THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO

ALEXANDER POPE

EDITED BY
PAT ROGERS



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521549448

© Cambridge University Press 2007

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2007

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-84013-2 hardback ISBN 978-0-521-54944-8 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

- PAUL BAINES is Professor in the School of English, University of Liverpool. His publications include *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1999), The Complete Critical Guide to Alexander Pope (2000), The Long Eighteenth Century (2004), several articles in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, and a number of articles on poetry, crime, and punishment in the early eighteenth century. His biography of the rogue bookseller Edmund Curll, co-written with Pat Rogers, appeared in 2007.
- LAURA BROWN is John Wendell Anderson Professor of English at Cornell University and author of Fables of Modernity: Literature and Culture in the English Eighteenth Century (2001), Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature (1993), Rereading Literature: Alexander Pope (1985), and English Dramatic Form 1660–1760: An Essay in Generic History (1981), as well as co-editor, with Felicity Nussbaum, of The New Eighteenth Century: Theory-Politics-English Literature (1987).
- HELEN DEUTSCH is Professor of English at UCLA and the author of Resemblance and Disgrace: Alexander Pope and the Deformation of Culture (1996), and Loving Dr. Johnson (2005), as well as co-editor of Defects: Engendering the Modern Body (2000). She has recently returned to Pope's work as one of the focuses of a new book project on gendered subjectivity, embodiment, and intimate literary forms such as the essay and the verse epistle.
- HOWARD ERSKINE-HILL is a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and a former Professor of Literary History in the University of Cambridge. He is a Fellow of the British Academy. His many works include *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope* (1975) and an edition of Pope's *Selected Letters* (2000). He has also written *Poetry of Opposition and Revolution: Dryden to Wordsworth* (1996) and, with Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Atterbury Plot* (2004).
- DAVID FAIRER is Professor of Eighteenth-Century English Literature at the University of Leeds. His most recent book is English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century,

1700–1789 (2003). He is also the author of Pope's Imagination (1984), The Poetry of Alexander Pope (1989), and editor of Pope: New Contexts (1990), The Correspondence of Thomas Warton (1995), and the first complete printing of Warton's History of English Poetry (1998). With Christine Gerrard he has edited Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology (second edition, 2004).

CATHERINE INGRASSIA is Professor of English and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at Virginia Commonwealth University. Her books include Authorship, Commerce and Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit (1998), "More Solid Learning"; New Perspectives on Alexander Pope's Dunciad, co-edited with Claudia Thomas (2000), and A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel and Culture, co-edited with Paula R. Backscheider (2005). She is also the editor of Eliza Haywood's Anti-Pamela and Fielding's Shamela (2004), and a past editor of Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture.

MALCOLM KELSALL is Professor Emeritus at Cardiff University. His principal publications in the field of architectural and landscape iconography are *The Great Good Place: The Country House and English Literature* (1993), *Jefferson and the Iconography of Romanticism: Folk, Land, Culture and the Romantic Nation* (1999), and *Literary Representations of the Irish Country House: Civilisation and Savagery Under the Union* (2003). He has taught at the universities of Cardiff, Exeter, Oxford and Reading and has been visiting Professor at Hiroshima, Paris, and Wisconsin, and International Scholar in Residence at the Center for Jefferson Studies, Charlottesville, Virginia.

JAMES MCLAVERTY is Professor of English at Keele University. He has written widely on literary and bibliographical topics, including a book on *Pope, Print and Meaning* (2001). He revised and edited for the press David Foxon's lectures on *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (1991), as well as David Fleeman's *Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (2000).

DAVID NOKES is Professor of English at King's College London. He has written biographies of Jonathan Swift, John Gay, and Jane Austen, and is currently working on a tercentenary biography of Samuel Johnson, to be published in 2009. He has also written television programmes on Swift and *Frankenstein*, adaptations of *Clarissa* and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, and a novel, *The Nightingale Papers*.

PAT ROGERS is DeBartolo Professor in the Liberal Arts at the University of South Florida, and the author of several books on Pope and his contemporaries, including *The Alexander Pope Encyclopedia* (2004) and *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts* (2005). Recent work includes a biography of Edmund Curll (2007), with Paul Baines, and an edition of Pope's major works for Oxford World's Classics (2006).

