

### III. Criticism and Politics

Although the bulk of the New Rehearsal is devoted to an examination of the works of Rowe, the space devoted to the Rape of the Lock gives it importance as an early criticism of Pope, criticism which immediately plunges us into the relationship of literature and politics in the last year of the reign of Queen Anne. This relationship is revealed much more by considering Pope than Rowe. Rowe had a record of party loyalty which enabled him to run with the Whig hounds and to associate also with the Binfield hare. But Pope was in the most critical year of his career in 1714 insofar as politics affected his relations with his contemporaries. The New Rehearsal and Gildon's Memoirs of the Life of William Wycherley (1718) plunge us into this quarrel with Pope and the controversies--personal then and scholarly now--over the "Atticus" lines.<sup>1</sup> Gildon by 1714 was one of "Curll's hacks:" he had done the supplementary volume to Rowe's edition of Shakespeare for Curll in 1710, and by 1714, if we are to believe Curll, Gildon had embarked on an

1. The "Atticus" lines controversy is most adequately covered by George Sherburn, The Early Career of Alexander Pope, Oxford: University Press, 1934, pp.114-148; Arthur E. Case, "Pope, Addison and the 'Atticus' Lines," MP, XXXIII (1935), 187-193; and Norman Ault, New Light on Pope, London: Methuen, 1939, pp.101-127. The account in The Elwin-Courthope Works, III, 231-237, has been rendered obsolete by much subsequent research and especially by Professor Sherburn's discovery of Gildon's Memoirs of the Life of William Wycherley in 1922 (Times Literary Supplement, May 11, p.308).

attack on Mrs. Manley called The History of Rivella.<sup>2</sup> Gildon had always been an opportunist--he could not afford to be anything else--and mere opportunism might suffice to explain Gildon's 1714 attack on Pope. At least by 1709 Pope's plan for translating the Iliad, which eventually provoked Whig retaliation, was afoot, with Addison's well-wishing if we can believe Pope's 1715 "Preface" and the letters from Addison he printed in 1737. Swift himself solicited subscriptions for the Homer. Pope signed the agreement with Lintot, the printer, on March 23, 1714.<sup>3</sup> Gildon's New Rehearsal appeared April 3,<sup>4</sup> better timed, even, than his attack on Defoe. Other attacks followed: John Hughes' four days later. In May Pope's Proposals for a Translation of Homer was republished, and we know that by June 8 "Book I" was completed.<sup>5</sup> Gildon was therefore the first of the pamphleteers to attack Pope. The New Rehearsal, under the title Remarks on Mr. Rowe's Tragedy of the Lady Jane, was reissued on May 14, 1715,<sup>6</sup> and a second edition is announced in the Weekly Packet for July 2.

Pope is presented in the New Rehearsal as Savny

2. Ralph Straus, The Unspeakable Curll, London: Chapman and Hall, 1927, p.44.

3. Sherburn, Early Career, p.219; Ault, p.103.

4. Post-man, April 1-3, advertised as published "this day." Ault's date (p.103) is the 6th, from the Evening Post.

5. Ault, p.104.

6. Ibid., p.116. From the Post-boy.

Dapper, a young poet who has recently soared to fame because of a knack of easy versifying and a mind inventive of novelty. The name "Sawny" is a form of "Sandy," an abbreviation of "Alexander."<sup>7</sup> In later times at least it was frequently used as a deprecating term for any native of Scotland, but in the first decades of the 18th century it had comic and lower class connotations rather than Scottish ones. John Lacy's comic adaptation of The Taming of the Shrew, entitled Sauny the Scot, was first played in 1667 but was issued in a number of editions after 1698. In the play Petruchio's servant becomes the leading character. That the choice of name in Gildon's dialogue was generally considered to be of a nature which would annoy Pope is evident from later satirical works in which Pope is called "Sawny." In 1728 one Ralph James published Sawney, an Heroic Poem, occasion'd by the Dunciad, together with a Critique on that Poem, address'd to Mr. T---d, Mr. M--r, Mr. Eu--n, etc.<sup>8</sup> In 1742 appeared Sawney and Colley, a Poetical Dialogue: occasion'd by a late Letter from the Laureate of St. James's, to the Homer of Twickenham. Something in the Manner of Dr. Swift.<sup>9</sup>

Sawny will have nothing to do with the rules of art and scorns critics.<sup>10</sup> He is, on the other hand, a critic

7. English Dialect Dictionary, ed. Joseph Wright, London, 1898-1905.

8. London, Printed and Sold by J. Roberts...1728.

9. London, Printed for J. H..... 1742 .

10. Pp.56-57.

himself, but he always praises whatever he reviews. He has reviewed Jane Shore with so much flattery that Freeman, who represents honest inquiry in the piece, thought that the review was written by the bookseller (Lintot, who is mentioned by name). Sawny will at first only admit to being "a small Dabler in Helicon" but very soon is admitting that he has gotten to "the front part of the Sons of Parnassus."<sup>11</sup> He is frank about his rise to fame:

True. I find, Sir, then, that there is a great deal of Art, as well as good Fortune, in attaining to the Honour of a Wit, or Poetic Author.

Dap. Oh! Sir, the greatest Art in the World; for, Sir, if you trust to mere Merit, you'll never be taken Notice of by the Town.<sup>12</sup>

Dapper then explains his rise to fame: "Novelty, Sir; why, Sir, it is Wit."<sup>13</sup> Gildon, who is inclined to credit novelty with being a large part of the success of many plays and other literary productions of his age, had long been an enemy of it, but Pope's brilliance and rapid rise undoubtedly seemed almost like a personal affront to the rules which Gildon cherished. Dapper is quite explicit in his formula for fame:

Dap. Why, Sir, you must know for getting a Reputation for Poetry, there are some Qualifications absolutely necessary, as a happy knack at Rhime, and a flowing Versification;

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11. P.56.

12. P.57.

13. Ibid.

but that is so common now that very few do want it; then you must chuse some odd out of way Subject, some Trifle or Other that you'd surprize the Common Reader that any thing cou'd be written upon it, as a Fan, a Lock of Hair, or the Like.<sup>14</sup>

Even Boileau's Le Lutrin and Garth's Dispensary, novel in their days, are outmoded now. Dapper proposes to substitute the "Heroical-Comical way of Writing."<sup>15</sup> Besides novelty, bawdiness is an essential element in a successful literary work:

Dap... you must make the ladies speak Bawdy, no matter whether they are Women of Honour or not; and then you must dedicate your Poem to the Ladies themselves.<sup>16</sup>

Dapper then goes on to explain how a friend of his has worked some bawdy lines into his poem "with admirable Address" and quotes the concluding lines to Canto IV of the Rape of the Lock. This criticism of Pope is taken up by Dennis in Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer<sup>17</sup> (1717) and has been scored in Gildon's favor by modern scholars.<sup>18</sup> The machinery of the Rape of the Lock also comes under attack.<sup>19</sup> Not content merely to attack Pope's poetry, Gildon must also comment on his social status, his learning, and his honesty. Savny's exposition on the art of

14. P. 59.

15. P. 60.

16. Ibid.

17. Hooker, II, 130.

18. See Richmond P. Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1932, p. 76.

19. P. 61.



Sir Indolent, you don't know half the Arts  
of getting a Reputation in this town for  
Learning and Poetry.<sup>22</sup>

Finally Gildon attacks a work of Pope's which exists only in rumor. With the criticism of Jane Shore Dapper makes the following speech: "You must know, Sir, that the name of Jane is now grown very Dramatic, and he's Writing a Play of the Lady Jane Gray. The Protestant Poet writes a Play on a popish Whore, and the Popish Poet is to write one on the Protestant Queen."<sup>23</sup> Pope refers to this briefly in the "Testimonies of Authors" prefixed to the Dunciad.<sup>24</sup> Gildon had apparently misunderstood some rumor concerning Pope's writing a prologue for Rowe's play and imagined that Pope himself was writing the play.

Possibly the most important material in the New Rehearsal is the material about the shaping up of the rival camps at this critical moment:

Dap.....You must know that there are two parties of WITS, and two or three men at the Head of them. Now I first fixt myself on the good Nature and easy Temper (by my Application) of the Men of real Merit, they cry'd me up, recommended me to the Town, and the Town took their Words, and so I set up for my self; for you must know, they can't so easily destroy a Man's Reputation, as make it; then I gave my Approbation of the Works of the Heads of the other Party, that is of those who have Vogue and no Merit; by this means I gain'd all their Friends, and bring those I approve, to a sort of Dependence upon me.<sup>25</sup>

22. Pp. 58-59.

23. P. 64.

24. Twickenham Ed., V, 45.

25. P. 62.

The whole question of whether Addison paid Gildon to attack Pope and, if so, which attack was paid for we shall come to shortly, but of the crystallization of the literary groups along political lines about this time there can be no doubt. Mr. William Henry Irving sums up the situation as follows:

Gay and Pope were drifting away from one party and into the arms of the other. Pope, who knew both Arbuthnot and Swift well by the end of 1712, was willing to praise Granville and the Tories in Windsor Forest in March, 1713. Somewhat earlier (January 15), Gay also in Rural Sports had pleasant words for the government and for Queen Anne, "who binds the Tyrant War in chains." Pope's letter to Gay of October 23, 1713, shows that the two friends had a special literary scheme ready for exploitation, and that for collaboration they had approached not Addison and Steele, but Swift and Parnell. Neither of them was genuinely interested in politics, but Pope was eager for literary reputation, and Swift's enthusiastic support of the Homer project (October 1713) won him completely.<sup>26</sup>

Gildon suggests that the party lines are firmly drawn and by implication that Pope and Addison are already in rival camps in 1714. He is apparently the first writer to do this.<sup>27</sup> Gildon's close and accurate analysis of the political situation does not, however, without other evidence, make him a creature of the Whigs.

The second of Gildon's two substantial attacks on Pope, provided that Gildon had no part in the True Character of Mr. Pope (1716), is delivered in 1718 in the Memoirs of

26. John Gay, Favorite of the Wits, Durham: Duke University Press, 1940, pp. 92-93.

27. Sherburn, Early Career, op.cit., p. 129.



the Life of William Wycherley. Gildon describes his first acquaintance with Pope in such fashion as to show himself an intimate of Wycherley and Pope as an interloper:

About this time there came to Town, and to Will's, one Pope, a little diminutive Creature, who had got a sort of Knack in Smooth Versification, and with it was for setting up as a Wit and Poet. But unknown as he was, furnish'd with a very good Assurance, and a Plausible, at least Cringing Way of Insinuation, first got acquainted with that Ingenious Gentleman and excellent Critick Mr. Walsh, who was pleas'd to bear with his Impertinence, and suffer his Company sometimes to divert himself either with his Figure or forward Ignorance. For a Man of Wit may find an agreeable diversion in the Company of a pretending Fool sometimes, provided that the Interviews are short and selcme. But this gave this young Poetester an Opinion of himself, and that he must have something extraordinary in him to be admitted to such a Conversation, not considering that Men of established Reputation, and Men of established Fortune and Power are always haunted by those who have neither themselves, in hope to gain them by their Assiduity and Address.

From this Acquaintance he advanced to that of Mr. Wycherley, then disgusted with the Wits; him he follows, attends and cringes in all places, and at all times, and makes his Courtly Reflections on such as he found not very much in his good graces.

I remember I was once to wait on Mr. Wycherley, and found in his Chamber this little Aesopic sort of an Animal in his own bropt Hair, and dress agreeable to the Forest he came from. I confess the Gentleman was very silent all my stay there, and scarce utter'd three Words on any Subject we talk'd of, nor cou'd I guess at what sort of Creature he was, and shou'd indeed have guessed all the Pretences of Mankind round before I shou'd have imagined him a Wit and Poet. I thought indeed he might be some Tenant's Son of his, who might make his court for continuance in his Lease on 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.

Not long after this I found a Copy of Mr. Wycherley's Verses to him, on his Pastorals, which happened to please some of the Town, his young Gentleman's Vanity of being Author of them destroy'd his other Vanity of being purus'd by so considerable a person, for he was pleas'd to cwn, that he writ them himself tho' in his own Praise.<sup>28</sup>

That Pope's enmity to Gildon outlasted Gildon's lifetime is not surprising after this.

