,
"Full many a Beast goes in, but none come out."
Adieu to Virtue if you're once a Slave:
Send her to Court, you send her to her Grave.
Well, if a King's a Lion, at the least
The People are a many-headed Beast:
Can they direct what measures to pursue,

112 S*z] S* *1737*. 117 come] comes *1737–43*.

114. *Reynard*] Cf. Creech's version: My Answer must be what sly *Reynard* said.

117. *Beast*] This expression is used for the joke's sake; but it hurts his *moral* [l. 118–19]; which is, that *they come out beasts*" [Warburton].

120. *King's a Lion*] "Oh! a story of Mr. Pope and the Prince:—'Mr. Pope, you don't love princes.' 'Sir, I beg your pardon.' 'Well, you don't love kings then!' 'Sir, I own I love the lion best before his claws are grown' " (Walpole to Mann, Sept. 13, 1741).

Pars hominum gestit conducere Publica. *Sunt qui*
Crustis & Pomis, Viduas venentur avaras,
Excipiantque Senes quos in vivaria mittunt.
Multis *occulto crescit res fœnore—*

—Verum
Esto, aliis alios rebus, studiisque teneri:
Iidem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?

"Nullus in orbe locus Baiis *prælucet amœnis:"*
Si dixit Dives, *lacus & mare* sentit *amorem*
Festinantis *heri. Cui si vitiosa* Libido
Fecerit auspicium, *cras, "ferramenta* Teanum
"Tolletis, fabri!—

127. *to plunder Provinces*] A reference to Marlborough, "infamous for plunder'd provinces" (*E. on Man*, iv 298).

128. *farm the Poor-box*] alluding to the officers who embezzled the funds of the Charitable Corporation. See *Moral Es.* iii 100*n*.

129. *keep Assemblies*] e.g. Beau Nash, who had ruled at Bath since about 1705.

130. *childless Dotards . . . rich Widows*] The satire is universal, and the imitation closely follows the Latin; it is therefore unnecessary to suppose that Pope had particular examples in mind. Yet he may have reflected, as Warton points out, that these lines were applicable to Lord Sidney Beauclerc, brother of the Duke of St. Albans, who had danced attendance on Sir Thomas Reeve, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and later on Mr Topham of Windsor, who made him his

Who know themselves so little what to do?
Alike in nothing but one Lust of Gold,
Just half the land would buy, and half be sold:
Their Country's wealth our mightier Misers drain,
Or cross, to plunder Provinces, the Main:
The rest, some farm the Poor-box, some the Pews;
Some keep Assemblies, and wou'd keep the Stews;
Some with fat Bucks on childless Dotards fawn;
Some win rich Widows by their Chine and Brawn;
While with the silent growth of ten per Cent,
In Dirt and darkness hundreds stink content.
Of all these ways, if each pursues his own,
Satire be kind, and let the wretch alone.
But show me one, who has it in his pow'r
To act consistent with himself an hour.
Sir Job sail'd forth, the evening bright and still,
"No place on earth (he cry'd) like Greenwich hill!"
Up starts a Palace, lo! th' obedient base
Slopes at its foot, the woods its sides embrace,
The silver Thames reflects its marble face.
Now let some whimzy, or that Dev'l within
Which guides all those who know not what they mean
But give the Knight (or give his Lady) spleen;
"Away, away! take all your scaffolds down,
"For Snug's the word: My dear! we'll live in Town."

heir (Sir C. H. Williams's *Peter and my Lord Quidam*, Works, 1822, i 47). In the same poem we learn that Horace Walpole, the elder, was fawning on Sir Richard Ellys with the same purpose in view, and that Pulteney was working for the Duchess of Buckingham's money. But more notorious was Robert Nugent, who by marrying the ugly sister and heiress of James Craggs in March 1737 provided himself with a seat in parliament, the ownership of a parish in Essex, and £100,000 (DNB). "Mr Nugent" was Horace Walpole's gloss on l. 131.

138. *Sir Job*] Perhaps Sir Job may have been Sir Gregory Page Turner [Dilke]. An improbable attribution, but no better has been suggested. See Biog. App., Sir Gregory Page (Page Turner was his great-nephew).

—*Lectus genialis in aula est?*
Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cælibe vita:
Si non est, jurat bene solis esse maritis.
Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?
Quid pauper? *ride: mutat* cænacula, lectos,
Balnea, tonsores; *conducto navigio, æquè*
Nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis.

Si curtatus inæquali *tonsore capillos*
Occurro, rides; si forte subucula pexæ
Trita subest tunicæ, vel si toga dissidet impar,
Rides: quid? mea cum pugnat Sententia *secum,*
Quod petiit, spernit; repetit quod nuper omisit;
Æstuat, & Vitæ disconvenit ordine toto;
Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?
Insanire putas solennia me; neque rides,
Nec Medici *credis, nec* Curatoris *egere*
A Prætore *dati? rerum Tutela mearum*
Cum sis, & pravè sectum stomacheris ob unguem,
De te pendentis, te suspicientis, *Amici.*

148. *Stocken*] An old custom according to which on the wedding night the bride's stocking was thrown among the guests; it was supposed that the person hit by it would be the first of the company to be married [OED].

I do not know why Pope (or Warburton) changed the spelling, unless it was to suggest that this was an old or country custom, no longer to be found in polite society.

150. *The Fool*] No contemporary reference has been suggested; nor is it necessary to search for one, since the satire is universal.

152. *Proteus*] a sea-god who had the power of assuming any form he pleased.

156. *Japanner*] Shoe-black. A new "art," according to Gay, *Trivia,* ii 166.

At am'rous Flavio is the Stocken thrown?
That very night he longs to lye alone.
The Fool whose Wife elopes some thrice a quarter,
For matrimonial Solace dies a martyr.
Did ever Proteus, Merlin, any Witch,
Transform themselves so strangely as the Rich?
"Well, but the Poor"—the Poor have the same itch:
They change their weekly Barber, weekly News,
Prefer a new Japanner to their shoes,
Discharge their Garrets, move their Beds, and run
(They know not whither) in a Chaise and one;
They hire their Sculler, and when once aboard,
Grow sick, and damn the Climate—like a Lord.
You laugh, half Beau half Sloven if I stand,
My Wig all powder, and all snuff my Band;
You laugh, if Coat and Breeches strangely vary,
White Gloves, and Linnen worthy Lady Mary!
But when no Prelate's Lawn with Hair-shirt lin'd,
Is half so incoherent as my Mind,
When (each Opinion with the next at strife,
One ebb and flow of follies all my Life)
I plant, root up, I build, and then confound,
Turn round to square, and square again to round;
You never change one muscle of your face,
You think this Madness but a common case,
Nor once to Chanc'ry, nor to Hale apply;

148 Stocken] Stocking *1737–43*. 173 Hale] Hales *1737–43*.

159. *Sculler*] Cf. Creech's version:

Or hires a paltry Sculler for a Groat.

164. Lady Mary Wortley Montague seems to have been a bye-word for slovenliness. "The good woman . . . was up to her ears in ten thousand yards of cloth. She could have afforded to have sold Lady Mary Wortley a clean shift, of the usual coarseness she wears, for a groat halfpenny" Horace Walpole to Mann, Sept. 7, 1743.

173. *Hale*] The Doctor of Bedlam [P. *1737–43*]. But he had died in 1728. See Biog. App.

Ad summam, Sapiens *uno minor est* Jove! *Dives!*
Liber! honoratus! pulcher!—
—Rex denique regum!
Præcipue sanus—
—Nisi cum pituita molesta est.

177. *Guide, Philosopher, and Friend*] Pope had addressed Bolingbroke by these titles in *E. on Man,* iv 390.

181. *without Title*] His name was erased from the roll of Peers in 1715.

182. *plunder'd*] In consequence of the Act of Attainder passed upon him in 1715, his estates were forfeited.

183. *follow'd*] He became the Opposition's inspiration when he returned to

Yet hang your lip, to see a Seam awry!
Careless how ill I with myself agree;
Kind to my dress, my figure, not to Me.
Is this my Guide, Philosopher, and Friend?
This, He who loves me, and who ought to mend?
Who ought to make me (what he can, or none,)
That Man divine whom Wisdom calls her own,
Great without Title, without Fortune bless'd,
Rich ev'n when plunder'd, honour'd while oppress'd,
Lov'd without youth, and follow'd without power,
At home tho' exil'd, free, tho' in the Tower.
In short, that reas'ning, high, immortal Thing,
Just less than Jove, and much above a King,
Nay half in Heav'n—except (what's mighty odd)
A Fit of Vapours clouds this Demi-god.

England, but he was not allowed to lead it in Parliament.

184. *in the Tower*] This would have been applicable to Oxford, but not to Bolingbroke who fled from England without awaiting trial.

188. *Demi-god*] "Lord Bolingbroke is something superior to any thing I have seen in human nature. You know I don't deal much in hyperboles: I quite think him what I say". Pope to Spence (p. 169).

EPILOGUE

TO THE

SATIRES.

DIALOGUE I.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight. A Dialogue Something like Horace was first published as a 16-page folio in May 1738. It was reprinted with numerous revisions a year later in an octavo volume of the collected works (1738 on the title page). A few more revisions are found in the octavo of 1740, the title being altered at the same time to *Epilogue to the Satires. Written in 1738. Dialogue I.* A revision in l. 16 was subsequently made at Warburton's request—the only revision found in the 1751 text. The present text follows the revised text of 1740 and incorporates the single revision of 1751; but in punctuation and typography it follows the first edition.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1738*a* = First edition, Griffith 484.
1738*b* = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

EPILOGUE TO THE SATIRES. WRITTEN IN 1738. *DIALOGUE I.*

Fr.

Not twice a twelvemonth you appear in Print,
And when it comes, the Court see nothing in't.
You grow *correct* that once with Rapture writ,
And are, besides, too *Moral* for a Wit.
Decay of Parts, alas! we all must feel—
Why now, this moment, don't I see you steal?
'Tis all from *Horace: Horace* long before ye
Said, "Tories call'd him Whig, and Whigs a Tory;"
And taught his Romans, in much better metre,
"To laugh at Fools who put their trust in *Peter*."

Heading] ONE THOUSAND||SEVEN HUNDRED||AND|| THIRTY EIGHT.||*DIALOGUE.*||*1738a;* ONE THOUSAND||SEVEN HUNDRED||AND||THIRTY EIGHT.|| DIALOGUE I.||*1738b.*
1 *Fr*] *A 1738a.*
7–8 *1738a reads:* 'Tis all from *Horace:* did not *Horace* say
"Lord *Fanny* spun a thousand lines a day?
9 taught his Romans] long before you *1738a.*
10 To laugh at] Laugh at those *1738a.*

---

1 *ff.* These two lines are from Horace [*Sat.* II iii 1–4]; and the only lines that are so in the whole Poem; being meant to give a handle to that which follows in the character of an impertinent Censurer,

'Tis all from Horace; etc. [P. *1751*].
Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
Membranam poscas, scriptorum quæque retexens,
Iratus tibi, quod vini somnique benignus
Nil dignum sermone canas.

7. *'Tis all from Horace*] Cf. Boileau, *Sat.* ix 127–30:
Mais lui, qui fait ici le régent du Parnasse,
N'est qu'un gueux revêtu des dépouilles d'Horace.
Avant lui Juvénal avait dit en latin
Qu'on est assis à l'aise aux sermons de Cotin.

8. Quoted from *Sat.* II i 68. L. 8 of the first edition (see apparatus) was quoted from *Sat.* II i 6.

10. Quoted with a slight alteration from *Sat.* II i 40.

But *Horace*, Sir, was delicate, was nice;
Bubo observes, he lash'd no sort of *Vice:*
Horace would say, *Sir* Billy *serv'd the Crown,*
Blunt *could do Bus'ness*, H—ggins *knew the Town,*
In *Sappho* touch the *Failing of the Sex,*
In rev'rend Bishops note some *small Neglects,*
And own, the *Spaniard* did a *waggish thing,*
Who cropt our Ears, and sent them to the King.
His sly, polite, insinuating stile

14 H—ggins] Huggins *1738b.*
15 *1738a reads* Sir *George* of *some slight Gallantries* suspect.
16 Bishops] *S—n 1738a;* Sutton *1738b;* Su—n *1740–3.* some] a *1738a. Neglects*] *Neglect 1738a.*

12. *Bubo*] Some guilty person very fond of making such an observation [P. *1751*]. By *Bubo* Pope usually intends Bubb Dodington, see l. 68 and *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 280.

13. *Sir Billy*] Yonge. See Biog. App.

14. *Blunt*] See Biog. App.

H—ggins] Formerly Jaylor of the Fleet prison, enriched himself by many exactions, for which he was tried and expelled [P. *1751*]. See Biog. App., Huggins.

15. *Sappho*] see *Sat.* II i 83.

15. var. *Sir George*] Oxenden. See Biog. App.

16. See Apparatus. The reflections on Sir Robert Sutton here and in *Moral Es.* iii 105 (*q.v.*) were withdrawn at the instance of Warburton. The point in the allusion to Sutton's *neglects* was that when charged, as a Governor of the Charitable Corporation, with embezzling the funds, Sir Paul Methuen defended him in the House of Commons by saying that though he was guilty of the grossest *neglect* in suffering rogues to cheat the poor, he was innocent of fraud (Egmont, i 267). See further, *Moral Es.* iii 100*n* and *Donne* iv 142*n*.

18. *cropt our Ears*] Said to be executed by the Captain of a Spanish ship on one Jenkins a Captain of an English one. He cut off his ears, and bid him carry them to the King his master [P. *1751*].

Jenkins's ear was said to have been cut off on April 9, 1731. This action was referred to in the *Gent. Mag.* the following June, when Jenkins had already laid his case before the King; but it was not until March, 1737–8, two months before this poem was published, that Jenkins appeared before a select committee of the House of Commons, which was examining complaints of British merchants touching Spanish depredations. His case helped to bring on the war with Spain. (*Polit. Hist. Eng.*, 1909, ix 358–60; Coxe, i 579–80).

Could please at Court, and make AUGUSTUS smile:
An artful Manager, that crept between
His Friend and Shame, and was a kind of *Screen.*
But 'faith your very Friends will soon be sore;
Patriots there are, who wish you'd jest no more—
And where's the Glory? 'twill be only thought
The Great man never offer'd you a Groat.
Go see Sir ROBERT—
P. See Sir ROBERT!—hum—

20 make] made *1738a.* 22 Friend] Friends *1738a.* 27 *P.*] *B. 1738a.*

22. *His Friend &c.*]

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, & admissus circum præcordia ludit.

[Persius, *Sat.* i 116]. [P. *1738a–51*].

He has borrowed from Dryden's translation, ll. 231–4:

Unlike in method, with conceal'd design,
Did crafty *Horace* his low Numbers joyn:
And, with a sly insinuating Grace,
Laugh'd at his Friend, and look'd him in the Face.

Screen] A metaphor peculiarly appropriated to a certain person in power [P. *1751*]. A reference to Walpole's policy of opposing all Parliamentary enquiries into public frauds. When the proposal for appointing a committee of inquiry into the affairs of the South Sea Company in 1733 was defeated, certain of the Lords recorded their protest in the Journals of the House. "Impunity of guilt," they said, ". . . is the strongest encouragement to the repetition of the same practices in future times, by chalking out a safe method of committing the most flagitious frauds under the protection of some corrupt and all-screening minister" (Hervey, p. 198). *Craftsman*, No. 403 (Mar. 23, 1733–4) elaborates the same metaphor for the purpose of attacking Walpole.

24. *Patriots*] This appelation was generally given to those in opposition to the Court. Though some of them (which our author hints at) had views too mean and interested to deserve that name [P. *1751*].

Pattison notes "Opposite this line Lord Marchmont, Pope's friend and executor, wrote Carteret and Pulteney, intimating that these two, after the Queen's death, were desirous of modifying their opposition to the Court." See Biog. App., W. Pulteney, and Introduction, p. xxxiv.

26. *The Great man*] A phrase, by common use, appropriated to the first minister [P. *1751*].

27–36. According to Warburton, Walpole owed this back-handed compliment to his having used his influence with Fleury to procure an Abbey at

And never laugh—for all my life to come?
Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of Social Pleasure, ill-exchang'd for Pow'r;
Seen him, uncumber'd with the Venal tribe,
Smile without Art, and win without a Bribe.
Would he oblige me? let me only find,
He does not think me what he thinks mankind.
Come, come, at all I laugh He laughs, no doubt,
The only diff'rence is, I dare laugh out.

F. Why yes: with *Scripture* still you may be free;
A Horse-laugh, if you please, at *Honesty;*
A Joke on JEKYL, or some odd *Old Whig,*

31–2 Seen . . . Bribe] *add. 1738b.*
34 He . . . mankind] He thinks one Poet of no venal kind *1738a.*
37 *F*] *A 1738a.*

Avignon for Southcote, who had been the means of saving Pope's life when he was a young man. Pope's application to Walpole seems to have been made about the year 1725 (Spence, p. 7).

29. *happier hour*] Coxe (i 755) reports that a bitter political opponent said of Walpole, "Never was a man in private life more beloved: And his enemies allow no man did ever in private life deserve it more."

31. These two verses were originally in the poem, though omitted in all the first editions [P. *1751*]. This addition is equivocal, as Pope, by his note, would seem to admit; for it was Walpole's system of bribery which the Opposition and Pope himself (l. 160) were readiest to attack. On reintroducing the couplet, Pope was forced to revise l. 34 so as to avoid repetition (see apparatus).

34. Alluding to the political maxim attributed to him, *All men have their price.* Coxe points out (i 757) that this is a perversion of his comment upon certain declamatory "patriots": *All those men have their price.*

37. Pope is undoubtedly tilting at Walpole throughout this paragraph.

39. *Jekyl*] Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls, a true Whig in his principles, and a man of the utmost probity. He sometimes voted against the Court, which drew upon him the laugh here described of ONE who bestowed it equally upon Religion and Honesty. He died a few months after the publication of this poem. [P. *1751*]. In spite of the loyal support he gave to Walpole, Jekyll spoke against the Court party in the matter of the Marlborough election petition (1735), and was the occasion of its defeat. His action angered the Queen, who, writes Hervey, "was always cajoling, always abusing, always hoping to manage [him],

Who never chang'd his Principle, or Wig:
A Patriot is a Fool in ev'ry age,
Whom all Lord Chamberlains allow the Stage:
These nothing hurts; they keep their Fashion still,
And wear their strange old Virtue as they will.

If any ask you, "Who's the Man, so near
"His Prince, that writes in Verse, and has his Ear?
Why answer LYTTELTON, and I'll engage
The worthy Youth shall ne'er be in a rage:
But were his Verses vile, his Whisper base,
You'd quickly find him in Lord *Fanny*'s case.
Sejanus, Wolsey, hurt not honest FLEURY,

51 *Sejanus, Wolsey*] *Ægysthus, Verres 1738a.*

and always finding she was deceived in [him]" (*Memoirs*, p. 419). This passage led Croker to suppose that by "ONE" in the note above Pope meant the Queen; but as EC points out, the context suggests that Walpole was intended.

Old Whig] the italics emphasize the distinction from the government's supporters.

40. *or Wig*] Alluding to the change of fashion in periwigs, due in the first place to officers in the French army, who endeavoured to overcome the inconvenience of wearing a full-bottomed wig, when riding or fighting, by tying back the long side-curls with ribbons (see Köhler's *History of Costume*, trs. A. K. Dallas, 1928, p. 332). The new fashion spread to England and was adopted by the younger generation, as the frontispiece to Curll's publication, *The School of Venus* (1739), shows (reproduced by F. W. Fairholt in his *Costume in England*, 1846, p. 367). Jekyll clung to the older fashion. This we know from Lord Mansfield's comment on hearing that Jekyll had bequeathed £20,000 to the Commissioners of the National Debt to be applied as a sinking fund, "He might as well have attempted to stop the middle arch of Blackfriars Bridge with his full-bottomed wig" (DNB).

42. This reflects upon the act carried in the previous year (1737), which provided that no play could be publicly acted without the licence of the Lord Chamberlain.

47. George Lyttelton, Secretary to the Prince of Wales, distinguished both for his writings and speeches in the spirit of Liberty [P. *1751*]. See Biog. App.

50. *Lord Fanny*] Hervey. See *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, ll. 319, 356, 357.

51. *Sejanus, Wolsey*] The one the wicked minister of Tiberius; the other, of Henry VIII. The writers against the Court usually bestowed these and other

But well may put some Statesmen in a fury.

Laugh then at any, but at Fools or Foes;
These you but anger, and you mend not those:
Laugh at your Friends, and if your Friends are sore,
So much the better, you may laugh the more.
To Vice and Folly to confine the jest,
Sets half the World, God knows, against the rest;
Did not the Sneer of more impartial men
At Sense and Virtue, balance all agen.
Judicious Wits spread wide the Ridicule,
And charitably comfort Knave and Fool.

P. Dear Sir, forgive the Prejudice of Youth:
Adieu Distinction, Satire, Warmth, and Truth!
Come harmless *Characters* that no one hit,
Come *Henley*'s Oratory, *Osborn*'s Wit!
The Honey dropping from *Favonio*'s tongue,

54 you mend] amend *1738b*. 63 *P*] *B 1738a*.
67 *Favonio*'s] *Ty—l*'s *1738ab*.

odious names on the Minister, without distinction, and in the most injurious manner. See *Dial.* II v 137 [P. *1751*].

In the first edition, Pope used the examples of Aegisthus, Clytemnestra's paramour during Agamemnon's absence at Troy, and Verres, the tyrannical governor of Sicily prosecuted by Cicero.

Fleury] Cardinal: and Minister to Louis XV. It was a Patriot-fashion, at that time, to cry up his wisdom and honesty [P. *1751*]. See Biog. App.

Contemporaries would inevitably recall the occasion in 1721 when the Duke of Wharton had compared Stanhope with Sejanus, and Stanhope had retorted with such violence of indignation that he broke a blood-vessel and died the following day. But in view of Pope's admiration for Stanhope's conduct (*Dia.* ii 80), it is scarcely conceivable that he can have been referring to this. Walpole had been obliquely compared with Wolsey, Verres, and Sejanus in *The Craftsman* (Nos. 8, 259, 413).

66. *Henley . . . Osborn*] See them in their places in the Dunciad [P. *1751*].

Dunciad B iii 199, ii 312. For Osborne, see Biog. App., Pitt.

67, var. *Ty—l*] i.e. Tyrconnel. See Biog. App., Brownlow, John, Viscount Tyrconnel. Croker supposes that *Favonio* may have been suggested to Pope

The Flow'rs of *Bubo*, and the Flow of *Y—ng!*
The gracious Dew of Pulpit Eloquence;
And all the well-whipt Cream of Courtly Sense,
That first was *H—vy*'s, *F—*'s next, and then
The *S—*te's, and then *H—vy*'s once agen.
O come, that easy *Ciceronian* stile,

68 *Bubo*, and] *Bub—ton*, *1738ab*.

because Tyrconnel is in the *west* of Ireland, but it is unnecessary to assume that Pope still had Tyrconnel in mind.

68. Bubb Dodington and Sir W. Yonge. Cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 280.

69. Alludes to some court sermons, and florid panegyrical speeches; particularly one very full of puerilities and flatteries; which afterwards got into an address in the same pretty style; and was lastly served up in an Epitaph, between Latin and English, published by its author [P. *1751*]. Henry Fox moved the address of condolence on the Queen's death sent by the Commons to the King on January 24, 1737–8 (*Parl. Hist.* x 367). Pope evidently believed (l. 71) that Hervey wrote Fox's speech. It became "The Se[na]te's" on its acceptance by the Commons. It was afterwards served up again in Hervey's Latin epitaph. Pope was mistaken, or pretended to be; he admits doubt about the authorship in *Dia.* ii 166–70 (July) and, perhaps offensively (as Croker suggests), reversed the order in an erratum to l. 71 published in a later edition (August; Griffith 498). This erratum was not intended to be taken seriously, for it was not subsequently observed.

Dew] "Dr. Gilbert, afterwards Archbishop of York, affected to cry in the pulpit, preaching on the death of the Queen" (Walpole's note to *Dia.* ii 164).

71–2. See previous notes.

73–5. Pope refers to Hervey's Latin epitaph on the Queen, written on a hint from the King, "to please a fond Husband, not an uninterested Reader" (Hervey to Middleton, February 4, 1738; B.M. Adds MS. 32, 458, *f.* 24^{v}). The King expressed his approval and allowed Hervey to submit it to Dr Freind, the late Headmaster of Westminster School, for correction. The corrected copy was passed about and got into print without Hervey's knowledge. Middleton's commendations were reserved; he had never yet seen any faultless modern Latin, but "if it be y^{r} L—p's, I admire it; if Dr Friend's c^{d} animadvert upon it." He sent his corrections on February 12 (f. 27). When Pope's poem was published, Middleton expressed his surprise to Hervey at finding his own name there "at it's full length . . . for I had always receiv'd civilities from him; but he does me y^{e} greatest honour, when he treats me as Your Lordship's friend; I cannot guess y^{e} reason of his joining me wth *Bland*; he has certainly paired us very unequally; one, who receives not a penny either from Church or State, wth y^{e} best beneficed Clergyman in y^{e} Kingdom" (f. 45^{v}). The offensiveness of these

So *Latin*, yet so *English* all the while,
As, tho' the Pride of *Middleton* and *Bland*,
All Boys may read, and Girls may understand!
Then might I sing without the least Offence,
And all I sung should be the *Nation's Sense:*
Or teach the melancholy Muse to mourn,
Hang the sad Verse on CAROLINA's Urn,
And hail her passage to the Realms of Rest,
All Parts perform'd, and *all* her Children blest!
So—Satire is no more—I feel it die—

79–82 Or . . . blest] *add. 1738b.* 82 *all*] all *1738b.*

lines would be aggravated by the reference to the *Life of Cicero* at which he was then working. Pope hints that Middleton and Bland collaborated to write Hervey's epitaph for him. Bland's name may have been used either because Pope needed the rhyme, or (since he had taught Fox at Eton) to suggest that Fox and Hervey had collaborated in the epitaph as well as in the address. See further, Biog. App.

78. *Nation's Sense*] The cant of Politics at that time [Warburton]. EC quotes from the *Marchmont Papers*, ii 124: "The nation and the House of Commons are very different things . . . it may very often happen, that the sense of the one is very different from the voice of the other." See OED, § 18*b*.

80. *Carolina*] Queen consort to King George II. She died in 1737. Her death gave occasion, as is observed above, to many indiscreet and mean performances unworthy of her memory, whose last moments manifested the utmost courage and resolution [P. *1751*].

Warburton attempts to gloss the equivocation of the last clause and the sarcasm of l. 82 by quoting a letter from Pope to Allen (November 24, 1737) in which he mentions the Queen's death with deep respect.

82. Contemporary gossip reported that the Queen had died without taking the last sacrament and without being reconciled to the Prince of Wales. These reports were almost certainly correct. Lord Hervey, who described the Queen's last illness in great detail, mentions nothing of the sacrament and reports that the Queen said to the King, "I am so far from desiring to see him [the Prince], that nothing but your absolute commands should ever make me consent to it" (*Memoirs*, p. 888). Ford gave Swift a similar account on November 22, but added, "nor could the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he gave her the sacrament, prevail on her, though she said, she heartily forgave the prince." Ford was mistaken about the sacrament; the Bishops of Lichfield and Bristol assured the Earl of Egmont that the Archbishop had not given the sacrament, "the service being longer than she could bear to hear read" (*Diary*, ii 446–50).

No *Gazeteer* more innocent than I!
And let, a God's-name, ev'ry Fool and Knave
Be grac'd thro' Life, and flatter'd in his Grave.

F. Why so? if Satire know its Time and Place,
You still may lash the Greatest—in Disgrace:
For Merit will by turns forsake them all;
Would you know when? exactly when they fall.
But let all Satire in all Changes spare
Immortal *S—k*, and grave *De—re!*
Silent and soft, as Saints remove to Heav'n,
All Tyes dissolv'd, and ev'ry Sin forgiv'n,
These, may some gentle, ministerial Wing
Receive, and place for ever near a King!
There, where no Passion, Pride, or Shame transport,
Lull'd with the sweet *Nepenthe* of a Court;
There, where no Father's, Brother's, Friend's Disgrace
Once break their Rest, or stir them from their Place;
But past the Sense of human Miseries,
All Tears are wip'd for ever from all Eyes;
No Cheek is known to blush, no Heart to throb,
Save when they lose a Question, or a Job.