- GEORGE ROUSSEAU has written numerous books, including This Long Disease, my Life: Alexander Pope and the Sciences (1968), with Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Goldsmith: The Critical Heritage (1974), with Pat Rogers, The Enduring Legacy: Alexander Pope Tercentenary Essays (1988), and The Languages of Psyche: Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought (1990). He has also published a trilogy entitled Pre- and Post-Modern Discourses: Medical, Scientific, Anthropological (1991), with Roy Porter, Gout: The Patrician Malady (1998), Framing and Imagining Disease in Cultural History (2003), Yourcenar: A Biography (2004), and Nervous Acts: Essays on Literature, Culture and Sensibility (2004).
- VALERIE RUMBOLD is Reader in English Literature at the University of Birmingham. She is author of Women's Place in Pope's World (1989) and of a range of articles on Pope and on women writers of the eighteenth century. Her edition of Alexander Pope: The Dunciad in Four Books (1743) appeared in 1999. She is one of the editors, with Julian Ferraro and Nigel Wood, contributing to the Longman Annotated Pope, and is currently working on a volume for the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift.
- STEVEN SHANKMAN is Professor of English and Classics at the University of Oregon. He is the author of *Pope's Iliad: Homer in the Age of Passion* (1983) and *In Search of the Classic* (1994). His edition of Pope's translation of *The Iliad* appeared in 1996. Recent books include, with Stephen Durrant, *The Siren and the Sage: Knowledge and Wisdom in Ancient Greece and China* (2000).
- JOHN SITTER is Notre Dame Professor of English at the University of Notre Dame, the editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (2001), and author of *Literary Loneliness in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England* (1982), which was awarded the Louis Gottschalk Prize, and *Arguments of Augustan Wit* (1991), other studies of eighteenth-century poetry and satire. He teaches courses in those areas and in modern poetry.
- CYNTHIA WALL is Professor of English at the University of Virginia. She is the author of *Poetics of Space: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (2006) and *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (1998), as well as an editor of Pope, Defoe, and Bunyan.
- HOWARD D. WEINBROT is Ricardo Quintana Professor of English, and William Freeman Vilas Research Professor in the College of Letters and Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He has published widely on numerous aspects of eighteenth-century texts and contexts. His latest books are Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century (2005) and Aspects of Samuel Johnson: Essays on His Arts, Mind, Afterlife, and Politics (2005).

BRIAN YOUNG is University Lecturer and Official Student and Tutor in History at Christ Church, Oxford. He is the author of Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England (1998), and a co-editor, with Stefan Collini and Richard Whatmore, of two collections of essays, Economy, Polity, Society and History, Religion, Culture: British Intellectual History 1750–1950 (2000), and, with Richard Whatmore, of Palgrave Advances in Intellectual History (2006). He is currently engaged in completing a study of Victorian understandings of the eighteenth century.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anecdotes Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters

of Books and Men, ed. J. M. Osborn, 2 vols. (Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1966).

Corr The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. G. Sherburn,

5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

Johnson, LOP Samuel Johnson, The Lives of the Poets, ed. G. B. Hill, 3

vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

Life Maynard Mack, Alexander Pope: A Life (New Haven:

Yale University Press, 1985).

Prose The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, vol. 1, ed. N. Ault

(Oxford: Blackwell, 1936); vol. 2, ed. R. Cowler

(Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1986).

Swift Corr The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. D. Woolley, 3

vols. (in progress) (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999-).

TE The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope,

ed. J. Butt et al., 11 vols. (London: Methuen, 1938-68).

In the *Imitations of Horace*, vol. IV, *Ep* refers to the *Epistles* and *Sat* to the *Satires*. Unless otherwise indicated, *The Dunciad* is quoted from the A text (1729) in *TE*, vol. V.

- Alexander Pope born in the commercial area of the City of London, 21 May. King James II flees to France, prior to accession of William III and Mary.
- The Pope family move to Hammersmith, outside London.
- Alexander Pope's father acquires house at Binfield, Berkshire, in Windsor Forest: the family in residence there by 1700. While living there, Pope meets older men who will serve as literary mentors, including the retired diplomat Sir William Trumbull, the dramatist William Wycherley and the actor Thomas Betterton.
- Accession of Queen Anne. Start of the War of the Spanish Succession (to 1713), with British forces under the command of the Duke of Marlborough.
- Isaac Newton becomes President of the Royal Society (to 1727).
- Jonathan Swift, A Tale of a Tub and The Battle of the Books.

