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Sherburn and Pope

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SHERBURN AND POPE

(TITLE)

BY

Jean Ellen D. Parsons

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

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IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
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1970
YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
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DEPARTMENT HEAD

George Sherburn, the well-known editor of The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, encountered many textual difficulties during his editing of those letters. Fortunately for Sherburn, the bulk of these difficulties was not due to the usual problems of textual errors, additions by an unknown number of persons (editors), errors made by proof-readers, or printers, or texts that had been pirated by others. Part of this lack of the usual difficulties was due to the fact that he was editing a collection of letters and not a novel, play, or poetry. He was not faced with the types of difficulties met by Chaucerian editors Manley and Rickert, whose editing did include the above mentioned problems.

Even so, it must be remembered that all textual editors normally pass through the following eight procedures:

- Exploring the implication of the project
- Collecting the texts
- Choosing a base text for comparison
- Comparing the texts
- Determining the archetype or copy text
- Editing
- Normalizing
- Writing the textual notes¹

Again, Sherburn's task was still not as complicated as the tasks faced by other editors. Pope's previous editors (principally the Victorian editors) had done a great deal of the early steps for him. His task was one that required more time, labor and patience than it required research. The difficulties that he did face were due to eighteenth and nineteenth century publishers, personal tastes, eighteenth century letter-writing styles; and a large amount was due to Alexander Pope and his love

¹Dearing, p. 4.

of trickery and his own self-esteem.

During Victorian times it was discovered by editors Milke and Elwin that Pope, when he published his own correspondence, had recombined parts of two or three letters, omitted passages, and transferred letters.² Twentieth-century Sherburn excuses Pope of this chicanery because Pope himself published only a small amount of his own correspondence (approximately one-tenth of the total) that Sherburn compiled.³

Principally, those letters that Pope did not wish to be published as were, were "the products of a rapid pen." Yet some letters, such as the letter he and Lenot wrote to Oxford, were "studiously composed."⁴ These are letters that were planned and polished.

Pope himself says of all writing:

I am inclined to think that both the writer of books, and the readers of them, are generally not a little unreasonable in their expectations. The first seem to fancy that the world must approve whatever they produce, and the latter to imagine that authors are obliged to please them at any rate. Methinks as on the one hand, no single man is born with a right of controuling the opinions of all the rest; so on the other, the world has no title to demand, that the whole care and time of any particular person should be sacrificed to its entertainment. Therefore, I cannot but believe that writers and readers are under equal obligations, for as much fame, or pleasure as each affords the other.⁵

Why, then, did Pope alter his letters? It was because Pope felt that a good letter was "talking on paper", and that "a letter should be

²Sherburn, Vol. I, p. ix.

³Ibid.

⁴Sherburn, Vol. I, p. x.

⁵The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. by John Butt, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. xxv.

a natural image of the mind of the writer."⁶ Pope desired that his letters to friends be as creditable as his verses.

Pope himself complains of the limitations of the English language and the need for revisions, saying,

If any one should imagine I am not in earnest, I desire him to reflect, that the Ancients (to say the least of them) had as much Genius as we; and that to take more pains, and employ more time, cannot fail to produce more complete pieces. They constantly apply'd themselves not only to that art, but to that single branch of an art, to which their talent was most powerfully bent; and it was the business of their lives to correct and finish their works for posterity. If we can pretend to have used the same industry, let us expect the same immortality: tho' if we took the same care, we should still lie under a farther misfortune: they writ in languages that became universal and everlasting, while ours are extremely limited both in extent, and in duration. A mighty foundation for our pride! when the utmost we can hope, is but to read in one Island, and to be thrown aside at the end of one Age.⁷

In the preceding quotation one hears Pope advocating revision of all works.

It is small wonder then that Pope sought to revise his correspondence. His letters were written works and needed polish as much as his verses did.

Sherburn says,

So, the letters became in a sense part of his works, capable of polish, revision, amalgamation, transfer to correspondents other than the natural recipients - capable even, though very seldom of factual falsification.⁸

Pope, Sherburn tells his reader, "wished his letters to be what he said the Duke of Buckingham's were, 'a monument of his mind and more perfect

⁶ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. x.

⁷ The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. by John Butt, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. xxvii.

⁸ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. x.

image of himself'.⁹ This desire of Pope's for "a more perfect image" was to cause his later editors many headaches. Pope was unscrupulous in many matters and what belonged to him was certainly fair game.

Another of Sherburn's difficulties arose from the rubble of Pope's feuds with book publisher Curll and others who were involved in Pope's literary and personal life. Pope himself says concerning friends, booksellers and authors:

Their friends may be either ignorant, or insincere; and the rest of the world in general is too well bred to shock them with a truth, which generally their Booksellers are the first to inform them of. . . . the reputation of a man generally depends upon the first steps he makes in the world, and the people will establish their opinion of us, from what we do at that season when we have least judgment to direct us.¹⁰

Herein the reader senses Pope's opinion of the bookseller, and realizes again how important a good image in all literary matters was to Pope.

As early as 1712 Pope was considering publishing his letters. This is evident because he wrote to Caryll asking that his letters be returned on the grounds that "Several thoughts which I threw out that way in the freedom of my soul - may be of use to me in a design I am lately engaged in."¹¹ Sherburn interprets this "design" to be Pope's plan to publish. Pope again became interested in his own correspondence in 1726 when Curll published Pope's letters to Crowell, which Curll had purchased from Elizabeth Thomas, Crowell's discarded mistress.¹² Now

⁹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. x.

¹⁰ The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. by John Butt, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. xxvi.

¹¹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xi.

¹² Ibid.

incensed and upset, Pope began to urge his friends to return all correspondence.

As Sherburn tells his reader, "It led to chicanery for he would publish."¹³ Now Pope needed to obtain his letters and protect them also. His greatest source of letters and most secure place was in the Harleian Library. Lord Oxford consented to Pope's "wishes" and let the devious Pope deposit the Wycherly letters and some of Pope's own there in the Library. The scheming Pope later declared that the letters were deposited in the Harleian Library without his consent. Even so, Lord Oxford, being proud of his library and his intimacy with Pope, still continued to transcribe Pope's letters after the Wycherly affair. The letters were transcribed by Oxford's scribes or others of competence and then deposited in the library.¹⁴

In 1728 Theobald brought out a volume entitled The Posthumous Works of William Wycherly.¹⁵ Pope, who had disliked Theobald anyway, was enraged. In this (Theobald's) work were poems that Pope had helped Wycherly to correct - and which Wycherly had decided not to publish.¹⁶

Fortunately, the wily Pope had a card up his sleeve. He was in possession of letters which threw considerable light on the affair.¹⁷ He and Wycherly came out the apparent victims, to be pitied. Theobald and Shrimpton (Wycherly's widow's new husband) came out looking quite

¹³ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xi.

¹⁴ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xii.

¹⁵ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xi.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

greedy and mercenary.

Later, in November 1729, the devious Pope brought out his own The Posthumous Works of William Wycherly, but the volume was suppressed.¹⁸

Pope at this time came in possession not only of Theobald and Shrimpton's sheets containing his and Wycherly's letters, but his own suppressed volumes as well.¹⁹

Sherburn says of the Harleian transcripts that,

This work went on for at least some years after 1728, and in the making of transcripts there is doubtless added opportunity for the corruption of texts. But the Harleian transcripts, as they are to be called, seem practically always to have been made legitimately and carefully from the original letters.²⁰

Lord Orrey himself acted as proof-reader for many of the letters, especially those of Swift's.²¹ These Harleian letters Shorburn accepted as being valid.