P. Good Heav'n forbid, that I shou'd blast their Glory,

87 *F.*] *A. 1738a.* know] knows *1751.* 105 *P.*] *B. 1738a.*

84. *Gazeteer*] a journalist appointed and paid by the government. Pope writes to Lord Marchmont, June 22, 1740, "The very gazeteer is more innocent and better bred. When he abuses the brave or insults the dead he lays the fault another day upon his *printer*."

92. *S—k . . . De—re*] A title given *that* Lord by King James II. He was of the Bedchamber to King William; he was so to King George I. he was so to King George II. *This* Lord was very skilful in all the forms of the House, in which he discharged himself with great gravity [P. *1751*]. See Biog. App., Douglas (Earl of Selkirk) and West (Earl De La Warr).

102. *Isaiah* xxv 8, already imitated by Pope in *Messiah*, 46.

104. *lose a Question*] i.e. when they have a motion or proposal rejected by parliament.

Who know how like Whig-Ministers to Tory,
And when three Sov'reigns dy'd, could scarce be vext,
Consid'ring what a Gracious Prince was next.
Have I in silent wonder seen such things
As Pride in Slaves, and Avarice in Kings,
And at a Peer, or Peeress shall I fret,
Who starves a Sister, or forswears a Debt?
Virtue, I grant you, is an empty boast;
But shall the Dignity of *Vice* be lost?
Ye Gods! shall *Cibber*'s Son, without rebuke
Swear like a Lord? or a *Rich* out-whore a Duke?
A Fav'rite's *Porter* with his Master vie,
Be brib'd as often, and as often lie?
Shall *Ward* draw Contracts with a Statesman's skill?
Or *Japhet* pocket, like his Grace, a Will?

112 Sister] Mother *1738a.*
119–20 Shall . . . Will?] *add. 1738b.*

108. *Gracious Prince*] An ironical commendation of George II. At the same time this line seriously implies the hopes which the Opposition based on Frederick, Prince of Wales, then at enmity with his father (see l. 82*n*, and *Dia.* ii 92*n*).

112. Lady Mary. See *Sob. Adv.* 21*n*, 53*n*.

113. A satirical ambiguity—either that those *starve who have it*, or that those who *boast of it, have it not:* and both together (he insinuates) make up the present state of *modern virtue* [Warburton].

115. *Cibber's Son . . . Rich*] Two Players: look for them in the Dunciad [P. *1751*] *Dunciad*, B iii 142, 261; and see Biog. App., Theophilus Cibber, John Rich.

119–21. *Ward . . . Japhet . . . Bond . . . Peter*] See *Moral Es.* iii 20, 86, 100, 123, and Biog. App., Japhet Crook, Peter Walter, etc.

120. *pocket . . . Will*] Pope alludes here and in l. 122 to Archbishop Wake's action in handing George I's will to his son, who suppressed it. George II's motives have been entirely misunderstood until recent years. It seems that in his will George I had attempted to provide for the dissociation of Hanover and England after Prince Frederick's death. "The will was unanimously pronounced by George II's Hanoverian ministers to be illegal and invalid, and after much discussion, including consultation with Cardinal Fleury, the new King decided, with the concurrence of both his Governments, to suppress a document which had no legal validity, and whose publication would serve no useful purpose, while it might easily lead to obvious international, national, and family complications" (*Hervey Memoirs*, Pref. p. xxxv).

Is it for *Bond* or *Peter* (paltry Things!)
To pay their Debts or keep their Faith like Kings?
If *Blount* dispatch'd himself, he play'd the man,
And so may'st Thou, Illustrious *Passeran!*
But shall a *Printer*, weary of his life,
Learn from their Books to hang himself and Wife?
This, this, my friend, I cannot, must not bear;
Vice thus abus'd, demands a Nation's care;
This calls the Church to deprecate our Sin,
And hurls the Thunder of the Laws on *Gin*.

Let modest *Foster*, if he will, excell
Ten Metropolitans in preaching well;

121 *Bond*] *W—rd 1738a.* 123 dispatch'd] destroy'd *1738a.*
127 must] will *1738a.* 131 modest] humble *1738a.*

123. *Blount*] Author of a[n impious and foolish *add 1751*] Book intitled [called *1751*], The Oracles of Reason, [*so 1738–43, 1751 adds*] who being in love with a near kinswoman of his, and rejected, gave himself a stab in the arm, as pretending to kill himself, of the consquence of which he really died [P.]. See Biog. App.

124. *Passeran*] Author of another, called a Philosophical Discourse on Death [P. *1738b–1743*]. See Biog. App., Radicati.

125. *a Printer*] A Fact that happened in London a few years past. The unhappy man left behind him a paper justifying his action by the reasonings of some of these authors [P. *1751*].

The printer was one Richard Smith; he and his wife were found "hanging in their Chamber" on April 18, 1732. Smith had left behind a letter, explaining his action, which was printed in *Gent. Mag.* ii 723 [Wilkes].

130. *Gin*] A spirituous liquor, the exorbitant use of which had almost destroyed the lowest rank of the People till it was restrained by an act of Parliament in 1736 [P. *1751*].

Pope's statement is not exaggerated, but the Act of 1736 proved too severe; for though it effected some restraint at first, illegal sales and riots followed. The Act was modified in 1743, but the orgy of gin-drinking was not successfully checked until after 1751. See D. George, *London Life in the XVIIIth Century*, 1930, pp. 27–42.

132. "I used to suspect that the phrase of *preaching well* so unlike the concise accuracy of Pope, would not have been hazarded by him, if some eminent writer, tho' perhaps of an older age and less correct taste than his own, had not set the example. But I had no doubt left when I happened on the following

A simple Quaker, or a Quaker's Wife,
Out-do *Landaffe*, in Doctrine—yea, in Life;
Let humble ALLEN, with an aukward Shame,
Do good by stealth, and blush to find it Fame.
Virtue may chuse the high or low Degree,
'Tis just alike to Virtue, and to me;
Dwell in a Monk, or light upon a King,
She's still the same, belov'd, contented thing.
Vice is undone, if she forgets her Birth,
And stoops from Angels to the Dregs of Earth:

134 *Landaffe*] *L—d—ffe 1738a.* 135 humble] low-born *1738a.*

couplet in Mr. Waller.

Your's sounds aloud, and tells us you *excell*
No less in courage, than *in singing well.*
Poem to Sir W. D'Avenant.

Our great poet is more happy in the application of these rhymes on another occasion [*E. on C.* 15]. (R. Hurd, *A Letter to Mr. Mason*, 1757, p. 69).

133. *a Quaker's Wife*] Mary Drummond, see Biog. App. To the world at large she was "Mrs Drummond"; Pope could not be expected to know that she was unmarried.

134. *Landaffe*] A poor Bishoprick in Wales, as poorly supplied [P. *1751*].

The bishop was John Harris, see Biog. App. Bishop Beaw reckoned that in 1699 the see of Llandaff was worth £230 p.a. Its value increased by some £300 within the next sixty years, but its poverty was still exceptional. In 1760 St Asaph was worth £1,400 and Durham £6,000. See N. Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century*, 1934.

135. See textual note. Pope wrote to Allen on April 28, 1738. "Pray tell me if you have any objection to my putting your name into a poem of mine (incidentally, not at all going out of the way for it,) provided I say something of you, which most people would take ill, for example, that you are no man of high birth or quality? You must be perfectly free with me on this, as on any, nay, on every other occasion." Announcing on Nov. 2, that he was revising his work, he wrote to Allen, "I have found a virtue in you more than I certainly knew before, till I had made experience of it, I mean humility. I must therefore in justice to my own conscience of it, bear testimony to it, and change the epithet I first gave you of *low-born* to *humble*. I shall take care to do you the justice to tell everybody, this change was not made at yours, or at any friend's request for you, but my own knowledge you merited it." To allow for this, *humble Foster* (l. 131) was changed to *modest*. R. Graves, who had seen a picture of the house of Allen's father, wrote "This house seems to have been the residence of a gentleman's family . . . and by no means warrants Mr. Pope's epithet of 'low born Allen' " (*The Triflers*, 1806, p. 62). [JS].

But 'tis the *Fall* degrades her to a Whore;
Let *Greatness* own her, and she's mean no more:
Her Birth, her Beauty, Crowds and Courts confess,
Chaste Matrons praise her, and grave Bishops bless:
In golden Chains the willing World she draws,
And hers the Gospel is, and hers the Laws:
Mounts the Tribunal, lifts her scarlet head,
And sees pale Virtue carted in her stead!
Lo! at the Wheels of her Triumphal Car,
Old *England*'s Genius, rough with many a Scar,
Dragg'd in the Dust! his Arms hang idly round,
His Flag inverted trails along the ground!
Our Youth, all liv'ry'd o'er with foreign Gold,
Before her dance; behind her crawl the Old!
See thronging Millions to the Pagod run,
And offer Country, Parent, Wife, or Son!
Hear her black Trumpet thro' the Land proclaim,
That "Not to be corrupted is the Shame."
In Soldier, Churchman, Patriot, Man in Pow'r,
'Tis Av'rice all, Ambition is no more!
See, all our Nobles begging to be Slaves!
See, all our Fools aspiring to be Knaves!
The Wit of Cheats, the Courage of a Whore,
Are what ten thousand envy and adore.
All, all look up, with reverential Awe,
On Crimes that scape, or triumph o'er the Law:
While Truth, Worth, Wisdom, daily they decry—
"Nothing is Sacred now but Villany."

Yet may this Verse (if such a Verse remain)
Show there was one who held it in disdain.

FINIS.

169 they] we *1738a.*

150. *carted*] Carting, or exhibiting from a cart, was a punishment of prostitutes and procuresses [Croker].

154. A sneer at Walpole's policy of peace at any price [EC].

EPILOGUE

TO THE

SATIRES.

DIALOGUE II.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight. Dialogue II was first published as a 16-page folio in July 1738. Several small revisions were made when the poem was reprinted in an octavo volume of the collected works in 1739 (1738 on the title page), and a few more were made for the octavo of 1740, when the title was altered to *Epilogue to the Satires. Written in 1738. Dialogue II.* There are no later revisions of any importance.[1] The present edition adopts the revised text of 1740, but follows the punctuation and typography of the first edition. The abbreviations used in the critical apparatus are the same as those used in the apparatus of the first dialogue, except that *1738a* represents Griffith 494.

1. A proper name (l. 239) abbreviated in the editions of Pope's lifetime is printed in full in 1751 and in the present edition.

EPILOGUE TO THE SATIRES. WRITTEN IN 1738. *DIALOGUE II.*

Fr. 'Tis all a Libel—*Paxton* (Sir) will say.
P. Not yet, my Friend! to-morrow 'faith it may;
And for that very cause I print to day.
How shou'd I fret, to mangle ev'ry line,
In rev'rence to the Sins of *Thirty-nine!*
Vice with such Giant-strides comes on amain,
Invention strives to be before in vain;
Feign what I will, and paint it e'er so strong,
Some rising Genius sins up to my Song.
F. Yet none but you by Name the Guilty lash;
Ev'n *Guthry* saves half *Newgate* by a Dash.

Heading] ONE THOUSAND||SEVEN HUNDRED||AND|| THIRTY EIGHT.||*DIALOGUE II.*||*1738.*
1 *Fr.*] *A. 1738a; and so throughout; Paxton*] *P—xt—n 1738a.*
2 *P.*] *B. 1738a; and so throughout.*

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1. Paxton was employed to read all new publications and report libels on the government to the Secretaries of State. See Biog. App.

2. Pattison suggests that this is an allusion to the Playhouse Act (see *Dia.* i 42*n*) which was believed by the Opposition to be tending towards a restraint on the liberty of the press. Chesterfield spoke to this effect in the House of Lords.

10. *by Name*] "I would indeed [manifest my disdain and abhorrence of vice in my writings] with more restrictions, and less personally; it is more agreeable to my nature, which those who know it not are greatly mistaken in. But general satire in times of general vice has no force and is no punishment: people have ceased to be ashamed of it when so many are joined with them; and it is only by hunting one or two from the herd that any examples can be made. If a man writ all his life against the collective body of the banditti, or against lawyers, would it do the least good, or lessen the body? But if some are hung up, or pilloried, it may prevent others. And in my low station, with no other power than this, I hope to deter, if not to reform." Pope to Arbuthnot, Aug. 2, 1734 (Croker's transcript of the MS.). See Introduction, p. xx*f*.

11. *Guthry*] The Ordinary of *Newgate*, who publishes the Memoirs of the Malefactors, [*so 1738a–43; 1751 adds*] and is often prevailed upon to be so tender of their reputation, as to set down no more than the initials of their name [P.]. Confessions were extorted by threats (Egmont, i 11).

Spare then the Person, and expose the Vice.
P. How Sir! not damn the Sharper, but the Dice?
Come on then Satire! gen'ral, unconfin'd,
Spread thy broad wing, and sowze on all the Kind.
Ye Statesmen, Priests, of one Religion all!
Ye Tradesmen vile, in Army, Court, or Hall!
Ye Rev'rend Atheists!—*F.* Scandal! name them, Who?
P. Why that's the thing you bid me not to do.
Who starv'd a Sister, who forswore a Debt,
I never nam'd—the Town's enquiring yet.
The pois'ning Dame—*Fr.* You mean—*P.* I don't.—*Fr.* You do.
P. See! now I keep the Secret, and not you.
The bribing Statesman—*Fr.* Hold! too high you go.
P. The brib'd Elector—*Fr.* There you stoop too low.
P. I fain wou'd please you, if I knew with what:
Tell me, which Knave is lawful Game, which not?
Must great Offenders, once escap'd the Crown,
Like Royal Harts, be never more run down?
Admit your Law to spare the Knight requires;
As Beasts of Nature may we hunt the Squires?
Suppose I censure—you know what I mean—
To save a Bishop, may I name a Dean?
Fr. A Dean, Sir? no: his Fortune is not made,
You hurt a man that's rising in the Trade.
P. If not the Tradesman who set up to day,
Much less the 'Prentice who to morrow may.

20 Sister] Mother *1738a.* 36 set] sets *1738a.*

12. Advice already tendered by Young in *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*, ii 181:
If Satire charms, strike faults, but spare the man.
EC notes that the idea is imitated from Martial, x 33:
Hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli,
Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.
15. *sowze*] used of a hawk, swooping down upon its prey.
20. Referring to *Dia.* i 112.
22. *The pois'ning Dame*] Pope is perhaps referring to *Sat.* II i 81.

Down, down, proud Satire! tho' a Realm be spoil'd,
Arraign no mightier Thief than wretched *Wild*,
Or if a Court or Country's made a Job,
Go drench a Pick-pocket, and join the Mob.
But Sir, I beg you, for the Love of Vice!
The matter's weighty, pray consider twice:
Have you less Pity for the needy Cheat,
The poor and friendless Villain, than the Great?
Alas! the small Discredit of a Bribe
Scarce hurts the Lawyer, but undoes the Scribe.
Then better sure it Charity becomes
To tax Directors, who (thank God) have Plums;
Still better, Ministers; or if the thing
May pinch ev'n there—why lay it on a King.
Fr. Stop! stop!
P. Must Satire, then, nor *rise*, nor *fall*?
Speak out, and bid me blame no Rogues at all.
Fr. Yes, strike that *Wild*, I'll justify the blow.
P. Strike? why the man was hang'd ten years ago:
Who now that obsolete Example fears?
Ev'n *Peter* trembles only for his Ears.
Fr. What always *Peter*? *Peter* thinks you mad,
You make men desp'rate if they once are bad:
Else might he take to Virtue some years hence—

38 Realm] Land *1738ab*.

39. Jonathan Wild [*so 1738a–43; 1751 adds*], a famous Thief, and Thief-Impeacher, who was at last caught in his own train and hanged [P.]. Wild had become synonymous with Walpole in political journalism (W. L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, i 408*ff*). Pope no doubt assumed that his readers would recognize the equivalence.

41. *drench a Pick-pocket*] Pickpockets were sometimes ducked and sometimes pumped upon [Croker].

49. *Plums*] see *Sat.* II i 103*n*.

57. Peter had, the year before this, narrowly escaped the Pillory for forgery: and got off with a severe rebuke only from the bench [P. *1751*]. Peter Walter.

P. As *S—k*, if he lives, will love the PRINCE.
Fr. Strange spleen to *S—k!*
P. Do I wrong the Man?
God knows, I praise a Courtier where I can.
When I confess, there *is* who feels for Fame,
And melts to Goodness, need I SCARBROW name?
Pleas'd let me own, in *Esher*'s peaceful Grove
(Where *Kent* and Nature vye for PELHAM's Love)
The Scene, the Master, opening to my view,
I sit and dream I see my CRAGS anew!
Ev'n in a Bishop I can spy Desert;
Secker is decent, *Rundel* has a Heart,
Manners with Candour are to *Benson* giv'n,

61. Charles Douglas, Earl of Selkirk. See Pope's note to *Dia.* i 92 and Biog. App.

Much as Selkirk hates the Prince now, he will love him when the Prince succeeds to the throne, because then it will pay him. Similarly, not until it pays him will Peter love virtue.

65. *Scarbrow*] Earl of; and Knight of the Garter, whose personal attachments to the king appeared from his steddy adherence to the royal interest, after his resignation of his great employment of Master of the Horse; and whose known honour and virtue made him esteemed by all parties [P. *1751*].

See Biog. App., Lumley. Hervey, who states the reasons for Scarborough's resignation, also witnesses to his steady adherence to the court party (pp. 247–50).

66. The House and Gardens of *Esher* in *Surrey*, [*so 1738a–43, which continue* design'd by Mr. *Kent. 1751 omits this clause and adds*] belonging to the Honourable Mr. Pelham, Brother of the Duke of Newcastle. The author could not have given a more amiable idea of his Character than in comparing him to Mr. Craggs [P. *1751*].

Such praise for a ministerial Whig is exceptional, and nothing is known of Pope's acquaintance with the Pelhams to account for it; but in 1738 the opposition had some hopes of their defection. There had been a misunderstanding between Walpole and Newcastle, and Bolingbroke had written to Wyndham urging him to take advantage of this and form a coalition with them (Coxe, iii 507).

71. *decent*] Pope intended to commend Secker's moderation, the most conspicuous trait in his character. The use of *decent* in the sense of *passable* was rare at this time. Berkeley's "the regular decent life of a virtuous man," quoted by OED, is the best gloss upon this passage. Cf. *Od.* IV i 12.

To *Berkley*, ev'ry Virtue under Heav'n.
But does the Court a worthy Man remove?
That instant, I declare, he has my Love:
I shun his Zenith, court his mild Decline;
Thus SOMMERS once, and HALIFAX were mine.
Oft in the clear, still Mirrour of Retreat,
I study'd SHREWSBURY, the wise and great:
CARLETON'S calm Sense, and STANHOPE'S noble Flame,
Compar'd, and knew their gen'rous End the same:
How pleasing ATTERBURY'S softer hour!
How shin'd the Soul, unconquer'd in the Tow'r!
How can I PULT'NEY, CHESTERFIELD forget,
While *Roman* Spirit charms, and *Attic* Wit:

74–5. "It looks generous enough to be always on the side of the distressed, and my patrons of the other party may expect great panegyrics from me [when] they come to be impeached . . . To compliment those who are dead in law, is as much above the imputation of flattery, as . . . to compliment those who are really dead." Pope to Jervas, 1715 (EC viii 15).

77. *Sommers*] John Lord Sommers died in 1716. He had been Lord Keeper in the reign of William III. who took from him the seals in 1700. The author had the honour of knowing him in 1706. A faithful, able, and incorrupt minister; who, to the qualities of a consummate statesman, added those of a man of Learning and Politeness [P. *1751*].

Halifax] A peer, no less distinguished by his love of letters than his abilities in Parliament. He was disgraced in 1710, on the Change of Q. Anne's ministry [P. *1751*]. See Biog. App., Charles Montagu.

79. *Shrewsbury*] Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, had been Secretary of state, Embassador in France, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Treasurer. He several times quitted his employments, and was often recalled. He died in 1718 [P. *1751*].

80. *Carleton*] Hen. Boyle, Lord Carleton (nephew of the famous Robert Boyle) who was Secretary of state under William III. and President of the Council under Q. Anne [P. *1751*]. Pope's memory played him false about Carleton's official posts; see Biog. App.

Stanhope] James Earl Stanhope. A Nobleman of equal courage, spirit, and learning. General in Spain, and Secretary of state [P. *1751*].

85. The "Roman Spirit" of Pulteney's speeches had already been commended by Whitehead in *The State Dunces*, 1733, ll. 41–6. Secretly, Pope was suspicious of Pulteney's policy; see *Dia.* i 24*n*; *1740*, 9, 77; and Biog. App.

ARGYLE, the State's whole Thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the Field:
Or WYNDHAM, just to Freedom and the Throne,
The Master of our Passions, and his own.
Names, which I long have lov'd, nor lov'd in vain,
Rank'd with their Friends, not number'd with their Train;
And if yet higher the proud List should end,
Still let me say! No Follower, but a Friend.

Yet think not Friendship only prompts my Lays;
I follow *Virtue*, where she shines, I praise,
Point she to Priest or Elder, Whig or Tory,
Or round a Quaker's Beaver cast a Glory.
I never (to my sorrow I declare)
Din'd with the MAN of ROSS, or my LORD MAY'R.
Some, in their choice of Friends (nay, look not grave)

88 just to] arm'd for *1738a*.

86. *Argyle*] See Biog. App., John Campbell, Duke of Argyle. By placing Argyle with three other members of the Opposition, Pope was expressing the Opposition's hope of political support from one who had recently begun to show hostility to the ministry.

88. Sir William Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Queen Anne, made early a considerable figure; but since a much greater both by his ability and eloquence, joined with the utmost judgment and temper [P. *1751*]. See Biog. App. The original *arm'd* was an unsuitable description for one who consistently maintained that the liberties and constitution of England were menaced by a "standing army."

92. *yet higher*] An allusion to his friendship with Frederick, Prince of Wales. The Prince had visited him at Twickenham in October 1735 (EC viii 351); on May 17, 1739, Pope wrote to Swift that the Prince was showing him "a distinction beyond any merit or pretence on my part" and had given him "some marble heads of poets" for his library, and some urns for his garden. See also *Ep.* I i 120*n*.

95. *I follow Virtue*] See *Sat.* II i 105*n*, 121.

99. *The Man of Ross*] John Kyrle, the philanthropist, previously commended by Pope in *Moral Es.* iii 250*ff*.

My Lord May'r] Sir John Barnard [P. *1738a–43*]. See Biog. App.

Have still a secret Byass to a Knave:
To find an honest man, I beat about,
And love him, court him, praise him, in or out.
Fr. Then why so few commended?
P. Not so fierce;
Find you the Virtue, and I'll find the Verse.
But random Praise—the Task can ne'er be done,
Each Mother asks it for her Booby Son,
Each Widow asks it for the Best of Men,
For him she weeps, and him she weds agen.
Praise cannot stoop, like Satire, to the Ground;
The Number may be hang'd, but not be crown'd.
Enough for half the Greatest of these days
To 'scape my Censure, not expect my Praise:
Are they not rich? what more can they pretend?
Dare they to hope a Poet for their Friend?
What RICHELIEU wanted, LOUIS scarce could gain,

107. Horace Walpole was probably right in supposing that Pope had in mind the Duchess of Buckingham's request (which he granted) for an epitaph on her son. See vol. vi.

108. *Each Widow*] There are two candidates. Lord Hailes told Malone that Pope had Rowe's widow in mind, who married Col. Alexander Deanes in 1724 (Prior's *Life of Malone*, 1860, p. 253). Horace Walpole suggested Mrs Nugent. This is more plausible. She was Craggs's sister and had married John Knight for her second husband. He died in 1733 and his widow seems to have begged an epitaph from Pope, which he sent her in 1736 (EC ix 435, 455). In the following year she married Mr Nugent. See *Ep.* I i 130*n*.

111. *The Number*] A classicism; Gr. ἀριθμὸς, Lat. *numerus*, those who count as population and nothing beyond. E.g. Horace, *Ep.* I ii 27:

Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati.

[Pattison].

112–5. *Enough . . . Friend*] H. Walpole took this passage to refer to the story, also told by Warburton (Spence, p. 308), that Alderman Barber offered Pope four or five thousand pounds if he would mention him with commendation in his writings.

116. *Louis scarce could gain*] By this expression finely insinuating, that the great *Boileau* always falls below himself in those passages where he flatters his Master [Warburton].

And what young AMMON wish'd, but wish'd in vain.
No Pow'r the Muse's Friendship can command;
No Pow'r, when Virtue claims it, can withstand:
To *Cato*, *Virgil* pay'd one honest line;
O let my Country's Friends illumin mine!
—What are you thinking? *Fr.* Faith, the thought's no Sin,
I think your Friends are out, and would be in.
P. If merely to come in, Sir, they go out,
The way they take is strangely round about.
Fr. They too may be corrupted, you'll allow?
P. I only call those Knaves who are so now.
Is that too little? Come then, I'll comply—
Spirit of *Arnall!* aid me while I lye.
COBHAM's a Coward, POLWARTH is a Slave,
And LYTTLETON a dark, designing Knave,
St. JOHN has ever been a wealthy Fool—
But let me add, Sir ROBERT's mighty dull,

117. A recollection, perhaps, of Petrarch's sonnet:

Giunto Alessandro a la famosa tomba
Del fero Achille sospirando disse
O fortunato che si chiara tromba
Trovasti e chi di te si alto scrisse.

It is quoted by E.K. in a gloss to *The Shepheardes Calender*, October, l. 65, and referred to by Spenser in *The Ruines of Time*, ll. 432–4.

120. *one honest line*] "The Æneid was evidently a party piece: as much as Absalom and Achitophel.—I have formerly said that Virgil wrote one honest line, [*Aen.* viii 670]

"*Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem*,"

and that, I now believe, was not meant of Cato Uticensis.—P." (*Spence*, 1737–9, p. 217).

Servius thought that the elder Cato was meant, but later commentators prefer Cato Uticensis, "a pattern of purity in a dissolute age" and the upholder of republican ideals against the first triumvirate. In fact, as Pattison notes, the force of *honest* "lies in the consideration that Virgil ventured on this allusion to a republican, in the court of Augustus."

130. *Polwarth*] The Hon. Hugh Hume, Son of Alexander Earl of Marchmont, Grandson of Patric Earl of Marchmont, and distinguished, like them, in the cause of Liberty [P. *1751*].

133. "Your friend Sir Robert has but one of these helps [quiet and hunting];

Has never made a Friend in private life,
And was, besides, a Tyrant to his Wife.
But pray, when others praise him, do I blame?
Call *Verres*, *Wolsey*, any odious name?
Why rail they then, if but a Wreath of mine
Oh All-accomplish'd St. JOHN! deck thy Shrine?
What? shall each spur-gall'd Hackney of the Day,
When *Paxton* gives him double Pots and Pay,
Or each new-pension'd Sycophant, pretend
To break my Windows, if I treat a Friend;
Then wisely plead, to me they meant no hurt,
But 'twas my Guest at whom they threw the dirt?
Sure, if I spare the Minister, no rules
Of Honour bind me, not to maul his Tools;
Sure, if they cannot cut, it may be said
His Saws are toothless, and his Hatchets Lead.

137 *Verres*] *Clodius 1738a.* 141 *Paxton*] *Pax—n 1738a.*

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but I remember when I saw him last, which was the last time he sent to desire me, he told me he owed his strength to it. You see I have made him a second compliment in print in my second Dialogue, and he ought to take it for no small one, since in it I couple him with Lord Bol—. As he shows a right sense of this, I may make him a third, in my third Dialogue." Pope to Fortescue, July 31, 1738.

135. Ironical. Walpole paid no regard to his wife's infidelities. Commenting on Lady Walpole's death, the year before this poem was written, Lord Egmont wrote in his diary, "Sir Robert it is likely is not very sorry: she was as gallant, if report be true, with the men as he with the women, nevertheless they continued to live together, and take their pleasures their own way without giving offence" (ii 431).

137. See *Dia.* i 51.

138. *Why rail they*] *The Daily Gazetteer*, the Government's paper, had complained in prose and verse, after the publication of *Ep.* 1 i, that only Bolingbroke and other "avowed Enemies to their Country are thought worthy of his Panegyrics" (April 6 and 11, 1738). See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

143. *break my Windows*] Which was done when Lord Bolingbroke and Lord Bathurst were one day dining with him at Twickenham [Warton].

146–7. This couplet admirably summarizes the relations between Pope and Walpole's ministry. See Biog. App., Walpole.

