The verse of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: a critical edition

Volume 2

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Epistle From Arthur G^/ra/y to Mrs M^/urr^/a/y Oct.-Dec. 1721

For this epistle see above, p. 141. The story has been fully told by Halsband in *History Today*, Oct. 1967. Griselda Murray (1692-1759), the separated wife of Alexander Murray of Stanhope, lived with her parents, George and Lady Griselda Baillie, and was a friend of Lady Mary. In the early hours of 14 Oct. 1721 a footman named Arthur Gray entered her room and attempted to rape her; she fought him off and raised the alarm. Gray was caught, tried, and sentenced to hang. The story was widely reported and verses were written on it (e.g. *The Weekly Journal: Or, British Gazetteer*, 21 Oct.).

He wrote a Letter to Mrs. Murray from Newgate, telling her, that as his Fault was only a Fault of raging Love, he hoped she would commiserate his Condition, and release him from an infernal Place....A certain great foreign Lady of Quality, upon hearing this Tale, said, she pitied the poor young Man, since he was so much in Love

(*The Weekly Journal or Saturday's-Post, 21 Oct.*) Lady Mary kept among her papers another epistle on this subject (Appendix I, p. 733), and may have written a ballad about it (below p. 663).

256:
MSS: H MS/ ff. 10-13, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
H MS/ ff. 16-20; Lady Mary's hand, few variants from H MS 256.
Cornell: pp. 11-15, corrected by Spence.
Printed: 1747, pp. 387-43; 1746, iii. 298-302; 2nd ed. made one change. Reprinted in eds. before 1758.
1768, pp. 60-66.
1776: Additions to the Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., i. 182-7, ascribed to Lady Mary, with a note: "This animated poem is omitted in the latter editions of Mr. Dodsley's collection, and is therefore reprinted here."
1803, v. 193-200; 1837, iii. 396-9; 1861, ii. 478-80.

Title: Epistle from Ar. G. In prison to the Honble Mrs M---- in M. Street H MS 255; Cornell followed H MS 256, but was expanded by Spence; Epistle from Arthur Grey the Footman to Mrs. Murray, after his Condemnation for attempting to commit violence eds., with minor variants.
Read Lovely Nymph, and tremble not to read,
I have no more to wish, nor you to dread.
I ask not Life, for Life to me were vain
And Death a refuge from severer Pain,

My only Hope in these last lines I try,
I would be pity'd, and I then would die.

Long had I liv'd, as sordid as my Fate,
Nor curst the Destiny that made me wait,
A servile Slave: content with homely food,

The Grosz instinct of Appetite persu'd;
Youth gave me Sleep at Night, and warmth of Blood.
Ambition yet had never touch'd my Breast,
My lordly Master knew no sounder rest;
With Labour healthy, in Obedience blest.

But when I saw! (Oh had I never seen
That wounding softness, that engaging Mien!)

The mist of wretched Education flys,
Shame, Fear, Desire, Despair, and Love arise,

The new Creation of those Beauteous Eyes.

4 Death \_ death's Cornell.
7 sordid \_ altered from servile H MS 256.
9 servile \_ altered from sordid H MS 256; sordid 1776.
10 Appetite \_ happiness 1768, 1803-1861.
15 But when \_ altered from Thus till H MS 255.

3 Cf. Lansdowne's The British Enchanters, III. ii: "I ask not Life, for Life were Cruelty" (Poems Upon Several Occasions, 1712, p. 233).
3-4 The question of a reprieve troubled Mrs. Murray's family: mercy urged them to obtain one, but they also feared this would suggest they doubted the justice of the conviction.
His Strength of Appetite, and height of Blood,
Gave double Relish to his Love and Food
(Dryden's Miscellany, v. 505; copied by LM in H MS 255, f. 73).
13 lordly Master: Gray was employed by Mrs. Murray's brother-in-law, Charles Hamilton (1697-1732), Lord Binnin-, son of Lord Haddington.
15 Cf. Philips's sixth pastoral: "When first I saw, would I had never seen" (Dryden's Miscellany, vi. 45).
But yet that Love persu'd no Guilty Aim,
Deep in my Heart, I hid the secret flame;
I never hop'd my fond Desire to tell,
And all my Wishes were to serve you well.
Heaven! how I flew when wing'd by your command,
And kiss'd the Letters given me by your Hand.
How pleas'd, how proud, how fond was I to wait,
Present the sparkling Wine, or change your Plate!
How when you sung my Soul devour'd the Sound,
And every Sense was in the Rapture drown'd!
Tho' bid to go, I quite forgot to move,
You knew not that Stupidity was Love.
But Oh the torment not to be express'd,
The Greife, the Rage, the Hell that fir'd my Breast,
When my Great Rivals in Embroidery Gay,
Sat by your Side, or led you from the Play;
I still contriv'd, near as I could to stand,
(The Flambeau trembled in my shaking hand)
I saw (or thought I saw) those fingers press'd;
For thus their Passion by my own I guess'd,
And Jealous Fury all my Soul possess'd.
Like Torrents, Love and Indignation meet,
And Madness would have thrown me at your Feet.

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20 Desire altered from Desires H MS 255.
24 Heaven Heavens Cornell, eds.
27 Wine glass 1776; your the Cornell, eds.
32 torment torments Cornell.
33 my this eds.
37 trembled...shaking trembling...shaking 1748 2nd ed, 1768, 1803-1861; trembling...careless 1776.
30-31 See above p.145, n.1.
Turn Lovely Nymph (for so I would have said)

Turn from those Trifflers that make Love a Trade,

This is true Passion in my Eyes you see,

They cannot, no; they cannot, love like me.

Frequent Debauch has pall'd their sickly taste,

Paint their Desire, and in a Moment past.

They sigh not from the Heart, but from the Brain

Vapours of Vanity and strong Champaign.

Too dull to feel what Forms like yours inspire,

After long talking of their painted Fire,

To some lewd Brothel they at Night retire.

There pleas'd with fancyd Quality and Charms,

Enjoy your Beautys in a Strumpet's Arms.

Such are the Joys these Toasters have in View

And such the Wit and Pleasure they persue,

But is this Love that ought to merit you?

Each Opera Night a new Address begun,

They swear to Thousands what they swear to one.

Not thus I sigh -- But all my sighs are vain,

Dye wretched Arthur and conceal thy Pain;

Tis Impudence to wish, and Madness to complain.

44 that who Cornell, eds.
48 moment -- moments Cornell.
50 Vapours Effects H MS 255; strong mere 1776.
56 these those eds.
57 such this H MS 255.
58 But -- And eds.

47 Cf. Rowe's "Frequent Enjoyment pall'd your sprightly Taste" ("Prologue to the Gamster /sic/", Poetical Works, 1720, p. 66).
52 Lady Winchilsea wrote "The real warmth, and not the painted fire" ("The Triumphs of Love and Innocence", Poems, 1903, p. 293).
Fix'd on this View, my only hope of Ease,

I waited not the Aid of slow Disease,

The keenest Instruments of Death I sought,

And Death alone employ'd my Lab'ring thought,

This all the Night -- when I remember well

The charming Tinkle of your morning Bell,

Fir'd by the Sound, I hasten'd with your Tea,

For one last look to smooth the darksome way,

But oh how dear that fatal Look has cost,

In that fond Moment my Resolves were lost.

Hence all my Guilt, and all your sorrows rise,

I saw the languid softness of your Eyes,

I saw the dear Disorder of your Bed,

Your Cheek all glowing with a tempting red,

Your Nightcloaths tumbled with resistless Grace,

Your flowing Hair plaid careless round your Face,

Your Nightgown fastned with a single pin,

68 This Tnus 1776.

70 by with Cornell.

71 For With eds.

74 your altered from my Cornell; my 1776.

77 Cheek cheeks, 1768, 1803-1861.

79 round down 1768, 1803-1861.

66-67 Gray's idea of suicide is LM's invention; it provides a reason for his procuring the pistol and sword with which he entered Mrs. Murray's room.

72 Cf. Pope's Iliad: "How dear, O Kings! this fatal Day has cost!" (vii. 392).

78-80 LM lifted these lines from "Tuesday", lines 71-73. Leigh Hunt probably had this passage in mind when he wrote of this poem "her very panegyrics were sometimes malicious" (Men, Women and Books, 1847, ii. 245).

80-81 LM's idol Algarotti later used this couplet in his "A Lesbia":

D'un gentil zamberlucco il seno involta,

Che un sol ago tenea dinanzi chiuso

(Opere, Leghorn, 1764-5, viii. 134. A footnote quotes the lines from "Epistle from Arthur G.Y. to Ms. M.Y." without naming the author).
Fancy improv'd the wondrous charms within,
I fix'd my Eyes upon that heaving Breast
And hardly, hardly, I forbore the rest.
Eager to Gaze, unsatisfy'd with sight,
My Head grew giddy with the near Delight --
Too well you know the fatal following Night.

Th'extremest proofe of my Desire I give,
and since you will not love, I will not live.
Condemn'd by you I wait the righteous Doom,
Careless and fearless of the woes to come.

Yet when you see me waver in the Wind,
My Guilty Flame extinct, my Soul resign'd,
Sure you may pity, what you can't approve,
The cruel Consequence of Furious Love.

Think the bold Wretch, that could so greatly dare,
Was Tender, Faithfull, Ardent, and sincere.
Think, when I held the Pistol to your Breast
Had I been of the World's large rule possess'd
That World had then been yours, and I been blest.
Think that my Life was quite below my Care,
Nor fear'd I any Hell beyond Despair.
If these Reflections (tho they seize you late)
Give some Compassion for your Arthur's fate
Enough you give, nor ought I to complain,
You pay my Pangs, nor have I dy'd in vain.
No manuscript of this poem is now known, but it is accepted on Dallaway's statement (see above pp. 71, 212). John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, died on 16 June 1722 and was buried with great pomp on 9 August. The newspapers devoted much space to obituaries and accounts of the funeral, many of them embellished with heroic verse. Lady Mary probably wrote hers on the same occasion, and was not responsible for the later application of her concluding lines to Anne Oldfield. If it was handed round in manuscript it was readily available for plagiary.

Printed: 1803, v. 156; 1837, iii. 373 (reprinted in Quarterly Review, lvi, 1837, p. 172); 1861, ii. 458.
(last four lines only) 1731: London Evening-Post and Whitehall Evening-Post, 19 Jan., as an epitaph on Anne Oldfield (d. 23 Oct. 1730); reprinted in GM, Jan. 1731, p. 23; William Egerton, Faithful Memoirs of...Mrs. Anne Oldfield, 1731, Appendix, v. 21.

When the proud Frenchman's strong rapacious hand
Spread over Europe ruin and command,
Our sinking temples and expiring law
With trembling dread the rolling tempest saw;

Destined a province to insulting Gaul,
This Genius rose, and stopp'd the ponderous fall.
His temperate valour form'd no giddy scheme,
No victory rais'd him to a rage of fame;

1 proud Frenchman: Louis XIV.
6 Marlborough upheld a war policy in 1702, unlike some of the Tories.
8 After Blenheim (13 Aug. 1704) Marlborough wrote to his wife that he had won the greatest English victory since the Middle Ages.
The happy temper of his even mind

No danger e'er could shock, or conquest blind.
Fashion'd alike, by Nature and by Art,
To please, engage, and interest, every heart.
In public life by all who saw approv'd,
In private hours by all who knew him lov'd.

11 here 1731 begins.

14 hours / Life 1731; him / her 1731.

LM was a close friend of Marlborough's wife and of one of his daughters (Letters, ii. 406).
For Lady Mary's connection with Lord Peterborough's "I said to my heart between sleeping and waking", upon which this is a comment, see Grundy, "Pope, Peterborough, and the Characters of Women", RES, Nov. 1969, pp. 461-8. Lady Hertford sent Peterborough's poem to her mother on 6 Nov. 1723 (H. S. Hughes, The Gentle Hertford, 1940, p. 83); it was written not long before that.

MS: Pierpont Morgan MS M. A. 347, item 23; Lady Mary's hand, on the verso of an incomplete copy of "L[Peterborough's Verses on Mrs. Howard. 1723 --", in an unknown hand.


Here's a fine Declaration of Whimsical Love
That nor Beauty, nor Spirit, nor Virtue can move,
He would mortify none, lampoon'd he ten more
For who but a Bawd will design on Threescore?

2 Spirit altered from <?> MS.
3 mortify magnify April 1969 altered from Not one would lament if he <scorn'd> twenty more MS.
4 who altered from <none> MS.

LM appears in her copy of Peterborough's poem as the representative of wit, who like "Mrs Harvy"(beauty) and "Miss Medows" (virtue), fails to arouse his love.

Threescore: Charles Mordaunt (d. 1735), 3rd Earl of Peterborough, was born in 1658.
For this epistle see above p. 146. Judith (1702-81), daughter of Spencer Cowper, poetess and friend of Pope, married (Dec. 1723) Capt. Martin Madan (1700-56). In the first years of her marriage she addressed poems to her husband under the name of Lysander; he is probably the fickle lover Lady Mary writes of. Their courtship had begun by October and was reported by the end of November 1723. The wedding was variously assigned to the 7th, 14th and about the 3rd of December (Falconer Madan, The Madan Family, 1933, p. 77; Whitehall Evening Post, 30th Nov., 5 Dec.; St James's Evening Post, 17 Dec.).

MS: H MS 81, ff. 41-42, Lady Mary's hand.

If Health could bribe me, or if Beauty move,
I need not sigh (Lysander) for your Love!
The Crowd still follows where I please to pass
Nor need I dread the Censure of my Glass,

The Heaven-born Muses in my Bosom dwell,
Not Sapho's selfe express'd their sense so well,
And what should most engage you to be true
A Heart that languishes, and dyes for You.

Title_ added later by LM.

1-2 Cf. the opening lines of a verse passage in Arabella Plantin's story, "The Ingrateful: Or, The Just Revenge":
If Honour, or if Gratitude, should move,
How strong my Claim, to my Lysander's Love!
The verse forms part of a letter from Melissa to her faithless lover (printed in Whartoniana, 1727, ii. 138; also Bod. MS Montagu e. 13, f. 91).

5-6 Judith Cowper had already written "Abelard to Eloisa" (in reply to Pope), 1720, and "The Progress of Poetry", 1721 (Madan Family, p. 85), and had verses published in The Weekly Journal; Or, British Gazetteer, 25 July 1721. LM presumably did not know that Pope had compared her unfavourably with Judith Cowper and sent Judith a compliment originally designed for LM (Pope, Corr., ii. 139, 142).
But You (False Man) no Gratitude can warm
And Fatal Kindness sullys every charm.
These Eyes, the Source of all your Joy and Pain,
(For so you swore) now melt in Tears in vain.
The strong Disorders on my Vitals prey,
I weep all night, yet Hate the dawning Day,
The Day restores me to the Cursed Care
To hide a Torment which I cannot bear,
Cheifferly from you, I should the pain conceal,
Who cannot pity, what you cannot feel.

From Fair, to Fair, with Idle vows you rove
And Repetitions of unmeaning Love,
A new pink Cornet makes you wish to day,
A Brilliant Buckle takes that wish away,
Harvey, How, Howard, please you in their Turn,
You sigh for Ribands, and for Tippets burn.

10 Judith Cowper's courtship letters sometimes mention her lover's neglect and her jealousy: "How is it possible for me to fancy you as Sincere as I would have you, when an Opera, nay, one you did not like, could make you leave me?" In 1744 she wrote to him of "a time of life...when I had nothing to wish, having never seen you, nor had ever known the cares that attend even the most Successfull Passion" (Madan Family, pp. 87, 97).


14 variant: Cf. Congreve's "To Cynthia Weeping and not Speaking": "To wake all Night, yet dread the breaking Day" (Dryden's Miscellany, iv. 104).

18 Cf. Judith Cowper's "Abelard to Eloisa": "Nor can you pity what you never felt" (Letters of Abelard and Heloise, 1782, p. 139). She had hypochondriac tendencies and later suffered nervous breakdowns (Madan Family, p. 78).

21 Cornet: defined by Mary Evelyn as "The upper piner, dangling about the cheeks like hounds ears" (Tamus Jullibris, 1690: John Evelyn, Miscellaneous Writings, 1825, p. 710).

23 All ornaments of the court: Mary Lepell (1700-50), who had married (1720) John, later Lord Hervey; Mary (c. 1743), daughter of 1st Viscount Howe, who married (1725) Lord Pembroke (not Sophia Howe, who died in 1726); Henrietta Howard (c. 1660-1707, see Hobart), later Countess of Suffolk. Judith Cowper wrote before her marriage "Mrs. (Cont.)"
Where these are Merits, Oh How vain, I plead
A tender Heart, and a reflecting Head!
Yet such a Heart, so fond, so nicely true,
Would force Esteem from any Man but You.

By sly Design, or by Affected chance
Can you accuse me of one Guilty Glance?
Too much my Tenderness my Faith secures,
My Cares, my Wishes, and my Soul are yours,
For You I dress, For you to Shades retire
And curse the feeble Charms that Crowds admire.

Take back ye Gods this useless pow'r to please,
It gains no Glory, and it gives no Ease!
While at my Feet neglected Lovers lie
'Tis I that languish, and 'tis I that dye.
With silent sorrow they reproach my Scorn,

With more than equal pangs this Heart is torn
And when I see you ('tis not to be told)
I see you Careless, Insolent, or Cold,
What 'ere you say, You say with too much ease
No fear to lose me, nor no Care to please.

Dull common Courtship comes not from the Heart,
No Rapture when we meet, no pain to part.

23 (Cont.) Howe Look'd exceeding grave and cold -- I beleive She Loves you, Madam", and to her daughter in 1746 "it was my Fate to have marry'd the Man Mrs. Howe was fondest of in the world...." (Madan Family, p. 87).
33 To Hertingfordbury Park, near Hertford.
34 Cf. "Cleopatra to Julius Caesar", line 27 (above p. 284).
With what dead weight is then my Soul oppress'd:
Love, Shame, and Indignation rend my Breast,
Fain would I tell -- but cannot force my Voice
To say, How I repent my worthless Choice.
Rack'd, and Tormented, ruin'd, and undone
I see my Doage -- and I yet doat on.

Go Faithless Man this wretched Victim leave,
I cannot more be lost, or you deceive.

Persue the dirty Paths that lead to Gold
And Like a Common Prostitute be sold,
Are these the Steps by which to Power you move?
Is this the Picture of the Man I love?

51-52 Cf. "I know the Fate", lines 7-8 (above p. 331 ).
55-58 It does not appear that Madan was unusually ambitious. He was
promoted a captain in 1721, held court posts, and was a Member of
Parliament 1747-54 (Madan Family, pp. 73-76; Spencer Cowper, Dean

after 56 six lines have been heavily struck out. As far as can be made
out they are identical with lines 71-76 of "Epistle From Mrs. Yonge" (below p. 433). As well as crossing out the lines, LM or somebody
else has written over them apparently unconnected words and names

"Happy had I the"
Parting Praised Mrs Cook to Lord Berkeley
Or in time to come perhaps Miss
To Philip Floyd ask How the play
Poultnay to Lord Chesterfield I am not

Mrs Cook and Lord Berkeley: see "Friday", headnote and line 42, note.

Philip Floyd: two poems in H hs 255 are ascribed to him, the second
on Molly Skerrett (ff. 13, 60-61). A Whig hack, he was lampooned
in "The Duke of Wharton's Letter to Mr. Lloyd":
Dear Lloyd, they say you're Walpole's Ferret
To hunt out poor miss Molly Skerret
(BM Harl. MS 7318, f. 51; printed New Foundling Hospital for
Wit, 1784, i. 227-8).

Poultnay: either William (1684-1754), later 1st Earl of Bath, or his
cousin Daniel (1684-1731).

Chesterfield: either the 3rd Earl (d. 1726), or his famous son Philip
(1694-1773), 4th Earl. The latter would be more suitable to
this company, but if he is intended the scribbles must date
from at least three years later than the poem.
By Heaven, I will this mean Desire controul,

I'll tear this hated Passion from my Soul,
I will not thus be toss'd -- Desire -- Despise,
Contemn your Folly, yet adore your Eyes.

For what strange Curse has Nature form'd my Mind
So different from the rest of Womankind?

Shew, Dress and Dancing are their sole delights,
In visits lose the Day, in play they waste the Night,
But I had rather from the Croud retir'd,
Be lov'd by One, than be by all admir'd.

Through (?) the World is there no hope to find

One faithfull Partner to a tender mind,
Gentle and Just, and without feigning, Kind?

None, (there) is none, the fond persuit is vain,
A Fancy'd Bliss I never can obtain.
L'homme qui ne se trouve point, et ne se trouvera jamais

The man is probably Robert Walpole, since Molly (last line) must be his mistress Maria Skerrett (1702-38). Lady Mary probably met Molly in 1721; they spent most of the summer of 1724 together. By autumn of that year Walpole had become Molly's lover (Letters, ii. 12 n. 1, 41; J. H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, 1960, p. 113); if the poem refers to him it must date from early in the affair. Lady Mary wrote of Molly as a friend for moods of light-hearted mirth (Letters, ii. 54). Her motto comes from the title of an essay by Saint-Evremond, "Idée de la Femme qui ne se trouve point & qui ne se trouvera jamais" (Oeuvres mêlées, 1706, ii. 263).

MSS: H MS: 256, f. 18, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
Cornell: p. 5.
Printed: 1750: L. Mag., Jan., p. 38, ascribed to Lady Mary.
1768, p. 95-96; L. Mag., Feb., 1768, p. 98; 1803, v. 213-14
(the 1805 reprint made one change); 1837, iii. 405; 1861, ii.
485-6.

The Man who feels the dear Disease
Forgets himselfe, neglects to please,
The crowd avoids, and seeks the Groves
And much he thinks, when much he loves,

Press'd with alternate Hope and Fear
Sighs in her Absence, sighs when she is near;

The Gay, the fond, the Fair and young
Those Trifflers pass unseen along,

To him, a pert insipid throng.

4 Cf. "And much He meditates; for much He loves" (Prior, Henry and Emma, 1706: Works, i. 263).
But most he shuns the vain Coquette,
Contemns her false affected Wit,
The Minstrels Sound, the flowing Bowl,
Oppress and hurt the Amorous Soul;
'Tis Solitude alone can please;
And give some Intervals of ease.
He feeds the soft distemper there
And fondly courts the distant Fair,
To Balls the silent shade prefers
And hates all other charms but Hers.
When thus your absent Swain can do
Molly; you may believe him true.
For this epistle see above p. 150. Mary (b. 1696), daughter and heiress of Samuel Heathcote, married (1716) William Yonge (c. 1693-1755, Bart. 1731), whom Hervey in 1731 considered "such a complication of unpleasant qualities, that curing of one only, would go no farther towards making him agreeable, than washing one tooth would towards making him sweet" (Ilchester, p. 131). Yonge recovered damages for his wife's adultery on 30 June 1724; the king gave his consent to a divorce on 16 Dec. (The Evening Post, 17 Dec.). There are jovially cynical verses "Upon the Bill to divorce Mr. Yonge" in BM Lansd. MS 852 (f. 229).

The Northampton Mercury, 6 July 1724, reported the action on 30 June:

between the Honourable Mr. Yonge, Plaintiff, and Col. Norton, Defendant. The Cause was laid for 10000 l. Damages of the Col. for criminal Correspondence and Conversation with his Wife; which appeared by divers Letters, and Witnesses who saw them in Bed together. The Col. in his Defence produced a Deed of Separation between the Plaintiff and his Lady, to mitigate the Case; but the Jury, consisting all of Gentlemen of great Worth... gave Mr. Yonge 1500 l. Damage, with Cost of Suit. The Court was very much crowded, and several Lords and Commons were present.

After Mrs. Yonge's first public disgrace, both Houses of Parliament deliberated the divorce, listening to her love-letters and to the account of her being surprised with her lover "together in naked Bed" (Journals of the House of Lords, xxii. 359-36 sub 27 Nov. 1724). Lady Bristol wrote to her husband on 28 Nov. that the divorce was "indeed all the talk" (Hervey, Letter-Books, ii. 377). Lady Mary may have overestimated public sympathy for Mrs. Yonge (lines 65-68); the final condemnation, reported under 15 Dec., did not sound half-hearted:

In the Debates on Mr. Yonge's Bill, Mr. Comptroller said that Mrs. Yonge's Dowry of 1200 l. per Ann. being taken from her by the Bill, and the greatest Part of her Fortune (which was 12000 l.) by the Allowance only of 400 l. per Annum; and she abandoned by her Relations, he would be glad to know whether she had consented to the said Allowance, which he seemed to intimate was too little.
To this Mr. Onslow answer'd, that her Consent was not material: That she stood in Judgment before the House, accused of the Crime of Adultery, which, in the Time of the Jews, was punished with Death, and under the Romans, till the Reign of the Emperor Justinian; That 'tis also punishable with Death in some Parts of Saxony, and in Sweden; and, for double Adultery, (he believed) in Scotland to this Day... That since she had forfeited all by Law, the taking away half of her Fortune, was not sufficient Satisfaction for her Husband's Sufferings; and that, as to her Allowance, since she had not thought fit to oppose the Bill in either House, her Silence gave Consent.

(Northampton Mercury, 21 Dec. 1724).

MSS: H MS: 256, ff. 6-10, Lady Mary's hand.
Wh MS: (excerpt, lines 32-35, 25-31 only) Wh 509, transcribed by Lady Louisa Stuart from a letter of Lady Mary's now lost.
Printed: 1837, iii. 284; 1861, ii. 365; Letters, iii. 219.

Think not this Paper comes with vain pretence
To move your Pity, or to mourn th'offence.
Too well I know that hard Obdurate Heart;
No soft'ning mercy there will take my part,
Nor can a Woman's Arguments prevail,
When even your Patron's wise Example fails,
But this last privelege I still retain,
Th'Oppress'd and Injur'd allways may complain.

Too, too severely Laws of Honour bind

The Weak Submissive Sex of Woman-kind.

Yonge already followed the example of his patron, Robert Walpole, in extramarital affairs, but not in tolerance for those of his wife (HMC, Egmont Diary, 1920-3, ii. 431).

Cf. Pope's "To a Young Lady, with the Works of Voiture" (pub. 1712): Too much your Sex is by their Forms confin'd, Severe to all, but most to Womankind (Twickenham, vi. 63).
If sighs have gain'd or force compell'd our Hand,
  Deceiv'd by Art, or urg'd by stern Command,
What ever Motive binds the fatal Tye,
The Judging World expects our Constancy.

  Just Heaven! (for sure in Heaven does Justice reign
  Tho' Tricks below that sacred Name prophane)
To you appealing I submit my Cause
Nor fear a Judgment from Impartial Laws.
All Bargains but conditional are made,

The Purchase void, the Creditor unpaid,
Defrauded Servants are from Service free,
A wounded Slave regains his Liberty.
For Wives ill us'd no remedy remains,
To daily Racks condemn'd, and to eternal Chains.

From whence is this unjust Distinction grown?
Are we not form'd with Passions like your own?
Nature with equal Fire our Souls endu'd,
Our Minds as Haughty, and as warm our blood,

11-12 Cf. The Rape of the Lock, ii. 33-34:
For when Success a Lover's Toil attends,
  Few ask, if Fraud or Force attain'd his Ends.
15-16 Cf. the return of Justice to heaven in Metamorphoses, book i.
25-31, 32-35 LM quoted these lines, putting lines 32-35 first, in a
letter to Sir James Steuart on 19 July 1759 (Letters, iii. 219)
and added, "How the great Dr. Swift would stare at this vile
triplet! --" referring to an oft-expressed opinion of his (e.g.
O're the wide World your pleasures you persue,

The Change is justify'd by something new;

But we must sigh in Silence -- and be true.

Our Sexes Weakness you expose and blame,
(Of every Prattling Fop the common Theme)

Yet from this Weakness you suppose is due

Sublimer Virtu than your Cato knew.

Had Heaven design'd us Tryals so severe,

It would have form'd our Tempers then to bear.

And I have born (O what have I not born!)

The pang of Jealousie, th'Insults of Scorn.

Weary'd at length, I from your sight remove,

And place my Future Hopes, in Secret Love.

In the gay Bloom of glowing Youth retir'd,

I quit the Woman's Joy to be admir'd,

With that small Pension your hard Heart allows,

Renounce your Fortune, and release your Vows.

To Custom (th' unjust) so much is due,

I hide my Frailty, from the Public view.

---

29 pleasures / wishes Wh MS, eds.
33 Prattling / prating Wh MS, eds.

34-35 LM wrote to Steuart and his wife of "that tyrannical sex, who with absurd cruelty first put the invaluable deposite of their precious honor in our hands, and then oblige us to prove a negative for the preservation of it" (Letters, iii. 191). For a comparison of suffering women with Cato, see her Nonsense of Common-Sense, no. vi (ed. Halsband, 1947, p. 27).

38 Cf. "To Hermenesilde", line 11 and note (above p. 325).
39 Yonge was a leading light among the "gallant schemers", described with amusement by LM in March of this year, and with virtuous horror by the newspapers (Letters, ii. 38-40; The Universal Journal, 6 June 1724).
My Conscience clear, yet sensible of Shame
My Life I hazard, to preserve my Fame.

And I prefer this low inglorious State,
To vile dependance on the Thing I hate --
-- But you persue me to this last retreat.
Dragg'd into Light, my tender Crime is shown
And every Circumstance of Fondness known.

Beneath the Shelter of the Law you stand,
And urge my Ruin with a cruel Hand.
While to my Fault thus rigidly severe,
Tamely Submissive to the Man you fear.

This wretched Out-cast, this abandonn'd Wife,

Has yet this Joy to sweeten shamefull Life,
By your mean Conduct, infamously loose
You are at once m'Accuser, and Excuse.
Let me be damn'd by the Censorious Prude
(Stupidly Dull, or Spiritually Lewd)

My hapless Case will surely Pity find,
From every Just and reasonable Mind,
When to the final Sentence I submit,
The Lips condemn me, but their Souls acquit.

No more my Husband, to your Pleasures go,

The Sweets of your recover'd Freedom know,
Go; Court the brittle Freindship of the Great,

58 A duel would have been a more acceptable reaction to cuckoldom than a lawsuit.
69 No more my Husband: a phrase used by Dryden's Alcmena (Amphitryon, III. i: DW, vi. 185).
71ff. LM rejected these lines from "Miss Cooper to ----" (above p. 425).
71 the Great: Walpole, with whom Yonge toured the west country in Aug. and Sept. of this year.
Smile at his Board, or at his Levee wait
And when dismiss'd to Madam's Toilet fly,
More than her Chambermaids, or Glasses, Lye,
Tell her how Young she locks, how heavenly fair,
Admire the Lillys, and the Roses, there,
Your high Ambition may be gratify'd,
Some Cousin of her own be made your Bride,
And you the Father of a Glorious Race
Endow'd with Ch--l's strength and Low--r's face.

78 her altered from your H MS.
79 you altered from your H MS.

When Yonge remarried, in 1729, it was to Anne (after 1707-1775), daughter of the 7th Baron Howard of Effingham. His ex-wife made use of her freedom sooner: in Dec. 1724 "Mrs. Mary Heathcote" married Patrick Macmahon, Esq., of Co. Tipperary (G. E. Cokayne, Complete Baronetage, 1900-9). This line comes from Rochester's account of a booby heir: lest he marry intelligence and improve the breed "his friends provide / A cousin of his own to be his bride" ("A Letter from Artemisia in the Town to Chloe in the Country", pub. 1679: Poems, p. 111).

80 Probably Churchill and Lowther. Charles Churchill (below p. 701) enjoyed the friendship of Sir Robert Walpole; Antony Lowther (d. 1741) was the spark later blamed for the death of Sophia Howe.
For this poem see above p. 69. George Bowes (1701-60), heir of a coal-mining family associated with Lady Mary's husband, had married (1 Oct. 1724) Elizabeth Verney (sic in newspapers; "Eleanor" in Robert Surtees, History and Antiquities of the County Palatinate of Durham, 1816-40, iv. i. 108). The wedding was "kept with the greatest Splendor and Magnificence", crowned by an audience with the king (The Evening Post, 3 Oct., The St. James's Evening Post, 6 Oct.). The bride, not yet fifteen years old, died less than eleven weeks later, on 14 December. Lady Mary was in London (Letters, ii. 43) and so heard the news the same evening.

Lady Mary's verse was strongly criticised. The London Journal, 30 Jan. 1725, printed a teasing reply, beginning "Tho all the World knows":

Some Folks make a Face,
And pity her Case,
'Tis the Envy of good Lady Mary.

Among Lord Oxford's papers this was accompanied by a much more stinging epigram accusing Lady Mary of

Such lechery, drest up so clean,
And with so chaste a look

("Chloe her thoughts has so exprest", BM Harl. MS 7316, ff. 158-9).

Another "Answer", by the Duke of Wharton, begins "Hail, Poetess!" and speaks of her "wanton soul" and supposed affair with the Sultan (New Foundling Hospital For Wit, 1784, i. 229-30). The vehemence of these attacks is probably due to gossip not mentioned by Lady Mary: Walpole noted that Mrs. Bowes (compared in another epitaph to Semele and Danae) "was said to die of the violence of the Bridegroom's embraces" (G. Sherburn, "Walpole's Marginalia in Additions to Pope (1776)", HLQ, i. 1938, p. 462). In 1726 an anonymous verse-writer praised Lady Mary's poem (The Weekly Journal: Or, The British Gazetteer, 10 Sept.).

Title: Written ex tempore upon a Card, in a great deal of Company, Monday Dec. 14, 1724. 1724-1768, 1803-1861, with minor variants; Written Extempore Cornell; An Elegy on Mrs. Bowes 1776.
MSS: H MS: 256, f. 7, Lady Mary's hand.
H MS (deleted): 256, f. 17, Lady Mary's hand, whole page struck out.
Longleat: Portland MS xx. 112; Lady Bute's hand, no verbal variants from H MS (deleted).
Cornell: extra leaf in different hand, added at front of volume.
BM MSS: Add. 5384 (copied by William Cole); Add. 28095; Add. 32463; Add. Eg. 2560; Harl. 7316. Minor variants in these MSS have not been recorded: most are copied from print, which testifies to the interest the poem aroused.

Printed: 1724: The Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post, 26 Dec., as by "the Rt. Hon. Lady M. W. M." Reprinted in A Collection of Epigrams, 1727, 2nd ed., 1735-7 (no. xxiii: as by Lady Mary, with two more on the same subject, "How blest a life! how short its date!" and "Tho all the world knows"); in The Annual Register, 1763 and 1774; in The New Foundling Hospital For Wit, 1784, i. 228-9 (2nd ed. 1786); and in L. S. Benjamin7, Philip Duke of Wharton, 1913, p. 100. Those who copied it included Hearne (Remarks and Collections, viii, 1907, p. 313).

1768: pp. 73-74.
1776: Additions to the Works of Pope, i. 171, with "Tho' every one knows" and "Cloe her thoughts has so exprest".
1803, v. 212 (one variant in 1805 reprint); 1837, iii. 404-5; 1861, ii. 485.

Hail happy Bride for thou art truly blest!
Three Months of Rapture crown'd with endless Rest!

2 Rapture7 pleasure 1776.
after 2 four extra lines in all versions but those of H MS and Longleat:
Merit, like yours, was Heav'ns peculiar Care,
You lov'd, -- yet tasted Happiness sincere:
To you the Sweets of Love (The sweets of love to you 1776) were
The sure succeeding bitter Dregs unknown: only shewn,

1 Cf. the opening of "A Panegyrick, 1696/7": "Hail happy William, thou art strangely great" (Pas, 1703, p. 401), and its many imitations.

variant after 2 perhaps contributed by another member of the "Company".
You had not yet the fatal Change deplor'd,
The tender Lover, for th' imperious Lord,
Nor felt the Pangs that jealous Fondness brings,
Nor wept the Coldness from Possession springs.
Above your Sex, distinguish'd in your Fate,
You trusted, yet experience'd no Deceit.
Soft were your Hours, and wing'd with Pleasure flew;
No vain Repentance gave a sigh to you.
And if Superior Bliss Heaven can bestow
With fellow Angels you enjoy it now.

5 Pangs; pains 1724, Cornell; pain 1766, 1803-1861.
6 wept the; wept that 1724; felt the 1766, 1803; felt, that 1805-1861.
7-8 omitted from h MS (deleted).
9 Soft; swift 1776; your; the 1724.
11-12 Heavn Only Can Superiour Bliss oestow
And Rapt With Angells you Enjoy it Now
BM Add. MS 28095.

No greater Joys are felt in Worlds like this;
Tho' now in Heaven you taste superior Bliss
1766, BM Add. MS 5384, BM Add. MS Eq. 2560.

3-4 Cf. Pope's "To a Young Lady, with the Works of Voiture":
Whole Years neglected for some Months ador'd,
The fawning Servant turns a haughty Lord
(Twickenham, vi. 63).

9 Cf. William Bowles's "Pharmaceutria, or the Enchantress. Translated from Theocritus": "Now swift the hours, and wing'd with pleasure flew" (Dryden's Miscellany, i. 251); and Rochester's "Letter from Artemisia to Cloe": "Gay were the hours, and winged with joys they flew" (Poems, p. 110).
For this poem see above, p. 186. Horace Walpole wrote of Lady Mary: "One of her many amours was with Mr Chandler, eldest son to the Bishop of Durham, to whom she wrote that admirable Description of a Lover... though in the copies which she gives now she writes (Molly) meaning Miss Skerret" (Corr. xiv. 245; he gave the same identification in his notes to Dodsley's Collection, as did Spence in Cornell). Richard Chandler (1703-69) married Elizabeth Cavendish in 1732 and took her name on the death of his father-in-law in 1752. Lady Mary does not mention him in her known writings, but he was probably the "Mr. Cavendish" to whom she is said to have addressed another poem (below p. 688). Whatever she may have told Walpole and Spence, "The Lover" reads like a description of a hypothetical ideal; this genre usually dealt with "the not impossible she", though Lady Chudleigh had hoped in "The Wish" for a male "kind, and faithful Friend" (Poems, 1703, pp. 32-33). The poem is dated from Lady Mary's intimacy with Molly Skerrett, whom Lady Mary ceases to mention in her letters after the close companionship of 1724-5 (ii. 41, 45, 54).

MSS: H MS 256: ff. 18-19, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
   H MS 255: ff. 32-33, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
   Cornell: pp. 18-20, corrected by Spence.

   1768, pp. 87-90; 1803, v. 205-8 (reprinted in Specimens of British Poetesses, selected by Alexander Dyce, 1825, pp. 196-8); 1837, iii. 401-2; 1861, ii. 482-3; "George Paston", Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, [1907], pp. 545-6.

Title: a Ballad / omitted H MS 255.
   To Mr Chandler added by Spence, Cornell; To Mr. C... 1747-1768; To Mr. Congreve 1803-1861.
At length by so much Importunity press'd
Take (Molly) at once the Inside of my Breast,
This stupid Indifference so often you blame
Is not owing to Nature, to fear, or to Shame,
I am not as cold as a Virgin in Lead
Nor is Sunday's Sermon so strong in my Head,
I know but too well how Time fly's along
That we live but few Years and yet fewer are young.

But I hate to be cheated and never will buy
Long years of Repentance for moments of Joy,
Oh was there a Man (but where shall I find
Good sense, and good Nature so equally joyn'd)
Would value his pleasure, contribute to mine,
Not meanly would boast, nor lewdly design,
Not over severe, yet not stupidly vain
For I would have the power tho' not give the pain.

2 Molly altered by Spence to Chandler Cornell; C---- 1747-1768;
Congreve 1803-1861.
6 is Sunday's Sermon are Sunday's sermons 1637, 1861.
8 Years Days H MS 255.
13 contribute to be carefull of H MS 255.
14 Not lewdly would boast, or meanly design H H S 255.
15 nor lewdly nor would lewdly Cornell altered thus by Spence, 1747, 1748.

12 Cf. "Good-Nature and Good-Sense must ever join" (Essay on Criticism, line 524).
No Pedant yet learned, not rakehelly Gay
Or laughing because he has nothing to say,
To all my whole sex, obliging and Free
Yet never be fond of any but me.
In public preserve the Decorums are just
And shew in his Eyes he is true to his Trust
Then rarely approach, and respectfully Bow,
Yet not fulsomely pert, nor yet foppishly low.