The air was still heavy, and in 1734 a mysterious "P.T." tempted the notorious Curll with "a large collection of letters by Pope."²² But Curll was wary. He waited for sixteen months to see what would happen. Finally, he approached Mr. Pope (he had always said that "P.T." stood for "Trickster Pope") by sending the "P.T." letters and asking for an alliance.²³ On May 12, 1735, mysterious agents began delivering octavo volumes of Pope's letters to Curll's office. Within this correspondence,

¹⁸ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xi.

¹⁹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xi.

²⁰ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xii.

²¹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xiii.

²² Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xiv.

²³ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xiv.

some of Caryll's letters had been transferred to Addison, Wycherly, and various others.²⁴ Pope had done what Curll had feared, he had duped Curll. Upon realizing this, Curll also realized that some of the Wycherly letters were from Pope's 1729 edition.

Curll says to Pope in the introduction to the volume of Pope's letters that he finally published:

Who was it played the Gardener, (Sure it would not be honest Searlet (Pope's gardner)) in lopping off some Branches, inoculating others, and Transplanting a large Shoot from one of your Letters, to Mr. Crowell, and Grafting it upon Mrs. Walsh's Stock?²⁵

In the key to the correspondence Curll again remarks that if Pope was born on June 8th, 1688 - and the last of his letters to Crowell bear the date December 21, 1711 - Pope was then twenty-three. But, in 1728 Pope himself supposedly published letters to Wycherly that he claimed to have written before he was seventeen. Curll remarks that the letters of 1728 were "polished" and "retouched"²⁶ ones. He also takes Pope around for his "polishing" and Pope in turn makes reply.

In order to better see the feud that existed between Curll and Pope, I offer more excerpts from letters that passed from Curll to Pope, dealing with Curll's publication of Pope's correspondence and were printed along with the letters. In Vol. III Curll tells Pope that Pope's chicanery is:

²⁴ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xiv.

²⁵ Sherburn, Vol. II, p. xiii.

²⁶ Curll, Vol. II, pp. 73-74.

". . . as mean as it is base; and as you have found, in all
 "Debates between us, has been the abhorrence of,

"Your Humble Servant,

"E. Curll

"P.S. As I am pretty conversant with those authors whose
 "works I print, in re-vising my old Friend Voiture for a new
 "Edition; I find you have politely pillaged his Letters:
 "Your First, To a Lady, with a Book of Drawings is evidently
 "taken from one who wrote to Madame Rambouillet, in the name
 "of Callot the Engraver, presenting a Book of his Prints.
 "Your Second is, I find, a Compliment to our Friend Parson
 "Broome, and Mrs. Betty Harriot of Sturston Hall in Suffolk.
 "And lastly, the Compliments in those Letters in this Volume
 "to Miss B. are transplanted from what Voiture wrote to
 "Madame Rambouillet, M. Vigean, and other Ladies of the
 "Court of France."²⁷

Later, after again facing all of Pope's trickery, Curll replies
 with lines from Pope's Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot. Dr. South's Character
of the Lyar.

"For, with you, Sir,

Flatt'ry in Ev'ry Shape I hold a shame,
 and think a Lye in Verse or Prose the same.
 Bravo to God, and Coward unto man,
 The Lyar is; deny this Truth who can?"²⁸

Sometimes one wonders if Curll, as well as Pope, was suffering from
 Pope's "Chaos of thought and passion all confused"?²⁹

Seventeen Hundred and Thirty-Five found Pope discussing publish-
 ing with Joceyln Spene. He wrote to Lord Orrey in 1740, five years
 later, saying of the publication that "feeling was vague, but it was

²⁷ Curll, Vol. VIII, p. xv.

²⁸ Curll, Vol. III, p. xiv.

²⁹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. x.

strong."³⁰ (The messes created by Curll and Pope in their publishing feuds were later straightened out by the patient Victorian editors. This consisted of comparing dates and events mentioned in these letters from Curll's edition with the Harleian transcripts.)

In 1737 Pope's Works was published.³¹ Pope's principals of revision can be seen herein.

Trivialities concerning daily life or finances are omitted. So are small indecorous remarks, either slightly salacious or profane. Personal names are also frequently excised. Perhaps the most common change is stylistic. The letters have become more concise, the sentences are straightforward, the diction more elegant. There is little change in the sense of any of the letters except as is due to omissions. By factful omission, the general tone is made more dignified, more worthy of the gentlefolk for whom these quartos and folios were designed.³²

For later readers, the octavo text of the trade edition is superior.³³

Sherburn makes mention that Pope added and omitted in as many as sixty or seventy letters.³⁴ By doing this, Pope had created "a more perfect image of himself", or so he thought.

Later, Pope desired to publish his correspondence with Swift because he believed that they would both be famous in the years following their deaths.³⁵ In a great state of fervor he wrote to Swift (who, incidentally, did not wish to give up his letters because he felt his

³⁰ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xii.

³¹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xv.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xvi.

poetry would do quite well as a memorial):

You are a very ignorant man, you do not know the figure his (Bolingbroke's) name and yours will make hereafter. I do, and will preserve all the memorials I can that I was of your intimacy.³⁶

One cannot help but feel that Pope was principally interested in preserving glory for Pope.

Pope then wrote Orrey telling him he wished that Swift would send back "those letters, and mark over every sentence he would leave out; I would copy and return them to him."³⁷ Swift replied that he saw nothing that needed to be left out of his letters.³⁸

At any rate, in June of 1740, Swift let Orrey take the letters to Pope.³⁹ Supposedly, Pope had promised to copy them and return them to Swift.

Unfortunately, Pope has been accused of crooked dealings with the ailing Swift over the letters. At this time, Swift fluctuated between sanity and insanity. He seldom left his room or his bed. There is no evidence that Pope duped Swift, but it should be remembered that "Swift, as well as Pope delighted in ingenious subterfuge with booksellers", so it is not unlikely that the sly Pope tricked his friend Swift in order to gain possession of the much desired letters.⁴⁰

Later, Swift asked for the return of his letters and Pope tried

³⁶ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xvi.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. viii.

⁴⁰ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xviii.

hard to create the impression that the publication of the letters had been initiated in Ireland, and that the original letters were still there. Pope led the public to believe that Swift's letters had been transcribed in Ireland and the transcriptions sent to Pope in England.⁴¹ All in all, one finds it difficult to admire a man, even the brilliant Pope, who, in order to create a better image of himself, duped a dying and emotionally distraught friend.

The following five pages are two reproductions of the same letter. The first letter is Pope's original letter as it appears in Sherburn.⁴² The second reproduction is the same letter as it appeared after Pope had "doctored" it up for Curll to print in the 1735 edition in order to create "a more perfect image."⁴³ It follows true that Pope merely polished up the letters so they became works of literary art rather than friendly letters. There was actually very little omitting and adding - at most, a word and a few sentences here and there. I have underlined the additions and bracketed the omissions. (One might also note the little poem on the left of the first page.)

Although Pope's "doctoring" caused Sherburn many problems, a larger problem presented itself in the task of re-organizing all of Pope's known correspondence into a new form. The Victorian editors had already sifted out many of the "fake" letters and "retouched" letters from the originals. They had inserted the originals where they belonged. If so,

⁴¹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xviii.

⁴² Sherburn, Vol. I, p. 46.

⁴³ Curll, Vol. II, pp. 1-4.

⁴⁴ Sherburn, Vol. I, xiv.

expressive conceptions, and to make his works as useful and instructive to this degenerate age, as he was to our friend *Horace*, when he read him at *Præneste*,¹ *Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,* &c. I break off with that *quid non?* with which I confess I am charm'd.

Upon the whole matter I intreat you to send this presently to be added to the *Miscellanies*, and I hope it will come time enough for that purpose.²

I have nothing to say of my Nephew B.'s observations,³ for he sent them to me so late, that I had not time to consider them; I dare say he endeavour'd very faithfully (tho' he told me very hastily) to execute your commands.