It anger'd TURENNE, once upon a day.
To see a Footman kick'd that took his pay:
But when he heard th' Affront the Fellow gave,
Knew one a Man of Honour, one a Knave;
The prudent Gen'ral turn'd it to a jest,
And begg'd, he'd take the pains to kick the rest.
Which not at present having time to do—
Fr. Hold Sir! for God's-sake, where's th' Affront to you?
Against your worship when had *S—k* writ?
Or *P—ge* pour'd forth the Torrent of his Wit?
Or grant, the Bard whose Distich all commend,
[*In Pow'r a Servant, out of Pow'r a Friend.*]
To *W—le* guilty of some venial Sin,
What's that to you, who ne'er was out nor in?
The Priest whose Flattery be-dropt the Crown,

158 when had] what has *1738ab*.
159 *1738ab read* When did *Ty—l* hurt you with his Wit?

150. Viscomte de Turenne (1611–1675), Marshal of France. The story is told by A. M. de Ramsay in his *Histoire*, an English translation of which was published in 1735 (vol. i, p. 357).

158. Charles Douglas, Earl of Selkirk. Pope refers to him in l. 61 and *Dia.* i 92.

159. *P—ge*] Judge Page; see *Sat.* II i 82.

Ty—l is Lord Tyrconnel; see *Dia.* i 67, var.

160. *the Bard*] A verse taken out of a poem to Sir R.W. [P. *1751*]. From Dodington's *Epistle to The Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole* (p. 9), published anonymously in 1726:

> Let others barter servile Faith for Gold,
> His Friendship is not to be bought, or sold:
> Fierce Opposition he, unmov'd, shall face;
> Modest in Favour, daring in Disgrace;
> To share thy adverse Fate, alone pretend;
> In Power, a Servant; out of Power, a Friend.

Pope also refers to this in an undated letter to Fortescue (EC ix 109).

164. Spoken not of any particular priest, but of many priests [P. *1751*]. Spoken originally of Dr Alured Clarke, a protégé of Queen Caroline, who published *An Essay Towards the Character of Her late Majesty*; but Pope may have added this note on reflecting that the lines would also apply to Dr Gilbert, later Archbishop of York, who wept in the pulpit when preaching about the Queen by the King's command on Dec. 25, 1738 (Egmont, ii 458).

How hurt he you? he only stain'd the Gown.
And how did, pray, the Florid Youth offend.
Whose Speech you took, and gave it to a Friend?
P. Faith it imports not much from whom it came
Whoever borrow'd, could not be to blame,
Since the whole House did afterwards the same:
Let Courtly Wits to Wits afford supply,
As Hog to Hog in Huts of *Westphaly*;
If one, thro' Nature's Bounty or his Lord's,
Has what the frugal, dirty soil affords,
From him the next receives it, thick or thin,
As pure a Mess almost as it came in;
The blessed Benefit, not there confin'd,
Drops to the third who nuzzles close behind;
From tail to mouth, they feed, and they carouse;
The last, full fairly gives it to the *House*.
Fr. This filthy Simile, this beastly Line,
Quite turns my Stomach—*P.* So does Flatt'ry mine;

166. This seems to allude to a complaint made v. 71 of the preceding Dialogue [P. *1751*].

172. Pope had used this simile in an early draft of the character of Atticus, dated 1715 by Sherburn (p. 146 and plate 3):

> Now Wits gain praise by copying other Wits
> As one Hog lives on w^{t} another sh—.

Warton noticed it amongst Butler's *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, "Our modern Authors write plays as they feed hogs in *Westphaly*, where but one eats pease or acorns, and all the rest feed upon his, and one another's *excrements*." Since the *Thoughts* were not published in Pope's lifetime, he supposed they had been communicated to Pope by Atterbury, who is known to have seen the manuscript. But probably there is some other source, for it is too odd a coincidence to suppose that a writer in *Mist's Journal*, Feb. 18, 1721, (p. 694) had also seen the manuscript. See Porson's *Tracts*, 1815, p. 318.

174. This part of the simile was doubtless intended to point to the parsimony of the Court [EC].

182. *Flatt'ry*] Pope writes to Swift, Sept. 1, 1733, of the difficulties attending a visit to Dublin: "If I did not die of [sea-sickness], I must of the excessive eating and drinking of your hospitable town, and the excessive flattery of your most poetical country. I hate to be crammed either way."

And all your Courtly Civet-Cats can vent,
Perfume to you, to me is Excrement.
But hear me further.—*Japhet*, 'tis agreed,
Writ not, and *Chartres* scarce could write or read,
In all the Courts of *Pindus* guiltless quite;
But Pens can forge, my Friend, that cannot write.
And must no Egg in *Japhet*'s Face be thrown,
Because the Deed he forg'd was not my own?
Must never Patriot then declaim at Gin,
Unless, good man! he has been fairly in?
No zealous Pastor blame a failing Spouse,
Without a staring Reason on his Brows?
And each Blasphemer quite escape the Rod,
Because the insult's not on Man, but God?
Ask you what Provocation I have had?
The strong Antipathy of Good to Bad.
When Truth or Virtue an Affront endures,
Th' Affront is mine, my Friend, and should be yours.
Mine, as a Foe profess'd to false Pretence,
Who think a Coxcomb's Honour like his Sense;
Mine, as a Friend to ev'ry worthy mind;
And mine as Man, who feel for all mankind.
Fr. You're strangely proud.
P. So proud, I am no Slave:
So impudent, I own myself no Knave:
So odd, my Country's Ruin makes me grave.
Yes, I am proud; I must be proud to see
Men not afraid of God, afraid of me:

185. *Japhet—Chartres*] See the Epistle to Lord Bathurst [P. *1751*]. *Moral Es.* iii 86, 20. See also Biog. App., Japhet Crook.

187. *Pindus*] a mountain in Thessaly associated with the Muses.

191. See *Dia.* i 130*n.*

204. From Terence: "Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto" [P. *1751*]. *Heautontimorumenos*, l. 77.

209. "I know nothing that moves strongly but satire, and those who are ashamed of nothing else, are so of being ridiculous." Pope to Swift [April 1732],

Safe from the Bar, the Pulpit, and the Throne,
Yet touch'd and sham'd by *Ridicule* alone.
O sacred Weapon! left for Truth's defence,
Sole Dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence!
To all but Heav'n-directed hands deny'd,
The Muse may give thee, but the Gods must guide.
Rev'rent I touch thee! but with honest zeal;
To rowze the Watchmen of the Publick Weal,
To Virtue's Work provoke the tardy Hall,
And goad the Prelate slumb'ring in his Stall.
Ye tinsel Insects! whom a Court maintains,
That counts your Beauties only by your Stains,
Spin all your Cobwebs o'er the Eye of Day!
The Muse's wing shall brush you all away:
All his Grace preaches, all his Lordship sings,
All that makes Saints of Queens, and Gods of Kings,
All, all but Truth, drops dead-born from the Press,
Like the last Gazette, or the last Address.
When black Ambition stains a Publick Cause,
A Monarch's sword when mad Vain-glory draws,
Not *Waller*'s Wreath can hide the Nation's Scar,

EC vii 264. Wakefield compares Boileau's *Discours au Roi*, ll. 101–2:

> Leur cœur, qui se connaît, et qui fuit la lumière,
> S'il se moque de Dieu, craint Tartufe et Molière.

See *Sat.* II i 118–20.

218. *the tardy Hall*] i.e. Westminster Hall, formerly the seat of the High Court of Justice; hence, the administration of Justice [OED].

222. *Cobwebs*] Weak and slight sophistry against virtue and honour. Thin colours over vice, as unable to hide the light of Truth, as cobwebs to shade the sun [P. *1751*].

227. *Address*] the formal reply of the Lords or of the Commons to the King's Speech at the opening of parliament.

228. The case of Cromwell in the civil war of England; and (v 229) of Louis XIV. in his conquest of the Low Countries [P. *1751*].

230. *Wreath* implies that Pope is referring, not to *A Panegyrick To My Lord Protector* (1655), but to the less famous *Upon the late Storme, and of the death of his Highnesse Ensuing the same* (1659).

Nor *Boileau* turn the Feather to a Star.
Not so, when diadem'd with Rays divine,
Touch'd with the Flame that breaks from Virtue's Shrine,
Her Priestless Muse forbids the Good to dye,
And ope's the Temple of Eternity;
There other *Trophies* deck the truly Brave,
Than such as *Anstis* casts into the Grave;
Far other *Stars* than * and ** wear,
And may descend to *Mordington* from *Stair:*
Such as on HOUGH's unsully'd Mitre shine,
Or beam, good DIGBY! from a Heart like thine.
Let Envy howl while Heav'n's whole Chorus sings,
And bark at Honour not confer'd by Kings;
Let Flatt'ry sickening see the Incense rise,
Sweet to the World, and grateful to the Skies:

239 *Mordington*] *Mor—ton 1738a–1743.*

231. See [In *1738a*] his Ode on *Namur;* where (to use his own words) *il a fait un Astre de la Plume blanche qui le Roy porte ordinairement à son Chapeau, & qui est en effet une espèce de Comete, fatale à nos ennemis* [P. *1738–51*]. Pope is quoting from Boileau's *Discours sur l'Ode*, where he explains that in order to imitate Pindar he has used the boldest poetical figures, even going so far as to make a star, etc.

235. Cf. *Comus*, l. 14:

That ope's the Palace of Eternity.

237. The chief Herald at Arms. It is the custom, at the funeral of great peers, to cast into the grave the broken staves and ensigns of honour [P. *1751*].

238. "Pope would not have scrupled to designate [anyone but] 'George' and 'Frederick', and this conjecture I found confirmed by Lord Marchmont, who wrote these names in his copy" [Croker].

239. Stair] John Dalrymple Earl of Stair, Knight of the Thistle; served in all the wars under the Duke of Marlborough; and afterwards as Embassador in France [P. *1751*]. See Biog. App., Dalrymple. Nothing is known of Lord Mordington except that his wife kept a public gaming house in Covent Garden. See J. Timbs, *Club Life of London*, 1866, i 323–4.

240. Dr. [John, *add 1751*] *Hough* Bishop of *Worcester*, [*so 1738a–43, 1751 adds*] and the Lord Digby. The one an assertor of the Church of England in opposition to the false measures of King James II. The other as firmly attached to the cause of that King. Both acting out of principle, and equally men of honour and virtue [P.] See Biog. App.

245. Quoted from *Temple of Fame*, 377.

Truth guards the Poet, sanctifies the line,
And makes Immortal, Verse as mean as mine.
Yes, the last Pen for Freedom let me draw,
When Truth stands trembling on the edge of Law:
Here, Last of *Britons!* let your Names be read;
Are none, none living? let me praise the Dead,
And for that Cause which made your Fathers shine,
Fall, by the Votes of their degen'rate Line!
Fr. Alas! alas! pray end what you began,
And write next winter more *Essays on Man.*

249. Pope is thinking once more of the threatened censureship of the press. As he observes in his note to l. 255, ridicule had become unsafe, and he was uncertain whether he could *proceed* any further in speaking the truth without *precipitating* himself into the power of the law.

254. Cf. Boileau, *Sat.* ix 243–8:

> La satire, dit-on, est un métier funeste,
> Qui plaît à quelques gens, et choque tout le reste. . .
> Quitez ces vains plaisirs dont l'appât vous abuse:
> A de plus doux emplois occupez votre muse.

VER. *ult.*] This was the last poem of the kind printed by our author, with a resolution to publish no more; but to enter thus, in the most plain and solemn manner he could, a sort of PROTEST against that insuperable corruption and depravity of manners, which he had been so unhappy as to live to see. Could he have hoped to have amended any, he had continued those attacks; but bad men were grown so shameless and so powerful, that Ridicule was become as unsafe as it was ineffectual. The Poem raised him, as he knew it would, some enemies; but he had reason to be satisfied with the approbation of good men, and the testimony of his own conscience [P. *1751*]. Charles Yorke wrote to Philip Yorke in June 1740, "[Warburton] tells me that Mr Pope is tired with imitating Horace; that he thinks he cou^{d} make something of the *Damasippus*, and intends to do it, but that the great scheme which he has in view is the continuation of the Essay [on Man]." (Harris, *Life of Hardwicke*, 1847, i 475). See Introduction, p. xli.

ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY.

A POEM.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty was first printed by Warton in the fourth volume of his edition of Pope's works. He prefixed to it the following account: "I shall here present the Reader with a valuable Literary Curiosity, a Fragment of an unpublished Satire of Pope, intitled, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY; communicated to me by the kindness of the learned and worthy Dr. Wilson, formerly fellow and librarian of Trinity College, Dublin; who speaks of the Fragment in the following terms:

'This Poem I transcribed from a rough draft in Pope's own hand. He left many blanks for fear of the Argus Eye of those who, if they cannot find, can fabricate treason; yet, spite of his precaution, it fell into the hands of his enemies. To the hieroglyphics, there are direct allusions, I think, in some of the notes on the Dunciad. It was lent me by a grandson of Lord Chetwynd, an intimate friend of the famous Lord Bolingbroke, who gratified his curiosity by a boxful of the rubbish and sweepings of Pope's study, whose executor he was, in conjunction with Lord Marchmont'."

Another account of the MS. comes from Malone, who at one time was preparing an edition of Pope's works. He writes:

"After Pope's death, Lord Bolingbroke, in consequence of a clause in his will, had the command of his study. Among the sweepings was the following Satire, which was left unfinished by the poet. It fell after Bolingbroke's death into the hand of a kinsman or friend of his, and has since by some strange accident strayed into Ireland. I saw it there about the year 1774, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, together with a pocket-book of Parnell's, Dryden's *Limberham*, corrected by himself, Pope's *Farewell to London*, and several other papers found in the same drawer. The Satire I have copied by Dr. Wilson's permission. It is in Pope's handwriting, and I have followed closely all his interlineations, corrections, alterations, &c., &c... Lord Marchmont in his conversation with Dr. Johnson relative to Pope, mentioned this Satire. He said he and Lord [indistinct] had often heard of it from Pope, and much lamented that he could not find it among Pope's papers" (Prior, *Life of Malone*, 1860, pp. 364-6).

Neither Pope's MS. nor Malone's transcript have yet been discovered. The present text is therefore regretfully taken from Wilson's transcript, printed by Warton, the accuracy of which is suspect. Malone writes of corrections and alterations, which do not appear in Warton's text, and Warton's version of l. 93 is surely inaccurate.

No reference to the hieroglyphics can be discovered in the Notes on the *Dunciad.*

Warton describes the poem as a "fragment," and Malone as "left unfinished." In the sense that the poem was unfit for the printer, this is true. But it seems probable that the poem was intended to end where it ends in the printed version. It is "ruined" rather than incompleted, for the blanks indicate that Pope feared for what he had written, rather than that he was undecided what to write. The reader will understand that most of the annotations are hesitant conjectures.

Line 80 shows that the poem was written some time after June 17, 1740.

1740. A POEM.

O WRETCHED B—, jealous now of all,
What God, what mortal, shall prevent thy fall?
Turn, turn thy eyes from wicked men in place,
And see what succour from the Patriot Race.
C—, his own proud dupe, thinks Monarchs things
Made just for him, as other fools for Kings;
Controls, decides, insults thee every hour,
And antedates the hatred due to Pow'r.
Thro' Clouds of Passion P—'s views are clear,
He foams a Patriot to subside a Peer;
Impatient sees his country bought and sold,
And damns the market where he takes no gold.
Grave, righteous S—joggs on till, past belief,
He finds himself companion with a thief.
To purge and let thee blood, with fire and sword,
Is all the help stern S— wou'd afford.
That those who bind and rob thee, would not kill,
Good C— hopes, and candidly sits still.
Of Ch—s W— who speaks at all,

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1. *B—*] Britain.

4. *Patriot Race*] The Opposition. See Pope's note to *Dia.* i 24.

5. Carteret. His policy was to displace Walpole in royal favour. See Biog. App.

7. Carteret's "overweening self-confidence, his arrogant and overbearing manner prevented him from ever becoming popular" (A. S. Turberville, *The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century*, 1927, p. 192).

9. *P—'s*] William Pulteney. See *Dia.* i 24*n* and Biog. App.

10. He was not created Earl of Bath till 1742, but rumours that he could be bought with a peerage had been persistent in 1737 (Hervey, p. 667; Egmont, ii 366; Introduction, p. xxxiv).

13. Bowles suggested that this passage referred to Sandys, a prominent member of the Opposition. See Biog. App.

16. Perhaps Shippen, the Jacobite leader; but active supporters from abroad found him too "timid" (DNB). See Biog. App.

18. *C—*] Perhaps Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury. See Biog. App.

19. *Ch—s W—*] Perhaps "Chandos, Winchilsea." See Biog. App., Brydges, Finch.

No more than of Sir Har—y or Sir P—.
Whose names once up, they thought it was not wrong
To lie in bed, but sure they lay too long.
G—r, C—m, B—t, pay thee due regards,
Unless the ladies bid them mind their cards.
with wit that must
And C—d who speaks so well and writes,
Whom (saving W.) every S. *harper bites*,
must needs
Whose wit and equally provoke one,
Finds thee, at best, the butt to crack his joke on.
As for the rest, each winter up they run,
And all are clear, that something must be done.
Then urg'd by C—t, or by C—t stopt,
Inflam'd by P—, or by P— dropt;
They follow rev'rently each wond'rous wight,
Amaz'd that one can read, that one can write:

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20. I do not recognize Sir Harry. Sir P— is evidently Sir Paul Methuen. EC quotes a passage from the MS. of the first Dialogue omitted from the printed versions, after l. 2:

> You don't, I hope, pretend to quit the trade,
> Because you think your reputation made:
> Like good Sir Paul, of whom so much was said,
> That when his name was up, he lay a-bed.
> Come, come refresh us with a livelier song,
> Or, like Sir Paul, you'll lie a-bed too long.

It is uncertain whether this refers to some incident, or merely indicates Methuen's unduly high opinion of his political consequence. See Biog. App.

23. Gower, Cobham, Bathurst, who appear to have worked together. Two years later, after Walpole's fall, they made their peace with the court and received rewards from the new government. See Biog. App. and Horace Walpole's letter to Mann, June 17, 1742.

25. *C—d*] Chesterfield.

26. *W*] Carruthers plausibly suggests Peter Walter.

29. The country gentleman of the Tory Opposition, who "run up" to attend sessions of Parliament.

31. *C—t*] Carteret.

32. *P—*] Pulteney.

So geese to gander prone obedience keep,
Hiss if he hiss, and if he slumber, sleep.
Till having done whate'er was fit or fine,
Utter'd a speech, and ask'd their friends to dine;
Each hurries back to his paternal ground,
Content but for five shillings in the pound,
Yearly defeated, yearly hopes they give,
And all agree, Sir Robert cannot live.
  Rise, rise, great W— fated to appear,
Spite of thyself a glorious minister!
Speak the loud language Princes . . .
And treat with half the . . .
At length to B— kind, as to thy . . .
Espouse the nation, you . . .
  What can thy H . . .
Dress in Dutch . . .
Tho' still he travels on no bad pretence,
To shew . . .
  Or those foul copies of thy face and tongue,
Veracious W— and frontless Young;
Sagacious Bub, so late a friend, and there

40. The country gentlemen's grievance was the land-tax,—increased to four shillings in the pound in 1740—which Walpole had designed to ease by means of his Excise Bill, defeated in 1733. See *Sat.* II ii 134*n*.

42. *Sir Robert*] Walpole.

43. *W—*] Walpole.

45–6. Pope seems to be meditating (or to have erased) a repetition of his strokes (*Dia.* i 32, 38) at Walpole's "horse-laugh" and his system of bribery.

47. Croker completed the couplet:

> At length to Britain kind, as to thy whore,
> Espouse the nation, you debauched before.

Walpole married Maria Skerrett, whom he had kept for ten years, in 1738. She died a few months later.

49. *thy H*] The context shows that Walpole's brother, Horace, ambassador at the Hague (1733–40), was intended here.

54. *W—*] Winnington. See Biog. App.

55. *Bub*] Dodington. See *Dia.* ii 160–2, and Biog. App.

So late a foe, yet more sagacious H—?
Hervey and Hervey's school, F— H—y, H—n,
Yea, moral Ebor, or religious Winton.
How! what can O—w, what can D—
The wisdom of the one and other chair,
N— laugh, or D—s sager
Or thy dread truncheon M.'s mighty peer?
What help from J—s opiates canst thou draw
Or H—k's quibbles voted into law?
C. that Roman in his nose alone,
Who hears all causes, B—, but thy own,
Or those proud fools whom nature, rank, and fate
Made fit companions for the Sword of State.

56. Bishop Hare of Chichester seems to be intended. Although a staunch Whig, he had opposed the government on the Quaker Bill in 1736 but returned to his allegiance soon after (Hervey's *Memoirs*, p. 543). He had died on April 26, 1740, but Pope sometimes found it convenient to ignore such details. See *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, ll. 370, 385; and Biog. App.

57. Fox (i.e. Stephen Fox), Harry (i.e. Harry Fox), Hinton (i.e. John Poulett, Lord Hinton); all political protégés of Lord Hervey. See Biog. App.

58. Archbishop Blackburne of York, and Bishop Hoadly of Winchester. The epithets are ironical. See Biog. App.

59. Onslow and John West, Earl De la Warr. L. 60 explains why they are yoked; they were Speakers of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords respectively.

61. Newcastle . . . Dorset. See Biog. App., Pelham, Sackville. No doubt the word *sneer* should complete the line.

62. The Duke of Marlborough had deserted the Opposition in 1738 and had been rewarded with a court appointment. See Biog. App., Charles Spencer.

63. *J—s*] Probably Sir Joseph Jekyll (Bowles's guess). See Biog. App.

64. *H—k*] Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor. See Biog. App. Perhaps this is a reference to Hardwick's objections to certain clauses in the smuggling Bill (1736), which were modified because of his opposition (*Polit. Hist. Eng.*, ix 353).

65. *C.*] Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, whose nose, Pope wrote to Marchmont (EC x 168), was all that could be found remarkable to set on his monument. See Biog. App. (Carruthers's guess).

66. *B—*] Britain.

67–8. Alluding to the Lord High Chamberlain's privilege of disposing of the Sword of State to be carried by any peer he may select, at the opening or closing of a parliamentary session.

Can the light packhorse, or the heavy steer,
The sowzing Prelate, or the sweating Peer,
Drag out with all its dirt and all its weight,
The lumb'ring carriage of thy broken State?
Alas! the people curse, the carman swears,
The drivers quarrel, and the master stares.
The plague is on thee, Britain, and who tries
To save thee in th' infectious office *dies*.
The first firm P—y soon resign'd his breath,
Brave S—w lov'd thee, and was ly'd to death.
Good M—m—t's fate tore P—th from thy side,
And thy last sigh was heard when W—m died.
Thy Nobles Sl—s, thy Se—s bought with gold,
Thy Clergy perjur'd, thy whole People sold.
An atheist ⌣ a ⊕ ''''s ad...

70. *sowzing*] i.e. powerful.

77. Daniel Pulteney's undeviating hostility to Walpole provided a valuable satiric contrast to his cousin's vacillation (l. 9). See Biog. App.

78. The Earl of Scarborough committed suicide on Jan. 29, 1740. His action was attributed to his wishing to avoid marriage with the Dowager Duchess of Manchester (Egmont's *Diary*, iii 107), but Pope seems to have believed that he was too sensitive to malicious interpretation of his political behaviour. His perplexity at being conscientiously compelled to leave the court without joining the Opposition is expounded in Hervey's *Memoirs* (pp. 247–50). See *Dia.* ii 65*n*, and Biog. App., Lumley.

79. The second Earl of Marchmont had died on Feb. 27, 1740. His son, Lord Polwarth, by succeeding to the title, was incapacited from sitting in the House of Commons, but was not elected as a representative of the Scottish Peers until 1750. "Marchmont," wrote Bolingbroke to Lyttelton on May 6, "wants neither health nor spirit, but he feels as a good man ought to feel, the misfortune of being gagged and bound when the state of Britain requires that every man who loves her should exert his whole strength in her cause" (*Memoirs of Lord Lyttelton*, ed. Phillimore, 1845, i 143). See Biog. App., Hume.

80. Sir William Wyndham, the leader of the Hanoverian Tories, died on June 17, 1740. See Biog. App.

81. Should perhaps read:

Thy Nobles Slaves, thy Senates bought with gold.

83. EC suggests the following reconstruction, but gives no key to the method of interpretation:

An Atheist court, a thief's administration,

Blotch thee all o'er, and sink . . .
Alas! on one alone our all relies,
Let him be honest, and he must be wise,
Let him no trifler from his school,
Nor like his . . . still a . . .
Be but a man! unministered, alone,
And free at once the Senate and the Throne;
Esteem the public love his best supply,
A ☉'s true glory his integrity;
Rich *with* his . . . *in* his . . . strong,
Affect no conquest, but endure no wrong.
Whatever his religion or his blood,
His public virtue makes his title good.
Europe's just balance and our own may stand,
And one man's honesty redeem the land.

93 *in* his . . . strong,] *in* . . . his strong, *Warton.*

Blotch thee all o'er, and sink thee to damnation.

85. Frederick, Prince of Wales. Pope wrote to Lyttelton, the Prince's secretary, in November 1739: "Pray assure your master of my duty and service: they tell me he has everybody's love already. I wish him popular but not familiar, and the glory of being beloved, not the vanity of endeavouring it too much. I wish him at the head of the only good party in the kingdom—that of honest men." In view of this letter it is difficult to agree with Ward, that Pope had the Pretender in mind, or with Croker, that these lines are ambiguous enough to suit either Pretender or Prince.

87–8. Bowles suggested that the hiatuses should be filled with "his *father's* school . . . his *father's father* still a *fool.*" But such a reconstruction suits neither Hanoverian nor Stuart.

92. Bowles suggested that this symbol stood for *King's.*

93*ff.* Probably the lines were intended to run:

Rich *with* his Britain, *in* his Britain strong
Affect no conquest, &c.

The allusion in that case would be to George II's preference for Hanover. The Patriot King would "affect no conquest" on the Continent, but he would "endure no wrong" from Spain. He would be rich enough with Britain, and strong in her love [EC].

95. *Whatever his religion*] Pope is expressing his personal opinion. Though a professing Catholic at a time when anti-Catholic legislation made life unpleasant for the faithful, Pope was open-minded in religious matters. See *Sat.* II i 64–6*n.*

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

THE purpose of this appendix is to relieve the footnotes of certain subsidiary annotation, and in particular of all biographical information concerning Pope's contemporaries. Wherever the degree of Pope's acquaintance with them could be discovered, it has been mentioned. The *Dictionary of National Biography* and GEC's *Peerage* have been put to considerable use; but of many of these people no other account is believed to exist.

ADDISON, Joseph (1672–1719). *Ep. to Arbuthnot* 192ff; *Ep.* II i 216. Poet and essayist. His *Letter from Italy* which Pope liked the most of all his poems, was published in 1704; *The Campaign*, commissioned by the Whig government to celebrate the victory of Blenheim, in 1704; and *Cato*, a poetical drama for which Pope wrote the prologue (vol. vi) in 1713. But Addison's name, both in his own day and afterwards, was chiefly associated with the criticism of manners and the provision of polite instruction which he offered in *The Spectator*, and the general improvement of moral tone which he effected by those essays.

Addison had been dead fourteen years when the first poem in this volume was published. The appearance of the *Atticus* lines in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* is therefore the echo of an old quarrel, offset to some extent by the admiration which Pope expresses in *The Second Epistle of the First Book of Horace* for the "whiteness" of Addison's page. Earlier versions of the character will be found in vol. vi. To this, to Mr Ault's preface to his edition of Pope's prose, and to Professor Sherburn's discussion of Pope's relations with Addison in *The Early Career of Alexander Pope*, Ch. v, the reader is referred for detail.

Pope met Addison as a result of Addison's review of the *Essay on Criticism* in *Spectator* 253. Their acquaintance, which seems to have been confined to the give and take of literary advice, was never intimate; for there could be no sufficient sympathy between the reserved and slightly self-conscious model of literary and social decorum, and the brilliance and indiscretion of the younger man. Addison, too, enjoyed patronizing, and it is clear that Pope disliked being patronized. Misunderstandings accumulated. Pope was offended at the continued praise of Philips's pastorals by Addison's little senate, and expressed his views in characteristic fashion in *Guardian*, No. 40; he perceived a sinister significance in Addison's advising him not to alter *The Rape of the Lock*; and he believed, not without some justification, that Addison had encouraged Tickell to translate the *Iliad* in order to injure his translation. So that when Addison's prospective stepson, the Earl of Warwick, told Pope that Addison had encouraged Gildon to write the *True character of Mr. Pope and his writings* (May 31?, 1716), in which his family is abused, Pope believed this false report, and sent to Addison the lines which he had already sketched in the summer of 1715 at the height of the Homeric feud (see A. E. Case, *Pope, Addison, and the 'Atticus' Lines, Mod. Philology*, xxxiii, 1935). Ironically enough the satire must have reached Addison at a time when he was beginning to make amends to Pope. His *Freeholder* for May 7, 1716, contains a short but commendatory allusion to Pope's *Homer*, and on June 1, perhaps a few days only before the lines were sent, Thomas Burnet, one of Addison's followers at Button's, wrote "that Addison and the rest of the Rhiming Gang have dropt their resentment against the Lordlike Man [Pope]." Pope told Spence (p. 149) that Addison used him very civilly ever after, and never did him any injustice, that he knew of, from that time to his death. That Addison should have behaved with outward correctness to Pope is what might have been expected; the only expression of his private opinion comes from Lady Mary, a suspicious source, who told Spence (p. 237) that Addison had advised her to leave Pope as soon as she could, for "he will certainly play you some devilish trick else: he has an appetite to satire!"