But when the long hours of Public are past
And we meet with Champaign and a Chicken at last
May every fond Pleasure that hour endear,
Be banish'd afar both Discretion and Fear,
Forgetting or scorning the Airs of the Croud
He may cease to be formal, and I to be proud
Till lost in the Joy we confess that we live
And he may be rude, and yet I may forgive.

19-20 Cf. John Pomfret's The Choice, 1700, p. 7 (of an ideal female friend):
Coy to a Fop, to the Deserving free,
Still constant to her self, and just to me.

21-22 Cf. The Choice (of friends), p. 6:
Secret they shou'd be, faithful to their Trust,
In Reasoning Cool, Strong, Temperate, and Just.

26 Cf. "To Molly on Easter Eve" (Appendix II, p. 767):
Let us first tete-a-tete, to your Dressing Room fire
With Champain, and a snu' little Summer retire.
And that my Delight may be solidly fix'd
Let the Freind, and the Lover be handsomely mix'd
In whose tender Bosom my Soul might confide,
Whose kindness can sooth me, whose Counsel could guide,
From such a dear Lover as here I describe
No danger should fright me, no Millions should bribe
But till this astonishing Creature I know
As I long have liv'd Chaste I will keep my selfe so.

I never will share with the wanton Coquette
Or be caught by a vain affectation of Wit.
The Toasters, and Songsters may try all their Art
But never shall enter the pass of my Heart;
I loath the Lewd Rake, the dress'd Fopling despise,
Before such persuers the nice Virgin flies
And as Ovid has sweetly in Parables told
We harden like Trees, and like Rivers are cold.

---

35 might may H MS 255, Cornell, eds.
36 can altered from could H MS 255; me, and H MS 255;
could can H MS 255, eds.
39 this that H MS 255.
47 Parables parable 1768-1861.
48 are grow Cornell (altered thus by Spence), eds.

47-8 E.g., Daphne, Arethusa. For LM's early admiration of the *Meta-
morphoses*, see above p. 18.
The Mistriss

Lady Mary began to copy "The Lover" in her album, but decided to put "The Mistriss" first. Walpole, however, says: "She afterwards wrote an answer to ["The Lover"], as from Chandler, a description of what a mistress should be: but this I believe she has suppressed" (Corr. xiv. 245). The two poems were probably written close to the same date.

MSS: H MS: 255, ff. 31-32, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
BM: Add. MS 28101 (Cowper Miscellany), f. 194.

1.
If e're passion in hopes of refining Delight
Shall engage me beyond the Amour of a Night
To seek dearer Arms, and a faithfuller kiss
May it be for such Charms, such a Mistriss as this.

May her Face and her Mind to allure me conspire
And what one begun may the other raise higher,
Relenting her Nature and moving her Air
With Eyes of Desire to keep Hearts from Despair.

2.
May She neither be easy, nor yet too severe
But with Handsome Resistance her Yeilding endear,
By Winning Delays, pleasing Hope lead along
And her Honnour grow weak, as my passion grows Strong,

Title / The Wish -- or The Mistress BM.
1 / hopes / Hope BM.
2 / Amour / Amours BM.
5 / Face / altered from Eyes H MS.
9 / May She neither be / altered from Be neither too H MS; May she not be too BM.

Till soft to the Flame all the rigour remove,
Till she melt in a fusion of pleasure and Love
To make me rejoyce that I once did complain,
To requite for the Stay and to pay for the pain.

When thus she is mine, may she be mine alone,
And want in Return to have me all her own,
Not vain of her Power, or Quick to Distrust
May her prudence and Faith teach her Swain to be just,
May all her Endearments discover her Heart
From the smile when we meet, to the sigh when we part
While ravish'd I see in each Look of her Eye
She for me would live, and she with me could die.

May she know to suit Love, in his every way,
To Languish, to Toy, to be eager and Gay.
In the Hours of Delight may she nothing forbear
That can Pleasure impart, or can Pleasure Declare,
Yet sometimes sweet blushes should follow to tell
The Wanton asham'd of her Loving so well
Till warm'd by a Kiss she in Whisper confess
She may Love too well, but she would not Love less.

14 Till / And BM; a fusion / soft Transports BM.
16 to pay / repay BM.
19 or / not BM.
30 so / too BM.
22 Cf. "Miss Cooper to ----", line 46.
In Public may no loose Demeanor betray
The Freedom she loves, and the Game she does play
Yet nothing constrain'd least I learn to beleive
She has cunning to Feign and a Will to deceive
But all her behaviour let Decency guide
Enrich'd by such worth, and good Humour beside
That the World may not see, or not censure her Flame
But so much find to praise that they nothing dare blame.

To ennoble the rest may she Freindship adjoyn
And the Play of her Love have no under design
Whilst easy and safe in the down of her Breast
May my Secrets all sink, and my Cares may all rest,
Thus may she be all a fond Heart can require,
Have much to Esteem, and yet more to Desire,
Then blest in her arms, perhaps I may find
That a Woman can give more than halfe Womankind.

34 The Indulgence [altered from Freedom] of Night, to the Censure of Day -- BM.
38 by with BM.
40 dare can BM.
41-48 omitted in BM.
45 require altered from desire H MS.
Wrote in Answer to a Letter in Verse sent me by Mr H. # before 1712; # 1721-5
after having met Miss S. and me accidentally on the road
and carry'd us to his Country House. He compar'd us to
Venus and Pallas.

The background of this verse (see above p. 127) remains a mystery.
Lady Mary had no known friends at Froyle in Hampshire, which lies near
the road to her grandmother's house, West Dean, Wilts. But she appears
not to have visited West Dean after eloping from it in 1712 (Letters, i.
167 n. 1); such an early date -- which would suggest Jane Smith as her
companion -- seems, from the tone of the verses, unlikely. If on the
other hand Miss S. is Molly Skerrett, the jaunt took place during the
summers she spent with Lady Mary, and Mr. H. might be Hervey, who
received his courtesy title in Nov. 1723. The manor of Froyle was once
bought by his great-grandfather Sir Humphrey May (DNB), but his family's
voluminous correspondence apparently never mentions it. A country
house at one of the minor Froyles near London seems the most likely
scene of this visit, but I have not been able to identify it.

MSS: H MS 256: f. 53, copied by Lady Mary after 1736.

H MS 255: f. 72, copied by Lady Mary after 1736.

To Froyle the Muses sweetest seat
My Thanks I will express
That with such tender care releiv'd
Poor damsels in distress.

Title: An Answer to some Verses sent by Mr H. to thank two Ladys for an accidental Visit, he compar'd them to Minerva and Venus H MS 252.
In Ancient Time when Errant Knight
    Some wand'ring Nymph did find
He lightly leap'd from off his Steed
    And set her up behind,

And while with Tears she told a Tale
    Of strange Disastrous Fate
She quench'd her thirst from Limpid Streams
    And Sallads were the Treat,

But You more hospitably kind
    Receive the Stranger Guest
Scarce knowing what or whence they were,
    Unfreinded and undress'd,

While at a neat well furnish'd Board
    You elegantly dine
You garnish out the rich repaste
    With Music, Mirth, and Wine,

'Tis well for you no Goddesses
    Conceal'd their heavenly Shapes
As once, 'tis said, they often did
    In form of Mortal Trapes.

11 from altered from at H MS 255.
13 kind good H MS 255.
14 Receive receiv'd H MS 255.
Celestial Dames, as Ovid sings

(Who was, you know, inspir'd)

Cannot bear Rivals upon Earth

And are with Envy fir'd,

Had Fallas seen the Loom at Froyle

And heard the sounding Lyre

She surely had the Canvas tore

And broke the Silver wire,

Venus no less enrag'd had view'd

Fair Amarillis Youth,

She has not halfe so bright a Bloom

Nor such a melting Mouth.

But leaving these Heroic Strains

We beg you condescend

To bear the Filthy Town once more

And see your faithfull Freind.

---

25–28 This stanza, omitted in H MS 256, is indicated in the margin by Celestial Dames etc. It is printed from H MS 255.

30 And / Or H MS 255.

31 tore / torn H MS 255.

34 in margin his Lady H MS 256.

25–28 The moral of Arachne's story (Metamorphoses, vi).

Lady Mary may have written her comment on the enforced constancy of 
Adam and Eve at any time during her friendship with the Duke of Wharton 
and Molly Skerrett, to one of whom it was addressed. Wharton was Lady 
Mary's neighbour at Twickenham from 1722 until he left England in June 
1725.

**MS:** Lady Mary's cramped hand on "the first leaf" of a copy of *Paradise Lost*, 9th ed. 1711, given her by Wharton, which she in turn 
gave to Molly Skerrett. Horace Walpole added a note on the 
volume's provenance and kept it among "Curious books" in his 
Glass Closet (A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole, 
Strawberry Hill, 1774, pp. 49, 50; A. T. Hazen, A Catalogue of 
Horace Walpole's Library, 1969, ii. 299, 332-3). A trans­
cript has been kindly supplied by the Lewis Walpole Library, 
Farmington, Conn., U.S.A.

Printed: 1837, iii. 426-7; 1861, ii. 503-4.

This pair a certain Happyness might prove
Confin'd to constancy and mutual Love.
Heaven to one object limited his vows,
The only safety faithless Nature knows,

5 <?> saw his wand'ring appetite would range
And wisely kept him from the power to change,

---

**Title** Lines Written in a Blank Page of Milton's *Paradise Lost* eds.
1 This happy pair a certain bliss might prove *eds.*
3 his *their* *eds.*
5 <?> saw his *God saw the* *eds.*
6 wisely kept him *would have kept them* *eds.*
the world peopled falsehood soon began,
Through ev'ry age the swift Contagion ran,
This makes the censure of the world more just
10 That brands with shame the weakness of a trust.

---

7 soon / altered from first MS.
   But falsehood, soon as man increased, began; eds.
8 Through ev'ry age / Down through the race eds.
   after 8 an extra couplet in eds:
      All ranks are tainted, all deceitful prove,
      False in all shapes, but doubly false in love.
   after 10 five extra lines in eds:
      Ere change began, our sex no scandal knew,
      All nymphs were chaste as long as swains were true;
      But now, tho' by the subllest art betray'd,
      We're so by custom and false maxims sway'd
      That infamy still brands the injured maid.
An Epilogue to a new Play of Mary Queen of Scots

design'd to be spoke by Mrs Oldfield

Anne Oldfield had played, as her first tragic role, Mary Queen of Scots in John Banks's The Albion Queens, 1710 (London Stage, ii. 244ff.).

Banks's tragedy, however, was not new; an earlier version dates from 1684. Horace Walpole says that the play concerned was begun but never finished by Lady Mary's friend Philip Duke of Wharton; in 1726 Curll managed to elicit only four lines of it from a correspondent (Walpole, Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors: Works, 1798, i. 445; Whartoniana, ii. Appendix p. 21). Norman Ault, writing of Pope's epilogue to Rowe's Jane Shore, argues that "Designed for" with the speaker's name was an abnormal phrase of introduction (New Light on Pope, p. 136).

MSS: H MS: 256, ff. 6-7, Lady Mary's hand.
1768, pp. 79-82; 1803, v. 142-4; 1837, iii. 366-7; 1861, ii. 452-3.

What could Luxurious Woman wish for more
To fix her Joys, or to extend her Power?
Their every Wish was in this Mary seen,
Gay, Witty, Youthful, Beauteous and a Queen!
Vain useless Blessings with ill Conduct joyn'd!
Light as the Air, and Fleeting as the Wind.
What ever Poets write, or Lovers vow;
Beauty what poor Omnipotence hast thou!
Queen Bess had Wisdom, Councel, Power, and Laws;
How few espous'd a Wretched Beauty's Cause!
Learn hence, Ye Fair, more solid charms to prize,
Contemn the Idle Flatterers of your Eyes.
The brightest Object shines but while 'tis new,
That Influence lessens by Familiar View.
Monarchs and Beauties rule with equal sway,
All strive to serve, and glory to Obey;
Alike unpity'd when depos'd they grow,
Men mock the Idol of their former Vow.

Two great Examples have been shewn to Day
To what sure Ruin, Passion does betray,
What long Repentance to short Joys is due,
When Reason rules what Glory does ensue.

If you will Love, love like Eliza then,
Love for Amusement like those Traitors, Men.

Think that the Pastime of a Leisure Hour,
She favour'd oft -- but never shar'd her Power.

---

5 Conduct\_ altered from Fortune H MS 256.
7 or\_ and Cornell, eds.
11 hence\_ thence Dodsley ed. 1755-1861.
22 does\_ must 1803-1861.

8 Cf. Dryden's Spanish Friar, Act II, Scene i (Dw, v. 145):
Love! What a poor omnipotence hast thou
When Gold and Titles buy thee?
(quoted by LM in 1712, Letters, i. 119).
15-18 LM repeated these lines from "Saturday", lines 85-88.
The Traveller by Desart Wolves persu'd,
If by his Art the savage Foe's subdu'd
The World will still the noble Act applaud,
Tho' Victory was gain'd by needfull Fraud.

Such is (my tender Sex) our helpless Case
And such the barbarous Heart, hid by the begging Face.
By Passion fir'd, and not with held by Shame
They cruel Hunters are, we trembling Game.

Trust me Dear Ladys (for I know 'em well)
They burn to Triumph, and they sigh -- to tell.
Cruel to them that Yeild, Cullys to them that sell.
Beleive me tis by far the wiser Course,
Superior Art should meet superior force.

Hear; but be faithfull to your Interest still,
Secure your Hearts, then Fool with who you will.

who? whom 1748 2nd ed.-1861.

32 Cf. "An Answer to a Love letter in verse", line 30 (below p. 460); Letters, i. 249; and a cryptic note of LM's, "Lovers, common Beggars" (CB, f. 5).
35 Anne Oldfield was known to have been the mistress of Arthur Mayn-waring and Charles Churchill.
For this poem see above p. 135. Lady Mary enjoyed a fluctuating friendship with Alien, 1st Baron Bathurst (1664-1775). In 1721 he invited her to stay at Richings, his country seat. In 1724 he evidently asked for news of her from Pope, who replied that he would "endeavour (for Your sake) to know more of her, than perhaps I might otherwise do." Next year Lady Mary mentioned to her sister "the vivacious Lord Bathurst, with whom I have been well and ill ten times within this two months; we now hardly speak to one another." When she was ill in 1730 Bathurst asked Pope, "pray inquire after her in your own name & mine; we have both been her humble Admirers at different times. I am not so changeable as you, I think of her now as I allways did" (Pope, Corr. ii. 82, 258, iii. 134; Lady Mary, Letters, ii. 53). Can Bathurst have seen this epistle when he sought to disclaim fickleness? When in 1741 Lady Pomfret sent a copy to Lady Hertford, the new occupier of Richings, the latter replied in a verse-letter of her own in which she refers to Lady Mary's poem as written "in early youth" (Hertford-Pomfret, iii. 11). This must be an exaggeration. Bathurst's planting and building activities (see Pope, Corr. iii. 130) continued spasmodically from 1719 till 1736: his colonnades were planned in 1722. Lady Mary does not mention Pope's epistle to him, published 15 Jan. 1733. In August-Sept. 1725 she wrote of Bathurst's flirtation with Mrs. Howard: this may have been the occasion of the "Epistle" (Letters, ii. 55, 56-57).

Printed: 1748, iii. 306-9 (the 2nd ed. made two changes); 1768, pp. 55-59; 1803, v. 165-8; 1837,iii. 378-80; 1861, ii. 462-4.
How happy you who vary'd Joys persue,
And every Hour presents you something new!
Plans, Schemes, and Models, all Palladio's Art
For six long Months has gain'd upon your Heart,

Of Colonades, and Corridores you talk,
The winding Stair case, and the cover'd Walk,
Proportion'd Columns strikes before your Eye,
Corinthian Beauty, Ionian Majesty,
You blend the Orders with Vitruvian Toil

And raise with wondrous Joy the fancy'd Pile.

But the dull Workman's slow-performing Hand
But coldly executes his Lord's command,
With Dirt and Mortar soon you grow displeas'd,

Planting Succeeds, and Avenues are rais'd,

Canals are cut, and Mountains Level made,

Bowers of retreat, and Gallerys of shade.

The shaven Turf presents a living Green,

The bordering Flowers in Mystic knots are seen.

---

4 have Cornell, eds.
5 and Cornell, eds.
7 strike Cornell.
7-8 omitted from eds.
9 altered from with MS 256.
17 lively Cornell, eds.

---

Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, Roman architect of the Augustan age, author of *De Architectura*, the major source for knowledge of classical building.

Pope joked about Bathurst's supposed scheme for joining the Thames and Severn (May 1722, *Corr.* ii. 116). He later told Spence that Bathurst "should have" raised artificial mounts on his estate, which was flat (§ 609).
With study'd Art on Nature you refine --

The Spring beheld you warm in this Design,

But scarce the cold attacks your favourite Trees,

Your Inclinations fail, and wishes freeze,

You quit the Grove so lately, so admir'd,

With other views your eager Hopes are fir'd,

Post to the City you direct your way,

Not blooming Paradice would bribe your stay,

Ambition shows you Power's brightest Side,

'Tis meanly poor in Solitude to hide,

Tho certain Pain attends the Cares of State,

A Good Man owes his Country to be great,

Should act abroad the high distinguis'd Part,

Or shew at least the purpose of his Heart;

With Thoughts like these, the shining Court you seek

Full of new projects for -- allmost a Week.

22 Inclinations fail/ Inclination fails Cornell, eds.
23 lately, so/ lately you eds.
26 would/ could Cornell, eds.
29 Pain attends/ pains attend Cornell, eds.
32 his Heart/ the heart Cornell, 1748 (corrected in 2nd ed.).
33 Court/ courts 1748 2nd ed. - 1861.

22-23 Bathurst's friends were used to his rapid changes of plan. "I hope," Pope wrote in 1730, "since you say you shall not stir this month or two, that you are already on the road hither" (Corr. iii. 136). Hervey apparently identified Bathurst with Villario in Pope's "Epistle to Burlington", who creates a beautiful estate only to find "at last he better likes a Field" (Twickenham, III. ii. 145-6, 181).

33 Pope later wrote to Bathurst that the accession of George II (1727) "hurry'd you (like all other true Patriots) to the public paths of Glory from the private ones of Friendship, Amusement, & Social Life" (Corr. iii. 130).
You then Despise the Tinsel glittering Snare;
Think vile Mankind below a serious Care:
Life is too short for any distant Aim,
And cold the dull reward of Future Fame.
Be happy then; while yet you have to live:

and Love is all the Blessing Heaven can give;
Fir'd by new passion you address the fair,
Survey the Opera as a gay Parterre,
Young Cloe's bloom had made you certain Prize
But for a sidelong Glance of Coelia's Eyes,

Your beating Heart acknowledges her power,
Your eager Eyes her lovely form devour,
You feel the Poison swelling in your Breast
And all your Soul by fond Desire possess'd.
In dying sighs a long three hours is past,
To some Assembly with Impatient haste,
With trembling Hope and doubtfull Fear you move,
Resolv'd to tempt your Fate, and own your Love:
But there Bellinda meets you on the Stairs.
Easy, her Shape, attracting all her Airs,

A smile she gives, and with a smile can wound,

40 Bathurst's "Love for strange women" was commented on in 1725 by Pope, who later wrote of his trying to combine the "two Paradises... of Gardens & Gallantry". Bathurst himself felt that both business and intemperance were necessary in his life (Pope, Corr. ii. 292, 315, iii. 307).

53 For the situation cf. The Rape of the Lock, i. 97-98:
When Florio speaks, what Virgin could withstand,
If gentle Damon did not squeeze her Hand?
Her melting voice has Music in the Sound,
Her every Motion wears resistless Grace,
Wit in her Mien, and Pleasure in her Face,
Here while you vow Eternity of Love;
60 Cloe and Coelia unregarded move.

Thus on the Sands of Affric's burning plains
However deeply made no long Impress remains,
The lightest Leaf can leave its figure there,
The strongest Form is scatter'd by the Air,
65 So yeilding the Warm temper of your Mind,
So touch'd by every Eye; so toss'd by every Wind,
O how unlike has Heaven my Soul design'd!

Unseen, unheard, the Throng around me move,
Not wishing Praise, insensible of Love
70 No Whispers soften, nor no Beautys Fire,
Careless I see the Dance, and coldly hear the Lyre.

So numerous Herds are driven o're the Rock,
No print is left of all the passing Flock,
So sings the Wind around the solid stone,

56 has/ hath 1861.
63 lightest/ slightest 1768-1861.
66 by every Wind/ by wind Cornell, eds.
67 has/ the eds.
69 insensible/ unsensible Cornell.
70 Beautys/ Beauty Cornell.

56-67 Lt.'s only use of a triplet with an Alexandrine in the middle.
68-71 Walpole opens his "Anecdotes of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu..." by
quoting these lines (Corr. xiv. 242). He then sets out to prove
it a false self-portrait.
70-71 Cf. The Rape of the Lock, i. 74-76.
74ff. This passage is influenced by Pope's Temple of Fame, lines 45-52
(1711, Twickenham, ii. 256).
So vainly beats the Waves with fruitless moan,
Tedium the Toil, and great the Workman's care
Who dare attempt to fix Impressions there.
But should some Swain more skillfull than the rest
Engrave his Name on this cold Marble Breast
Not rolling ages could deface that Name --
Through all the storms of Life tis still the same,
Tho length of Years with moss may shade the Ground
Deep tho unseen remains the secret wound.
Writing to Lady Mar in April 1727, Lady Mary describes Lord Sidney Beauclerk (1702-44), "a Youth of Royal blood, with all his Grandmother's beauty, Wit and good Qualitys; in short...Nell Guin in person with the Sex alter'd". His admirers include the ageing Duchess of Cleveland, Anne née Pulteney (1663-1746). Her husband, the 2nd Duke (d. 1730), was "a natural Fool" (Lady Cowper, Diary, p. 90). Four years later Hervey wrote satirically of her approaching second marriage (Ilchester, pp. 117-18). "If I was poetical" writes Lady Mary, "I would tell you:" and breaks into verse.

The God of Love, enrag'd to see
The Nymph despise his Flame,
At Dice and Cards mispend her Nights
And slight a nobler Game;

For the Neglect of offers past
And Pride in days of yore,
He kindles up a Fire at last
That burns her at threescore.

A polish'd white is smoothly spread
Where whilom wrinkles lay,
And glowing with an artfull red
She ogles at the Play.
Along the Mall she softly sails
In White arid Silver drest,

Her neck expos'd to eastern Gales,
And Jewells on her breast.

Her children banish'd, Age forgot,
Lord Sidney is her care,

And, what is a much happier lot,
Has hopes to be her Heir.

---

17 Her surviving children were William (born 1698), later 3rd Duke, and Grace (born 1697), who had married (1725) Henry Vane, later Earl of Darlington. LM adds "In good earnest, she has turn'd Lady Grace and Family out o' doors to make room for him".

18 Lord Sidney was "notorious in his day for fortune-hunting" and in 1730 inherited a large amount from Richard Topham (DNB sub his son Topham Beauclerk).

20 LM continues: "This is all true History th' it is dogrell Rhime ....there he lies like leave Gold upon a pill....Lord ha'mercy upon us; see what we may all come to!"
Lady Mary's spacing of the title indicates that "in verse" refers to the love-letter rather than her answer (for which see above, p. 137). She kept several such letters; the writer of this one ("Mr T----" in Cornell) was possibly Edward Thompson (1697-1742), a "gallant schemer" married in 1725 to a beautiful heiress (Letters, ii. 45-46) whose disgrace and death Lady Mary was later to lament (below p. 505). If Thompson sent the letter, the date would be 1725-27; this remains conjectural.

MSS: H MS: 256, ff. 5-6, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1750: L. Mag., April, p. 182, as by Lady Mary; reprinted in Dodsley's Collection, 4th ed., 1755, iv. 197-8.
1768, pp. 68-69; 1803, v. 159-60 (one variant in 1805 reprint); 1837, iii. 375-6; 1861, ii. 459-60.

Is it to me this sad-lamenting Strain?
Are Heaven's choicest gifts bestow'd in vain?
A Plenteous Fortune, and a Beauteous Bride,
Your Love rewarded, and content your Pride!
Yet leaving her -- 'tis me that you persu,
Without one single charm, but being New.

How vile is Man! How I detest the Ways
Of Artfull Falsehood, and designing Praise!
Tastless; an easy Happyness you slight,

Title sent her by Mr T---- Cornell; in verse omitted 1750, 1768.
4 and content gratify'd 1750, 1768.
7 the their Cornell, 1750, 1768.
8 Artfull covert 1803-1861.
9 Tastless; an easy As tasteless, easier 1803-1861.

Cf. "How vile a thing is Man!" ("In Opposition to Mr. Dryden's Essay on Satire", PAS, 1697, i. 266.)
Ruin your Joy, and Mischeif your Delight.

Why should poor Pug (the Mimic of your kind)
Wear a rough Chain, and be to Box confin'd?
Some Cup perhaps he breaks, or tears a Fan
While moves unpunish'd the Destroyer, man.

Not bound by vows, and unrestrain'd by Shame
In sport you break the Heart, and rend the Fame.
Not that your Art can be successfull here,
Th'allready Plunder'd, need no Robber fear,
Nor Sighs, nor Charms, nor Flattery can move,
Too well secur'd against a second Love.

Once, and but Once, that Devil charm'd my Mind
To Reason deaf, to Observation blind,
I Idly hop'd (what cannot Love persuade?)
My Fondness equal'd, and my Truth repaid,

---

14 moves / roves 1750, 1768.
16 you / youll Cornell.
19 Flattery / Flatteries Cornell, 1750, 1768.
22 to / altered from and to H MS.
24 Truth / love 1750, 1768.

11 Pug: a monkey.
17 Cf. "Not that those Arts can here successful prove" (Prior's Solomon, ii. 268: 1718, Works, i. 340).
19-20 Cf. "Part of Virgils 4th Georgick":
No face cou'd win him, and no charms cou'd move,
He fled the heinous thoughts of second Love
(Dryden's Miscellany, ii. 153).

21 Cf. "Once, and but once, a Poet got the Day" (Buckhurst's "Epilogue to Tartuff": Dryden's Miscellany, v. 274). Pope may have had Lem's line in mind, though more likely Buckhurst's, in an early version of the Epistle to Arbuthnot:
Once, and but once, his heedless youth was bit
And lik'd that dang'rous thing, a female wit
(Twickenham, iv. p. xvi).

Slow to Distrust, and willing to believe,
Long hush'd my Doubts, and would my selfe deceive,
But Oh too soon -- this Tale would ever last,
Sleep, sleep my wrongs and let me think 'em past.

For you who mourn with counterfeited Greife
And ask so boldly like a begging Theife;
May soon some other Nymph inflict the Pain
You know so well, with cruel Art to feign,
Tho' long you've sported with Don Cupid's Dart,
You may see Eyes, and you may feel a Heart.

So the Brisk Wits who stop the Evening Coach
Laugh at the Fear that follows their approach,
With Idle Mirth, and Haughty Scorn despise
The Passengers pale Cheek, and staring Eyes.
But seiz'd by Justice, find a Fright no Jest
And all the Terror double'd in their Breast.

and would Cornell, 1750, 1768; I would 1803-1861.
Sleep, sleep Sleep on 1803-1861.
Don & an Cornell; Dan 1805-1861.
Tho' long you sported have with Cupid's dart 1750, 1768.
that which 1768.

Hoping at least She may Her self deceive,
Against Experience willing to believe
(Prior, Works, i. 367).
This image appeared in "An Epilogue to Mary Queen of Scots", line 32 (above p. 449c).
Cf. Rochester's "Remember we have eyes, and you a heart" ("Second Prologue at Court to 'The Empress of Morocco'", 1673: Poems, p. 50). LM later echoed this line in a verse dialogue with Hervey (below p. 577).
In her "Sur la Maxime de Mr de Rochefoucault" LM wrote: "Un voleur qui met le Pistolet a la Gorge pour enlever une bourse me paroit plus honnête, et moins coupable" than a seducer (H MS 259, f. 47; 1861, ii. 426).
Congreve had been an early acquaintance of Lady Mary, a fellow Kit-Cat member with her father, and a correspondent during her stay in Turkey. She spoke warmly both of his genius and of his friendship (Letters, i. 367, iii. 67-68). K. M. Lynch, on slender evidence, concludes that "she pursued him" and "would perhaps have liked him as a lover" (A Congreve Gallery, 1951, p. 5). He died on 19 Jan. 1729 and was buried on the 26th. A fragmentary manuscript shows that Lady Mary once placed at least two couplets of this epitaph (for which see above, p. 72), in a different context. The note on the back of which she wrote them was dated by Pope's editor 1720? because it mentions Lady Mary as sitting to Kneller for the portrait of her dated that year. She would hardly have drafted her tribute to Congreve on an unimportant note from nine years earlier; more probably she used the note soon after receiving it, in which case the lines were intended for someone else. The most likely earlier recipient of her praise is Addison, who died on 17 June 1719; the Pope letter should be dated accordingly. Lady Mary regarded both Addison and Congreve as survivors from a more estimable literary age than her own.

MSS: H MS: ol, f. 128, draft in Lady Mary's hand.
Sandon: (fragment of lines 5-6, 11-12) Lady Mary's hand on verso of note from Pope now in the library at Sandon Hall, headed "Thurs. 9 a clock" and printed in his Corr. ii. 22-23. It consists of six lines, half torn away:

In a Lewd Age when
She found a Refuge
He for no Party dr
To praise bad measu
Neither by Pride nor
Lying altered from


Title perhaps added later, H MS.
Farewell the best and loveliest of Mankind
Where Nature with a happy hand had joyn'd
The softest temper with the strongest mind,
In pain could counsel and could charm when blind.

In this Lewd Age when Honor is a Jest
He found a refuge in his Congreve's breast
Superior there, unsully'd, and entire;
And only could with the last breath expire.

His wit was never by his Malice stain'd,
No rival writer of his Verse complain'd,
For neither party drew a venal pen
To praise bad measures or to blast good men.

---

3 softest / altered from Gentlest H MS,
6 He / She Sandon.
8 breath / sigh alternative interlineation, F hs.
after 8 three lines struck out in H MS:
   How keen his Wit, how piercing, and how bright,
   The smallest error could not 'scape his sight
   Yet such a gentleness his Judgment rein'd
9 altered from His verses never were by Malice stain'd.
10 Verse / altered from ?Wit? H MS.

---

1 Cf. Dryden's Tyrannick Love, Act V: "Farewel, the best and bravest of Mankind" (DW, ii. 390).
4 blind: perhaps an exaggeration, but Congreve had had trouble with his eyes since 1710 (John C. Hodges, William Congreve the Man, 1941, pp. 104-5). He had counselled LM about learning Latin and about hiding her temper (Spence, § 743 n.; CB, f. 22).
after 8 variant: LM later recalled, "I never knew anybody that had so much wit as Congreve" (Spence, § 744).
9ff. LM implicitly contrasts Congreve with Pope.
A Queen indeed he mourn'd, but such a Queen
Where Virtue mix'd with royal Blood was seen,
With equal merit grac'd each Scene of Life
An Humble Regent and Obedient Wife.

If in a Distant State blest Spirits know
The Scenes of Sorrow of a World below
This little Tribute to thy Fame approve,
A Trifling Instance of a boundless Love.

13-16 omitted 1951.
18 of a/ altered from in a H MS.
13 "The Mourning Muse of Alexis", 1695, lamented Queen Mary's death of smallpox the previous year. Her piety and submission to her husband were famous; in his absences from England she governed in his name as well as her own, but relinquished power as soon as he returned.
For this and the following fragment of a mock-epic reply to the *Dunciad*, as well as Fielding's related verse, see above p. 159. Fielding was in England between Aug. and Oct. 1728, and again from the summer of 1729. The greater part of his verse was composed later than spring 1729; the summer of that year is therefore the most likely date for the whole project, though it may have been conceived a year earlier. Lady Mary's poems are backdated, events from 1714 onwards being prophesied for the future.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 36, 40, 37-39, rough draft in Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 151-7 (the 1805 reprint made some changes); 1837, iii. 388-91; 1861, ii. 471-4.

Her Palace place'd beneath a muddy road
And such the Influence of the dull Abode
The Carrier's Horse above can scarcely drag his Load.

Here chose the Goddess her belov'd Retreat

Which Phoebus tries in vain to penetrate,
Adorn'd within by Shells of small expence
(Emblems of tinsel Rhime, and trifling Sense),

---

Title / The Court of Dullness, a fragment.

************
************

1 Where struck out, MS; The carrier struck out, MS.
2 altered from Where Phoebus beams MS.
6 by/ with eds.

1 LM's Dullness anachronistically inhabits Pope's grotto at Twickenham, in origin a passage beneath the London-Hampton Court road (Sherburn, p. 282).
2 LM marked with a cross the line "Or Carriers Horses laden with their Packs" in "The Miseries of England" (her copy of *FAS*, 1707, p. 142: Sandon Hall).
3 The grotto was "finished with Shells interspersed with Pieces of Looking-glass in angular forms" (Pope, *Corr.* ii. 297).
4 Cf. "Emblem of Music caus'd by Emptiness" (*Dunciad*, i. 30). William Bond in his verse introduction to *The Progress of Dullness*, 1728, had used the word "Tinsel" of Pope (p. 3).
Perpetual fogs enclose the sacred Cave,
The neighbouring Sinks their fragrant Odours gave.

In Contemplation here she pass'd her Hours
Closely attended by Subservient pow'rs,
Bold Prophanation with a Brazen brow,
Much to this great Ally does Dullness owe,
But still more near the Goddess you attend

Naked Obscenity her darling Freind!
To thee for shelter all the dull still fly,
Pert double meanings even at School we try.
What Numerous writers owe their praise to thee!

No Sex, no Age, is from thy Influence free!

By thee how bright appears the senseless song,
By thee, the Book is sold, the Lines are strong,
The Heaviest poet by thy powerfull Aid
Warms the Brisk Youth, and charms the sprightly Maid.
Where breaths the Mortal has not prov'd thy force

In well bred Pun, and waiting room discourse?

12 Brazen brow/ altered from front of Brass MS.
after 12 Beneath struck out, MS.
after 15 Tinctur'd/ altered from Ting'd with/ by him, How oft/ altered
from How often gains/ applause you gain struck out, MS.
after 14 Obsc struck out, MS.
22 Heaviest/ altered from dull MS.
24 has/ who's eds.
25 and/ or eds.
after 25 a cross in the margin perhaps indicates a planned addition.

8 Pope wrote of "the Aquatic Idea of the whole Place" (Corr. ii. 297).
19 Cf. Verses to the Imitator of Horace, line 39, below p. 521.
Such were the chiefs adorn'd the gloomy Court,
Her Pride, her Ornament, and her Support,

Behind attended such a numerous Croud

Of Quibbles strain'd, odd Rhimes, and Laughter loud,

Such Throngs as might have made a Goddess proud,

Yet pensive thoughts lay brooding in her Breast

And Fear (the Mate of Pow'r) her mind oppress'd.

Oft she revolv'd, for oh too well she knew

What Merlin sung, and part long since prov'd true.

"When Harry's Brows the Diadem adorn

"From Reformation, Learning shall be born,

Slowly in Strength the infant shall improve

The parents glory and its Country's love,

Free from the thraldom of Monastic Rhimes,

In bright progression bless succeeding Times,

Milton free Poetry from the Monkish Chain

26 adorn'd the who form'd her eds.
29 odd old eds.
30 Throngs that might even make a Goddess proud alternative inter-
lineation, MS, adopted by eds.
before 33 She struck out, MS.
33-38 Added on separate leaf, MS.
41 altered from Milton frees Poesie from Monkish Chains MS.

31-32 This couplet derives from the same epic formula as "Monday", lines 3-4.
33 Cf. "Much she revolves their arts...." (Dunciad, i. 95).
34 The astrologer Partridge had been publishing his yearly almanac Merlinus Liberatus since the previous century. Cf. Swift's "A Famous Prediction of Merlin, the British Wizard", 1709 (Poems, ed. H. Williams, 1937, i. 101-5).
35 Henry VIII. Cf. Fielding's "O to look o'er the old Records of Time":

But soon as Reformation first prevail'd

My Dullness's cause and Popery's together fail'd

(lines 17-18, H MS ul, f. 102).
39 Cf. "The Monkish days! those glorious Days of Rhime!" (ibid., line 2).
41 Chain: i.e. of rhyme. LM pays only lip-service to blank verse, but thought that Pope "would appear quite contemptible" if he tried it (Spence, 8750). Fielding in his related work makes Pope son to the god of Rhime (as well as to Dullness) and contrasts him with Milton (ibid., line 157).
And Adisson that Milton shall explain,
Point out the Beauties of each living Page,
Reform the taste of a degenerate Age,
45 Shew that True Wit disdains all little Art
And can at once engage, and mend the Heart.
Knows even Popular Acplause to gain
Yet not malicious, Bawdy or Prophane."

This Prophecy perplex'd her Anxious Head
And yawning thrice thus to her Sons she Said:
When such an Author does abroad appear
'Tis sure the Hour of our Destruction's near
50 And public Rumour now aloud proclaims
At Universal Monarchy he aims.

What to this Hero? what shall we oppose?
A strong Confederacy of Stupid Foes!
Such Brave Allys as are by Nature fit
To stop the progress of o'reflowing Wit,
Where Envy, and where Impudence are joyn'd

60 To contradict the Voice of Humankind,

---

45 Art / altered from Arts MS.
after 46 And scorning Malice struck out, MS.
48 Bawdy / wanton eds.
51 an Author / altered from a Writer MS.
does abroad / does in print alternative interlineation, MS; honored shall eds.
52 sure / plain eds.
55 what / whom eds.
after 56 What struck out, MS.
57 Brave / altered from a firm MS.
58 stop / altered from combat MS; check eds.
60 Voice / altered from Taste MS.

---

42 In his series of Saturday Spectators (5 Jan. 1712, no. 267 et seq.). Fielding's fragments show traces of an abandoned plan to make Addi-
son the great opponent of Pope (ibid., line 152); an anonymous "To
Mr. P------ on his Dunciad" regrets that Addison and Wycherly are not
alive to correct him (Whitehall evening-post, 30 Nov. 1720).
45 In Spectator no. 62.
At Dacier's Ignorance shall gravely smile
And blame the coarseness of Spectator's style,
Shall swear that Tickell understands not Greek,
That Adison can't write, nor Walpole speak.

Fir'd by this Project Prophanation rose: --

One Leader, Goddess, let me here propose,
In a near Realm that owns thy Gentle Sway
My darling Son now chants his pleasing Lay
Trampling on Order, Decency, and Laws,
And boasts himselfe the Champion of my Cause.

Him will I bring, to teach the Callow Youth
To scorn dry Morals, laugh at sacred Truth,
All Fears of Future reckn'ings he shall quench,
And Bid them bravely drink, and boldly 'Wench,

By his Example much, by precept more,

---

61 smile / altered from sneer MS.
after 62 With an Intrepid Ardour shall assert / Walpole can't speak
63 struck out, MS.
67 that / which eds.
68 boasts / vaunts eds.
70 dry / altered from dull MS.
74 boldly / freely eds.

61 Pope sometimes contradicts Mme Dacier (Anne, née Lefebvre, 1654-
1720) in his preface and notes to his translations of Homer (e.g.
Twickenham Iliad, i. 14, 87, 100).
62 Spectator: Swift in The Publick Spirit of the Whigs, 1714, refers
to the "Flatness" of Steele's Spectator writings (Works, viii,
1953, p. 36).
63 Tickell's translation of Iliad i is cited in The Art of Sinking
xii (ed. E. L. Steeves, 1952, pp. 60-61); Tickell is called "the
worst" translator in Pope's lines on Addison as Atticus (printed
1722: Twickenham, vi. 143).
64 Addison is quoted in The Art of Sinking xi, xii (pp. 58, 61).
66 near Realm: Ireland. LM had written in 1725 "the Irish Rhime
that never Rhime'd before" (Letters, ii. 56).
68 darling Son: LM's judgement of Swift as hypocritical and subversive
may owe something to works wrongly attributed to him, e.g.
Essays Divine, Moral, and Political...By the Author of the Tale of a Tub,
1714. This book represents its alleged author as mercenary, lewd,
and drunken; temperance and chastity are cried down with such
maxims as "a Priest of my Make, may have a Seraglio, if he pleases"
and "Virtue...is nothing but an empty Notion, a Name, and no more"
(pp. 24-25).
He learns, 'tis wit to swear, and safe to Whore.