All I can add is, that if your excess of modesty shou'd hinder you from publishing this *Essay*, I shall only be sorry that I have no more credit with you, to persuade you to oblige the publick, and very particularly, dear Sir, | Your most faithful | humble Servant, | W. Trumbull.

Apr. 9, 1708.

POPE to CROMWELL⁴

25 April 1708

The Bodleian Library

Aprill the 25. 1708.

Sir,—

This Letter greets you from the Shades;
(Not those which thin, unbody'd Shadows fill,
That glide along th'Elysian Glades,
Or skim the flow'ry Meads of *Asphodill*;))
But those, in which a Learned Author said,
Strong Drink was drunk, and Gambolls play'd,)
And two Substantial Meals a day were made.
The Business of it is t'express,
From me and from my Holiness,
To you and to your Gentleness,
How much I wish you Health and Happiness;
And much good News, and little Spleen as may be;
A hearty Stomach, and Sound Lady;
And ev'ry Day a double Dose of Coffee,
To make you look as sage as any Sophy.

¹ *Horace, Epistles*, l. ii. 2-3.

² *Poetical Miscellanies, the Sixth Part*, publication of which was postponed to 2 May 1709, included Pope's 'essay' at translating from the *Iliad*.

³ See Pope to the Rev. Ralph Briddle, 5 Apr. 1708.

⁴ This letter was printed by Curll in 1726 and 1735, but was never included in Pope's editions of his letters. In 1735 Pope excised the phrase here placed in half-brackets and inserted it in his letter to Cromwell of 18 Mar. 1708.

For the rest, I must be content in plain Prose to assure you, that I am very much oblig'd to you for the favor of your Letter, and in particular, for the Translation of that one Latine Verse, which cost you three in English.

One short, one long,
One Smooth, one Strong,)
One right, one wrong.¹)

911531014
12-21-1708

But if I may be allow'd to object against any thing you write (which I must do, if it were only to be even with you for your Severity to me) it shou'd be that Passage in yours, where you are pleas'd to call the Whores of *Drury-Lane*, the Nymphs of *Drury*. I must owne it was some time before I cou'd frame to my self any plausible Excuse for this Expression: but Affection (which you know Sir, excuses all things) at last furnish'd me with one in your Justification; which I have here sent you, in Verse, that you may have at least some Rhyme to defend you, tho' you shou'd have no Reason.

If Wit or Critick blame the tender Swain,
Who stil'd the gentle Damsels in his Strain)
The Nymphs of *Drury*, not of *Drury-Lane*;)
Be this his Answer, and most just Excuse—
“Far be it, Sirs, from my more civill Muse,
Those Loving Ladies rudely to traduce.
Allyes and Lanes are Terms too vile and base,
And give Idea's of a narrow Pass;
But the well-worn Paths of the Nymphs of *Drury*
Are large & wide; *Tydecomb* and I assure ye.”

I made no question but the News of *Sappho's* staying behind me in the Towne wou'd surprize you. But she is since come into the Country, and to surprize you more, I will inform you, that the first Person she nam'd when I waited on her, was one Mr. *Cromwell*. What an Ascendant have you over all the Sex, who cou'd gain the Fair-one's Heart by appearing before her in a long, black, unpowder'd Perriwig; nay without so much as the very Extremities of clean Linnen in neckcloth and Cuffs! I guess that your Friend *Vertumnus* among all the Forms he assum'd to win the good Graces of *Pomona*, never took upon him that of a Slovenly Beau. Well Sir I leave you to your Meditations on this occasion, and to Languish unactive (as you call it:)

But I find I have exceeded my Bounds, & begin to travell on the Confines of Impertinence. However to make you amends, I shall desire Mr. *Wycherley* to deliver you this Letter,¹ who will be sure in

¹ Either Wycherley is taking the letter from Binfield to London or else, more probably, this letter is enclosed to him in a letter not preserved.

less than a quarter of an hour's conversation with you, to give you Wit enough to atone for twice as much Dulness as I have troubled you with. Therefore I shall only give my Respects to some of our Acquaintance, & conclude.

To Baker¹ first my Service, pray:

To Tydecomb eke,

And Mr Check:

Last to *yourself* my best Respects I pay,
And so remain, for ever and for ay,

Sir, | Your Affectionate, hum | ble Servant: | A. Pope.

Address: 'To Henry Cromwell | Esq: | This.

†POPE to CROMWELL²

1735

27 April 1708

April 27, 1708.

I have nothing to say to you in this Letter; but I was resolv'd to write to tell you so. Why should not I content myself with so many great Examples, of deep Divines, profound Casuists, grave Philosophers; who have written, not Letters only, but whole Tomes and voluminous Treatises about Nothing? Why shou'd a Fellow like me, who all his life does nothing, be asham'd to write nothing? and that to one who has nothing to do but to read it? But perhaps you'll say, the whole World has something to do, something to talk of, something to wish for, something to be imploy'd about: But pray, Sir, cast up the Account, put all these Somethings together, and what is the Sum Total but just Nothing? I have no more to say, but to desire to give you my Service (that is nothing) to your Friends, and to believe that I am nothing more than | Your, &c.

*Ex nihilo nil fit.*³ Luck.

†POPE to CROMWELL

1735

10 May 1708

May 10, 1708.

You talk of Fame and Glory, and of the great Men of Antiquity: Pray tell me, what are all your great dead Men, but so many little

¹ Baker and Check are difficult to identify. Elwin suggests Thomas Baker, author of *Tunbridge-Walks* (1703) and other comedies. Check, Elwin tells us, is mentioned as an early patron of Pope's in a pamphlet called *Characters of the Times* (1728).

² In his 1735 editions Pope was desirous of discrediting Curll's earlier (1726) texts. This letter, for which no original exists, would discredit the letter written only two days earlier (of which Curll had the autograph), which Pope never reprinted and from which he took one bit for insertion in his letter of 18 Mar. 1708. One can only surmise the origin of this present letter.

³ Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura*, i. 155 f.) phrases the aphorism somewhat differently.

living Letters? What a vast Reward is here for all the Ink wasted by Writers, and all the Blood spilt by Princes? There was in old time one *Severus* a Roman Emperor. I dare say you never call'd him by any other Name in your Life: and yet in his days he was styl'd *Lucius*, *Septimius*, *Severus*, *Pius*, *Pertinax*, *Augustus*, *Parthicus*, *Adiabeniensis*, *Arabicus*, *Maximus*,—and what not? What a prodigious waste of Letters has Time made! what a Number have here dropt off, and left the poor surviving Seven unattended! For my own part, Four are all I have to take care for; and I'll be judg'd by you if any man cou'd live in less compass? I except it were one *Monsieur D.*² and one *Romulus*.³ But these, contrary to the common Calamity, came in process of time, to be call'd *Monsieur Boileau Despreaux*, and *Romulus Three-pints*.—Well, 'Sir,' for the future I'll drown all high Thoughts in the *Lethe* of Cowslip-Wine; as for Fame, Renown, Reputation, take 'em Critics!

*Tradam protervis in Mare Criticum
Ventis*⁴—

If ever I seek for Immortality here, may I be d—d! for there's not so much danger in a Poet's being damn'd:

Damnation follows Death in other Men,
But your damn'd Poet lives and writes agen.

†WYCHERLEY to POPE⁴

1729

13 May 1708

May 13, 1708.

I have receiv'd yours of the first of May. Your Pastoral Muse outshines, in her modest and natural dress, all *Apollo's* Court-Ladies, in their more artful, labour'd, and costly Finery; therefore I am glad to find by your Letter, you design your Country-beauty of a Muse shall appear at Court and in Publick; to outshine all the farded, lewd, confident, affected, Town-dowdies, who aim at being honour'd only to their Shame: But her artful Innocence (on the contrary) will gain more Honour as she becomes more Publick; and in spite of Custom will bring Modesty again into Fashion, or at least make her Sister-rivals

¹ The words in half-brackets were omitted in Pope's octavo texts of 1737–42.