In considering Gildon's relationship to Pope and Addison we can fortunately ignore here the broader problems of the "Atticus" lines as they involve Pope's character, but it would be useful to know, for Gildon's career as well as Pope's, whether Addison actually paid Gildon to attack Pope and which one of Gildon's attacks Spence refers to in his now famous anecdote. The passage reads as follows:

Gildon wrote a thing about Wycherley, in which he had abused both me and my relations very grossly. --- Lord Warwick himself told me, one day, "that it was in vain for me to endeavor to be well with Mr. Addison; that his jealous temper would never admit of a settled friendship between us; and to convince me of what he had said, assured me that Addison had encouraged Gildon to publish those scandals, and had given him ten guineas after they were published." The next day, while I was heated with what I had heard, I wrote a letter to Mr. Addison.... I then subjoined the first sketch of what has been called my satire on Addison. --- He used me very civilly ever after; and never

did me any injustice, that I know of, from that time to his death, which was about three years after.<sup>29</sup>

To this Spence adds his note assuring us on Dr. Trappe's word (the word of a witness) that many people had seen the verses in Addison's lifetime. From British Museum Edgerton MS. 1960 Mr. Norman Ault makes a significant change in the first six words of this passage. It should read: "Gildon wrote a thing (about Wycherley?)...."<sup>30</sup> This in many ways simplifies the problem as it makes it conjectural on Spence's part (or on Pope's) as to which of the attacks of Gildon Pope was referring. The evidence that Pope did write the lines before Addison's death comes from varied and apparently unprejudiced sources though Elwin-Courthope grudgingly contend<sup>31</sup> that merely because he wrote the lines does not mean that they were sent to Addison.

The position of modern scholars on in what book Gildon (1) abused Pope's relations and (2) received money from Addison is as follows: Professor Sherburn as early as 1922 had discovered an edition of the Life of Wycherley (hitherto regarded by some as mythical) and proposed it as the offender though recognizing the difficulties involved.<sup>32</sup>

29. Joseph Spence, Anecdotes, ed. Samuel Weller Singer, London, 1858, pp.148-149.

30. Ault, op.cit., p.112; see also Case, op.cit., p.189.

31. III, 233.

32. Sherburn, Times Literary Supplement, op.cit.

If Pope wrote the "Atticus" lines in 1716, he must have forgotten that an earlier book of Gildon's, not the Wycherley, was the offender. But if this is true, he could not have been "well used" by Addison for three years. Or Pope could have written the lines after the publication of the Wycherley and have sent them (if at all) to Addison immediately before Addison's death.<sup>33</sup>

Of these two explanations Sherburn prefers the first and would put the lines about 1715.<sup>34</sup> Sherburn then suggested, in reviewing an article by Ault which forms the basis for Ault's later somewhat amplified discussion of this matter, that the lines must come after May 1718.<sup>35</sup> More recently, Professor Sherburn has been inclined to accept the theory of Case that Pope thought that Gildon was the author of A True Character of Mr. Pope (1716). Mr. Ault summarizes quite adequately Case's theory in developing his own<sup>36</sup> (and Sherburn adds no new evidence to Case's theory). Pope at different times thought that different people wrote A True Character of Mr. Pope. Ault finds manuscript evidence in Pope's own copy of the book that he believed at one time that Dennis had written it. Pope also credits Gildon and Dennis jointly with it and Gildon

33. Sherburn, Early Career, op.cit., p.148.

34. Ibid., pp.146-147.

35. Ibid., p.148. Mr. Ault's article is "Pope and Addison," RES, XVII(1941), 428-451.

36. Ault, New Light on Pope, op.cit., p.114ff.

alone in another place.<sup>37</sup> The pamphlet was published May 31, 1716.<sup>38</sup> If Pope's warning letter to Addison were sent after this, it is difficult to reconcile with Addison's praise of Pope's Homer in early May and the statements of others that the quarrel with Pope had been dropped. Mr. Ault says:

It is incredible that Addison, arbiter of morals and pattern of propriety for so long, should have extended a conciliatory hand to Pope on May 7, and then later in the same month paid Gildon (if the pamphlet is his) to publish that furious abuse of him; and quite as unlikely that Pope should have written complaining of Addison's hostile attitude to his Iliad weeks after the older man had at last begun to publicly to write in its praise.<sup>39</sup>

Mr. Ault suggests the New Rehearsal as the logical work. The ascription of A True Character<sup>40</sup> to Gildon does not convince Mr. Hooker, the editor of Dennis, who believes it to be by Dennis.<sup>41</sup> But quoted in A True Character is another "character" which is vilely abusive. This, says Dennis<sup>42</sup> (if he is the author), is from "another hand." Dennis' own part in this work is abusive enough. Mr. Hooker is also convinced that Dennis is probably telling the truth when he says, in Remarks upon the Dunciad<sup>43</sup>

37. In the Dunciad, see below

38. Flying Post, cited by Ault, op.cit., p.115.

39. Ault, op.cit., p.115.

40. Hooker, II, 103-108.

41. Ibid., II, 458.

42. Ibid., II, 374.

43. Ibid.

(1729), that he never wrote anything in collaboration with Gildon, and his ascription of A True Character to Dennis carries with it the weight of his monumental edition.

There remains Mr. Ault's suggestion that the New Rehearsal is the book in question. Ault finds the date appropriate and the mention of Wycherley important evidence. It does not abuse Pope's relations, however, except as indicated above. The treatment of Pope's family is much more abusive in the Wycherley. Mr. Ault reasons, as does Sherburn, that Pope telescoped the attacks in his mind and that Spence perhaps did not record too accurately what Pope said. A time lapse of twenty years would certainly be sufficient to make Gildon's various pieces of abuse coagulate into one hard lump in Pope's gullet.

Pope himself mentions the New Rehearsal in A Full and True Account of a Horrid and Earbarous Revenge by Poison on the Body of Mr. Edmund Curll (1716). Curll is here pictured as confessing as he imagines himself dying from the emetic administered to him by his enemies in a glass of sack: "I protest I have no animosity to Mr. Rowe, having printed part of his Callipoedia, and an incorrect Edition of his Poems without his leave, in Quarto. Mr. Gildon's Rehearsal; or Bays the Younger, did more harm to me than to Mr. Rowe: though upon the Faith of an Honest Man, I paid him double

for abusing both him and Mr. Pope."<sup>44</sup> If Pope thought that Addison had paid Gildon to write the New Rehearsal, why does he make Curll the guilty party here? Various reasons suggest themselves: possibly Pope had warned Addison with the "Atticus" lines already or perhaps he did not wish to openly quarrel with Addison. There is no equivocation, however, in assigning the blame to Curll and Gildon. Pope could have, had he wished to hint at what he thought was Addison's role, pictured Gildon as one of Curll's hirelings and allowed the specific attribution of the New Rehearsal to be vague.

Gildon in 1719 thought or hoped that he had some claim on Addison. In a letter dated February 12, 1718/19<sup>45</sup> Gildon conscientiously attempts to please Addison by apologizing for something (presumably a literary work or literary theory) and at the same time wonders whether Addison has received his New Year's gift. He then pictures himself as being unjustly accused of the vilest crimes and flatters himself that Mr. Addison has not believed any of these rumors. He has sent, he mentions, three copies of his Cases in Latin. Blindness is now overtaking Gildon, and the letter has been written by his amanuensis. There is certainly nothing specific in the letter to indicate that as a member of the Addison "party" he ought to be taken

<sup>44</sup>. Pope, Prose Works, ed. Norman Ault, Oxford: University Press, 1936, I, 263.

<sup>45</sup>. B. M. Edgerton MS. 1971, f.33.

care of. Gildon's political sympathies were Whiggish, and it is more natural that he should write to a Whig leader than a Tory, and, of course, the Whigs were in power. So the evidence of the letter must be inconclusive.

It is much more likely that after the New Rehearsal appeared Gildon was rewarded for a quick, successful attack which was not paid for in advance. We remember that with the History of the Athenian Society the reward came afterwards in the form of praise from the group and that apparently Gildon worked on his own. If Gildon were rewarded for the New Rehearsal, the slightest distortion of the facts would give Lord Warwick ample grounds for the story which so enraged Pope. Ault would date the phrase "venal pen" in connection with Gildon a little before the end of March 1716, when Pope's Full and True Account (on Curl) was published.<sup>46</sup>

It now remains to follow up Pope's quarrel with Gildon. Pope pursued him beyond the grave but did little to attack during his lifetime, doubtless thinking him beyond contempt. In the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot Gildon is linked with Addison. Pope apparently retouched his satirical portrait of Addison. Mr. Ault printed the Welbeck Abbey version for the first time in 1941.<sup>47</sup> It "preserves what is probably the oldest surviving text, if not actually

46. Ault, New Light on Pope, op.cit., p.117.

47. RES, XVII(1941), 429, and New Light on Pope, op.cit., p.101.



'the first sketch' sent to Addison."<sup>48</sup> The lines to Gildon are as follows:

If meaner Gildon draws his Venal Quill,  
I wish the Man a Dinner, and Stand still:  
If Dennis rails and raves in furious Pet,  
I'll answer Dennis when he's out of Debt.  
'Tis Hunger and not Malice makes them Print;  
And who'd wage War with Bedlam or the Mint?<sup>49</sup>

Then Pope begins his long attack on "the Turk" Addison.

Pope made many small changes in these lines: the version in Cythereia (1723) reads:

If Dennis writes and rails in furious Pet,  
I'll answer Dennis when I am in debt;  
If meagre Gildon draws his meaner quill,  
I wish the man a dinner and sit still.<sup>50</sup>

Then Pope goes on to Addison. In the version among the Longleat papers (circulated in manuscript before 1724) we have:

If meagre Gildon draws his venal quill,  
I wish the man a dinner, and sit still,  
If D----s rhymes and raves in furious fret,  
I'll answer D----s when I am in debt.  
Hunger not malice makes such authors print,  
And who'll wage war with Bedlam or the Mint?<sup>51</sup>

Finally in Curll's Miscellany (1727) we have: "If meaner Gildon draws his venal quill."<sup>52</sup>

In the Feri Bathous, or The Art of Sinking in Poetry (1727) Pope has much to say on Gildon. In 1720 Gildon and Dennis instigated a plan for the advancement of the stage,

48. Ibid., p.119.

49. Ibid., p.101.

50. Elwin-Courthope, III, 536.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., p.253.

and Pope parodies this here.<sup>53</sup> The parody is mildly amusing. Dennis and Gildon are referred to as the "two greatest critics and reformers then living."<sup>54</sup> Elsewhere in the Peri Bathous, in the chapter "Of the Several Kinds of Genius's in the Profund, and the Marks and Characters of Each,"<sup>55</sup> a roll is taken of all the writers that Pope has ever disliked. Gildon is in this literary zoo twice, along with Dennis, Lord Hervey, Theobald, Eusden, Colley Cibber, Ward, D'Urfey, Welsted, Motteux, Ambrose Phillips, Oldmixon, and others. George Stepney, Aaron Hill and Gildon are classed as "The Flying Fishes: These are writers who now and then rise upon their fins, and fly out of the profund; but their wings are soon dry, and they drop down to the bottom."<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere Dennis, Gildon and Oldmixon are given rougher treatment as "porpoises."

The porpoises are unwieldy and big; they put all their numbers in a great turmoil and tempest, but whenever they appear in plain light (which is seldom) they are only shapeless and ugly monsters.<sup>57</sup>

The mass slaughter of the Peri Bathous is crude compared with the Dunciad, where Gildon receives individual attention. In the "Letter to the Publisher" Pope paraphrases part of the New Rehearsal. Here Gildon is made to

53. Ibid., X, 405-409.

54. Ibid., p.406.

55. Ibid., pp.360-362.

56. Ibid., X, 361.

57. Ibid., p.326.

complain that it is considered ill-natured to attack the pretenders to poetry and Pope intends it as an ironical critical authority for his most lavish attack.<sup>58</sup> In the "Testimonies of Authors" Pope gets more specific:

Mr. CHARLES GILDON, after having violently attacked him in many pieces, at last came to wish from his heart, "That Mr. Pope would be prevailed upon to give us Ovid's Epistles by his hand, for it is certain we see the original of Sappho to Pheacn with much more life and likeness in his version, than in that of Sir Car. Scrope. And this (he adds) is the more to be wished, because in the English tongue we have scarce anything truly and naturally written upon love." He also, in taxing Sir Richard Blackmore for his heterodox opinions of Homer, challengeth him to answer what Mr. Pope hath said in his Preface to that poet.<sup>59</sup>

Pope has dug this grudging compliment out of the Laws of Poetry. Two pages further on, Pope attacks Dennis and Gildon together:

Mr. DENNIS and Mr. GILDON, in the most furious of all their works (the forecited Character, p. 5.) do in concert confess, "That some men of good understanding value him for his rhymes." And (p. 17.) "That he has got, like Mr. Bays in the Rehearsal, (That is, like Mr. Dryden) a notable knack at rhyming, and writing smooth verse."<sup>60</sup>

The words "in concert" in the above were to provoke Dennis

58. Twickenham Ed., V, 20-21.

59. Ibid., p.10.

60. Ibid., pp.42-43.

considerably. Pope appends a note:

Hear how Mr. Dennis has proved our mistake in this place; "As to my writing in concert with Mr. Gildon, I declare upon the honour and word of a gentleman, that I never write so much as one line in concert with any one man whatsoever. And these two Letters from M. Gildon will plainly shew that we are not writers in concert with each other.