Mocks Newton's Schemes, and Tillotson's Discourse
And Imitates the Virtue of a Horse.

With this Design, to add to his renown
He wears the reverend dress of Band and Gown.

The Goddess pleas'd bestow'd a gracious Grin
When thus, does fair Obscenity begin.

My Humbler Subjects are not plac'd so high,
They čoke in Kitchins, and in Cellars ply,
Yet One I have (bred in those worthy Schools)
Admir'd by Shoals of Male and female Fools,
In ballads what I dictate he shall sing

__76__ He learns, They learn 1803, 1837; There learn 1861.
before 77 a row of asterisks appears in eds.
Deriding struck out, MS.
77 Mocks / altered from Scor MS.
78 Virtue / virtues eds.
83 altered from My Subjects' Humbler Empire is MS.
85 worthy / altered from noble MS.

Swift had disagreed with Newton over Wood's coinage in 1722; in Glubbdubdrib, the ghost of Aristotle predicts that Newton's doctrines will be exploded (Gulliver's Travels, III. viii). Swift had given ironical praise to Tillotson in Mr. Collins's Discourse of Free-thinking, 1711.

__78__ Cf. "Then imitate the action of the tiger" (Shakespeare's Henry V, III. i. 6). LM's first comment on Gulliver's Travels was similar to this (Letters, ii. 71-72).

Gay's "family was of established gentility", but he had been apprentice to a silk-mercer and domestic steward to the Duchess of Monmouth -- in the latter job Grub-Street acquaintances sometimes called him a lackey (W. H. Irving, John Gay Favorite of the Wits, 1940, pp. 6, 24, 68-71). LM in later years thought him a "mean" and "little" poet; in 1755 she sneered at one of his aristocratic benefactors (CB, f. 11; Spence, § 753; Letters, iii. 83).

__87__ Cf. Fielding's "Canto 2d", which also accuses The Beggar's Opera, 1728, of "Ribaldry" (lines 61-70).
And troops of Converts to my Banners bring.

Despise not Glorious Goddess my releife,

I have a Leader worthy to be cheife,

My Images are all he knows of Wit!

How Vomits look, what Quan\(\text{\textit{t}}/\)itys are spit,

By his profession skill'd in Terms like these

His usefull writeings cannot fail to please,

Such foul Description all his poem fills

To Stomachs nice, he saves th'expense of Squills,

Born in that Realm where Nastyness gives Joy

And scratching all the solitary hours employ.

Here ---- ceas'd, the Goddess smil'd, and round

Applauses issue from the deep profound,

Hoarse murmurs of Applause the Caves resound.

---

after 88 Who knows, at Court if he is introduc'd? struck out, MS; The cheife, said Cloacina, I commend struck out, MS; In <word> my struck out, MS.

89-105 omitted in eds.

93 Terms altered from Arts MS.

95 altered from Such dirty Images his verses fills MS.

99 The Goddess smil'd, and round altered from and murmurs of applause MS.

100 Added as interlineation, possibly as alternative to line 101; omitted by eds.

101 resound altered from resounds MS.

89ff. The second deletion after line 88 (for Cloacina see Dunciad ii. 89) suggests that a new character is under discussion; the "profession" of line 94 and "Realm" (Scotland) of line 98 indicate that he is Dr. Arbuthnot -- with whom, however, LM remained on tolerably good terms at this period (Letters, ii. 91-93). Gruesome medical details appear in some of Arbuthnot's (doubtful) prose works (e.g. "Notes and Memorandums of the Six Days Preceding the Death of a Late Right Reverent ---- [L.'s friend Bishop Burnet], 1715; "An Account of the Sickness and Death of Dr W--d--ard; as also of what appeared upon opening his body", 1719), and the wrongly attributed Life and Adventures of Don Bilioso de L'estomac, 1717 (G. A. Aitken, Life and Works of John Arbuthnot, 1692, p. 36, 447, 464-70). Line 92, however, suggests Pope.

95-96 Squills were called in 1652 an "easie vomit" (C.). Usuoc on in his Essay On Translated Verse (1664, . ) mentions "foul Descriptions" and says:

With nauseous Images my Fancy fills,
And all goes down like Cymel of Squills.

(Cont.)
But who (she cry'd) where equal merits plead
Who can point out the Captain fit to lead?

This Task be mine; tho' hard, it seems, to find

a Soul where all these several gifts are joyn'd,
Bold in Obscenity, prophanely dull,
With smooth unmeaning Rhime the Town shall lull,
Shall sing of Worms in great Arbuthnott's strain,
In Lewd Burlesque the Sacred Psalms prohane,

To maids of Honor bawdy Songs address

Nor need we doubt his wonderfull Success.

99 ——: Cloacina, not Obscenity, fits the Alexandrine line; cf. note to line 89ff.
107 Cf. line 41 and note.
108 To the Ingenious Mr. Moore, Author of the Celebrated Worm-Powder. By Mr. Pope, 1716, often reprinted but never acknowledged by Pope (Twickenham, vi. 161-3).
109 A Roman Catholick Version of the First Psalm, For the Use of a Young Lady. By Mr. Pope was, like To the Ingenious Mr. Moore, printed by Curll in 1716 during the vendetta that followed publication of LM's Court Poems (Twickenham, vi. 163-5). It burlesqued Sternhold and Hopkins's version rather than the original psalm. Pope denied it in the newspapers and elsewhere, but in private admitted having "equivocated pretty genteely" (Evening Post, 2 Aug. 1716; Corr. i. 342, 350). LM's evidence as to attributions is of value for the years of her friendship with Pope, though not for the later 1720's.
110 The Court Ballad, 1717 (never acknowledged but extant in Pope's holograph draft), and the accompanying epigrams on the Misses Bellenden, Lepell, and Griffin (Twickenham, vi. 180-6). Dennis and Blackmore had already joined against Pope the charges of impiety and obscenity (Remarks Upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer, 1717, p. 27; Essays, 1717, ii. 285-70).
Long have I watch'd this Genius yet unknown,
Inspir'd his Rhime, and mark'd him for my own;
His early Youth in Superstition bred
And monkish Legends all the Books he read.
Tinctur'd by these, proceeds his Love to Rhime,
Milton he scorns, but Crambo thinks sublime,
And Oh 'tis sure, (our Foes confess this truth)
The old Crambonians yeild to this Stupendous Youth,
But present want obscures the Poet's Name,
Be it my charge to talk him into fame.
My Lansdown (whose Love-songs so smoothly run,
My Darling Author, and my Favourite Son)

before 112 I see this Hero's where struck out, MS.
112 watch'd / altered from mark'd MS.
114 altered from In monkish Ignorance the Youth was bred MS.
116 Love/ altered from Gift MS; to / of eds.
117 sublime / divine eds.
119 Crambonians / Cambronians 1605-1861.
120 altered from But present want decays the Poet's fire and But pre­
sent wants the Poet's Name obscure MS.

114-15 On the part taken by priests in Pope's education, see Sherburn, pp. 38-41.
117 LM is perhaps thinking of Parnell's defence of Pope's poetry in
his preface to Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice, 1717, where
rhyme is preferred to blank verse for epic poetry, and Milton's
transpositions are criticised (Sherburn, pp. 191-2).
Crambo: bouts rimes, or verse composed to fit given rhymes,
another accusation levelled at Pope by Dennis (Remarks upon Homer,
p. 14) and Edward Roome (Dean Jonathan's Parody On The 4th Chap. of
Genesis, 29 Nov. 1729, p. 6; J. V. Guerinot, Pamphlet Attacks on
included a condemnation of crambo, not printed till 1736 (Twicken­
ham, i. 289 note).
122-3 This is LM's only disparagement of Lansdowne, whose poems she
owned and quoted (Letters, iii. 170 and n. 1; above p. 310).
He shall protect the Man that I inspire,

And Windsor Forest openly admire

And Bolingbrook with flatt'ry Gay shall bribe

Till the charm'd Lord most nobly shall subscribe

And Hostile Adison too late shall find

'Tis easier to corrupt than Mend Mankind,

The Town (which now revolts) once more Obey

And the whole Island own my pristine Sway.

She said, and slowly leaves the realms of Night,

While the Curst Phantoms bless and praise her flight.

---

124 that / whom eds.
126 flatt'ry Gay shall / flatt'ry shall 1803; flattery shall 1805-1861.

127 a cross in margin, MS.

131 the whole Island / altered from erring Nations MS.

132 With this design the Goddess lea struck out, MS.

133 With this design the Goddess lea struck out, MS.

125 Windsor Forest, 1713, was dedicated to Lansdowne, to whom Pope said he had "particular obligations" (Corr. i. 375). Lansdowne's "Letter with a Character of Mr. Wycherly", praising Pope, was published in 1732 (Genuine Works In Verse And Prose, p. 437).

126 Gay dedicated his Shepherd's Week, 1714, to Bolingbroke, who subscribed for 10 sets of Pope's Iliad.

130 The town is felt to have revolted from Dullness under the influence of the Spectator, 1711-12.
See headnote to previous poem. This fragment, because of its back-dating, has been read as a composition of 1713 (1861, i. 22).

MS: H MS 81, ff. 45-47, rough draft in Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 175-80 (two variants in 1805 reprint); 1837, iii. 385-8; 1861, ii. 468-70.

Now with fresh vigour Morn her Light displays
And the glad Birds salute her rising rays,
The opening Buds confess the Sun's return
And rouz'd from Night, all Nature seems new born,
When Pondrous Dullness slowly wing'd her way
And with thick Fogs oppos'd the rising day.
Phœbus retir'd (as from Thyestes' Feast)
Droop'd all the Flow'rs, the airial music ceas'd.
Pleas'd with her Influence, she exults with Pride,

Shall Mortals then escape my pow'r? (she cry'd)

Nay, in this Town where smoak, and mists conspire

Title Unfinished Sketches of a Larger Poem eds.
before 1 The rising Sun now ting'd the Sky with red struck out, MS.
1 Light/ altered from Beams MS.
2 rising/ kindling alternative interlineation in MS, adopted by eds.
3 Buds/ altered from Flowers MS.
4 altered from And Night ret MS.
9 exults/ altered from dilates MS.

1 Cf. the opening line of "Andromache's Lamentation", translated by Congreve: "Now did the Saffron Morn her beams display" (Dryden's Miscellany, iii. 215).
7 Thyestes unknowingly ate the flesh of his own children. The classical reference suggests the influence of Fielding.
11-12 The commonplace linking literary dullness with the effects of the English climate was beloved by LM (e.g. Letters, i. 200-1, ii. 30, 119, 123, iii. 67).
To cloud the head, and damp the Poets Fire,
Shall Adison my Empire here dispute
So justly founded, lov'd, and Absolute?

15

Explode my Children, Ribaldry and Rhime,
Rever'd from Chaucer down to Dryden's Time,
Distinguish twixt false humour and the true
And Wit make Lovely to the vulgar Veiw.
No; Better things, my Destiny Ordains,

20

For Oxford has the Wand, and Anna reigns.

She ended, and assum'd Duke Disney's grin
With broad plump Face, pert Eyes, and ruddy skin,
Which shew'd the stupid Jokes that lurk'd within.

---

after 12 Where altered from My/ long I reign'd so lo struck out, MS.
16 Chaucer/ Chaucer's eds.
before 17 Shall Learning be expos'd to vulgar Eyes struck out, MS.
Shall shew struck out, MS.
18 Wit make/ altered from ?Truth? made MS.
With broad plump/ altered from So round her MS.
22 Jokes that/ joke which eds.

---

15 Addison had judged blank verse better than rhyme for tragedy
(Spectator no. 39) and used it for Cato, 1713.

16 A conventional reckoning of English poetical history, cf. Yalden's
"To Mr. Congreve. An Epistolary Ode" and Addison's "An Account
of the Greatest English Poets" (Dryden's Miscellany, iii. 347, iv.
317).

17 Spectator no. 35.

20 the Wand; symbol of office of the Lord High Treasurer, held by
has the Seal, and Nassau reigns" (Garth's Dispensary, iii; 4th
ed. 1700, p. 37).

21-23 Cf. the dummy poet (originally intended to be Gay), offered as
a prize to the booksellers in Dunciad, ii, 31ff. Henry Disney or
Desaulnais (d. 1731) was known to his intimates as "the Duke".
Gay called him "Facetious", and Pope commented that he had "so much
Mercury in him!" ("Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece", 1720, Gay's
Works, p. 165; Pope, Corr. i. 315).

23 Cf. "And shows the Scarlet faults that lurk within" ("Ovid's Dream",
Dryden's Miscellany, ii. 161).
In this lov'd form she knock'd at St John's gate

Where Crouds allready for his Levée wait,
And wait they may, those wretches who appear
To talk of service past, and long arrears,
But the proud partner of his pleasures goes,
Through crouds of envious Eyes, and servile bows,
And now approaching where the Statesman lay
To his unwilling Eyes reveal'd the Day,
Starting he wake'd, and waking swore, By God
This early visit Freind is wondrous odd.
Scarse have I rested full 2 hours in Bed
And Fumes of Wine oppress my aking Head,
By thee I'm sure my Soul is understood
Too well, to plague me for the Public good,
Let stupid Patriots toil to serve the Brutes,
And waste the fleeting hours in vain Disputes,
The use of Power supreme, I better know,
Nor will I lose the Joys the Gods bestow;
The sparkling Glass, soft flute, and willing Fair,
Alternate guard me from th'Attacks of Care,
'Tis the Prerogative of Wit like Mine
To Emulate in Ease the Pow'rs divine
And while I revel, leave the busy Fools,
To plot like Chymists, or to drudge like Tools.

Believe me Lord, replys his seeming Freind,
Some Difficulties every State attend,
Cares must surround the Men that Wealth possess
And Sorrows mingle even with Love's Success,
Great as you are, no Greatness long is sure,
Advancement is but pain, if not secure,
All your long Schemes may vanish in an hour,
Oh tremble at the sad reverse of Pow'r!
How will those slaves that waiting watch your Eye
Insulting smile, or pass regardless by!

Nor is this thought, the Creature of my Fears,
Signs of approaching Ruin strong appears.
Men must be dull who passively Obey
And Ignorance fixes Arbitrary Sway,
Think of this Maxim, and no more permit
A dangerous writer to retale his Wit.
The Consequence of Sense is Liberty

And if Men think aright they will be free,
Encourage you the Poet I shall bring,
Your Granville he already tries to sing,
The mountains Echo, and the vallys ring.

Nor think my Lord I only recommend
An Able Author but a usefull Freind,
In verse his Phlegm, in Puns he shews his fire
And skill'd in pimping to your heart's desire.

I thank thee Duke, replys the drousy peer,
But cannot listen to thy childish Fear,

---

60 Referring to the Tory doctrine of "passive obedience".
63 writer: Addison (see variant).
64-65 For the connection of political liberty with wit and learning,
see Fielding's related fragments, especially the speech beginning
at "Canto 2d", line 148.
67-68 Pope praised Lansdowne's poetry in "Spring", line 46, and Windsor
71 Pope had condemned puns in unpublished lines of An Essay on Criticisim,
in God's Revenge against Punning, 1716, and in Dunciad, i. 251-2 (Twickenham, i. 289 note; v. 93; Prose Works 1711-1720, ed.
N. Ault, 1936, cx-cxiv, 267-72). Often, however, he could not
resist punning: LM probably had in mind the double entendres of
the First Psalm and Court Ballad.
72 Cf. the end of LM's early draft of "Pope to Bolingbroke", below
p. 574.

This alternative, altered from This Adisson MS.
This line omitted from eds.
This alternative, altered from Most tunefull Dull MS.
This Addison 'tis true (debauch'd in Schools)
Will sometimes oddly talk of Musty Rules
Yet here, and there, I see a Master line,
I feel, and I Confess the power divine,
In spite of Intrest charm'd into Applause

I wish for such a Champion to our Cause,
Nor shall your Reasons force me to submit
To patronise a Bard of meaner Wit,
Men can but say Wit did my Judgment blind
And Wit's the noblest frailty of the mind.

The disappointed Goddess swell'd with Spite
Dropping the Borrow'd form appears in open light,
So the Sly Nymph in masquerade disguise
The Faith of her suspected Lover tries
But when the perjury too plain appears

Her eyes are fill'd with mingled rage and tears,
No more remembers the affected Tone,
Sinks the feign'd voice, and thunders in her own.

---

75-80 Addison's biographer, perhaps taking "Bolingbroke's" opinion for LM's own, quotes these lines with the comment: "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who disliked Addison in retrospect, expressed grudging admiration...." (P. Smithers, Life of Joseph Addison, 1954, 2nd ed., 1968, p. 224).

79 Applause: probably Bolingbroke's presentation of fifty guineas to Booth for his part in Cato, which was, however, designed to stress the play's possibly Tory interpretation. Addison and Bolingbroke dined together on 3 April 1713, were "very Civil...talkt in a friendly manner of Party", and even laughed at perilously political jokes (Journal to Stella, ed. H. Williams, 1948, ii. 652). In 1727 Bolingbroke referred to the writers of the Tatler and Spectator as examples of unrewarded talent (The Occasional Writer, no. 1: Works, 1809, i. 179).

83-84 Borrowed from Dryden:
Men can but say Love did his reason blind,
And Love's the noblest frailty of the mind
(The Indian Emperour, Act II, Scene ii: DW, i. 293).
How hast thou dar'd, my party then to Quit?
Or dost thou Wretch, presume thou art a Wit?
Read they own Verse, consider well each line,
In each Dull page, how papaply I shine,
'Tis me that to thy Eloquence affords
Such Empty thoughts wrap'd in superfluous Words,
To me alone your Pamphlet-praise you owe,
Tis I, your Tropes, and Florid Style, bestow.
After such wreaths bestow'd, such service done,
Dare you refuse protection to my Son?
The time shall come (tho' now at Court ador'd)
When still a Writer, tho' no more a Lord,
On Common Stalls thy darling Works be spread
And thou shalt not answer 'em to make 'em read.

She said and turning shew'd her wrinkled neck

In scales and colour like a Roaches back.

95 Verse altered from Verses MS; works eds.
96 consider well each alternative interlineation to in each tedious MS.
97 me 1805-1861.
100 Style sense eds.

95 Verse: Bolingbroke's early poetical attempts included complimentary verses printed with Dryden's translation of the Æneid.
98 He wrote of Bolingbroke's "flowing, flowered, declamatory, metaphorical, classical, correct, style" (1931, i. 263).
104 His titles became forfeit when his fled to France in 1715.
105 Bookstalls sold only cheap works. An Epistle From the late Lord Bo--ke to the Duke of W---n, 1730, says of his writings (p. 21):
On F--nk--n's Stall, ne'er doom'd to view the Day,
Whole Rheams unrumpled, rot in Peace away.
107-8 This couplet appears also in Fielding's "O to look o'er the old Records of Time" (lines 85-86) in a passage which was published separately in his Miscellanies (1743, i. 69) as "A Parody, from the First Æneid" (pointed out by H. K. Miller, N. and O. cciii, 1958, pp. 442-3).
This epistle (for which see above, p. 129) exists in Lady Mary's holograph, but with only few and trivial corrections. Dallaway attributed it to her, but unless his variants derive from another copy, his printing it adds nothing to the evidence for its attribution. It was written as by a woman, it resembles Lady Mary's epistolary manner, and sometimes it recalls other passages in her writings, though these are also commonplaces.

If Lady Mary indeed wrote the poem the friend of Dallaway's title is probably Hervey, who travelled abroad for his health from July 1728 to Oct. 1729. He sent Lady Mary a letter from Florence on 16 July 1729 (to which this epistle could be an answer); in another, from Lyons on 12 Oct., he sent her some verse of his own, but did not mention hers (Bristol MS 47/2, pp. 31-40; dates presumably New Style). The poem has been dated according to these facts. The "Dust" of line 1 suggests summer; the summer of 1728 cannot be ruled out.

MS: H MS 81, f. 152, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 147-8; 1837, iii. 368-9; 1861, ii. 454.

From this vile Town immers'd in Dust and Care,
To you who brighten in a purer Air;
Your Faithfull Freind conveys her tenderest thought
(Tho now perhaps neglected and forgot)

May blooming Health your wonted Mirth restore
And every Pleasure crown your every hour

Title / To a Friend on his travels eds.
1 Dust / smoke eds.

5 Hervey, who had been reported "dying" and "past recovery" early in 1728, was "quite recovered and looks better than ever I saw him" on his return to England (Delany, i. 160, 168, 219).
Carress'd, esteem'd, and lov'd, your Merit known
And Foreign Lands adore you like your own,
While I in silence various Tortures bear

Distracted with the rage of Bosom-War.

My restless Fever tears my changing Brain
With mix'd Idea's of Delight and Pain,
Sometimes soft views my morning Dreams employ
In the faint Dawn of Visionary Joy

Which Rigid Reason quickly drives away,
I seek the Shade and curse the rising Day,
In pleasing Madness meet some Moments Ease,
And fondly cherish my belov'd Disease.

If Female weakness melts my Woman's mind

At least no weakness in the Choice I find.
Not soothe'd to softness by a warbling Flute
Or the bought Merit of a Birth-Day suit,
Nor lost my Heart, by the surprizing skill
In Opera Tunes, in danceing, or Quadrille,

8  adore_/ admire eds.
9  While...Tortures_/ Whilst...fortunes eds.
11 changing_/ changeful eds.
13 Dreams_/ altered from (?) MS.
16 curse the_/ fly from eds.
17 Moments_/ moment's 1861.
19 melts_/ melt eds.
22 Or_/ Nor eds.
23 Nor_/ altered from Not MS; Not eds.

9ff. Pope had elaborated his Dunciad thrust at LM with an ambiguous note in the Variorum version, published April 1729; hostile pamphlets on both sides followed. LM was also engaged in family strife over her mentally deranged sister (Halseband, pp. 133-5).

16 Cf. "Wednesday", line 22; "Miss Cowper to ----", line 14 (above pp. 358, 423).

19ff. This suggests an undocumented amour. The man is apparently not the person addressed; it is not impossible that he might be LM's cousin Henry Fielding, with whom she was engaged in verse collaboration (see previous two poems).
The only charm my Inclination moves,
Is such a Virtue Heaven it selfe approves,
A Soul superior to each vulgar view;
Great, steady, Gentle, Generous and True.

How I regret my triffling hours past,
And look with horror on the Dreary Waste!
In False persuits and Vanity bestow'd
The perfect image of a dirty Road.
Through puddles oft, o're craggy Rocks I stray
A tiresome, dull, uncomfortable way;

And after toiling long thro' thick and thin
To reach some meanly mercenary Inn,
The Bills are high, and very coarse the Fare,
I curse the wretched Entertainment there;
And jogging on, resolve to stop no more

When Gaudy Signs invite me to the Door.
This is an answer to Hervey's verses to Stephen Fox, written at Florence in 1729, which were printed without Lady Mary's reply (Appendix I, p. 737). She evidently received her copy of Hervey's verse while he was still abroad, and sent her reply to Paris, perhaps in answer to his letter of 12 October \( \text{N.S.} / \) from Lyons. He wrote to her in December, after his return,

> I have yet received no answer from Paris relating to your Letter, but beg of you to send me the Verses you say were contain'd in it, in answer to mine; don't plead having no Copy, for as you never in your Life forgot any thing worth remembering, 'tis impossible but that every Verse you ever made, must remain in as lasting Characters in your Memory, as Ink can give them upon Paper

(Bristol MS 47/2, pp. 37-40, 44). If she gave him another copy it does not survive.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 66-67; Lady Mary's draft at the end of her copy (in a scribal hand) of Hervey's "To Mr Fox Written at Florence 1729".

Printed: 1803, v. 164 (one variant in 1805 reprint); 1837, iii. 378; 1861, ii. 461-2.

> So sung the Poet in an Humble Strain  
> With Empty pockets and a Head in pain  
> Where the soft Clime enclin'd the Soul to rest  
> And Pastoral Images inspir'd the Breast!

5 Apollo listen'd from his heavenly Bow\(\text{er}\)  
And in his Health restor'd express'd his power.

Title / Continuation, by Lady M. W. Montagu. eds.  
1 an / a eds.  
before 5 Apollo listen'd to his fervent vows / And unexpected hea  
struck out, MS.  
5 from his heavenly Bow\(\text{er}\) / altered from to his / altered from as  
he / hopeless vow'd MS.
Pygmalion thus before the Paphian shrine
With trembling vows address'd the power divine,
Durst hardly make his hopeless wishes known,
And scarce a greater Miracle was shewn,
Returning Vigour glow'd in every Vein
And gay Ideas flutter in the Brain,
Back he returns to breathe his Native Air
And all his firm resolves are melted there.

---

12 Cf. "Then gay Ideas crowd the vacant Brain" (Rape of the Lock, i. 83).
13-14 LM judged her friend's character correctly. On his return he wrote a poem of joy and compliment to Ickworth, his father's seat near Bury St. Edmunds (Bristol MS 53/1, pp. 210, 212), but by 1730 he was exercising his ambition in the post of Vice-Chamberlain, Walpole's right-hand man at court, and in 1737 he teased LM about her temporary enthusiasm for country life (Letters, ii. 112).
Its irregularly long last line suggests that Lady Mary herself was responsible for this fragment.

MS: CB, f. 3, Lady Mary's fairly early hand.

Pendant que J'allumois vos feux
Votre flamme me rendoit vaine,
J'etois au comble de mes veux \textit{sic}\]
Et n'aurois pas change de sort avec la Reyne.

\textsuperscript{4} n'aurois altered from je
Cf. headnote to preceding piece. For the point this stanza makes cf. a later French verse (below p. 642).

MS: CB, f. 3, Lady Mary's fairly early hand.

Soyez amant si vous voulez,
Je ne Le defends à personne,
Aimez, parlez, perseverez,
Mais Sachez que mon cœur se donne

Moins aisément qu'une Courronne.
This stanza is dated from its position in the manuscript and assigned to Lady Mary from its sentiment and its correction.

MS: CB, f. 3, Lady Mary's fairly early hand.

Tis true my Freind whate're false Virtu gains
Dissembling never can be worth the Pains
'Tho still rewarded and th'o sure to please
Even Wealth and Fame are bought too dear with Ease.

4 Wealth altered from Gold

3 This clause may belong with line 2 or line 4.
Cf. headnote to previous stanza.

MS: CB, f. 3, Lady Mary's fairly early hand.

To other nymphs the Flattering Sounds convey,
Vain with their Youth, and with their Beauty Gay,
No Youthfull Fair can read these Lines unpleasd
But let me live unenvyd and unpraised.

2 with...with/ altered from in...in
The title first printed with this song (see above p. 77) may originate with Lady Mary, since it occurs in Cornell. Lady Anne Howard (before 1696-1764), daughter of the 3rd Earl of Carlisle, married (1717) Lord Irwin, who died four years later. She had been a girlhood friend of Lady Mary, who a generation later defended her from the criticism of Lady Bute (Letters, i. 211, 213, iii. 162). In a letter to her father, dated 8 April [1730], Lady Irwin wrote:

I am willing to send any trifles that I think may amuse you; the enclosed is Lady Mary Wortley's advice to me, and my answer.... She was here two nights ago; the conversation turned upon constancy; Lady Mary immediately attacked me for a practice so inconsistent with reason and nature; called for a pen and ink; said she found herself inspired for my service, and writ, as she pretended, the enclosed off hand

(HMC, Carlisle MSS, 1897, p. 71; a note adds that the "enclosed" has not been found.)

MSS: H MS 256: ff. 13-14, Lady Mary's hand.

H MS 255: f. 30, Lady Mary's hand.

Longleat xvii and xx: Portland MSS, xvii. 139 and xx. 92, both in the same scribal hand, xvii untitled but both ascribed to Lady Mary and accompanied by Lady Irwin's answer.

BM: Harley MS 7318, f. 66; scribal hand, as by Lady Mary, followed (f. 67) by "The Answer, by Lady Irwin".

Cornell: pp. 16-17.

Printed: 1748, iii. 312-13; reprinted in The Lover's Manual, 1753, pp. 244-5; The Vocal Magazine, 1781, no 1216, unascribed, as "Cure for the Vapours Sung at Ranelagh".

1768, pp. 97-98.

1776: Additions to the Works of Alexander Pope, i. 168-9, with Lady Irwin's "Answer", "which never appeared before. In the

Title: Lady M. Wortley to Lady Irwin Longleat xx; A Receit to cure the Vapours Writ to my Lady I—n and answr'd by her Cornell; .... Written to Lady J—n 1748, 1768; To Lady Irwin 1776.
original copy of the former Harley MS or Lady Irwin's copy?,
the fourth stanza is wanting...."

1803, v. 231-21 (one variant in 1805 reprint); 1837, iii. 415-16;
1861, ii. 494. These editions add "The Same, translated by
Lady Mary M. W. Montagu. Recipe per l'Excellentissima
Signora Chiara Michelli". In fact Lady Mary's Venetian
friend Mme Michiel or Michieli (see Letters, ii. 170, iii.
286ff.) must have caused a misunderstanding: the translation
is that made by the Abbé Conti (H MS 81, f. 259; Conti,
Prose e poesie, ii, 1756, p. xxi).

Why will Delia thus retire
And languish Life away?

While the sighing Crowds admire
'Tis too soon for Hartshorn Tea.

All these dismal looks and fretting
Cannot Damon's life restore,
Long ago the Worms have eat him,
You can never see him more.

Once again consult your Toilet,

In the Glass your Face review,

1 Delia Delila Longleat MSS.
2 languish Life languish Youth H MS 255; idly languish life 1768.
   Question-mark editorial.
3 the that H MS 255; Crowds crowd 1748, 1768; crows 1805-1861.
5 these those 1748, 1768.
10 the your Longleat MSS, BM.

6 Rich Ingram (1688-1721), 5th Viscount Irwin or Irvine, was des-
  cribed by IM in 1714 as a "much prittyer sort of Gentleman" than
  his dead elder brother (Letters, i. 220).
So much weeping soon will spoil it
And no Spring your Charms renew.

I like you was born a Woman --
Well I know what Vapours mean,
The Disease alas! is common,
Single we have all the Spleen.

All the Morals that they tell us
Never cur'd Sorrow yet,
Chuse among the pretty Fellows
One of humour, Youth, and Wit.

---

11 weeping reading Longleat MSS, EM, 1776; soon sure 1803-1861.
12 Spring Sprins Longleat MSS.
13-16 Stanza added by LM in margin, H MS 255; omitted Longleat MSS, BM.
17 tell teach 1803-1861.
18 Sorrow the sorrow 1748-1776; our sorrows 1861.
20 humour honour 1768.

---

11 variant: Appropriate to Lady Irwin, who wrote to her father, "ignorance in all parts of learning, both in men and women who belong to the Court, is...universal...and in order to avoid it I always bring down Mr. Pope, Mr. Addison, or some other good author, who...I look upon as good antidotes to preserve me from the contagion" (HMC, Carlisle MSS, p. 191).
12 Cf. Aphra Behn's "The Golden Age" (of "Roses on your Cheeks"): Eternally they will forgotten lyse, And no kind Spring their sweetness will supply (Works, 1915, vi. 144).
13-16 This stanza (see textual note) is not paralleled in Lady Irwin's answer; it must have been an afterthought.
14 In old age LM boasted that she had never suffered from hysterical complaints (Letters, iii. 171).
15 In 1737 Lady Irwin married, against the wishes of her family, Col. William Douglas (d. 1747: Charles Dalton, George the First's Army, 1910-12, i. 179 n. 5).
Prithee hear him ev'ry Morning
   At least an hour or two,
Once again at Nights returning
   I beleive the Dose will do.

21-24 Omitted in Longleat MSS; added later by Lady Portland to vol. xx.
21 Prithee hear him / altered from Hear him /blank/ Longleat xvii.
22 At least / At the least H MS 255, Longleat xx, Cornell, 1748, 1768, 1803-1861; For at least 1776.
23 Nights / night Cornell, eds.
This piece is perhaps that of which Mrs. Pendarves wrote "Lady Wortley's verses are pretty; how ill her actions and her words agree!" (11 March 1732, Delany, i. 339). It may be an answer to spoken advice, perhaps from Lady Oxford (to whom Lady Mary sent it) or Lady Irwin (cf. previous poem); or BM Harley MS may possibly be right in assigning it as answer to an obscure poem, "The Request" (Appendix I). Hervey quoted its third line on 16 Sept. 1730; it was then probably fairly new. In Bod. MS Add. it was copied as if to form a conclusion to Sir William Yonge's "To the Ladies at Oxburgh", written during the visit of the duc de Lorraine to Houghton Hall, 1730. Yonge regrets the lack of news and says that at his correspondents' command he is going to become a "wretched Copyer". Lady Mary's poem follows without a break; it was apparently recent enough to substitute for news. (Yonge's poem was also collected and printed without Lady Mary's: BM MS Add. 31152, ff. 35-36; 34109, ff. 32-33; Count Piper's Packet, 1732, pp. 1-3).

MSS: H MS: 256, f. 6, Lady Mary's hand.

Longleat (LM): Portland MS xx. 113; Lady Mary's hand, folded like a letter, untitled, probably sent to Lady Oxford.

Longleat (Lady Bute): Portland MS xx. 111; untitled, Lady Bute's hand.

BM: Harley MS 7316, f. 153, as answer to "The Request" (below p. 740).

Bod. MS Add: B 105, f. 95, untitled and unascribed, following Sir William Yonge's "To the Ladies at Oxburgh".

Cornell: p. 9.

Bod. MS Eng: MS Eng. poet. e. 47, p. 141, copied in or after 1762 (p. 115).

Title 7 In Answer to the Request BM; In answer to a Lady; who advis'd Retirement Cornell, 1750, 1768; Lady Wortley's Answer to the Advice of a Freind Bod MS Eng; An Answer to a Lady, who advis'd Lady M. W. Montagu to retire 1803, 1837, 1861; To a Freind 1805.
I cannot forbear filling the remainder of this page with some stanzas; though...you will probably have seen them, -- since they are said to be Lady Mary Wortley's....I think both the thought and language worthy of the genius who is named as the composer of them.

You little know the Heart that you advise,
I view this various Scene with equal Eyes,
In crowded Court I find myself alone,
And pay my Worship to a nobler Throne.

Long since the value of this World I know,
Pity the Madness, and despise the Show,
Well as I can, my tedious part I bear
And wait Dismission without painfull Fear.

---

1 that you which you Bod MS Add, Longleat (Lady Bute), Bod MS Eng; you would 1805.
2 Court I find Courts I find BM, Longleat (Lady Bute), Cornell, eds., Bod MS Eng; Courts I view Bod MS Add.
3 Worship praises Longleat (LM), BM; homage Bod MS Add, Bod MS Eng, 1805.
4 know knew 1803, 1837, 1861.
5 The value of this world long since I knew: 1805.
6 Pitied the folly, and despised the shew 1803, 1837, 1861.
7 I bear I'll bear Bod MS Eng.
8 Dismission without painfull dismission without a sic Cornell; for my dismission without 1750, 1768; dismissal without pain or 1803, 1837, 1861.

Hervey twice quoted this line to Stephen Fox, ascribing it each time to LM (16 Sept. 1730, 19 Oct. 1731, Bristol MS 7/4, pp. 137, 246).
Seldom I mark Mankind's detested ways

Not hearing Censure, nor Affecting Praise,

And unconcern'd my Future Fate I trust;

To that sole Being, Mercifull and Just.

9 Seldom I 1805.
10 hearing fearing Bod MS Add, Bod MS Eng; nor or Longleat (both), 1837, 1861; not Bod MS Add. (Almost) untouch'd by Censure or by praise, BM. Alike unmov'd by censure or by praise: 1805.
11 Fate I State I Bod MS Add, Longleat (Lady Bute), Cornell, 1750, 1768; State I'll Bod MS Eng. With ease, resign'd, my future state I trust 1805.
12 that sole one Great Bod MS Add, Bod MS Eng; the sole 1805.

11-12 Lady Pomfret acknowledged Lady Hertford's transcript in a long poem which echoes this couplet (1805, ii. 209).
Lady Mary kept a song related to this, entitled "The Anti-Song" (separate, smaller leaf bound into H MS 255), in the hand of her friend Mary Astell, who died in May 1731, aged 63. "The Anti-Song" begins "While pretty, pow'd'red Beaux pretend" and ends with two stanzas which closely parallel the first of Lady Mary's:

8
Threatening's a pretty way to Woo,
But your kind Threats deserve my Thanks,
While odious Wishes you pursue,
You change Respect to Insolence.

9
To some fond Girl display your Art,
My Heart is vow'd away and gone,
Nor shall from Honor's Laws depart;
Nor be the purchase of a Song.

It is of course possible that Lady Mary wrote her song on re-reading the other, even many years later, but more likely the two were composed together. Another song ascribed to Lady Mary, "Blame not that Love too cruel Fair", is almost certainly a reply to this (Appendix II, p. 761).

MSS: H MS 256: f. 10, Lady Mary's hand.
H MS 255: f. 11, Lady Mary's hand, with no verbal variants.
Cornell: p. 16.
Printed: 1803, v. 244; 1837, iii. 421-2; 1861, ii. 499.

Fond Wishes you persue in vain,
My Heart is vow'd away and gone,
Forbear thy sighs too lovely Swain,
Those dying Airs that you put on;

5
Go, try on other Maids thy Art,
Ah! leave this lost unworthy Heart
But you must leave it soon.

4 that [which Cornell.
5 thy [your eds.
Such sighs as these you should bestow
On some unpractis'd blooming Fair

Where Rosy Youth does warmly glow,
Whose Eyes forbid you to Despair.

Not all thy wondrous Charms can move
A Heart that must refuse thy Love
Or not deserve thy Care.

---

10 does / doth eds.
13 thy / your eds.
14 thy / your eds.
In 1758 Lady Mary explained to Lady Bute the genesis of this reply (see above p. 76) to "Dear Colin prevent my warm Blushes" (below p. 741); Dodsley had printed her lines as a snub addressed by Sir William Yonge to Lady Mary herself:

Some few months before Lord W. Hamilton marry'd there appear'd a foolish Song said to be wrote by a Poetical Great Lady [Lady Hertford] who I really think was the character of Lady Arabella in the Female Quixote (without the Beauty). You may imagine such a conduct at Court made her superlatively ridiculous... We were very merry in supposing what Answer Lord William would make to these passionate addresses. [Lady De La Warr] begg'd me to say something for a poor man who had nothing to say for himselfe. I wrote extemore on the back of the Song some stanzas that went perfectly well to the Tune. She promis'd they should never appear as mine, and faithfully kept her word

(Letters, iii. 187). Nevertheless George Saintsbury in 1916 still thought of the songs as Lady Mary's "well-known duel" with Yonge (The Peace of the Augustans, p. 75).

Lady Hertford had been married for eighteen years to Lady Mary's "Patch" (above p. 350), and was by now engaged in nursing his severe gout. Her biographer describes her as pious and family-loving; her known verse is quite unlike that attributed to her by Lady Mary, whom she admired without animus (Hertford-Pomfret, i. xvi and passim; H. S. Hughes, The Gentle Hertford, 1940, pp. 418-28 and passim). Other gossips remained silent about the authorship of the first song, which must have been popular, since in 1740 Sir Charles Hanbury Williams wrote a ballad 'To the Tune of "Dear Colin, prevent my warm blushes"' (Works, 1822, i. 111-12). The marriage of Lord William (d. 1734) took place on 29 April 1733 (London Evening-Post, 3 May).

MSS: H MS: 255, f. 65, Lady Mary's hand.
EM: Add. 37684 (poems of W. Taylor, etc.) f. 57, as by Yonge.