ALLEN, Ralph (1694–1764). *Dia.* i 135. Philanthropist. As assistant-postmaster at Bath, Allen recognized the need of a system of cross-posts to avoid sending country letters from one part of England to another through London. He devised a system, and farmed it with considerable profit. With some of this money he acquired the valuable Coombe Down Quarries from which he sent Bath stone to London and other parts of the kingdom. He used his wealth with great liberality for various charitable purposes.

Allen became acquainted with Pope in 1736. He had read Pope's *Letters* in one of the "pirated" editions, and formed from them a high opinion of his character; he therefore offered to defray the expense of publishing the "authorized" edition, for which the public was not eager to subscribe. The edition was issued with Allen's help in May 1737. Pope became a frequent visitor at Allen's house near Bath. He introduced Warburton there, who married Allen's niece, and Martha Blount, whose behaviour was responsible for an estrangement between Pope and Allen in 1743 (see Pope's correspondence with MB, EC ix 332–7; Spence, pp. 358–60). They were reconciled before Pope's death, but the estrangement is reflected in Pope's treatment of Allen in his will.

Allen was on friendly terms with Fielding, who used his character as a model for *Squire Allworthy* in *Tom Jones*, and dedicated *Amelia* to him. He also knew Pitt, who held him in deep respect. A letter addressed to his sister in 1759 when Allen was ill expresses Pitt's anxiety "that the best of men, who feels and relieves the most the sufferings of others, may not Himself suffer the severest of Pains" (Rosebery's *Chatham*, 1910, p. 112).

AMELIA, Sophia Eleonora (1710–1786). *Sat.* II i 31. Third child of George II and Queen Caroline.

ANSTIS, John (1669–1744). *Ep.* I vi 82; *Dia.* ii 237. Garter king of arms; "undoubtedly the most knowing of any man in England in affairs of his Office" (Egmont, i 443).

ARBUTHNOT, John (1667–1735). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 27, 133, 415. Physician Extraordinary to Queen Anne, 1705–9; physician in ordinary, 1709–14. Arbuthnot became acquainted with Swift in 1711, by whom he was introduced to Pope in 1713. Pope's high opinion of him may be seen from their correspondence (EC vol. vii) and from a letter to Digby, Sept. 1, 1722, in which Pope writes that he thinks him "as good a doctor as any man for one that is ill, and a better doctor for one that is well." His care as a doctor is further referred to by Pope in a letter to Swift (EC vii 299), and his negligence of money matters in a letter from Swift to him (Aitken, p. 155–6). The three men formed the nucleus of the Scriblerus Club which met at St James's Palace in 1713–14 to compose joint satires on the abuses of human learning. Arbuthnot also collaborated with Pope and Gay in *Three Hours after Marriage*, a play produced in 1717, and with Pope in other pieces (see vol. vi). He died on Feb. 27, 1734–5. See G. A. Aitken, *Life and Works of John Arbuthnot*, 1892.

ARGYLE, Duke of. See Campbell.

ARNALL, William (1700?–1741?). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 99; *Dia.* ii 129. A journalist in the government's pay, who defended its policy under the pseudonym of Francis Walsingham in *The Free Briton*, and after 1735 in *The Daily Gazetteer*. See *Dunciad* Index (vol. v).

ATTERBURY, Francis (1662–1732). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 140; *Dia.* ii 82. Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, 1713. Being Jacobite in sympathy, he entered into correspondence with the Pretender in 1717. His letters were seized, and he was imprisoned in the Tower, Aug. 24, 1722, where he was treated with great indignity and severity. His case was tried in the House of Lords in May 1723, Pope being called as a witness on May 10 (see Howell's *State Trials*, xvi 572, 584, and Sherburn, pp. 228–30). He was found guilty of complicity in a plot to reinstate the Pretender, and was banished.

It is uncertain when Pope first met Atterbury, but it cannot have been later than 1713, when both were members of the Scriblerus Club. Pope was in the habit of applying to Atterbury for criticism of his work, and of discussing critical problems with him (Spence, pp. 198, 277; EC ix 7, 9, 14–18, 24, 32, etc.). Of Atterbury's acquaintance with Dryden little is known; he translated *Absalom and Achitophel* into Latin in 1682, and was a prime mover in Tonson's edition of *Paradise Lost* (1688) for which Dryden wrote verses to be set beneath the portrait (Dryden's *Prose*, I i 202–4).

BARNARD, Sir John (1685–1764). *Ep.* II 85, 89; *Dia.* ii 99. M.P. for the City of London, 1722–61. He "acquired great influence in the House as the only man capable of coping with Walpole on questions of finance" (Lecky, i 445). Knighted, 1732. Lord Mayor 1737–8. Speaker Onslow wrote of him, "He was . . . of a very regular and religious life, without show or affectation, as in his public deportment, he seem'd to have made the best principles of both parties, to be the guide of his political acting: so that he was in truth, one of the greatest examples of private, and in general, of public virtue that this age has produced; and had a popularity arising from that, which . . . was more universal and lasting, than that of any man of his time" (Coxe, ii 565).

BATH, Earl of. See Pulteney, William.

BATHURST, Allen, Earl Bathurst (1684–1775). *Sob. Adv.* 158; *Ep.* II ii 256; *1740*, 23. One of the twelve peers created in 1711–12 to secure a majority for the Tory administration. An old friend of Pope, who addressed to him his third Moral Essay (*q.v.*, vol. iii). Pope refers to his easy morals in an undated letter to him (EC viii 341).

BENSON, Martin (1689–1752). *Dia.* ii 72. Bishop of Gloucester, 1735. Both the Earl of Egmont (*Diary*, ii 137) and Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, p. 405) spoke highly

of his learning and his morals, and Berkeley called him "Titus, the delight of mankind." See also, RUNDLE, Thomas.

BENTLEY, Richard (1662–1742). *Sob. Adv.*, pref. letter and notes; *Donne*, iv 52 [?]; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 164; *Ep.* II i 104. Master of Trinity College Cambridge, 1700–42. English classical scholar.

Pope's dislike of Bentley is traditionally ascribed to the opinion which Bentley passed upon the translation of Homer. The story is told by Murphy as follows: "[Bentley] and Pope, soon after the publication of Homer, met at Dr. Mead's at dinner; when Pope, desirous of his opinion of the translation, addressed him thus: 'Dr. Bentley, I ordered my bookseller to send you your books; I hope you received them.' Bentley, who had purposely avoided saying any thing about Homer, pretended not to understand him, and asked, 'Books! books! what books?' 'My Homer,' replied Pope, 'which you did me the honour to subscribe for.'—'Oh,' said Bentley, 'ay, now I recollect—your translation:—it is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope; but you must not call it Homer' " (Johnson's *Works*, xi 185). Perhaps, as Jebb suggests, this is a dramatized version of Bentley's own account, " 'Tis an impudent Dog; but I talked against his *Homer*, and the portentous Cub never forgives" (T. Bentley's [?] *Letter to Mr. Pope, Occasioned by Sober Advice from Horace, &c.*, 1735, p. 15). Though this was probably the prime cause of Pope's resentment, there were other reasons for hostility, as Monk points out (*Life of Bentley*, ii 373); Bentley had been attacked by Swift, he was a ministerial Whig, and he had given great offence to Bolingbroke. Above all, just as Chartres was the stock type of debauchee, Bentley, ever since the *Phalaris* controversy, was the stock type of verbal critic, a reputation enhanced by his editions of Horace (1711) and Milton (1732). Whatever the cause of Pope's personal resentment, it is as a verbal critic that Bentley is attacked both in this volume and in the *Dunciad*. See also Pope's letter to the Earl of Oxford, Nov. 7, 1731.

BERKELEY, George (1685–1753). *Dia.* ii 73. Metaphysical Philosopher. Bishop of Cloyne, 1734–52. His principal works are the *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709) and the *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (1710), in which he contests the materialism popularized by Hobbes. Berkeley seems to have met Pope in 1713 (B. Rand, *Berkeley and Perceval*, 1914, p. 110), and corresponded with him while he was travelling in Italy. Later Pope sought his advice about a passage in the *Essay on Man* (Spence, p. 142). To Berkeley's "virtues" there is plentiful testimony. Atterbury's impression on first meeting him is mentioned in DNB; the Earl of Egmont warmly declared that he was "the worthiest, the learnedest, the wisest, and most virtuous divine of the three kingdoms" (*Diary*, i 224).

BETHEL, Hugh (d. 1748). *Sat.* II ii *passim*. M.P. for Pontefract, 1715–22. He was one of Pope's oldest and most esteemed friends: "Poor Mr. Bethel too," he wrote to Allen, Jan. 20 [1744?], "is very ill in Yorkshire. And, I do assure you, there are no two men I wish better to. I have known and esteemed him for every

moral virtue these twenty years and more. He has all the charity, without any of the weakness of his sister; and, I firmly believe, never said a thing he did not think, nor did a thing he could not tell." And Pope expressed to Bethel himself his delight in "a Friendship of so many years, in the whole Course of which no one Mistake, no one Passion, no one Interest has arisen, to interrupt our constant, easy, & open Comerce" (Mar. 20, 1743; Egerton MS. 1948 f 60[r]), a friendship which was outwardly confirmed by an exchange of portraits in 1744 (Eg. MS. 1948 ff 68, 69). From a letter to Bethel from Martha Blount (Oct. 8, 1731?), it appears that Bethel was accustomed to praise the simple life: "as the season draws near for that universal Temptation of all Women, the Town, I shall want you to preach to me for my own good, and keep me (if you can) in that health I'm now endevoring to lay up. I begin to think of you and your sisters, a warm fire-side, two or three friends in a room, a party at quadrille, and no door open at one's neck" (Eg. MS. 1948 f 21). See also *Essay on Man*, iv 126.

BETTERTON, Thomas (1635?–1710). *Ep.* II i 122. The leading tragic actor of the Restoration period whose art is so well described by Cibber in the fourth chapter of his *Apology*. Pope told Spence that he was "acquainted with Betterton from a boy" (p. 25), and they seem to have been on intimate terms for the remainder of Betterton's life. Pope painted Betterton's portrait, or copied Kneller's work, and probably revised Betterton's modernizations of Chaucer for posthumous publication. See Sherburn, pp. 49–50.

BLACKBURNE, Lancelot (1658–1743). *Sob. Adv.* 44; *1740*, 58. Bishop of Exeter, 1717; Archbishop of York, 1724. His reputation amongst his contemporaries—whether well- or ill-founded is uncertain—may be gathered from the following: "[Blackburne] was perfectly a fine gentleman to the last, to eighty-four; his favourite author was Waller, whom he frequently quoted. In point of decorum, he was not quite so exact as you have been told, Sir. I often dined with him—his mistress (Mrs. Cruwys) sat at the head of the table, and Hayter [later Bishop of Norwich], his natural son by another woman, and very like him, at the bottom, as chaplain" (H. Walpole to Lord Hailes, Dec. 11, 1780). Walpole describes him in his *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 1847, i 87, as "the jolly old Archbishop of York, who had all the manners of a man of quality, though he had been a Buccaneer and was a Clergyman; but he retained nothing of his first profession except his seraglio."

BLACKMORE, Sir Richard (1655?–1729). *Sat.* II i 23; *Ep.* II ii 112; II i 387; I i 16. Physician in ordinary to William III and Anne. Knighted 1697. Published, amongst other works, *Prince Arthur*, a heroic poem, 1695, and *Creation*, a philosophical poem, 1712. Pope had considered inserting a contemptuous reference to him in the *Essay on Criticism* (l. 34), and had collected some of his "solemn nonsense" for use in *Peri Bathous* in 1714 (Sherburn, p. 82), but they were on sufficiently familiar terms at that time for Pope to beg Hughes to make "his most

humble service acceptable" to Blackmore (EC x 119). Hostilities did not break out until some years later. In the second volume of his *Essays* (1717), Blackmore attacked *Three Hours after Marriage* (pp. xlvii–l) and *A Roman Catholick Version of the First Psalm* (p. 270), which Pope had equivocally disclaimed on its surreptitious publication in 1716 (see vol. vi and *Prose*, I c–ci). Blackmore writes "I cannot but here take notice, that one of these Champions of Vice is the reputed Author of a detestable Paper, that has lately been handed about in Manuscript, and now appears in Print, in which the godless Author has burlesqu'd the *First Psalm* of *David* in so obscene and profane a manner, that perhaps no Age ever saw such an insolent affront offer'd to the establish'd Religion of their Country, and this, good Heaven! with Impunity. A sad Demonstration this, of the low Ebb to which the *British* Vertue is reduc'd in these degenerate Times." This earned Blackmore his place in the *Dunciad* and the uncomplimentary references in this volume.

BLAND, Henry (d. 1746). *Dia.* i 75. Headmaster of Eton, 1719. Dean of Durham, 1728. Provost of Eton, 1733–46. Bland translated the first speech of the last act of *Cato* into Latin verse and gave it to Walpole, who had been a school friend of his. Walpole showed the translation to Addison, who published it with high commendation in *The Spectator* (No. 628). See T. Harwood's *Alumni Etonenses*, and H. Walpole's letter to J. Nichols, June 19, 1782.

BLOUNT, Charles (1654–1693). *Dia.* i 123. Deist. Largely instrumental in removing the Licensing Act. *The Oracles of Reason* is a collection of free-thinking essays by Blount, Gildon, and others, published in the last year of Blount's life. Accounts of his suicide differ, but agree that the "near kinswoman," for whose love he killed himself, was his deceased wife's sister.

BLUNT, Sir John (1665–1733). *Dia.* i 14. Projector and Director of the South Sea Company. When the "bubble" burst in 1720, Blunt was compelled to render his estate, which amounted to £183,350, but was allowed to retain £1,000 (see a letter from Edward Harley to Abigail Harley in the Portland Papers, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* v 622, reporting the Commons debate after which this allowance was made). Pope in a note to *Moral Es.* iii 133 describes him as "a Dissenter of a most religious deportment," and a constant declaimer against the corruption and luxury of the age. See further, GEC's *Complete Baronetage.*

BOILEAU DESPRÉAUX, Nicolas (1636–1711). *Sat.* II i 111; *Ep.* II i 375; *Dia.* ii 231. The earliest of Boileau's characteristic poems was his series of satires in the manner of Horace, which date from 1660. During this decade he made the friendship of Molière, La Fontaine, and Racine, and out of their literary discussions arose Boileau's great expression of the "classical" faith, *L'Art Poétique* (1674). The first four cantos of the *Lutrin* were also published in the same year. By this time Boileau had obtained the royal favour and a pension. He was appointed with Racine to the post of historiographer royal in 1677, and in 1684

was elected to the Academy. His influence upon English writers has been studied by A. F. B. Clark, *Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England (1660–1830)*. See also vol. i.

BOLINGBROKE, Viscount. See St John.

BOND, Denis (d. 1747). *Sat.* II i 44; *Dia.* i 121. Of Creech Grange, Dorset. M.P. Dorchester, 1709–10; Corfe Castle, 1715–27; Poole, 1727–32. Letter-carrier to the King (a post worth £1 a day), 1715. In 1732, Bond was expelled from the House of Commons for a breach of trust reposed in him as a Commissioner for the sale of the Earl of Derwentwater's estates (forfeited for his complicity in the '15 rebellion), and shortly after he was found guilty, with Sir Robert Sutton and other directors, of embezzling the funds of the Charitable Corporation. But his reputation was not destroyed, for three years later (1735) he was appointed churchwarden of St George's, Hanover Square. An inventory of his personal estate was published in 1732. See Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iii 100. (Burke's *Landed Gentry*; Beatson; Egmont).

BOOTH, Barton (1681–1733). *Ep.* II i 123, 334. Tragic Actor. He first appeared on the London stage in 1700 and made his fame and fortune by his performance in the title-rôle of Addison's *Cato* (1713). He retired about the year 1728. EC credits the animosity with which Pope regarded Booth to Dennis's *Observations upon Windsor Forest*, 1717, addressed to a certain B.B. Dennis begins "You are in the right of it: *Windsor Forest* is a wretched Rhapsody . . . ," showing that B.B. had first expressed this opinion.

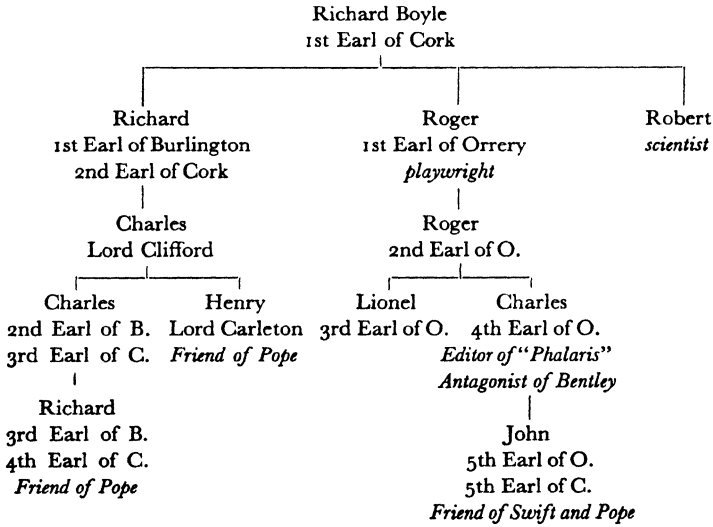
As an actor Booth was remarkable for the dignity and grace of his carriage, and for his voice, the tones of which, writes Theophilus Cibber, "were all musical, and he had so excellent an Ear, no one ever heard a dissonant Note come from him . . . his Articulation was so excellent, he was heard to the farthest Part of the Theatre when he almost whispered" (*Life of Booth*, 1753, p. 44). See also *Ep.* II i 123*n*.

BOYLE, Henry, Baron Carleton (d. 1725). *Dia.* ii 80. Lord of the Treasury (under William III), 1699–1701; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1701–8; Secretary of State, 1708–10. Boyle was dismissed from office with Somers and the Duke of Devonshire on September 20, 1710 (*Journal to Stella*) and replaced by St John. He remained out of office throughout the rest of Anne's reign, but was appointed President of the Council in Walpole's second administration, a post which he held till his death. Speaker Onslow wrote of him, "He was now [1708] at least very firm and acceptable to the whigs, but without any party violence, and never engaged in mean things. He conducted the business of the government in the house of commons with great dignity and wisdom, and was treated there and every where else with much personal respect and distinction. He had good natural abilities, with a very sound judgment; wary and modest in all his actions, even to a diffidence of himself, that was often improper and hurtful to

him. But on occasions which he thought required it, he shewed no want either of spirit or steadiness, which, with the justice and honour of his nature, and the decorum of his manner in every thing, gave him a consideration and a weight in the opinion of those who knew his character far beyond what any other public person has acquired in our times. I have often thought him a great pattern for those who would govern this country well." (Burnet, v 345.) Croker suspected Carleton of Jacobitism on what seem insufficient grounds, and in this way explained the contrast between the policies of Carleton and Stanhope, which Pope implies in l. 81; but it is enough to remember that between 1717 and 1720 Stanhope and Walpole were the leaders of rival whig factions, and that Carleton supported Walpole.

Little is known of Pope's acquaintance with Carleton. He is mentioned among Pope's friends by Gay in v 15 of *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece* (1720), and in an undated letter to the Earl of Burlington, possibly written in 1716, Pope writes that he has paid him a visit.

This table will illustrate the degrees of relationship between members of the Boyle family:



BROWNLOW, John, Baron Charleville and Viscount Tyrconnel (1693?–1754). *Dia.* i 67. M.P. for Grantham, 1713–15, 1722–41; for Lincoln County, 1715–22. His political allegiance was uncertain. He is found opposing government measures in 1730 and 1731, but in 1732 he joined the Whigs and moved the address of thanks for the King's Speech. This gave Shippen the opportunity of reflecting upon Tyrconnel's "abandoning his party, for he had been ever since the King came in against the Court Measures" (Egmont i 214). Nevertheless he

was voting with the Tories again in 1734. Thus there seem to have been some grounds for George II's complaint that Tyrconnel was "a puppy that never votes twice together on the same side" (Hervey, p. 162). Tyrconnel had been the patron of Richard Savage, but later had quarrelled with him and ejected him from his house. A passage in a letter Pope wrote to Savage on Sept. 15, 1742, suggests that Pope sided with Savage in the dispute. As an orator Tyrconnel appears to have been incompetent; Croker discovered a comment upon the above-mentioned address of thanks to the effect that it came from "an uncouth speaker."

BRYDGES, James, first Duke of Chandos (1673–1744). *1740*, 19[?]. In 1740 Chandos had long retired from active politics. Pope's relations with him are discussed in vol. iii.

BUBB, George. See Dodington.

BUCKINGHAM, Duke of. See Sheffield.

BUDGELL, Eustace (1686–1737). *Sat.* II i 27, 100; *Donne*, iv 51; *Sob. Adv.* 60; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 378. A miscellaneous writer and cousin of Addison, who introduced him to various official posts in Ireland. In later life he became badly involved in numerous lawsuits, which preyed so much upon his mind that he eventually committed suicide. He was the author of papers marked "X" in the *Spectator*.

BURNET, Thomas (1694–1753). *Donne*, iv 61 [?]; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 146, 211*n*. Youngest son of Bishop Burnet. One of Addison's followers. He had attacked Pope, not without Addison's concurrence, in *Homerides* and in a periodical called *The Grumbler*, both published at the time of the "Homeric" feud. For this, Burnet and his collaborator, Duckett, were repaid with a place in *The Dunciad* (A iii 173–80 and note; B iii 179–84). Pope supposed Burnet to be the author of *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility Examin'd*, 1729,—the "scandalous History" of l. 146—but it is unlikely that he wrote against Pope after 1716. In 1719, Burnet went to Lisbon as consul; later in life he rose to be a justice of the common pleas (1741). See further, vol. v, *Letters of Burnet to Duckett*, ed. D. Nichol Smith 1914, and *Prose* I lxxiv–v, lxxxiv–viii.

CAMPBELL, John, second Duke of Argyle (1678–1743). *Dia.* ii 86. Brigadier-General under Marlborough in the wars of the Spanish Succession. Prominent in effecting the Act of Union between England and Scotland (1705). His sudden appearance and prompt action at the last privy council of Anne's reign ensured the Hanoverian succession, which he later defended by crushing the '15 rebellion. At this period (1738) he was going over to the opposition, and his hostile speeches hastened the fall of the ministry. Thomson commended his eloquence in *Autumn* (ll. 929 ff):

Nor less the palm of peace enwreathes thy brow:
For, powerful as thy sword, from thy rich tongue
Persuasion flows, and wins the high debate.

Pope was personally acquainted with Argyle. He mentions to Caryll (August 6, 1717) that he has passed a few days in the summer with him.

CARLETON, Baron. See Boyle.

Queen CAROLINE (1683–1737). *Sat.* II i 30; *Donne*, iv 89, 132; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 72, 319, 357; *Ep.* II i 355; *Dia.* i 80, ii 225. A firm supporter of Walpole. Queen Caroline used the ascendency which she possessed over the King's mind to urge Walpole's views even when her own political sense forbade her to agree with them. Her religious opinions were latitudinarian; it was owing to her influence that Butler and Berkeley were promoted to the episcopate. The worst that can be said of such a sensible and tolerant woman is that she maintained an implacable hatred for her eldest son.

Dr Johnson reports (*Lives*, iii 171) that when the Court was at Richmond, the Queen had declared her intention of visiting Pope. "This may have been only a careless effusion, thought on no more: the report of such notice, however, was soon in many mouths; and, if I do not forget or misapprehend Savage's account, Pope, pretending to decline what was not yet offered, left his house for a time, not, I suppose, for any other reason than lest he should be thought to stay at home in expectation of an honour which would not be conferred. He was, therefore, angry at Swift, who represents him as 'refusing the visits of a Queen,' because he knew that what had never been offered had never been refused."

CARTERET, John, Lord, Earl Granville (1690–1763). *1740*, 5, 31. Secretary of State, 1721. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1724–30. On returning from Ireland Carteret was offered a post in the Household. He refused this and joined the Opposition Whigs, whose leadership in the House of Lords he shared with Chesterfield. Although for some time Carteret was one of the Prince of Wales's political advisers, he had no compunction in forsaking a man he despised when the Prince was of no further use to him; for Carteret's purpose was to displace Walpole, as Pope seems to have suspected. After Walpole's fall, to which he had largely contributed, Carteret became Secretary of State in Wilmington's administration (1742–4), though in all but name he was prime minister. For his later career, see W. Baring Pemberton's biography.

There is no evidence that Pope and Carteret were ever more than acquaintances. Pope had written to him as Secretary of State on Feb. 16, 1722–3, protesting his innocence of any trickery in procuring a licence for publishing the Duke of Buckingham's works.

CAVENDISH, William, third Duke of Devonshire (1698–1755). *Ep.* II ii 229. One of Walpole's most loyal supporters. When Chesterfield was dismissed from the office of Lord Steward of the Household in 1733, Devonshire succeeded him

and held this post until he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1737.

CHANDOS, Duke of. See Brydges.

CHARTRES, or Charteris, Francis (1675–1732). *Sat.* II i 4, 89; *Donne*, ii 36; *Ep.* I vi 120; *Dia.* ii 186. A notorious debauchee who amassed a fortune by gambling and usury. Egmont, commenting on his trial for rape (*Select Trials*, 1735, ii 339–51), calls Chartres "one of the greatest and most known rogues in England" (*Diary*, i 75). But Alexander Carlyle (*Autobiography*, Ch. i) detected political animus in those who attacked him; "He was a great profligate, no doubt . . . but he was one of the Runners of Sir Robert Walpole, and defended him in all places of resort, which drew the wrath of the Tories upon him, and particularly sharpened the pens of Pope and Arbuthnot against him. For had it not been for the witty epitaph of the latter, Charteris might have escaped in the crowd of gamesters and debauchees, who are only railed at by their pigeons, and soon fall into total oblivion." See Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iii 20.

CHESELDEN, William (1688–1752). *Ep.* I i 51. Surgeon at St Thomas's and St George's Hospital, and appointed Surgeon to Queen Caroline in 1727. Pope seems to have become acquainted with Cheselden about the year 1735. In the following year, Swift had to inquire who this Cheselden was, that had so lately sprung up in his favour (EC vii 339); to which Pope replied (Mar. 25, 1736), "It shows that the truest merit does not travel so far any way as on the wings of poetry. He is the most noted, and most deserving man, in the whole profession of chirurgery, and has saved the lives of thousands by his manner of cutting for the stone." This was not exaggerated praise; he has been described more recently as "the most expert operator of his generation" (*Johnson's England*, ii 268), and "as beyond dispute one of the greatest of British surgeons" (DNB). His reputation for wit was not so high, as the following epigram by Dr Munro shows (Hor. Walpole's *Letters* ed. Toynbee i 106):

> When Hulse for some trifling unorthodox jests
> An unchristian was censur'd by bigots and priests,
> He wisely resolv'd to wipe off the reproach,
> And was seen with a parson six months in his coach.
> When Cheselden saw that the scheme had success,
> He conceiv'd in some sort it might suit his own case;
> So to take an unlucky damn'd censure away,
> He contriv'd to be seen with a wit every day:
> And with Pope by his side in the pride of his soul,
> 'Now damn ye,' says he; 'now d'ye think I'm a fool?'

Cheselden attended Pope in his last illness (Spence, p. 321). A letter addressed to him by Pope is printed in EC vol. x, from which it appears that he was treating Pope for cataract. Pope used occasionally to lodge at his house in town (Egerton MS. 1946 ff 19, 88).

CHESTERFIELD, Earl of. See Stanhope, Philip.

CHILD, Sir Francis (1684?–1740). *Ep.* I vii 67. Head of the banking firm of Child and Co. Lord Mayor, 1731. Nothing has been discovered of his acquaintance with Pope.