Sir,

The height of my Ambition is to please Men of the best Judgment; and finding that I have entertained my Master agreeably, I have the extent of the Reward of my Labour.

Sir,

I had not the opportunity of hearing of your excellent Pamphlet 'till this day. I am infinitely satisfied and pleased with it, and hope you will meet with that encouragement your admirable performance deserves, &c.

CH. GILDON.

"Now is it not plain, that any one who sends such compliments to another, has not been used to write in authorship with him to whom he sends them?" Dennis, Rem. on the Dunc. p50. Mr. Dennis is welcome therefore to take this piece to himself.<sup>61</sup>

Pope cleverly alters the True Character to suit his purposes. The original reads:

His Villainy is but the natural Effect of his want of Understanding, as the sourness of Vinegar proceeds from its want of Spirit; and yet, says My Friend, notwithstanding that Shave and that Mind of his, some Men of good Understanding, value him for his Rhimes, as they would be fond of an Assainero, that could sing his part in a Catch, or of a Baboon that could whistle Walsingham.<sup>62</sup>

61. Ibid.

62. Hooker, II, 103.

This is, it may be noted, in the "character" within the Character and may not be Dennis's. That Pope was confused about the authorship of A True Character amused his enemies, though it would not have amused Gildon had he been the author. Curll declares in the first edition of his Key to the Dunciad (1728) that Gildon wrote the work; but in the following year in the Curliad he twice asserts that the work was Dennis's alone.<sup>63</sup> Dennis himself modified slightly his statement that he had never written anything in "concert" with Gildon. A New Project for the Regulation of the Stage is attributed to "Mr. D--nis and Mr. G--don" in an advertisement in the Daily Post, February 5, 1720. Professor Sutherland thinks that this may have been a satiric attack and not the work of the two critics, but Dennis qualified his own statement adding "that was afterwards printed."<sup>64</sup>

Gildon gets small notice in the verse, but a good deal in the notes, in Pope's first mention of him in the

Dunciad Variorum:

Know, Settle, cloy'd with custard and with praise,  
Is gathered to the Dull of ancient Days,  
Safe, where no criticks damn, no duns molest,  
Where Gildon, Banks, and high-born Howard rests.<sup>65</sup>

Eusden substitutes for Settle in the other version of the

63. The Curliad. A Hypercritic upon the Dunciad Variorum, London, 1729, pp.3, 7.

64. Twickenham Ed., V, 197.

65. Ibid., p.92.

Dunciad:

Know, Eusden thirsts no more for sack or praise;  
He sleeps among the dull of ancient days;  
Safe, where no Critics damn, no duns molest,  
Where wretched Withers, Ward, and Gildon rest.<sup>66</sup>

Pope's note to the Variorum carries the brunt of his attack on Gildon:

Charles Gildon, a writer of criticisms and libels of the last age; He published Blount's blasphemous books against the Divinity of Christ, the Oracles of Reason, &c. He signalized himself as a Critic, having written some very bad plays; abused Mr. P. very scandalously in an anonymous Pamphlet of the Life of Mr. Wycherley printed by Curl, in another called the New Rehearsal printed in 1714, in a third entitled the Compleat Art of English Poetry, in 2 Volumes, and others.<sup>67</sup>

Further along, in Book III, Pope returns to the attack with a keen appreciation of Dennis's resentment of being associated in print with Gildon:

Ah Dennis! Gildon ah! what ill-starr'd rage  
Divides a friendship, long confirmed by age?  
Blockheads with reason wicked wits abhor,  
But fool with fool is barb'rous civil war.  
Embrace, embrace my Sons! be foes no more!  
Nor glad vile Poets with true Criticks' gore.<sup>68</sup>

(The change in this in Dunciad "B" is negligible.) Sutherland assumes that this refers to a real quarrel between Dennis and Gildon of which we know nothing. He gives Farmer as a source for the theory that Dennis and Gildon quarreled over Shakespeare's learning, Gildon believing that he was learned and Dennis holding the opposite view. Sutherland

66. Ibid., p.291

67. Ibid., p.92.

68. Ibid., pp.167-168.

is presumably referring to the footnote Farmer appends to a reference to Gildon in the third edition of his An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare.<sup>69</sup> "One of the most vehement asserters of the learning of Shakespeare, was the Editor of his Poems, the well-known Mr. Gildon." The note reads:

Hence perhaps the ill-star'd rage between this Critick and his elder Brother, John Dennis, so pathetically lamented in the Dunciad. Whilst the former was persuaded that "the man who doubts the learning of Shakespeare, hath none of his own:" the latter, above regarding the attack in his private capacity, declares with great patriotick vehemence, that "he who allows Shakespeare had Learning, and a familiar acquaintance with the Ancients, ought to be looked upon as a detractor from the Glory of Great Britain." Dennis was expelled from his College for attempting to stab a man in the dark; Pope would have been glad of this anecdote.

Farmer generally has no great opinion of Gildon's criticism. The work of Dennis's which is Farmer's source is probably his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare<sup>70</sup> (1712). But this would seem a fine point for Dennis and Gildon to quarrel over, as Gildon's praise of Shakespeare's learning is not unqualified. More likely Pope is referring to angry refutation of Gildon by Dennis of their having written "in concert." No matter how friendly he was with Gildon, Dennis would not have liked

69. London, 1789, p.6.

70. Hooker, II, 14.

to be put on Gildon's level, as Pope insinuates he is. But this does not indicate that a real quarrel had occurred between the Master and the 'Prentice. Gildon's willingness to retract for Dennis is evident.

Perhaps best in his letters, where his guard is down, do we feel Pope's scorn and indignation of Gildon unrelieved by wit. By 1709 Gildon had mortally offended Pope:

...the love of some things rewards itself, as of virtue and Mr. Wycherley.... My concern for his friendship will excuse me (since I know you honour him so much, and you know I love him above all men), if I vent a part of my uneasiness to you, and tell you, there has not been wanting one (who is in every way a scoundrel, but that he had the luck to be born a gentleman), that has more than once insinuated malicious untruths of me to Mr. Wycherley, which I fear may have had some effect upon him. If so, he will have a greater punishment for his credulity than I could wish him, in that fellow's acquaintance. The loss of a faithful creature is something, though of never so contemptible a one; and if I were to change my dog for such a man as the aforesaid, I should think my dog undervalued, which follows me about as constantly here in the country, as I was used to do Mr. Wycherley in the town.<sup>71</sup>

Now I talk of my dog...<sup>71</sup>

Curll, in 1726, conjectured that this was a reference to Gildon. It is possible that Gildon and Pope did compete, as it were, for Wycherley's favor and that Gildon resented Pope's victory here. Pope could not have been exactly the "Aesopic sort of creature" Gildon describes him as because

<sup>71</sup> Elwin-Courthope, VI, 86-87.



he very quickly found friends who appreciated his merits almost as soon as they developed.<sup>72</sup> Yet the short, rough hair and the country awkwardness are attested to by Spence and hinted at by others, like Wogan who boasted that he had introduced Pope to the town. Gildon could not have estranged Pope and Wycherley much.<sup>73</sup> If the coolness between Wycherley and Pope in 1710 had been caused by Gildon's nefarious activities, Wycherley and Pope were friendly again a few years later, and there seems to be no connection between the difficulties of their later friendship and Gildon.

In 1716 we find Swift consoling Pope: "And who are these enemies you hint at? I can only think of Curll, Gildon, Squire Burnet, Blackmore, and a few others, whose names I have forgot. Fools, in my opinion, are as necessary for a good writer as pen, ink, and paper."<sup>74</sup> Swift goes on to say that a "bookselling rogue" is "better qualified to vex an author" than a writer. Then follows a long attack on Curll and jibes at his condition in life generally, with an appreciative reference to the emetic. In October 1725 Pope wrote to Swift (a year after Gildon's death): "My name is as bad a one as yours, and hated by all bad poets, from Hopkins and Sternhold to Gildon and

72. Sherrburn, op.cit., pp.46-47.

73. Ibid., p.63.

74. The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. F. Eirington Ball, London: Bell, 1910-1914, II, 328-329.

cibber."<sup>75</sup> The following month, from Dublin, Swift gives Pope some sound advice: "Take care the bad poets do not outwit you, as they have served the good ones in every age, whom they have provoked to transmit their names to posterity. Maevius is as well known as Virgil, and Gildon will be as well known as you, if his name gets into your verses: and as to the difference between good and bad fame, it is a perfect trifle."<sup>76</sup> Pope's letter of December 14 is in the tone of the Full and True Account on Curll's lamentable experience:

For praise is like ambergris; a little unexpected whiff of it, such as I meet with in your letter, is the most agreeable thing in the world, but when a whole lump of it is thrust to your nose it is a stink, and strikes you down...all scribblers should be passed by in silence. To vindicate oneself against such nasty slanders, is much as wise as it was in your countryman, when the people imputed a stink to him, to prove the contrary by showing his backside. So let Gildon and Philips rest in peace! What Virgil had to do with Maevius, that he should wear him upon his sleeve to all eternity, I do not know, but I think a bright author should put an end to slanders as the sun does to stinks--by shining out and exhale them to nothing.<sup>77</sup>

A further cause for animosity between Gildon and Pope was Gildon's part in the general conspiracy against Pope's Pastorals. Whether this dates back to the 1712-14 period

75. Twickenham Ed., IV, 215.

76. Swift, Correspondence, III, 293.

77. Ibid., p.65.

is not evident from Gildon's work. Ambrose Philips was condemned by the opposition (in the Spectator) and by Welsted and Ticknell among others.<sup>78</sup> In the Complete Art of Poetry (1718) Gildon commends Ambrose Philips highly for his pastorals: "This sort of poem has been the Bow, in which most of young Dablers in Rhime have try'd their Strength; but alas! not one besides Mr. Philips has hit the Mark; and if you compare him with the very best of France and Italy, you will easily perceive how much he has excelled them. I dare not set him on a foot with Virgil, it would look too much like Flattery...."<sup>79</sup> Pope quotes from this long passage with scorn in the notes to the Dunciad and from a similarly flattering passage concerning Blackmore. Even in 1718 the Pastorals were a large portion of Pope's poetic output, excluding the Homer.

Gildon fires some shots at Pope in his later works. In 1719 he returns to the battle with a letter contained in the Post-Man Robb'd of his Mail. Letter XV, "On little Sawny the Poet," advises that every day the wrong people are praised and that one should not envy Pope "so transitory a Satisfaction as the Publick Applause, which is but of a Day."<sup>80</sup> Gildon assumes a spurious kindness towards

78. Sherburn, op.cit., p.118.

79. I, 157.

80. Sig. N6v.

the rising young poet: "Sawny is a young Man, and has a great deal of Time before him to improve his Learning and Judgment, in which his greatest Defect lies. He seems not to want Fancy, but that Fancy wants Regulation. He is perhaps too ignorant of the Rules of Art, and has given us a great deal of Stuff that will not stand the Test of a good Judge...."<sup>81</sup> Gildon implies that this has happened to other poets and that Sawny may grow out of it:

Let Sawny therefore alone, let him go on, and if he never give us a good Poem, why then he will vanish like a Flash in the Pan, and ne'er be thought on more: If he does ever give us a good Poem, why then we ought to forgive him all his bad ones...