Title His Yonge's Answer EM; Answer'd by Lady Susan Hamilton Personating the Man Scot; Sir Wxxxxxx Yxxxxxx's Answer 1758; Colin's Reply to "Female Wooing" 1781.
Bod: Montagu e. 13 (among songs collected in mid-eighteenth century by Mary Tadwell), f. 67; unascribed. Its many variants are not listed here.

Scot: National Library of Scotland, MS 3784, f. 63, copied as by Lord William's sister Lady Susan, probably before her marriage in 1736.

Printed: 1758: Dodsley's Collection, 6th ed., vi. 230-1, as by Yonge.

1781: The Vocal Magazine, no. 964, unascribed; source of variants unknown.

1803, v. 194; 1837, iii. 395-6; 1861, ii. 477; "George Paston", Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, p. 508.

Good Madam when Ladys are willing

A Man must needs look like a Fool,

For me I would not give a shilling,

For one that will love out of Rule.

You should leave us to guess by your blushing

And not speak the matter so plain,

'Tis ours to write, and be pushing,

'Tis yours to affect a disdain.

1 Good Dear Scot.
4 that will love out of that is kind out of BM, 1758; that can love without Scot; that does love without 1781; who would love out of 1803-1861.

after 4 or 8 an extra stanza appears in BM, Scot, 1758 and 1781. It runs thus in Scot (variants elsewhere):

At least you should wait for our offers
Not snatch like Old Maids in despair,
If you've liv'd to these Years without prefers
Your Sighs are now lost to the Air.

5 You altered from Tis H MS; should...us...m...me BM, 1758.
7 write/ altered from speak H MS; declare Scot; pursue 1758; write and be/ be writing and 1781.
8 'Tis And 1781.
That you are in a terrible takeing

By all these sweet Oglings I see,

But the Fruit that can fall without shakeing

Indeed is too mellow for me.

9  That\(\uparrow\) But 1781.
10 these sweet Oglings\(\uparrow\) your sweet Ogles BM, 1758; your soft Oglings Scot; the fond oglings 1781.
11 But the...can\(\uparrow\) But the...will BM, 1758; The...can 1781.

11-12 For LM's anger at the application of these lines to herself, see above p. 209-10.
The imitator of Horace is Pope, whose First Satire of the Second Book of Horace, imitated in a Dialogue between Alexander Pope and his learned Counsel was published on 15 Feb. 1733. He aimed lines 5-6 at Hervey:

The Lines are weak, another's pleas'd to say,
Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a Day,

and lines 83-84, more bitingly, at Lady Mary:

From furious Sappho scarce a milder Fate than poison or hanging, P-x'd by her Love, or libell'd by her Hate.

Lady Mary unwisely complained to Lord Peterborough, who retailed the complaint to Pope and sent her on the latter's behalf an equivocal letter protesting that Sappho meant only "some noted common woeman" (Letters, ii. 97). This must have added to her fury, particularly since the identification of Lady Mary with Sappho was made generally -- for example by her cousin Henry Fielding, who wrote and gave her an indignant "Epistle to Mr Lyttleton occasioned by two Lines in Mr Pope's Paraphrase on the first Satire of the 2d Book of Horace" (H MS 81, ff. 57-58, 64-65), expatiating on "Sappho's Wrongs" (line 162).

Lady Mary made another attempt to silence Pope, through Robert Walpole (Pope, Corr. iii. 354); almost simultaneously she must have conceived this reply (see above p. 165). It has always been attributed to her in collaboration with Hervey, though as Halsband has concluded, "no documentary evidence survives to prove Lady Mary's authorship" (p. 143). She herself denied it, saying it was "(without my knowledge) by

**Title** Verses Address'd to To BM Add 35335, BM Add 31152, Longleat, Roberts.

The First Satire The Satire Roberts, corrected by Hervey in Ickworth.
a Gentleman of great merit, whom I very much esteem, who [Pope] will never guess, and who, if he did know, he durst not attack" (Letters, ii. 100). This denial, sent to Arbuthnot the day after publication of Pope's Epistle to him, can be ignored as a desperate defensive stroke in Lady Mary's mortal combat with Pope. If it is incredible, so are Pope's denials to Peterborough and to Hervey: that he "never applied that name Sappho to her in any verse of mine, public or private, and, I firmly believe, not in any letter or conversation" (Letters, ii. 97; the suppressed Letter to a Noble Lord, Works, ed. Elwin and Court-hope, 1889, v. 430). By this date neither of the two enemies could be trusted to speak truth of the other.

After Lady Mary's own statements, the next source of evidence for attributions comes from manuscripts. No copy of the Verses is now to be found in Lady Mary's hand or among her papers. Yet her great-grandson and editor, Lord Wharncliffe, claimed that the poem was "contained in the collection of poems verified by Lady Mary's own hand as written by her"; Moy Thomas, who in some cases referred back to Lady Mary's manuscripts, retained Lord Wharncliffe's note (1837, iii. 381 n.; 1861, ii. 464 n.); "George Paston", who made extensive use of the Harrowby papers, repeated the story (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1907, p. 348 n.). If Lord Wharncliffe was referring to H MS 256, he was almost certainly mistaken, while the others may have accepted his statement without checking it. The only other possibilities are that a copy of this poem was once lodged, though not bound, in H MS 256; or that the hypothetical lost collection of Lady Mary's verse (above, p. 212) also bore some claim to authorship.

Hervey, on the other hand, is linked with the poem by his two sets of corrections, differing slightly from each other: to a manuscript now in the BM and to a copy of Roberts's edition now at Ickworth (see textual headnote below). He also wrote a manuscript preface "To the Reader" which was placed, by himself or another, inside the first leaf of the Ickworth copy and later bound up in this position. He not only corrected the verses but inscribed this copy "corrected by the Author". His "To the Reader" refers to the parental vanity which has caused him to endeavour doing the work justice, and at the end, ambiguously, to "my Verses". It assumes, rather than claims, authorship for Hervey. Such a document is not ideal material on which to establish literary ownership,
for it states nothing, admits nothing, and conceals the author with protective layers of irony. It is, however, the closest we have to an admission of responsibility for the *Verses*, and its significance cannot be ignored.

Pope thought that Hervey had arranged for publication of the poem ("if I call it yours, my Lord, it is only because, whoever got it, you brought it forth"), and that he had recommended it to the persual of the King and Queen (*Works*, 1889, v. 430). Hervey's preface and alterations, however, indicate a concern with publication not of any of the existing editions, but of a projected version which was never realised. He apparently disapproved of the text put out through Roberts, since he made deletions in it. The revisions made between the first and second editions of Mrs. Dodd are not those indicated by Hervey. It follows either that Dodd's revised version was published without his knowledge or consent, or, if he had authorized it, that his manuscript corrections represent later changes of mind. Hervey did sometimes correct his verse several months after composition; in January 1734 he wrote of making additions and corrections to *An Epistle From A Nobleman*, although he was "tired of hearing, seeing & talking of these odious verses" (*Ichester*, p. 185). The revisions he mentions are probably those surviving in a copy of *An Epistle* which is now bound up with his revised copy of the *Verses* at Ickworth. If so, his reworking of the *Verses* may date from the same month. "To the Reader" must have been composed soon after the first publication through Roberts and Dodd; though it is now bound inside the corrected copy, it may well have preceded the corrections by some time.

Altogether Hervey's revisions seem unlikely to have followed an authorization of Dodd's second version -- or indeed of any printed one. In "To the Reader" he mentions the "hasty and incorrect" copy "first sent into the World, and one so much more imperfect...since printed". This has been held to refer to the Dodd and Roberts versions respectively (*Halsband*, p. 144 n. 1). These were, however, both advertised as published on the same day,¹ and Hervey had no cause to be taken in by

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¹ It was not unknown for a printer deliberately to list as "this day published" a work not yet ready (*J. L. Clifford*, *Young Samuel Johnson*, 1955, p. 195).
the Dodd publicity about the extent of the difference between the two versions. He probably refers to manuscript copies of the Verses as circulating in "the World" and to one -- or both -- of the printed versions as "more imperfect". In spite of Pope's opinion, it is by no means certain that Hervey was responsible for printing the Verses; it appears that he wished to influence the text more than he in fact did.

Contemporary opinion seems to have identified the Verses as Lady Mary's from the first, and to have recognised Hervey's contribution only later. On the day of publication Pope wrote to Fortescue of "that Lady's having taken her own Satisfaction in an avowed Libell" (Corr. iii. 354); he later implied that he considered the ascription on Dodd's title-page, "By a Lady", to be a deliberate confession of authorship on Lady Mary's part (Works, 1889, v. 430). Two days later Theobald told Warburton that Pope had been "most handsomely depicted in a severe Poem by Lady Mary W. Mountague" (R. F. Jones, Lewis Theobald, 1919, p. 313). Next week Pope wrote of "the Libell" as Lady Mary's alone; he did not link Hervey's name with hers until 2/0 April (Corr. iii. 357, 366). Irish opinion also attributed the Verses to her (Swift in Pope's Corr. iii. 362).

Publication under the Roberts imprint was followed by that of another poem, on 29 March, "By a LADY, Author of the Verses to the Imitator of HORACE" (below p. 528). Writers of replies to the Verses had no doubt whom to attack. A Proper Reply to a Lady, "By a Gentleman" (3 April), begins with the question of identity:

What Lust of Malice, what salacious Spite
'Gainst her Alcaeus Sappho moves to write?
It must be Sappho. -- Who can chuse but guess
Whence springs this clam'rous Womanish Address?

This "Gentleman" amply hints at Lady Mary's identity, mentioning her poetry and the scandal of her sister. Another opponent, the "Gentlewoman" who printed at her own expense her Advice to Sappho (received by Lord Oxford on 12th April, Bod. M. 3. 19. Art.), left no doubt that her quarry was Lady Mary, who was also praised by name for her chastisement of Pope in "In Defence of Lady Mary Wortley" (GM, April 1733, p. 206).

By 2/0 April Pope had heard more of the complicated story of "Lady M--'s or Lord H--'s performance....it was labour'd, corrected, pre­

recommended and post-disapprov'd, so far as to be dis-own'd by themselves,
after each had highly cry'd it up for the others" (Corr. iii. 366). On the rst of May Swift wrote of the authors as "they", not knowing whether "the production you mention came from the Lady or the Lord" (ibid. 368). Owners of the Verses in print or manuscript inscribed them confidently with one or other name (Bod. Godwin Pamph. 1663; "6th ed." at Texas; Bod. MS Eng. misc. c. 399; Longleat MS). But thereafter almost every opinion is uncertain or ambiguous -- especially Pope's own in his Letter to a Noble Lord, 30 Nov. 1733. This begins with a clear statement of Lady Mary's responsibility: "I wonder yet more, how a lady, of great wit, beauty, and fame for her poetry...could be prevailed upon to take a part in that proceeding" (Works, v. 426-7, 428). Later he implies that her denial of authorship, brought to him by Lord Peterborough, caused him to change his mind about her part in the Verses; but this he almost immediately contradicts, in a passage famous for its oblique suggestiveness rather than for factual clarity.

Your Lordship indeed said you had it from a lady, and the lady said it was your Lordship's; some thought the beautiful bye-blow had two fathers, or (if one of them will hardly be allowed a man) two mothers; indeed I think both sexes had a share in it, but which was uppermost, I know not. I pretend not to determine the exact method of this witty fornication (p. 430). This is even more ambiguous than Hervey's private claim that he wrote the Verses (already discussed).

By the time Pope replied to An Epistle from a Nobleman with his suppressed Letter, he probably felt more resentment against Hervey than against Lady Mary; but his original reference to Hervey in lines 5-6 of Sat. ii. 1 had been so mild that the latter had mentioned the poem without annoyance two days after publication (Ilchester, p. 162). Hervey makes no comment on the Verses in print or in his surviving letters -- unlike An Epistle, which he disclaimed in the press and expatiated on to his correspondents (Daily Courant, 22 Nov. 1733; Ilchester, pp. 183, 189). In the same letters he glories in his own severity on Pope -- but only in An Epistle. The later poem supplied Pope with sufficient motive for his attacks on Hervey and was probably the chief reason for the Sporus portrait. Yet the fact that Pope coupled Hervey with Lady Mary, either by name or as "some Persons of Rank and Fortune" (Advertisement to the Epistle to Arbuthnot; Ilchester, pp. 191-2, 296-301; Twickenham, vi. 357), shows that he continued to believe in Lady Mary's considerable share in the Verses.
Later a third name was added (not by Pope) to those of the suspected authors. Lord Oxford wrote on his copy, "The Authors of this poem are Lady Mary Wortley, Lord Harvey and Mr Windham under Tutor to the Duke of Cumberland and married to my Lady Deloraine" (Bod. M. 3. 19. Art). Since Wyndham married Lady Deloraine only in April 1734, Oxford's identification was written more than a year after publication of the Verses -- very likely at the same time that he annotated his copy of the 5th edition, Jan. 1735. Nevertheless Wyndham is a plausible third collaborator. His courtship of Lady Deloraine (the "Delia" linked with "Sappho" in the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace) provided ample grounds for reprisals against Pope. He might be the esteemed gentleman whom Lady Mary considered Pope would not guess or dare to attack -- a description at that time entirely unfitted to Hervey, who had already been trounced as Sporus. A Letter to a Noble Lord mentions "W——m" (Pope, Works, 1889, v. 36). Maynard Mack has argued that Wyndham's marriage and his part in the Verses are glanced at in the Epistle to Arbuthnot, lines 376-7 (TLS, 1939, p. 515). Oxford may have owed his information about Wyndham to some independent source or simply to the same reasoning as Professor Mack's. Wyndham probably took some part in the Verses, but if his part was a large one it is remarkable that it attracted so little notice.

The third candidate has been largely ignored by later commentators, who have contented themselves with attributing the Verses to Lady Mary, Hervey, or both. Those who published the "Answer" to Hammond's Elegy to a Young Lady as Hervey's (see following poem) tacitly supposed that he was author of the Verses. Lady Mary's editor in 1768 reprinted them without suggesting that she was not sole author. By Dallaway they were "said to have been the joint performance" of both; this statement was repeated by Lady Mary's later editors despite their claim to have seen the Verses in her album. J. W. Croker, who edited Hervey's Memoirs in 1848, decided on the basis of the manuscript evidence that Hervey wrote the Verses -- but decided against his own critical judgement, for he found them smoother, keener, and in every way better than any of Lord Hervey's single-handed productions -- except (if that be one) the "Answer" to Hammond....a marked superiority over Lord Hervey's other works, both in vigour and polish.
W. J. Courthope found in the poem various characteristics of Hervey's verse (triplets, enjambement, lack of caesura), but also "greater vigour than is usually found in Lord Hervey's style, which when he uses metre, is, as a rule, mean and dull" (Pope, Works, v. 260-1). Halkett and Laing's Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature ascribes the Verses to Lady Mary (rev. ed. 1926-34); Hervey's most recent editor gives us "the accepted view" that she wrote them, possibly with Hervey's assistance (1931, p. xliv).

On this mound of comment a few more comments must be piled. Since neither original printed version agrees throughout with Hervey's manuscript, his responsibility for publication is doubtful. Lady Mary often wrote of publication as a discreditable activity, though she had published essays anonymously and later ran a political journal. She had been linked with both the pamphlet-distributors concerned: Roberts's name had appeared on the title-page of her Court Poems, pirated by Curll in 1716, and (with that of Dodd) on her Genuine Copy of a Letter Written From Constantinople by an English Lady, 1719, published through the Abbé Conti's indiscretion or even greed (Letters, i. 374 n. 5, 449). Neither of these transactions would have endeared Roberts to her, but she used him as an agent in 1727 when advertising for her runaway son, and ten years later for The Nonsense of Common-Sense (Letters, ii. 114 and n.1).

Both Roberts and Dodd were primarily pamphlet sellers -- often acting as wholesale distributors for printers and publishers. They were leaders in this speciality. The names of such people on an edition or in advertisements did not mean they were responsible for publication (Griffith, Bibliography of Pope, ii. xliv; W. M. Sale, Samuel Richardson, 1950, pp. 86ff.). In this case they could have acted for Lady Mary or Hervey or both, or for somebody else who had decided to make a profit on this scandalous manuscript, as Roberts had earlier acted for Curll. Both versions may have stemmed from the same source, since both omit lines 38-39, which are present in all but one of the surviving manuscripts. Only the printer of Dodd's version corrected her first edition (from another, not necessarily authorial, source) and continued to reprint. The Dodd ascription "By a Lady" must surely have been unwelcome to Lady Mary, but she seems at least to have tolerated the series of advertisements de-
crying Roberts's version. (She can hardly have been responsible for
the first complaint against Roberts, in view of its grammar.) If
plotting of any kind was involved, I suggest the simple yet subtle plot
of leaking the manuscript to a person of reliable untrustworthiness and
awaiting the inevitable multiplication of copies.

Attribution on grounds of subject-matter is impossible. The charges
levelled against Pope occur also in Hervey's Epistle and other polemics,
in Lady Mary's earlier and later anti-Pope works, and in Fielding's un­
published pieces of which she kept the manuscripts. Stylistic criteria
are not much more useful. Pope thought it impossible to recognize even
a great writer by his style (Spence, § 392). For this purpose either
Lady Mary or Hervey would have aimed at the same tone; her poetic out­
put here gathered bears witness to her versatility. One or two remarks
can, however, be made on the Verses. They are relatively free from the
carelessness of syntax and construction that often spoils Lady Mary's
verse. Hervey's hand can be discerned in the whole series of antitheses
at lines 93-100. Here and elsewhere in the Verses the balance of lines
and couplets is more exactly measured than is usual except in short
passages of Lady Mary's writing. She seldom uses "thou" and "thee"
with so few lapses into "you". The six lines of subordinate clauses
which open the poem are characteristic of Hervey, while in the over­
whelming majority of Lady Mary's poems the first main verb occurs in
the first or second line. On the other hand the extended image occu­
pying the last paragraph has many parallels among Lady Mary's verse
(PP. 465, 460, 483), while Hervey usually prefers to end with a
pointed couplet. The Verses have none of the prolixity into which
Hervey almost unfailingly strays both in verse and prose. The editors
already quoted are not alone in remarking their superiority to Hervey's
Epistle (published, with evident manoeuvre and mystification, five months
after the Verses), in which Lady Mary had no hand. A modern critic
finds the Epistle "inferior to the Verses, lacking the crack and sparkle
which frequently distinguish the earlier piece" (W. L. Macdonald, Pope
and His Critics, 1951, p. 159).

The inevitable conclusion, then, is that the Verses are a success­
ful collaboration, in which each of the major contributors was enabled
by the other's influence to surpass his usual form. But the inspira­
tional fury invoked on the title-page of Dodd's revised edition (used
here as copy-text) was Lady Mary's.
MSS: BM Add 35335: ff. 53-54, in a volume of material collected by Horace Walpole. The Verses are in a copyist's hand, unascribed, with corrections by Hervey, never implemented in print but as if for a revised edition. The scribal copy agrees with Roberts in all substantives but two: the Dodd version of line 96 and the extra couplet (38-39) from Dodd B. It apparently derives not from a printed text but from Hervey's own manuscript, which must have resembled Roberts more closely than Dodd.

BM Add 31152: ff. 25-26, unascribed. It agrees with Roberts against Dodd in two places, and Dodd against Roberts in two. It has the extra couplet (but none of the other changes) from Dodd B; a number of minor variants of its own indicate that it does not derive from any printed text.

Bod: MS Eng. misc. c. 399, ff. 76-77, ascribed to "Ldy M. W. Mountague", once among the papers of James West (1740-72), who was resident at the Inner Temple when the poem was published. This also includes the extra couplet, but elsewhere usually agrees with Dodd A.

Longleat: Portland MSS, xix. 149-50; unknown hand, "by Ly Ma-y W--ly Describ'd by the Name Sappho". This copy agrees with all but one of Roberts's variants from Dodd and introduces some variants of its own. It lacks the extra couplet.


Folio: A² B-C²; i-iv, 1 2-7 8. (P. i is a half-title.) Examples are in Bod. Godwin Pamph. 71 and 1663. This edition, rarer now than those of Dodd, was advertised as "This Day" published on both 8 and 9 March 1733 (Whitehall Evening-Post, Daily Post-Boy). Its price was 6d. Lady Mary's connection with James Roberts (d. 1754) has been

1. The Grub-Street Journal, 29 March 1733, lists the Verses as pub. on 9 March.
mentioned. Despite accusations of "Blunders" in the pro-Dodd advertisements, there are only four verbal variants between this and Dodd A (lines 7, 55, 89, 96). The omission in Roberts's title may indicate lack of authorial supervision. Advertisements were repeated on 10 and 13 March, the latter making the counter-claim: "N.B. This being the genuine and correct Edition, is in three Sheets" (London Evening-Post, Whitehall Evening-Post). R. W. Rogers calls it a piracy (The Major Satires of Pope, 1955, p. 143). Its text was reprinted in the London Magazine, March 1733, p. 152 (no author named).

Ickworth: a copy of Roberts preserved at Ickworth in Suffolk was altered by Hervey as if for a second edition. He added "first" before "SATIRE" on both the half-title and title-page. To the latter he added above the printer's ornament a short rule, followed by:

---omnes
Vicini oderunt, noti, Pueri atque Puellae.
Miraris?———Hor:

Below the ornament he added: "the second Edition corrected / by the Author, with a Preface." The separate, manuscript preface, on a single sheet of paper, has been bound in before the title-page:

To the Reader

So hasty and incorrect a Copy of these Verses was first sent into the World, and one so much more imperfect is since printed, that I can not help indulging my Vanity so far, since they are to appear in Publick, as to set them forth in their best Dress.

And whilst I endeavour to do poetical Justice to the Composition I must take the same Opportunity to do moral Justice to the Design, especially since the Generality of the World has been so malicious as to insinuate that there is any thing in this Performance that carries a Reflexion on the celebrated Mr Pope, for whom I have always had the greatest and justest Regard.

1. Sat. I. i. 84-86. The Loeb translation reads, "every one hates you, neighbours and acquaintances, boys and girls. Can you wonder?"
I am less surprised at the Ill-nature shown to me by this Insinuation, as it is so conformable to That practised towards Mr Pope him-self, when the monstrous Injustice of his censorious Readers endeavour'd to fix such names to Characters of his drawing, as I dare swear no more enter'd into his Head on that Occasion, than his did into mine upon this.

As I have follow'd Mr Pope's Example in this publick Profession of my Innocence, I hope I shall also have his good fortune in recieving Absolution; and that He and all Mankind must allow my * Apology to be as good as his, tho not my Verses.

* See the Preface to the second Edition of Taste an Epistle.

* See the same.

On the verso of this sheet Hervey drafted a title-page, which he later struck through with a single line. The page was to read: A Genuine Copy / Of the Verses adress'd to the Imitator of the first Satire / of the second Book / of Horace. / with a Preface to the Reader. / Publish'd by the Author. / Horace quotation exactly as on Roberts title-page; rule.

This title-page says nothing about being the second edition. Hervey's corrections to the printed text do not correspond exactly with those he made in BM Add 35335. There are more of them and some fail to improve the verse, while others are trivial. Hervey evidently had the printer more in mind than when he corrected BM Add 35335, and indicated heavy typographic emphasis.


This edition also was advertised as "This Day" published on 8 March 1733, with the additional selling-points of "Being the same Size with the Dialogue" and "By a Lady of QUALITY" (London Evening-Post). Anne Dodd (d. ?c. 1750),
friend and associate of Curll, sold many post-Dunciad attacks on Pope and published The Craftsman (Twickenham, v. 438).

On 10 March an advertisement reiterated that her version was "This Day" published and added

N.B. The Publick are desired to observe the VERSES has the ABOVE TITLE; and the Words, By a Lady, and printed for A. Dodd, be in the Title Page; for there is a spurious and piratical Edition of these VERSES abroad, printed from a very bad Copy

(London Evening-Post, repeated 13 and 15 March, and in St. James's Evening-Post, 10 and 13 March).

A later state of this edition is represented in Bod. Don. c. 23 (a volume of poems collected by John Craster, d. 1763), BM 11641 l. 1, and BM C 59 h. 9. The first line has a different ornamental "I". Resetting has occurred in sheet A and in the outer forme of B (page 8 only), but no verbal changes have been made.

(copystext) Dodd B: More substantial changes occur in this edition, published through Mrs. Dodd on 20 March, represented in Bod. Godwin Pamph 1661. The collation is unchanged. "Si Natura negat, facit Indignatio versus. JUVENAL." has been added to the title page; an extra couplet appears at lines 38-39 and verbal changes in lines 28, 73-74, and 80. The ornamental "I" is the same as in the second state of Dodd A; the text appears to have been reset only as far as necessary to accommodate the extra couplet. There are one or two changes in punctuation. The changes, however, gave ammunition for an expanded version of the pro-Dodd advertisement, which quoted the motto from Juvenal and extended the abuse of Roberts: "In that spurious Edition in three Sheets (one of which is only the Title) the MOTTO, and one whole COUPLET in Page 5, are omitted; besides many notorious Blunders, and literal Errors"

(London Evening-Post, 20, 22 March).

I have chosen Dodd B as copy-text for various reasons. Lady Mary may have authorized one or both publications of 3 March. She is unlikely to have had anything to do with the "5th edition" of 1735, which was purely a printer's scheme. The changes in Dodd B, however, seem to be corrections rather
than revisions. The extra couplet, which brings it closer to the manuscript copies, is more likely to have been inserted by an author than a printer, but probably not by Hervey since the revisions from his manuscript are not incorporated. His scribal copy, BM Add 35335, is not necessarily closer to Lady Mary's hypothetical manuscript than are the printed texts; there is no evidence that she saw it.

Two octavo reprints follow the text of Dodd B. The British Museum has two copies of that "Printed for A. Dodd; /Dublin: Re-printed by Christopher /Dickson in the Post-Office-Yard, 1733" (11642 a. 59 and 11630 aaa. 45). It was carefully set up from Dodd B, its one verbal error not recorded here. It must date from after 31 March 1733, when Swift wrote, "Faulkener would not print it, nor do I know whether any body here will but there are some copies come from your side" (Pope, Corr. iii. 362). At Edinburgh, Ruddiman reprinted an octavo of which copies exist at Harvard, Texas, and Chicago Universities and the Newbery and Clark Libraries (information from Mr. David Foxon).

Dodd C: On 16 Jan. 1735 the Verses were re-issued with "The FIFTH EDITION Corrected" added to the title-page. The printer's ornaments on title-page and tailpiece were changed, but the same initial ornament employed as in Dodd A, first state; both sheets were entirely re-set. The collation was unchanged. A variant was introduced in line 77, and line 20 was italicized to go with its footnote, which with another on p. 6 referred to Pope's Epistle to Arbuthnot. Lord Oxford noted on his copy:

This which is called the fifth edition is not true but a sham of the Booksellers upon Mr Pope's printing his Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot where these verses are mentiond they supposed that some copies would be called for

(Bod. M. 3. Art (18)). Advertisements for the new edition said it was "by a Lady" and printed for A. Dodd and "J. Fisher, against Tom's Coffee-house in Cornhill", and quoted from Pope's "Advertisement" to his Epistle (London Evening-Post, 16, 18, 21, 23 Jan. 1735). This text was reprinted in the Monthly

One more Dodd issue of the Verses was re-set with verbal accuracy from Dodd C, including the latter's version of line 77. The initial "I" and other ornaments at head and tail were changed and the footnotes and italics referring to the Epistle to Arbuthnot removed. The only known copy is at the University of Texas; I have not discovered the date of publication. The title of the poem is set up as previously, and the title-page continues: Rule / Answer a Fool according to his Folly, lest he be wise in his own Conceit. PROV. xxvi. 5. Rule / The SIXTH EDITION. Ornament different from that of Dodd C / LONDON: / Printed for A. DODD, and Sold at all the Pamphlet-Shops in Town. / (Price Six Pence.) Folio: A² B²; 1-3 4-8.

1768, pp. 46-54 (one variant in 1781 reprint); 1803, v. 169-74; 1837, iii. 381-4; 1861, ii. 464-7.

In two large Columns, on thy motly Page,
Where Roman Wit is stripe'd with English Rage;
Where Ribaldry to Satire makes pretence;
And modern Scandal rolls with ancient Sense:

Whilst on one side we see how Horace thought;
And on the other, how he never wrote:

Who can believe, who view the bad and good,

view views BM Add 35335, EM Add 31152, Longleat, Roberts; and, the 1803-1861.

1-6 Referring to the method of printing Pope's First Satire of the Second Book of Horace with the Latin text on the left-hand page and the imitation on the right.

4 Cf. "But a few modern Words for ancient Sense" (Hervey's Epistle From A Nobleman, p. 7: a line which he re-wrote in the copy at Tickworth).
That the dull Copi'st better understood
That Spirit, he pretends to imitate,

Than heretofore that Greek he did translate?

Thine is just an Image of his Pen,
As thou thy self art of the Sons of Men:

Where our own Species in Burlesque we trace,

A Sign-Post Likeness of the noble Race;

That is at once Resemblance and Disgrace.

8 dull_ altered by Hervey to mean Ickworth.
9-10 struck out by Hervey in BM Add 35335 and Ickworth; he substituted six lines in BM Add 35335 (first four only in Ickworth):
Horace than Homer? or was less to seek,
In Latin Spirit than in verbal Greek?
For this like that thou shouldst have ask'd Broome's Aid,
Who writes that Verse for which great Pope is pay'd,
Broome would have told thee and have told thee true
That whilst the Paths of Horace you pursue

11-15 new paragraph run on by Hervey, BM Add 35335; in Ickworth he transferred these lines to follow line 24.

10 Fielding charged Pope with poor translation; he reverted to this opinion after Pope's death ("O to look o'er the old Records of Time", lines 157-60, "Canto 2d", lines 19-22: H MS 81, ff. 172-85; S. J. Sackett, Notes and Queries, ccv, 1959, pp. 201-3).

11-12 Pope's deformity had already been dragged into the pamphlet-wars surrounding him. Thomas Burnet and George Ducket's Homerides, 1715, had inadvertently won sympathy for Pope by this means, though Addison had toned down its references to his "hump" (Sherburn, pp. 133-5). Curll in "To Mr. Pope" had quoted Bacon on the malice and ingenuity of deformed persons (Pope, Literary Correspondence, ii, 1735, pp. vi-vii). Pope reproached Hervey for this, with dignity (Works, 1889, v. 432-3).

13-15 Cf. "For thou art Surely not of human Race": Fielding's "Epistle to Mr Lyttleton", written on the same occasion as the Verses (line 41: H MS 81, f. 57). Hervey commented that Pope's body seems the Counterpart by Heav'n design'd
A Symbol and a Warning to Mankind:
As at some Door we find hung out a Sign,
Type of the Monster to be found within,
although he had just pointed out that such afflictions could also be suffered by a good man and should not be ridiculed (The Difference Between Verbal and Practical Virtue, 1742, pp. 5-6). LN had early referred to the clumsiness of sign-post painters (Letters, i. 281).
Horace can laugh, is delicate, is clear;
You, only coarsely rail, or darkly sneer:
His Style is elegant, his Diction pure,
Whilst none thy crabbed Numbers can endure;
Hard as thy Heart, and as thy Birth obscure.

If he has Thorns, they all on Roses grow;
Thine like rude Thistles, and mean Brambles show
With this Exception, that tho' rank the Soil,
Weeds, as they are, they seem produc'd by Toil.

Satire shou'd, like a polish'd Razor keen,
Wound with a Touch, that's scarcely felt or seen.
Thine is an Oyster-Knife, that hacks and hews;
The Rage, but not the Talent to Abuse;
And is in Hate, what Love is in the Stews.

'Tis the gross Lust of Hate, that still annoys,
Without Distinction, as gross Love enjoys:

16 is clear and clear Longleat.
22 like rude the rude Bod; like 1837, 1861.
26 scarcely...or neither...nor Longleat.
27 is like BM Add 31152.
28 to of BM Add 33555, BM Add 31152, Bod, Longleat, Roberts, Dodd A.

16 Cf. "But Horace, Sir, was delicate, was nice" (Pope, "Dialogue I 1738", line 11). Peter Dixon quotes Dryden, Young and Fielding to show that at this period "Horace and delicacy are...synonymous and supreme" (The World of Pope's Satires, 1968, p. 30).
19 Perhaps recalled in "And Congreve loved, and Swift endured my lays" (Epistle to Arbuthnot, line 138), which in turn aroused LM's indignation (Letters, ii. 100).
20 Dodd C noted, "See Mr. Pope's Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, p. 19" -- i.e. line 381, which was supplied with a reference to the Verses. Pope replied further in lines 388ff. and in his Letter to a Noble Lord (Works, 1889, v. 433). Sherburn discusses his family (pp. 27-36).
22 Thistles: the "Gentleman" author of A Proper Reply To A Lady takes this occasion to compare LM to a donkey.
25-26 The "Gentleman" suggests that these lines (which recall Dryden's famous remark about satire: "A Discourse Concerning...Satire", Essays, ii. 93) do not make sense, and are the result of feminine ignorance about razors.
30-31 Cf. "And such the Lust that breaks his nightly Dream" (Hervey, The Difference between Verbal and Practical Virtue, v. 6).
Neither to Folly, nor to Vice confin'd;

The Object of thy Spleen is Human Kind:

It preys on all, who yield or who resist;

To Thee 'tis Provocation to exist.

But if thou see'st a great and gen'rous Heart,

Thy Bow is doubly bent to force a Dart.

Nor Dignity nor Innocence is spar'd,

Nor Age, nor Sex, nor Thrones, nor Graves rever'd.

Nor only Justice vainly we demand,

But even Benefits can't rein thy Hand:

To this or that alike in vain we trust,

Nor find Thee less Ungrateful than Unjust.

36-37 omitted in Bod.
36 and a BM Add 31152.
37 Bow...force/blow...forge BM Add 31152.
38-39 omitted in Longleat, Roberts, Dodd A; supplied by Hervey in Ickworth.
39 nor Thrones, nor Graves / Nor Graves, Nor Thrones Bod.
40-43 struck out by Hervey in BM Add 35335, Ickworth.
42 in vain we/ we vainly BM Add 31152.

33 An accusation previously made against satirists, since the "Satyr Against Mankind" attributed to Rochester (Poems, pp. 200-1).
36ff. A note in Roberts, Dodd and Hervey's MS reads "See Taste, an Epistle" -- i.e. the passage on Timon's Villa in Pope's Epistle to Burlington, 1731, lines 99ff. The identification of Timon with James Brydges (1674-1744), 1st Duke of Chandos, was universally made (e.g. by Hervey in Dec. 1731: Ilchester, p. 125), though by 1733 Pope had several times publicly denied it (to the Duke's own satisfaction) and modern scholarly opinion bears him out. Fielding's "Epistle to Lyttleton" demanded

Say, against Chandois what thy Fury arm'd,
Was it what any other Breast had charm'd?...
Thy Darts when thrown at any noble Head
Still fly where Honour, Virtue, Learning lead
38-39 Cf. a MS in Hervey's hand, "The Adventures of Telemachus in the Island Ogygia taken from the French of Fenelon":

Horrid Confusion! Age nor Sex is spared;
Nor Royal Heads, nor ev'n their Gods rever'd
(n.d., Bristol MS 47/17, f. 6).
43 Cf. "And those who clubb'd to make him eat, abuses" (Hervey's The Difference Between Verbal and Practical Virtue, p. 5) and Lk's "Pope/ to Bolingbroke", line 51, below p. 566.
Not even Youth and Beauty can control

The universal Rancour of thy Soul;
Charms that might soften Superstition's Rage,
Might humble Pride, or thaw the Ice of Age.

But how should'st thou by Beauty's Force be mov'd,
No more for loving made, than to be lov'd?

It was the Equity of righteous Heav'n,
That such a Soul to such a Form was giv'n;
And shews the Uniformity of Fate,
That one so odious, shou'd be born to hate.

When God created Thee, one would believe,

He said the same as to the Snake of Eve;
To human Race Antipathy declare,
'Twixt them and Thee be everlasting War.

But oh! the Sequel of the Sentence dread,
And whilst you bruise their Heel, beware your Head.

44ff. Taken by Courthope as Hervey's contribution, referring to LM ("Life of Pope", Works, v. 261), but could be by Wyndham.
49 Cf. "Too ugly thou! too impotent for Love!" (Fielding, "Epistle to Lyttleton", line 39: H MS 81, f. 58) and "Unjust in Hate, incapable of Love" (Hervey, The Difference, p. 6).
50-51 Hervey reached the same conclusion (The Difference, p. 5).
55 A note in Dodd C reads "See Mr. Pope's Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, p. 16" -- i.e. line 319: "Or at the ear of Eve, familiar Toad", with a note in which Pope carefully owns that the hint for this touch in the character of Sporus came from the Verses.
59 Cf. Genesis, iii. 15.
Nor think thy Weakness shall be thy Defence;
The Female Scold's Protection in Offence.
Sure 'tis as fair to beat who cannot fight,
As 'tis to libel those who cannot write.
And if thou drawst thy Pen to aid the Law,
Others a Cudgel, or a Rod, may draw.

If none with Vengeance yet thy Crimes pursue,
Or give thy manifold Affronts their due;
If Limbs unbroken, Skin without a Stain,
Unwhipt, unblanketed, unkick'd, unslain;
The wretched little Carcass you retain:
The Reason is, not that the World wants Eyes;
But thou'rt so mean, they see, and they despise.
When fretful Porcupine, with rancorous Will,
From mounted Back shoots forth a harmless Quill,
Cool the Spectators stand; and all the while,
Upon the angry little Monster smile.

64 the[J of Bod.
67 their_/ altered from thy Bod.
73 Porcupine/J Porcupines, BM Add 35335, BM Add 31152, Bod, Longleat, Roberts, Dodd A.
74 Back shoots^/ Backs shoot BM Add 35335, BM Add 31152, Bod, Long­
leat, Roberts, Dodd A.

62-63 Cf. Pope's epigram "On Mr. M—re's going to Law with Mr. Gilliver":
An Author that cou'd never write,
A Gentleman that dares not fight,
(Grub-street Journal, 25 June 1730; Twickenham, vi. 329).
64-65 In Dec. 1731 Hervey reported that Pope had been told "a year or
two ago",
In black and white whilst satire you pursue,
Take heed the answer is not black and blue.
LM may have originated the couplet, since Horace Walpole recorded a
similar phrase as hers (Ilchester, p. 125; Walpole, Corr. xiv.
243 n. 7; James Prior, Life of Malone, 1860, p. 437). On 16
Jan./ 1733 Hervey prophesied of the Epistle to Bathurst that "some
of those to whom he pretends to teach the proper use of riches may
Teach him the proper use of cudgels" (Ilchester, p. 154).
73 Cf. "Like quills upon the fretful porpentine" (Hamlet, I. v. 20).
Thus 'tis with thee: -- whilst impotently safe,
You strike unwounding, we unhurt can laugh.

Who but must laugh, this Bully when he sees,
A puny Insect shiv'ring at a Breeze?
One over-match'd by ev'ry Blast of Wind,
Insulting and provoking all Mankind.

Is this the Thing to keep Mankind in awe,
To make those tremble who escape the Law?

Is this the Ridicule to live so long,
The deathless Satire, and immortal Song?
No: like thy self-blown Praise, thy Scandal flies;
And, as we're told of Wasps, it stings and dies.
If none do yet return th'intended Blow;

You all your Safety, to your Dullness owe:

But whilst that Armour thy poor Corps defends,
'Twill make thy Readers few, as are thy Friends;
Those, who thy Nature loath'd, yet lov'd thy Art,
Who lik'd thy Head, and yet abhor'd thy Heart;

Chose thee, to read, but never to converse,
And scorn'd in Prose, him whom they priz'd in Verse.

Even they shall now their partial Error see,
Shall shun thy Writings like thy Company;
And to thy Books shall ope their Eyes no more,

Than to thy Person they would do their Door.