CHURCHILL, John, Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722). *Sat.* II ii 122; *Sob. Adv.* 9; *Ep.* II ii 42; *Ep.* I i 127. The victor of Blenheim. His political opponents were never tired of attacking him on account of his parsimony. See, for example, *The Examiner*, No. 16, written by Swift.

CIBBER, Colley (1671–1757). *Sat.* II i 34, 37; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 60, 97, 373; *Ep.* II ii 138; II i 88, 292, 319; I i 6; *Dia.* i 115. Comic actor and dramatist. After an unsuccessful attempt to gain a commission in the army, Cibber took to the stage, and was given his first part in Southerne's *St. Anthony's Love*, 1691. His first play was *Love's Last Shift*, 1695–6, and his most famous play, *The Careless Husband*, 1704. He became joint-licensee of the Haymarket Theatre in 1710, and of Drury Lane in 1712; he was appointed Poet Laureate in 1730, and wrote *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian* in 1740, for which he is chiefly remembered. He retired from the stage officially in March 1734, but kept on reappearing until 1745.

Pope's animosity had been roused by some jocular references to *Three Hours after Marriage* in the *Rehearsal*, which Cibber had revived in 1717. Throughout the period represented by the poems in this volume, Pope had made free use of Cibber's name without Cibber retorting. The later history of their relations belongs to vol. v.

CIBBER, Theophilus (1703–1758). *Dia.* i 115. Son of Colley Cibber. He first appeared on the stage in 1721, and ten years later he took over his father's share in the patent of Drury Lane Theatre (1731–2). Actor Manager there, 1734.

COBHAM, Viscount. See Temple.

COMPTON, Spencer, Earl of Wilmington (1673?–1743). *1740*, 65 [?]. Speaker of the House of Commons, 1715–27. On George I's death, the new king dismissed Walpole and entrusted the management of affairs to Compton, but he realized his mistake immediately, and reinstated Walpole. Compton was compensated with a peerage, and gave Walpole grudging support as Lord President of the Council until his fall was imminent. Although still a member of the government, Wilmington did not vote against Carteret's motion for removing Walpole in 1741, and had sufficient political influence to become the titular head of the new administration, directed by Carteret, Pulteney, and the Pelhams. Hervey's character of Wilmington represents the commonly held opinion, "He was a plodding, heavy fellow, with great application, but no talents, and vast complaisance for a Court without any address" (*Memoirs*, p.

24). Pope knew him, and even discussed literary matters with him. He showed him the preface to his edition of Shakespeare (Tonson to Pope, Dec. 23, 1724), considered the poetical merits of a minor contemporary with him (Pope to Caryll, Feb. 6, 1731), and asked his support for Dennis's benefit (Pope to Hill, Feb. 5, 1731).

CONGREVE, William (1670–1729). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 138; *Ep.* II i 287. Congreve had already retired from the stage when Pope first met him about the year 1706 (EC ix 545), and received his commendation of the *Pastorals* (*Spring* 1 *n*). In 1720 Pope dedicated the *Iliad* to him as "a Memorial of my Friendship, with one of the most valuable Men as well as finest Writers, of my Age and Countrey." At his death Pope wrote to Gay (EC vii 434), "I never passed so melancholy a time, and now Mr. Congreve's death touches me nearly. It is twenty years and more that I have known him. Every year carries away something dear with it, till we outlive all tendernesses, and become wretched individuals again as we begun." Of Congreve's opinion of Pope we possess only the untrustworthy statement of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who wrote to Arbuthnot (Jan. 3, 1735) in reference to *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 138, "I am seriously concerned at the worse scandal he has heaped on Mr. Congreve, who . . . was so far from loving Pope's rhyme, [that] both that and his conversation were perpetual jokes to him, exceeding despicable in his opinion, and he has often made us laugh in talking of them, being particularly pleasant on that subject."

Congreve had been introduced to Dryden by Southerne in 1692, and had consulted him about the *Old Bachelor* (*Dryden's Prose*, I i 222). Dryden expressed his affection and esteem for Congreve in his memorable commendatory verses to the *Double Dealer* (1694), and Congreve paid tribute to his memory in his Dedication to Dryden's *Dramatic Works* (1717). See further Sherburn, p. 63.

COOKE, Thomas (1703–56). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 49*n*; 146. Poet, pamphleteer, and translator. Published translations of Bion and Moschus (1724), and of Hesiod (1728); edited Terence (1734), and Virgil (1741). He first offended Pope by his *Battle of the Poets* (1725), a poem in which Pope, though not abusively treated, was judged inferior to Philips; and later by referring to him as an undertaker in his *Scandalous Chronicle: Or, Ballad of Characters, Written for the Use of Poets* (1726). Fearing reprisals, Cooke wrote a letter of apology (EC x 212) which Pope could not bring himself to accept (see letters to Lord Oxford, Aug. 1728–Jan. 1729), and inserted his name in the 1729 *Dunciad* (A ii 130 and note). Cooke replied by rewriting his *Battle of the Poets*, to which he prefixed an abusive preface, and published it in a volume of his *Tales* (1729), which also included a translation of part of the second book of the *Iliad*, with notes reflecting on Pope's translation. About the same time he wrote a letter to the *London Journal* under the pseudonym of Atticus, inquiring into "the Controversy betwixt the Poets and Mr. Pope": which he reprinted with other letters in 1731. His last attack upon Pope was in a poem entitled *The Petty-Sessions of the Poets* published in *The Bays Miscellany* (?1742). See further *Dunciad* index.

CORNBURY, Viscount. See Hyde.

COWPER, William, first Earl Cowper (1664?–1723), *Ep.* II ii 134. Lord Keeper, 1705; Lord Chancellor, 1707–10, 1714–18. Pope was personally unacquainted with him (EC x 198). His "strength, as an orator, lay by no means in his reasonings, for he often hazarded very weak ones. But such was the purity and elegance of his style, such the propriety and charms of his elocution, and such the gracefulness of his action, that he never spoke without universal applause: the ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and the understandings of the audience" (Chesterfield to his son, Dec. 5, 1749).

CRAGGS, James (1686–1721). *Ep.* I vi 45; *Ep.* I vii 67; *Dia.* ii 69. Secretary at War, 1717; Secretary of State, 1718. Pope and he were neighbours at Chiswick, and later at Twickenham, and held each other in high esteem. Craggs gave Pope some shares in the South Sea Company, and frequently pressed Pope to accept a pension of £300 a year, to be paid from secret service money in his hands (Spence, p. 307). He died of smallpox at the height of the South Sea scare, in which he was deeply involved. Pope never hesitated in defending his memory. He wrote to Caryll in February 1721 (EC vi 276), "There never lived a more worthy nature, a more disinterested mind, a more open and friendly temper than Mr. Craggs. A little time, I doubt not, will clear up a character which the world will learn to value and admire when it has none such remaining in it." The same opinion he expressed openly in the epitaph written for his memorial in Westminster Abbey (see vol. vi), and in the concluding lines of his *Epistle to Addison* (vol. vi). See also his *Epistle to James Craggs, Esq.* (vol. vi).

CROOK, Japhet (1662–1734). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 363; *Dia.* i 120; ii 185, 189. Alias, Sir Peter Stranger. He was convicted in 1731 of forging deeds of conveyance and fradulently obtaining a will, and was sentenced to stand in the Pillory, have his ears cut off, his nose slit, forfeit his goods and chattles, and be imprisoned for life (*Fog's Weekly Journal*, May 29, June 12, 1731). See Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iii 86. For the details of his frauds, see James Moore's *The Unparallel'd Impostor*, 1731

CURLL, Edmund (1675–1747). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 53, 113, 380. Bookseller of infamous reputation. He specialized, to quote Professor Sherburn, in scandalous biographies, and seditious and pornographic pamphlets; he was also glad of any opportunity to publish private papers not intended for the press, which had strayed from their rightful owners. Pope had suffered from his attentions since 1714, and had revenged himself by administering an emetic when Curll published *Court Poems* two years later. Accounts of the skirmishes which followed will be found in Professor Sherburn's *Early Career of Alexander Pope*, Ch. vi, and in Mr Ault's preface to his edition of the Prose Works, pp. xciv–cxiv. Curll could not be omitted from *The Dunciad:* he is found in Book ii (A ii 53 ff) with a long note by Pope. In 1733 Pope began his surreptitious manœuvres whose purpose

was to "jockey" Curll into publishing an "unauthorized" edition of his letters, so that he might have some colour for publishing an authentic edition. The best account of this transaction is in C. W. Dilke's *The Papers of a Critic*, 1875, i 287 ff. See also a further account of Curll in vol. v.

DALRYMPLE, John, second Earl of Stair (1673–1747). *Dia.* ii 239. Ambassador at Paris, 1715–20. Vice-Admiral of Scotland, 1720–33. He was deprived of this office after vigorously opposing Walpole's Excise Bill, and was not restored to favour until Walpole's fall. Even Hervey, who was a political opponent, allows that Stair acted as Ambassador "with skill and credit to himself and to the honour and benefit of his country." He goes on to say that Stair was "reckoned a man of honour and integrity" (*Memoirs*, p. 136).

DARTINEUF, or DARTIQUENAVE, Charles (1664–1737). *Sat.* II i 46; *Ep.* II ii 87. A celebrated epicure, chosen by Lyttelton to represent the moderns in a dialogue with the Roman epicure, Apicius (*Dialogues of the Dead*, 1760, No. 19). He held the post of Surveyor of the King's gardens and private roads, was a member of the Kit Cat club, and a friend of Swift. According to Warburton, Dartineuf would say that Pope had done justice to his taste; but that if, instead of *Ham-pie*, he had given him *Sweet-pie*, he never could have pardoned him.

DELAWARE, Earl. See West.

DELORAIN, Earl of. See Scott.

DELORAIN, Countess of. See Howard.

DENNIS, John (1657–1734). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 153, 270, 370; *Ep.* II i 388. Critic and dramatist. Pope had offended him by l. 585 of the *Essay on Criticism*, and Dennis replied with some severe strictures upon the poem. This was the commencement of a long period of hostilities. See further vols. i and vi, and Sherburn *passim*.

DEVONSHIRE, Duke of. See Cavendish.

DIGBY, William, fifth Baron Digby (1662–1752). *Dia.* ii 241. M.P. Warwick, 1689–98. He did not sit in James II's Irish parliament (May 7, 1689), and was attainted by it. Pope, who was a friend of Digby's children, and wrote an epitaph for two of them (see vol. vi), may have known more of Digby's loyalty to James than can now be discovered.

DODINGTON, George Bubb, Baron Melcombe (1691–1762). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 230ff, 280; *Ep.* II ii 274; *Dia.* i 12, 68; ii 160; *1740*, 55. An obvious mark for satire on account of his political improbity, his ostentatious and tasteless expense, and his affectation of patronage. He owned several parliamentary

boroughs and therefore possessed considerable influence, which he first used to help Walpole, in whose administration he was a lord of the Treasury (1724), but later to assist the Prince of Wales, whose chief adviser he was until 1734. His patronage he extended to Young, Thomson, Fielding, Glover, and Whitehead, and is said to have offered it to Johnson. He is not known to have had any personal relations with Pope.

DORSET, Duke of. See Sackville.

DOUGLAS, Charles, Earl of Selkirk (1663–1739). *Dia.* i 92; ii 61, 62, 158. A warm supporter of the Revolution. Representative of the Scottish peers in four parliaments, 1713–15, 1722–39. Selkirk does not appear to have excited much affection: Lord Hervey wrote of him in a poetical epistle to the Queen (*Memoirs*, p. 583):

> Let nauseous Selkirk shake his empty head
> Through six courts more, when six have wish'd him dead.

Pope had already shown his spleen towards him in manuscript versions of the *Moral Essays* (i 55; iii 91).

DOUGLAS, Charles, third Duke of Queensberry, and second Duke of Dover (1698–1778). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 260. Privy Counsellor in the reigns of George I and III, and keeper of the great seal of Scotland (1760). He quarrelled with George II when a licence was refused for Gay's opera, *Polly* (1728). His wife (d. 1777) was renowned for her beauty, eccentricity, wit, and kindness of heart. Swift told Pope that he envied Gay for nothing so much as being "a domestic friend to such a lady" (EC vii 294). Nearly two years after his death, the Duchess wrote to Lady Suffolk, "I often want poor Mr. Gay, and on this occasion extremely . . . it is a sort of pleasure to think over his good qualities: his loss was really great, but it is a satisfaction to have once known so good a man" (*Suffolk*, ii 109). See under GAY.

DOVER, Thomas (1660–1742). *Ep.* i vi 57. Practised in London as a physician from 1721 till 1728, and from 1731 till his death. He was known as "the quicksilver doctor" from his extravagant use of mercury in prescription (DNB).

DRUMMOND, Mary (d. 1777). *Dia.* i 133, Sister of George Drummond, the famous Lord Provost of Edinburgh. She adopted Quaker tenets in the early 1730's and thereafter devoted herself to itinerant preaching throughout Great Britain, collecting funds at the same time for the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, which her brother was building. She reached London in 1735, where "she preached in almost all the Meetings in and about this City, to crowded Audiences, and with great Applause from People of all Sects and Persuasions" (A. Boyer, *Political State*, vol. 50, p. 473). She is said to have developed kleptomania in later life, and to have died in poverty and disrepute. A tract written by Mrs Drummond entitled *Internal Revelation The Source of Saving Knowledge* was

published at Reading in 1736. (*Gent. Mag.* v 555; *Scots Mag.* xxxv 314; Spence, pp. 345–7; R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 1861, iii 559.)

DRYDEN, John (1631–1700). *Sat.* II i 113; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 141, 245; *Ep.* II ii 145; *Ep.* II i 213, 267, 280. Though Pope was intimate with many who had been "great Dryden's friends before," he himself was too young to have known him. But he told Spence that when he was about twelve years old, he had seen Dryden and remembered his face well; "for I looked upon him, even then," he said, "with the greatest veneration" (*Anecdotes*, p. 332). The notes to this and other volumes provide sufficient evidence to show what detailed knowledge of Dryden's works Pope possessed.

DUCK, Stephen (1705–1756). *Ep.* II ii 140. Began life as an agricultural labourer, and "improved" himself by reading *inter alia* the *Spectator* and *Paradise Lost*. Encouraged in writing poetry by the local clergy. Recommended to the Queen in the autumn of 1730 through Dr Alured Clarke (*Memoirs of Lady Sundon*, 1847, i 183–206). The Queen allowed him a pension and appointed him Librarian and keeper of Merlin's Cave in 1735 (see *Ep.* II i 355*n*). His poems were published in 1736 with an interesting account of his life by Spence. He was ordained in 1746 and became Rector of Byfleet in 1752. In a fit of depression he committed suicide by drowning. Pope appears to have tolerated him. He wrote to Gay on Oct. 23, 1730, and spoke of the bad taste of the public whose favourites were Eusden and Duck, "an honest industrious *thresher* [who] not unaptly represents *pains* and *labour* . . . But he is a harmless man, and therefore I am glad." Nevertheless, "Pope's public professions and private feelings were often different things, and it is hard to make his expressed regard for the person of the rustic rhymer square with the summary treatment of him in the [*Grub Street*] *Journal*, which was never hard on Pope's friends" (J. T. Hillhouse, *The Grub-Street Journal*, 1928, p. 52). See also Index to vol. vi, and R. M. Davis's *Stephen Duck*, 1927.

ELLIS, John (1643?–1738). *Sob. Adv.* 81. Under-Secretary of State, 1695–1705. No other allusion to his misfortunes has been discovered.

EUSDEN, Laurence (1688–1730). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 15; *Ep.* II i 417. Appointed poet laureate on Rowe's death in 1718 because he had celebrated the marriage of the Duke of Newcastle, in whose gift as Lord Chamberlain the office lay. Eusden took holy orders in 1724, and became Rector of Coningsby in 1730. Pope refers once more to his drunkenness in a letter to Gay (Oct. 23, 1730). It was recognized even by those prepared to champion him. The author of *Characters of the Times* (1728), who made it his business to defend the victims of Pope and Swift, described him as "A Man of insuperable Modesty, since certainly it was not his Ambition, that led him to seek this illustrious Post [the laureateship], but his Affection to the Perquisite of Sack." Eusden had addressed birthday odes to the King in his official capacity.

FINCH, Daniel, seventh Earl of Winchilsea (1689–1769). *1740*, 19[?]. A Whig lord. He had been appointed gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince George in 1714, commissioner of the Treasury in 1715, and Comptroller of the Household in 1725. His Comptroller's staff he resigned in 1730 when he joined the ranks of the opposition with Carteret. He and Carteret also acted together in opposing the Scottish Peers' election petition and in supporting the Prince of Wales's parliamentary petition for an increased allowance. On Walpole's fall he was appointed a lord of the admiralty (1742). Lord President of the Council, 1765. See GEC's *Peerage*; Egmont, *passim*; Hervey, *passim*.

FLEURY, André Hercule de (1653–1743). *Sat.* II i 75; *Dia.* i 51. Cardinal, 1726; chief adviser to Louis XV of France, 1726–43. He gained universal reputation for sincerity and prudence. Lord Hervey wrote of him "His great principle in politics was to keep peace in Europe as long as it was possible, and by his adherence to this principle France, during his administration, recovered all the havoc and distress and misery that had been brought upon her by a series of so many years' mismanagement in his predecessors' " (*Memoirs*, p. 63); yet he was forced into war in 1733 to support the claims of Louis XV's father-in-law to the crown of Poland, and later he was unable to avoid entering the wars of the Austrian Succession.

FORTESCUE, William (1687–1749). *Sat.* II i, *passim*. One of the few members of the court party with whom Pope was on terms of intimate friendship. Fortescue had been Walpole's private secretary when he was first appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer (1715), and had supported him in the Commons as member for Newport (I.W.) from 1728 to 1736. In that year he was made a Baron of the Exchequer; in 1738 he became a justice of the common pleas, and in 1741 he was appointed Master of the Rolls. From a letter Pope wrote to Gay on Oct. 23, 1713, it seems likely that he was already on friendly terms with Fortescue at that time; the introduction had probably been made by Gay. As Pope admits in the first *Imitation of Horace*, he used to go to Fortescue for professional advice; his signature is found as a witness on the *Odyssey* indenture (Sherburn, p. 316), and Pope told Spence that they had collaborated in *Stradling versus Stiles* (*Anecdotes*, p. 145).

FOSTER, James (1697–1753). *Dia.* i 131. Anabaptist minister. In 1728 he started a course of Sunday evening lectures in the Old Jewry, in which "with great clearness and strength of reasoning, he enforced the obligations of religion and virtue, chiefly from principles in which all mankind are agreed" (Sir John Hawkins, *General History of Music*, 1776, v 325). He kept up this course of lectures for over twenty winters, and acquired such a reputation that "it became a proverbial expression, that those who had not heard Farinelli sing and Foster preach were not qualified to appear in genteel company" (*ibid.*). Hawkins, who knew Foster well, records that Pope was acquainted with him and frequently came to the Old Jewry purposely to hear him (*ibid.*). Dr Johnson con-

sidered him "a man of mean ability, and of no original thinking" (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Hill, ii 41).

FOX, Henry, first Baron Holland (1705–1774). *Sat.* II i 49; *1740*, 57. Entered parliament in 1735 as Member for Hindon. He supported the whig interest until George III's succession. Surveyor General of Works, 1737–43; Lord of the Treasury, 1743–6; Secretary of War, 1746–55; Paymaster General, 1757–63. Created Baron Holland, 1763.

FOX, Stephen, first Earl of Ilchester (1704–1776). *Sat.* II i 49; *Dia.* i 71; ii 166; *1740*, 57. Stephen Fox, who was of a more retiring disposition than his brother, Henry, was an intimate friend of Hervey and a loyal supporter of Walpole in the Commons, where he represented Shaftesbury (1726–34; 1735–41) and Hindon (1734–5). Through Hervey's influence he was appointed to one of the secretaryships of the Treasury, and was raised to the peerage in 1741.

FREDERICK LOUIS, Prince of Wales (1707–51). *Ep.* I vi 83; *Dia.* i 46, 82, 108; ii 61, 92; *1740*, 85 ff. The Prince's political importance at this time is discussed in the Introduction, pp. xxxiii ff, xl f; and the extent of his acquaintance with Pope in a note to *Dia.* ii 92.

GARTH, Sir Samuel (1661–1719). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 137. Poet and physician in ordinary to George I. Garth was one of Pope's earliest friends, he had encouraged him in writing the *Pastorals* and received the dedication of the second. He approved of the addition of the machinery to *The Rape of the Lock*, of which his own *Dispensary* (1699) was one of the poetical ancestors. In 1717 Pope contributed to his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by several hands. Pope thought Garth "one of the best natured men in the world," and his grief at his death is expressed in a letter to Jervas, Dec. 12, 1718, where he attempts to condone his free-thinking: "You must have heard many tales on this subject," he writes, "but if ever there was a good christian without knowing himself to be so, it was Dr. Garth," a prose version of what he had already expressed in his *Farewell to London*, 1715 (see vol. vi):

> And Garth, the best good Christian he,
> Although he knows it not.

Little is known of Garth's acquaintance with Dryden, though Malone writes of the many hours they spent in the same company (*Dryden's Prose*, I i 497). Garth subscribed to his translation of Virgil (1697) and preached his funeral oration at the Royal College of Physicians.

GAY, John (1685–1732). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 256; *Sat.* II vi 94. Pope made the acquaintance of Gay about the year 1711, and soon after the two men were associated in the Scriblerus Club, of which Gay for a time was secretary (Sherburn pp. 71, 76). In 1713, Gay inscribed to Pope his *Rural Sports*, and in the following

year supported Pope in his quarrel with Philips by publishing his burlesque pastoral, *The Shepherd's Week*. In 1717 they collaborated with Arbuthnot in a play *Three Hours after Marriage*. Gay published a collection of his poems in 1720, and gained £20,000 by subscriptions and sales, but he lost all this money in the South Sea Bubble. The same year the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry (*q.v.*) took him under their protection, and with them he lived for the rest of his life. His best known works are *Trivia* (1716), *Fables* (1727), and *The Beggar's Opera* (1728). He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and a monument was erected to his memory by the Duke of Queensberry. Pope's epitaph is printed in vol. vi. The only "neglect" which Gay's genius suffered was the absence of political patronage, which he had done nothing to deserve. He left about £6,000.

GEORGE II (1683–1760). *Sat.* II i 21, 24, 35; *Donne*, iv 68, 89; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 222; *Ep.* II i, *passim; Ep.* I i 10, 106; *Dia.* i 18, 20, 107, 110, 122. Pope represents George II as a German boor, insensitive to all the arts but music, avaricious, fond of bragging about his military exploits but denied the satisfaction of leading his armies to battle, because he was under the thumb of Queen Caroline and Walpole. There is some truth in this estimate, and if Pope had enjoyed Sporus's confidence he could have made his satire even more severe; but he could not see, or was unwilling to recognize George II's merits. The King was a shrewd judge of men, and never misplaced his political confidence. "He was also an eminently honest, truthful, and honourable man, . . and discharged with remarkable fidelity the duties of a constitutional monarch . . . He loved money greatly, but he lived strictly within the revenues that were assigned to him, and was the most economical English sovereign since Elizabeth" (Lecky, ii 447–8).

George II's opinion of Pope is recorded in Prior's *Life of Malone* (1860), p. 369: "Who is this Pope that I hear so much about? I cannot discover what is his merit. Why will not my subjects write in prose?"

GIBSON, Edmund (1669–1748). *Sob. Adv.* 39. Bishop of Lincoln, 1716; Bishop of London 1723. Gibson was Walpole's ecclesiastical adviser until he opposed the Quakers' Tithe Bill (1736), but the alliance had lasted long enough to reconcile the Church towards the Hanoverian Succession. His most important work is the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (1713), of which Stubbs wrote, "This Collection of English Church Statutes is still the standard work and treasury of all sorts of such lore" (quoted by Sykes, p. 68). Gibson's "solid scholarship, his untiring industry, his practical sagacity, his sober piety, represent the best qualities of eighteenth-century churchmanship" (Sykes, p. 393). See also RUNDLE, Thomas.

GILDON, Charles (1665–1724). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 151. Miscellaneous writer. He attacked Pope in *A New Rehearsal* (1714), where he is represented as Sawny Dapper, "an easy Versifyer, Conceited and a Contemner secretly of all others." Pope is accused of having written commendatory verses addressed to him by Wycherley, and reflections are cast upon his ignorance of Greek, the bawdiness

of the *Rape of the Lock*, and the misuse of machinery in that poem. In 1716 appeared the anonymous *True Character of Mr. Pope*, which Pope believed to be written jointly by Gildon and Dennis at Addison's instigation (see *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 151*n*). Two years later, Gildon published his *Memoirs of Wycherley*, in which he described Pope as a "little *Aesopic* sort of an Animal in his own cropt Hair, and Dress agreeable to the Forest he came from . . . I thought indeed he might be some Tenant's Son of [Wycherley's], who might make his Court for continuance in his Lease of the Decease of his Rustick Parent, but was sufficiently surpriz'd, when Mr. *Wycherley* afterwards told me he was Poetically inclin'd, and writ tolerably smooth Verses." So far as we know, Gildon had no personal grudge against Pope, and Pope refrained from reply except here and in the *Dunciad* (B i 296 and note, iii 173), thus helping to fulfil Swift's prophecy, "Maevius is as well known as Virgil, and Gildon will be as well known as you, if his name gets into your verses" (Nov. 26, 1725; EC vii 64). See further *Times Lit. Sup.* May 11, 1922, and Sherburn, pp. 147–8, 163–4.

GONSON, Sir John (d. 1765). *Donne*, iv 53, 256. Justice of the Peace. Deputy Chairman of the Westminster Quarter Sessions, 1728; Chairman, 1729. His charges to the grand jury were much admired, and four of them were printed. They were said to have been written for him by Orator Henley. In one of them he recommends severe punishments for blasphemy and profane language, to which perhaps Pope alludes in l. 256. In 1731 he was nominated to a committee of justices to inquire into the state of disorderly houses; his zeal in suppressing them was recorded by Hogarth, who has represented him entering the Harlot's lodgings in *The Harlot's Progress*, pl. 3. In 1733, he was appointed to inquire into the fees of the several offices belonging to the Court of Chancery. In the same year he (or a namesake) was elected a trustee of the Georgia Society, and in 1735 of the S.P.C.K., which he supported as a subscribing member from 1727 until his death. (Hogarth's *Works*, ed. Nichols, 1808, i 56*f*; Egmont, *passim*; *London Journal*, Jan. 2, 9, 1731; *British Chronologist*; James Millar's *Harlequin-Horace*, 1731, p. 34.)

GOWER, Baron. See Leveson-Gower.

GRANVILLE, Earl. See Carteret.

GRANVILLE, George, Baron Lansdowne (1667–1735). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 135. Poet and Statesman. Secretary-at-war, 1710. Treasurer of the Household, 1713; removed, 1714; and imprisoned in the Tower, 1715–17, on suspicion of Jacobitism. Granville wrote commendatory verses for Dryden's translation of Virgil (1697), and in the following year, on the occasion of Granville's tragedy *Heroick Love*, Dryden returned the compliment with verses in which he mentions their friendship. Pope was introduced to Granville by Wycherley about the year 1706 (see Granville's *Works*, 1732, i 437); he submitted the *Pastorals* for his inspection (see *Spring* 1*n*) and dedicated *Windsor Forest* to him.

de GREY, Henry, Duke of Kent, (1671–1740). *Ep.* I i 88. Lord Chamberlain of the Household, 1704–10; Lord Steward of the Household, 1716–19; Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1719–20. The Earl of Hardwicke, in a note on Burnet's *History*, vi 13, wrote of him, "This noble lord was so humoursome, proud, and capricious, that he was rather a ministry spoiler than a ministry maker," and the Earl of Dartmouth (see l. 88*n*) believed that his money procured him the Lord Chamberlain's staff. Swift added to Macky's character, which is more favourable, "He seems a good natured Man, but of very little consequence" (Macky's *Memoirs*, 1733, p. 95). See further GEC.

HALE, Richard (1670–1728). *Ep.* I i 173. F.R.C.P., 1716. Delivered the Harveian oration in 1724. "He studied insanity, and was famous for his extreme kindness to lunatics" (DNB). It is surprising that Pope should have been unaware that Hale was dead, for his friend Jon. Richardson had been employed to make a copy of his portrait in 1733, and Monro, whom Pope mentions in *Ep.* II ii 70, had been appointed physician at Bedlam in his place.

He should not be confused with Stephen Hale, Minister of Teddington, who witnessed Pope's will (Spence, p. 293, and *Moral Es.* ii 198).

HALIFAX, Earl of. See Montagu, Charles.