.....  
Sawny (assum'd the Chevalier) began at the wrong End, in writing Rules for others e're he understood the Rules of Art himself; that is the Task of Judgment, and Years. The Athenians (said the Baron) never suffer'd a Poet to bring a Play on the Stage till he was past Thirty; and, I think, that it wou'd be better if our young Fry were deny'd the Press till that Age at least. The advice of Horace (said I) shou'd be remember'd by them, Nonum pre-matur in Annum, and that wou'd save us a World of that Crambo that 'tis filled with.<sup>82</sup>

We may note that despite the malice in Gildon's attack he is using a critical principle which he believed in and had dwelt on at length before. Of course, "young Fry" is highly deprecating.

81. Ibid.

82. Sig. N4v-5r.

Without some new documentary evidence, any additional insight into the relations between Pope, Addison, Gildon and Rowe must come from a more exhaustive study of the probabilities of any given situation occurring at any particular moment in literary history. The events of 1714 especially are complicated. Literary and political alliances changed almost daily. The literary groups at Button's and Will's and the Whigs and the Tories are much too general categories to be very useful. Some of the older Whigs did not move to Button's; nearly all of the participants in the bitter literary quarrels of 1714 and 1715 claimed to be Whigs in spirit (including Pope and Swift). And there were the independents: Dennis did not frequent Button's although an ardent Whig and found himself scorned and attacked by the group at Button's; Rowe, also a violent Whig, numbered Pope rather than Addison among his good friends. What Gildon planned to achieve in the way of political and literary friends and enemies with the New Rehearsal can only be determined by examining the trends in the half decade before April 1714 and by examining closely the literary scene in the months immediately preceding the publication of the work. Part of the answer to whether or not Addison inspired the attack of Pope in the New Rehearsal has to do with whether an attack of such a nature would be likely in March 1714. If Gildon's attack

on Pope and Rowe was partisan or independent can best be conjectured by comparing Gildon's satire with the trend, if any, of partisan writing especially in the early months of the last year of the queen.

The beginnings of the literary war which culminates in 1714-15 go back almost a decade. At least by 1706 Pope's Pastorals (one of the points of attack of the conspiracy at Button's) was on its way to the press with the joint blessing of Walsh and Congreve.<sup>83</sup> Addison was actively engaged in political writing by 1707; the pamphlet The Present State of the War appeared in November.<sup>34</sup> In 1708 Pope was being urged to translate the whole of the Iliad. The "Sarpedon" episode of the Iliad appeared on May 2 of the following year in Tonson's Miscellany. Meanwhile Steele had started the Tatler (on April 19) and in the fourth issue of this attacked a "Great Critic" who fell in fits in the gallery. Professor Hooker conjectures that this is Dennis and that possibly Swift egged Steele on to attack Dennis.<sup>85</sup> In June Steele denied that Dennis was meant.<sup>86</sup> Addison by October was contributing to the Tatler more frequently. At the end of the year Addison was momentarily out of parliament when the election was set aside, but came back as M.P. for

83. Sherburn, *op.cit.*, p.55.

34. *REB*, s.v. "Addison."

85. Hooker, II, 442.

86. Tatler No. 29, June 16; Hooker, II, 441.

Malmesbury through the influence of Wharton.<sup>87</sup> Addison thus, by the beginning of 1710, was an active and important literary figure engaged in politics and already branded a staunch Whig. Gildon had been arrested for Whig politics. Pope said that he had written Windsor Forest by 1710 and possibly he had conceived of a Tory poem on the peace.<sup>88</sup> This does not mean, of course, that Pope was a Tory in sympathies; indeed, it is difficult to find Pope on either side in sympathies at any point. He says, once or twice, that he is a Whig if that means he believes in liberty, but whatever other deception there was in Pope's character there is none in his desire to stay out of politics. Swift on October 8 said Addison could have been king if he had wanted to be, a testimony to Addison's charm and also likely an expression of weariness with Addison's politics. On October 12 in the last issue of the Whig Examiner Addison bitterly attacked Harley and St. John. While Swift was not yet actively engaged in the defense, he could not have overlooked these attacks later. His affection for Harley, especially, must have made him antagonistic to Addison. Swift also regarded himself as a friend of Whig authors in the days of the Tories, as we shall see. At the end of 1710 Steele was possibly attacking Dennis again

<sup>87</sup>. Spence, op.cit., p.350; DNB, s.v. "Addison."

<sup>88</sup>. Robert K. Root, "Pope's Contribution to the Lintot Miscellanies of 1712 and 1714," EJH, VII(1940), 271.

in the Tatler.<sup>89</sup>

The year 1711 opened, then, with Dennis in battle with Steele, and with most of the coffee house wits, one imagines, in sympathy with the author of the Tatler and not with the rough and sensitive critic. The Spectator, starting March 1, precipitated Addison into the quarrel with Dennis. Spectator No. 40 (April 16) attacked the theory of poetic justice; Dennis regarded this as a continuation of Steele's attack on him.<sup>90</sup> Spectator No. 47 (April 24) continued the attack; Dennis thought this was also by Steele. In the Essay on Criticism, which appeared May 15, Pope was reckless enough to attack Dennis. Why Pope should have done this at such a tender stage of his career and against so formidable an opponent is not entirely clear. The best explanation seems to be Professor Sherburn's: everybody was doing it. Dennis was the butt of the coffee house wits. Swift, Addison and Steele had all attacked him. Pope must have felt confident with such a group of allies.<sup>91</sup> In June Dennis lashed back; in his Reflections Critical and Satyrical Dennis employed the cudgel.<sup>92</sup> This attack must have further initiated Pope into literary controversy but still could

89. No. 246, November 4; Hooker, II, 441.

90. Hooker, II, 435-436.

91. Sherburn, op.cit., p.91.

92. Hooker, I, 524.



not have fully prepared him for the network of intrigue and jealousy which was to provide the background for the attacks on the Homer later. Pope also found himself in June obliged to defend the Essay on Criticism from charges of deism.<sup>93</sup> In July another letter continued this defence.<sup>94</sup> Also in July Pope got acquainted with Steele and through him, very shortly, with Addison. Steele wrote to Pope on July 26 to ask him if he would write the words for a piece of music.<sup>95</sup> This marked the beginning of a series of letters between Pope and Steele and ultimately Addison. Pope's tone in the early letters is that of a young writer anxious to please the great and successful. In this same month Addison indicated the extent of his political involvement by saying that the change in politics had cost him both money and the loss of a mistress.<sup>96</sup>

As the summer went on, Dennis's financial condition worsened, which must have further shortened his temper. At the beginning of August he was examined by the bankruptcy commission and at the end of the month Granville was taking steps to help him.<sup>97</sup> Dennis's bankruptcy

93. Letter to Caryll, June 18 (Elwin-Courthope, VI, 141-143); Sherburn, op.cit., p.96.

94. Also to Caryll, July 19, Elwin-Courthope, VI, 149-153; Sherburn, op.cit., pp.96-97.

95. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 387.

96. DNB, s.v. "Addison."

97. London Gazette, August 28-30; Hooker, II, 421.

provided a new point of attack for his critics. The early fall found Cromwell visiting Pope at Binfield and presumably quarreling with him (if Cromwell is the old gentleman in the Narrative of Dr. Norris).<sup>98</sup> The autumn found Pope again corresponding with Wycherley and Dennis sending a "Dutch piece" against Pope to the Spectator. This piece has not been identified; it cannot be the True Character because that includes later events.<sup>99</sup> Pope at the end of the year was commended highly in the Spectator for the Essay on Criticism, but also a rising current of praise for Philips's Pastorals began. Philips was praised by Addison in Spectator No. 223 (November 15) and in No. 229 (November 22).<sup>100</sup> He had been praised before, however, in the Tatler.<sup>101</sup> On December 20 Addison reviewed the Essay on Criticism in Spectator No. 253.<sup>102</sup> Pope thought this was by Steele and thanked him in a letter on the 30th. Pope's letter has the tone of a beginner writing to an established man of letters; he is pleased by the praise from a man whom the world respects and he thinks Steele's criticism of his thrusts at the moderns just.<sup>103</sup> Thus 1711 concluded with Pope's moving into intimacy with the

98. Sherburn, op.cit., p.111.

99. Edward N. Hooker, "Pope and Dennis," ELH, VII(1940), 191.

100. Sherburn, op.cit., p.118.

101. No. 10, May 3, 1709; Sherburn, op.cit., p.118.

102. Ault, op.cit., p.109.

103. Elwin-Courthope, VI; 387-389; Ault, op.cit., p.109.

Whig literary group and the war with Dennis continuing. Dennis had published his Essay on Dramatick Poetry on the 8th of the month;<sup>104</sup> in this many old scores were paid. Besides furthering his acquaintance with Steele, Pope had been complimented by Gay.<sup>105</sup>

No new tendencies, but a greater intensity in the same relationships marked the opening of 1712. The war against Dennis continued in the Examiner.<sup>106</sup> Dennis thought this was by Swift. Pope had no reason to believe that politics was an important consideration when he observed the first major literary quarrel in which he was a participant. But party lines were being drawn. The year marked the establishment by Addison of the Whig group at Button's. Though many of the later frequenters of Button's must have continued on at Will's also (as Pope did), the time was to come when politics were to wax hot enough to deny this privilege to all but a few mighty neutrals. Wycherley, Congreve, Garth and Gay naturally stayed on at Will's and also Swift and Arbuthnot.<sup>107</sup> Of these, Congreve was a loyal Whig, and Swift had helped enough Whigs to make an immediate cleavage along party lines not inevitable. Both Whig and Tory were still free to attack Dennis.<sup>108</sup>

104. Hooker, II, 421; advertised in Spectator No. 214, November 6.

105. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 130; Sherburn, op.cit., p.94.

106. January 10. (Hooker, "Pope and Dennis," op.cit., p.196).

107. Sherburn, op.cit., p.115.

108. Hooker, I, 449.

The praise of Philips's Pastorals continued in 1712: Welsted praised Philips in his Remarks on the English Poets and Tickell called him a "second Spenser" in The Prospect of Peace. But it is difficult to determine when this praise of Philips becomes an attack on Pope. We have seen that Philips was commended in Tatler No. 10 (May 3, 1709) and in Spectator No. 223 and No. 229 (November 15 & 22, 1711). On March 26 Spectator No. 336 was added to the list.<sup>109</sup> Less than a week earlier Pope's "Sappho to Phaeon" had appeared in Tonson's Ovid's Epistles.<sup>110</sup> Sometime in April Pope got a helping hand from Gay in the Mohocks, which also continued the war on Dennis.<sup>111</sup> In May Pope's Messiah appeared and he sent it to Steele.<sup>112</sup> Tonson's miscellany, advertised toward the end of the month, contained among other poems of Pope's his Rape of the Lock and Essay on Criticism.<sup>113</sup> In June we find Pope writing a moralizing and philosophizing letter to Steele.<sup>114</sup> In Spectator No. 400 (June 9) Steele commends the pastorals of Philips.<sup>115</sup> Another philosophizing letter passed between Pope and Steele in July<sup>116</sup> and Pope

109. Sherburn, op.cit., p.118.

110. March 18 (Sherburn, op.cit., p.97).

111. Ibid., p.94.

112. Sherburn, op.cit., pp.65-66.

113. Root, op.cit., pp.265, 270.

114. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 391.

115. See Sherburn, op.cit., p.118.

116. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 391-393.

advanced in the literary world: Steele informed him that Addison had written the review of the Essay on Criticism and that he would introduce him to Addison.<sup>117</sup> Possibly it is Pope who in Spectator No. 457 (August 14) is proposing a satire on the works of the unlearned;<sup>118</sup> certainly this was a later project of his. Arbuthnot's Art of Political Lying (also a satire on the works of the unlearned) was in Swift's hands by the 9th of October.<sup>119</sup> On the 23rd Pope wrote to Gay on the subject, saying that Parnell and Swift approved of it.<sup>120</sup> The big event of the fall, however, must have been the chance to meet Addison.

Pope worked hard through November. On the 7th he wrote some comments on the Emperor Adrian's death-bed verses, hoping that Steele would print them in the Spectator, which Steele did, but in such a fashion that Pope wished that he had sounded more modest.<sup>121</sup> The following week, on the 12th, Steele wrote to Pope saying that he had "a design which I shall open a month or two hence" and wanting to know if Pope had leisure.<sup>122</sup> This is generally considered<sup>123</sup> to refer to the opening of the

117. Ault, op.cit., p.109.

118. Sherburn, op.cit., p.66.

119. Ibid., p.75.

120. Elwin-Courthope, VII, 412. Sherburn (op.cit., p.75) changes the date of this to 1712.

121. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 393-394; The Correspondence of Richard Steele, ed. Rae Blanchard, Oxford: University Press, 1941, pp.61-62, 65.

122. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 393-394; Steele, Correspondence, p.63.

123. By Sherburn, for instance, op.cit., p.66.

Guardian (November 12), but Professor Graham suggests Steele's Censorium, his little theatre for poetry and music which he planned to open early in 1713.<sup>124</sup> Pope answered this letter as cryptically as Steele had written it. He said that he would be glad to assist in any design that Steele suggested.<sup>125</sup> He also thanked Steele for his praise of the Temple of Fame, which was sent on the 12th. Also, sometime in the month, a second edition of the Essay on Criticism appeared.<sup>126</sup> Despite bad health, Pope was helping Gay revise the Fan<sup>127</sup> and by the end of the month or the beginning of December was working on Windsor Forest. We must note also that in November Mainwaring died and Addison took over the patronage for the Whig party.<sup>128</sup>

As the year ended, Pope was the most active neutral in London literary politics. He was engaged in helping Steele's literary enterprises and also becoming fast friends with Gay, Swift, and Arbuthnot.<sup>129</sup> Steele wrote on the 4th, asking for a poem on the Emperor Adrian theme.<sup>130</sup> In the valedictory to the Spectator (December 6)

124. Steele, Letters, op.cit., p.63.

125. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 395-396.

126. Root, op.cit., p.5.

127. Sherburn, op.cit., p.75.

128. On November 14 (Sherburn, op.cit., p.64).

129. Ibid., p.71; Irving, op.cit., p.92.

130. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 397; Steele, Correspondence, p.65.

Steele mentions Pope second in a list of helpers (excluding Addison and Budgell).<sup>131</sup> Ironically we find Pope praising Philips's Pastorals in a letter to Cary<sup>132</sup> at about the time praise was also appearing in the Tatler. Despite previous favorable notices of Philips's poems, Sherburn believes that the commendation of Philips that eventually annoyed Pope begins here.<sup>133</sup> As 1712 came to a close, Pope had assumed the role he was to play with less and less success through the following year. He worked with Steele and the Whigs and lived with the Whig painter Jervas at Cleveland Court until October.<sup>134</sup> But in January 1713 the political war intensified to the point that soon there could be no neutrals.<sup>135</sup> Steele's The Crisis appeared about the 19th.<sup>136</sup> Four days earlier Gay's Rural Sports had appeared, inscribed to Pope and praising the government and the queen.<sup>137</sup> Pope's divided role continued. In February, in a letter to Caryll, Pope writes that he has stolen away from Will's to write. He has just read Addison's Cato and tears came to his eyes. He is busy reading the manuscripts of friends and with

131. Sherburn, op.cit., p.66.

132. Ibid., p.117.

133. Ibid., p.118.

134. Ibid., p.104.

135. Ibid., p.66ff.

136. Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele, ed. Rae Blanchard, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1944, p.641.

137. Sherburn, op.cit., p.71.

Mr. Steele's affair. Windsor Forest (a "Tory" poem) was ready for the press.<sup>138</sup> The first number of the Guardian appeared March 12, five days after Windsor Forest.<sup>139</sup> The praise of Lansdowne in this could not have pleased most of the Whigs, as Professor Sherburn indicates.<sup>140</sup> But whether Pope was disaffected or naively trying to be neutral is difficult to determine. Steele, with whom Pope was collaborating, was under violent political attack.<sup>141</sup> But it is barely possible that Pope believed that a literary man could move freely in both parties. Parnell, whom Pope probably met at the Guardian, was flattering St. John at the end of the month.<sup>142</sup>

Heavy artillery fire along the entire battle front came in April. Swift and Steele were at swords' points in the Examiner and Guardian.<sup>143</sup> On the 6th Rambler No. 22, probably by Tickell, had high praise for Philips's Pastorals but no mention of Pope's.<sup>144</sup> This could not

138. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 181-183. Lintot paid £ 32/5/0 for Windsor Forest February 23 (Root, op.cit., p.267; R. H. Griffith, Alexander Pope, a Bibliography, Austin: University of Texas, 1922-1927, No. 9).
139. Windsor Forest appeared on the 7th. (Root, op.cit., p.267; Griffith, loc.cit.).
140. Sherburn, op.cit., p.117.
141. Ibid., p.67.
142. Irving, op.cit., p.95.
143. Sherburn, op.cit., p.67; George A. Aitken, Life of Richard Steele, London, 1889, I, 378; Swift, Poems, ed. Harold Williams, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937, p.197.
144. Sherburn, op.cit., p.118.



have been unmentioned at Button's. A movement, started perhaps in jest and accelerated because of some sensitivity betrayed by Pope on the subject or by the curious spectacle of a political neutral, was by now certainly under way at Button's to praise Philips and attack Pope, first by slighting his Pastorals and later by openly attacking them. A reissue of Windsor Forest came on the 9th.<sup>145</sup> But the literary event of the month was Addison's Cato. The play was performed at Drury Lane on the 14th.<sup>146</sup> Pope was fortunate enough to be the author of the prologue to one of the most successful plays of the year. It was not published until the 27th,<sup>147</sup> but Pope's prologue and Garth's epilogue appeared on the 18th in Guardian No. 33.<sup>148</sup> The political excitement at the opening night has been remarked many times, but it is worthwhile to trace carefully Pope's reactions through the month. Steele had praised Cato in the same issue of the Guardian in which Pope's prologue appeared; Hughes praised Addison's play in a letter to Addison on the 24th.<sup>149</sup> Pope's prologue, of course, was sufficient indication to the world that Pope recommended the play, and he naturally did not write a

145. Griffith, op.cit., No.10.

146. Sherburn, op.cit., p.67.

147. Griffith, op.cit., No.15; Elwin-Courthope, VI, 184n.

148. Griffith, op.cit., No.13; Ault, op.cit., p.133.

149. The Letters of Joseph Addison, ed. Walter Graham, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941, p.276.

criticism of it also. But Pope apparently felt more secure in his literary position; on the very day that Cato was published his witty satire on pastoral poetry appeared in the Guardian.<sup>150</sup> This was said to have so infuriated Philips that he hung up a switch in Button's and vowed that Pope would feel it if he came by.<sup>151</sup> At the end of the month Pope refers contemptuously to the political heat that had greeted the first playing of

Cato:

Cato was not so much the wonder of Rome itself in his days, as he is of Britain in ours; and though all the foolish industry possible has been used to make it a party-play, yet what the author once said of another may be the most properly in the world applied to him on this occasion:--

Envy itself is dumb, in wonder lost,  
And factions strive who shall applaud him most.  
The numerous and violent claps of the whig party on the one side the theatre were echoed back by the Tories on the other, while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern to find their applause proceeded more from the hand than the head. This was the case too of the prologue writer, who was clapped into a stanch whig, sore against his will, at almost every two lines. I believe you have heard that, after all the applause of the opposite faction, my Lord Bolingbroke sent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, between one of the acts, and presented him with fifty guineas, in acknowledgment, as he expressed it, for his defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual dictator. The whigs are unwilling to be distanced this way, as it is said, and

<sup>150</sup>. Sherburn, op.cit., pp.66,-118.

<sup>151</sup>. Ibid.

therefore design a present to the said Cato very sosedily. In the meantime they are getting ready as good a sentence as the former on their side. So, betwixt them, it is probable that Cato, as Dr. Garth expressed it, may have something to live upon after he dies.<sup>152</sup>

He was finding that the neutral is the enemy of both parties and was perhaps becoming known as a Tory. In the letter to Caryll, Pope enclosed an epigram on Cato.<sup>153</sup> Regardless of the nature of this, Addison would not have liked it. He had had Burnet suppress a friendly satire on Cato.<sup>154</sup> The increasing intensity of the political war was made evident, at the end of April, by a number of other things: Mr. Addison turn'd Tory, published after the 27th, attempted to show that if Cato was really a Whig play, it was an attack on Marlborough;<sup>155</sup> the E-aminer, about this time, praised the play but chided Steele for packing the house with Whigs on opening night; and finally, on the 28th, an attempt was made to beat up the Tory journalist Abel Roper.<sup>156</sup> If this attack was by Whigs, it symbolizes the increasing bitterness of the political battle.

May found it increasingly impossible for any man

152. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 7-8, also 183-185; see Sherburn, op.cit., pp.123-124; Hooker, II, 449; Ault, op.cit., pp.133, 136-137.

153. Sherburn, op.cit., p.102.

154. Ibid., p.123-124.

155. Hooker, II, 449.

156. Sherburn, op.cit., p.172.

to be friends both with Steele and with Swift. On the 13th Swift complained bitterly to Addison about Steele's attacks in the Guardian.<sup>157</sup> They split especially over Marlborough. Swift was not averse here, as later, to reminding Whigs that he had befriended them. He practically told Steele that he had kept him in his job.<sup>158</sup> Addison showed the letter to Steele and Steele was quick to reply: "They laugh at you, if they make you believe that your interposition has kept me thus long in my office."<sup>159</sup> Steele is then conciliatory, but firm. He tells Swift he believes he is the hand behind the Examiner. On the 23rd Swift again berated Steele for ingratitude and insisted he was not writing the Examiner.<sup>160</sup> Steele's reply, on the 26th, is in the tone of a man who is offended but will still be reasonable. In substance, he tells Swift that he remembers him in a kindly way but is not afraid of him.<sup>161</sup> At the end of the month, Swift was willing to be conciliatory. He says in a letter of the 27th that he is going to Ireland soon, he reaffirms his innocence in the Examiner attacks, he says he is a Whig, and he reminds Steele that he praised him in print to Oxford a year ago. It is interesting to note that Swift

157. Examiner, May 11.

158. Steele, Correspondence, p.70.

159. Ibid., pp.72-73

160. Ibid., pp.73-76

161. Ibid., pp.76-77.

says that he is so ignorant of the political struggle that he does not know whether the phrase in the Examiner that Addison had "bridled" Steele means that he held Steele back from partisan views or he forced him to them.<sup>162</sup> By the 4th of June the pressure on Steele had become great enough to cause him to resign from his position as Commissioner of Stamp-Revenue.<sup>163</sup> Pope in June continued to contribute satiric pieces to the Guardian. "A Receipt to make an Epic Poem" appeared on the 10th (Guardian No. 78).<sup>164</sup> No. 91 (June 25) gives a sharp picture of a club with boyish rules of behavior.<sup>165</sup> But Pope wrote to Caryll on the 12th that he really was doing little for the Guardian and should not be given credit for writing with Steele. "I scorn narrow souls of all parties; and if I renounce my reason in religious matters, I will never do it in any other affair."<sup>166</sup> Later in the month Pope told Caryll that he agreed with him on the nature of Steele's contributions to the Guardian (this seems to imply that Caryll had criticized Steele's too ardent political views) and he identifies Addison as the author of the paper on D'Urfey, and himself of the "receipt" for

162. Ibid., pp.77-78.

163. Letter to Oxford, Ibid., pp.79-80.

164. Griffith, op.cit., No.17; Sherburn, op.cit., p.66.

165. Griffith, op.cit., No.18.

166. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 185-188.

the epic.<sup>167</sup> We might note also that in June Dennis, to return to an old controversialist, continued his battle. He had on June 9 finished his Remarks on Cato but had virtually decided against publishing them.<sup>168</sup> By the end of the month he had changed his mind and the work was published.<sup>169</sup>

Any publication by Dennis apparently could not now escape comment. Within ten days the advertisements for Dr. Norris, the lunatic keeper, appeared in the Guardian.<sup>170</sup> This may have meant that Steele was in on the Dr. Norris attack on Dennis and was cleverly preparing the stage. Dennis claimed that Pope had asked Lintot to attempt to stir him up to an attack on Cato, but there is no evidence of this, and it would be difficult for Dennis to have found all this out if Pope had. Pope in a letter to Addison, dated the 20th,<sup>171</sup> assumes the position of an ally: he says that he knew the right way to answer Dennis was a little light raillery. This is undoubtedly the Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris, advertised in the Post-boy for July 28.<sup>172</sup> Pope's letter suggests that Pope was trying to pose as a defender of Addison and may also have been

167. Ibid., pp.188-189.

168. Letter to Buckingham, Hooker, II, 447.

169. On July 11 (Hooker, II, 447; Sherburn, op.cit., p.104).

170. July 18 & 20 (Sherburn, p.106).

171. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 398ff.