Nor thou the Justice of the World disown,
That leaves Thee thus an Out-cast, and alone;
For th'o' in Law, to murder be to kill,
In Equity the Murder's in the Will;

Then whilst with Coward Hand you stab a Name,

89 do then BM Add 35335, BM Add 31152, Longleat, Roberts.
89-90 omitted in Bod.
93 yet but BM Add 31152.
96 priz'd prais'd Roberts; corrected by Hervey, Ickworth.
99-100 struck out by Hervey in Ickworth and two lines substituted:
Or thy late Works for Dormitives shall keep,
And to thy Taste and Riches nightly sleep.
102 That leaves thee thus altered by Hervey to When left forlorn Ickworth.
105 Then whilst altered by Hervey to Whilst then Ickworth.

90 Hervey added a note: "See Taste & Riches" (BM Add 35335 and Ickworth).
93-94 Cf. Hervey in The Difference (p. 7):
Whilst not one Man who likes his rhyming Art,
Allows him Genius, or defends his Heart.
And try at least t'assassinate our Fame;

Like the first bold Assassin's be thy Lot,

Ne'er be thy Guilt forgiven, or forgot;

But as thou hate'st, be hated by Mankind,

And with the Emblem of thy crooked Mind,

Mark'd on thy Back, like Cain, by God's own Hand;

Wander like him, accursed through the Land.

---

107 Assassin's assass in Bod.
111 thy...by the...by BM Add 31152; the...with Longleat.
112 accursed through... Accurst thr... all Longleat.

106 Cf. "As he who durst assassinate thy [Im's] Fame" (Fielding's "Epistle to Lyttleton", line 33).
108 Cf. "Yet Sappho's Wrongs the Muse shall ne'er e forgive" (ibid. line 162).
111 Genesis, iv. 15. Pope had been called "that second Cain, whose Hand is against every Body" (John Ozell in a letter to The Weekly Medley, 20 Sept. 1729, quoted in Twickenham, v. 450).
This couplet is Lady Mary's comment on Lord Lyttelton's *Advice to a Lady*, written in 1731 (*Works*, 1774, p. 611) and published on 12 March 1733 in *The Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal*. The advice, which Johnson praised (*Lives of the Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill, iii. 457), is the work of a young man (born 1709) who feels effortlessly qualified, by his sex, to lay down rules for the other. Two of his points in particular must have angered Lady Mary:

The only care your gentle breasts should move,
Th'important business of your life is love

and

Wit, like wine, intoxicates the brain,
Too strong for feeble woman to sustain.

She caricatured both in her second line. Lady Mary probably annotated her manuscript copy before the poem was published.

MS: H MS 81, f. 33; Lady Mary's hand, on verso of scribal copy, unattributed, of Lyttelton's "Advise to a Lady".

Printed: 1803, v. 230; 1837, iii. 415; 1861, ii. 494.

Be plain in Dress and sober in your Diet;

In short my Dearée kiss me, and be quiet.

**Title**

A Summary of Lord Lyttelton's Advice to a Lady *edm.*

1. Lyttelton had mentioned dress; LM introduces diet for the sake of the rhyme.
2. Dearée: a biographer of Lyttelton thinks that the Advice was addressed to Anne Pitt, as a prospective wife for Lyttelton himself (*R. M. Davis, The Good Lord Lyttelton*, 1939, p. 95-96); but it does not read like a poem addressed to a mistress. A contemporary MS note identifies its Belinda with "Lady Diana Spencer now Duchess of Bedford" who married the future 7th Duke on 11 Oct. 1731 (*BM C. 59 h. 9 (10)).
The ANSWER to the foregoing ELEGY: By the shortly before 29 March 1733
Author of the Verses to the Imitator of HORACE.

The Elegy and its "Answer" (for which see above, p. 153) were advertised as "This Day" published in the London Evening-Post, 29 and 31 March 1733, Daily Post-Boy, 30 and 31 March, and listed under 29 March in The Grub-street Journal, 5 April. The "Answer", being half as long again as "the foregoing Elegy", was probably regarded as the more important part of the folio pamphlet. The text of the Elegy is given in Appendix I. It was first publicly attributed to James Hammond (1710-42) in Dodsley's Collection, iv, 1755 (p. 77). Dodsley identified the lady addressed as "Miss D-w-d". Hammond's other elegies were "Written in the Year 1732" and, except the last, addressed to Catherine Dashwood, who survived her lover thirty-seven years, dying unmarried in 1779.

Even the ascription of this Elegy to Hammond is debatable, since his name was not linked with it till 22 years after its publication, and thirteen after his death. Chesterfield, in printing his dead friend's other Love Elegies, 1743, makes no mention of this early publication, though a contemporary owner of Chesterfield's edition copied most of it at the end (Bod. 2799 c. 21). Its style differs widely from the elegant classical and pastoral conceits (and quatrain stanzas) of Hammond's elegies i-xiv, of which Chesterfield wrote in his preface, "Tibullus seems to have been the Model, our author judiciously preferred to Ovid." However, it accords with the mood of "Elegy xv. To Mr. George Greenville", another Ovidian epistle, in which Hammond recounted how he attempted "thro' Friendship" to leave "whom my Passion hurt", how despite himself he failed to overcome his passion, and how his lady coldly scorned him, entertained "higher Views", and believed malicious lies about him. The poet's description of himself in the separately printed Ovidian elegy as a tyrant to women must refer either to writings now lost or to elegies i-iii, which deal with the avarice of "Neaera".

Title Answer to the foregoing Lines. 1755.
Ascription of the "Answer" to Lady Mary rests on the wording of the title-page and advertisements: "By a Lady, Author of the Verses to the Imitator of Horace." James Roberts (or whoever published, through him, this Elegy and "Answer") was obviously exploiting the notoriety of the Verses to the Imitator, though Roberts had handled only one of several editions of the Verses. People judged the authorship of the "Answer" according to what they thought about the authorship of the earlier poem. A manuscript note in the British Museum copy attributes it to Lady Mary (1346, m. 34). Dodsley, who reprinted the "Answer" in 1755 as by Hervey (iv. 77), could have had an independent reason for so doing, but more probably believed the latter to have written the Verses and therefore interpreted "By a Lady" applied to the "Answer" as camouflage. Dodsley's attribution was accepted by Horace Walpole (Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, 1758; Works, 1798, i. 453), by A Select Collection of Modern Poems, 1759, and by Bell's edition of the English poets, 1787. The Annual Register, however, reprinting the Elegy alone, said that the "Answer", "generally ascribed to Lord Hervey, was more probably written by Lady Mary Wortley Montague" (1779, xxii. 171). Recent scholarship agrees in ascribing it to her (Halkett and Laing, supplement in vol. vi, 1932; Halsband, p. 145).

No manuscript of either Elegy or "Answer" survives; Lady Mary kept no printed copy among her papers. Hervey, the other suspected author, kept a copy, later bound into a volume of folio pamphlets now at Ickworth. These pamphlets include his corrected Verses to the Imitator (Roberts's edition); the other pieces -- An Epistle From A Nobleman, The Difference Between Verbal and Practical Virtue, and the second edition of Epitaphium Reginae Carolinæ -- are all by Hervey, one of them also bearing his corrections in ink. No pen, however, has touched the printed Elegy or "Answer". The collection appears, from its binding and from the fact that one of the poems dates from only a year before Hervey's death, to have been gathered and bound by his descendants. It includes no note on the authorship of the writings within. Whoever bound the volume surely thought of it as a collection of verses written by Hervey, but he probably included the Elegy because of the tradition which later connected Hervey with reprints of the "Answer", rather than because of any inside knowledge about either poem.

On the question of the motive behind the "Answer", Sheila Hinde, collecting material for a life of Hammond, appealed for information in N. and Q., 1936:
Is there authority for the suggestion that Lord Hervey was Catherine Dashwood's guardian, and prevented her marriage with James Hammond...? The verses refusing her suit, usually ascribed to Hervey...are said to have been passed on Hammond as Miss Dashwood's.

Miss Radice was seeking a reason why Lady Mary might have wished to prevent the match. Apparently she found none, since in her novel about Hammond she does not mention the poems in question (Not All Sleep, 1938); there is almost certainly none to be found. Lady Mary was probably acquainted with Miss Dashwood, who was her daughter's friend (DNB); she may have known Hammond, since she kept two copies of an apparently unpublished poem which she ascribed to him (a "ballad" in more robust style than the quatrains: MSS 81, f. 157; 255, ff. 67-68). She was, however, always sceptical of romantic love and its power to make poverty tolerable. Hammond's father was deeply in debt, though he himself received a small legacy in 1733; Miss Dashwood's family were well-to-do. Lady Mary would be drawn to comment on such a situation, without necessarily wishing to interfere actively.

Hervey's connection appears to have been with the lover rather than the girl. In Sept. 1734 he wrote to Henry Fox, who had asked for some verses of his own to be shown to Hammond, that the latter has never been near me these six months. Not that our friendship dies any violent death. It was a chronical case. It begun to languish in the autumn, continued weak all winter, and is now in the very last stage of a consumption. I believe I may say of him, as Anthony does of Dolabella, "He was once my friend"; but time and other views have bound him fast to Chesterfield.

Late in 1736 Fox sent some of Hammond's verses to Hervey, who replied that he had "never commended him out of prose" (Ilchester, pp. 205, 259). Five years later Horace Walpole recorded that Hervey and Hammond "retired for an hour into a whisper...at the end of the room" (Corr. xvii. 275); but this renewal of friendship, like the earlier rift, probably had political causes. At any rate, if Hervey's account is accurate, his friendship with Hammond lasted too long to owe its decline to annoyance over these poems.

J. W. Croker wrote that this "Answer" is "in a better style, both of poetry and good sense [than Hervey's Ovidian epistles], and...even now may be read with pleasure", but concluded that it, like the Verses to the Imitator, was probably "a conjoint production" (Hervey, Memoirs,
1848, i. xxxi). As to "poetry", the notes to the "Answer" show parallels with Hervey's and Lady Mary's other verse, as well as with Lady Mary's favourite Prior. Lady Mary often wrote from behind the mask of a real person, whose point of view she imagined or reproduced in some detail, while Hervey borrowed his purely literary Monimias, Flora and Arisbe from Fontenelle's imitations of Ovid. The contrast between the girl's real situation and the lover's romantic picture is typical of Lady Mary. On grounds of style and subject-matter the poem appears to be hers rather than Hervey's, though he could have had a hand in it.

Printed: 1733: AN / ELEGY / TO A / Young LADY, / In the Manner of OVID. / By ———. / With an ANSWER: / By a LADY, / Author of the Verses to the / Imitator of HORACE. / LONDON: / Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, / MDCCXXXIII.


Too well these Lines that fatal Truth declare,
Which long I've known, yet now I blush to hear --

But say, What hopes thy fond, ill-fated Love?
What can it hope, tho' mutual it should prove?

This little Form is fair in vain for you;
In vain for me, thy honest Heart is true.

For would'st thou fix Dishonour on my Name,

5 Catherine Dashwood was known to the Duchess of Portland's circle as "dear little Dash" (Delany, i. 563). In "little Form" and "honest Heart" LM perhaps commented on "little Heart" in the Elegy, line 33.

7-10 Horace Walpole said that she, "finding he did not mean marriage, broke off all connection, though much in love with him" (notes in Chesterfield's Miscellaneous Works, ed. Maty, 1777: pub. with Miscellaneous of the Philobiblon Society, xi, 1857-8, p. 17); Lady Corke, a friend of Miss Dashwood, told in old age a different story: that she "had at first accepted, but afterwards rejected him, on as her contemporaries thought prudential reasons" (Hervey Memoirs, ed. Croker, xxx, n. 16).
And give me up to Penitence and Shame!

Or gild my Ruin with the Name of Wife,

And make me a poor Virtuous Wretch for Life?

Could'st thou submit to wear the Marriage-Chain,

(Too sure a Cure for all thy present Pain)

No Safron Robe for us the Godhead wears,

His Torch inverted, and his Face in Tears;

Tho' ev'ry softer Wish were amply crown'd,

Love soon would cease to smile, when Fortune frown'd.

Then would thy Soul my fond Consent deplore,

And blame what it solicited before:

Thy own exhausted, would reproach my Truth,

And say, I had undone thy blinded Youth;

That I had damp'd Ambition's nobler Flame,

Eclips'd thy Talents, and obscur'd thy Name:

To Madrigales and Odes that Wit confin'd,

That might in Senates or in Courtes have shin'd;

Gloriously active in thy Country's Cause,

Asserting Freedom, and enacting Laws.

Or say at best, that negatively kind,

You inly mourn'd, and silently repin'd:

The jealous Demons in my own fond Breast,

Would all these Thoughts incessantly suggest,

And tell what Sense must feel, tho' Pity had suppress'd.

16 when where 1755.
22 Name fame 1755.
24 might would 1755.
28 inly only 1755.
31 tell what all that 1755.

21ff. In 1733 Hammond, a protegé of Chesterfield’s, was appointed an equerry to the Prince of Wales. He was elected to Parliament the year before his death.
Yet added — Grief my Apprehension fills,
(If there can be Addition to those Ills:)
When they shall cry, whose harsh Reproof I dread,
'Twas thy own Deed; thy Folly on thy Head.

Age knows not to allow for thoughtless Youth,
Nor pities Tenderness, nor honours Truth;
Holds it romantick to confess a Heart;
And says, those Virgins act the wiser Part,

Who Hospitals and Bedlams would explore,
To find the Rich, and only dread the Poor;
Who legal Prostitutes for Interest's sake,
Clodios and Timons to their Bosom take;
And (if avenging Heav'n permit Increase)
People the World with Folly and Disease.

Those, Titles, Deeds, and Kent-Rolls only wed,
Whilst the best Bidder mounts their venal Bed;
And the grave Aunt and formal Sire approve
This Nuptial Sale, this Auction of their Love.

32 added -- Grief _ added grief 1755. /almost certainly correct/
39 the _ a 1755.
43 Bosom _ bosoms 1755.
47 their _ the 1755.

Cf. Hervey's MS alteration to his Epistle From A Nobleman:
And if one common foe the wretch has made
Of all mankind -- his folly on his head!
(volume at Ickworth; Memoirs, ed. Croker, i. xli).

Clodio is a type of unscrupulousness, later applied by Pope to LM's
friend the Duke of Wharton (Epistle to Cobham, Jan. 1734, line 179ff.);
Timon of wealth and lack of taste (Epistle to Burlington, 1731,
line 99ff.; cf. previous poem, line 36 note).

The grave aunt and formal sire are traditional figures paralleled
in LM's own family (Letters, i. 160, 216).
But if Regard to Worth or Sense is shewn,
That poor degenerate Child her Friends disown,
Who dares to deviate, by a virtuous Choice,
From her great Name's hereditary Vice.

These Scenes my Prudence ushers to my Mind,
Of all the Storms and Quicksands I must find,
If I imhark upon this Summer-Sea,
Where Flatt'ry smooths, and Pleasure gilds the Way.

Had our ill Fate ne'er blown thy dang'rous Flame
Beyond the Limits of a Friend's cold Name,
I might, upon that score, thy Heart receive,
And with that guiltless Name my own deceive.
That Commerce now in vain you recommend,
I dread the latent Lover in the Friend:
Of Ignorance I want the poor Excuse,
And know I both must take, or both refuse.

Hear then the safe, the firm Resolve I make,
Ne'er to encourage one I must forsake.
Whilst other Maids a shameless Path pursue,
Neither to Honour, nor to Int'rest true;
And proud to swell the Triumphs of their Eyes,
Exult in Love from Lovers they despise;

50 is be 1755.
69 Honour...Int'rest...int'rest...honour 1755.
70 Triumphs/ triumph 1755.
66-67 Cf. Henry and Emma:  
Now, EMMA, now the last Reflection make,
What Thou wouldst follow, what Thou must forsake  
(Works, i. 291).
Their Maxims all revers'd, I mean to prove,
And tho' I like the Lover quit the Love.
Though Lady Mary never met Swift, her dislike of him is amply attested (Letters, ii. 92, iii. 55, 57, 158). The Lady’s Dressing Room was written in 1730 and published by June 1732 (H. Teerink, Bibliography of Swift, ed. A. H. Scouten, 1963, no. 720; Swift, Poems, ed. H. Williams, 1937, ii. 524-30). Lady Mary’s reply (for which see above, p. 170) appeared in print on 8 Feb. 1734 (Grub-street Journal, 14 Feb.).

MSS: H MS draft: 8l, ff. 25-26, Lady Mary’s hand, heavily loaded with corrections, additions and deletions. Different sections of the poem appear jumbled up, with more or less explicit indications of the intended final order.

copy-text) H MS fair copy; 8l, ff. 13-15, Lady Mary’s hand. This is a clearer copy with a few corrections. The line-order is usually that indicated in the draft. F. 14 has been wrongly bound, so that its two sides are reversed; half the last page has been torn away.

Printed: 1734: THE / Dean’s Provocation / For WRITING the / Lady’s Dressing-Room. / A / POEM. / LONDON, / Printed for T. COOPER in Ivy-Lane, MDCCXXXIV. / (Price Sixpence.) This has variants of its own, agreeing sometimes with Lady Mary’s fair copy but more often with her draft. The printer must have used a transcript which did not incorporate her final revisions or which reverted to some of her earlier ideas. The choice of copy-text depends on the question of whether or not Lady Mary authorised this publication. It is possible on the one hand that she secretly communicated her poem to a publisher, or on the other that although no transcripts other than hers now survive, at least one copy was somehow taken and used. This poem stands out from three other replies to The Lady’s
Dressing Room (The Gentleman's Study In Answer To The Lady's Dressing-Room, 1732; Chloe Surpriz'd; Or, The Second Part Of The Lady's Dressing-Room, 1732; and Caelia's Revenge...Being an Answer to the Lady's Dressing-Room, 1741) is the most handsomely printed and the only one in folio. Robert Halsband thinks this suggests authorial printing. The Dean's Provocation is also, however, the only one amongst the replies which makes pretension to be considered as a poem rather than as a squib. For this type of publication a folio was the standard page; the printer may have been hoping that people would wish to bind the reply with Swift's poem (cf. retorts to Pope, above p. 515; J. V. Guerinot, Pamphlet Attacks on Pope, 1969, p. 166).

It seems, therefore, unwise to assume that Lady Mary intended this appearance in print. The less rough of her holographs has been chosen as copy-text. Even where the other manuscript and 1734 agree together, their variants or additions are given in footnotes. The text of the last eight lines is eclectic. I have taken from 1734 the second line of a couplet of which half remains in Lady Mary's fair copy; but six extra lines in 1734 are relegated to a footnote, as having not certainly originated with her. (Cf. her complaint four years later that the printer of her political journal The Non-sense of Common-Sense embellished her copy with touches of bawdy: ed. R. Halsband, 1947, p. 21). I have followed the draft only after the fair copy breaks off; the last six lines are from that source.

The Doctor in a clean starch'd band

His Golden Snuff box in his hand

With care his Di'mond Ring displays

---

1 in_7_ altered from with H MS draft.
2 His/ A H MS draft, 1734.
1 LM elsewhere wrote of Swift as a disgrace to his cloth ("Her Palace place'd beneath a muddy road", lines 79-80, above p. 469; Letters, iii. 57).
And Artfull shews, its various Rays,

While Grave he stalks down ____ ____ Street

His dearest Betty -- to meet.

Long had he waited for this Hour

Nor gain'd Admittance to the Bower,

Had jok'd and punn'd, and swore and writ,

Try'd all his Galantry and Wit,

Had told her oft what part he bore

In Oxford's Schemes in days of yore,

But Bawdy, Politicks nor Satyr

Could move this dull hard hearted Creatu<re>

Jenny her Maid could taste a Rhyme

And greiv'd to see him lose his Time

Had kindly whisper'd in his Ear,

For twice two pound you enter here,

My Lady vows without that Summ

It is in vain you write or come.

--- 536 ---

5 altered from Then gravely stalks H MS draft.
6 dearest Betty -- chosen Lovely Miss H MS draft.
9 omission supplied from H MS draft and 1734.
13 Politicks altered from nor H MS draft.
14 move touch H MS draft, 1734.
18 pound Pounds 1734.
19 My Lady altered from For Ladys H MS draft.

6 LM has taken the maid's name (Lady's Dressing Room, line 6) for the mistress, whom Swift called Celia.
9-10 Cf. Cadenus and Vanessa, 1726, lines 542-3: Cadenus

Had sigh'd and languish'd, vow'd, and writ,

For Pastime, or to shew his Wit.

11-12 Cf. ibid. lines 502-5:

Cadenus is a Subject fit,

Grown old in Politicks and Wit;

Caress'd by Ministers of State,

Of half Mankind the Dread and Hate.
The Destin'd Offering now he brought
And in a paradice of thought
With a low Bow approach'd the Dame
Who smileing heard him preach his Flame.

His Gold she takes (such proofes as these
Convince most unbeleiving shees)
And in her trunk rose up to lock it
(Too wise to trust it in her pocket)
And then return'd with Blushing Grace

Expects the Doctor's warm Embrace.

But now this \is\ the proper place
Where morals Stare me in the Face
And for the sake of fine Expression
I'm forc'd to make a small digression.

Alas for wretched Humankind
With Learning Mad, with wisdom blind.
The Ox thinks he's for Saddle fit
(As long ago Freind Horace writ)
And Men their Talents still mistakeing,

The stutterer fancys his is speaking.

With Admiration oft we see

Hard Features heighten'd by Toupee,
The Beau affects the Politician,

Wit is the citizen's Ambition,

Poor Pope Philosophy displays on

With so much Rhime and little reason

And tho he argues ne'er so long

That, all is right, his Head is wrong.

None strive to know their proper merit

But strain for Wisdom, Beauty, Spirit,

39 altered from Butt H MS draft.

after 40 an extra couplet struck out in H MS draft:

Nature to every thing alive
Points out some path to shine or thrive

43-44 altered from While Beaux strain to be politicians

45 Poor Pope altered from And Pope H MS draft; Poor Pope altered from Butt H MS draft, Poor Pope—1734.

after 46 None bounds his wishes to struck out H MS draft.

47 And...argues/ But...preaches 1734.

49 strive...their/ strives...his H MS draft.

50 strain/ strains H MS draft.

35-36 (Cont.) These lines, dated by Harold Williams 1731?, were not published till 1774. LM may have seen a MS, perhaps the original, which was later in the possession of Lord Chesterfield (Swift, Poems, ii. 576-9).

37-38 "Optat ephippia bos" (Epist. I. xiv. 43).

39 This is a favourite phrase of Swift's, repeated in the title, "Advertisement", and line 206 of his "The Beasts Confession to the Priest, on Observing how most Men mistake their own Talents. Written in the Year 1732," not published till 1738 (Poems, iii. 599).

And lose the Praise that is their due
While they've th'impossible in view.
So have I seen the Injudicious Heir
To add one Window the whole House impair.

Instinct the Hound does better teach
Who never undertook to preach,
The frighted Hare from Dogs does run
But not attempts to bear a Gun.

Here many Noble thoughts occur
But I prolixity abhor
And will persue th'instructive Tale
To shew the Wise in some things fail.

The Reverend Lover with surprize
Peeps in her Bubbys, and her Eyes
And kisses both, and trys -- and trys.

The Evening in this Hellish Play
Beside his Guinea's thrown away

--- 541 ---

51 And Who 1734.
after 54 Nature to every thing points out the way struck out H MS draft.
four extr lines in H MS draft, 1734:
Nature to every thing alive
Points out the path to shine or thrive
But Man, Vain Man, who grasps the whole
Shews in all Heads a touch of Fool.

61 will altered from must H MS draft.
64 Peeps in\ Looks on H MS draft.
66 The evening in\ altered from An hour thus H MS draft.
67 Beside his\ altered from Beside the H MS fair copy; besides the
H MS draft; besides his 1734.

55-58 Appeal to the order of the animal kingdom is also typical of
Swift (e.g. "The Beasts Confession" passim, and The Journal of a
Modern Lady, 1729, lines 19-21). The closest parallel is On
Poetry: A Rapsody, lines 13-20:
Brutes find out where their Talents lie:
A Bear will not attempt to fly:
A Founder'd Horse will oft debate,
Before he tries a five-barr'd Gate:
A Dog by Instinct turns aside,
Who sees the Ditch too deep and wide.
But Man we find the only Creature.

(Cont.)
Provok'd the Priest to that degree
He swore, the Fault is not in me.

Your damn'd Close stool so near my Nose,
Your Dirty Smock, and Stinking Toes
Would make a Hercules as tame
As any Beau that you can name.

The Nymph grown Furious roar'd by God

The blame lyes all in Sixty odd
And scornfull pointing to the door
Cry'd, Fumbler see my Face no more.
With all my Heart I'll go away
But nothing done, I'll nothing pay.

Give back the Money -- How, cry'd she,
Would you palm such a cheat on me!

For poor 4 pound to roar and bellow,

Provok'd // altered from Enrag'd H MS draft.
omission supplied from H MS draft, 1734.
 altered from Has made me all my vigour lose H MS draft.
 Toes // altered from hose H MS draft.
 roar'd // altered from (swore) H MS draft.
 altered from 'Twas owing all to sixty H MS draft.
 lyes // was H MS draft.
 scornfull // altered from bid H MS draft.
 Cry'd // Said H MS draft, 1734.
 altered from Dare you propose that Cheat to me? H MS draft.
 after 81 an extra couplet appears in H MS draft, 1734:
 I //I've 1734/lock'd it in the Trunk stands there
 altered from You plainly saw I lock'd it there H MS draft/
 And //Go 1734/ break it open if you dare;
 pound // Pounds 1734.
 This is the last line in H MS fair copy; the rest torn away.
 omitted in H MS draft.

55-58 (Cont.) Who, led by Folly, fights with Nature.
70 Cf. The Lady's Dressing Room, lines 69-114.
71 These appear in The Lady's Dressing Room, lines 11-14, 51-52.
75 Swift was sixty-five on 30 Nov. 1732.
Why sure you want some new Prunella?

I'll be reveng'd you saucy Quean

(Replies the disappointed Dean)

I'll so describe your dressing room

The very Irish shall not come.

She answer'd short, I'm glad you'll write,

You'll furnish paper when I shite.

83 supplied from 1734, where 6 lines follow which are absent from both MSS:

What if your Verses have not sold,
Must therefore I return your Gold?
Perhaps you have no better Luck
In the Knack of Rhyming than of ----
Wont' give back one single Crown,
To wash your Band, or turn your Gown.

84-89 supplied from H MS draft.

84 altered from I'll be reveng'd then as I can H MS draft.
85 altered from man H MS draft.
87 altered from No mortal wight shall thither come H MS draft.
88 altered from She answer'd short, inflam'd with Spite H MS draft.
89 shite alter'd to Sh--e 1734.

The margin of H MS draft bears a couplet never worked into the text:

The port of universal Trade,
That Anvil where Mankind the is Ma<3e>.

83 Prunella has double significance: as a fabric used in cloaks for the clergy (in which sense Pope employed it, rhyming as it does here, in An Essay on Man, iv. 204, pub. 24 Jan. 1734), and as the eponymous heroine of Richard Estcourt's Prunella: An Interlude (1708), a grocer's daughter "something given to Love". Celia

89 Cf. The Lady's Dressing Room, line 118: "Oh! Celia, Celia/shits!"
marginal couplet: Cf. Pope's "Phryne":
Open she was, and unconfin'd
Like some free Port of Trade
(Twickenham, vi. 49; copied by LM, H MS 259, f. ).
Occasioned by the Sight of a Picture

This must be one of Lady Mary's impromptu exercises; the state of the manuscript suggests that it was written in a moving vehicle. It is useless to speculate as to which picture of Walpole inspired her verse; many of the 70-odd known portraits of him fit her description, though not all can be dated or ascribed (information from Assistant Keeper of National Portrait Gallery). It is not even clear whether the portrait dated from its subject's youth, or whether it was new when Lady Mary saw it and showed him strikingly unchanged. The hate campaign against Walpole, to which the end of the poem refers, dated from 1722 (J. H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, ii, 1960, p. 248). It intensified early in George II's reign and again during the Excise crisis (spring 1733). The poem is dated by its apparent connection with a verse attack on Walpole which appeared in Fog's Weekly Journal on 20 July 1734:

Meek! generous! friendly! merciful and just,
Patient! forgiving! faithful to his Trust!
Unsordid and unselfish! modest! kind!
Of purest Manners! and of gentlest Mind!
Ever observant of established Laws,
No Devotee to popular applause!
Unchangeable! undeviating! brave!
So GOOD he need not cry to CHRIST to SAVE.

MS: H MS 81, f. 154; Lady Mary's hand, very badly written and spelt, with lines wavering and sometimes converging.
Printed: 1803, v. 209; 1837, iii. 403; 1861, ii. 483-4.

Such were the lively eyes and rosy hue
Of Robin's face when first I Robin knew,
The gay Companion and the favourite Guest,
Lov'd without awe and without views carress'd.

---

Title / On Seeing A Portrait of Sir Robert Walpole eds.
1 were / altered from was MS.
2 first I Robin / Robin first I eds.
4 awe and / altered from Interest MS.

1 LM must have met Walpole early in her life among her father's Whig circle; his sister Dolly was one of her girlhood friends (Stuart, pp. 68-71). Robin, a familiar form of Robert, had unfortunate possibilities as a pun on "robbing".
This chearfull Smile and open honest Look
Added new Graaces /sic/ to the sense he spoke,
Then every man found something to Commend
The pleasant Neighbour and the worthy freind
The generous Ma/s/ter of a private house,
10 The tender Father and th'Indulgent Spouse.
The hardest censurers, at the worst beleiv'd
A /sic/ temper was too easily deceiv'd
(A consequential ill good nature draws,
A bad Effect but from a noble Cause).

These looks were remarked by Walpole's enemies and friends alike. An early Craftsman noted that "A smile, or rather a sneer, sat on his countenance. His face was bronzed over with a glare of confidence. An arch malignity leered in his eye" (27 Jan. 1727, quoted in Plumb, ii. 142). Hervey writes of Walpole's "propensity to laughing", Hanbury Williams of his laughing "the heart's laugh", Pope of seeing him "Smile without Art" (Ilchester, p. 131; Williams, Works, i. 206; "Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue I", 1738, line 32; Twickenham, iv. 300).

Walpole inherited Houghton Hall from his father in 1700; a "private house" perhaps indicates the old manor in contrast with the mansion which he began planning to replace it in 1720 (Plumb, i, 1956, pp. 92, 359).

Walpole married (1700) Catherine Shorter (1582-1737). The marriage was happy at first, but within ten years they had drifted apart (Plumb, i. 90-91, 105, 161). Pope commented obliquely on Walpole's tolerance of his wife's infidelities; Edmund said the forbearance was mutual ("Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue II", 1738, line 133; HMC, Diary, 1920-3, ii. 431). Walpole's indulgence to his children included the youngest, Horace, who was rumoured to be not his own.

Hervey, though, wrote of Walpole as "under a seeming openness and negligence, devilish artful" (Ilchester, p. 131).

From Prior's A Letter to Monsieur Boileau Desoreaux (Works, i. 220). LM had quoted this couplet in 1717 and its second line was quoted by Hervey and imitated by Pope (Letters, i. 152; Ilchester p. 26; Horace, Epist. II. i, 1737, line 160; Twickenham, iv. 209).
Whence then these clamours of the Judging crowd,
Suspicious, griping, Insolently proud,
Rapacious, cruel, violent, unjust,
False to his freind and Traitor to his trust?
Letter to Lord Hervey from Twict'nam  30 Oct. 1734

wrote on the King's birth Day

Lady Mary wrote this epistle (for which see above p. 129) after 1731, when she and Wortley moved to Cavendish Square (Letters, ii. 99 n. 2). In 1731 the court removed to Richmond immediately after the birthday; in 1732, 30 Oct. was itself a Monday; in 1733 the celebrations were curtailed because of the forthcoming marriage of the Princess Royal to the Prince of Orange; in 1735 they were thinly attended, the King being only just back from Hanover (Hervey, 1931, ii. 484, 493) — and this was the last birthday at which he, the Queen and Walpole were all present.

MSS: H MS 256: f. 54, copied by Lady Mary after 1736.
H MS 255: ff. 71-72, copied by Lady Mary after 1738.
Printed: 1803, v. 28-9; 1837, iii. 423-4; 1861, ii. 500-1.

Twict'nam

Where I enjoy in Contemplative chamber
"Lutes, Lawrels, seas of Milk, and ships of Amber"

Through shineing Crouds you now make way

With slideing Bow, and gilded Key,

While wrap'd in Spleen and easy Chair

For all this Pomp so small my Care

5 I scarce remember who are there.

Title  Epistle to Ld H [Hervey 1803-1861] on the K's birthday from the Country H MS 255, 1803-1861.
2 slideing...gilded/ sideling...golden 1803-1861.

Epigraph  Quoted from Otway's Venice Preserv'd, 1682, Act V (Works, 1712, ii. 346) -- a line which later drew the attention of Coleridge (Biographia Literaria, ch. iv).
2 gilded Key: symbol of Hervey's position as Vice-Chamberlain, held since 1730.
Yet in Brocade I can suppose
The Potent Knight whose Belly goes,
At least a Yard before his Nose,
And Majesty with sweeping Train,
That does so many Yards contain;
Superior to her waiting Nymphs
As Lobster to Attendant Shrimps.

I do not ask one Word of News
Which country Damsels much amuse,
If a new batch of Lords appears
After a Tour of halfe six years
With Foreign Airs to grace the Nation
(The Maids of Honor's admiration),
Whose bright Improvements give Surprize
To their own Lady Mothers' Eyes.

Improvements! such as Colts might show,
Were Mares so mad, to let them go,
Their Limbs, perhaps a little stronger;
Their Mains and Tails grown something longer.

I would not hear of Ball-room Scuffles
Or what new Whims adorn the Ruffles;

7 Potent Knight: Walpole.
9 Majesty: The Queen was ill on 30 Oct. 1734, but went through the birthday celebrations nonetheless (Hervey, 1931, ii. 372-3).
19ff. LM's own son returned from abroad -- far from improved -- about this time, and visited her at Twickenham (letter of Mrs. Verney, 7 Nov. 1734, quoted in Halsband, p. 148).
I leave to my Ingenious Neighbours,
To criticise on Birth Day Labours.

This meek Epistle comes to tell

On Monday I in Town shall dwell
Where if you please to condescend
In Candish Square to see your Freind
I shall disclose to you alone
Such thoughts as n'ere were thought upon.

---

27-28 omitted H MS 255, 1803-1861.

27-28 The laboured birthday odes of Colley Cibber, Poet Laureate. Pope, LM's neighbour, had published epigrams on him in 1732 (Twickenham, vi. 302, 327). The 1734 ode, duly published in newspapers on 31 Oct., was ridiculed for being an almost exact repetition of that of 1733.

30 In 1734 Monday 4 Nov.
32 Candish Square: see headnote.
This poem -- called by Croker "a worthless ballad" (Quarterly Review, lviii, 1837, p. 171) -- is a parody of a parody. Rowe's "Colin's Complaint. A Song" (Poetical Works, 2nd ed., 1720, pp. 72-74), in which a shepherd complains of his faithless nymph, was frequently imitated work. The imitations include one beginning "By the side of a glimmering fire", which Lady Mary copied under the title "Melinda's Complaint" (Appendix I, p. 746). In the poem printed here she made only minimal changes in "Melinda's Complaint". She left stanzas 2 and 3, and the last three stanzas, substantially unchanged.

Apparently the similarity of "Melinda" to "Melantha", the poetic girlhood title of her niece Lady Frances Pierrepont (1713-95), gave her the idea of adapting "Melinda's Complaint" as comment on Lady Frances's marriage (above pp. 217-18). Since the only complete copy of the poem is in Lady Bute's hand, she might be thought the more likely author. She, however, had helped her cousin Lady Frances to outwit Lady Mary by eloping, and continued to take a romantic view of the affair (Wh MS 506, passim, especially pp. 70-77). Lady Mary borrowed another ironical verse to apply on this occasion (above p. 94). Lastly, the daughter was in the habit of copying her mother's poems (cf. pp. 288, 393).

As early as Aug. 1733 Lady Strafford had thought Lady Frances's "love affair with Phill Meadows...gon to Farr to be prevented" (HMC, Hastings MSS, iii. 1934, p. 17). The elopement "last Tuesday" was recounted by Mrs. Pendarves on 27 April 1734; a newspaper of 14 May reported the marriage as "a few Days ago" (Corn-Cutter's Journal). On 17 Dec. Lady Frances bore a daughter (The Weekly Register: Or, Universal Journal, 21 Dec.). Lady Mary must have written the verse before the illness from which on 9 Dec. 1734 Hervey thought her to be dying (Ilchester, pp. 213-14). "George Paston", taking it as autobiographical, dated it 1712, during the early months of Lady Mary's married life (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1707, p. 194, note).

Title 7 The Bride in the Country; A Parody on Rowe's Ballad, "Des-pairing beside a clear stream," &c. ed.
MSS: (first four stanzas) H MS (LM): 81, f. 55, Lady Mary's hand.

She apparently intended to continue the copy, since it ends with the numeral to indicate stanza 5.

(copy-text for last three stanzas) H MS (Lady Bute): 81, ff. 168-9, copied by the future Lady Bute. The handwriting is the same as in her poetry album, 1733-4 (above pp. 217-18).

Printed: 1803, v. 220-3; 1837, iii. 408-10; 1861, ii. 488-90.

By the side of a halfe rotten wood
Melantha sat pensively down
Convinc'd that her Scheme was not good
And vex'd to be absent from Town

5
While pity'd by no living Soul
To her selfe she was forc'd to reply
And the Sparrow as grave as an Owl
Sat listening and pecking hard by.

Alas silly Maid that I was,

10 Thus sadly complaining she cry'd,
When first I forsook that dear place
'Twere better by far I had dy'd,
How gayly I pass'd the long days
In a round of continu'd delights,

15 Parks visits assemblys and plays
And a dance to enliven the nights.

2 pensively silently eds.
5 Whilst eds.
12 'Twere 'T had been eds.
14 continu'd continual 1861.

7 In converting the "kitling" and "Cat" of "Melinda's Complaint" to birds, LM may conceivably be recalling her own experience (Letters, i. 172, 175).
3

How simple was I to believe
Delusive poetical dreams,
The flattering Landscapes they give
Of meadows and murmuring streams,
Bleak Mountains and wild starving Rocks
Are the wretched result of my pains,
The swains greater brutes than their flocks
And the Nymphs as polite as the Swains.

4

What thô I have got my dear Phil,
I see him all night and all day,
I find I must not have my Will
And I've cursedly sworn to obey.
Fond damsel thy power is lost
As now I experience too late
Whatever a Lover may boast
A Husband is what one may hate.
5
And thou my old woman so dear,
My all that is left of relief,
Whatever I suffer forbear,
Forbear to diswade me from grief,
It's in vain as you say to repine
At ills that can not be redress'd
But in grief so Poignant as mine
To be patient alas 'tis a Jest.

6
If further to sooth my Distress
Your Tender Compassion is Led
Come hither and help to undress
And decently put me to bed,
The last humble Solace I wait,
Wou'd heaven Indulge me the boon
Some dream less unkind than my fate
In vision Transport me to Town.

7
Clarissa mean Time weds a beau
Who Decks her in golden Array,
Is finest at every fine Show

38 that / which eds.
39 grief / sorrows eds.
40 'tis / is eds.
46 heaven Indulge / Heav'n but indulge eds.
47 Some / May some eds.
48 In vision / In a vision eds.
51 Is finest / She's the finest eds.
And flaunts it at park and at play
Whilst here I am left in the Lurch
Forgot and Secluded from view

Unless when some bumpkin at Church
Stares wistfully over the pew.
For this elegy see above, p. 70. Arabella (d. 1734), daughter of Edmund Dunch, married (1725) Edward Thompson (1697-1742), one of a family Lady Mary had known at York. The latter's opinion of the marriage (apparently a love-match) was that "Ned Thompson is as happy as the Money and charms of Belle Dunch can make him, and a miserable Dog for all that" (Letters, ii. 45-46). Mrs. Thompson was seduced by her brother-in-law Sir George Oxenden (1694-1775), according to Hervey "a very vicious, ungrateful, good-for-nothing fellow" and Thompson's "most intimate friend". Hervey adds that she bore Sir George two children, was separated on his account from her husband, "and died inchildbed not without Sir George's being suspected of having a greater share in her catastrophe than merely having got the child" (1931, ii. 741-2, written three years after her death). Her husband had "rusticated" her "for Gallantrys" in June 1727, but apparently later condoned her adultery: Egmont cited him as an example of the dangers of receiving back an erring wife "which was the case of Mr. Thompson's wife, who being guilty...and sent by her husband to live in a distant place, he was obliged to bring her back to his house" (R. E. Tickell, Thomas Tickell, 1931, p. 131; HMC, Egmont Diary, ii. 225). Thompson was hurriedly notified of her death "after a tedious Indisposition"; but she died "on the Road from France to London", and was buried at Little Wittenham, where her father had an estate (Daily Post-Boy, 21 Oct. 1734; J. Hunter, Familiae Minorum Gentium, ii. 1895, p. 535). Lady Mary must have composed her elegy between the report of Mrs. Thompson's death and 1 Dec. 1734, when the Duchess of Portland wrote to Miss Collingwood: "If you have not seen the verses on Mrs. T----'s death by Lady Mary I will send them you"(Delany, i. 522).