HARDWICKE, Earl of. See Yorke.

HARE, Francis (1671–1740). *Ep.* I i 82*n*; *Sob. Adv.* 25*n*; *1740*, 56. Chaplain general to the army in Flanders, 1704. Dean of St Paul's, 1726–40. Bishop of St Asaph, 1727. Bishop of Chichester, 1727. Hare, who had been Walpole's tutor, was a loyal Whig. He was a strong candidate for the Archbishopric of Canterbury on Wake's death in 1737 (Hervey, pp. 547, 652). His preaching is mentioned in *Dunciad* B iii 204.

HARRIS, John (1680–1738). *Dia.* i 134. Dean of Hereford, 1729–36; Bishop of Llandaff, 1729–38; Dean of Wells, 1736–8. Harris is believed to have been the author of a foolish pamphlet entitled *A Treatise upon the Modes: or, a Farewell to French Kicks*, 1715. In this work, with attempted facetiousness, he ridicules everything French in order to dispose of French leadership in fashion. Swift and Pope come in for contemptuous reference: Swift is accused of plagiarism in *The Battle of the Books* (p. ii), and Harris suggests that the mother of the author of *A Tale of a Tub* must have been drunk at his conception (p. 41); "a certain Poet of this Nation" has borrowed all his wit from Boileau (p. 40), and Harris goes on to describe how this same poet was "about three Years ago (as it is said) carry'd before a Justice, for riding in a Full-bottom'd Wig: The Country imagining that he had kill'd a Man, and had not Time to Undress" (p. 44).

HAY, George, seventh Earl of Kinnoull (d. 1758). *Ep.* I vi 121. One of the twelve peers created by Harley and St John in 1711 to ensure a majority in the

House of Lords for the treaty of Utrecht. Placed under arrest in 1715 on suspicion of supporting the Jacobite Rebellion. Succeeded to his father's title, 1719. Ambassador at Constantinople, 1729–34. He married a daughter of Harley.

Some idea of Kinnoull's character may be gained from the following extracts from the Portland Papers (Hist. MSS. Comm., vii 386): "I heard of all Kinnoull's usage of her from T. Dod when he was with me. But as I observed before to you, is it to be wondered at from one who uses such a wife, and his own family, in so vile a manner. But if I am informed right, he is likely to pay for it in this world, and will not be able to get so much as bread in a little time. Should that be his case . . . I think he ought to be left to die in a ditch" (The Rev. Dr W. Stratford to the second Earl of Oxford, Kinnoull's brother-in-law). Swift wrote to the Earl of Oxford in 1735, "I had always the greatest esteem for my Lady Kinnoull, and yet mingled with the greatest commiseration, because I never was so deceived in any man as in her Lord, whom I exceedingly loved in the Queen's time" (vi 61).

HEATHCOTE, Sir Gilbert (1652–1733). *Ep.* II ii 240. One of the founders of the Bank of England, of which he was appointed Governor, 1709. Lord Mayor, 1710–11. The prototype, it is believed, of Addison's Sir Andrew Freeport. He was reputed to be the richest commoner in England, and died worth £700,000. He seems to have owed his reputation for parsimony to a dispute (1712) with the parson of his parish over his brother's funeral fees; his objection, however, was for paying fees for the same corpse in two places (see E. D. Heathcote, *Account of the Families of Heathcote*, 1899, pp. 85, 242). Heathcote bought the estate of Normanton in Lincolnshire about the year 1729. See also *Moral Es.* iii 101.

HENLEY, John (1692–1756). *Donne*, iv 51; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 98; *Dia.* i 66. An eccentric preacher. After a short period within the church, he decided to leave it, and he set up his pulpit first in Newport market in 1726, and later in Lincolns Inn Fields. He took especial pride in his elocution, the secrets of which he used to teach. On weekdays he conducted an academy where "Gentlemen skill'd in the Languages . . . or any part of Useful and Elegant Erudition" were "handsomely encouraged to read their Lectures." "University Learning" was taught, "as also the Faculty of Mastering any Branch of Knowledge, Composition, and Elocution." See further Pope's note to *Dunciad* B iii 199.

HERVEY, John, Baron Hervey of Ickworth (1696–1743). *Sat.* II i 6; *Donne*, iv 178; *Sat.* II ii 101; *Sob. Adv.* 2, 30, 92; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 149, 305 ff, 363, 380; *Ep.* II i 105; *Dia.* i 50, 71; *1740*, 57. Eldest surviving son of the Earl of Bristol. Married (1720) Pope's friend, Mary Lepel. His interest in politics dated from his return from a foreign tour in 1729, though he had held the family seat of Bury St Edmunds since 1725. Efforts were made by Pulteney to enlist him in the opposition, but Hervey reckoned that the Government was secure. He threw in his lot with Walpole and was appointed Vice-Chamberlain (1730), a post

which so well suited his talents that he quickly became the Queen's confidant in domestic and political affairs, and at the same time Walpole's most trusted agent in the palace. His record of these years is the vivid *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, first published in 1848, a document of the first historical importance. In 1740 Walpole somewhat reluctantly gave him a seat in the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal, much to the annoyance of his colleagues; but he was forced to retire on Walpole's fall in 1742. He died a year later, in time for Pope to provide him with a place in the revised *Dunciad* (B i 298). His relations with Pope are summarized in the Introduction, pp. xv, xix f.

HILL, Mary, Viscountess Hillsborough (1684–1742). *Sob. Adv.* 46. The daughter of Anthony Rowe of Muswell Hill. Her first husband was Sir Edmund Denton, whom she married in 1700. Two years after his death in 1714, she married Trevor Hill, Viscount Hillsborough, and bore him two children in the years immediately succeeding their marriage. Who Jefferies was or when he entered their life is not known. According to Horace Walpole, he went with Lady Hillsborough "on a Party of pleasure to the Spa" where they were found together by Mrs Heysham and Lady Buck, friends of Lady Hillsborough, who reported the incident to her husband. An anonymous annotator of a copy of *Sober Advice* in the Bodleian Library confirms the tale. Two months after the publication of *Sober Advice*, on March 11, 1734–5, Lord Hillsborough laid his petition before the House of Lords for bringing in a bill to dissolve his marriage. The bill was read for the first time on March 28, and a second reading deferred for a month on April 18. But in the meanwhile Parliament had been prorogued on May 15, and the bill automatically died. Since no more is heard of it, we may assume that Lord Hillsborough had insufficient money to reintroduce it, especially as his debts are mentioned in another bill of March 11. If we may believe Hearne, his moral character was no better than his wife's.

HILLSBOROUGH, Viscountess. See Hill.

HINTON, Viscount. See Poulett.

HOADLY, Benjamin (1676–1761). *Donne*, iv 73; *1740*, 58. Successively Bishop of Bangor (1715), Hereford (1721), Salisbury (1723), and Winchester (1734). The able leader of the low Church party, and centre of the Bangorian Controversy, which he provoked by a sermon on the Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ (1717). In this work he maintained an extreme protestant position, that Christ "is Sole *Law-giver* to his Subjects, and Sole *Judge*, in matters relating to Salvation. His *Laws* and *Sanctions* are plainly fixed: and relate to the Favour of God; and not at all to the Rewards, or Penalties, of *this World*. All his Subjects are *equally* his Subjects; and, as such, *equally* without Authority to alter, to add to, or to *interpret*, his *Laws* so, as to claim the absolute Submission of *Others* to such *Interpretation*" (*Works*, 1773, ii 409). See *Dunciad* B ii 400.

HOLLAND, Baron. See Fox, Henry.

HOUGH, John (1651–1743). *Dia.* ii 240. President of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1687–99, elected in defiance of James II, whose nominee was statutably ineligible. Successively Bishop of Oxford (1690), Lichfield (1699), and Worcester (1717). He declined the primacy on Tenison's death in 1715. Hough seems never to have been mentioned but in terms of respect. He was exceptionally generous, contributing largely to the new buildings at Magdalen and to the funds of the Georgia Society; and he consistently urged and adopted a policy of conciliation towards dissenters. Lyttelton's commendation of Hough's character in *Persian Letter*, No. 57, is quoted with approval in *Craftsman*, No. 482. This suggests the source of Pope's information. (Portland Papers, Hist. MSS. Com. v. 554; Sykes, pp. 284, 289.) Pope's epigram on Hough is to be found in vol. vi.

HOWARD, Mary, Countess of Delorain (1700–1744). *Sat.* II i 81; *Dia.* ii 22. Governess to the Princesses Mary and Louisa, Maid of Honour to Queen Caroline, and mistress of George II. She married Henry Scott, Earl of Delorain, in 1726, and being left a widow in 1730, she married William Wyndham in 1734, who was said to have helped Hervey and Lady Mary with *Verses to the Imitator . . . of Horace* (Earl of Oxford's copy in the Bodleian Library). Hervey reports that she was very handsome, which Horace Walpole corroborates, but adds that she was "very dangerous," had "a lying tongue and a false heart," and was always making "sad work." Bishop Douglas of Salisbury told Malone that she attempted to poison a certain Mary M'Kenzie, another maid of honour, because of an infatuation for Mary M'Kenzie's lover, a story which was (independently) related by the Duke of Manchester in *Court and Society*, 1864, ii 330. This is no doubt to what Pope refers. See GEC and Suffolk, i 260.

HUGGINS, John (d. 1745). *Dia.* i 14. Warden of the Fleet prison, 1713. He sold the office for £5,000 in 1728. In the following year, Oglethorpe's commission reported to the House of Commons on the state of the debtors' prison, and in consequence of the report the House resolved that Huggins was guilty of great breaches of trust, of extortions, and of cruelties, and recommended that he should be prosecuted. He was tried before Justice Page (*q.v.*) in May 1729 for the murder of Edward Arne, a prisoner, and was acquitted (Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xvii). During his trial, he called "vast numbers of gentlemen of the first quality" to testify to his character, thus showing that he "knew the Town." He was appointed High Bailiff of Westminster in 1745.

HUME, Hugh, third Earl of Marchmont (1708–1794). *Dia.* ii 130; *1740*, 79. Styled Lord Polwarth, 1724–40. M.P. for Berwick, 1734–40. Polwarth was one of the "boy patriots," belonging to that section of the Whig party which opposed the government. Walpole had a great respect for his ability. He is reported to have said, "When I have answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate" (Coxe, ii 566), and again "There are few things I more ardently wish, than to see that young man at the head of his family" (Nichols, ii 614). His wish was fulfilled in 1740 when Polwarth by suc-

ceeding to his father's title was excluded from the House of Commons. This happened at the time of Wyndham's death, and the double loss to the debating power of the opposition is reflected in Pope's fragmentary poem *1740*, ll. 79, 80. Marchmont returned to Parliament as a representative of the Scottish Peers in 1750 and became Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland in 1764. It was his boast that he never gave a vote or spoke from an interested motive, during all the years that he sat in the two Houses (Nichols, op. cit.). The high opinion which Walpole, Bolingbroke, and Pope formed of Marchmont leaves little room for doubting his ability, yet Alexander Carlyle, a shrewd and not ungenerous critic of character, writes of him: "Marchmont was lively and eloquent in conversation, with a tincture of classical learning, and some knowledge of the constitution . . . but his wit appeared to me to be petulant, and his understanding shallow" (*Autobiography*, 1910, p. 276).

Pope met Marchmont late in life. He mentions him in a letter to Swift (May 17, 1739) with Cornbury and Murray as some of the young people whose friendship he was cultivating, "with whom I would never fear to hold out against all the corruption in the world." And this was the tone in which he corresponded with him. In a few years they reached terms of sufficient intimacy for Pope to appoint Marchmont one of his executors. See also *On his Grotto* (vol. vi).

HYDE, Henry, Viscount Cornbury and Baron Hyde (1710–53). *Ep.* I vi 61, *1740*, 18[?]. Great-grandson of Charles II's minister. M.P. for Oxford, 1732. In spite of his sympathies with the Opposition, he refused to take part in the attempt to depose Walpole in 1741. His honesty and wit received general applause; Bolingbroke addressed his *Letters on the Study of History* to him, and Thomson commended his poetry and his polished manners in *Summer*, l. 1424. Pope may have met Cornbury as early as 1717 (EC ix 277), but they do not seem to have become familiar until 1735. After that date, Pope often stayed at Cornbury's London house, and there are numerous references to him in Pope's correspondence, showing the high opinion in which Pope held him. He wrote to Swift on May 17, 1739, "There is a Lord Cornbury, a Lord Polwarth, a Mr. Murray, and one or two more, with whom I would never fear to hold out against all the corruption in the world." Cornbury addressed to him some lines on the *Essay on Man*, *q.v.*

ILCHESTER, Earl of. See Fox, Stephen.

JANSEN, Sir Henry (d. 1766). *Donne*, ii 88. Son of Sir Theodore Jansen, a Director of the South Sea Company. He succeeded his brother as baronet in 1765. Pope mentions him again at *Dunciad*, iv 326.

JEKYLL, Sir Joseph (1663–1738). *Dia.* i 39; *1740*, 63[?]. A Whig of the old school and, according to Burke, "the very standard of Whig principles in his age." He was prominently engaged in the impeachments of Sacheverell (1710) and Oxford (1717). Master of the Rolls, 1717. Took a leading part in exposing the

South Sea Directors, 1720. Introduced the Gin Act, 1736 (see *Dia.* i 130*n*). Lord Hervey, who was a Whig of a younger generation, held him in low esteem: "He was an impracticable old fellow . . . with no great natural perspicuity of understanding . . . His principal topics for declamation in the House were generally economy and liberty; and, though no individual in the House ever spoke of him with esteem or respect, but rather with a degree of contempt and ridicule, yet, from his age, and the constant profession of having the public good at heart beyond any other point of view, he had worked himself into such a degree of credit with the accumulated body that he certainly spoke with more general weight, though with less particular approbation, than any other single man in that assembly" (*Memoirs*, pp. 419–20).

KENNETT, White (1660–1728). *Ep.* II ii 220. Dean of Peterborough, 1708; Bishop of Peterborough, 1718. An antiquary of merit.

KENT, Duke of. see Grey, de.

KENT, William (1684–1748). *Dia.* ii 67. "Author of the modern taste in English [landscape] gardening; or in other words, the First who discovered that the Imitation of Nature was the true Style in gardening, as in all other Arts" (Walpole's note to Mason's *Heroic Epistle*, ed. Toynbee, 1926, p. 39). Pelham bought Esher in 1729 and employed Kent to alter the house and design the garden. Walpole wrote of it to George Montagu (August 11, 1748) "Esher I have seen again twice, and prefer it to all villas . . . Kent is Kentissime there." Kent's practice in gardening accorded with the views Pope had expressed in the fourth *Moral Essay*. Some letters which have survived (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 2nd Report, p. 19) show that he was on terms of considerable intimacy with Pope at this time (1738). He painted Pope's portrait; but as a painter he was "below mediocrity." As an architect, he was "a restorer of the science" (Walpole, *Anec. Painting*, iii 57).

KINNOULL, Earl of. see Hay.

KNELLER, Sir Godfrey (1646–1723). *Ep.* II ii 24; i 382. Portrait-painter of German birth. He settled in England in 1675, and was patronized by Charles II and each successive monarch. Knighted and pensioned, 1691; created a baronet 1715. Kneller's country house was at Whitton in the parish of Twickenham. He was therefore a neighbour of Pope, but they had met at least as early as 1717 before Pope moved from Chiswick (see Pope's letter to Caryll, August 6, 1717). Kneller painted Pope's portrait (see Pope's letters to Lord Harcourt, August 22, 1723; Sherburn, p. 308) and gave him some other paintings which were bequeathed to Lord Bathurst (*Works*, 1751, ix 369). At Kneller's dying request Pope wrote his epitaph (see vol. vi), verses which he later declared to be the worst he had ever written (Spence, p. 165). Many stories of Kneller's vanity, which Pope used to tell, are recorded in Spence's *Anecdotes*.

LANSDOWNE, Baron. See Granville.

LEE, Nathaniel (1653?–1692). *Sat.* II i 100. Tragic dramatist; his most famous play, *The Rival Queens*, was performed in 1677. In 1684, his mind failed and he was removed to Bedlam, where according to Tom Brown (*Letters from the Dead to the Living, Bully Dawson to Bully W: Works*, 1715, ii 226), he wrote a tragedy in twenty-five acts. After his release in 1689, he published *The Princess of Cleves* (1689) and *The Massacre of Paris* (1690).

LEKE, Nicholas, fourth Earl of Scarsdale (1682–1736). *Sat.* II i 46. One of the dissentient Tory peers at Atterbury's trial. He also assisted at Sacheverell's trial and Bolingbroke's impeachment. Rowe wrote an imitation of the fourth ode of Horace's second book, chaffing Scarsdale for his love for Mrs Bracegirdle.

LEVESON-GOWER, John, Baron (later, Earl) Gower (1694–1754). *1740*, 23. Gower was a Tory with recognized Jacobite sympathies. His acceptance of the post of Lord Privy Seal in Wilmington's administration, which he held with the intermission of a year from 1742 till his death, was therefore a matter for surprise and jesting. Nevertheless he showed the sincerity of his conversion by raising a regiment of foot to assist the government in the '45 rebellion. The extent of Pope's acquaintance with Gower is not known, apart from a letter which Pope is believed to have written to him on Johnson's behalf after the publication of *London*. (H. Walpole to Mann, June 17, July 14, 1742; EC v. 326; *Spalding Club Miscellanies*, 1846, iii 17.)

LEWIS, Erasmus (1670–1754). *Sat.* II vi 35. The devoted political servant of Harley, who employed him first as private secretary (1704), later as under-secretary of state in the Earl of Dartmouth's (Southern) Department, and after his fall from power as steward. Lewis was on friendly terms with Swift, whom he introduced to Harley (*Journal to Stella*, Sept. 30, Oct. 3, 1710), with Lord Bathurst, Arbuthnot, and Pope. Pope occasionally lodged with him at his house in Cork Street, Piccadilly (B. M. Egerton MS. 1946 f. 19), and bequeathed him five pounds to be laid out in a memorial ring.

LIDDEL (or LYDDEL), Richard (d. 1746). *Sob. Adv.* 178. M.P. for Bossiney. Lord Chesterfield appointed him his secretary on going to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in 1745. "I remember, when I named the late Mr Liddel for my Secretary, everybody was much surprised at it; and some of my friends represented to me, that he was no man of business, but only a very genteel, pretty young fellow; I assured them, and with truth, that that was the very reason why I chose him; for that I was resolved to do all the business myself, and without even the suspicion of having a minister" (Chesterfield to his son, 26 Feb., 1754).

LINTOT, Barnaby Bernard (1675–1736). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 62. Bookseller.

Lintot started business relations with Pope in 1712 when he published *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*, which contains the first version of *The Rape of the Lock*, and other poems. In subsequent years Lintot published *Windsor Forest*, the revised version of the *Rape*, *The Temple of Fame*, *The Iliad*, the first volume of the collected works, and *The Odyssey*. Over the publication of *The Odyssey* there was constant bickering. Lintot appears to have refused free copies to Broome's subscribers and to have worked against the public subscription (Sherburn, pp. 255–7), at which Pope showed his resentment not only in letters to Broome, but also by placing Lintot in *The Dunciad* (A ii 49–64). The quarrel seems to have been composed in 1735, for Lintot was persuaded to join with Gilliver in publishing a new edition of Pope's works in octavo, the first volume of which (Griffith No. 413) was issued in January 1736 (see Lintot's letter to Broome, Aug. 26, 1735, EC viii 170).

LUMLEY, Richard, second Earl of Scarborough (1688?–1740). *Dia.* ii 65; *1740*, 78. Master of the Horse to George II, when Prince of Wales, 1714–27, and when King, 1727–34. He committed suicide on the eve of his marriage with the Duchess of Manchester. Pope and Hervey regarded him equally highly. Hervey described him as having "all the gallantry of the [camp] and the politeness of the [court] . . . [a man of] knowledge, application, and observation, an excellent judgment, and . . . a discerning, practical, useful, sound understanding" (*Memoirs*, pp. 70–1). Nothing is known of his acquaintance with Pope.

LYTTLETON, George, first Baron Lyttleton (1709–73). *Ep.* 1 i 29; *Dia.* i 47; ii 131. M.P. Okehampton (opposition Whig), 1735–56. Secretary to the Prince of Wales (1737), and an eager and acrimonious opponent of Walpole, after whose fall he was made one of the Lords of the Treasury (1744). Privy Councillor, 1754; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1756. He was a patron of Mallet and Thomson, and Fielding dedicated *Tom Jones* to him. His poems were collected in the bookseller's edition for which Johnson wrote his life; amongst them is a verse epistle addressed to Pope from Rome in 1730, which Pope had included among the commendatory poems in later editions of his works. He was one of a number of young politicians whose friendship Pope was cultivating in the last years of his life; he told Swift (October 12, 1738) that Lyttleton was "a very particular and very deserving friend, one of those whom his own merit has forced me to contract an intimacy with, after I had sworn never to love a man more, since the sorrow it cost me to have loved so many, now dead, banished, or unfortunate." Lyttleton's "virtue," which is to be seen so clearly in his correspondence with Pope, appeared in a different light to his political opponents: Lord Hervey declared that he "had a great flow of words that were always uttered in a lulling monotony, and the little meaning they had to boast of was generally borrowed from the commonplace maxims and sentiments of moralists, philosophers, patriots, and poets, crudely imbibed, half digested, ill put together, and confusedly refunded" (*Memoirs*, p. 388); and the opinion of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams was scarcely more flattering (*Works*, i 65).

MANSFIELD, Earl of. See Murray.

MARCHMONT, Earl of. See Hume.

MARLBOROUGH, first Duke of. See Churchill.

MARLBOROUGH, third Duke of. See Spencer.

MEAD, Richard (1673–1754). *Ep.* I i 51. Physician at St Thomas's Hospital, 1703–15, and Physician in ordinary to George II and Queen Caroline. He was also a considerable classical scholar and intimate with Bentley. He is said to have owned the largest collection of books and MSS. of the time (see *Moral Es.* iv 10). Pope was under his care in 1743 (see letter to Geo. Arbuthnot, July 23 that year). Mead's respect for Pope was shown, according to his biographer, Maty (p. 62), by his placing a portrait of Pope in his house.

MELCOMBE, Baron. See Dodington.

METHUEN, Sir Paul (1672–1757). *1740*, 20. Ambassador to Portugal, 1706–8; to Spain, 1714. Secretary of State, 1716. Successively Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household, 1720–30. Methuen had quitted his post, according to Hervey (p. 101), because he was disappointed at not being made Secretary of State once more. Hervey credits him with "a mixture of Spanish formality and English roughness, strongly seasoned with pride, and not untinctured with honour. He was romantic in his turn to the highest degree of absurdity; odd, impracticable, passionate, and obstinate; a thorough coxcomb, and a little mad . . . After he had quitted he went too often to Court to be well with the Opposition, and too seldom to Parliament to be well with either side, a conduct which procured him the agreeable mixed character of courtier without profit, and a country gentleman without popularity" (p. 102). Gay describes him amongst those who welcomed Pope on his "return from Greece":

> First see I Methuen of sincerest mind,
> As Arthur grave, as soft as womankind.

MIDDLETON, Conyers (1683–1750). *Dia.* i 75. Cambridge theologian and opponent of Bentley. University Librarian, 1721. His *Life of Cicero*, dedicated to Hervey, was published in 1741. Its style was accorded a century of admiration and impressed Pope sufficiently to include Middleton's name in a list of twenty prose-writers considered authoritative for an English Dictionary (Spence, p. 310). On Middleton's death Gray wrote to Wharton expressing his sense of loss, for Middleton's "House was the only easy Place one could find to converse in at Cambridge" (August 9, 1750).

MONRO, James (1680–1752). *Ep.* II ii 70. Physician to Bethlehem hospital, in succession to Richard Hale (*q.v.*), 1728; F.R.C.P., 1729; delivered the Har-

veian oration, 1737. His son wrote of him: "He was a man of admirable discernment, and treated this disease (insanity) with an address that will not soon be equalled" (Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*).

MONTAGU, Charles, first Earl of Halifax (1661–1715). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 230 ff; *Dia.* ii 77. Politician, poet, and patron of poets. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1694–9; President of the Royal Society, 1695–8; First Lord of the Treasury, 1697–9, a post to which he was reappointed on George I's accession after being out of office throughout Anne's reign. Pope and Halifax were early acquainted, having met some time before 1709 (see Pope's note to *Spring*, l. 1). Halifax was one of the first and most generous supporters of Pope's translation of *The Iliad* (*Prose Works*, i 254), and later was able to offer him a pension on being restored to political power in 1714. Pope's reply refusing this offer is printed in EC's tenth volume. Though Pope was doubtless grateful for Halifax's patronal assistance, he could not help seeing that Halifax was "rather a pretender to taste" as he told Spence "than really possessed of it" (*Anecdotes*, p. 134). Accordingly he used some of the traits of Halifax's character when drawing the portrait of Bufo (*Ep. to Arbuthnot*, ll. 230 ff), a typical patron.

MONTAGU, Edward Wortley (1681–1761). *Sat.* II ii 49; *Ep.* II ii 234. M.P. Huntingdon, 1707–13, 1722–34; Westminster, 1715–22; Peterborough, 1734–61. Married Lady Mary, 1712. Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, 1715. Ambassador at Constantinople, 1716–17. Gray wrote to Wharton, Jan. 31, 1761, "You see, old Wortley-Montagu is dead at last at 83. it was not mere avarice, & its companion, abstinence, that kept him alive so long. he every day drank (I think, it was) half a pint of Tokay, wch he imported himself from Hungary in greater quantity than he could use, & sold the Overplus for any price he chose to set upon it. he has left better than half a million of money." (Beatson)

MONTAGU, Edward Wortley (1713–76). *Sat.* II ii 56. Son of Edward Wortley Montagu and Lady Mary. He appears to have been more or less insane, and started a mad career (for which see Nichols, iv 625–56 and DNB) by running away from school several times. While indulging in various noisy adventures at home and abroad he was nominally representing Huntingdon County in Parliament, 1747–53.

MONTAGU, Lady Mary Wortley (1689–1762). *Sat.* II i 83; *Sat.* II ii 49; *Sob. Adv.* 2, 18, 125, 166; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 101, 369; *Donne*, ii 6; *Ep.* I i 164; *Dia.* i 15, 112; ii 20. Daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, afterwards Duke of Kingston. Married (1712) Edward Wortley Montagu. She accompanied him to Constantinople when he was appointed ambassador in 1716, and wrote home some of those letters upon which her wide contemporary reputation as a female wit may be judged. On her return to England in 1718 she added to her fame by introducing the practice of inoculation for smallpox. From 1739 till her husband's death in 1761 she spent her time in foreign travel. An account of her relations with Pope will be found in the Introduction, pp. xv–xix.

MOORE, Arthur (1666?–1730). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 23. M.P. for Grimsby; a man of varied experience in politics and business. In *Mr Pope's Welcome from Greece*, Gay refers to his "gravity," which seems to have been offended by the "giddiness" of his son.

MOORE, James, son of Arthur. See Smythe.

MORDAUNT, Charles, third Earl of Peterborough, and first Earl of Monmouth (1658–1735). *Sat.* II i 129. Pope and Peterborough were on friendly terms as early as 1723; they had not only scholarly and artistic interests in common but a love of gardening, to which there are several references in their correspondence (EC x 184–94). Peterborough had retired from the army and the court to his gardening on George I's accession. Lady Hervey described his comical appearance at Bath to Mrs Howard " . . . with his blue ribbon and star, and a cabbage under each arm, or a chicken in his hand, which, after he himself has purchased at market, he carries home for his dinner" (Suffolk, i 183). He lived at Bevis Mount, Southampton, where Pope frequently visited him, His last illness was long and painful. During its course, Pope paid him assiduous attention both at Kensington and later at Southampton (see letters to Caryll, May 12, 1735, and to Martha Blount, Aug. 25, 1735, and Spence, p. 151); he received as a legacy from Peterborough the watch which the King of Sicily had given him (EC vii 336).

MOTTEUX, Peter Anthony (1660–1718). *Donne*, iv 50. A French immigrant. Besides other literary activities as dramatist and journalist, he completed Urquhart's translation of Rabelais (1694, 1708) and translated *Don Quixote* (1712). Pope mentions his loquacity in *Dunciad* A ii 382, and classes him in *Peri Bathous*, ch. 6, amongst the eels, "obscure authors, that wrap themselves up in their own mud, but are mighty nimble and pert."

MULGRAVE, Earl of. See Sheffield.