² Until within a few years of his death Boileau did not put his name at full length to his works, but the titlepages merely stated that they were by the *Sieur D*.—Elwin. Was *Romulus* a pawnbroker?

³ Horace (*Carmina*, i. xxvi. 2) shows Pope making a sort of pun:

*tradam protervis in mare Criticum
portare ventis.* . . .

⁴ This letter is omitted from the quarto and folio of 1737. The letter from Pope of 1 May, mentioned in the first sentence, is unknown.

CURLL Triumphant;
AND
POPE Out-witted.

I.

POPE, meditating to disgrace
Those, whom his *Satire* jeers,
Not long since to a wildgoose chace
Entic'd *Great-Britain's* Peers.

II.

He led 'em to pursue a Wight
Egregious—*Curll* his name,
Who not surpriz'd, and in no Fright,
By this pursuit reap'd Fame,

III.

He undeceiv'd the *Nobles* all,
More cou'd he wish or hope?
While *Pope* had thus contriv'd his Fall,
He triumph'd over *Pope*.

IV.

The *Vomit* foul, the *Dunciad* keen,
Vex'd *Curll*—but all admit,
Tho' *Pope* twice shew'd he had most spleen,
Curll once has shewn most Wit.



LETTERS

TO

HENRY CROMWELL, *Esq;*

LETTER I.

April 25th. 1708.

SIR,



HIS Letter greets you from the
Shades;
(Not those which thin unbody'd
Shadows fill,
That glide along th' *Elysian*
Glades,

Or skim the flow'ry Meads of *Asphodill*;) :
But those, in which a learned Author said,
Strong Drink was drunk, and Gambols
play'd
And two substantial Meals a Day were
made.

VOL. II.

B

The

2. LETTERS to

The Business of it is t'express,
From me and from my Holiness,
To you and to your Gentleness,
How much I wish you Health and Happi-
ness;

And much good News, and little Spleen as
may be;

A hearty Stomach, and sound Lady;
And ev'ry Day a double Dose of Coffee,
To make you look as sage as any Sophy.

For the rest I must be content in plain
Prose to assure you, that I am very much
oblig'd to you for the Favour of your Let-
ter.

But if I may be allow'd to object against
any thing you write (which I must do, if it
were only to be even with you for your Se-
verity to me) it shou'd be that Passage in
your's, where you are pleas'd to call the
Whores of *Drury-lane*; the Nymphs of
Drury. I must own it was some Time be-
fore I could frame to my self any plausible
Excuse for this Expression; but Affection
(which you know, Sir, excuses all Things)
at last furnish'd me with one in your Justi-
fication; which I have here sent you, in
Verse, that you may have at least some
Rhyme to defend you, tho' you shou'd
have no Reason.

HENRY CROMWELL, Esq; 3

If Wit or Critic blame the tender Swain,
Who stil'd the gentle Damsels in his Strain
The Nymphs of *Drury*, not of *Drury-lane*;
Be this his Answer, and the most just Ex-
cuse—

Far be it, Sirs, from my more civil Muse,
Those loving Ladies rudely to traduce.
Alleys and Lanes are Terms too vile and
base,

And give Ideas of a narrow Pass;
But the well-worn Paths of the Nymphs
of *Drury*
Are large and wide, *Tydcumbe* and I assure
(ye.

I made no question but the News of *Sa-
pho's* staying behind me in the Town wou'd
surprize you. But she is since come into the
Country, and to surprize you more, I will
inform you, that the first Person she nam'd
when I waited on her, was one Mr *Crom-
well*. What an Ascendant have you over all
the Sex, who could gain the Fair-one's Heart
by appearing before her in a long, black, un-
powder'd Perriwig; nay, without so much
as the very Extremities of clean Linnen in
Neckcloth and Cuffs! I guess that your
Friend *Vertumnus*, among all the Forms he
assum'd to win the good Graces of *Pomona*,
never took upon him that of slovenly Beau.

B 2

Well,

Well, Sir, I leave you to your Meditations on this Occasion, and to languish unactive (as you call it).

But I find I have exceeded my Bounds, and begin to travel on the Confines of Impertinence. However, to make you amends, I shall desire Mr *Wycherley* to deliver you this Letter, who will be sure in less than a Quarter of an Hour's Conversation with you, to give you Wit enough to atone for twice as much Dulness as I have troubled you with. Therefore I shall only give my Respects to some of our Acquaintance, and conclude.

To *Baker* first my Service, pray;

To *Tydecomb* eke,

And Mr *Cheek*;

Last to *yourself* my best Respects I pay,

And so remain, for ever and for ay.

S I R,

Your affectionate

humble Servant,

A POPE.

LETTER II.

Nov. 30th, 1709.

SIR,

ABOUT the Time that Mr *Wycherley*, came to *London*, I troubled you with a Letter of mine, in hopes of prevailing with you to continue, the Favour of your's. But I now write, to convince you that Silence is not always the surest Guard against Impertinence: I have too great a Sense of those many Civilities receiv'd from you, to desist from expressing it, till I receive more: For you not only have acquainted me with many of my Errors in scribbling, but with some in my Conduct; and I owe to you the Knowledge of Things infinitely more of Concern to myself, than any thing of mine can be to others. The Advantage I have obtain'd from both might endanger your being put upon an endless Trouble of criticizing on the rest of my Faults, and therefore you have reason to make some delay with those now under your Examination. Tho' I never cou'd expect you shou'd once look upon them, but when you were perfectly at Leisure; yet so much Assurance your former Kindness had given me, that I was under some Apprehensions for your Health, on

B 3

tho

why did Sherburn spend so many years on Pope's correspondence? This was due to that long drawn-out process of re-organizing.

Pope had written many letters that the Victorian editors, and those before them, had omitted.⁴⁵ These omissions were due to the social mores of the times. This was not because the letters contained anything that could be considered risqué or immoral. (This is apparent when one reads what was included letterwise!) Some of the included letters are the equivalent of our modern term "raunchy". They contain much of the bawdy and the bar-room in their themes. The Letter (Poem) to Cromwell which follows show what was included as being acceptable (even to the Victorians). Omitted were the letters that referred to business transactions (literary and personal), legal matters, and financial affairs.⁴⁶ Letters containing such references were not considered suitable (or in good taste) and therefore did not appear in print. During Victorian times no one would have cared to have read letters dealing with such matters. They also would not have been considered good literary examples of the great Alexander Pope. Therefore, they were omitted from volumes of correspondence published during Victorian times. The letter to Caryll is an example of an omitted letter.

Sherburn, wishing to present all aspects of Pope's life, including business and financial, found it necessary to comb through private letter collections, eighteenth century publications, legal records, and libraries in order to find as many of Pope's letters (no matter what they dealt with) as he could. This required months and years of patient search,

⁴⁵ Sherburn, Vol. I, xiv.

⁴⁶ Sherburn, Vol. I, pp. xxv-xxx.

CASTRATIONS made by the EDITOR
of Mr. POPE's Letters to HENRY
CROMWELL, Esq;

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE not heard these two Months
from Mr. Wycherley, tho' I have writ-
ten to him twice. I am since told he
has been ill, which I am very much con-
cerned for, and fear is the Occasion of his
Silence since his last Letters, which were
the kindest in the World. If you happen
at your Return to find him in Town, it
will be very obliging to let me know of it;
in the mean time a Letter from you, will
make me the best Amends for my Soli-
tude. *

* This Postscript of Mr. Pope's, to his Letter to Mr. Crom-
well of Aug. 29, 1739, is omitted. See Vol. I.