172. There is a reference in the work itself, however, to July 30th (p.24 Griffith, loc.cit., No.23).

concerned that Addison would not like the nature of the attack. Gay is mentioned as being on Addison's side in this quarrel. But Professor Sherburn is not convinced of the authenticity of the letter and is willing to give Pope credit only for the idea of Dr. Norris. He suggests that Arbuthnot probably supplied the medical details.<sup>173</sup> The paper may well have been hard for Addison to accept; it was not the kind of satire that he would have liked, but Professor Sherburn says that if this were so, it was the only reason that Addison had to dislike Pope during 1713. On his part, Pope advanced somewhat in poetic reputation. The Ode for Musick appeared on the 16th,<sup>174</sup> and on the 23rd Pope received £ 15/5s/0d from Lintot for it.<sup>175</sup>

Early in August we find both Addison and Steele disclaiming any responsibility for being even sympathetic to the Dr. Norris pamphlet. On the 4th Steele wrote to Lintot that Mr. Addison disapproved of the whole thing.<sup>176</sup> Advertisements for Dr. Norris continued to appear in the Guardian, however.<sup>177</sup> All sorts of reasons suggest themselves for Addison's prompt and definite statement to mollify Dennis. As a Whig leader in a critical period

173. Sherburn, op.cit., pp.106, 111.

174. Root, op.cit., p.267.

175. Ibid.: Griffith, op.cit., No.20.

176. Sherburn, op.cit., p.112; Steele, Correspondence, p.82.

177. On the 13th and 14th (Sherburn, op.cit., p.106).

of the party and the nation's history he may have merely wanted to take no chances on Dennis joining the opposition. Also he may not have liked the crudity of Pope's brand of humor. In a letter to Caryll, possibly written on August 15, Pope sneers at both Cromwell and Dennis.<sup>178</sup> On the 20th Rowe wrote to Pope thanking him for a letter and inviting him to come and eat mutton with him tomorrow.<sup>179</sup> It would be useful to know how openly friendly Pope and Rowe were at this time. Certainly they were friends from about this time on.<sup>180</sup>

As an index of Pope's continued attitude of neutrality in politics a newsy letter to Caryll on the 31st may be adduced: Pope comments on the Tatler, mentions Steele's winning the election and hopes that he will get a pension, makes a light reference to the Catalans (a joke Steele would not have appreciated), and mentions Betterton and Swift.<sup>181</sup> In another letter to Caryll (on September 20) Pope reports on the consolidating of his friendship with Rowe. Rowe had visited Pope at Binfield. Pope was, as were many others, impressed with Rowe's vivacity and wit.<sup>182</sup> Pope continued, during September,

178. Elvin-Courthope, VI, 190-191. In the 1735 edition of Pope's Letters this was dated the 14th of December and addressed to Addison.

179. Elvin-Courthope, X, 110.

180. Ault, op.cit., p.130.

181. Elvin-Courthope, VI, 192-194.

182. Ibid., 194-195. In the 1735 edition of Pope's Letters this is addressed to Blount and dated February 10, 1716. See Sherburn, op.cit., p.70.



to contribute to the Guardian. His attractive essay on gardens appeared on the 29th (Guardian No. 173). Steele's Importance of Dunkirk Consider'd appeared about the 22nd,<sup>183</sup> a second edition being announced four days later<sup>184</sup> and a third three days after that.<sup>185</sup> Swift did Steele the honor of a personal attack about a month later: On the Importance of the Guardian Consider'd appeared about the 30th of October.<sup>186</sup> Through October the political battle grew hotter. When Hughes in a letter of the 12th proposed to Addison a successor to the Guardian (which expired on the 1st), Addison was willing only to advise and expressed the wish that Steele's party zeal would not ruin him.<sup>187</sup> Certainly Addison must have seen the coming storm over Steele; one cannot accuse Addison of being over-cautious here. Pope comments on the end of the Guardian and on his role in the Guardian in a letter, unfortunately somewhat dubious, to Caryll, dated the 17th.<sup>188</sup> Pope expresses surprise that everyone knows exactly which pieces he contributed to the periodical. He had told only the publisher. The logical people to noise abroad the news of what Pope wrote, of course, were

183. Guardian No. 167; Steele, Tracts, p.640.

184. Guardian No. 171; Steele, Tracts, p.640.

185. Guardian No. 173; Steele, Tracts, p.640.

186. Steele, Tracts, p.255.

187. Addison, Letters, p.280.

188. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 196-197. Also addressed to Addison and without date in the 1735 edition.

Addison and Steele. It is possible that Pope's somewhat secretive manner annoyed these gentlemen sufficiently to make them deliberately careless in their discussions of the contributions to the paper. Pope then goes on to say that Steele's quarrel with Tonson made him drop the paper and to lament that his association with the paper had made people brand him a Whig. Cromwell, Pope says, thought me the author of the "whim" on Dennis (the Dr. Norris pamphlet). Pope here denies the authorship. Perhaps Pope's shift to the Tories (which must have been made reluctantly and unwillingly) can be dated from the end of October. In a letter to Gay on the 23rd, Pope's idea of a satire on the works of the unlearned is again mentioned and Pope says that Swift approves.<sup>189</sup> If Swift and Parnell were at this point Pope's literary friends, we might make this date mark the beginnings of a break with Addison and Steele and their friends at Button's, but it is also possible that Swift was at this time just more sympathetic to the idea. Steele was by now engaged in political writing of the hottest kind. The Crisis was advertised from the 22nd on. But Addison at the end of the month wrote a very friendly letter to Pope, expressing his best wishes for the Iliad project

189. Elwin-Courthope, VII, 412-413; Irving, op.cit., p.92.

and saying that it will recommend itself.<sup>190</sup> If we are suspicious of the letters Pope prints, the very flattering tone of this might be cause for question. But there is no reason to suspect that the letter is not substantially the way Addison wrote it and there is no reason why Addison would not have written it in October 1713. Mr. Graham, the editor of Addison's letters, suspects very little meddling with the text.<sup>191</sup> Lord Lansdowne also expressed his pleasure at Pope's plan to translate the Iliad.<sup>192</sup> Sometime in the month the proposals were circulated.<sup>193</sup>

It must have been more and more apparent to Pope that he would have to choose between the Tories and the group at Button's as the year moved on. Probably a similar decision was forced upon Gay on his return to London from Moor Park in November.<sup>194</sup> On November 2 a good deal that concerned Pope was going on. Swift was in the Queen's antechamber instructing a young nobleman that Pope's Iliad was a remarkable event and that Pope must have a thousand guineas.<sup>195</sup> On the same day Addison

190. Addison, Letters, pp.280-281; Sherburn, op.cit., p.113.

191. Addison, Letters, loc.cit.

192. October 21st (Griffith, op.cit., No.39).

193. Elwin-Courthope, V, 148; Sherburn, op.cit., p.129; John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, London, 1812, I, 76-78.

194. Irving, op.cit., p.91.

195. Elwin-Courthope, VII, 6-7.

wrote Pope and, ironically, Philips. Addison again mentions the Iliad and advises Pope to be non-partisan and not delight "only half the nation."<sup>196</sup> Addison also remarks, perhaps significantly, that he is glad that Pope is out of the fray. Is this a statement of the opinion of a dispassionate judge on Pope's status in the literary-political world at the end of 1713 or is Addison resigning himself that Pope is lost to the Whigs (at least as a partisan) but may still be prevented from allying with the Tories? Addison's letter to Philips is friendly but less specific: the Pastorals are not mentioned; Addison sends his regards to Colonel Brett, a frequenter of Button's.<sup>197</sup> December opened with a spate of publication: Lintot's Miscellany, containing the "Receipt to make a Cuckhold" reappeared on December 4.<sup>198</sup> The following day Steele's Importance of Dunkirk was again reissued<sup>199</sup> and Gay's The Fan, which Pope had possibly read over and helped with, was published on the 8th.<sup>200</sup> Pope had by now finished the Rape of the Lock. He mentions this in a letter from Binfield to Swift (also on the 8th). Swift's activity in soliciting subscriptions for the Iliad must have been gratifying to Pope; he mentions also Halifax's

196. Addison, Letters, pp.281-282.

197. Ibid., p.282.

198. Daily Courant (Sherburn, op.cit., p.164).

199. Steele, Tracts, p.630.

200. Daily Courant (Sherburn, op.cit., p.75).

generosity.<sup>201</sup> A week later in a letter to Caryl Pope urges that he not let the Homer business (the subscriptions) cool too much and says that he trembles at the task before him.<sup>202</sup> There is indirect praise here of Addison and Steele. He also says that he is thinking of dedicating the Rape of the Lock to Miss Fermor. On the 29th Steele's Poetical Miscellanies, which contained some of Pope's poems, appeared.<sup>203</sup> Tickell, who was to appear as a competitor to Pope in the translation of Homer, was presumably at Oxford in December working on Lucan.<sup>204</sup>

In January of 1714 the political crisis which had been causing a rift in English literary society came to a boil. It would be fortunate if we knew more of the activities of Addison during this critical month. We do know, however, enough of the effect of the crisis on the other leading literary figures to gauge their reactions. On the 6th Swift's First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphras'd appeared,<sup>205</sup> attacking especially Steele and Dennis. Swift knew that Steele's Crisis, published on the 9th,<sup>206</sup> was to appear and was ready for it. Pope was by

201. Elwin-Courthope, VII, 3-7.

202. Ibid., VI, 198-199.

203. Griffith, op.cit., Nos.24 & 25.

204. Skerburn, op.cit., p.128.

205. Daily Courant, January 5 ("tomorrow"); Swift, Poems, p.180; Aitken, Steele, II, 5.

206. Aitken, Steele, II, 3.

now suffering from an acute case of politics, international and domestic. The reduction of French debts, he says in a letter of the 9th to Caryll,<sup>207</sup> will nearly ruin him. He also asks Caryll for the subscription list so that he may print it before the first meeting of parliament. The Rape of the Lock is in its final stages; the lady has approved of the dedication; even Lord Oxford's advice has been used in the perfecting of the poem. At the end of the month the work is being advertised to appear "in a few days."<sup>208</sup> Some of the pamphlets which Gildon mentions as "crying up" Jane Shore are the Memoirs of the Lives of King Edward and Jane Shore, published on the 16th,<sup>209</sup> and the Life and Death of Jane Shore, published on the 19th.<sup>210</sup> The play itself is advertised to appear "in a few days" on the 26th and 29th.<sup>211</sup> At the end of the month a miscellany containing work by Prior, Rowe and Swift appeared<sup>212</sup> -- Rowe could appear in company with the Tories, both in literature and life, if we can take Pope for a Tory by now. In parliament the debate on the Hanover succession waxed hot. Harley fell on the 27th and a run on the bank on the 29th

207. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 200-201; see Sherburn, op.cit., p.132.

208. Daily Courant, January 29.

209. Post Man, January 14-16 ("this day").

210. Postman, January 16-19 ("this day").

211. Postman, January 23-26; D-ily Courant, January 29.

212. Postman, January 28-30 ("this day").

showed that the crisis was not merely an upper echelon one. The Queen acted decisively: Shrewsbury took over the treasury and the Queen announced formally February 1 that she would open parliament on the 16th, indicating that she expected to be alive at that date.<sup>213</sup>

Steele and Swift clashed bitterly in February while the mysterious Addison remained behind the scenes. The Hanover Club presumably had the most to do with the elaborate procession staged on the birthday of Queen Anne (the 6th);<sup>214</sup> Steele was intimately connected with this club.<sup>215</sup> The Scriblerus Club met frequently from February on. In the last issue of the Englishman (February 15) Steele defends the Whig cause strongly and attacks Swift as a man whose every utterance stemmed from his desire to defend Oxford.<sup>216</sup> Steele also was most active in cementing the bonds between the Hanover Tories and the Whigs. He spoke on the 16th to have Sir Thomas Hanmer as speaker of the house<sup>217</sup> and we find him turning to Hanmer later when his impeachment was imminent. About the 20th A Letter from the Facetious Dr. Andrew Trice

213. I. S. Leadam, The History of England from the Accession of Anne to the Death of George II, London: Longmans, Green, 1921, p. 518 (Political History of England, ed. Hunt-Poole, IX).