MS: Portland MSS (Longleat) xx. 31; unknown hand, unascribed. This text agrees sometimes with the first printing, sometimes with the second; since the Duchess of Portland had a copy in Nov. 1734, it probably pre-dates publication, though it has corrupted Mrs. Thompson's name. The same MS collection contains, in
the same hand, an untitled, censorious reply beginning "The Virgin Muses now are prudes no more" (xix. 323).

Printed: 1735: GM, June, p. 327, followed by a different version of the reply, ending

Merit alone should be the muse's theme,
We wrong the innocent, by praising them.

1754: L. Mag., July, p. 329, as by Lady Mary.

1768, pp. 70-71; 1803, v. 210-11; 1837, iii. 403-4; 1861, ii. 484-5.

Unhappy fair, by fatal love betrayed,
Must then thy beauties thus untimely fade,
And all thy bloomy, soft, inspiring charms
Become a prey to Death's destructive Arms?

Tho' short thy day and transient like the Wind,
How far more blessed than those yet left behind!
Safe in the grave with thee thy griefes remain,
And life's tempestuous billows break in Vain.

Ye tender Nymphs in lawless passions gay,
Who heedless down the paths of pleasure stray,
Tho' now secure with blissfull joy elate,
Yet pause, and think of Annabella's fate;
For such may be thy unexpected doom,
And thy next slumber lull thee in the tomb.
But let it be the Muses gentle care
To sheild from envious rage the mouldring fair,
To draw a vail o'er faults she can't commend,
And what prudes half devoured, leave time to end.
Be it her part to pay a pitying tear,
And heave a sigh of sorrow o'er thy beare.

Nor shall thy woes long glad th'illnatured crowd,
Silent in praise and in detraction loud.
For Scandal that thro' life each worth destroys
And malice, that Imbitters all our joys,
Shall in some ill-starr'd wretch find later staines,
And let thine rest forgot, as thy remains.
Relations between George II and his heir took a turn for the worse in the summer of 1733. In the same year the "patriot" opposition was augmented with many new supporters, including Cobham and other disaffected Whigs. Of these Lords Chesterfield and Stair had recently made efforts to conciliate the Queen (Hervey, 1931, i. 135-43, 278-9, 288-9). The manuscript of this poem occupies the same leaf as the epigram following, which another holograph dates 1734. The comparison of the contemporary English to Old Testament Israelites had been popular at least since Absalom and Achitophel (1681).

MS: Pierpont Morgan Library MS, M.A. 347, item 24; Lady Mary's hand.

While fruitfull Nile ador'd his horned Queen
And mitre'd Preists were at her Altars seen,
Compell'd to Worship, and yet hardly fed;
Afflicted Israel from the Idol fled.

But when grown hungry in the desart waste
They sigh'd for shows, and thought of Flesh pots past
(Isis processions were like Birth days fine
And they at Festivals were ask'd to dine)
Her Gracious help they now wish'd to implore

1 While altered from When
3 altered from Afflicted Israel from the
7 Birth days altered from opera's
9 Gracious altered from aid

horned Queen: Isis.
mitre'd Preists: Queen Caroline patronized several churchmen and bishops, including Sherlock, Bishop of London, who was also almoner to the Prince of Wales.

5-6 Exodus, xvi. 3.
9-12 Exodus, xxxi. 1-6. The Bible does not say that a larger idol was intended; this is another of LM's taunts at the Queen's bulk.
And would have made a Goddess to adore,
But such her size, their gold but form'd her half,
Their Deity was lessen'd to a Calfe.
So haughty Patriots missing of their Aim
Left their Devotion to their Royal Dame
Yet still desirous in some court to shine
Paid their addresses to the Prince's shrine.

11 altered from But all their Gold
12 altered from And chang'd their Goddess for a molten Calfe
13-16 See headnote.
Though claimed by Lady Mary as her own, this is an adaptation of an epigram copied in several manuscript collections and printed in *PAS* as "On the French Subjects" (1707, p. 459):

Born under Kings, our Fathers Freedom sought,
And with their Blood the God-like Treasure bought:
We, their vile Offspring, in our Chains delight,
And born to Freedom, for our Tyrants fight.

See above, p. 95. At the elections early in 1734, Walpole and the Whigs were returned to power, but after some suspense and with a reduced majority (Hervey, 1931, i. 294-5).

MSS: Pierpont: Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.A. 347, item 24; Lady Mary's hand, probably earlier than H MS.
H MS: 255, f. 76; copied by Lady Mary after 1738 and headed with her monogram MWM.
Bod: MS Don. c. 56, f. 36; Lady Mary's hand, title in Algarotti's.
Printed: 1861, ii. 501.

Born to be slaves our Fathers freedom sought
And with their blood the valu'd treasure bought,
We their mean offspring our own bondage plot
And born to Freedom for our chains we vote.

Title / missing in Pierpont; supplied from H MS; Writen ex Tempore by a Lady Bod.
1 to be slaves / altered from under Kings Bod.
2 valu'd / precious H MS, 1861.
4 to / in Bod.
Feb. 1734-spring 1735

Pope published his Essay on Man, in four epistles to Bolingbroke as his "guide, philosopher, and friend", in February, March, May 1733, and on 24 Jan. 1724; Lady Mary's draft of her epistle from him to Bolingbroke apparently refers (lines 1 and 11-12) to the Essay, iv. She wrote amid a universal chorus of praise for the Essay, which was not printed under Pope's name till 1735, though its early epistles were attributed to him in The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal, 23 June 1733, and the secret quickly became known (Twickenham, III, i. xvi and note 2). A political opponent ridiculed him for addressing this moral work to "that Pattern of exemplary Piety, Chastity, and Virtue" in verse in The Corn-Cutter's Journal, 31 Dec. 1734. For Lady Mary's dislike and Pope's admiration of Bolingbroke, see Spence, §§ 27^-6, 755; "Now with fresh vigour", above pp. 476ff.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 43-44, Lady Mary's rough draft.

Confess (dear Lelius), Modest, just and wise
Some selfe-content does in that bosom rise
When you refflect (as sure you sometimes must)
What Talents Heaven does to that Virtue trust
5 While with contempt you veiw the gross Mankind,
Weak, wilfull, sensual, passionate and Blind.
Sure all these Follys by the Hand divine
Were place'd express, to shew how bright you shine,
Amidst these Errors thou art faultless found,

before 1 Dear/ struck out.
2 does/ alternative interlineation to must
4 altered from On/ altered from What/ the Vast Talents heaven does to
Virtue trust; altered from With what Superior Talents thou art
blest
9-10 These 2 lines written in reverse order, re-ordered by numerals in margin.
1 Lelius: thus spelt in An Essay on Man, iv. 18. See note to
first line of following version.
7-8 This couplet was retained in only one copy of the later version, below.
The moon takes Lustre from the darkness round.

Permit me too a small attendant star
To twinkle tho in a more distant sphere,
Small things with great we Poets oft compare.
Yet I may say, tis plain that you preside

Ore all my Morals, and tis much my pride
To tread with steps unequal where you guide.
With blushless Front you durst/Freinds betray,
Advis'd the whole confedracy to stay
And brave the danger of th'enquiring Day

While with sly courage you ran Swift away.

By a deserted Court with joy receiv'd,
Your projects all admir'd, your vows beleiv'd,
Some trust obtain'd, which you so usefull made,
To gain a pardon where you first betrayed,

But what is Pardon to that noble Breast?
You should have been first Minister at least.
Failing in that, your Country grows your Care,
You curse all Measures where you do not share
And kick'd from Court, turn grave Philosopher.
I own with Pain these glorious paths I view
And allmost Envy what I can't persue,
But me alas! born to an Humble Fate
All I can do, is Flatter, Lye, and cheat,
My First Subscribers, I have first defam'd
And when detected, never was asham'd,
Lintot will tell what bargains I have made,
How Charity with Infamy repaid.

No Enemy can contradict this Boast,
You've scap'd the Ax and I the whipping post.

Greatly Mischeivous you bold Treasons write,
To Arms the madding Multitude excite,
And would the Asses think your Maxims good
You'd plunge your Country in Intestine blood.

While you Endeavour to embroil a state

In private Familys I sow debate,
Where I'm admitted work distrust or Strife,
Whisper the Husband to correct his Wife
And if the Blockhead will not take the hint
Give him an Item of the Joke in print.

The weakness should protect that Sex from wrongs
But more exposes to our blasting tongues,
Tis known to all what Conquests you have gain'd
And I insinuate joys I ne'er obtain'd,
When dear Miss Cooper my retreat has blest

How sweet her Lips! how downy was her breast!
Tell in what raptures our soft hours are spent
Th' me deform'd, and You thought impotent.
And in the Midst of these Heroic strains
We seek for Mistrisses in dirty Lanes,

Even there superior, there it often happ'd
My Lord was pox'd, when I was only clapp'd.

50 weakness^ altered from softer
52 known^ altered from ?told
53 ne'er^ altered from have
54 my retreat^ altered from blest my
55 before 56 Thus in Love's Joys our softer hours are spent struck out.

See version below, line 54.

50-51 LM has followed her common practice of omitting the relative "that"; "But" is an adverb.

52 Bolingbroke's licentiousness was well known and admitted by himself (e.g. Pope, Corr. ii. 186).

54-55 1734 seems rather late for LM to resent Pope's attentions, 22 years before, to Judith Cowper, whom she had herself written of with strong sympathy (above p. 422). Pope's period of boasting his amatory conquests (e.g. Twickenham, vi. 128-30), was long past. He may never have met his correspondent Miss Cowper (Corr. ii. 210 n. 1).


59 Spence heard from Warburton of Bolingbroke's pleasure in "low, common whoring" (§ 291).

61 Cf. An Epistle From the late Lord Bo-ke, 1730, p. 19: "The F-x cou'd then my Piety commend". This subject interested Pope: in 1725 a prank was arranged in which Arbuthnot was to convince Gay, "out of pure disposition to give him joy & gladness", that Pope had the clap (Corr. ii. 290); LM may also have known of his alternative ending to the epistle to Martha Blount after the coronation, which was written c. 1715 though not printed till 1775 (Twickenham, vi. 232).
Lady Mary must have written this final version of the preceding poem after Pope published his second satire of the second book of Horace on 4 July 1734 (see notes), and probably before Bolingbroke's departure from England in June 1735. She was evidently familiar with the anonymous verse Epistle From the late Lord Bo----ke to the Duke of W/arto/n, 1730. This work represents Bolingbroke as unsuccessful in his Machiavellian schemes and seeking support from a stronger man; in her poem Lady Mary has given this role to Pope. For a discussion of the two poems see above, p. 174.

MSS: H MS 256: ff. 60-61, scribal copy, after 1755; the only writing not by Lady Mary in this volume, which it closes.  
H MS 81: ff. 22-24, a different scribal hand, titled and corrected by Lady Mary.  
BM: Add. MS 35335, ff. 55-58; scribal copy once sent through the penny post. Now in a volume of poems relating to Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, collected by his son Horace.  
Printed: 1803, v. 188-92; 1837, iii. 392-4; 1861, ii. 474-6.

Confess dear Lælius, Pious, Just, and Wise,  
Some self-content does in that bosom rise,  
When you reflect (as sure you sometimes must)  
What Tallents Heaven does to thy Virtue trust;  
While with Contempt you view poor human-kind

Title
Epistle from A P Esqr to V B BM; An Epistle From Pope to Lord Bolingbroke eds.  
poor human-kind the gross Mankind BM; altered by LM from the gross Mankind H MS 81.

1 The 1733 editions of An Essay on Man, first epistle, began: "Awake, my Laelius!" Pope later changed the name to "St. John". Laelius was a writer, orator, and friend of Scipio the younger; Cicero compared him to Socrates.
Weak, willful, Sensual, Passionate and blind;
Amidst these Errors thou art faultless found,
(The Moon takes Lustre from the Darkness round)
Permit me too, a small attendant Star,
To twinkle, tho' in a more distant Sphere,
Small Things with great we Poets oft compare.
With Admiration all your steps I view,
And almost Envy what I can't pursue.
The World must grant (and 'tis no common Fame)
My Courage and my probity the same.
But you, great Lord, to nobler scenes was born,
Your early Youth did Anna's court adorn.
Let **Oxford** own, let **Catalonia** tell,
What various victims to your wisdom fell.
Let Vows, or benefits, the Vulgar bind,
Such Ties can never chain th' intrepid mind.

---

after 6 an extra couplet in BM, cf. draft above:
Sure all these Follies by the hand Divine
Were plac'd express to show how bright you shine!

7 Amidst/ Amid eds.
16 were eds.

9-10 Apparently recalling _An Essay on Man_, iv. 385-6:
Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?

11 A cliché which goes back to Virgil's first eclogue.
18-19 A common formula, cf. "Saturday", lines 21-22 (above p. 384);
but LM is probably remembering Garth's _Dispensary_, iv (4th ed. 1700, p. 47):

**Oxford** and all her passing Bells can tell,
By this Right Arm, what mighty Numbers fell.
Hervey wrote that Bolingbroke was taken up by Oxford "whom he undermined, supplanted in the Queen's favour, and turned out" (1931, i. 9). Oxford was imprisoned in the Tower when Bolingbroke fled in 1715. The Catalonians, who had been supported by England in rebellion against the Spanish government, were left defenceless by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. Another view held that Bolingbroke had sided with the Duke of Buckingham against Oxford and the majority of the Cabinet in vainly seeking some guarantee for the Catalonians' safety ("A Short Character of John Sheffield late Duke of Buckinghamshire" in his _Works_, 4th ed., 1753, ii. 246).
Recorded be that memorable hour,

When, to elude exasperated Pow'r,

With blushless front you durst your Friends betray,

Advise the whole confed'racy to stay,

And brave the danger of th'enquiring day,

While, with sly Courage, you ran brisk away.

By a deserted court with joy reciev'd,

Your projects all admir'd, your Oaths believ'd,

Some Trust obtain'd, of which good use you made

To gain a Pardon where you first betray'd.

But what is Pardon to th'aspiring breast?

You should have been first Minister at least.

Failing of that, forsaken and deprest,

---

24. Friends, friend eds.
25. Advise, Advis'd BM.
26. This line omitted by eds., which bracket 24-27 as a triplet.
30. you, he 1827, 1861.

22-23. Two paragraphs in An Epistle From the late Lord Bo--ke open this way (pp. 20,22):

Forgot for ever, be that luckless Hour,

Which robb'd us of our Anna and our Power....

Be blotted from the Day, that spiteful Hour,

Which gave that Foe his Titles, Star, and Power.

24-27. Bolingbroke fled to France on 28 March 1715. It does not appear that he advised others to stay; but his stratagems to conceal his imminent departure may have deceived friends as well as enemies.

28-31. Cf. An Epistle From the late Lord Bo--ke, p. 11:

Whene'er at Courts, by Art, or seeming Grace,

For both are mine, I wriggled into Place,

Neither by Gratitude, nor Conscience sway'd,

Each Sov'reign that I ownd, I still betray'd.

LM omits the period of Bolingbroke's service to the exiled Pretender, whom he was later accused of deserting. The court she means is not that of St Germain but St. James's, where his pardon was issued in May 1723. He arrived in England the next month to further his campaign for restoration of his title and parliamentary privileges, and took the oaths of allegiance in June 1725.

32-33. Horace Walpole tells of Bolingbroke's attempt, through the Duchess of Kendal, to supplant Sir Robert, and that many people believed -- mistakenly -- he would have succeeded but for the death of George I (Reminiscences: Works, 1798, iii. 277-9).

Sure any Soul but Yours had sought for rest!
And mourn'd in shades, far from the publick Eye,
Successless Fraud, and useless Infamy.
And here (My Lord) let all mankind admire
The bold Efforts of unexhausted fire.

You stand the Champion of the People's cause,
And bid the Mob reform defective Laws.
Oh, was your Pow'r like your Intention good,
Your native Land would stream with civil blood.

I own, these glorious schemes I view with pain,
My little Mischief to myself seem mean,
My ills are humble tho' my heart is great,
All I can do is flatter, lie, and cheat.
Yet I may say, 'tis plain that you preside
O'er all my morals, and 'tis much my Pride
To tread, with steps unequal, where you guide.

My first Subscribers I have first defam'd,
And, when detected never was asham'd:

---
35  And    But H MS 81, BM.
36  bold Efforts     efforts hold 1837, 1861.
37  civic    civic eds.
38  mean     altered from vain H MS 256.
40  Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, line 206, where Achitophel "Held up
41  the Buckler of the Peoples Cause". Bolingbroke set up as a popu-
42  lar leader with his opposition paper, The Craftsman, 1726. LM
disregards the fact that Pope in An Essay on Man advised Boling-
43  broke to leave "low ambition" (i. 2).
44  This accusation was also made in Pope Alexander's Supremacy, 1729:
45  "he...publish'd scandalous Invectives on those very Whigs, who had
46  been his amplest Subscribers." The charge probably goes back to
Rais'd all the Storms I could in private Life,
Whisper'd the Husband to correct the Wife;
Outwitted Lintot in his very trade,
And Charity with infamy repaid:
Yet, while you preach in prose, I scold in Rhimes,
Against th'Injustice of flagitious Times.

You, learned Doctor of the publick Stage,
Give gilded poison to corrupt the Age;
Your poor Toad-eater I, around me scatter
My scurril jests, and gaping Crouds bespatter.
This may seem Envy, to the formal Fools
Who talk of Virtue's bounds, and honour's rules:
We, who with piercing Eyes look Nature through,
We know that all is right in all we do.
Reason's erroneous, honest Instinct right.

Monkeys were made to grin, and Fleas to bite.

54 correct reform eds.
56 infamy obloquy eds.
59 of altered from on H MS 81; on EM.
63-70 These lines in EM are transferred to follow 83.

54 See above for LM's earlier and fuller account.
55 For the complexities of Pope's financial dealings with Bernard Lintot (d. 1736) over his Odyssey, see Sherburn, pp.253-7.
66 A biased paraphrase of "Whatever IS, is RIGHT", which in An Essay on Man (last line of first epistle, repeated iv. 394) refers to the divine scheme rather than to every action of any man. Upon this pronouncement fierce controversy later centred (Twickenham, III, i. xx-xxi, xlv-xlvi).
67 What Pope says (with qualifications) is that instinct "must go right" while reason "may go wrong" (Essay on Man, iii. 79-98).
68 Cf. Pope's version of Horace, Sat. II. 1, lines 85-88:
   Its proper Pow'r to hurt, each Creature feels,
   Bulls aim their horns, and Asses lift their heels,
   'Tis a Bear's Talent not to kick, but hug,
   And no man wonders he's not stung by Pug.
LM was especially apt to remember this passage since it follows directly upon the insult to herself.
Using the Spight by the Creator given,

We only tread the Path that's mark'd by heaven.
And sure with Justice 'tis that we exclaim,
Such wrongs must e'en your Modesty inflame.
While Blockheads Court rewards and honours share,
You, Poet, Patriot, and Philosopher,

No Bills in Pocket, nor no Garter wear.

When I see smoking on a Booby's board
Fat Ortalans, and Pies of Perigord,
My self am mov'd to high poetick rage
(The Homer, and the Horace of the Age).

Puppies! who have the insolence to dine
With smiling beauties, and with sparkling wine,
While I retire, plagu'd with an Empty Purse,

69-70 LM may have had in mind a light-hearted paradox in "The Parson's Daughter", ascribed to Pope though probably not by him:
That Whoring is a lawful Trade,
Since ev'ry Thing for Use is made;
And that it can be no Abuse,
To put Things to their proper Use
(Pope's Miscellany, part ii, 1717, p. 9; listed in Twickenham, vi. 421).

73-75 Cf. An Epistle From the late Lord Bol--ke:
No Place I yet possess, no Staff survey,
Tho' Wit and Traytor challenge double Pay
(p. 4). Walpole received the Garter in 1726. Bolingbroke had written verse in his youth. His printed works to date were mainly political and historical; his philosophy was not published until later.

76ff. Other opposition writers charged those in power with wasteful luxury, e.g. "Timothy Scrubb" in Fog's Weekly Journal, 7 Sept. 1734. Pope's satire had touched on gluttony in Horace, Sat. II. i. 45ff.; he made it the main theme of Sat. II. ii, where LM was glanced at as Avidien's wife (49ff.). Her charge of envy is therefore a return for his accusation of avarice.

82-83 Cf. Horace, Sat. II. ii. 137-8:
Content with little, I can piddle here
On Broccoli and mutton, round the year. (Cont.)
Eat Brocoli, and kiss my antient Nurse.

But had we flourish'd when stern Henry reign'd;

Our good Designs had been but ill explain'd;

The Ax had cut your solid Reasoning short,

I, in the Porter's Lodge, been scourg'd at Court,

To better Times kind heaven reserv'd our Bir<th,>

Happy for us that Coxcombs are on Earth.

Mean Spirits seek ther Villany to hide,

We shew our venom'd Souls with noble Pride,

And, in bold strokes, have all Mankind defy'd;

Past o'er the bounds that keep Mankind in aw<e>

And laugh'd at Justice, Gratitude and Law:

While our Admirers stare with dumb surprize

Treason, and Scandal, we monopolize.

Yet this remains our more peculiar boast,

You scape the Block, and I the Whipping-Post.

after 83 lines 63-70 inserted in BM.
84 Henry/ Harry eds.
85 Our/ These BM; altered from These H MS 81.
86 Reasonings/ reas'nings eds.
87 scour'd/ lash'd BM, H MS 81.
89 us that/ you such eds.
91 noble/ nobler eds.
93 Mankind/ the Croud BM, H MS 81.
94 Gratitude/ liberty eds.

82-83 (Cont.) Pope was one of the first in England to grow the then exotic broccoli (Corr. ii. 192, 425). LM was perhaps unaware that his nurse, Mary Beach, had died in 1725, aged 77. "That I have had criminal Correspondence with my old Nurse of 70, I have seen in Print" (Pope to Oxford, 24 Dec. [1729], Corr. iii. 84).
86 Swift had believed Bolingbroke's head in danger in 1715 (Corr., ed. H. Williams, ii. 176).
88-89 Referring to Horace, Sat. II, ii. 97-98:
Why had not I in those good times my birth,
E'tre Coxcomb-pyes or Coxcombs were on earth?
93 Cf. Verses to the Imitator of Horace, line 83, above p. 524.
The 9th Ode of the 3d Book of Horace 1736

Imitated

This ode was a favourite for translation and for topical adaptation, e.g. by Rowe (Poetical Works, 2nd ed., 1720, [47]-49) and Joseph Mitchell (Poems on Several Occasions, 1729, ii. 349-51). It had been applied to Walpole and Pulteney by other writers (e.g. BM Harley MS 7318, f. 69, c. 1727-30; GM, May 1733, p. 263). Lady Mary's version resembles neither of these.

William Pulteney had supported Walpole before 1726; according to Hervey he never forgave the Prime Minister for not making him Secretary of State after George II's accession. In 1736 he was thought to be "weary of the opposing part he had so long unsuccessfully acted" and attended the House less frequently (Hervey, 1931, i. 9, ii. 529).

MSS: H MS: 256, f. 52, Lady Mary's hand.
NY: Montagu Collection, MSS division, New York Public Library, bought 5 July 1930. Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 228-9; 1837, iii. 414-15; 1861, ii. 493-4.

Sir R. W.

While in all my Schemes you most heartily joyn'd
And help'd the worst Jobs that I ever design'd
In Pamphlets, in Ballads, in Senate, at Table
Thy Satyr was witty, thy Council was Able.
While with me you divided both profit and Care
And the Plunder and Glory did equally share
Assur'd of his Place, if my Fat Freind should die,
The Prince of Wales was not so happy as I.

Sir R. W.

Harry Pelham is now my Support and Delight,
Whom we bubble all Day, we joke on at Night,
His Head is well furnish'd, his Lungs have their Merit,
I would venture the Rope to advance such a Spirit.

W. P.

I too have a Harry more usefull than yours;
Writes verses like mad, and will talk you whole hours,
To see him once more in his robes, like a Lord.

5 While / When NY; Whilst eds.
10 Day, we / day and we eds.
12 the / a eds.
15 in / by eds.

7 Fat Freind: Walpole himself.
8 Prince of Wales: at the time referred to, this was the future George II.
9 For the support given by Pelham (16957-175*0) to Walpole against Pulteney, see J. W. Wilkes, A Whig in Power, The Political Career of Henry Pelham, 1964, pp. 9-11.
10 variant: this betrays misunderstanding; it is Pelham's victims, not himself, who are both cheated and joked about.
13 Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, whom Hervey thought "neither Pulteney nor any other body could esteem" (1931, i. 8).
16 Bolingbroke's Viscountcy was restored "in blood only" (G. E. Cokayne et al., Complete Peerage, 1910-59).
Sir R. W.

But what if this Quarrel was kindly made up?

Would you my dear Willy accept of a Sop?

If the Queen should confess, you had long been her Choice

And you knew it was I, that spoke in her Voice.

W. P.

Thô my Harry so gay, so polite, and so Civil,

You rude as a Bear, and more proud than a Devil,

I gladly would drop him, and laugh in your Ear

At the Fools we have made for this last dozen year.
Impromptu to a young Lady singing

Lady Mary's title and note to this stanza suggest the expression of a personal mood; there are two likely periods for its composition. One is Sept. 1721, when she wrote both of her unease and of the consolation of music (Letters, ii. 13). If she wrote the poem then, the "Gentle Maid" sang with the finest voice Bononcini had ever heard in England, and was probably her friend Maria Skerrett (above p. 427); the "raging Passions" were caused by Rémond's threats of blackmail (Letters, ii. 1-14) and also, perhaps, by the first newspaper campaign against smallpox inoculation, then well under way.

The poem has, however, been placed under the later possible date. If this is correct, the "Gentle Maid" was Lady Mary's daughter, whose singing she was later to recall with deep emotion (Letters, iii. 124). Mary Wortley Montagu married the Earl of Bute on 13 Aug. 1736, several months after the beginning of her mother's unhappy love for Francesco Algarotti (Halsband, p. 155; Letters, ii. 101ff., iii. 122).

MS: R MS 255, f. 70, copied by Lady Mary after 1738 and annotated "by M.W.M."
Printed: 1803, v. 245; 1837, iii. 422; 1861, ii. 499.

Sing Gentle Maid reform my Breast
And soften all my Care,
Thus I can be some moments blest
And easy in Despair,

5 The Power of Orpheus lives in you,
The raging Passions of my Soul subdue
And tame the Lions, and the Tygers there.

I can / may I eds.
The raging / You can the eds.
Lady Mary sent this verse to Algarotti in her second letter after his departure from England.

MS: Hyde Collection, New York.
    1966: Letters, ii. 106.

Why was my haughty Soul to Woman joyn'd?
Why this soft sex impos'd upon my Mind?
Even this extravagance which now I send
Were meritorious in the name of Freind.

Thee I might follow, thee my Lovely Guide,
Charm'd with thy voice, and ever by thy side,
Nor Land, nor sea, our common way divide.

How much these golden Wishes are in Vain!
I dream to pleasure, but I wake to pain.

1 Cf. LM's early "Imitation of Ovid's Epistles", lines 5-6, above p. 323.
7 From Prior, Henry and Emma, line 395: "Nor Wild, nor Deep our common Way divide" (Works, i. 289).
8 From Dryden's Secret-Love, Or The Maiden Queen, Act III (DW, ii. 36).
21 or 25 Sept. 1736

The events leading up to this dialogue can be summarised as follows. In a note dated "Saturday" 18 Sept Hervey offered to call on Lady Mary that evening, and continued, "at all hazards I accept of the Summons for next Saturday and will wait on you then at seven" (Bristol MSS, 47/2, p. 15). Two days later, in her fourth letter to Algarotti since his departure, she expressed her intention of seeing Hervey (Letters, ii. 107). After the painful meeting she sent another anxious note to Hervey, who mentioned in reply his promise "that I would behave and write to ---- as if Tuesday and Saturday had never been and that the last Week had had but five Days in it....as for the first Part of the Dialogue I have it not here but will write it out as well as I can from my Memory" (Monday, 27 Sept., Bristol MSS, 47/2, pp. 69-71). Next day Hervey sent Algarotti a caustic account of the Tuesday interview (Murray MSS). Apparently Lady Mary visited Hervey on 21 Sept., leaving after six hours at one a.m.; on 25 Sept. he visited her. Lady Mary described one of these meetings to Algarotti but did not mention the "Dialogue". For further details see above, p. 192.

MSS: H MS: 81, ff. 216-17, Hervey's and Lady Mary's hands alternating, Hervey's first.
Bristol: Bristol MSS, Bury St. Edmunds, 47/2, pp. 70-71 (lines 5-44 only), Hervey's hand. He indicated the speakers by "L. H." and "L. M." in the margin, which I have followed here.

L. H. What is this Secret you'd so fain impart? 
Open your own, rely upon my Heart.

1 Hervey himself believed:
To probe is but to irritate the heart,
And to divulge is to increase our smart.
The wise in silence therefore bear their pain....
(Ilchester, p. 128).
L. M. I wish to tell, but I would have you guess,  
And think at least that it would pain me less.

L. H. This Preface to your Question is refined,  
And should I guess when I should read your Mind;  
You'd fear some other might your Secret find.

L. M. My secret can be guess'd, by only you,  
You see my trust -- but see my Folly too.

L. H. You might be wise, and yet that Folly chuse;  
Ask then, nor fear your Suit I shall refuse,  
Or that your Trust I ever can abuse.  
I own you're rather form'd by Heav'n to grant,  
But Heav'n can only know what 'tis we want;  
Mortals tho e'er so willing all to give,  
Must for a welcome Gift, some Hint recieve.  
You may perhaps this wary Silence blame,  
But won't you chide me more if I should name?

before 3 A /altered from I'd/ painfull secret should be guess'd not  
told struck out, H MS.
3 first four words struck out and rewritten, H MS.
5 Your /altered from The/ Question's plain, this Preface is refin'd,  
Bristol.
7 your/ the Bristol.
11 altered from Fear not your trust I ever shall abuse: Bristol.
12 altered from Nor that whateer you ask Bristol.
15 shall / altered from shall Bristol.

in margin: I'm sure this is wrong but can't make it right  
Bristol.

3-4 Cf. Hervey's warning to LM on 18 Sept.:  
Whose Meaning still in Riddles is express'd,  
May sometimes vainly try to show their Breast,  
And when they wish it least perhaps, be guess'd  
(Bristol MSS, 47/2, p. 15).
9 LM's trust was not entirely misplaced. Hervey wrote to Algarotti:  "elle m'a dit des choses, que comme elle m'a fait promettre avant  
que de les dire que je ne les redirois point, je ne veux pas vous  
les communiquer" -- though he added that such "bonne-foi" was  
entirely beyond the comprehension of LM herself (Murray MSS).
L. M. My Question short, but long will be the pain,
20 I ask to one that can too well explain,
My Heart demands, you answer from the brain.

L. H. Tis true I answer only from the Brain
Fearing my Answer should be thought too plain
For since you wish to know yet fear to read
Cautious the winding Precipice I tread,
I combate Nature, have recourse to Art
And rack my Head that I may spare your Heart.
Like Rivers turn'd my Numbers useless grow,
Say shall they in their nat'ral Channel flow?

L. M. He laughs at scars who never felt a wound
31 (This truth long since the Gentle Romeo found)
The time may come to feel th'exstatic smart,
You may see Eyes and you may feel a Heart.

L. H. A little longer yet your Pain endure,
35 Nature who made the Wound, will give the Cure;
For as the Characters in Sand we trace,
If unrenew'd (tho e'er so deep) will pass;

19 Question's Bristol.
20 But tis because I fear to make it plain struck out; For
21 Question-mark editorial.
22 who/ that Bristol.
30 to feel th'exstatic when you may know altered from feel the

19 Cf. LM's account to Algarotti: "The Question was very short, but
the way to make it very hard, and in short I said nothing of what
I had a mind to know, and all he could collect from my conversa-
tion was that I was very near if not quite distracted" (Letters,
ii. 108).
22ff. Cf. Hervey's account: "elle m'a tourné de milles differentes
façons pour me faire parler de vous, et jamais je n'ai voulu
vous nommer; elle m'a dit en même temps mille menteries expres,
et mille verité's par hazard; et au lieu d'apprendre plusieurs
choses sans rien dire, comme elle a proposé; elle m'a tout dit
sans avoir rien apris" (Murray MSS; quoted in Halsband, p. 160).
30 Borrowed from "An Answer to a Love letter", line 34, above p. 460.
30 From "Romeo and Juliet", II. ii. 1.
So all Impressions which our Passions make,
By Absence smooth'd, an even Surface take;
Thus Heav'n at once both covetous and kind,
Has constituted ev'ry human Mind,
For as we lose the Merit to be true,
In recompense we lose the Mis'ry too.

L. M. A little Love deserves not passion's name,
   A Taper's light is hardly call'd a Flame,
   A Transient Wind extinguishes the Fire
   And a short Absence cools a small desire,
   But when the Heat on the whole Vitals preys
   Even Tempests but encrease the powerfull Blaze.

L. H. As Poysons other Poysons will remove,
   So love may be expel'd by other Love.
   This Doctrine Cleopatra held was true;
   Wont Cleopatra's Medicines do for You?

L. M. Go bid the thirsty, overlabour'd swains
   Seek Grecian Vines on Caledonian plains,
   With equal Hope you sooth my restless mind
   (To this cold Climate cursedly confin'd)
   To meet a second lovely of the Kind.

44 deserved altered from scarce merits H MS.
A little Love scarce merits etc --
You have the rest. Bristol.

48 Cf. "Between your sheets supine you sleep", line 11 and note
(below p. 599).
50-51 Dryden's Cleopatra says (feigning) to Dolabella:
   And Love may be expell'd by other Love,
As Poysons are by Poysons
   (All for Love, Act IV: DW, iv. 234).
54 Dryden uses the formula "Bid" or "Go bid" to stress the impossi-
   bility of overthrowing nature (Aureng-Zebe, Act I, Don Sebastian,
   III. i: DW, iv. 98, vi. 84).
L. H. These Thoughts are not from Nature but a Book,  
Into our Conduct, not our Writings look;  
There Men and Women equally you'll see,  
Form'd by Receipts you've heard explain'd by me,  
I tell you what they are, You what they ought to be.

L. M. Sway'd by no moral, or affected Rules  
(By Knaves invented and observ'd by Fools)  
Judge of my Future Actions by my past  
And call my Conduct, nicety of Taste.

L. H. In vain you talk of what you love and hate  
For when you're hungry and have Food you'll eat.

L. M. Hunger's the Motive of the unbred Clown  
To whose coarse Palate, all rank meat goes down  
But Hunger never rais'd the Pain I feel  
Which only one can give, and only One could heal.

---

Hervey thought her personality transformed; as she was leaving on 21 Sept. he wondered "comment la Dame s'appeloit qui avoit été six heures de suite dans mon Apartement, et que de ma vie je n'avois vu auparavant" (Murray MSS).
The first section of this poem was intended to stand alone; Hervey converted one copy of it into a dialogue. Its Cornell title probably reflects a deliberate attempt on Lady Mary's part to mislead Spence -- plausible enough, since her daughter had married on 13 Aug. against her wishes.

MSS: (first 12 lines) H MS 256: f. 51, Lady Mary's hand.
(copy-text for remainder) H MS 81: f. 214, Lady Mary's and Hervey's hands.
(first 12 lines) Cornell: pp. 9-10, indentation of lines corrected by Spence.
Printed (lines 1-4, 7-12 only): 1803, v. 251; 1837, iii. 425; 1861, ii. 502.

If Age and Sickness, poverty, and Pain,
Should each assault me with Alternate Plague's
I know Mankind is destin'd to complain
And I submit to Torment, and Fatigues
But here I murmur against Heaven's decree
That Miracles must rise to ruin me.

The Pious Farmer that ne'er misses pray'rs
With Patience suffers unexpected Rain,
He blesses Heaven for what its Bounty spares

---

Title Octbr 1736 On her Daughter's Marriage Cornell; Written at Louvere, October, 1736. eds; 1861 adds a note: This date must be erroneous...
1 If Tho H MS 81.
3 is was H MS 81; altered from was H MS 256.
5-6 omitted in eds.
7 that who eds.

6 Cf. "Nature her self is chang'd to punish me" (Aureng Zebe, Act I: Dryden, DW, iv. 98).
And sees, resign'd, a crop of blighted Grain
But ('spite of Sermons) Farmers would blaspheme
If a Star fell to set their Thatch on Flame.

In Sicily alone an Ætna burns,
But what Sicilian Ætna's Fury mourns?
He knows the Warmth which from the Mountain glows,
His plenteous Olives and his Vines bestows:
Ægypt alone is never blest with Rains
And the same Nile that spares the Plowman's Pains,
By Miracles to Ægypt only known,
Gives these rich Harvests to her Sons alone.
Thus neither Country weeps the Fire or Flood
But bare the Bad, contented with the Good.

Suppose it true (which I can scarce suppose)
That with uncommon Fire this Bosom glows
Yet what avails this Gift from partial Heaven
Not for my Pleasure but my Torment given,
This sensibility which oft you praise
Serves but to plague me in unusual ways.
In this poem (for which see above, p. 132) Lady Mary must have been addressing either Algarotti or Hervey during the period of despair which followed the former's departure. She exercised caution about allowing friends to see the poem, since contemporary belief in the wickedness of suicide was strong (commented on by Hervey: Ilchester, pp. 94-95; Bristol MSS 47/4, pp. 214-23). Lady Pomfret in 1740 sent a transcript to Lady Hertford under the seal of secrecy since "no one has had a copy of it but myself" (Hertford-Pomfret, ii. 116); but Spence, Sir James Caldwell, and later still J. Lane were similarly favoured. The last-named, meeting Lady Mary almost on her death-bed, wrote an answer to this poem which concludes:

Your bright Decay
To demonstration proves 'tis best to stay
Till heaven shall call, and Angels clear your way.
Had You then cut the Thread those years ago,
Dullness had triumph'd o'er her greatest Foe,
And I remain'd in darkness here below

(H MS 81, f. 120).

MSS: H MS 256: ff. 51-52, Lady Mary's hand.
    H MS 81: f. 215, Lady Mary's hand, lacking last couplet.
Cornell: pp. 7-8.
Manchester: Bagshawe MS 3/7/2-3, John Rylands Library; copied by Sir James Caldwell in France in 1746.
Printed: 1749: L. Mag., June, p. 284, as "by a Lady", with a disapproving editor's note.
1861, ii. 504; reprinted in "George Paston", Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1907/, p. 386 n. 2.

Title 7 omitted in H MS 81, Manchester; Verses on Self-Murder, address'd to ---- 1749.
With toilsome steps I pass through Life's dull Road,
No Pack Horse halfe so weary of his Load;
And when this dirty Journey will conclude,
To what new Realms is then my Way persu'd?

Say; then does the unbody'd Spirit fly,
To happier climes and to a better Sky;
Or sinking, mixes with its kindred clay,
And sleeps a whole Eternity away?

Or shall this Form be once again renew'd,
With all its Frailties, and its Hopes endu'd;
Acting once more on this detested Stage,
Passions of Youth, Infirmitis of Age?