MURRAY, William, first Earl of Mansfield (1705–93). *Od.* IV i 10; *Ep.* II ii 132; I vi 3, *et passim*. Murray was called to the Bar in 1730. He gained fame and popularity by his eloquent speech before the House of Commons in support of the merchants' petition concerning the Spanish depredations, 1738. M.P. (Whig) Boroughbridge, 1742–56; Solicitor-General, 1742–54; Attorney-General, 1754–6. "He was the trusted leader and almost the entire prop of the Government" in the Duke of Newcastle's administration. Lord Chief Justice, 1756–88. Campbell (*Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*, ii 330) records that Pope undertook to teach him oratory—"not the composition of orations, but the varying attitudes and intonation with which they should be delivered." As an orator, he was rivalled only by Pitt.

NEEDHAM, Mother (d. 1731). *Sob. Adv.* 133. The proprietress of a notorious

brothel. She was summoned before Gonson at the Westminster Quarter Sessions on April 24, 1731, and convicted of keeping a disorderly house in Park Place, St James. She was sentenced to one shilling fine and ordered to stand in the pillory once in St James's Street and once in Palace Yard, but being treated badly by the crowd on her first exhibition she died a few days later as a result of her injuries. See the accounts in *Fog's Weekly Journal* and *The Grub-Street Journal*, and Pope's note to *Dunciad* B i 324.

NEWCASTLE, Duke of. See Pelham, Thomas.

OGLETHORPE, James Edward (1696–1785). *Ep.* II ii 277. Philanthropist and colonist of Georgia, which he started to settle with a number of poor families in 1732.

O'HARA, James, Baron Kilmaine and second Baron Tyrawley (1690–1773). *Sob. Adv.* 121; *Ep.* I vi 121. Ambassador to the Court of Portugal, 1728–41, 1752–63; ambassador to the court of Russia, 1743–5. Walpole wrote to Mann on Nov. 15, 1742, "My Lord Tyrawley is come from Portugal, and has brought three wives and fourteen children" (*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, i 308).

OLDFIELD. *Sat.* II ii 25; *Ep.* II ii 87. A glutton. His identity is uncertain. See *Sat.* II ii 25*n*.

OLDFIELD, Anne (1683–1730). *Sob. Adv.* 4, 5; *Ep.* II i 331. A distinguished actress of varied powers, who was generally esteemed both on and off the stage. Her theatrical character is drawn at considerable length in the ninth chapter of Cibber's *Apology*. How she had provoked Pope's animosity is not known. See *Moral Es.* i 246–51.

OLDMIXON, John (1673–1742). *Donne*, iv 61; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 146. A miscellaneous writer at one time engaged in the Whig interest. His "secret and scandalous histories" are the *Secret History of Europe* (1712–13–15) and the *History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart* (1729). He had originally given offence by including three of Pope's poems in *Court Poems* (1717) and sharing the profits with the booksellers (*Curliad*, 1729, p. 20). In his *Essay on Criticism* (1728), he had allowed Pope's *Homer* high praise for its "Purity and Elegance," though he had also had faults to find. In the *Arts of Logick and Rhetorick* (1728), an adaptation of Bouhours' *Manière de bien penser dans les Ouvrages d'Esprit* to modern English poetry, his reflections upon Pope (and Swift) had become much more severe and personal. Pope took his revenge in the *Dunciad* (B ii 283), *q.v.*

ONSLOW, Arthur (1691–1768). *Donne*, iv 71; *Sob. Adv.*, 178; *1740*, 59. Speaker of the House of Commons, 1728–61. Both Hervey and Horace Walpole give him a poor character; Hervey writes of his passionate temper and "coxcomical"

gestures (*Memoirs*, p. 75), and Walpole of his anxiety for popularity and his pomposity (*Memoirs of the reign of George II*, 1847, i 130). Yet both agree that he was devoted to the interests of the House. His eloquence is commended by Thomson, who addressed *Autumn* to him; see ll. 9–22.

ORFORD, Earl of. See Walpole.

OXENDEN, Sir George (1694–1775). *Sob. Adv.* 55; *Dia.* i 15. M.P. for Sandwich, 1720–54; Lord of the Admiralty, 1725–7; Lord of the Treasury, 1727–37. He was patronized by Sir Robert Walpole until he seduced Walpole's daughter-in-law. It is to this and to his seduction of his own sister-in-law that Pope refers. His character is drawn at considerable length in Lord Hervey's *Memoirs* (p. 741).

PAGE, Sir Francis (1661?–1741). *Sat.* II i 82; *Dia.* ii 159. Baron of the Exchequer, 1718–26; transferred to the Common Pleas, 1726, and to the King's Bench, 1727. In that year he sentenced Savage for murder, and treated him, says Johnson (*Life of Savage*), "with his usual insolence and severity." Bishop Douglas of Salisbury told Malone that he had been present when a man was brought before Page for horse-stealing. As soon as the prisoner was led into court, Page remarked, "A very ill-looking fellow; I have no doubt of his guilt." The man was innocent, and was acquitted. But in justice to Page it must be admitted that his behaviour in those trials, of which verbatim reports exist (e.g. the trial of Huggins, reported in Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xvii), appears to have been decent. See also Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Book VIII, Ch. xi.

PAGE, Sir Gregory (1695?–1775). *Ep.* I i 138*n*. Son of Sir Gregory (d. 1720), the first baronet, and director of the East India Company. The Earl of Egmont records that the second Sir Gregory built himself a fine house at Blackheath at the cost of £150,000; yet according to GEC (*Complete Baronetage*), he purchased the estate of Wricklemarsh in Charlton, Kent, in 1723. He attempted suicide in 1736, on which the Earl of Egmont, his neighbour, commented "Some say it was for fear of starving; others that he was jealous of his wife; but I believe it was for want of knowing how to employ his time, for he was thoroughly neglected in his education by his father, which made him avoid company, and being alone he knew no way to amuse himself but by walking out of one room into another . . ." (*Diary*, ii 251).

PAKINGTON, Sir Herbert Perrot (1701?–1748). *Sob. Adv.* 16. M.P. Worcestershire, 1727–41. Died in Holland (*Gent. Mag.*, 1748, p. 476).

PALMER, Sir Thomas (1682–1723). *Sob. Adv.* 71. M.P. Kent, 1708–10; Rochester, 1715–23. The second of his three wives, Susanna Cox (d. 1721), was an actress; she performed in revivals of Mountfort's *The Successful Strangers*, 1710, and of his *Greenwich Park*, 1715 (A. S. Borgman's *Life and Death of William Mountfort*, 1935, pp. 192, 193). Whether Palmer's other wives were actresses, or

whether he had commerce with any more of the *personae dramatis* is not known. He is reported to have been "a man of pleasure and very extravagant in all things" (GEC's *Complete Baronetage*).

PARNELL, Thomas (1679–1718). *Sat.* II vi 94. Poet. Archdeacon of Clogher, 1706–16. When Pope and Parnell first became acquainted is uncertain; perhaps before the end of 1712 (Sherburn, p. 71). Parnell's knowledge of Greek was at Pope's disposal while he was translating Homer, and he increased Pope's debt to him by his *Life of Zoilus* (1717), "prepared largely as a defence of Pope against possible attacks from Dennis" (*ibid.*, p. 72). Parnell was a member of the Scriblerus Club, for which he wrote *The Origin of the Sciences* in collaboration with Pope and Arbuthnot. His poems were prepared for the press by Pope, who published them in 1721 with a verse address to the Earl of Oxford (vol. vi).

PASSERAN, Count of. See Radicati.

PAXTON, Nicholas (d. 1744). *Dia.* ii 1, 141. Solicitor to the Treasury. Paxton was the agent whom Walpole used to direct his newspaper campaigns. *Craftsman*, No. 474 (Aug. 2, 1735), describes an imaginary incident when "the Great Man" ordered Paxton to amalgamate the government journals under a new title, *The Daily Gazetteer*. The *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers* (1735–8, p. 422) shows that he was also employed from 1736 to read "all printed pamphlets and newspapers, and observe upon them to the Secretaries of State when the King or Government are traduced and slandered." This is to what Pope refers in *Dia.* ii 1. After Walpole's fall, Paxton was charged before a Secret Committee of the House of Commons with bestowing money in bribes at parliamentary elections. He refused to answer the questions put to him and was committed to Newgate, 1742 (*Gent. Mag.* xii 377). Egmont (*Diary*, iii 264) and Horace Walpole (letter to Mann, May 13, 1742) report that about £90,000 passed through his hands.

PELHAM, Henry (1695?–1754). *Dia.* ii 67. A consistent supporter of Walpole. Secretary at War, 1724; Paymaster of the forces, 1730; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1743, and virtually Prime Minister after 1746.

PELHAM, Thomas, Duke of Newcastle (1693–1768). *1740*, 61 [?]. Brother of Henry Pelham. Secretary of State, 1724–54; First Lord of the Treasury (i.e. Prime Minister), 1754–6, 1757–62.

PENKETHMAN, William (d. 1725). *Ep.* II i 293. A comic actor who "delighted more in the whimsical, than the natural" (Cibber, *Apology*, Ch. v). Steele commended him in *Spectator*, No. 370. He played the part of *Underplot* in *Three Hours after Marriage* by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot.

PETERBOROUGH, Earl of. See Mordaunt.

PHILIPS, Ambrose (1675?–1749). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 100, 179; *Ep.* II i 417.

Poet. His *Pastorals* were published in the same volume with Pope's in 1709, and attracted the greater attention. In particular, five papers were published in the *Guardian* in 1713, calling attention to Philips's merits and ignoring Pope, who accordingly contributed a sixth paper (No. 40) in which he ironically compared Philips's *Pastorals* with his own, giving his preference to Philips's, but for reasons obviously absurd. Philips was very angry, and is said to have kept "a little switch" at Button's Coffee-House to chastise Pope with. (See Sherburn, pp. 117–21.) It is not known what Philips "writ of Kings," but he had addressed a ludicrous "Namby Pamby" ode to Walpole in 1724.

PHILLIPS, Teresia Constantia (1709–1765). *Sob. Adv.* 11. A well-known courtesan, whose escapades seem to have been the talk of the town in the early '30's. The *Grub Street Journal* of December 13, 1733, announced a miscellany entitled *The Court Parrot*, whose principal attraction was "The Life and progress . . . of the noted Mrs *C— Ph—ps*, from her Marriage with *D—fi—ld*, and afterwards with a certain Merchant, while her former Husband was living." Mrs Phillips gained further notoriety by publishing a three-volume Apology for her Conduct (1748), written for her by Paul Whitehead (Hawkins, *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 336–7). This book, in which she libelled Lord Chesterfield, was competently answered by an anonymous *Defence of the Character of a Noble Lord* (1748), where Pope's estimate of her character is substantiated.

PITT, James (1679–1763). *Dia.* i 66. A journalist in the government's pay, who defended its policy under the pseudonym of Francis Osborne in *The London Journal*, and after 1735 in *The Daily Gazetteer*. See *Dunciad* Index.

POLWARTH, Viscount. See Hume.

POPE, Alexander, the elder (1646–1717). *Sat.* II ii 135; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 130, 381–405; *Ep.* II ii 54; *Ep.* I vii 79. The poet's father was the posthumous son of the Rev. Alexander Pope, Rector of Thruxton. He entered into partnership with his brother as a linen merchant and retired in 1688 worth £10,000, according to Martha Blount (Spence, p. 357). The penal laws directed against Roman Catholics—the reason and occasion of his change of religion is unknown —forced him to leave London first for Hammersmith and later, between 1698 and 1701, for Binfield in Windsor Forest, where he could indulge the taste for gardening which his son inherited. Mrs Pope told Spence (p. 8) that although her husband was no poet, he used to set his son "to make English verses when very young. He was pretty difficult in being pleased; and used often to send him back to new turn them. 'These are not good rhimes'; for that was my husband's word for verses." See Sherburn, pp. 29–37.

POPE, Mrs Edith (1642–1733). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 381–413. Except for her age, the information which Pope supplies about his mother in *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 381*n.* is correct. From 1718 onwards there are frequent references in Pope's corre-

spondence to her health which was "so excessively precarious that my life with her is like watching the rising and falling of a taper on its last socket" (Pope to Caryll, Jan. 25, 1717–18). Sherburn writes (p. 33): "By family and training she was the sort who might well win friends for her son among the wits and nobles who later flocked to his villa, although she seems to have been more remarkable for kindness and good sense than for love of fashionable society."

POULETT, John, Viscount Hinton, later Earl Poulett (1708–1764). *1740*, 57. Styled Viscount Hinton until his father's death in 1743. Lord of the Bedchamber, 1734; First Lord of the Bedchamber, 1751–5. Bishop Hare complained to the Queen in 1736 that Lord Hervey had bred up his ape, Lord Hinton, to abuse the bishops, and had written speeches for him full of impertinences which Hervey would have been ashamed to utter himself (Hervey, p. 542).

PRIOR, Matthew (1664–1721). *Sat.* II vi 153. Poet and diplomat. Secretary in the negotiations for the treaties of Ryswick and of Utrecht, the latter being popularly known as "Matt's Peace." Prior was recalled from Paris on Queen Anne's death, impeached and imprisoned until 1717; but his financial difficulties were relieved by Oxford and Bathurst, who procured numerous subscribers for the folio edition of his poems (1719), from which he obtained four thousand guineas. The poem to which Pope refers in *Sat.* II vi is *The Town and Country Mouse*, a reply to Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, in which he collaborated with Charles Montagu, later Earl of Halifax (1687). The extent of Pope's acquaintance with Prior is uncertain. They discussed poetry together, and Prior is mentioned by Gay amongst the friends who welcomed Pope on his "return from Greece." But writing of Prior two years after his death, Pope's tones are lukewarm: "My respect for him living" he tells Lord Harley (Aug. 24, 1723) "extends to his memory." To Spence he was more outspoken: "Prior," he said, "was not a right good man. He used to bury himself, for whole days and nights together, with a poor mean creature, and often drank hard" (*Anecdotes*, p. 2; see also p. 175). But in each other's poetry they entertained a mutual pleasure. In the *Testimonies of Authors* prefixed to *The Dunciad*, Pope quotes the praise of *Eloisa to Abelard* which Prior had expressed in *Alma*, and he included Prior and Swift alone among his contemporaries in a list of nine poets who would serve as authorities for poetical language in his proposed dictionary (Spence, pp. 310, 311). See also Pope's letter to Prior, Feb. 1720.

PULTENEY, Daniel (1684–1731). *1740*, 77. Cousin of William Pulteney. He was related by marriage to Sunderland, who trusted him with his political secrets and intended to appoint him secretary of state in his administration if he managed to defeat Walpole. Speaker Onslow, who thought highly of his abilities, said that Pulteney, who represented Preston from 1722 till his death, was the first who endeavoured to systematize the parliamentary opposition to Walpole, giving up even his pleasures and his comforts for this object (Coxe, ii 558–60).

PULTENEY, William, Earl of Bath (1684–1764). *Dia.* i 24; ii 84; *1740*, 9 ff, 32. Secretary at War, 1714–17. Pulteney had supported Walpole and gone into opposition with him when Stanhope and Sunderland came into power, but disgusted at not being given a post when Walpole returned to office in 1721, he left him and became one of his most redoubtable opponents both in the House of Commons and in the pages of the *Craftsman* (1726–36). Lecky judges him to have been "probably the most graceful and brilliant speaker in the House of Commons in the interval between the withdrawal of St. John and the appearance of Pitt" (i 438), and his enemy Lord Hervey (with whom he fought a duel), while characterizing him as "a man of most inflexible pride, immeasurable ambition, and . . . impatient of any superiority," admitted that he had "as much lively ready wit as ever man was master of, and was, before politics soured his temper and engrossed his thoughts, the most agreeable and coveted companion of his time" (*Memoirs*, p. 7). Although he largely contributed to Walpole's fall, he enjoyed no triumph. He had once vowed never to take office on being accused of working only for his own interests, and now he made the false move of accepting a seat in the House of Lords as Earl of Bath. He lived for another twenty years, but his political reputation was dead.

On resigning office in 1717, Pulteney had gone abroad with Gay (Pope to Caryll, June 7), and it is possible that Pope met him at this time (Pope to Gay, Nov. 8). They are known to have been on visiting terms some years after (Pulteney to Pope, Aug. 13 and Sept. 4, 1724; to Swift, Feb. 9, 1731), but in the latter 1730's, Pope with other members of the Opposition began to suspect Pulteney's motives for opposing Walpole. Bolingbroke was probably pointing to him in a letter to Marchmont, Jan. 1, 1740 (quoted by Sir G. Young, *Poor Fred*, 1937, p. 152): "Two or three men have been labouring some years to turn a defence of the Constitution into a dirty intrigue of low ambition. They are preparing to continue Walpole's scheme of government in other hands," and events proved that Bolingbroke was right. Pope's compliment in *Dia.* ii 84, shows that they had not quarrelled—in fact, Pope agreed with Wyndham that it was impolitic to quarrel with Pulteney (Pope to Lyttleton, Nov. 1739, conveying Wyndham's opinions)—but against this compliment must be set the covert allusions of *Dia.* i 24, *1740*, ll. 9–12, *Dunciad*, iv 517 ff. A *Ballad* written by Pope and Pulteney is printed in vol. vi.

QUEENSBERRY, Duke of. See Douglas.

QUIN, James (1693–1766). *Ep.* II i 331. The leading actor between the retirement of Booth and the rise of Garrick. He played the part of Second Player in *Three Hours after Marriage* by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot.

RADCLIFFE, John (1653–1714). *Ep.* II i 183. A physician with an extensive practice in London, who was respected for his sagacity in diagnosis rather than for his learning. He was frequently summoned to attend William III, Queen Mary, and Prince George of Denmark, and was the physician of Princess (later

Queen) Anne from 1686 to 1694. By his will, Radcliffe left his large fortune in trust for the advancement of natural science and medicine at Oxford. With this money the trustees built and endowed the Radcliffe Library, Infirmary, and Observatory. Radcliffe also left money for endowing two medical travelling fellowships at Oxford University, tenable for ten years, five of which were to be spent abroad. "These appointments were originally intended to benefit the University directly by improving the raw material for appointments to University professorships; and not by any means to be the endowments for the medical profession at large which they have since become" (J. B. Nias, *John Radcliffe*, 1918, p. 25).

Radcliffe prescribed for Pope (Spence, p. 7) and attended Martha Blount. Writing to her on his death, Pope expresses a doubt about the value of his bequests: "[He] was hard put to it," he writes, "how to dispose of an estate miserably unwieldy, and splendidly unuseful to him" (EC ix 275). The doubt was shared by Speaker Onslow, who considered that the estate had been "disposed of in ostentatious and useless works" (Burnet, iv 239*n*).

RADICATI, Alberto, Count of Passerano (1698–1737). *Dia.* i 124. A Piedmontese free-thinker. He fled to England in 1726 to avoid persecution and wrote here *A Philosophical Dissertation upon Death. Composed For the Consolation of the Unhappy. By a Friend to Truth*, which was translated by one, Morgan, and published in 1732. In this book Passeran attempted to show by quoting the customs of other countries that there is nothing inherently wicked in acts which western civilization has come to regard as criminal, such as theft or adultery; that the promptings of our natural instincts should be obeyed; and that therefore there is nothing wicked in yielding to the desire if we are prompted to commit suicide. For writing and publishing this work, Passeran, his translator, and bookseller were taken into custody in November 1732 (*Gent. Mag.* ii 1081). Egmont records that on December 1 following he discussed the book with Queen Caroline and General Wade. The Queen expressed great resentment at the book, saying that its conclusions tended to destroy all society and virtue (*Diary*, i 299). Passeran died abroad the year before Pope's *Epilogue* was published. See A. Alberti's life of Passeran, in which the *Philosophical Dissertation* is reprinted (Turin, 1931).

RICH, John (1682?–1761). *Dia.* i 116. Owner of the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He introduced pantomime there in 1716, in which he invariably took the part of Harlequin, and in 1728 produced Gay's *Beggars' Opera*. He removed to the New Theatre in Covent Garden in 1732.

RIPLEY, Thomas (d. 1758). *Ep.* II i 186. A carpenter who owed his advancement to Sir Robert Walpole, one of whose servants he married. He was employed in rebuilding the Customs House, 1718, and in carrying out Colin Campbell's designs for Walpole's seat in Norfolk, 1722–35; at the same time, 1724–6, he was architect for the Admiralty building. Pope had been even more severe

upon Ripley in a note to *Moral Es.* iv 18, for which Horace Walpole offered an explanation in *Anecdotes of Painting* (iii 49): "The truth is, politics and partiality concurred to help on these censures. Ripley was employed by the minister, and had not the countenance of Lord Burlington, the patron of Pope . . . Yet Ripley, in the mechanic part, and in the disposition of apartments and conveniences, was unluckily superior to the earl himself. Lord Orford's, at Houghton . . . and Lord Walpole's at Woolterton, one of the best houses of the size in England, will, as long as they remain, acquit this artist of the charge of ignorance."

ROWE, Nicholas (1674–1718). *Ep.* II i 86. The chief tragic dramatist of Queen Anne's reign, his best-known play being *The Fair Penitent*, 1703. The first editor of Shakespeare's plays, 1709. Poet Laureate, 1715. Rowe and Pope were old friends. After one of Rowe's visits to Binfield, Pope wrote to Caryll, Sept. 20, [1713?], "I need not tell you how much a man of his turn could not but entertain me; but I must acquaint you there is a vivacity and gaiety of disposition almost peculiar to that gentleman, which renders it impossible to part from him without that uneasiness and chagrin which generally succeeds all great pleasures." Pope's epitaph on Rowe and his epilogue to Rowe's *Jane Shore* are printed in vol. vi.

RUNDLE, Thomas (1688?–1743). *Dia.* ii 71. A friend of Edward Talbot, whose father the Bishop of Salisbury presented him first to a prebend in that diocese (1716), and later, on his translation to Durham, to a stall in his new diocese (1722). Rundle was Talbot's chaplain from 1722 until his death in 1730. In that year the see of Gloucester was expected to fall vacant, and Rundle was nominated to fill it by Talbot's elder son, the solicitor-general. But Gibson, Bishop of London (*q.v.*) who was acting for Archbishop Wake, refused to accept the nomination on account of Rundle's reputed Arianism. The dispute grew so warm that Walpole was compelled to intervene, and fearing the antagonism of the clergy more than that of the solicitor-general, contrived to pacify Talbot by offering Rundle the reversion of the sinecure see of Derry, to which he succeeded in 1735, and by appointing Benson to the see of Gloucester and Secker to the see of Bristol, both of whom had been former chaplains of the Bishop of Durham. This incident has been described as "the most serious ecclesiastical controversy since the banishment of Atterbury" (Sykes, p. 155). Rundle seems to have been generally esteemed, though Pope's enthusiasm, expressed in a letter to Swift on Rundle's appointment to Derry, is extravagant: "he will be a friend and benefactor even to your unfriended, unbenefited nation: he will be a friend to the human race, wherever he goes . . . I never saw a man so seldom whom I liked so much as Dr Rundle" (EC vii 336).

SACKVILLE, Lionel Cranfield, Duke of Dorset (1688–1765). *1740*, 61[?]. Son of Dryden's patron. Lord Steward of the Household, 1725–30, 1737–45; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1730–7, 1751–5. Hanbury Williams wrote (*Poems*, i 45):

Consider Dorset, famous for more pride,
Than half the haughty English peers beside.

ST JOHN, Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751). *Sat.* II i 127; *Sob. Adv.* 63; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 141; *Sat.* II vi 75; *Ep.* I i 1, 177 ff; *Dia.* ii 132, 139. Tory Statesman. Secretary of State, 1710. He was dismissed from office on George I's accession, against which he had directed all his energies, and was attainted. He fled to France in 1715 and was for a short time secretary of state to the Pretender. He returned to England, pardoned, in 1723 and was restored to his former rights and possessions but was forbidden to take his seat in the House of Lords. Nevertheless, so far as he was able, he led the opposition to Walpole, and allied himself with the Pulteneys in attacking Walpole in *The Craftsman*. He found his attack to be ineffectual and retired to France in 1735, returning for nine months in June 1738.

On his first return in 1723, Bolingbroke settled near Pope at Dawley Farm, Uxbridge. From a letter which Pope addressed to Lord Harcourt on June 21, 1723, from the preface to *The Iliad* (*Prose Works*, i 254), and from Spence's *Anecdotes* (p. 194) it is clear that they had been acquainted before Bolingbroke's disgrace, though when they first met is uncertain. Bolingbroke rapidly gained an ascendency over Pope and inoculated him with his philosophical and political ideas, to which Pope gave poetical expression. Bolingbroke is the father of the *Essay on Man*, the *Moral Essays*, and the *Imitations of Horace*, in which he is commended in the most reverential terms. Pope's admiration was utterly sincere.—"Lord Bolingbroke is something superior to any thing I have seen in human nature," he told Spence. "You know I don't deal in hyperboles: I quite think him what I say" (p. 169).

Bolingbroke's conversation seems to have been specially impressive. Pope spoke of "the Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul" which he provided, Swift admired it (*Journal to Stella*, Nov. 3, 1711), and Chesterfield said that he "possessed such a flowing happiness of expression that even his most familiar conversations, if taken down in writing, would have borne the press without the least correction."

While still in his teens, Bolingbroke was also "great Dryden's friend before." He contributed commendatory verses to Dryden's translation of Virgil and was the first person to whom Dryden showed *Alexander's Feast* (*Dryden's Prose*, I i 285).

SANDYS, Samuel, Baron (1695–1770). *1740*, 13. M.P. Worcester, 1718–43. Sandys was a member of the Whig Opposition, actuated rather by antagonism to Walpole than by any firmer political principles. On Walpole's fall he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Wilmington's administration (1742), but after a short tenure of office was succeeded by Henry Pelham, 1743. In the same year he was raised to the peerage and gradually took less part in politics. His "gravity" is illustrated by a story which Horace Walpole retailed to Mann (Dec. 24, 1741), that Sandys "never laughed but once, and that was when his best friend broke his thigh."

SAWBRIDGE, Thomas (d. 1733). *Sob. Adv.* 40. Chaplain in the East India Company at Tellichery, Bombay, 1723; Dean of Ferns and Leighlin, 1728–33 (Venn's *Alumni Cantab.*). Swift alluded to his indictment for rape in a letter to the Earl of Oxford, Aug. 28, 1730, and also made it the subject of a ballad, entitled *An Excellent New Ballad: or, The true En—sh D—n to be hang'd for a R—pe*, which was printed as a broadsheet, reprinted in the *Grub-Street Journal* on June 11, 1730, and in the Pope-Swift *Miscellanies*, vol. v, 1735.

SCARBOROUGH, Earl of. See Lumley.

SCARSDALE, Earl of. See Leke.

SCHUTZ, Augustus (d. 1757). *Ep.* 1 i 112. Master of the Robes and Keeper of the Privy Purse to George II. He seems to have had a reputation for gravity of demeanour; thus Horace Walpole writes of him to Mann, Oct. 16, 1742:

> There's another Court-booby, at once hot and dull,
> Your pious pimp, Schutz, a mean, Hanover tool;
> For your card-play at night he too shall remain,
> With *virtuous* and *sober* and *wise* Deloraine.

He and his brother, who was Keeper of the Prince of Wales's Privy Purse, were intimate friends of the Earl of Egmont (see *Diary*, *passim*); he also seems to have been acquainted with Martha Blount (Swift *Corr.* ed. Ball, iv 13).

SCOTT, Francis, Earl of Delorain (1710–1739). *Ep.* 1 i 90*n*. A Cornet of Horse. Stepson of "Delia," Countess of Delorain (*q.v.*).

SECKER, Thomas (1693–1768). *Ep.* 1 i 82*n*, *Dia.* ii 71. Rector of St James's, Westminster, 1733–50. Bishop of Bristol, 1734. Bishop of Oxford, 1737. Dean of St Paul's, 1750. Archbishop of Canterbury, 1758. Secker was conspicuous for his moderation and tolerance. Although an opponent of Hoadley (*q.v.*) he was in close touch with the Court. He deprecated methodist "enthusiasm," but did not persecute Wesley or his followers. "His agreeable person and outward behaviour, civility of manners, and discreet behaviour, together with the graceful delivery of his sermons, do all contribute to make him friends and give a lustre to his learning" (Egmont, ii 137).

SELKIRK, Earl of. See Douglas.

SERLE, John. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 1. Pope's gardener at Twickenham. Apologizing to Allen for being unable to visit him since he could not travel alone, Pope wrote on Nov. 11 [1740?], "to take my own John away for a *week* w^{d} destroy all my Pineapples for a whole Season" (Egerton MS., 1947, f. 67). Pope bequeathed him £100 for having "faithfully and ably served him." Serle drew "A Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden, As it was left at his Death; with a Plan and Perspective View of the Grotto," which was published by Dodsley in 1745.