214. Englishman, February 9; Steele, Correspondence, p. 85.

215. Steele, Correspondence, loc. cit.

216. Steele, Tracts, p. 641.

217. Ibid., pp. 213, 642.

appeared.<sup>218</sup> This has been attributed to Swift and is an attack not only on Dick Steele but also on Prue. Also at this time in the Post-boy an article invited Steele to disclaim the authorship of the foul last issue of the Englishman.<sup>219</sup> Reprints of the Crisis apparently constituted a sufficient answer for Steele at the moment. On the 22nd Swift's the Public Spirit of the Whigs formally answered Steele's Crisis.<sup>220</sup> It caused almost as much resentment among the moderates as the Crisis had. Behind the scenes, Defoe worked for Steele's downfall. On the 19th he wrote to Oxford suggesting that Steele was seditious.<sup>221</sup> February also was a month of great literary success for Rowe and much literary activity for Pope. Though Rowe and Pope were apparently good friends, Pope's prologue designed for Mrs. Oldfield for Jane Shore was not given with the play. Possibly Mrs. Oldfield was to blame.<sup>222</sup> The play was acted on the 2nd and was a success. The publication of other works of Rowe and works about Jane Shore continued apace. Rowe's poems in a format to bind with the plays appeared on the 11th.<sup>223</sup>

218. Post-boy, February 18-20, cited by Aitken, Steele, II, 10.

219. Post-boy, February 16-18, cited by Aitken, Steele, II, 7.

220. February 23 (Swift, Poems, op.cit., p.180).

221. Steele, Tracts, p.275.

222. Ault, op.cit., p.134.

223. Postman, February 9-11.



The Fair Penitent was published February 2.<sup>224</sup> Jane Shore appeared finally, after all the fanfare, on the 20th.<sup>225</sup> The Life and Character of Jane Shore, inscribed to Mrs. Oldfield, is advertised as in a second edition in the Post-boy for the same day. Three days later the Review of Jane Shore,<sup>226</sup> which a poem attributed to Swift attributes to Dennis, was published. This was a very flattering review. Rowe must have counted February as a very successful month.

It is likely that in February Pope began to alienate Addison. On the 14th in the Examiner was printed "On a Tory lady who shed her water at Cato."<sup>227</sup> Both Sherburn and Ault agree that Pope had a hand in this. Burnet ascribed the poem to the joint efforts of Pope and Rowe.<sup>228</sup> It is not likely that Pope wanted the poem printed, but if he did not, it was unfortunate that it was because Addison had exhibited in the past sensitivity to even good natured satire on his efforts and the vulgarity of this epigram must have offended him.<sup>229</sup> On the

224. Daily Courant ("this day").

225. Daily Courant ("just published"); Post-boy, February 18-20 ("this day").

226. Daily Courant ("this day").

227. So Ault, op.cit., p.131. Sherburn (op.cit., p.124) gives the 18th as the date of the first appearance of the poem (in the Poetical Entertainer). Apparently the Examiner was first.

228. Sherburn, op.cit., p.124.

229. Ibid.

18th the Poetical Entertainer printed the poem again. Sherburn suggests that it is likely that Pope and Addison rarely met after this month.<sup>230</sup> Pope's Rape of the Lock was promised "in a few days" on the 20th.<sup>231</sup> Some copies were ready by the 25th and Pope sent one to Caryll. In the letter<sup>232</sup> to announce its coming Pope says that Steele has hurt himself more than anyone else by his political writings. Pope is still concerned and still surprised (or pretending to be) that he is taken for a political man. The grand society at Button's has taken him for an enemy, he has read in the London Gazette, because it was rumored that he participated in party affairs. This can only mean that the group at Button's believed that Pope had aligned himself finally with the Tory cause. Pope's appreciation of Rowe as a literary man as well as a conversationalist appears in a letter which Pope addressed to Mrs. Marriot on the last day of the month.<sup>233</sup> He quotes some of the descriptive lines from Jane Shore and says that it reminds him of Sturston.<sup>234</sup>

Swift and Steele in March both incurred the Queen's displeasure. Steele, the known author of several pamphlets offensive to the Tories, felt early in the month

230. Ibid., p.125.

231. Postman, February 18-20; Daily Courant.

232. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 202-203.

233. Ibid., IX, 473-474.

234. See New Rehearsal, p.85, below.

the results of Defoe's patient labors. On the 10th Defoe laid before Oxford an analysis of Steele's writings as a basis for an indictment.<sup>235</sup> Steele was prepared and so were his friends. Halifax advised him to let the attack be made in his absence.<sup>236</sup> On the 12th Steele wrote briefly to Prue that he was going to Walpole and that the Queen was very ill and she should be brave.<sup>237</sup> The next day the seditious parts of Steele's writings were read to the House.<sup>238</sup> Steele's last act in the House was to continue his battle. On the 15th he moved that those responsible for the demolition of Dunkirk be brought forth, a motion that was downed.<sup>239</sup> His expulsion occurred on the 18th, even the Hanover Tories voting against him.<sup>240</sup> Hanmer, to whom he appealed for advice, advised him guardedly to be careful and that there was no appeal from parliament.<sup>241</sup> Steele's defenders were not long in getting into print. The Case of Richard Steele appeared on the 24th.<sup>242</sup> Swift, meanwhile, had offended with the Public Spirit of the Whigs. A second edition is advertised on March 10th.<sup>243</sup> The Queen issued a proclamation against

235. Steele, Correspondence, p.86; cf. Steele, Tracts, p.275.

236. Aitken, Steele, II, 13.

237. Ibid.

238. Steele, Tracts, p.275.

239. Aitken, Steele, II, 14.

240. Leadam, op.cit., p.213; Aitken, Steele, II, 18.

241. Steele, Correspondence, p.92.

242. Postman, March 20-23 ("tomorrow"); Aitken, II, 18.

243. Daily Courant ("just published").

this on the 20th,<sup>244</sup> and undoubtedly criminal charges would have resulted had the author been positively identified.

Certainly long before April Pope knew he was alienated from the Whig group at Button's, but in April he felt the beginnings of a general attack. He could no longer pretend that there was not a partisan effort to malign him. Original Poems and Translations, published April 1, put Pope in the company of Garth, Prior, Hughes and Yalden.<sup>245</sup> The New Rehearsal appeared April 3.<sup>246</sup> At just this time the Evening Post was advertising the republication of Pope's proposals for his Iliad with the list of subscribers.<sup>247</sup> Attacks on Pope's Homer began immediately. In Oldmixon's Miscellany, published between the 6th and 10th, Pope was given advice on translating Homer by Hughes and his "Receipt to make a Cuckhold" was printed.<sup>248</sup> It is doubtful that Pope knew the author of the advice.<sup>249</sup> The Rape of the Lock appeared about the 10th.<sup>250</sup> Pope must have felt by now what the group at Button's had long believed, that his friends among literary men were generally among the Tories and that he could

244. London Gazette, March 16-20.

245. Postman, March 30-April 1.

246. Postman, April 1-3 ("this day").

247. Ault, op.cit., p.104.

248. Sherburn, op.cit., p.164.

249. Ault, op.cit., p.104.

250. Post-boy, April 8-10.

expect more trouble from the Whigs. Certainly the publication of the "Receipt to make a Cuckhold" was in the nature of an attack. On the political front the Queen, by the end of the month, had become firmer toward her brother. She requested, on the 30th, that the Pretender leave Lorraine, where he was poised to move on her death.<sup>251</sup>

In assessing Pope's relationship to Addison on the eve of the publication of the New Rehearsal, it must be noted that they had had, at the most, four months to change from friends to enemies, if enemies they were at the beginning of April 1714. The New Rehearsal is the earliest of the works which might be the one that Addison paid Gildon to write against Pope, if this did happen or if the rumor of its happening got to Pope. If Addison abetted or even condoned the attack on Pope in Gildon's piece, we must observe that Pope occupies a small portion of the work in proportion to Rowe and that by comparison with the later attacks on Pope's Homer and general attacks on his character like A True Character Gildon's New Rehearsal is almost negligible. It must have offended Pope, of course, but was it the kind of attack that would be inspired by partisan interest? If we assume that Addison encouraged the New Rehearsal, are we to assume

<sup>251</sup>. Leadam, op.cit., p.217.

also that he inspired this elaborate attack on Rowe or only that he had Gildon insert into this attack on Rowe some anti-Pope material? While it is true that Addison suggested to Pope that he not revise the Rape of the Lock and while Addison may have been sensitive over the fact that Pope disregarded this advice from an established man of letters, this does not prove that Addison would have been so offended as to commission an attack on Pope. The organized conspiracy at Button's against Pope's Homer is still to come, though any frequenter of that coffee house may have been aware that it was coming. Possibly Addison resented Swift's interest in Pope's Homer. Four years before, Swift had sized up Addison as a jealous dispenser of favors. In the Journal to Stella for December 1710 Swift tells how he interceded with Harley for Steele and Steele ignored it, and adds that Addison probably put him up to it, even though Addison at that moment was trying to find a place for Philips.<sup>252</sup>

Other members of the group at Button's did not bother to attack the Rape of the Lock. It is not evident that Pope could not have been saved for the Whig interest in April 1714. As late as August Pope calls Addison "a person of value" in a letter to Jervas.<sup>253</sup> By then

<sup>252</sup>. Journal to Stella, ed. Harold Williams, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948, I, 128-129.

<sup>253</sup>. August 27 (Elwin-Courthope, VIII, 8-10).

Philips had alienated Pope and Addison (according to this letter) but Pope still expects civility from Addison and lays a curse on the word party. A week before, Addison had told Jervas that he was conscious that rumors had been spread that he did not wish Pope success with the Iliad.<sup>254</sup> In June Pope wrote to Caryll that he had Tories, Whigs and Catholics among his friends and "two dangerous enemies."<sup>255</sup> It is unlikely that one of these was Addison. Earlier in June a sort of crisis had been reached in Pope's relationship with the group at Button's. Philips apparently announced at Button's that Pope was in cabal with Swift to write against the Whig interest and the reputation of Addison and Steele. Addison visited Pope several nights later and expressed a wish that what he had heard was not true.<sup>256</sup> Thus in June and thereafter Addison apparently felt that Pope was not lost to the Tories and that something could be gained by continuing to attempt to smooth over the difference between the faction at Button's and Pope. This could be laid to a desire on Addison's part to keep his own hands clean in the matter, but if this is so, it amounts to a kind of duplicity in which political leaders must often indulge but which is little credit to Addison and singularly at

<sup>254</sup>. August 20 (Ibid., pp.7-8).

<sup>255</sup>. June 29 (Ibid., VI, 211-212; Sherburn, op.cit., p.126).

<sup>256</sup>. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 209-211; Sherburn, op.cit., p.121.

variance with his role of arbiter of morals.

The relation of Tickell's Iliad to the Pope-Addison quarrel is a more difficult matter to decide upon. It is especially difficult to reconstruct with any accuracy the situation in the early months of 1714. Tickell arrived in London in May and signed a contract with Tonson at the end of the month.<sup>257</sup> He may have been working on his Iliad at this time or even at the end of 1713, but we cannot be sure of this. By May, says Professor Sherburn, Pope certainly knew of Tickell's proposal.<sup>258</sup> Did he know about it in March? If he did, did he know that Addison was encouraging it? There is no evidence that Addison was encouraging Tickell in March. But by summer a certain coolness had resulted because of Tickell's project between Addison and Pope and in the autumn Addison begged leave not to correct Pope's first book because of Tickell's prior claim with him.<sup>259</sup> In brief, it is very doubtful that this business was a cause for discontent between Addison and Pope in March, likely that it was in May, and certain that it was in autumn. There is certainly no evidence that Tickell's competing Iliad had anything to do with the genesis of the New Rehearsal.