I see in Tully what the Ancients thought
And read unprejudice'd what moderns taught

---
1 through // this Manchester.
2 weary/ tir'd 1805, 1861.
3 will // shall 1749.
5 does/ altered from shall H MS 81.
6 happier/ happy Manchester.
7 mixes with its/ mix with the cold // altered from mixes with the7
H MS 81; mix with dust and 1749.
8 sleeps/ sleep H MS 81, 1749.
10 and/ all 1805, 1861.

5ff. This passage is a complex of echoes from Dryden: "And here and
there th'unbodied Spirit flies" ("Of the Pythagorean Philosophy",
1700: Poems, ed. J. Kinsley, iv. 1724): "To some new Clime, or
to thy native Sky" (the hero's brief soliloquy in Aureng-Zebe, I:
DW. iv. 97); and
Is there no smooth descent? no painless way
Of kindly mixing with our native clay?
(The State of Innocence, V: DW. iii. 460). LM was also recalling
an earlier poem about a suicide for love:
Fate snatch'd her early to the pitying sky.
As into air the purer spirits flow,
And sep'rerate from their kindred dregs below
(Pope's Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, lines 24-26).

Cf. "passions inseparable/ to youth and infirmities to age" (CB, f. 6).

Lady Hertford and J. Lane both seized upon these lines for comment,
the former suggesting that LM should be persuaded "to look into
the New Testament" (Hertford-Pomfret, ii. 170-1).
15 But no Conviction from my reading springs,
Most dubious, on the most important things.

Yet one short moment would at once explain,
What all Philosophy has sought in vain,
Would clear all doubt, and terminate all pain.

Why then not hasten that decisive Hour,
Still in my view, and ever in my power?
Why should I drag along this Life I hate
Without one thought to mitigate the weight?

Whence this mysterious bearing to exist,
When every Joy is lost, and every Hope dismist?
In chains and darkness wherefore should I stay
And mourn in Prison while I keep the Key?

---

16 on in 1749.
19 terminate altered from mitigate H MS 256.
22 should must H MS 81.
24 Whence...hearing to Why...being t' 1749.
25 Joy altered from Hope H MS 81.
26-27 omitted in H MS 81 and Manchester.
27 while whilst 1805, 1861.
Conclusion of a Letter to Lord H—— c. 20 June 1737
giving an Account of the Death of Mr Hedges
Treasurer to his R. H.

John Hedges (c. 1689-20 June 1737), an amateur poet himself, had been Treasurer to the Prince of Wales since 1728. Lady Mary must have composed these lines immediately on his death, since Hervey's enthusiastic reply, also containing a passage of verse, was dated from Ickworth on 23 June. Hervey sent his verse to Algarotti on 28/17 Sept. 1737: "I have not the copy of Lady Mary's at Hampton Court, or I would send you those too" (Ilchester, pp. 272-3).

MS: H MS 256, ff. 58-59, copied by Lady Mary after 1755. She wrote next, "Answer'd by Lord H———y", as if to transcribe the answer, but did not do so.


---- This is wrote with Tears ----

Tears for our loss, it is not his I mourn;
Who past all Care, sleeps in his peace-full Urn;
Or crown'd with Roses in Elysian Groves,
With Bright Ophelia now renews his Loves;
Where Purer Light, and happier Feasts they share

With Ovid, Congreve, Sapho, Delawar,

4 Ophelia: Anne Oldfield (above p. 449a). Walpole hinted that she had been Hedges's mistress (to West, 2 Oct. 1739, Corr. xiii. 183). Cf. Pope's "Epistle To Miss Blount, With the Works of Voiture":
   Now crown'd with Myrtle, on th'Elysian Coast,
   Amid those Lovers, joys his gentle Ghost
   (Twickenham, vi. 64).

6 For the mixing of ancient and modern dead cf. Prior, "An Ode.... to the Memory of...George Villiers", 1704, line 32 (Works, i. 218). Charlotte née MacCarthy, Countess De La Warr (1701-35) was spoken of as a wit by Mrs. Delany (i. 185); a poem attributed to her survives in BM MS Add. 26877, f. 97.
Perhaps with Pity at a distance view

The Paths poor Poets militant persue.

8 Poets militant: this phrase, adapted from the "Church militant here in earth" of the Prayer Book, had been used by Cowley ("On the Death of Mr. Crashaw", Writings, 1905-6, p. 49) and by Pope (to Gay, Corr. iii. 121, printed 1735).
April 1730-August 1737

The first speaker in this fragmentary dialogue (see above p. 75) is a member of the opposition centred round the Prince of Wales; the second is Sir Robert Walpole. For its date see notes to lines 13 and 17-18.

MS: H MS 378, typescript supplied by Sir Shane Leslie, Bt, from Lady Mary's holograph in his possession, which was given by Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Constance Leslie in 1889.

When rolling time brings on the golden hour
Shall shew my Monarch in the shine of Pow'r
He shall consign to this capacious Hand
At least the Key, perhaps the Treasurer's wand,

5 Con <??> my old woman of her -- has d.y'd,
Betty shall then come forth, avow'd my Bride,
Venus may bless the Nuptials she has made
If with a lovely Boy my prayers be paid.

When Europe sees the Blessing of my Schemes

10 And all my Blunders are forgot like dreams
Then full of years and Honor I retreat
And leave to duller Heads the toils of state,

3 In margin: intrusted with carat before Hand
5 In margin: erased

4 Key: symbol of the office of Vice-Chamberlain, held by Hervey from May 1730.
9ff. The speaker is now Walpole.
Then my old Kate shall yield my Molly place,
How I shall smile, when she is styl'd, Her Grace!

From distant shires the nobles shall repair
To Houghton Hall to worship Venus there
But far, oh far, be Oxenden removed,
Bold to attack and skillfull to be loved,

To other shores let him his steps convey

Triumph enough for that enchanting Face!

That my damnation must enrich his Race,

May he permit that quiet, without fears

I clasp this Joy of my declining years

Nor she shall think her selfe too much confined

When I except but him of all mankind.

---

19 At least one line obviously omitted before or after this.

In margin: away with carat before convey

23 Joy_ followed by /Hopes/

13 Walpole married LM's friend Molly Skerrett shortly before 3 March 1738, six months after Catherine Walpole's death.
14 Walpole was created an Earl in 1742 (after his fall from power), but never a Duke.
17-18 Sir George Oxenden (above p. 555) had had an affair with Walpole's daughter-in-law, and her only son (born 2 April 1730) was rumoured to be his (Hervey, 1931, iii. 742).
20-21 These "two lines in a copy of verses written by Lady Mary Wortley" were quoted by Hervey in 1737 (loc. cit.). A note in the William Kimber ed., 1952, says "These lines would make more (though still not much) sense if the pronouns were transposed" (p. 266). LM means, of course, that Walpole will be damned for the avarice which will eventually enrich his spurious grandson. Cf. "Trust not too much to that enchanting Face" (Dryden's translation of Virgil's 2nd pastoral, line 19, 1697: Poems, ed. J. Kinsley, ii. 878).
This outburst, from Lady Mary's journalistic essay on mercenary writers, was echoed in prose in 1754 (*Letters*, iii. 68). After the first stanza she continues in prose: "I forbear speaking of the Injuries which such Writings may do occasionally to private Families....I am not accusing these Writers of any Malice....Sometimes they quarrel amongst themselves, only intending to sell a Paper on both Sides." Then follows the second stanza.


Writing was once a Philosophick Pride:
Th'inspir'd Poet scorn'd the World beside.
Now of all Trades, the last and meanest Cheat:
They praise to drink, and satyrize to eat.

So Figg and Sutton seem inflamed with spite,
And charm Spectators with a bloody Fight:
Yet by the Friendly Battle all they mean,
To draw a Crowd, and calmly share the Gain.

James Figg and Ned Sutton were famous pugilists.

---

*After* 8 LM concludes: "...I cannot help looking upon Poetry (the Mistress of my Youth) with the same Compassion and Abhorrence, the Angel in Milton does on Lucifer, How chang'd! How fall'n!"
In a letter to the Duchess of Marlborough, 10 Oct. 1738, Lady Bristol reports that her husband has renewed his attempt to induce their son Hervey to abandon politics by offering him money; she does not think, however, that he will accept, "for as I remember two lines of Lady Mary Wortley's, upon the same occasion, ses that...." The "same occassion" may have been Lord Bristol's previous offer, in late 1729 (Hervey, 1931, i. 104).

MS: Blenheim Palace Archives E 39, Lady Bristol's hand.

Courts and Courtiers ever are the same,
Unmov'd by honour, as untouch'd by shame.
These stanzas were placed first among the commendatory verses printed with Algarotti's Newtonianismo, a translation and popularization of Newton's Optics. Other contributors were Hervey and Benjamin Stillingfleet, grandson of the Bishop. The first edition of Algarotti's work had been published in 1737; Lady Mary told Algarotti on 11 July 1738 that she had read and re-read it (Letters, ii. 117).


Such various learning in this Work appears,
As seems the slow result of length of years;
Yet these dark Truths explain'd in such a way,
As only youth cou'd write a stile so gay.

1-2 Cf. Congreve's "Verses Sacred to the Memory of Grace Lady Gethin":
For so compleat the finish'd Piece appears,
That Learning seems combin'd with length of Years
(Dryden's Miscellany, v. 367).

5 From Hippocrates' first aphorism.
So Eden rose, as we in Moses find,

(The only Emblem of thy happy mind)

Where ev'ry charm of ev'ry season meets,

The Fruit of Autumn mix'd with vernal sweets.

10 Simultaneous fruit and flowers occur not in the biblical account of Paradise but in that of Milton (Paradise Lost, iv. 148).

This is the first of a group of poems dating from Lady Mary's infatuation with Algarotti; she seems to have written it during her very brief personal, as opposed to epistolary, acquaintance with him. In these lines she adapted part of Lansdowne's "To Myra":

Prepar'd to rail, resolv'd to part,
When I approach the Perjur'd Maid,
What is it awes my timorous Heart?
Why is my Tongue afraid?
With the least Glance a little kind,
Such wond'rous Pow'r have Myra's Charms,
She calms my Doubts, enslaves my Mind,
And all my Rage disarms....

(Poems Upon Several Occasions, 1712, p. 73).

MS: Municipal Library, Treviso, Italy, no. 1259, among Algarotti's papers; Lady Mary's hand.

Prepar'd to rail, and quite resolv'd to part,
What magick is it awes my trembling Heart?
At that fair vision all resentments fly,
And on my tongue halfe-form'd reproaches dye,
My melting Soul one tender Glance disarms,
I faint -- and find all Heaven within his arms.

3 At altered from Before MS.
5 melting Soul \ ? altered from beating Heart MS; beating heart eds.

5 Cf. Aphra Behn's The City Heiress; or, Sir Timothy Treat-all:
In vain I rail, I curse her charms;
One Look my feeble Rage disarms
(IV.i: Works, 1915, ii. 260); and "Thursday", lines 96-97, above p. 372.
This unfinished verse may belong to the Algarotti group; see headnote to previous poem.

MS: H MS 81, f. 51, Lady Mary's hand.

Ye soft Idea's leave this tortur'd Breast
And thou fond Heart, go beat thy selfe to rest.
Reason (if once I offer'd at thy Shrine)
Now bring thy Aid, exert thy right Divine,
5 Subdue these Passions that resist thy sway
And teach my Rebel Wishes to obey.

Come calm Oblivion chase away my Cares,
Quiet this throbbing Pulse, repel my tears,
Blot out this Imagery of Joy and pain,
10 These mix'd emotions that confuse my Brain,
Which poetry it selfe cannot reveal,
Which only he could raise, and I can feel.

He comes! -- 'twas nothing but the rustling Wind,
He has forgot, is faithless, is unkind --
15 While expectation rends my labouring mind.

before 1 Ye soft Idea's leave this wounded struck out.
4 altered from If thou indeed art powerfull and Divine
right/ altered from power
before 5 Bring struck out.
6 Wishes/ altered from passions
10 confuse/ altered from perplex
11 poetry it selfe/ altered from even poetry
12 could...can/ altered from can...could

12 Cf. "What is this Secret you'd so fain impart?", line 73, above p. 581.
Can all the pleasures that he brings me pay
For the long sighing of this tedious day?
Thou watchfull Taper by whose silent Light
I lonely pass the melancholy night,

Thou faithfull Witness of my secret pain
To whom alone I venture to complain

18-21 From Congreve's "To a Candle. Elegy" (Works, ed. M. Summers, iv. 147). The same lines form the opening of a poem signed "MH" and endorsed by Lady Oxford's young daughter, "giving me ^sic^ by Miss Harcourt" (Portland MSS, Longleat, xix. 331).
This is an earlier version of the poem which follows, and which exists in a copy apparently made when Algarotti and Lady Mary were together. The two texts are sufficiently divergent to be printed separately. The rondeau strictly should have ten or thirteen lines and only two rhymes throughout; Dryden and Pope had also adapted it, Pope commenting that the form was "what I never knew practis'd in our Nation" (OED; Amphitryon, 1690, Act iv: DW, vi. 206-7; to Cromwell, 1710, Corr. i. 90).

MS: H MS 81, f. 69, Lady Mary's hand.

Between your sheets supine you sleep
Nor dream of vigils that fond Lovers keep
While wakeing I indulge the pain
Of Fruitless Passion oft declar'd in vain,
Too lively Fancy paints your Flowing Hair,
Your killing Eyes that give dispair,
The blooming Cheek, the Snowy brest
And all the charms that calmly rest
between your sheets.

4 altered from And waste the hours in wishes
before 6 Your Eyes struck out.
Ah would some God my songs inspire
With warmth to show the strong desire
Does on my heart and vitals prey
And wastes my very Soul away,
Which every Phrase must render less
And yet which I could well express

between your sheets.

10 the altered in pencil by a later hand to what
11 altered from Which wastes my very Soul away

10 variant: this suggests that one of LM's editors considered printing the poem, but thought better of it.
10-12 Based on the conclusion of Addison's version of Horace, Ode I. xiii, on jealousy:
    That show too well the warm desires,
    The silent, slow, consuming fires,
    Which on my inmost vitals prey,
    And melt my very soul away
(Remarks on Italy, 1705; Misc. Works, 1914, ii. 143; reprinted Spectator no. 171). Cf. "Miss Cooper to ----", line 13, above p. 423.
before 10 May 1739

This version shows greater luxuriance of emotion and less plagiarism from Addison but perhaps also less force than its predecessor.

MSS: H MS: 81, f. 156, Lady Mary's hand, on a battered and much-folded sheet of paper.
Bod: MS Don. c. 56, f. 36; Algarotti's hand, on a leaf also used by Lady Mary (above p. 560). No significant variants.

Between your sheets you soundly sleep
Nor dream of Vigils that we Lovers keep
While all the night, I waking sigh your name
The tender sound does every nerve inflame,
5
Imagination shews me all your charms,
The plenteous silken hair, and waxen Arms,
The well turn'd neck, and snowy rising breast
And all the Beauties that supinely rest between your sheets.

Ah Lindamira could you see my Heart,
10 How fond, how true, how free from fraudfull Art,

6 plenteous / altered from silken H MS.
10 altered from Nor Pen, nor Eyes can (?) H MS.

3-4 Cf. "Ballad to the Irish Howl", lines 1-2 (below p. 626).
6 waxen Arms: from the Horatian "cerea...brachia" (Odes, i. 13).
9 It is hard to see why LM used this romance name (cf. "See where Lindamira Lyes", below p. 728). She was perhaps recalling a line from Aureng-Zebe, Act V: "Oh, Indamora, you would break my heart!" (Dryden, DW, iv. 159).
The warmest glances poorly doe explain
The eager wish, the melting throbbing pain
Which through my very blood and soul I feel,
Which you cannot beleive nor I reveal,
Which every Metaphor must render less
And yet (methinks) which I could well express
between your sheets.

13 I feel / altered from beleive H MS.
This rondeau was probably written in the 1720s or 1730s, in any case before Lady Mary left England.

MS: H MS 81, f. 56, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 226; 1837, iii. 413; 1861, ii. 492.

Finish, these Languors make me sick,
   Of dying airs I know the Trick,
Long since I've learnt to well explain
Th'unmeaning Cant of Fire and pain
And see thrō all the senseless Lyes
Of burning darts from killing Eyes,
I'm tir'd with this continual Rout
Of bowing low and leading out,
   Finish

Finish this tedious dangling Trade
By which so many Fools are made
For Fools they are, who you can please
With such affected <arts> as these.

Title: Song. -- Rondeau. eds.
1 Finish these languors! Oh I'm sick! 1803, 1837 prints comma for 2nd exclamation-mark; 1861 omits it and inserts one after airs (line 2).
4 Th'unmeaning / altered from The sensel MS.
5 the senseless / altered from th'affected MS.
8 bowing low / altered from artfull sighs MS.
after 8, 16 Finish, &c. eds.
11 who / whom eds.
12 With / By eds; <arts> could be airs as in eds.
At Operas <?> to stand

And slyly press the given hand,

Thus you may wait whole years in vain

But sure you would, were you in pain,

Finish.

13 Operas <?> opera near my box eds.
14 Thus you may wait struck out MS.
15 you may / may you eds.
This piece is dated like the preceding poem.

MS: H MS 81, f. 170, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 224-5; 1837, iii. 412; 1861, ii. 491-2.

Why should you think I live unpleas'd
Because I am not pleas'd with you?
My Mind is not so far diseas'd
To yeild when pouder'd Fops persue.

5 My Vanity can find no charm
In common prostituted vows
Nor can you raise a wish that's warm
In one that your true value knows.

While cold and careless thus I shun
The Buz and Flutter that you make
Perhaps some giddy Girl may run
To catch the Prize that I forsake.

So brightly shines the glittering Glare
In unexperienced children's Eyes
When they with little Arts ensnare
The <Tawdry> painted <butt>erflys.

Title / Song. eds.
16 <Tawdry> / gaudy eds.
While they with Pride a Conquest boast
And think the Chase deserving Fame
Those scorn the useless Toil it cost
Who're us'd to more substantial Game.
This poem is assumed to be Lady Mary's own because unfinished. It may, but does not necessarily, refer to a lover of hers.

MS: H MS 81, f. 153, Lady Mary's hand.

Why beats my heart at that ungratefull Name,
Source of my Pain, and Author of my Shame?
Too much my Folly, and my Crime I know
And on my Cheek unbidden blushes glow.

Where now the Transport us'd to warm my Breast
With kindling Hope and eager wishes blest?
With mutual Joy (for so I thought) we met;
Where are those hours? -- that now I must forget.

Come back with blooming Joy and pleasures crown'd

6 question-mark editorial; could be placed after line 5.
8 those/ altered from the

4 The spacing on the page suggests that Lady Mary intended stanzas rather than simple couplets.
Apollo and Daphne

before July 1739

For comparison with other burlesques of this incident from Metamorphoses, i, see above p. 88. This poem (which, from the corrections, must be Lady Mary's own) is preceded and followed in her album by her copies of two other versions. The first, headed "The Fable of Daphne and Apollo", is one of several poems by Prior which Lady Mary apparently copied from manuscript (Works, i. 413-17). The last, headed "Ballad", goes to the popular tune of "Packington's Pound". It was probably written before 1711, and was published in The Hive, 1727 (pp. 226-7). Lady Mary must have read Tickell's "To Apollo making Love. From Monsieur Fontenelle" (1709: Poems, 1779, p. 146), perhaps also Fontenelle's original ("Sonnet", Oeuvres diverses, La Haye, 1728, ii. 166-7). Another rendering of Fontenelle appeared in the London Magazine, August 1737, p. 448.

The occasion of this verse might be any of Oxenden's more notorious affairs: see headnote to "Unhappy fair, by fatal love betrayed" and note to lines 17-18 of "When rolling time brings on the golden hour" (above pp. 555, 590).

MS: H MS 255, f. 28, copied by Lady Mary after 1723.

I am, cry'd Apollo, and run as he spoke
But the skittish young Damsel ne'er turn'd back to look,
I am the great God Tenedos Adores
And Delos does also acknowledge my power.

2 ne'er turn'd back/ altered from never turn'd her

1 Cf. Tickell's first line: "I am, cry'd Apollo, when Daphne he woo'd".
Round my Head the Sun beams you may glittering see
And no man alive can make Ballads like me,
All Physic I know -- she mended her pace
And his Godhead halfe tir'd was quitting the Chase.

Had Apollo known Women, as well as I know 'em,
He would not have talk'd of a potion or poem
But he had appear'd in O/xenden's Shape,
By my Soul little Daphne had suffer'd the Rape.

Sun altered from Sun's

My Life for't that struck out; I'll Answer that struck out.

Cf. Tickell:
At the dreadful word physic, the nymph fled more fast;
At the fatal word physic she doubled her haste.

For this concealed reference to her own sex, cf. the opening of

The spectacle of other women succumbing to worthless men was
one that often roused LM to indignation (e.g. 1723, Letters, ii.
33-34).

variant: Cf. Tickell's punch-line: "And, my life for't, the damsel
will fly to thy arms."
A billet to invite to Suppers

Lady Mary probably addressed this invitation to Hervey; she continued to urge him to rest from ambition even when she was too far away to offer him supper (below p. 633ff.). If so, the verse must date from his time as Vice-Chamberlain. He is strongly suggested by lines 5-6, although Lady Mary had other ambitious friends and could have intended even Walpole himself. She headed the verse with her monogram, MWM—suggestive though not conclusive evidence of authorship, see above p. 210.

MS: H MS 255, f. 76, Lady Mary's hand.

Come ---- and pertake my Frugal meal,
Some easy moments from Ambition steal,
Here you may freely laugh where you despise
And shew the Honest Soul without Disguise;

And if you please, be an establish'd Rule
At every Supper sacrifice a Fool
Yet free our mirth from any real offence
Still true to Freindship, modesty and sense.

5 be: possibly a slip for "by"? Otherwise "be it" must be understood.
Lady Mary did not invent this character but adapted it from "A Familiar Epistle", by Robert Wolseley, and "A Familiar Answer" by William Wharton, with one couplet from Wolseley's "A Second Familiar Epistle" (PAS, 1698, pp. 1-14; Appendix I, pp. 748, 750). For her habit of extensive borrowing, see above p. 89. She must have been writing of one of Walpole's satellites who was well known to her. A likely candidate is Sir William Yonge; she kept songs by him and called him "a very contemptible Puppy" (H MS 255, ff. 13-14; Letters, iii. 187).

Printed: 1803, v. 157-8; 1837, iii. 374; 1861, ii. 458-9.

Though a strong vanity may you persuade
You are not for a politician made;
Your tropes are drawn from Robin Walpole's head,
Your sense is but repeating what he said;

An useful puppy, eminently known,
As proud to father what he will not own.
Some arguments he leaves you to expose,
So valets flutter in my lord's old clothes.
But, should he strip you of his borro'd sense,

How poorly thin your boasted eloquence!
Know your own talents better, I advise;
Be brisk, yet dull, but aim not to look wise:
In low insipid rhimes place your delight,
Laugh without jests, and without reading write.

Printed: 1803, v. 157-8; 1837, iii. 374; 1861, ii. 458-9.
Despis'd by men, in ladies' ruels sit,
Where country coquettes bolster up your wit.
May all your minuets applauses meet!
An able coxcomb only in your feet.
By fawning lies, in leagues with court-knaves grow,
And smile on beauties, whom you do not know.
Then, acting all the coyness of a lover,
Your no-intrigue endeavour to discover.
Aiming at wit, in many an evil hour,
Have the perpetual will without the power.
Conceit for breeding, rude for easy take,
Horseplay for wit, and noise for mirth mistake.
Love's perfect joys to perfect men belong;
Seek you but the occasion for a song.
Thus to the end of life may you remain
A merry blockhead, treacherous and vain.

27-28 Borrowed from Wolseley's "A Second Familiar Epistle" (PAS, 1698, p. 14).
The date depends on the identity of Mr. Hxxd and Kate. Lady Mary knew one such couple in James Hammond and Catherine Dashwood (above p. 528), but any objections she had to their proposed match rested on quite different grounds. Another possibility is the marriage, on 8 Nov. 1739 (after Lady Mary's departure from England), of the Hon. Charles Howard (1720-86, who in 1777 became 10th Duke of Norfolk) to Katherine Brockholes (1718-80). A squib of this sort could have been attributed to Lady Mary without sufficient cause. She complained about such a situation in Nov. 1724 (Letters, ii. 42); but see above for acceptance of Dallaway's attributions.

Printed: 1803, v. 227; 1837, iii. 413; 1861, ii. 492-3.

Since you, Mr. Hxxd, will marry black Kate,
Accept of good wishes for that blessed state:
May you fight all the day like a dog and a cat,
And yet ev'ry year produce a new brat.

Fal la!

May she never be honest -- you never be sound;
May her tongue like a clapper be heard a mile round;
Till abandon'd by joy, and deserted by grace,
You hang yourselves both in the very same place.

Fal la!

clapper: a pun is no doubt intended.
Lady Mary obviously wrote this verse during one of Walpole's periods of acute struggle with his political enemies: before George I's death, or 1733-4, or perhaps 1737-8, while she was also producing The Nonsense of Common-Sense on the Prime Minister's behalf. It was a common fable convention, deriving from Aesop, to open with a reference to the supposed distant era when animals could speak.

Printed: 1803, v. 234-5; 1837, iii. 417; 1861, ii. 495-6.

In ancient days when ev'ry brute
To human privilege had right;
Could reason, wrangle, or dispute,
As well as scratch, and tear, and bite.

When Phoebus shone his brightest ray,
The rip'ning corn his pow'r confess'd;
His cheering beams made Nature gay,
The eagle in his warmth was blest.

But mal-contents e'en then arose
The birds who love the dolesome night;
The darkest grove with care they chose,
And there caball'd against the light.

Phoebus is presumably the King, and the eagle Walpole, though LM felt such admiration as is expressed in the last stanza exclusively for the latter. If by Phoebus she means Walpole, the eagle becomes hard to place.
The screech-owl, with ill-boding cry,
    Portends strange things, old women say:

            15
      Stops ev'ry fool that passes by,
    And frights the school-boy from his play.

The raven and the double bat,
    With families of owls combine;

            20
    In close consult they rail and chat,
    And curse aloud the glorious shine.

While the great planet, all serene,
    Heedless pursues his destin'd way;

    He asks not what these murmurs mean,
    But runs his course, and gives us day.

---

13-14  IM later commented on "the noise of that harmless animal distinguished by the odious name of screech-owl" (Letters, iii. 269). If the bird here signifies a particular person it must be a leader of the Opposition journalistic campaign, perhaps Pulteney.

17  The raven is difficult to identify. The bat may be Bolingbroke, whom IM regarded as doubly a turncoat; cf. "a Trimmer like a Bat will be eaten by Beasts and Birds" (CB, f. 8).

18  families of owls: if the verse is late enough, perhaps Cobham's "cousinhood" of young patriots.
Lady Mary must have written this couplet long before she transcribed it if, as Dallaway says, it was shown to Pope. As Fielding did in "Canto 2d", lines 127-8 (H MS 81, f. 173), she turns against Pope his own lines on Settle:

When you, like Orpheus, strike the warbling Lyre,
Attentive Blocks stand round you, and admire
(To the Author of a Poem, intitled, Successio", 1712: Twickenham, vi. 15-16).

MS: CB, f. 7, copied by Lady Mary during the 1750s.
Printed: 1803, i. 74 (Dallaway's "Memoir"); 1837, i. xli.

Sure Pope like Orpheus was alike inspir'd,
The Blocks, and Beasts flock'd round them and admir'd.
Epigram to L. H.  

1720s or 1730s

L. H. may be Lady Hervey, between whom and Lady Mary there was no love lost; in any case the verse probably belongs to Lady Mary's years in London. Beside the title she wrote "MWM" (cf. p. 210).

MS: H MS 255, f. 77, copied by Lady Mary after 1738.

When Lyce enters so exactly dress'd
My last year's Habit is her constant Jest,
Lyce with reason you my cloaths upbraid,
They are old fashion'd, but my Bills are paid.

LM's personal expenses (about £160 p. a. in the 1720s, of which £100 went on clothes: Halsband, p. 124) were very low for one of her rank. This epigram, in the tradition of satire on insolvent courtiers (cf. Peter Dixon, The World of Pope's Satires, 1968, pp. 92-93), suggests that her reputation for slovenliness was connected with her own or her husband's meanness.
This verse tag, spoken by the heroine's father, closes Lady Mary's prose comedy *Simplicity*, actually adapted from Marivaux's *Le Jeu d'amour et du hasard*, 1730. The play is written in her relatively early hand.

MS: H Ms 80, f. 187, Lady Mary's hand.

Would men when to a riper judgment grown
Kindly Forgive the Follys once their own
The Name of Parent children would revere
And view with kindness when not forc'd by Fear.

1 altered from Would all old men remember they were young
2 Forgive/ altered from indulge

4 LM later believed that her daughter was "the only Woman (perhaps I might say person) that never was either frightened or cheated into any thing by your parents" (*Letters*, iii. 26).
This fragment occurs in Lady Mary's letter to Algarotti from the foot of the Alps on her way to meet him in Venice. Her crossing was made only a few weeks before that of Horace Walpole, who wrote to West a description of the "noble roaring scene" which he thought might sound "too bombast and too romantic" (Corr. xiii. 181-2).

MS: Bod. MS Don. c. 56, f. 67, Lady Mary's hand.

Such soft Idea's all my pains beguile
The Alps are levell'd, and the Desarts smile.
These pendant Rocks, and ever during snow,
These rolling Torrents that eternal Flow,
Amidst this Chaos that around me lyes
I only hear your voice, and see your Eyes.

1 Such altered from These MS.
3 snow altered from snows MS.
Hymn to the Moon
written in July in an Arbor

Lady Mary mentioned this poem (see above, p. 194) to Algarotti in 1758; "the Copy of the Ode you desir'd" had gone astray, and she supplied its place with another, noting in the margin of her letter, "Hymn to the Moon" (Letters, iii. 150). It was only one of her poems kept by Algarotti which he valued highly enough to print. The Abbe' Conti's translation must have been made before Lady Mary left Venice in August 1740; his versions were published in 1756, and she did not return to Venice until September of that year. The July of the title could be that of 1736, when Lady Mary and Algarotti were together.

MSS: H MS: 256, f. 22, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
Cornell: p. 8, corrected by Spence.
Printed: 1750: L. Mag., May, p. 230, as by Lady Mary.
1764-5: Algarotti, Opere, Leghorn, vii. 70-71, as part of his "Pensieri Diversi", with a graceful introduction:

Di moltissime belle composizioni arrichì ella la sua lingua; di un'oda tra le altre alla Luna di atteggiam ento greco. La voltò l'Abate Conti in verso Italiano; e una tal versione fa nascere negli amanti della Poesia Inglese maggior desiderio di vederne l'originale. Eccolo.

1768, pp. 77-78; 1803, v. 218 (reprinted in Specimens of British Poetesses, 1825, p. 199); 1837, iii. 407; 1861, ii. 487.
In 1803, 1837, and 1861 it is accompanied by Conti's Italian version, wrongly headed "Translated By Herself".

Thou silver Deity of secret Night
Direct my footsteps through the Woodland Shade,
Thou conscious Witness of unknown delight,
The Lovers Guardian, and the Muses Aid.

Title: Hymn to the Moon 1750, 1768-1861.
By thy pale beams I solitary rove,
    To thee my tender Greife confide,
Serenely sweet you gild the silent Grove
    My Freind, my Goddess and my Guide.

Even thee fair Queen from thy amazing height

The Charms of young Endimion drew
Veil'd with the Mantle of concealing Night
    With all thy Greatness, and thy Coldness too.

9 The story of the moon's love for the young shepherd Endymion is probably invoked as a comparison with LM's for Algarotti.

11 with 7 in 1764-5.
These verses are dated from Conti's translation (see headnote to preceding poem). Lady Mary kept copies of a group of French verse fables all in the same (unidentified) hand (H MS ol, ff. 241-85 passim), including three slightly differing but very closely related renderings of these lines. One of them was printed in 1803 as "Translated by herself", but nothing in the surviving manuscripts indicates that it is by Lady Mary. The French is slightly more expanded than the English. The existence of the differing versions suggests that they were based on Lady Mary's, rather than the other way round. See below p. 723.

MSS: H MS: 256, ff. 16-17, Lady Mary's hand.
Cornell: p. 6.
1768, pp. 75-76 (reprinted L. Mag., Feb. 1768, p. 98); 1803, v. 241 (with translation); 1837, iii. 421; 1861, ii. 498-9.
1952: Shenstone's Miscellany 1759-1763, ed. I. A. Gordon, p. 102, "communicated by Mr Percy", as by Lady Mary. Variants not noted here.

See how that pair of billing Doves
With open Murmurs own their Loves;
And heedless of censorious Eyes,
Persue their unpolluted Joys.

5
No fears of Future Want molest
The downy Quiet of their Nest,
No Interest join'd the happy Pair
Securely blest in Nature's Care,
While her dear dictates they persue,

For Constancy is Nature too.

Can all the Doctrine of our Schools

Our Moral Maxims, our Religious Rules,

Can Learning to our Lives ensure

Virtue so bright, or Bliss so pure?

The great Creator's happy Hand

Virtue and Pleasure ever blends,

In vain the Church and Court have try'd

Th' united Essence to divide;

Alike they find their wild mistake

The Pedant Priest, and Giddy Rake.

---

9 her dear dictates  her dictates 1861.
12 Our Moral Maxims  Our maxims Aug. 1750-1861.
15 Hand  ends eds.

19-20 Conti in his translation omits the criticism of the Church, giving a "Stoico severo" as counterpart to the rake (Prose e poesie, ii, 1756, p. xxii).
The name omitted from the title was probably that of Hervey, whose tedious and demanding post at court Lady Mary by now disapproved—or else Algarotti's. She wrote this passage at Venice (line 6). Hervey thanked her on 2 November and 31 Dec. 1739 for letters from there, the first dated 3 Oct. O.S., in his second letter he mentioned the presence of Algarotti. Lady Mary left Venice about 13 August N.S., 1740 (Letters, ii. 151, 160, 167, 202).


Let mules and asses in that circle tread,
And proud of trappings toss a feather'd head;
Leave you the stupid business of the state,
Strive to be happy, and despise the great:

Come where the Graces guide the gentle day,
Where Venus rules amidst her native sea,
Where at her altar gallantries appear,
And even Wisdom dares not shew severe.

1-2 LM had written during the 1720s: "We go on cheerfully with our Bells at our Ears, ornamented with Ribands and highly contented with our present condition" (Letters, ii. 66). Hervey said of Hampton Court in 1733, "No mill-horses ever went in a more constant, true or a more unchanging circle" (Ilchester, p. 169).

6ff. Cf. "But chief her shrine where naked Venus keepe" (Dunciad, iv. 307). Venice was also called "the brothel of Europe" (Twickenham, v. 374 note). LM wrote approvingly to Lady Pomfret of the permissive Venetian society (Letters, ii. 159).
The 5th ode of Horace imitated before 8 Feb. 1741

This ode (I. v) was a favourite for translators, e.g. The Weekly Medley. And Literary Journal, 29 Nov. 1729; GM, June 1736, p. 352; Walpole, Corr. xiii. 135-6. Lady Mary wrote her translation (apparently uninfluenced by others, see above, p. 85) probably during the 1720s, but certainly some time before leaving Rome (Letters, ii. 226), where the Cornell copy was made for Spence.

MSS: H MS: 256, f. 20, Lady Mary's hand.
1768, pp. 100-1; 1803, v. 203-4; 1837, iii. 400-1; 1861, ii. 481-2.
1952: Shenstone's Miscellany, pp. 102-3, as by Lady Mary. Variants not noted.
For whom are now your Airs put on?
And what new Beauty doom'd to be undone?

That careless Elegance of Dress
This Essence that perfumes the Wind

5 Your every motion does confess
Some secret Conquest is design'd.

Alas the poor unhappy Maid
To what a train of ills betraid!
What fears! what pangs shall rend her Breast!

10 How will her eyes dissolve in Tears!

1 For altered from From H MS.
2 Beauty beauty's eds.
5 every very 1750-1803.
That now with glowing Joy is blest,
    Charm'd with the faithless vows she hears.

So the young Sailor on the Summer Sea
Gaily persues his destin'd way,

    Fearless and careless on the deck he stands
    Till sudden storms arise, and Thunders rowl,
    In vain he casts his Eye to distant Lands,
    Distracting Terror tears his timorous Soul.

For me, secure I view the raging Main,
Past are my Dangers, and forgot my Pain,

    My Votive Tablet in the temple shews
    The Monument of Folly past,
    I paid the bounteous God my gratefull vows
    Who snatch'd from Ruin sav'd me at the last.

17 Eyes ed.

Ballad

before 8 Feb. 1741

to the Irish Howl

The ballad (for which see above, p. 184) is dated, like the preceding poem, by Spence's copy. "The Irish Howl" was a popular tune.

MSS: H MS: 256, ff. 21-22, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
Printed: 1749: L. Mag., June, pp. 284-5, as by Lady Mary.

To that dear Nymph whose powerfull Name
Does ev'ry throbbing Nerve inflame
(As the soft sound I low repeat
My pulse unequal measures beat)

Whose Eyes I never more shall see
That once so sweetly shin'd on me,
Go Gentle Wind and kindly bear
My tender wishes to the fair,

Oh ho, ho, etc.

Amidst her pleasures let her know

The secret Anguish of my Woe

The midnight pang, the Jealous Hell

Title: Ballad to the Irish Howl
A Ballad To the Tune of the Irish Howl
6 me Cornell, eds.
8 Oh Ho Cornell, eds (and after other stanzas).
11 Jealous zealous 1803, 1805.

1-2 Cf. "Between your sheets you soundly sleep", lines 3-4, above p. 600.
7-8 Cf. "Go gentle Gales, and bear my Sighs away!" (Pope, "Autumn", line 17 etc.: Twickenham, i. 82-83.)
Does in this tortur'd bosom dwell
While laughing she, and full of play
Is with her young Companions gay
Or hearing in some fragrant bower
Her Lovers sighs, and Beauty's power,
Oh ho, ho etc.

Lost and forgotten may I be,
Oh may no pitying thought of me
Disturb the Joy that she may find
When Love is crown'd, and fortune kind.
May that blest Swain (whom yet I hate)
Be proud of his distinguish'd Fate;
Each happy Night be like the first
And she be blest, as I am curst,
Oh ho, ho etc.

While in these pathless Woods I stray
And lose my Solitary way,
Talk to the Stars, to Trees complain
And tell the senseless rocks my pain,
But madness spares that sacred Name

14 Is with contemporary query in margin, Cornell.
16 sighs sigh eds.
24 she he Cornell, eds.
28 rocks Woods Cornell, eds.
29 that the 1768-1861.
30 Nor dares the hidden wound proclaim
Which secret rankling, sure, and slow
Shall close in endless peace my Woe.
Oh ho, ho etc.

When this fond Heart shall ake no more
And all the ills of Life are o'er
(If Gods by Lovers' prayers are mov'd,
As ev'ry God in Heaven has lov'd)
Instead of bright Elyzian Joys
That unknown something in the skies
In recompence of all my pain

40 The only Heaven I would obtain,
May I the Guardian of her charms
Preserve that Paradise from harms.

---

40 I would I'd 1803-1861.

after 40 Ho ho ho etc. Cornell.

33 Cf. "When this rebellious heart shall beat no more" (Eloisa to Abelard, line 346).
Lady Mary wrote many of her letters to Algarotti in her fluent though incorrect French; she seems to have felt the language lent itself to self-revelation. Halsband states: "This poem could have been written and sent to Algarotti at almost any time during the first phase of their friendship" ("Algarotti", p. 240).

MS: Municipal Library, Treviso, no. 1259; Lady Mary's hand, among Algarotti's papers.

C'en est fait, je me cede, soumettons-nous au sort --
Et vous Raison! quittez vos inutiles efforts --
En soupirs, en regrets, et d'erreurs, en desirs,
Je promene mon esprit, et je fonde en plaisirs.

C'est ridicule vous dites -- j'en conviens, mais helas!
La sagesse des humains aussi ne l'est elle pas?
C'est une Folie sans doute, mais ma Folie m'est chere --
Preceptes, et Refllections, je vous prie de vous taire.