SETTLE, Elkanah (1648–1724). *Ep.* II i 417. Poet and dramatist. Settle was appointed City Poet in 1691, that is, he was commissioned to prepare pageants for the Lord Mayor's show. In 1702 he had written a poem entitled *Eusebia Triumphans* in praise of the act which attempted to ensure the Hanoverian succession. Although only a boy of fourteen, Pope chose this occasion to attack him by writing his earliest surviving satire, *To the Author of a Poem entitled Successio* (vol. vi). Settle also wrote birthday odes addressed to George I and the Prince of Wales in 1717. See *Dunciad* Index.

SHEFFIELD, John, third Earl of Mulgrave, first Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1648–1721). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 139. Lord Privy Seal, 1702; Lord President, 1710–14; Lord Justice (of the regency), 1714. An edition of Buckingham's poetical works was published by Pope in 1723 (see Sherburn, pp. 219–28), who may have been introduced to him as early as 1706 (*ibid.*, p. 53). His verses *On Mr. Pope and his Poems* are given pride of place in the 1717 folio. Pope's note on *E on C* 723 mentions his acquaintance with Dryden, which began about the year 1673 (*Dryden's Prose*, I i 124). Dryden dedicated *Aurungzebe* to him (1675), and recorded in his prefatory epistle the value which he set upon the greatest of Buckingham's favours, his love and his conversation.

SHIPPEN, William (1673–1743). *Sat.* II i 52; *1740*, 16[?]. Leader of the Jacobite section in the House of Commons. His uniformity of principles and consistency of conduct were recognized by all: Walpole remarked of him, "I will not say who is corrupt, but I will say who is not, and that is Shippen" (Coxe, i 757).

SHREWSBURY, Duke of. See Talbot.

SLOANE, Sir Hans (1660–1753). *Donne*, iv 30. Secretary of the Royal Society, 1693–1712; President, 1727–41. Physician to Queen Anne and to George II, and President of the College, 1719–35. Two letters which survive of Pope's correspondence with Sloane (March 30 and May 22, 1742) show that they were distantly acquainted: Sloane had given Pope "two joints of the Giants' Causeway" for his grotto, and invited him to inspect his famous collection. See Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iv 10.

SMYTHE, James Moore (1702–1734). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 23, 98, 373, 385. The son of Arthur Moore (*q.v.*). He adopted his maternal grandfather's surname on being left the bulk of his property at his death. Pope had given him permission to incorporate certain unpublished verses (now *Moral Es.* ii 243–8) in his comedy, *The Rival Modes* (1727). This permission was later withdrawn, but Moore Smythe refused to erase the verses and so earned his place in the *Dunciad*. He was foolhardy enough to retort, and collaborated with his fellow-victim, Welsted, in *One Epistle to Mr. Pope* (1730), a title suggested by Edward Young's recently published *Two Epistles to Mr Pope*. Pope used the *Grub-Street*

Journal to continue his chastisement, various squibs on Moore Smythe being scattered over numbers 19–29, published in May and July 1730. (See vol. vi.) The references in the *Ep. to Arbuthnot* are the backwash of the squabble. Moore Smythe was already dead, as Lady Mary was quick to remark. She wrote to Arbuthnot on Jan. 3, 1735, "Can anything be more detestable than his abusing poor Moore, scarce cold in his grave, when it is plain he kept back his poem, while he lived, for fear he should beat him?" A fantastic allegation. For a more detailed account of the origin of the quarrel, see *Dunciad*, vol. v.

SOMERS, John, Baron Somers (1651–1716). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 139; *Dia.* ii 77. Lord Keeper, 1693; Lord Chancellor, 1697. He was the virtual head of the Whig party during the early years of Anne's reign. Although Macaulay's panegyric in the twentieth chapter of his *History* is over-wrought, Somers's "sagacity, industry, and disinterestedness are undeniable"; and "his vast erudition and knowledge of affairs placed him at his ease with men of the most diverse interests and occupations" (DNB). Pope mentions Somers amongst those who encouraged him in writing the *Pastorals* (*Spring*, l. 1*n*); there is no reason to question the early date given for the commencement of their friendship. Little is known of his acquaintance with Dryden. They were associated in the 1688 edition of *Paradise Lost*, which Tonson dedicated to Somers and for which Dryden wrote the Lines on the Engraved Portrait of Milton; and they were also associated in the *Plutarch* (1684), for which Somers translated one of the lives and Dryden contributed a preface. Somers paid five guineas in 1697 to supply one of the illustrations in Dryden's *Virgil*. On November 26, 1699, Dryden wrote to Mrs Steward and mentioned that the Chancellor was his enemy; whether this refers to a temporary or permanent estrangement is uncertain.

SOUTHERNE, Thomas (1660–1746). *Ep.* II i 86. Dramatist. His contemporary reputation for "pathetic" tragedy was based upon *The Fatal Marriage*, 1694, and *Oroonoko*, 1696. Southerne was one of Pope's earliest friends, though little is known of their acquaintance. The lines which Pope wrote for Southerne on his birthday in 1742 are printed in vol. vi.

SPENCER, Charles, Duke of Marlborough (1706–1758). *1740*, 62. Grandson of the great Duke. He hoped to please his grandmother by opposition to the court and emphasized it by support of the Prince of Wales, but in 1738 he changed his allegiance and was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber. Lord Steward of the Household, 1749. Lord Privy Seal, 1755. His abilities appear to have been moderate.

STAIR, Earl of. See Dalrymple.

STANHOPE, James, first Earl Stanhope (1673–1721). *Dia.* ii 80. Commander of the British forces in Spain, 1708. Secretary of State, 1714. At the Whig

schism of 1717, Stanhope allied himself with Sunderland against Townshend and Walpole. He became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office which he surrendered to Aislabie in 1718 while he resumed the Secretaryship. He died at the height of the South Sea troubles, while taking part in the Lords' proceedings against those guilty of corruption. Lecky describes him (i 369) as "a high-minded as well as brave and liberal man, well skilled in military matters and in foreign policy, and of that frank and straightforward character which often succeeds better in public life . . . than the most refined cunning, but without much administrative or parliamentary ability, and wholly unfit to manage the finances of the country." Nothing is known of his acquaintance with Pope, beyond Pope's acknowledgement in the preface to *The Iliad* that Stanhope had been "pleas'd to promote this Affair" (*Prose Works*, i 255).

STANHOPE, Philip Dormer, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773). *Dia.* ii 84; *1740*, 25. Ambassador at the Hague, 1728–32. Lord Steward of the Household, 1730–3. He was dismissed because of his hostility to the Excise Bill, and thereupon became one of Walpole's most notable opponents in the House of Lords. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1745–6. Secretary of State, 1746–8. He was responsible for the reformation of the calendar in 1751.

Pope and Chesterfield had been acquainted since 1717 or earlier (see Pope's letter to Gay, Nov. 8, 1717), but the extent of their friendship is not certainly known. Chesterfield had stayed with Pope at Twickenham, and seems to have been a witness of his private charities. Of his respect for Pope there can be no doubt: "for my own part," he told his son (Oct. 9, 1747) "I used to think myself in company as much above me, when I was with Mr. Addison and Mr. Pope, as if I had been with all the Princes in Europe."

SUTTON, Richard (d. 1737). *Donne*, ii 36. Governor of Hull, and of Guernsey, 1733. M.P. Newark, 1708–10, 1712–35. Lieutenant General, 1735. Sutton was spoken of as a favourite of Bolingbroke in Queen Anne's reign, but he is later found supporting Walpole's government. After noting his death, Egmont mentions that he was known as "Satan, Governor of Hell," and reflects, "He was indeed an atheistical, debauched man."

SUTTON, Sir Robert (1672–1746). *Dia.* i 16. Knighted, 1701. Successively ambassador at Constantinople, the Hague, and Paris. K.B., 1725. M.P. Notts County, 1722–32; Great Grimsby, 1734–36. Sutton was one of the directors of the Charitable Corporation found guilty of embezzlement. As a result of the inquiry he was expelled from the House of Commons on May 4, 1732. Warburton, who had enjoyed Sutton's patronage, convinced Pope that Sutton had been misused, and induced him to withdraw his satirical references. Croker (EC iii 140) states that Sutton was intended for the church and went so far as to take deacon's orders; hence "*reverend* Sutton." (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*; Beatson; Egmont, i 268).

SWIFT, Jonathan (1667–1745). *Donne*, iv 72; *Sat.* II ii 161, 167; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 138, 275; *Ep.* II i 223; *Ep.* I vi 128; *Ep.* I vii 82; *Sat.* II vi, *passim*. Pope first met Swift about the year 1712, when Swift was at the height of his fame as a Tory pamphleteer and confidant of Lord Oxford. They had early opportunities of testing their mutual adaptability as literary collaborators, for both were members of the Scriblerus Club, and prime movers in it (Sherburn, pp. 71, 77). But in 1713 Swift was appointed to the Deanery of St Patrick's, Dublin, a backwater to which he resigned himself on Queen Anne's death a year later. His friendship with Pope was not impaired, though for the next twelve years it was maintained only through the medium of letters. They met again in 1726, when Swift came to England for a prolonged visit and spent much of his time in Pope's company. He paid another visit the following year, staying once more with Pope. The first visit enabled Swift to arrange for the publication of *Gulliver's Travels*; and for Pope these visits were of even greater value. Swift and he planned the collection of their *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, which began to appear in 1727; and more important, Swift provided the stimulus which Pope needed to write *The Dunciad* (1728). After Swift's return to Ireland in 1727 the two friends never met again, but they continued to exchange long and intimate letters until Swift's illness prevented him from corresponding any more. See further vol. v.

TALBOT, Charles, twelfth Earl and only Duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 139; *Dia.* ii 79. After taking a prominent part in inviting William of Orange to England, Shrewsbury was appointed Secretary of State in 1689. He resigned office the next year but was induced to reaccept it in 1694. After begging to be allowed to retire, he was appointed to the less responsible post of Lord Chamberlain in 1699; this office he also resigned in the following year and left England. He returned to court in 1709, succeeding Kent (*q.v.*) as Lord Chamberlain in 1710. In 1712 he was appointed ambassador to France in order to accelerate the peace, and on his recall was sent as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland in 1713. He still retained this post when he was appointed to succeed Oxford as Lord Treasurer shortly before Queen Anne's death. This position was one of paramount responsibility, and it is largely owing to Shrewsbury that the Protestant succession was secured. Under George I Shrewsbury resigned his treasurership and his Lord-Lieutenancy, but retained his post of Lord Chamberlain until 1715. His distaste for political work is shown not only by his frequent retirements but also by a famous letter which he wrote to Somers in 1700—"I wonder how any man who has bread in England, will be concerned in business of State. Had I a son, I would sooner bind him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman" (Lecky, i 72). His charm of manner is testified by many writers; Swift, for example, wrote in *Examiner*, No. 26, that he "hath ever been the Favourite of the Nation."

It is not known when Pope first met Shrewsbury. He may have been introduced by Walsh. In 1715 Pope sent him the first state of the *Universal Prayer* (see vol. vi, and Sherburn, p. 61), and paid him a visit in 1717 (Pope to Caryll,

Aug. 6, 1717). It was Shrewsbury who asked him to versify Donne's *Satires* (see Pope's *Advertisement*, p. 3). Dryden wrote in the *Postscript to Vergil* that he had "formerly had the honour of [Shrewsbury's] conversation," and that Shrewsbury and Walsh had read the translation together and sent him a commendation of his work (*Dryden's Prose*, iii 564). Shrewsbury also subscribed five guineas to supply one of the cuts in the folio edition (1697).

TALBOT, Charles, Baron Talbot (1685–1737). *Ep.* II ii 134. Solicitor General, 1726. Lord Chancellor, 1733. "Lord Talbot had as clear, separating, distinguishing, subtle, and fine parts as ever man had . . . No one could make more of a good cause than Lord Hardwicke, and no one so much of a bad one as Lord Talbot" (Hervey, *Memoirs*, pp. 242–3). Pope wrote an elaborate commendation of Talbot in the original edition of *Moral Es.* iii, but later omitted it (see vol. iii). See also *Dunciad*, iv 168, and under RUNDLE.

TATE, Nahum (1652–1715). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 190. Provided a happy ending for *King Lear*, 1681. Wrote the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, 1682. Poet Laureate, 1692. Collaborated with Brady in a metrical version of the psalms, 1696. Died in a debtor's prison. Pope described him as "a cold writer, of no invention" (*Dunciad* A i 102*n*).

TEMPLE, Sir Richard, Viscount Cobham (1675–1749). *Ep.* II ii 1; *Dia.* ii 130; *1740*, 23. Soldier and Whig politician. Lieutenant-General, 1710. Raised to the peerage on the Hanoverian succession. Field Marshal, 1742. He opposed the government in the debates on the Excise Bill (1733) and was deprived of his regiment a few months later for protesting against Walpole's refusal to allow further inquiry into the affairs of the South Sea Company. From this time onwards until Walpole's fall, Cobham was one of the Opposition Whigs.

Cobham owned the manor of Stowe where he rebuilt the house and laid out the gardens in a style of which Pope highly approved. They seem to have become acquainted about the year 1725 (see a letter to Caryll, dated July 17, 1735). In later years Pope frequently made Stowe a house of call on his summer travels. The first *Moral Essay* is addressed to Cobham.

THEOBALD, Lewis (1688–1744). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 164, 372; *Ep.* II ii 137. A scholar and dramatist, who supported himself by translations from the Greek and hack work for the stage. He incurred Pope's anger by publishing in 1726 *Shakespeare restored: or, a Specimen of the Many Errors, as well Committed, as Unamended, by Mr. Pope in his late Edition of this Poet*, a volume in which Pope's poetry is praised and his critical work is damned. Pope revenged himself by making Theobald king of the Dunces (see vol. v, which contains a more detailed account of Pope's relations with Theobald). Theobald published his own edition of Shakespeare in 1734.

TINDAL, Matthew (1657–1733). *Ep.* I vi 64. A deist, author of *Christianity as*

old as the Creation (1730), which was intended to show that a positive revelation was superfluous—"an able and effective statement of the rationalist creed of the time," Leslie Stephen in DNB. Tindal also wrote several pamphlets of Whig and low church colour. As to his morals, Hearne called him a "notorious ill Liver" and a "noted Debauchee" (Oxf. Hist. Soc., ii 193, 237), but Hearne's accusations were always intemperate. Tindal had once belonged to the Church of Rome, and his defection may have sharpened Pope's animosity against him. See *Dunciad*, A ii 367 and Pope's note.

TOWNSHEND, Charles, second Viscount (1674–1738). *Ep.* II ii 273. Whig statesman. After his resignation in 1730, which left Walpole in undisputed ascendency, Townshend retired to his country estate at Rainham in Norfolk and devoted himself to agricultural experiments and improvements. Of these, his "introduction of turnip culture on a large scale . . . is most important, as without it the subsequent developments in the breeding of stock . . . would have been impossible" (DNB). Turnips had, however, been used as a field crop as early as 1694 (A. Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution*, 1927, p. 18).

TYRAWLEY, Baron. See O'Hara.

TYRCONNEL, Viscount. See Brownlow.

VANBRUGH, Sir John (1664–1726). *Ep.* II i 289. Comic dramatist and architect. *The Provoked Wife*, 1697, and *The Confederacy*, 1705, which are occasionally revived, have something of the burliness of Fielding. His principal architectural works are Castle Howard, 1701–14, Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, 1705–24, and the Clarendon Building, Oxford, 1711, which he designed with Nicholas Hawksmoor. The "heaviness" of his style has been one of the commonplaces of architectural criticism from his day to ours. It does not appear that Pope was intimate with Vanbrugh. In conversation with Spence his praise of Vanbrugh's writing was unqualified: "None of our writers have a freer easier way for comedy than Etherege and Vanbrugh." And later he remarked, "Garth, Vanbrugh, and Congreve, were the three most honest hearted, real good men, of the poetical members of the kit-cat club" (p. 46).

VANNECK, Joshua (d. 1777). *Ep.* II ii 229. Born at the Hague. He came to London in 1722 and entered into partnership with his brother Gerard, who had settled there in 1718. The two men amassed great fortunes, Gerard leaving a large proportion of his to his brother on his death in 1750. His will was published in the *Gent. Mag.* (vol. xx, p. 393); at the end of it he recommended his brother "ever to prefer justice and honour to profit and lucre, and a good repute to the desire of riches." Joshua was created a Baronet in 1751.

In the autumn of 1738 one of the brothers entered into negotiation with Bolingbroke for the purchase of Dawley Farm, which had cost him about £25,000, and which he was willing to sell for £5,000. Pope wrote to Lord Orrery (Oct. 19, 1738) expressing the hope that Orrery would buy it for that

sum, since "it would be more a comfort to see any English nobleman of any worth there than some child of dirt or corruption, at best some money-headed, and money-hearted citizen, such an one as Vanneck has proved himself to be, who has gone off . . . in the most paltry manner imaginable." After being allowed to live there for a fortnight to test the house and soil, Vanneck would not offer more than £3,000, at which Bolingbroke broke off the negotiation, "being piqued . . . at their dirty way of dabbling, rather than dealing, about it" (Pope to Lord Bathurst, Nov. 23, 1738).

VERNON, Thomas (d. 1726). *Sat.* II ii 166. A Jacobite silk-mercer, according to Croker (*Suffolk*, i 274); others suppose him to have been Secretary to the Duke of Monmouth (DNB). M.P. for Whitchurch, Hants, 1710–21, 1722–26. He was expelled from the House in 1721 for making "a corrupt application" to another member in relation to a matter depending before Parliament (Oldfield's *Representative History of Great Britain*, 1816, iii 530). He acquired land at Twickenham in 1702 and was church-warden with Kneller in 1713. His widow, who appears to have been as grasping as her husband (EC ix 467), died in 1743, whereupon the house and garden were offered to Pope in sale. He told Bethel (Mar. 20, 1743) it would cost him about £1,000, and commented "If I thought any very particular Friend w^{d} be pleased to live in it after my death (for as it is, it serves all my purposes as well during my life) I w^{d} purchace it; &, more particularly could I hope two things; that the Friend who sh^{d} like it, was so much younger, and healthier than myself, as to have a prospect of its continuing his, some years longer than I can of its continuing mine. But most of those I love, are travelling out of y^{e} world, not into it; and unless I had such a view given me, I have no Vanity nor pleasure that does not stop short of the Grave." A year later (March 19, 1744) he wrote to Bethel again, saying that he had "determind not to purchase this this [*sic*] w^{ch} will cost me 1200^{ll} & instead of it to lay out 3 upon a cheap one in London, seated in an airy high place."

WALPOLE, Sir Robert, first Earl of Orford (1676–1745). *Sat.* II i 153; *Donne*, iv 133 ff; *Sob. Adv.* 88; *Dia.* i 27 ff; ii 133 ff, 146, 162; *1740*, 42 ff. Whig statesman; prime minister, 1715–17, 1721–42.

Although Pope consistently attacked Walpole's government and not infrequently made covert allusions to Walpole himself (*Moral Es.* iii 119, 136; iv 16), he attempted, when mentioning his name, to distinguish between the politician and the man, for he considered himself in Walpole's debt ever since Walpole had exerted himself to procure a French abbey for Southcote (*Dia.* i 27*n*). Yet even these compliments are tainted with innuendo. Pope countenances the perversion of a remark of Walpole's, "All men have their price" (*Dia.* i 34); and though he commends his social distinctions, he refers in the next line to the notorious infidelities of Lady Walpole (*Dia.* ii 135). The account of Peterborough bringing Walpole to Twickenham, which Pope wrote to Fortescue on Sept. 23, 1725, reads like the account of a first meeting, and in

subsequent years we hear of a dinner party (EC ix 107), the exchange of visits, and the presentation of a copy of *The Dunciad* by Walpole to the King in 1729. It is surprising that Pope and Walpole reached even the degree of intimacy which these suggest. See *Dia.* ii 146–7.

WALSH, William (1663–1708). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 136. Poet and critic. Whig M.P. and gentleman of the horse to Queen Anne. He was one of Pope's earliest friends and is commended in the *Essay on Criticism*, l. 729 and Pope's note to the first line of the first *Pastoral*. He was well acquainted with Dryden, who wrote in the Postscript to his translation of Virgil that Walsh had "long honoured me with his friendship, and . . , without flattery, is the best critick of our nation" (*Dryden's Prose*, iii 563). Dryden also contributed a preface to Walsh's *Dialogue Concerning Women* (1691).

WALTER, Peter (1664?–1746). *Sat.* II i 3, 40, 89; *Sat.* II ii 168; *Donne*, ii 66 ff; *Ep.* II i 197; *Dia.* i 121; ii 58; *1740*, 26[?]. A "money scrivener," that is, "one who received money to place out at interest, and who supplied those who wanted to raise money on security" (OED). Clerk of the Peace for the county of Middlesex; Land Steward to the Duke of Newcastle. Walter lived at Stalbridge in Dorset, and acquired considerable property in the county. He represented Bridport in parliament from 1715 till 1727. At his death he is said to have been worth £300,000 (*Gent. Mag.* xvi, 45). He was the original of Fielding's *Peter Pounce* in *Joseph Andrews*.

Besides Pope and Fielding, Swift and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams (*Works*, i 37) have also given Walter an evil character. Thus Swift writes in his *Epistle to Mr Gay*, 1731, ll. 101–6:

> Have Peter Waters always in your mind
> That rogue, of genuine ministerial kind,
> Can half the peerage by his arts bewitch,
> Starve twenty lords to make one scoundrel rich.
> And, when he gravely has undone a score,
> Is humbly pray'd to ruin twenty more.

One of the peers he bewitched was the Earl of Essex, a protégé of Bolingbroke. He was engaged to be married to the Duke of Bedford's sister, but the family stopped the match until Essex promised, on Bolingbroke's extricating him from Walter's hands, to have no more to do with him (*Portland Papers*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, vii 422). See also Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iii 20.

WARD, John (d. 1755). *Dia.* i 119. Of Hackney. M.P. Weymouth, 1722–6. Having been convicted of forgery in the court of the King's Bench, he was expelled from the House of Commons on May 16, 1726. See further Pope's notes to *Moral Es.* iii 20 and *Dunciad*, B iii 34.

WARD, Joshua (1685–1761). *Ep.* II i 182; I vi 56. A quack doctor who returned to England from France in 1734 with a patent drop and pill, with which he was

believed to have effected remarkable cures, in particular upon servants of Lord Chief Baron Reynolds and Sir Joseph Jekyll, who acknowledged the cure in public advertisements. Ward was patronized by the King, who allowed him a room in his almonry office at Whitehall; he also opened free hospitals for the poor in Pimlico and the city. He was said to be ignorant of medical knowledge and his medicines to be constituted largely of antimony (DNB).

WELSTED, Leonard (1688–1747). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 49, 375. Poet. Clerk in the Secretary of State's office, and later in the ordnance office. The history of his quarrel with Pope is briefly summarized in the note to l. 375. See further *Dunciad* Index and the preface to Welsted's *Works*, ed. J. Nichols, 1787.

WEST, John, first Earl De La Warr (1693–1766). *Dia.* i 92; *1740*, 59. An able supporter of Walpole's government in the House of Lords. Lord of the Bedchamber, 1725–7; Treasurer of the Household, 1731–7; chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, 1732; Colonel of the First Troop of Horse, 1737–66, serving as Brigadier-General at Dettingen. Lord Hervey speaks of his "long, lank, awkward person," and commenting on De La Warr's nomination as ambassador to the court of Saxe-Gotha to demand the Princess in marriage for the Prince of Wales, "I believe there could [not] be found in any of the Goth or Vandal courts of Germany a more unpolished ambassador for such an occasion" (*Memoirs*, p. 549). The following anecdote illustrates De La Warr's "gravity": "He dined at the Maids' [of Honour] table one day, and counted how many bottles of wine they drank less than was set down. I hope the under-butlers will toss him in a blanket" (The Countess of Pembroke to Mrs Clayton; Lady Sundon's *Memoirs*, 1847, i 240).

WILD, Jonathan (1682?–1725). *Dia.* ii 39, 54. Informer and receiver of stolen goods. His trial is reported in *State Trials*, 1742, ii 212–88.

WILMINGTON, Earl of. See Compton.

WINNINGTON, Thomas (1696–1746). *1740*, 54[?]. Lord of the Admiralty, 1730–6; Lord of the Treasury, 1736–41; Cofferer of the Household, 1741–3; Paymaster general, 1743–6. One of Walpole's most hard-working and valued supporters. He was held in high esteem by Hervey (pp. 451–5) and Horace Walpole (letter to Mann, April 25, 1746).

WOODWARD, John (1665–1728). *Donne*, iv 30, 152. F.R.S., 1693. A famous physician, geologist, and antiquary. His writings are said to contain much of permanent scientific interest, but the quaintness of certain of his opinions and the haughtiness of his temper estranged him from contemporary scientists and made him a butt of the wits. He is ridiculed as the character of Fossile in *Three Hours after Marriage*, 1717, by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot, and in Ch. iii of the *Memoirs of Martin Scriblerus*.

WYNDHAM, Sir William (1687–1740). *Dia.* ii 88; *1740*, 80. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1713–14. After George I's accession he remained in parliament to lead the Tory Opposition, and to expound the policy of Bolingbroke with whom he was in constant communication. His death at the moment when the Opposition's plans to defeat Walpole seemed almost mature was regarded as a grave misfortune: Pope wrote to Marchmont on June 22, 1740, "God Almighty certainly knows what he does when he removes those from us whose lives we pray for, and leaves behind those scourges which a mercenary people deserve." Lord Hervey, a political opponent, wrote of Wyndham, "He was far from having first-rate parts, but by a gentleman-like general behaviour and constant attendance in the House of Commons, a close application to the business of it, and frequent speaking, he had got a sort of parliamentary routine, and without being a bright speaker was a popular one, well heard, and useful to his party" (*Memoirs*, p. 21). Later estimates have been more favourable: John Morley described him as "one of the most respectable figures of his age . . . a statesman endowed with firmness, dignity, modesty, and the gift . . . of imposing his authority upon his hearers" (*Walpole*, 1889, p. 76–7).

YONGE, Sir William (d. 1755). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 280; *Dia.* i 13, 68; *1740*, 54. A prominent Whig politician; Secretary for War, 1735. Lord Hervey, whose politics were Whig also, wrote of him, "Without having done anything that I know of remarkably profligate—anything out of the common track of a ductile courtier and a parliamentary tool [of Walpole]—his name was proverbially used to express everything pitiful, corrupt, and contemptible. It is true he was a great liar, but rather a mean than a vicious one. He had been always constant to the same party, was good-natured and good-humoured, never offensive in company, nobody's friend, nobody's enemy. He had no wit in private conversation, but was remarkably quick in taking hints to harangue upon in Parliament. He had a knack of words there that was surprising, considering how little use they were to him anywhere else. He had a great command of what is called parliamentary language and a talent of talking eloquently without a meaning and expatiating agreeably upon nothing beyond any man, I believe, that ever had the gift of speech" (*Memoirs*, p. 36), a character which is corroborated by Horace Walpole (*Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 1847, i 23). So far as is known Pope bore him no personal grudge; his was merely, as Hervey says, a name "proverbially used to express everything pitiful, corrupt, and contemptible."

YORKE, Philip, first Earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764). *1740*, 64. Entered parliament as Whig member for Lewes, 1719. Solicitor General, 1720–4. Attorney General, 1724–33. Lord Chief Justice, 1733–7. Lord Chancellor, 1737–56. Hardwicke was the most able exponent of government policy in the House of Lords during the last troubled years of Walpole's administration. His great achievements in the office of Lord Chancellor belong to a later period. There is no evidence to show that he knew Pope.

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ADDENDA

p. 19, l. 146. *Note.* The Man was the poet Collingbourne, the King was Richard III, and the very honest Rhymes were

> The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our Dog,
> Do rule al England, vnder a Hog.

See *A Mirror for Magistrates*, 1563, tragedy 23.

p. 124, ll. 376–7. *Note.* Mr Maynard Mack has suggested to me that these lines refer to William Windham, co-author of the *Verses to the Imitator of Horace*, and Lady Delorain, whom Windham married in 1734 (see p. 365). Lady Delorain may well have wished her lover to asperse Pope's life in revenge for *Sat.* II i 81, and from what is known of her, Pope may well have thought that Windham's marriage was an adequate punishment.

ERRATUM

p. 108, ll. 161ff. The lines are part of the fragment first published in the *Miscellanies*, 1727 (see p. xxiii). It was an oversight to imply in the footnote that they were suggested by passages in *Verbal Criticism* and *Of Modern Wit*. More probably the reverse is true.

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