257. Ibid., p.128.

258. Ibid.

259. Ibid., p.130.



Addison really had little grounds to be discontented with Pope at the end of March 1714. Pope had written or had participated in the "Tory lady" epigram; certain lines in the Ripe of the Lock are bawdy; and, about April 6, Oldmixon's anthology, which contained Pope's "Receipt to make a Cuckhold," appeared. Addison would not have approved of these (he probably knew that the last one was going to appear). But they scarcely seem important enough to alienate the two men. The New Rehearsal is, however, more of the kind of attack which Addison would approve than later attacks on Pope by Gildon and others. We must also note that the published works and the personal letters of March and April 1714 do not necessarily reflect absolutely clearly the literary atmosphere. There are too few documents. It may have been evident to any hanger-on at Button's that it was Pope's turn to be ridiculed, perhaps only to see if he could "take it." Likewise Pope's small and puny physique may have made him the butt of oral ridicule from people who would not ordinarily, or at least immediately, put this ridicule into writing. There is, of course, much venom used on Pope's appearance in the later satires. This could have been in the atmosphere at Button's even in March. But it is extremely difficult to make out a case that this was the situation in the face of the existing

evidence and especially is it difficult to see Addison as the prime mover in it. Indeed, everything points to Addison's desire to remain friends, or at least not enemies, with Pope, through the summer. It is therefore almost inconceivable that Addison paid Gildon for the attack in the New Rehearsal. Pope's own statement that the attack abused his ancestry as well as his character makes A True Character or the Life of William Wycherley seem more applicable, but as Ault suggests, Pope may have telescoped in his mind several attacks. This, as evidence, is less substantial than the damage that must be done to Addison's character if he paid for or encouraged the New Rehearsal in March 1714. We must conclude, then, that Addison did not hire Gildon to write the New Rehearsal and that he did not approve directly and openly of its contents. But Gildon did write on the Whig side and he later received money from Addison. He was a hack writer. These things in themselves are enough explanation of the "venal quill" lines. If Pope thought that Addison had paid Gildon to write the New Rehearsal, he thought so on the strength of Lord Warwick's unsubstantiated remark, but it is not necessary to accept the New Rehearsal as the work meant by Lord Warwick to explain the "venal quill." Addison may have approved critically of the treatment of Rowe's plays, but we have to make him out to be quite a

villain if he approved of the references to Pope's Homer and the Rape of the Lock. The New Rehearsal may well have established Gildon as an ally of the group at Button's. Certainly Philips had no love for Pope in March 1714. But it must be considered as an independent literary attack from which Gildon stood to gain some Whig but not necessarily Addison's direct support. We can easily imagine that Rowe underwent some criticism for his lack of interest in the group at Button's and his association with Pope, at least before his appointment to the laureateship.

In the Daily-Courant for August 27 a second edition of the New Rehearsal is advertised. The advertisement is virtually the same as for the first edition of April. Since nothing new is promised in the contents, it is likely that this is not a true second edition; at least no copy has come to light. By August Pope and Swift were intimate correspondents and the alienation of Pope from the Whigs must have been clear to all. The best explanation for this appearance of the New Rehearsal in August is the publication a few weeks before of another edition of Jane Shore. Probably the publisher, Roberts, was simply trying to sell off the remaining copies of the first edition. The second edition, under the title of Remarks on Mr.

Rowe's Tragedy of the Lady Jane Gray, appeared May 14, 1715.<sup>260</sup> The play itself had been acted at Drury Lane on the 20th of April.<sup>261</sup> Since the first half of 1715 was a rich period for attacks on Pope (Burnet and Duckett's Homerides<sup>262</sup> and "Mr. Preston's" Aesop at the Bear Garden<sup>263</sup> both appeared in March), there is nothing particularly significant in the appearance of the second edition of Gildon's work.

Gildon's attack on Pope and Rowe in the New Rehearsal must be considered essentially non-political. It is possible that Gildon thought that Pope would eventually be alienated from the group at Button's and that some small renown would come to the one who attacked him first. But no official support could be expected for the attack. Attacking Rowe, the Whig poet, could not be expected to advance Gildon politically, even if Rowe's talents were not appreciated by all of the Whig writers. That Gildon was willing to restate his case against Rowe in 1715 after Rowe's position was secure indicates the essentially non-political nature of the attack, for Rowe was very popular and very much in favor with the new regime.

The person represented by Sir Indolent Easie in

260. Post-boy, cited by Ault, op.cit., p.116.

261. Ault, pp.138-139.

262. March 7 (Ibid., p.104).

263. March 5 (Ibid., p.104; Sherburn, op.cit., p.136).

the New Rehearsal is, I believe, Charles Montagu, Lord Halifax. The character is outlined fully in an early passage in Gildon's satire. Sir Indolent is a man of letters and celebrated wit, he has written poetry with success, he judges or affects to judge poorly, he is friendly to the unfortunate and unhappy, and he likes everything except critics, and this largely because he refuses to find fault and is not sympathetic to others who find fault.<sup>264</sup> There is, unfortunately, no modern biography of Montagu, but he fits all of these qualifications so far as we can determine. Montagu was a man of letters in 1683 when he published anonymously his Ode on the Marriage of Her Royal Highness The Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark and certainly one by 1687 with his (and Prior's) Hind and the Panther Transvers'd, which Gildon must have read and admired in his younger days. Montagu's literary career did not extend much beyond the turn of the century. His rise in politics made him discard literature, perhaps with the realization that he had not much ability at it. In any case, he had written sufficient to give Gildon cause for calling him a literary man in the New Rehearsal. We do not know whether Montagu made a point of being uncritical, but this is likely in view of his patronage of literary men, which if it were

264. New Rehearsal, p.31, below.

not generous was at least well distributed. He aided Addison, Congreve, Newton, Prior, Stepney<sup>265</sup> and Gildon. He was the last of Swift's friends among the prominent Whigs.<sup>266</sup> Pope praised him highly in the preface to the Iliad and in the epilogue to the Satires<sup>267</sup> but later attacked him in no uncertain terms:

Proud as Apollo on his forked hill,  
Sat full-blown Bufo, puffed by every quill;  
Fed with soft Dedication all day long,  
Horace and he went hand in hand in song.<sup>268</sup>

This indicates in an unfriendly way that Montagu was friend to many and perhaps no great benefactor of any one poet, which is just what Gildon says. In the New Rehearsal Sir Indolent is pictured as doing a disservice to literature by giving his approval and patronage to all. What Pope makes a matter of miserliness Gildon makes a matter of a misplaced notion of what the true patron should be. We have no evidence that Montagu admired Rowe's plays to excess<sup>269</sup> but his approval of so many poets make this likely. Some other details can easily be disposed of. We are informed that Sir Indolent never married because he wished to avoid disquiet.<sup>270</sup> Montagu did marry early in

265. DNB, s.v. "Montagu, Charles."

266. Ibid.

267. "Epilogue to the Satires," Dialogue II, 1.77 (Twickenham Ed., IV, 317).

268. "Epistle to Arbuthnot," pp.231-234 (Twickenham Ed., IV, 112).

269. See New Rehearsal, p.34, below.

270. ibid., p.32, below.

his career but his wife died in 1898 and he did not re-marry. It has been argued since that he might have married Newton's daughter secretly but at least in the eyes of the world he was unmarried from the beginning of the century until his death.<sup>271</sup> In politics Sir Indolent is a staunch Whig and praises King William with great passion.<sup>272</sup> Montagu was, of course, early in his life an active Whig political figure and remained out of office during the reign of Anne because of his politics. At the death of the queen, rewards came swiftly to him and he was one of the most important men in the party on its return to power. In the new ministry he was First Lord of the Treasury and was soon created Earl of Halifax and Viscount Sunbury. His death on May 19, 1715, was a sharp blow to many. Addison was present as Halifax lay dying. In a letter of the 17th to Charles Delafaye Addison rejoices at his Lordship's recovery just two days before Halifax died.<sup>273</sup> Addison himself had known Montagu before October 1699 and was even then discussing literary matters with him. Addison was also secretary to the Lords Justices who assumed the government prior to the arrival of George. Thus, in flattering Montagu, Gildon could not

271. DNB.

272. New Rehearsal, pp.66-67, below.

273. Addison, Letters, p.320.

but have pleased Addison as well as Montagu. Montagu's interest in literature made him the most likely patron for the minor literary hack--like Gildon--and also probably the most likely man to lead England to become the Athens of the North, according to the plans Gildon had been improving all his life.

Addison had the greatest praise for Montagu as a poet as well as a statesman. In A Letter from Italy<sup>274</sup> (addressed to Montagu) Addison makes two pointed references to Montagu's ability in verse:

Such was the Boyn, a poor Inglorious Stream,  
That in Hibernian Vales obscurely stray'd,  
And un<sup>o</sup>serv'd in wild Meander's play'd;  
Till by your Lines and Nassau's Sword renown'd  
Its rising Billows through the World resound...<sup>275</sup>

and in the last stanza of the poem:

But Iv'e [sic] already troubl'd you too long,  
Nor dare attempt a more advent'rous Song.  
My humble Verse demands a softer Theme,  
A painted Meadow, or a purling Stream,  
Unfit for Heroes; whom Immortal Lays,  
And Lines like Virgil's or like yours  
shou'd praise.<sup>276</sup>

Much can be forgiven Gildon after the example of such praise. Steele likewise called himself to Montagu's attention by dedicating to him the fourth volume of the Tatler and the second of the Spectator.

Gildon had some claim to having been an early

<sup>274</sup>. London, Printed and sold by H. Hills, 1709.

<sup>275</sup>. Ibid., p.5.

<sup>276</sup>. Ibid., p.8.



admirer of Montagu. Phaeton (1698) is dedicated to Montagu and contains one of Gildon's most substantial essays on criticism. In the dedication Gildon hopes that Montagu will be the prime mover in establishing a British Academy modeled after the French one. Everyone, says Gildon, says of Montagu what Horace said of Quintilius to Virgil:

Cui Pudor, & Justiciae foror  
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,  
Quarŕo ullum invenient Parent?<sup>277</sup>

Finally, he says that Montagu's judgment in poetry ought to make him dread his censure, but that his candor and generosity forbid any fear.<sup>278</sup> The emphasis here is likely on the "generosity" but Gildon is more inclined in dedications to stress the neglect of the arts by statesmen and the fame that will come to them if they patronize the arts rather than their abilities as critics. Gildon later dedicated Love's Victim (1701) to Montagu. We would like a fuller preface here. Gildon hints that he received some suggestions from his betters in the composition of the play. Possibly Montagu gave the author a few casual suggestions.

In his difficulties over the publication of A Review of Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia's Letter

277. Sig. A2v.

278. Sig. A4r.

Gildon appealed to Montagu for assistance.<sup>279</sup> Gildon begins his letter by saying that he would not write if he had not known his Lordship many years. His motive in printing the letters, says Gildon, was simply a zeal for the Protestant succession. He goes on to say that a faction only resented his pamphlet, that it was a defense of King William's title and government, that he is too poor to answer the charges against him and that he needs a protector. "I have always been," says Gildon, "one of the most Zealous of your Lordships Votarys."

The only other likely candidate for the part of Sir Indolent Easie is, it seems to me, Addison himself. This would seem to be somewhat dubious if only because of the offensive lines from Rochester quoted by Sir Indolent.<sup>280</sup> Moreover, Addison would not have cared to have been regarded as a critic who liked everything he read, even though to some--and possibly to Gildon--Addison seemed to be an admirer of Pope and maybe not an enemy of Rowe in 1714. Sir Indolent also almost sleeps through the reading of the Bible,<sup>281</sup> an attitude toward the Scriptures which Addison would not have liked to find himself accused of in print. And Sir Indolent has a Restoration heartiness that does not go well with the

279. B. M. Add. MS. 7121, f.31.

280. New Rehearsal, p.34, below.

281. Ibid., p.49, below.

character of Addison.

The fact that the character in the New Rehearsal whom Gildon is interested in winning over is Montagu and not Addison or Steele or any of the group at Button's suggests further that Gildon was trying to insinuate himself into the graces of the Whig party generally and not the group at Button's, though the flattering reference to Cato<sup>282</sup> indicates that Gildon was not unmindful of the value of Addison's good will. Gildon would have done better, of course, if he had been content to have been a minor hanger-on at Button's, but his arrogance gave him an independence he could ill afford. Gildon would have been an ideal partisan, for instance, of the group at Button's that rushed to attack Pope's Homer. Apparently he was not asked to do so or was not interested in doing so. Probably he was not close enough to the group to be part of it. The references to the coffee houses in the New Rehearsal make Button's little more attractive than Will's. Though he attacks Pope, defends Philips, admires Addison and is befriended by Steele, Gildon never betrays any evidence of real intimacy with the group at Button's; however it must be admitted that there are few evidences of intimacy with anyone in any of Gildon's works.

The New Rehearsal, then, cuts across party lines  
262. New Rehearsal, p.88, below.

in that it damns a prominent Whig poet and, independent of the party effort, attacks a poet who is being attacked by the Whigs. And, by asking for a rigid enforcement of Neo-Classical rules and calling on Montagu to lead the enforcement attempt, it attacks a kind of poetry that Whig (except Addison, as Gildon is careful to point out) was as guilty of as Tory.