 Marlborough and the allies gain a spectacular victory over the French at the battle of Blenheim.
- Alexander Pope's first surviving letters. Close friendship with Trumbull, a neighbour in the Forest. Has begun work on his Pastorals.
- About this time, Pope meets Martha and Teresa Blount, members of the Catholic gentry; Martha was to become his closest woman friend for the rest of his life.
- Final stone laid on St Paul's cathedral, designed by Sir Christopher Wren.

- 1709 Pastorals and other early work published.
- In the wake of the divisive Sacheverell affair, the Tories gain power under Robert Harley (later Earl of Oxford) and Henry St John (later Viscount Bolingbroke), who become important supporters of Pope. Swift begins his *Journal to Stella* (to 1713). George Frideric Handel arrives in London and helps to initiate a fashion for Italian opera.
- Essay on Criticism. Addison and Steele begin The Spectator, runs until 1713 (Pope is an occasional contributor). South Sea Company launched under the aegis of Oxford. Marlborough dismissed as commander as part of Tory moves to end the war.
- First version of *The Rape of the Lock* in two cantos. *Messiah* appears in *The Spectator*.
- Pope publishes *Windsor-Forest*, celebrating end of the War of the Spanish Succession. Addison's *Cato*, with prologue by Pope. By now Pope is familiar with the Scriblerus group, including Swift, John Arbuthnot, Thomas Parnell and John Gay. He also is in contact with the leading ministers, Oxford and Bolingbroke. Contributes to Steele's *Guardian*.
- The full *Rape of the Lock* appears in five cantos. Death of Queen Anne; succession of George I. The Tories lose power and Whigs dominate national politics for the rest of Pope's life.
- The Temple of Fame. First instalment of the Iliad translation, issued by subscription. Bolingbroke flees to France. Jacobite rising led by the Old Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart. Pope friendly with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (later a bitter enemy). John Gay, The What d'ye Call It (comedy on which Pope and Arbuthnot may have given assistance).
- Rising put down. Pope family forced to leave Binfield, in the wake of anti-Catholic legislation, and move to Chiswick, outside London. Pope becomes familiar with members of the court of the Prince and Princess of Wales. John Gay, *Trivia*. Some of Pope's earliest brushes with the rascally publisher, Edmund Curll, initiating a lifelong war of words.
- Death of Pope's father. Collected Works published, containing Eloisa to Abelard, Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate

Lady, and other new poems. Farcical comedy written by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot, *Three Hours after Marriage*, performed to a mixed reception.

- Pope leases house at Twickenham, his home for the rest of his life. Death of his Scriblerian colleague Parnell.
- Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, part 1, admired by Pope.
- Last instalment of the *Iliad*. South Sea Bubble, a major financial crash which has widespread political and social effects.
- Pope brings out edition of Parnell's poems. Robert Walpole attains power and serves as prime minister until 1742, frequently incurring the criticism of Pope.
- Death of Marlborough, unlamented by Pope.
- Pope's edition of the Duke of Buckinghamshire's works. Jacobite plot involving Pope's friend Atterbury discovered; the bishop exiled to France. Pope's in-laws implicated in Waltham Blacks affair, a politically charged crime spree in Berkshire and surrounding counties. Death of Sir Christopher Wren, admired by Pope.
- First instalment of the Odyssey. Edition of Shakespeare. Bolingbroke returns from exile and settles not far from Pope's home.
- Translation of the *Odyssey* completed. Swift visits England and stays with Pope. *Gulliver's Travels* published. Voltaire begins three-year exile in England, where he will meet both Pope and Swift.
- First two volumes of *Miscellanies* published, including work by Pope, Swift and other Scriblerians. Swift's final visit to England. Death of George I. His son George II ascends the throne, with Caroline as consort. *The Craftsman* begins as a weekly journal of the opposition to Walpole. Death of Newton.
- The Art of Sinking, written largely by Pope, published in third volume of Miscellanies. The Beggar's Opera, by John Gay, performed and scores a major hit. First version of The Dunciad in three books.