Ex-

EXTRACT from Mr. POPE's Letter
to Mr. CROMWELL, of Dec. 21,
1711.

I AM at this Instant plac'd betwixt two
such Ladies, that in good Faith 'tis
all I'm able to do to keep myself in my
Skin. He! Monsieur Cromwell! Entendez
vous bien. And now (since you find what
a blessed Disposition I am in)

Tell me, by all the melting Joys of Love,
By the warm Transports and intrancing Lan-
guors;
By the soft Fannings of the waisting Sheets,
By the dear Tremblings of the Bed of Bliss,
By all these tender Adjurations tell me,
Am I not fit to write a Tragedy?

And would not these Lines sound admi-
rably in the Mouth of Wilks, especially if
he humour'd each Period with his Leg, and
stamp'd with just Alacrity at the Cadences? *

* These Passages are likewise omitted. See Vol. I.
VOL. II. PART II. I AN

A N

*Epistle to Henry Cromwell, Esq; ***Dear Mr. Cromwell,*

May it please ye!

Sit still a Moment; pray be easy—
 Faith 'tis not five; no Play's begun;
 No Game at *Ombre* lost or won.
 Read something of a different Nature,
 Than *Evening Post*, or *Observer*;
 And pardon me a little Fooling,
 — Just while your Coffee stands a Cooling.

Since your Acquaintance with one *Brocas*†,
 Who needs will back the Muses Cock-horse,
 I know you dread all those who write,
 And both with Mouth and Hand recite;
 Who flow, and leisurely rehearse,
 As loath t' enrich you with their Verse;

* The Author's Age 19.

† Commonly call'd *Beau Brocas*.

Just,

to Henry Cromwell, Esq; 137

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*;
 You see how well I can contrive a
 INTERPOLATIO FURTIVA)
 To *Brucas* Lays no more you listen
 Than to the wicked Works of *Whiston*;
 In vain he strains to reach your Ear,
 With what it wisely, will not hear:
 You bless the Powers who made that Organ
 Deaf to the Voice of such a *Gorgon*,
 (For so one sure may call that Head,
 Which does not *Look*, but *Read Men dead*.)

I hope, you think me none of those
 Who shew their Parts, as *Pentlow* * does;
 I but lug out to one or two,
 Such Friends, if such there are, as You,
 Such, who read *Heinsius* and *Masson*,
 And as you please to pass their Doom,
 (Who are to Me both *Smith* and *Johnson*)†
 So seize them Flames, or take them *Tonson*.||

* A Gamester remarkable for his Vitile Parts, which he us'd
 to be fond of Shewing.

† Bays's two Friends in the Rehearsal.

|| His PASTORALS.

I 2

But.

But, Sir, from *Brocas, Fowler, Me,*
 In vain you think to 'scape Rhyme-free,
 When was it known one Bard did follow
 Whig Maxims, and abjure *Apollo*?
 Sooner shall Major-General cease
 To talk of War, and live in Peace
 Yourself for Goose reject Crow Quill,
 And for plain *Spanish*, quit *Brasil*;
 Sooner shall *Rowe* lampoon the Union,
Tyldcombe take Oaths on the Communion;
 The *Granvilles* write their Name plain
Greenfield,
 Nay, Mr. *Wycherley* see *Binfield*.

I'm told, you think to take a Step, some
 Ten Miles from Town, to a Place call'd *Ep-*
son,
 To treat those Nymphs like yours of *Drury*,
 With—I protest, and I'll assure ye;
 But tho' from Flame to Flame you wander,
 Beware; your Heart's no *Salamander*!
 But burnt so long, may soon turn Tinder,
 And so be fir'd by any Cinder—
 (Wench, I'd have said, did Rhyme not hin-
 der.)

Shou'd

Shou'd it so prove, yet who'd admire?
 'Tis known, a Cook-maid roasted *Prior*,
Lardella fir'd a famous Author,
 And for a Butcher's well-fed Daughter
 Great *Dennis* roar'd, like Ox at Slaughter.

(Now, if you're weary of my Style,
 Take out your Box of right *Brasil*,
 First lay this Paper under, then,
 Snuff just three Times, and read again.)

I had to see you some Intent,
 But for a curst Impediment,
 Which spoils full many a good Design,
 That is to say, the *Want of Coin*.
 For which, I had resolv'd almost,
 To raise *Tiberius Gracchus*' Ghost;
 To get, by once more murd'ring *Caius*,
 As much as did *Septimuleius*;
 But who so dear will buy the Lead,
 That lies within a Poet's Head,
 As that which in the Hero's Pate
 Deserv'd of Gold an equal Weight?

* One of Mr. Prior's Doctrines of that Vocation.

I 3

Sir.

Sir, you're so stiff in your Opinion,
 I wish you do not turn *Socinian*;
 Or prove Reviver of a Schism,
 By modern Wits call'd *Quixotism*.
 What mov'd you, pray, without compelling,
 Like *Trojan* true, to draw for *Helen*:
 Quarrel with *Dryden* for a Strumpet,
 (For so she was, as e'er show'd Rump, yet
 Tho' I confess, she had much Grace,
 Especially about the Face.)
Virgil, when call'd *Phaëdra* *Virgo*
 (You say) he'd more good Breeding; *Ergo*—
 Well argu'd, Faith! Your Point you urge
 As home, as ever did *Panurge*:
 And one may say of *Dryden* too,
 (As once you said of *you know of who*)
 He had some Fancy, and cou'd write;
 Was very learn'd, but not polite——
 However from my Soul I judge
 He ne'er (good Man) bore *Helen* Grudge,
 But lov'd her full as well, it may be,
 As e'er he did *his own dear Lady*.
 You have no Cause to take Offence, Sir,
 Z—ds, you're as sour as *Cato Censor*!

* Mr. Dryden married Lady Elizabeth Howard.

to Henry Cromwell, Esq;

Ten times more like him, I profess,
 Than I'm like *Aristophanes*.

To end with News—the best I know,
 Is, I've been well a Week, or so.
 The Season of *Green Pease* is fled,
 And *Artichokes* reign in their Stead.
 Th' Allies to bomb *Toulon* prepare:
 G—d save the pretty Ladies there!
 One of our *Dogs* is dead and gone,
 And I, unhappy! left alone,

If you have any Consolation
 T' administer on this Occasion,
 Send it, I pray, by the next Post,
 Before my Sorrow be quite lost.

The *twelfth* or *thirteenth* Day of *July*,
 But which, I cannot tell you truly.

A. P O P E.

* 1707.

In the first half of this year the Popes removed to Chiswick, where social engagements made translation more difficult than it had been at Binfield. Pope's friendship—one might almost call it a passion—for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu became more expressive when in the summer she and Mr. Wortley departed for Constantinople, and the famous correspondence between her and Pope began. Pope's second volume of *Homer* duly appeared in March, but apart from *Homer* the publication of things by him was furtive and unhappy. Curll for bringing out the *Court Poems*, unauthorized, was given a vomit, and Pope's pamphlets on this episode began a war with Curll that was to plague the rest of his career. A burlesque of the Tate and Brady version of the First Psalm had to be disowned, hypocritically, and not infrequent attacks on his writing or on his religion gave him uneasy moments. A new correspondence with Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, led later to political complications when the bishop was exiled for treason in 1723. Because of the invasion of '15 all Catholic estates seemed now in jeopardy.