The Dunciad Variorum published, with fuller apparatus and 1729 annotation. Edmund Curll, The Curliad, one of many ripostes. Swift, A Modest Proposal. Colley Cibber, a frequent butt of Pope, appointed Poet Laure-1730 ate. Throughout the coming decade Pope grows more closely involved with the opposition to Walpole's government, enjoying friendship with the "Patriot" leaders who stood against the influence of the court. The Grub-street Journal begins its career (to 1737), supporting Pope's stance in literary politics and satirizing his enemies. Epistle to Burlington. Death of Defoe. 1731 Miscellanies, fourth volume. Death of John Gay. Death of 1732 Atterbury. Hogarth, The Harlot's Progress. First of the *Imitations of Horace* published (to 1738). Epistle 1733 to Bathurst. Essay on Man, epistles 1-111 published. Death of Pope's mother. Essay on Man, epistle IV published. Epistle to Cobham. 1734 Epistle to Arbuthnot, followed by death of Arbuthnot. Epistle 1735 to a Lady. Second volume of Pope's Works. Curll's edition of Pope's Letters (publication engineered by Pope). Epistle to Augustus published. Authorized edition of Letters. 1737 Death of Queen Caroline. Theatrical Licensing Act increases government control over new plays. Samuel Johnson, London. 1738 Epilogue to the Satires brings the imitations of Horace to an end. Samuel Johnson, London, praised by Pope. Swift's Verses on the Death of Dr Swift first published. 1739 Pope's health grows worse. Samuel Richardson, Pamela, 1740 Part 1. Memoirs of Scriblerus published under Pope's direction. 1741 Fourth book of *The Dunciad* published separately. Henry 1742 Fielding, Joseph Andrews. Pope publishes complete version of The Dunciad in four 1743 books. Fielding, Jonathan Wild.

- Pope working on deathbed edition of his works. Dies, 30 May. Buried at Twickenham. Johnson, *Life* of Richard Savage (a writer well known to Pope).
- Death of Swift. Death of Robert Walpole. Jacobite rising led by the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart.

CONTENTS

	List of illustrations	page vii
	Notes on contributors	viii
	List of abbreviations	xii
	Alexander Pope chronology	xiii
	Introduction	I
	PAT ROGERS	
I	Pope, self, and world	14
	HELEN DEUTSCH	~7
2.	Pope's friends and enemies: fighting with shadows	25
_	DAVID NOKES	2)
3	Pope's versification and voice	27
)	JOHN SITTER	37
4	Poetic spaces	40
4	CYNTHIA WALL	49
_	Pope's Homer and his poetic career	* 60
)	STEVEN SHANKMAN	63
	SIEVEN SHANKMAN	
6	Pope and the classics	76
	HOWARD D. WEINBROT	
7	Pope and the Elizabethans	89
	DAVID FAIRER	

CONTENTS

8	Pope in Arcadia: pastoral and its dissolution PAT ROGERS	105
9	Pope and ideology BRIAN YOUNG	118
10	Pope and the poetry of opposition HOWARD ERSKINE-HILL	134
11	Crime and punishment PAUL BAINES	150
12	Landscapes and estates MALCOLM KELSALL	161
13	Money CATHERINE INGRASSIA	175
14	Pope and the book trade JAMES McLAVERTY	186
15	Pope and gender VALERIE RUMBOLD	198
16	Medicine and the body GEORGE ROUSSEAU	210
17	Pope and the other LAURA BROWN	222
	Further reading	237
	Index	247

ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	bot thro write Curtains shot a tim rous Ray. Frontispiece to	
	Canto 1, The Rape of the Lock (1714), courtesy of Special	
	Collections, University of Virginia Library.	page 53
2.	"Books and the Man I sing." The Dunciad Variorum (1729),	
	Book the First, courtesy of Special Collections, University of	
	Virginia Library.	60
3.	Pope's villa at Twickenham, after the painting by Peter Andreas	
	Rysbrack, engraved by Nathaniel Parr (1735).	163
4.	A plan of Pope's garden at Twickenham by John Serle, his	
	gardener (1745).	167