POPE to CARYLL

10 January [1715/16]

Add. 28618

I received some time past your most welcome and friendly letter. It is a true apology I make for not having sooner acknowledged it, that I really intended to have complied with your kind invitation, and made a venturesome trip in the winter to Ladyholt. You see sufficiently the cause that prevents that satisfaction, whenever you look out of your windows, or put your nose out of doors.¹ I very much wish the season had not exerted its severity before I had arrived among you: for I could pardon any of its inclemencies, tho' never so lasting, when they furnish me with a good pretence of staying with you. I sincerely long to enjoy a few more agreeable hours in that conversation I have so often delighted in; with those persons I have so long esteem'd, and in that frankness, ease, and good humour which is hereditary to your family. It is my hearty wish Heaven may continue all those blessings you all deserve, and nothing interrupt the intercourse of so many virtues as you can employ towards each other.

As for myself, who am a single, unconcerned, and independent creature in the world, who have no interests at my heart but those of mankind, a general good will to all men of good will, I shall be content

¹ From late December to February of 1715/16 the winter was extremely cold—perhaps the worst winter of Pope's time. The Thames was frozen over, streets of booths were laid out, and coaches could drive about on the ice.

to wear away a life of no importance in any safe obscurity. The old conceits of fame, and idle pleasures of poetry are seriously over with me, and I think of nothing but entire indolence, resignation, or something between both, which I want a name for. I am really a greater philosopher than I have the vanity to describe to you; and perhaps a better Christian than is consistent with Christian humility to pretend to be.

I have made several offers of visiting Lady Swinburne,¹ but herself and her friends [are] somewhat delicate as to my waiting upon her in the place where she now is. I have given them to understand, however, how desirous I should be of any occasion of testifying for her that benevolence and regard, which both her own merit, misfortune, and, added to those, your friendship for her, challenge from me. The Mapledurham ladies (if they be any longer called so, since their brother makes so much haste to an alienation of his affections another way) are not so unfortunate in particular, but sensible enough (I can assure you) to be very much so in partaking the afflictions of others: Their behaviour is generous and exemplary on this occasion. I question whether, the time considered, their sorrows are not more seasonable than their brother's loves?—To answer your remaining Queries, Mr Plowden's book² is in my custody, Gay's poem³ just on the brink of the press, to which we have had the interest to procure him subscriptions of a guinea a book, to a pretty tolerable number. I believe it may be worth 150 ll to him in the whole.

I beg the whole family of Ladyholt to be assured at all times of my most faithful services: And yourself to believe no man can continue with more ardor than I, Your most affectionate, obliged | Friend, and humble servant | A: P:

London Jan: 10th

†SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to POPE 19 January 1715/16
1735

Jan. 19, 1715/16.

I should be asham'd of my long idleness, in not acknowledging your kind advice about *Becks*, and your most ingenious explanation of it, relating to Popular tumults; which I own to be very useful: And yet give me leave to tell you, that I keep my self to a shorter receipt of the same *Pythagoras*, which is *Silence*; and this I shall observe, if not

¹ Lady Swinburne, sister of Mrs. Lister Blount and hence aunt of Teresa and Martha, was now in trouble because of the implication of her husband (Sir William) and his brothers in the Jacobite uprisings. Sir William died 17 Apr. 1716.—Edwin.

² His copy of the *Iliad*, vol. 1?

³ Gay's *Trivia* was published on 26 Jan. In addition to subscription money Lintot paid him £43 for the copyright. See EC vii. 460 n.

reams of correspondence, and numerous trips. Sherburn acknowledged the people and the libraries who helped him in the introduction to volume one of the correspondence. The following two pages of reproduction show Sherburn's symbols that he used in identifying letter types. Also given are the sources of autographed letters.

When Sherburn felt he had found all the Pope correspondence available, he then began the long and tedious task of putting these letters in chronological order, all the while checking for fakes and re-touched letters. Every letter contained in the correspondence was checked by the date, the events mentioned therein, the recipient, and the other copies (if there were any) of that letter.⁴⁷ Sherburn hoped there would be a Harleian copy or an original by which he could check his copy. After this, if a letter still appeared doubtful, Sherburn checked the style. Pope had a particular style he often followed. As with each of us, he had his own way of crossing t's, connecting letters, and abbreviating.

If the letter checked out style-wise, but there was some discrepancy in the date or the recipient, Sherburn had to then assume that the letter was a Pope-retouched letter with no original existing, or that Pope had been absent-minded about the date, event, or recipient. In Curll's 1735 edition Pope had transferred Caryll's letters to Addison, Wycherly, etc.⁴⁸ Sherburn had no way of being sure that every "retouched" letter had been found by Victorian's Dilke, Elwin, and

⁴⁷ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xxv.

⁴⁸ Sherburn, Vol. I, pp. ix, xiv.
Curll, Vol. III, pp. xiv-xv.
Curll, Vol. II, p. xiii.

HEADINGS OF LETTERS

At the left margin at the beginning of each letter are given the names of the correspondents involved; on the same line at the right margin is given *the editor's* date for the letter, taken from the end of the letter, or from the superscription, or from a postmark, or from the editor's cogitations. At times this editorial date contradicts the holograph date or the date of an earlier editor—in which case footnotes offer explanations. Under the names of the correspondents at the left appears an abbreviated statement of the provenance of the letter. The texts are drawn either from manuscripts or from printed books or periodicals. By manuscripts one means Pope's original autograph letters or transcripts made by his contemporaries. If a transcript is the source, that fact is stated. If the statement of provenance begins with a date (e.g. 1735, 1741, 1941, &c.), that arrangement indicates a printed source, the author or editor of the book being named, unless the editor is Pope himself. In the case of letters reprinted from the editions of Pope's *Works* in the nineteenth century (Bowles, Roscoe, Elwin—Courthope) or letters that come from printed periodicals, the date, if given, occurs after the title of the work, not before. Prefixed at times to the names of correspondents in the headings will appear one of the following symbols: an asterisk (*) for a letter not hitherto included in an edition of Pope's collected letters; a dagger (†) for a letter that rests only upon the authority of Pope's editions; a double dagger (‡) for a letter suspected as a conflation or a fabrication by Pope; and two vertically parallel lines (||) for a letter published by Pope but now available in a more authentic source than his editions.

Since many of these provenances are given in an abbreviated form, it is advisable to print here a list of provenances, which may also constitute grateful acknowledgements to the institutions and the owners who have consented to aid this edition.

PROVENANCES

1. Sources of Autograph Letters

INSTITUTIONS have furnished manuscripts of letters as follows: The Bath Municipal Reference Library (2), the Bibliothèque Nationale (1), The Bodleian Library (29), The Boston (Mass.) Public Library (1), The British Museum (553), The Buffalo Public Library (1), The Amos G. Carter Foundation (1), The University of Chicago (1), Christ Church (Oxford) (1), The William Andrews Clark Library (3), The Fitzwilliam Museum (1), The Folger Shakespeare Library (1), Hartlebury Castle (1), Harvard University (62), Haverford College (1), The Huntington Library (17), McGill University (1),

Maine Historical Society (1), Massachusetts Historical Society (1), The National Library of Scotland (3), The New England Historical and Genealogical Society (4 transcripts), The New York Public Library (7), The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (6), The Pierpont Morgan Library (93), Princeton University (1), The Public Record Office (London) (1 transcript), The Royal College of Surgeons of England (13), The John Rylands Library (1), The University of Texas (1), Trinity College (Cambridge) (1), Trinity College (Dublin) (4), Ushaw College (8), The Victoria and Albert Museum (5), The Wellcome Historical Medical Library (1), Wellesley College (2), The Wisbech Museum (1), Yale University (16).

FAMILY ARCHIVES have furnished letters as follows: Alnwick (1), Althorp (2), Blenheim (19), Blickling Hall (2), Chatsworth (68), Cirencester Park (12), Craster Tower (1), Hagley (9), Longleat (247), Mapledurham (57), Nuncham Courtenay (16), Panshanger (1), Rousham (15), Sandon Hall (1), Welbeck-Portland (on deposit in the British Museum) (5).

PRIVATE OWNERS AND DEALERS have furnished letters as follows: Roger W. Barrett (1), the late J. M. Berdan (1), The Bordoni Collection (1), Lady Charnwood (1), Dawson's Bookshop (1), Lieut.-Col. F. D. E. Fremantle (1), Professor R. H. Griffith (1), Professor F. W. Hilles (2), F. J. Hogan (1), The Marseille Holloway Collection (1), Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. (60), The Hyde Collection (7), Maggs Bros. (3), A. Merivale (1), the late E. H. W. Meyerstein (1), Dr. Eric G. Millar (1), Sir John Murray (17), James M. Osborn (3), Parke-Bernet Galleries (1), Dr. Dallas Pratt (1), Lord Rothschild (2), Earl Stanhope (1), C. A. Stonehill (1), Robert H. Taylor (3), Professor C. B. Tinker (6), H. B. Vander Poel (1), Gabriel Wells (1).

2. Printed Sources of Texts¹

1720 Aaron Hill, Preface to *Creation* (1); 1723 The Duke of Buckingham's *Works* (1); 1726 Curll's *Miscellanea* (1: the rhyming epistle to Cromwell); 1729 *The Dunciad* (1); 1729 John Dennis, *Remarks on . . . The Dunciad* (2); 1729 *The Posthumous Works of Wycherley*, vol. ii [edited by Pope] (19); 1732 *Of False Fame* (1: the prefatory epistle); 1735a *Letters of Mr. Pope* (121); 1735b *Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence*, vol. ii (1); 1735c *Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence*, vol. iii (1); 1735 *Narrative of the Method by which Mr. Pope's Letters have been Published* (10); 1735 *A General Dictionary* [in the life of Atterbury] (1); 1736c (1); 1737a Roberts octavos (46); 1737b (18); 1739a (2); 1740 [the clandestine volume]

¹ In this list it will be understood that the figures in parentheses after the titles of books do not represent the total number of Pope letters printed in the respective books, but only the number of letters reprinted in this edition (for want of a better source) from these books.

(55); 1741 Da (1); 1741 La (7); 1743 *The Dunciad* (1); 1745 William Ayre, *Life of Pope* (2); 1745 Dodsley's *Miscellanies* by Dr. Swift, vol. x (3); 1746 Swift's *Works* [Faulkner ed.], end of vol. viii (1); 1751 Aaron Hill, *A Collection of Letters* (36); 1752 Orrery's *Remarks* (3); 1753 Aaron Hill's *Works* (21); 1760 Aaron Hill, *Dramatic Works* (2); 1762 Goldsmith, *Life of Beau Nash* (1); 1763 *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (8); 1765 Deane Swift [ed.], *Works of Jonathan Swift*, vol. xvi (3); 1767 *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. iv (2); 1768 Deane Swift [ed.], *Works of Jonathan Swift* (5); 1769 Judith Cowper, *Letters to a Lady* (1); 1769 Ruffhead, *Life of Pope* (4); 1770 Goldsmith, *Life of Parnell* (2); 1772 Duncombe [ed.], *Letters of Several Eminent Persons Deceased* (6); 1776 *Additions to the Works of Pope* (2); 1783 Nichols [ed.], *Atterbury's Correspondence* (1); 1788 Hurd [ed.], *Warburton's Works* (1); 1791 Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (1); 1797 Holliday, *Life of Mansfield* (1); 1797 Polwhele, *History of Devonshire*, vol. i (31); 1797 Warton [ed.], *Pope's Works* (3); 1803 Nichols [ed.], *Swift's Works*, vol. xviii (1); 1804 *Brookiana* [Henry Brooke] (3); 1806 Bowles [ed.], *Pope's Works* (22); 1817 Warner, *Original Letters* (8); 1820 Spence, *Anecdotes* (2); 1824 Roscoe [ed.], *Pope's Works* (6); 1824 *Letters to and from the Countess of Suffolk* (1); 1831 Rose [ed.], *Marchmont Papers* (4); 1833 Thomas Thorpe, *Catalogue* (1); 1857 Carruthers, *Life of Pope* (3); 1861 Mrs. Delany, *Autobiography* (1); 1869-1913 Sotheby Sale Catalogues (12); 1870-89 Elwin and Courthope [eds.], *Pope's Works* (186); 1870 John Weller, *Catalogue* (1); 1880 Lord Clermont, *History of the Fortescue Family* (1); 1885 Hist. MSS. Comm., Report x (2); 1886 *The Autographic Mirror* (1); 1913 Ball [ed.], *Swift's Correspondence* (1); 1923 W. H. Arnold, *Ventures in Book Collecting* (1); 1925 Francis Edwards, *Catalogue* (1); 1931 T. J. Wise, *A Pope Library* (1); 1935 D. Nichol Smith [ed.], *Letters of Swift to Ford* (1); 1941 R. Blanchard [ed.], *Steele's Correspondence* (1).

Of the letters necessarily taken from the Elwin-Courthope edition 121 come from the Broome papers, available for Elwin's work but since lost—temporarily, it is to be hoped. Among others 20 should come from a volume of the 5th Earl of Orrery's papers, crucial in the history of the publication of the Swift letters, which is also now lost. The other principal groups of letters known only in the Elwin-Courthope edition are 10 to Lord Bathurst and 13 to Jonathan Richardson.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS have furnished printed texts as follows: *The Athenaeum*, 17 May 1884 (3); *The Daily Post-Boy*, 22 December 1731 (1); *The European Magazine* 1791, 1792 (2); *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 26 July 1735 (1); *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1787 (1); for 1831 (3 to T. Dancastle); for 1835 (1); for 1836 (5 to the

Tonsons); and for 1855 (11, of which 9 are to Charles Bathurst)—a total of 21; *The Quarterly Review* for 1875 (1); *The St. James's Chronicle*, 13 and 27 July 1776 (2); *The St. James's Evening Post*, 12 July 1735 (1); *The Scots Magazine* for 1784 (1); *The Universal Magazine* for 1808 (2).

Out of over 2,100 letters 735 are taken from printed sources. Of this group something like 280 come from Pope's own printings. It must be remembered, again, that in the listings here given the numbers in parentheses do not indicate the number of letters found in a given place but only the number reproduced in this edition from the indicated source. Naturally, where possible, the text of autograph letters or of early transcripts has been preferred to a printed text.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHORITIES CITED

The works here listed are at times cited in footnotes simply by the last name of the author (with at times a brief title) or by an abbreviated title.¹

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 EC. See Elwin.
 ELWIN, WHITWELL, and W. J. COURTHOPE (eds.). *The Works of Alexander Pope*. 10 v., 1871-89. (Cited either as EC or as Elwin.)
A General Dictionary Historical and Critical (based on the *Dictionnaire* of Pierre Bayle) by J. P. Bernard, T. Birch, J. Lockman, et al. 10 v., 1734-41.
Gent. Mag.: The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-.

¹ For explanation of the abbreviations used in the headings of letters to indicate provenance, the preceding list of provenances is to be consulted.

Courthrope.⁴⁹ If there is a discrepancy in the letter, Sherburn makes note of this fact at the bottom of the page in italics.⁵⁰ There was also some confusion over letter dates due to the change of the calendar during that century.

The following two letters are examples of discrepancies and date confusion in Pope's letters. The letter to Richardson is an example of a letter with no original. The one to Harley shows the old style and confusion of date.