PAT ROGERS

Introduction

It would not be quite true to say that Pope has proved a poet for all the ages, if only because some late Victorians thought him safely dead and buried in terms of any active presence in the poetry of their day. Even then, however, Pope refused to lie down, and for the past three hundred years he has shown surprising resilience in the face of condescension, assumed indifference, or outright hostility. Recent generations of poets and critics have joined the scholars in helping to recover some of the ground he had lost. A look at his reputation as it stood 100, 200, and 300 years ago may help to make the point.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Pope had seen his career take off with a series of major poems: An Essay on Criticism, Windsor-Forest, The Rape of the Lock, and Eloisa to Abelard, which would all be packaged in the sumptuous collection of the poet's Works in 1717. Scarcely anyone without a personal grudge then doubted that a poet of the highest excellence had arrived on the scene—in the view of most dispassionate observers, the greatest English writer since Milton and Dryden in the late seventeenth century. A hundred years later, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, his position had undergone serious challenge, but he remained a potent influence for Wordsworth, and earned the vehement support of Byron:

Neither time, nor distance, nor grief, nor age, can ever diminish my veneration for him, who is the great moral poet of all times, of all climes, of all feelings, and of all stages of existence. The delight of my boyhood, the study of my manhood, perhaps (if allowed to me to attain it), he may be the consolation of my age. His poetry is the Book of Life.¹

This may seem hyperbolic, with its calculated reworking of a tag from the Roman moralist Cicero in the second sentence. But a similar tribute came from Byron's contemporary, the essayist Charles Lamb, when he remarked that Pope paid the finest compliments ever devised by the wit of man – "Each of them is worth an estate for life – nay an immortality." Pope's reputation

reached its low point in the late 1800s. Then, just a hundred years ago, things began to look up for the poet in the first decades of the twentieth century. His admirers were not critics who set the blood raging today - figures such as Austin Dobson and George Saintsbury, whose learning and love of poetry may be disguised from us by their blimpish personae. But the tide turned between the two world wars, as poets such as Edith Sitwell and W. H. Auden recognized Pope's outstanding technical accomplishments, and scholars such as George Sherburn began to reappraise his legacy. In the heyday of "New Criticism", around the 1940s and 1950s, Pope prospered mightily, enjoying the esteem of writers like Cleanth Brooks and W. K. Wimsatt; and even the ranks of Cambridge could scarce forbear to cheer, as these were represented by influential pioneers of twentieth-century literary analysis such as F. R. Leavis and William Empson. Pope also gained in public recognition through the efforts of modern scholarship, especially the imposing Twickenham edition of his complete poems spearheaded by John Butt from the 1930s to the 1960s, and the massive contributions to Popian study of Maynard Mack right up to the late 1980s.

But that was then and this is now. Against all expectations, Pope has made it into the early twenty-first century with very little, if any, loss of momentum. New approaches in the post-structuralist era have confirmed just how central a place he holds in the narrative of poetic history. Scarcely any critical school has managed to sideline his work: all our new terms and favored concepts turn out to fit Pope's practice with startling precision. It is no accident that so many of the shibboleths of modern criticism repeatedly turn up in the criticism of Pope. Nor, for that matter, that these keywords have come to the fore in this volume. The reason that the Companion is organized in part around issues such as identity, gender, the body, the history of the book, crime, and the other, goes back to a simple fact: Pope's work raises these issues in a peculiarly direct and pervasive way. No work of the time adumbrates the concerns of modern feminism more immediately than the Epistle to a Lady; no poem dramatizes the march of the literary, journalistic and publishing profession so richly as The Dunciad. We should find it hard to name any considerable body of poetry so replete with images of crime and punishment as the Imitations of Horace. Few writers have confronted the nature of heroism in the modern world so searchingly as did Pope in his translations of Homer. If there is a single text in the entire canon which brought the topic of consumerism and commodification into the western mind, then it must be The Rape of the Lock – as innumerable modern readings serve to confirm. Luxury, politeness, effeminacy, private and public spaces, neuroticism - they all come into question during the course of the Rape, in a text that lasts less than 800 lines (you could recite it within the