Sherburn's greatest problem was what to do with the undated letters - and there were many of these among the business-type letter. Sherburn tried to match the events mentioned therein with events known to have happened on a certain date, or with another letter that mentions such events. This was a time-consuming task. The letters that could be assigned no set date were inserted in an appropriate (Sherburn's idea of) place.⁵¹ Why did Sherburn do this? Sherburn was attempting to present the most complete picture of Pope, the man and his career, that had ever been done. He was interested in showing Pope, his life, and his works by his letters.⁵² This is why Sherburn wanted all the letters available. In actuality, the correspondence is a biographical picture of Pope, presented by his correspondence.⁵³ This is why Sherburn spent

⁴⁹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xxv.

⁵¹ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xxv.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xxv.

newly ingraven, to set down the Name of your Grace. When I did this, your Grace was at *Bath*, and I forgot ever since to tell you of it, 'till now, when the Book's coming out, put me in Mind of it.

If you can excuse this Fault, I sincerely think I shall not err this Way again, 'till such another great Man as *Bononcini* arises, (for whenever that happens, I doubt not the *English* will use him as scurvily) but that your Grace needs not apprehend, during our Lives. I am, with the sincerest Respect, | Madam, | Your Grace's most Obliged, | Most Obedient Servant, | A. Pope.

ATT'ERBURY to POPE¹

[1722?]

Longleat Portland Papers, xiii (1 Harleian transcript)

Bromly Wedn. night

I can give no Judgment in the affair recommended to me by the inclos'd, having no clear remembrance of those Writings, tho' I once read them over with Attention enough. Only in general I think, that if that which is entirely new be in it self Good, it should come on first,² because it will please most; and then the Credit of that will carry off the other—which perhaps has less to recommend it; the Dutchesses Judgment in that case being right, I think, that the Approbation given to it thus alter'd, will center in the Original Author, and will derive no Credit to what is to succeed it. But I speak at Random. I think of being in Town on Mond or Tuesd. Even. next—I hope, by Munday and to stay one or two days there. If it suits with your Convenience to come to Town, I should be glad to have the Affair of the Inscription over. | I am always yours | F. R.

POPE to JONATHAN RICHARDSON³ 6 February [1721/2?]

Elwin-Courthope, ix. 492

Twitnam, Feb. 6.

I write this to desire a thing of you which I mentioned when last I saw you, but I believe may be forgot, that you will tell your friend

¹ More than one letter dating apparently in the first half of 1722—before Atterbury's arrest—concerns Pope's difficulties with the Duke of Buckingham's *Works*, published in Jan. 1722/3. This letter might fall in the latter part of 1721; see Pope to Tonson, 3 Sept. [1721].

² That which 'came on first' was not a new piece but the Duke's poem 'The Temple of Death', first printed in 1695.

³ The original of this letter has not been traced. The letter contains perhaps Pope's first mention of the famous surgeon William Cheselden (1658–1752), who from about this time became a close, lifelong friend. He was especially helpful about the edition of Shakespeare, and attended Pope in his last illness, quoting, according to the earliest Spence MSS., the line from *Hamlet* and applying it to Pope's dying condition: 'sweet bells jangled and out of tune'. In the printed editions of Spence's *Anecdotes* the quotation is ascribed to Holingbrooke.

Mr. Chiseldon, I shall be obliged to him if he will put upon a paper those conjectures of some passages of Shakespeare which he mentioned to Dr. Arhuthnot, or any others that may have occurred to him. The edition of that author being reprinted, and from all hands (especially from a man of his good will and abilities) information or elucidation being welcome to me. Pray send me these as soon as you can, even before I see you, though I will do that as soon as I can. Your affectionate friend and faithful servant.

POPE to LORD HARLEY¹

6 February 1721/2

Longleat Portland Papers, xii

Twitnam, Feb. 6. | 1721.

My Lord,—I was so entirely taken up with the honour you did me the last time, when I so abruptly broke upon your Lordship at dinner, that I quite forgot a Commission I have long had from the Duchess of Buckingham, & which your long Absence from the town has hindered my obeying till now. She layd her commands upon me to put into your hands the Duke's Tragedies, which she has kept from all eyes beside, & depends on your Lordship's honour you will not show to any one. I can't but think her Grace judges right, in keeping any thing from the common View, till it is publish'd, having myself often known Instances of the best, as well as worst, pieces, suffering by it.

If your Lordship will pardon my not asking your leave to send them sooner, I shall reap the benefit of my neglect, in coming myself to bring them to you next week.

I beg leave to lay hold of the opportunity this gives me, of expressing, (tho in never so short a manner, yet in a very sincere one) how truly I am | My Lord | Your most obedient | & most faithfull humble Servant | A. Pope

I entreat your Lordship to give me your permission, as the only Title I have, to name myself my Lady Harriet Harley's most humble Servant.

†POPE to ATT'ERBURY²8 February 1721/2¹

1737

Feb. 8, 1721–2.

My Lord,—It's so long since I had the pleasure of an hour with your Lordship, that I should begin to think myself no longer *Amicus*

¹ That the year date is given in Old Style is clear from the fact that the Duke of Buckingham did not die until 24 Feb. 1720/1. The tragedies were published in the *Works* (1723). Edward, Lord Harley, succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Oxford in 1724.

² The text is from the first printing in the Roberts octavo (1737a). The letter appeared in all Pope's octavos, 1737–42, but was omitted from the quarto and folio of 1737.

so much time and effort on his job. He says that he wanted to present the most complete view of Pope available for the benefit of students, and scholars, and the public. Before, one had to be satisfied with an "abridged" Pope. How could one get a complete view of the man if one could not see him in all aspects of his life? He most certainly had to transact business affairs. The polished or "retouched" letters were not Pope. The original letters were. The "real" man was revealed in the unaware moments - the moments when he was not presenting his best side for public view. Sherburn felt that all "valid" letters presented in the best chronological order possible would present the whole man - not the "toad", the brilliant scholar, the friend-lover, or the enemy. One must combine both faults and virtues to see a man completely. Pope is no exception.

It is therefore important to remember that if one is interested in seeing a "complete" view of Alexander Pope, Sherburn's work is by far the best one for student and scholar. One can either search the four volumes by year, or one may use the fifth - the index volume - and sort out by year all letters belonging to a certain person or persons.

One should feel deeply indebted to Sherburn for these five volumes. These volumes are useful in finding out not only information concerning Pope, but also on other personalities, events, and period details. Before Sherburn's Volumes, one would had to have sorted out facts much as Sherburn did. It would have required much time studying volumes that were not in chronological order.

Again, Sherburn's greatest difficulties lay in the searching, sorting, and cataloguing of Pope's letters. It required him to become

an authority on 18th Century letter styles, Pope's letter styles, events of Pope's lifetime, personalities of the 18th Century, friends (and enemies) of Pope, literary events, known revised Pope letters, and letters considered to be forgeries. After Sherburn became familiar with all of these he had to put the letters he chose in a chronological working order - one that was as accurate as possible. If a letter could not be placed, it was inserted at an appropriate place in order to keep the picture of Pope's life complete.

The literary and academic world should feel deeply indebted to George Sherburn for this tremendous achievement. After spending eight months examining the correspondence of Pope and Swift and examining two of Curll's volumes (lent by the University of Illinois from their private Sherburn collection), I am impressed by Sherburn's results. In eight and some months I have not even begun to do more than examine the sources and the volumes of Sherburn. Pope and Swift's Correspondence alone consists of ten volumes. In reading the entirety of these (some more than once), I realized that Sherburn must have faced, and done, a tedious job.

As stated previously, Sherburn added letters to the ones that had previously been considered standard to Pope volumes. He increased the volume of letters by approximately one-third (using those of Elwin and Courthrope).⁵⁴ His greatest contribution was to put Pope's letters in chronological order, thus presenting a clearer picture of Alexander Pope for all the literary world to see.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Sherburn, Vol. I, p. xxv.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

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