Ces Princes, ces Ministres dont on vantent le Genie
Qui consument en vain projets, des jours plein d'ennuy,
Eh sont-ils donc Sage, et moi je suis Folle
Quand je forme dans ma tete un Aimable Idole?

Mais j'enrage (je l'avoue) quand mon Coeur me dit bas
Songez v bien Manon, il vous aimerois pas,

Title altered from A mon Indifference MS.
1 C'en est fait altered from Ce n'est plus MS.
3 En altered from Dans MS; et probably slip for en MS.
13 Mais altered from Je suis MS.
14 Manon altered from Ma belle MS.
Jugez en par son Air, jugez en par vous mesme,
On se connoit que trop en Amour quand on aime
— De cette triste verité ma gloire est offensé —
Je l'oublie, et Philante n'est plus dans ma pensee.

16 On altered from Oui MS.
Probably, though not certainly, the "Youth" of this poem (see above p. 132) is Algarotti and the friend addressed is Hervey -- Lady Mary's only confidant in this affair, when even her old friend Lady Stafford was kept in the dark (Murray MSS).

MS: H MS 81, f. 68, Lady Mary's hand.

So often seen, it should be nothing new,
That miracles can be perform'd by you;
And yet surpriz'd I read these pleasing lines;
Where lively Wit, in native sweetness shines,

5 My long-lost spirit you know how to raise,
And tho' I would not like, you force my praise.
Beyond my Praise, you force my Friendship too,
I feel the Gratitude, you make your due,
And warmly wish that Heaven would shew the way

10 At any price that Gratitude to pay. --
But if there is a pleasure that proceeds
From recollection of good natur'd deeds
May that be thine, -- may every joy attend,
The generous Heart that knows to be a Friend,

15 Can view my weakness with indulgent Eyes
And sooth a Folly which you must despise.

8 you / altered from is

16 Cf. "Wednesday", line 66, and a poem to Algarotti and probably by Hervey, line 14 (pp. 560, 619).
My artless thanks ('tis all I can) receive;
And Blessings, such as wretched Bankrupts give.

The Gods (If Gods can destiny controul,
And view the strugglings of a grateful Soul)
May point some path, as yet unguessed by me,
To do a service worthy thanks from thee.

But you, of every Grace, and Good, possess'd,
Can feel no want, nor be (like me) distress'd.

O let me learn the happy courtly Art
To please my Eyes, and not engage my Heart --
Too late, alas! is made this fond request,
The Fatal Form too deeply is impress'd.

This Youth (Delightfull Vision of a day!)
Has snatch'd my reason, and my Soul away.

Lethean Draughts my Quiet must restore,
O were I wafted to that silent Shore
Where I should sigh, and he should charm no more.

20 view altered from see
27 altered from Too deep the charming Im
31 altered from The Streams of Leth

Perhaps LM is recalling a song of which she kept two copies (ascribing it to the Earl of Sussex); she later echoed the same two lines in a letter:

New Beauties may my eyes imploy
But you engage my heart
(H MS 81, f. 12; H MS 255, f. 20; Letters, ii. 188). Cf. also "Monday", lines 57-58, above p. 348.

31-33 A parallel to Hervey's "Monimia to Philocles":
No -- grief shall swell my sails, and speed me o'er (Despair my pilot) to that quiet shore
Where I can trust, and thou betray no more
(Dodsley's Collection, iv, 1755, p. 88; LM's copy H MS 255, f. 48).
The friend was probably Hervey, who had written to Lady Mary on 27/16 May 1741 on the pleasures of retirement, but continued to cling to office. In June 1741 Lady Mary was in Genoa, having parted from Algarotti at Turin in May.

MS: H MS 256, f. 56, Lady Mary's hand.

But happy you from the Contagion free
Thro' all her Vails can Human Nature see,
Calm you reflect amidst the Frantic Scene
On the low views of those mistaken men,
Who lose the short invaluable Hour
Through Dirt persuing Schemes of distant Power,
Whose best Enjoyments never pay the Chase;
But melt like Snow, within the warm Embrace.
Believe me Freind (for such indeed are you,
Dear to my Heart, and to my Int'rest true)
Too much already have you thrown away,
Too long sustain'd the labour of the Day.

Title: The conclusion...wrote 1741 from Italy/ Conclusion...sent from Italy, 1741. 1803-1861.
2 Thro' all her Vails// Who, thro' her veil, 1803-1861.
3 amidst// amid 1803-1861.
8 the// a 1803-1861.
4 If the "mistaken men" are those who sought to bring down Walpole, they included LM's husband; Hervey himself deserted shortly before Walpole's fall.
Enjoy the Remnant of declining Light
Nor wait for Rest, till overwhelmed in Night,

By present Pleasure, pay the Pains are past,
Forget all Systems, and indulge your Taste.

15 pay the Pains are \( \_ \) balance pain you've 1803-1861.
To the Same

Sept. 1741-May 1742

The "Same" is probably Hervey (see headnote to preceding poem, which this follows in the album). The first line suggests that Lady Mary was still debating where to settle amid the gathering clouds of European war. Between these dates she tried Genoa, Geneva, Chambéry, Lyons, and finally Avignon.

MS: H MS 256, f. 56, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 253; 1837, iii. 426; 1861, ii. 503.
1966: Letters, ii. 239.

Where ever Fortune points my Destin'd Way,
If my Capricious Stars ordain my Stay
In Gilded Palace, or in Rural Scene;
While Breath shall animate this frail Machine
My Heart sincere which never Flatt'ry knew
Shall consecrate its warmest Sighs to you.

A Monarch compass'd by a Suppliant Croud,
Prompt to obey, and in his Praises loud;
Amongst those thousands on his Smiles depend
Perhaps has no disinterested Freind.

6 Sighs wish 1803-1861.
9 Amongst...on his/ Among...who on 1803-1861.
7-8 From Prior, Solomon, iii. 281-2, 324 (Works, i. 369, 370).
This verse forms part of a letter of 1 June 1742 to James Stuart Mackenzie (1719-1800), brother of Lady Mary's son-in-law, with whom she had struck up a friendship while he was travelling abroad. Her exhortation, "do not deny your selfe the only recompence that perhaps you ever will receive", led her to break into verse.

MS: Bute MS, Lady Mary's hand.

The secret praise of your own conscious mind.
The Victor's shout not halfe that pleasure brings,
Nor thanks from Senates, nor the smiles of Kings.
These in all ages partially bestow'd,
To Chance, or to Intrigue, are often ow'd.
The calm applause of selfe-reflecting Thought
No Art can gain, nor by no Bribe is bought.

........................................

On Meaner Men, their meaner Gifts they shower,
To Walpole Riches, and to Carteret Power.

3 Mackenzie had been elected M.P. for Argyll in Feb.

after 7 LM continued in prose: "I beleive you will think me in the right to dress up in Poetry a thought that seems so romantick, but it is not less my opinion in plain prose, and I think so highly of that inward aprobation that I look upon it as reserv'd for Heaven's peculiar Favourites."

9 Walpole, whose place as Prime Minister had just been taken by Carteret, had built up a fortune during his time in office.
This poem is another of Lady Mary's adaptations, condensed from Creech's translation of Juvenal's 13th satire (see pp. 91, 751) at some time after 1734 (line 34 and note). She probably adapted Creech to fit an actual calamity suffered by an actual friend. Dallaway's title for the poem implies that the recipient was Hervey; but he may simply have invented this heading. If Hervey is involved, the latest possible date would be that of his humiliation in the summer of 1742, after the fall of his master Walpole, when Pulteney finally ousted him from his office of Lord Privy Seal (Lord Ilchester, Henry Fox, First Lord Holland, 1920, i. 84-85). Pulteney was an orator (line 40), a rich man (lines 43, 50), and had fought a duel with Hervey (line 54); but all these lines Lady Mary found in her original.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 166-7, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 149-52 (one variant in 1805 reprint); 1837, iii. 370-2; 1861, ii. 455-6.

Thô old in ill, the Traitor sure shall find
Some secret sting transfix the guilty mind
Thô Bribes or favor may protect his Fame
Or Fear restrain invectives on his Name;
None quits himselfe; his own impartial Thought
Shall damn, and Conscience shall record the Fault.

Yet more; (my Freind) thy happy state may bear

This disappointment as below thy Care,
For what you have, return to Heaven thy Thanks,
10 Few share the Prizes, numbers draw the Blanks,
Of Breach of promise loudly you complain!
Have you then known the World so long in vain?
Worse than the Iron age, our impious Times
Have learn'd to laugh at most flagitious Crimes.
15 Are you to know that 'tis a jest to find
Unthinking Honesty or'espread thy mind?
At best, they say, the Man is strangely odd,
Will keep his Oath, and can beleive a God.
This was the Cant when Edward fill'd the Throne,
20 Before Spinosa wrote, or Hobbes was known,
When the Gilt Bible was the Kings delight,
When pray'r preceded Day, and Hymns the night,
No softening Eunuchs sung Italian Airs,
No danceing Dame to midnight Ball repairs.
25 Now if an Honest man (like thee) I view
Contemning Interest, and to Virtu true

---

10 numbers many eds.
11 Breach of promise: Hervey may have been given some guarantee in consideration of his desertion of Walpole.
20 Spinosa (1632-77); Hobbes (1588-1679), who maintained that self-interest governs human actions.
23 The effeminating influence of the Italian opera and its castrato singers was a favourite theme of moralists, though not elsewhere of LM.
I think he deviates from Nature's rules
Like burning Hills, or petrifying pools,
I stand astonish'd at the strange portent

And think some Revolution the Event
As all grave heads were startled when they hear'd
A new found Comet in the West appear'd,
When from a Human Mother Rabbits sprung
And Ward his pills like hand granado's flung

And gratis scatter'd Cures amidst the Croud,
A Miracle! -- as Ch---- swears aloud.
A Greater miracle I daily see;
The Ancient Faith of Pious reigns in thee!

Observe the Wretch who has that Faith forsook
How clear his voice, and how assur'd his look!
Like Innocence and as serenely bold;
Conscious protection of allmighty Gold!

And thus he reasons to releive his Fears,
Oft I deceiv'd, yet still have kept my Ears,

27 think / deem eds.
28 Hills, or / altered from Mountains MS.
31 heads / altered from minds MS; when / as eds.
32 A new found / That a new eds.
35 And gratis scatter'd / When gratis scattering eds.
36 Ch---- / Charteris eds.
38 Pious reigns / Pius reign eds.
before 42 He borrows / struck out MS.
43 And / Whilst 1803, 1837; While 1861.
44 I / I've eds.

32 A comet of great brightness appeared in 1737.
33 The claim of Mary Toft or Tofts (1701-63) to have given birth to live, dead, and fragmentary rabbits was a nine days' wonder in Nov. 1727, deceiving even the educated.
34 Cf. "His Pills, as thick as Hand Granados flew" (Roscommon, Essay On Translated Verse, 1684, p. 17). Joshua Ward (1685-1761) returned from exile early in 1734, and was soon after reported as distributing his cure-all pills free to the poor.
36 Charles Churchill (see p. 70) acquired some fame as a publicist of Ward's pill (e.g. GM, Dec. 1734, p. 699).

(Cont.)
I have been threaten'd for a Broken vow;
And yet successfully have laugh'd till now,
And will laugh on, my Fortune's not the worse,
When starveing cullys rail or vainly curse.

Shall then the Villain 'scape, such Knaves as he
Be rich and safe, and from all Vengeance free?
Consider Freind, and you when cool will find,
Revenge the Frailty of a Feeble mind,
Nor think he 'scapes thô he should never feel
The pangs of Poyson, or the force of Steel.

There is a time when Conscience shakes the Soul,
When Toland's tenets cannot Fear controul,
When secret Anguish fills the Anxious breast
Not stop'd by Busyness, nor compos'd by rest.
Then Dreams invade, the Injur'd Gods appear
All arm'd with Thunder and awake his Fear.
The Wretch will start at ev'ry Flash that flys,
Grow pale at the first murmur of the skys,
Then if a Fever fires corrupted Blood
In ev'ry fit he feels the Hand of God,

Trembling and sunk into the last despair
He dares not offer one repenting pray'r,

\[\text{successfully} \quad \text{successively 1805-1861.}\]
\[\text{and you when cool will} \quad \text{but coolly, and you'll eds.}\]
\[\text{Not stop'd by} \quad \text{Vacant from eds.}\]

\[\text{Cf. "Monday", line 53 (p. 348 above).}\]
\[\text{variant: "Pious" is certainly an adjective and "reigns" a noun.}\]
\[\text{Cf. Creech, lines 156 ("Be cool, my Freind"), 242-3; also LM's}\]
\[\text{remark in 1726, that "Revenge has so few joys for me, I shall never}\]
\[\text{lose so much time as to undertake it" (Letters, ii. 65).}\]
\[\text{John Toland (1670-1722), controversialist and deist: a parallel}\]
\[\text{to Creech's "Epicurus" (line 293).}\]
For how can Hope with Desperate Guilt agree?
And the worst Beast is worthier Life than He.

This at the Best will be his certain Fate

70 Or Heaven may sooner think his Crimes compleat.
Answer to an impromptu Song

address'd to me at Avignon by the Count — — to the same Tune.

This may have been written at any time during Lady Mary's residence at Avignon (Letters, ii. 277, 375).

MS: H MS 256, f. 59, Lady Mary's hand.

Chantez, chantez vostre tendresse,

Arachez moi mon Coeur par Force ou par Adresse,

Tachez de le gagner, pour moi je le permets,

Je n'ai point encore fait d'Efforts pour le defendre

Mais vous n'avez pas scu le prendre

Et ferez aussi bien de m'en parler jamais.

The conventions of gallantry were still supplying LM with beseigers of her heart even a dozen years after this (Letters, iii. 122).
Lady Mary was at Louvere in Dec. 1754 and apparently stayed there throughout 1755. She may have taken the idea for her opening lines from *Aurang-Zebe*, Act IV (Dryden, *DW*, iv. 138). See above, p. 58.

MS: H MS 256, f. 57, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 254; 1837, iii. 426; 1861, ii. 503.

Wisdom! slow product of experience'd Years,
The only Fruit that Life's cold Winter bears!
Thy sacred seeds in vain in Youth we lay
By the Fierce storms of Passion torn away;
Should some remain in a rich Generous Soil
They long lie hid, and must be rais'd with Toil;
Faintly they struggle with inclement skies,
No sooner born, than the poor Planter dyes.

---

Title Written at Louvere, 1755, eds.
1 experience'd laborious eds.
4 storms storm eds.

6-8 IM has synthesized two quotations: John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's
    Men toil for Fame, which no Man lives to find;
    Long ripening under-ground this China lies;
    Fame bears no Fruit, till the vain Planter dies,
    and Congreve's
    No sooner born, but the Vile Parent dies
("On Mr. Hobbs and his Writings", *Works*, 1723, i. 181; last line of *The Double Dealer*, 1694).
This stanza forms part of Lady Mary's French fairy-tale of the wicked fairy Carabosse; it comes in a passage of "Galanterie" addressed to the princess Docile by a young sea captain who has taken her ship from the Turks. Halsband dates the tale from Lady Mary's residence near Brescia (p. 254); she was certainly abroad (since an unknown foreign hand alternates with hers in the manuscript) and at leisure, in view of its length.

MS: H MS 80, f. 340, Lady Mary's late hand.

Cedez a la douce tendresse,
   Aimez dans la jeune saison,
  Écoutez l'amour qui vous presse,
   Laissez murmurer la raison.

4 The captain continues: "c'est la Rime qui me force a dire cette dernière Parole, au fonds, elle est fort mal placée et la vraie Raison conduit a suivre les mouvements du Cœur".
This fragment occupies the verso of Lady Mary's English letter addressed to Margaret of Navarre (also unfinished), dedicating to her a romance (Halsband, p. 253).

MS: H MS 78, f. 12, Lady Mary's hand.

Her equal Mind, when Prosperous days began
And In full Tides her Happy Fortune ran
No Joy o're flow'd, And in her Lucklesse Years
The Worst ill fortune could not draw her Tears,

Frail chance! thy smiles could only give her Fear
Too well predicting that the Change was near,
That Change, foreseen, she smile'd to see
And mock'd thy rage

3 And altered from nor
before Ill Fate could never draw her struck out.
8 thy altered from by

1 Her: Perhaps Margaret of Navarre, or the heroine of LM's romance, or LM herself.
This ironical paean (see above p. 73) was addressed to Fulke Greville (c. 1717-c. 1806), who reached Venice by 30 May 1757 and left soon before 9 Oct. He presented Lady Mary with a copy of "his curious Book", Maxims, Characters, and Reflections, Critical, Satyrical, and Moral (1756). To her daughter she commented, "Since the Days of the Honorable Mr. Edward Howard, nothing has ever been publish'd like it. I told him the Age wanted an Earl of Dorset to celebrate it properly, and he was so well pleas'd with that speech that he visited me every day" (Letters, iii. 127, 137). In composing this verse Lady Mary clearly had in mind Dorset's "To the Honourable Mr. Howard, On his incomparable, incomprehensible poem, called The British Princess". As Greville accepted her ironic comment in conversation, he may have accepted her poem as the praise it pretends to be.

MS: H MS 81, f. 61, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 154-5; 1837, iii. 372-3; 1861, ii. 457.

For ever blest be the prolific Brain
Could not this store of Images contain,

Title / To Mr. ——— eds.
1 the the that eds.
2 Could not this / Which can such eds.

1-10 Greville is very fond of the image of the mind as fertile ground; it recurs in many of his maxims, including the first and last. LM alludes particularly to the ingenuous opening of his "Preface": "Every one, I believe, has his moments of reflection; I have had mine. My mind has frequently been filled with images...These ideas I found it difficult wholly to retain, and wholly to dismiss; they were continually recurring, though not without some confusion, because they were continually increasing; so that I was at length urged, by a kind of necessity, to throw them out upon paper merely that I might relieve my memory, and indulge my imagination in new pursuits without distraction. When they were once written, I felt the same desire to discharge them from my cabinet, as I had felt to discharge them from my mind; and as I had before thrown out my thoughts upon paper, I have now thrown my papers into the world" (pp. iii-iv).
Such various Talents were by Heaven design'd
(Too vast a Treasure for a single mind!)
To please, astonish, and instruct Mankind.

Thus the charg'd Trees with blooming odors crown'd
Shed their fair Blossoms with profusion round,
The rich manure improves the barren Ground.
So swells the Brook with heaven descended Rain
And flows meandering on the thirsty Plain.

With a delight, not to be told, I view
Themes long exhausted, in your Hands grow new.
Past all describing, your descriptions are
So full, so just, so wild and regular.

The Style so vary'd that it wants a Name,
Which ever differing, ever is the same.
You raise, or calm our Passions, as you please,
The Human Heart your powerfull Pen obeys,
When eager Trasimond persues the Course,

We hear the Whip, and see the Foaming Horse,
With soft Sophronia, we have wept and smile'd
So soon offended, sooner reconcil'd.

Go on, great Author, that the World may see,
How bright, when from Pedantic fetters free
True Genius shines, and shines alone in thee.

Give new Editions, with a noble Scorn
Of Insect Critics would Obscure thy Morn,
Neglect their Censures, nor thy Work delay,
The Owls still sicken at the sight of Day.

21 With soft Sophronia^/ With Sophronia 1861.
24 altered from How Genius shines MS.
27 Critics would_/ critics, who'd eds.

21-22 Greville tells a lengthy anecdote of Sophronia. Her lover sees a small fault in her which he is too delicate to mention, but she guesses and corrects it; each then becomes miserable about being unworthy of the other, but after tears and mutual self-reproaches they are reconciled (pp. 201-7). In the 2nd edition Greville omitted this character "partly in compliance with the tastes and opinions of some particular persons" (p. xxii).

23 Cf. another satirical poem on Edward Howard, by "Dr. S": "Go forth, great Author, for the World's delight" (Dryden's Miscellany, iii. 163).

23-29 LM's conclusion refers to Greville's comparison of sense and genius: "SENSE, like a winged insect, flutters through the mists that surround this dark spot at a small distance from its surface; GENIUS, like a planet, takes a wide circuit through the pure expanse of nature, and visits not regions only, but whole worlds which SENSE does not know to exist" (pp. 266-7).

26-27 In his "Preface" Greville promised to heed criticism by alterations to any subsequent edition. The 2nd was published in 1757 "with Alterations Additions and explanatory Notes". Greville had already shown sensitivity to criticism, concluding his work with the quotation from Plutarch "STRIKE, BUT HEAR ME." He now added some self-justification in the notes and a "Preface To the Second Edition By the Editor" which compares critics to insects (p. xxii).
Writing to Sir James Steuart, Lady Mary repeats a remark made in a letter to her daughter about three years earlier, perhaps in prose. That letter, now lost, survives only as copied by an amanuensis in Italian translation; it can be dated 1755 by its criticism of Sir Charles Grandison. The relevant sentence reads "Mostratemi un Uomo in tutto lo Catalogo de Sapienti; che per una Donna volta almeno non sia stato matto" (H MS 81, f. 301).

Lady Mary apologizes thus for her couplet: "I beg your pardon for these verses, but I have a right to scribble all that comes at my pen's end...."

Show me that man of wit in all your roll
Whom some one woman has not made a fool.
This fragment occurs in a letter to Sir James Steuart, dated 19 July 1759, which may have taken some time to write, since Lady Mary kept a summary of it dated 8 Aug. (Letters, iii. 215 and n. 1, 218 and n. 4). The verse is introduced by the words, "Apropos of beauties!" and followed by the comment: "You will not doubt I am talking of a puppet-shew, and indeed so I am, but the figures (some of them) bigger than the life, and not stuffed with straw like those commonly shewn at fairs."

I know not why, but Heaven has sent this way
A nymph fair, kind, poetical and gay;
And what is more (tho' I express it dully),
A noble, wise, right honorable cully;
A soldier worthy of the name he bears,
As brave and senseless as the sword he wears.

2ff. For the people referred to see Letters, iii. 136, 163, 180, 193, 197, 214.
6 LM borrowed this line from "Advice to a Painter, 1697" (PAS, 1703, p. 431).
This unfinished piece is hard to date. Line 6 harks back to Lady Mary's childhood, but is contradicted by latish handwriting and the married signature "Ma.W" on the same leaf. The reference to admiration in line 8 suggests a fairly early date; but cf. above, p. 642. The note of despair recalls the poems written during Lady Mary's infatuation with Algarotti; the opening line echoes "October 1735". If, however, Lady Mary intends a parallel between herself and the exiled poet (lines 1-2) the date would be after 1739. Saint-Evremond (1610-1703) spent the last thirty years of his life in exile in England.

MS: inside cover of Saint-Evremond's Oeuvres meslées, London, 1705, vol. i (now at Sandon Hall); Lady Mary's hand.

Exil'd, grown old, in Poverty and Pain;
Philosophy could calm the Poet's Breast:
But Oh! what cure for those who wish in Vain?
What Lesson is it must restore my Rest?

Let others court the mighty Idol Fame;
Let all the World forget Clarinda's Name,
I could lose all that Avarice requires
Or all that Beauty that the World admires,
This only greife I cannot bear or cure,

The firmness of my Soul gives way,
Some pitying Power behold what I endure

6 LM's nom de plume in H MS 251, used for her later by Mary Astell (H MS 81, ff. 112-13). Cf. "The Adventurer", lines 110-11, p. 264.
The Fourth Ode of the First Book of Horace, Imitated

"Solvitur acris hyems grata vice veris," &c.

This fairly exact translation (see above p. 84) could have been made at any time. As a girl Lady Mary had twice used a triplet-stanza.

Printed: 1803, v. 201-2 (one variant in 1805 reprint); 1837, iii. 399-400; 1861, ii. 480-1.

Sharp winter now dissolved, the linnets sing,
The grateful breath of pleasing Zephyrs bring
The welcome joys of long desired spring.

The gallies now for open sea prepare,
The herds forsake their stalls for balmy air,
The fields adorn'd with green th'approaching sun declare.

In shining nights the charming Venus leads
Her troop of Graces, and her lovely maids
Who gaily trip the ground in myrtle shades.

The blazing forge her husband Vulcan heats,
And thunderlike the labouring hammer beats,
While toiling Cyclops every stroke repeats.

Of myrtle new the chearful wreath compose,
Or various flowers which opening spring bestows,
Till coming June presents the blushing rose.

Or of 1861.
Pay your vow'd offering to God Faunus' bower!
Then, happy Sestius, seize the present hour,
'Tis all that nature leaves to mortal power.

The equal hand of strong impartial fate,
Levels the peasant and th'imperious great,
Nor will that doom on human projects wait.

To the dark mansions of the senseless dead,
With daily steps our destined path we tread,
Realms still unknown, of which so much is said.

Ended your schemes of pleasure and of pride,
In joyous feasts no one will there preside,
Torn from your Lycidas beloved side;

Whose tender youth does now our eyes engage,
And soon will give in his maturer age,
Sighs to our virgins -- to our matrons rage.

Here text follows 1805, 1837; 1803 has Lycida's and ends with a full stop; 1861 Lycidas' and full stop.
30 matrons // matron's 1803.
A Motto to a Graveing

representing the Death of William Rufus

The date of this couplet depends on the identity of the engraving.

MS: H MS 256, f. 56, copied by Lady Mary after 1741.

Behold with Joy, the Heaven-directed Reed;
A Tyrant dying, and a Nation Freed!
VERSE OF DOUBTFUL AUTHORSHIP

Some of these poems have been ascribed to Lady Mary, but with inconclusive supporting evidence. Others appear among her manuscripts, but bear no claim to authorship and could be copies of other people's work.
Lady Mary could have written this poem, but the ending suggests a young man recently at university.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 186-9, Lady Mary's early hand (?), scrawled as if in haste.

At length the tedious Prologue's done
And the short farce of Life's begun
Yet undismay'd I'll tread the stage,
No ill success my fears presage,
To shine requires but little skill
Where halfe the Actors are so ill,
Yet Eere I lay down rules of art,
First let me pitch upon my part.

Copious Fancy fleeting Queen

Who conducts the various Scene
In thy airy Care receive me,
Let not Books and rules deceive me,
On my mind let in the day,
Wide extend the visual ray,
With unbounded power endow'd,
Place me high on yonder Cloud,
Give me there at once to view
All the Paths that men persue,
Give me Judgment to decree

Which is fitted most for me.

11 thy altered from your
13 in altered from early
Tis done; no sooner had I cry'd
Than fancy heard me and comply'd,
First on my dilated mind
She a country Scene design'd,

25 A Mansion large and Garden fair,
Art and Nature joyning there,
Fair proportion grace the Dome,
Such my Station might become,
Winding Woods and fragrant Bowrs,

Tempting fruits and blooming flowrs,
Waving Harvests, lively green,
Blest and grac'd the beauteous Scene
In artless order all dispos'd
The view untir'd with pleasure clos'd.

35 Place me (I cry'd) oh place me there,
Make that rural spot my Care,
Censure and Impertinence,
Envy, Pride fly far from thence,
There Plenty greets us with a smile
And harmless sports our time beguile,

40 Age comes welcome there as Night
And with pleasures weary'd quite
My Freindly close of day is blest
Which warns us of our hour of rest.

45 Of rest indeed Quoth fancy smileing,
Rest which there the mind beguileing
Sooths it with its idle Joys
And all its hours in vain employs.
Court others' good before thy own

Nor yet think halfe your task is done,
Pleasures have retreats like these,
Idle rest, Ignoble Ease.
Age claims this prerogative
Which to enjoy you first must live

Else 'twere to seek with fruitless Care
The Hospital before the War,
Twere at mid day to shut out light
And go to Bed before tis night
Which yet this curse of Sloth confess'd in
You'd but grow tird instead of resting.
Fancy had reason, so had I,
Unwilling I took off my Eye
Yet oft look'd back and sigh'd to hear
How long before I should come there.

London next she pointed out,
I started at the clamorous rout,
Yet in my Ear Birds seem'd to call
And murmuring Cascades to fall
Or notes still liv'd of Jovial Swains
Returning with their latest wanes.
The voice of Envy shock'd my Ear
And Discord fill'd my mind with fear,
Ambition stalking Giant like
A terror on my mind did strike,

Greiv'd I beheld the motly mixture

And wonder'd at the strange contexture,
The noisy Rake who fond of fame
Would purchase it with Oaths and Game,
The vain Coquette her Airs display
Her little Antick Empire Sway,

Who hates all others that have writ,
The Prude discreet who frowns by rule
Who fools a Lover, Loves a fool.

The nameless thing made up for Shew
The one halfe Rake the other Beau,
Society's cheif bane and curse
Whose folly than his pride is worse,
The moralist of strict reserve

Who comes in company t'observe,
Mark down behaviours not to mend,
If they can rail they have their End,
For Company polite are these,
All ranks of Men have their degrees.

Such scenes before my mind were brought
As far surpass'd my Youthfull thought,
When here's the stage I have to act in,
This is the straw I must be packd in.

Good fancy stop thee in thy Course

Nor shew me more lest that prove worse.

77-92 Cf. the catalogue in "Look round (my Soul)" (above pp. 250-2).
Thou shalt no longer lead the dance,
Henceforth I will be ruld by Chance,
And thou if I have strove t'obey
Thy precept and receive thy sway

105

Fair Seat where Pallas keeps her Court,
Grace of Brittain and support,
O give \textit{me} for my Guides from hence
Virtue, Wisdom, Innocence,
So shall I safely steer my way

110

With such Directors who can stray?
Seat of Learning and of Peace,
Never may thy Blessings cease,
Let no Strife or Envy vex thee
Or Ambition e're perplex thee,

115

Blooming h\textit{onour} still attend thee
And thy own fair worth defend thee.
Ever may the Grace divine
On thy Just Endeavors Shine
And after times as I have done

120

Blessing thy Name thy Influence own.

\textit{107 for} altered from \textit{<fancy>}
\textit{110 Question-mark editorial.}
31 July 1718

Scraps of verse from Lady Mary's letters are doubtfully attributed to her unless they are accompanied by hints, for she quoted widely and without warning.

MS: H MS 253, ff. 427, 429, Lady Mary's hand, in an Embassy Letter to the Abbé Conti.

Printed: 1763: Letters Of the Right Honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e, iii. 56; 1803, iii. 272, 273; 1837, ii. 60, 61; 1861, i. 375, 376.

1965: Letters, i. 416, 417.

The swimming lover and the nightly Bride,
How Hero lov'd, and how Leander dy'd.

..............

Where Juno once carres'd her Amorous Jove
And the World's Master lay subdu'd by Love.

1-2 Of the Hellespont.
3-4 Of Mount Ida.
This answer to Pope's "Epigram on Celia [The Duchess of Queensberry]" was ascribed to Lady Mary in Stowe MS. The Twickenham editors think this attribution "almost certainly" mere gossip (vi. 444), but it cannot be disregarded. The Burney MS assigns the epigram and answer to "Lady Kitty Hyde". Since Lady Catherine became Duchess of Queensberry on 10 March 1720, this suggests an earlier date for both epigrams than 1726, which is given in Twickenham.

MSS: Stowe: BM Stowe 970, f. 54, as by Lady Mary.
   Add: BM Add. 28101 (Cowper Miscellany), f. 211.
   Ballard: Bod. Ballard 50, f. 49.
   Burney: BM Burney 523, f. 121.
1954: Twickenham, vi. 444.

Had Pope a person equall to his Mind
How fatal wou'd he be to Womankind
But Nature which doth all things well ordain
Defac'd the Image and inrich'd the Brain.

Title / On Mr Pope....Add; The Answer Ballard, Ketton; Lady Kitty's
   Answer Burney; Epigram on Maro 1741.
1 Were Maro's person equal to his Mind Add, Ballard, Burney, 1741.
2 he / it Add, Ballard, Burney, Ketton; to / for Add.
3 which doth / which does Add; who doth Ballard, Burney; who does Ketton.
4 Deform'd the Image to enrich the Brain Add; Deform'd the Body, but / and Ketton/ enrich'd the Brain Ballard, Burney, Ketton, 1741.

Pope wrote to LM in 1716: "this Body of mine...is as ill-matchd to my Mind as any wife to her husband" (Corr. i. 369).
A Lamentable Story how a vertuous Lady had like to have been Ravished by her Sister's Footman.

To the Tune of The Children in the Wood.

For Mrs. Murray's experience, see above p. 412. Lady Lansdowne wrote from Paris on 5 Dec.: "We have here an excellent new ballad, sent from England by the lady herself [Mrs. Murray] to her dear friend Lady [Mar]." (Henrietta Howard, Lady Suffolk, Letters, 1824, i. 84-85). The ballad differs in attitude as well as in style from Lady Mary's acknowledged verse on this subject. In Dec. 1721 Lady Lansdowne did not know the author -- neither, perhaps, did Mrs. Murray. If the latter did suspect, she must have had some reason for sending a copy to Lady Mary's sister without allowing her suspicion to become public. By March 1725, however, she was convince'd that I had made the Ballad upon her, and was resolv'd never to speak to me again. I answer'd (which was true) that I utterly defy'd her to have any one single proofe of my making it, without being able to get any thing from her but repetitions that she knew it. I can't suppose that any thing you [Lady Mar] have said should occasion this Rupture.

Lady Mary concludes that the quarrel is "superlatively silly (if she really knew it) after a suspension of Resentment for two year together" (Letters, ii. 49-50). Contemporary opinion thus assigned the ballad to Lady Mary, as did, fifty years later, the editor of Additions to Pope and Horace Walpole (G. Sherburn, HLQ, i, 1938, p. 482). R. Halsband in his article sharing the title of this verse concludes that the case is "Not Proven" (History Today, Oct. 1967, p. 700). Lady Mary's refusal to plead clearly "not guilty" cannot but appear significant.

MS: BM Harley MS 7316, ff. 137-8; transcript, in an unknown hand and unascribed, in one of Lord Oxford's notebooks. It is followed by a copy of the Arthur Gray epistle which Lady Mary probably did not write (Appendix I, p. 733).

Printed: 1722: Virtue in Danger: Or Arthur Gray's last Farewell to the World. Written by a Gentleman at St. James's; (Tune,
of Chivy Chase.) The Huntington Library, California, holds a unique copy of this undated broadside ballad. Reprinted in Select Trials At The...Old-Bailey, 1742, i. 102-5.


1776: Additions to the Works of Pope, i. 176-82; as by Lady Mary.

1

Now ponder well ye Ladys fair,

These words that I shall write,

I'le tell a Tale shall make you stare

Of a poor Lady's fright.

2

5 She lay'd her down all in her Bed;

And soon began to snore;

It never came into her head

To lock her Chamber door.

3

A Footman of her Sister dear,

10 A Sturdy Scot was he

Without a Sense of Godly fear,

Bethought him wickedly.

9 Sister 7 Sisters 1722.

1-2 Cf. the opening of "The Children in the Wood":
Now ponder well ye Parents dear,
These Words which I shall write

(A Collection of old Ballads, 1723, p. 221).

7-8 At Gray's trial some time was devoted to the catch and lock on Mrs. Murray's door (Select Trials, pp. 98-101).
4

Thought he this Lady Lyes alone,
   I like her comely face,
15 It would most gallantly be done,
   Her body to embrace.

5

In order to this bold Attempt
   He ran up Stairs apace;
While the poor Lady nothing dreamt
20 Or dream't it was his Grace.

6

The Candle flaring in her Eyes
   Made her full soon awake,
He scorn'd to do it by Surprize,
25 Or her a Sleeping take.

7

A Sword he had and it hard by
   A thing appear'd with all
Which we for very Modesty
   A Pistol chuse to call.

---
19 the she, 1723; this 1776.
21 flaring flaming 1723.
25 it hard by hard by it 1723.
25-28 Omitted 1722.

20 his Grace; identified by Walpole as the Duke of Athol (Sherburn, HIQ, i. 482).
8

This Pistol in one had he took
And thus began to woo her,
Oh how this tender Creature shooke
When he presented to her!

9

Lady quoth he, I must obtain
For I have lov'd you long;
Would you know how my heart you gaind
You had it for a Song.

10

Resolve to quench my present flame
Or you shall murderd he:
It were those pretty Eyes fair Dame
That first have murder'd me.

11

The Lady Lookt with fear around,
As in her Bed she lay,
And tho' half dying in a Swound,
Thus to her Self did say.

29 This His 1722.
31 Oh Lord 1776.
34 you thee 1723.
38 shall must 1776.
39 were was eds.

36 Gay called her "sweet-tongu'd Murray" in "Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece" (Works, p. 165).
12
Who rashly judge (it is a Rule)
    Do often judge amiss,
I thought this fellow was a Fool,
    But there's some Sense in this.

13
She then recover'd heart of grace,
    And did to him reply,
Sure Arthur you've forgot your place,
    Or know not that 'tis I.

14
Do you consider who it is
    That you thus rudely treat:
'Tis not for scoundrel Scrubs to wish
    To tast their Master's Meat.

15
Tut, tut quoth he, I do not care;
    And so pull'd down the Clothes:
Uncover'd lay the Lady fair
    From bubbys to her toes.

52 Or know ah who am I written in MS as alternative reading.
59 the/ this 1722, 1723.
60 At bubbys unto toes MS alternative; From Bubby to the Toes 1722;
    From bubbies down to toes 1723; From bosom down to toes 1776.
55-56 Cf. Mrs. Slipslop in Joseph Andrews: "I am not Meat for a Foot-
    man I hope" (IV. i).
O Arthur, cover me, She said,
    Or sure I shall get cold:
Which presently the Rogue obey'd;
    He could not hear her Scold.

He lay'd his Sword close by her side;
    Her heart went pit a pat:
You've but one weapon left She cry'd,
    Sure I can deal with that.

She saw the Looby frighted stand,
    Out of the Bed jumpt She,
Catch'd hold of his so furious hand:
    A Sight it was to See!

His Pistol hand she held fast clos'd
    As She remembers well;
But how the other was dispos'd
    There's none alive can tell.

stand\footnote{, straight, 1722.}
20

The Sword full to his heart she lay'd,
   But yet did not him Slay;
For when he saw the Shining blade
   G-d wot he run away.

21

When She was sure the Knave was gone
   Out of her Father's Hall,
This vertuous Lady straight begun
   Most grievously to bawl.

22

In came Papa and Mama dear,
   Who wonder'd to behold:
Out Grisle! What a noise is here!
   Why stand you in the Cold?

23

Mama She said (and then She wept)
   I have a Battle won;
But if that I had soundly Slept,
   My honour had been gone.

78 And yet him did not slay 1776.
A Footman of my Sister, he --

A footman? cry'd Mama,

Dear Daughter, this must never be,

Z--ds we must go to Law.

This Lady's fame shall ever last

And live in British Song:

For She was like Lucretia chast,

And eke was much more strong.

---

93 Sister / Sisters 1722.

96 Z--ds we must / And we not 1722, 1723.

Halsband recounts the legal proceedings, op. cit.

99-100 A deflation of "And with fam'd Lucrece let her vye in Glory"

(verse in praise of Mrs. Murray printed in The Weekly Journal;
or, British Gazetteer, 21 Oct. 1721)
On a Lady mistaking a Dying Trader for a Dying Lover. before spring 1723

On Mrs. Lowther, Lord Lonsdale's Sister.

The title summarises the occasion of this poem, of which Lady Mary apparently kept no copy. The heroine of the episode quarrelled with her for no discernible reason "except she fancy'd me the Author or Abettor of 2 vile ballads written on her Dying Adventure, which I am so innocent of, I never saw" (May 1723, Letters, ii. 23). This piece, however, is no ballad, and about its authorship contemporary tradition, represented by Spence and Lord Oxford's scribe, must be allowed at least possibly right. Jane Lowther died unmarried in 1752.

MSS: BM Harl: Harley MS 7316, ff. 167-8, scribal hand, as by Lady Mary.


Longleat: Portland MS xviii. 48, shorter (18-line) version, unattributed.

Cornell: separate sheet in Spence's own hand, later bound in with the volume of Lady Mary's poems, ascribed to her; 31-line version.

Printed: 1729: James Ralph, Miscellaneous Poems, By Several Hands, pp. 277-9.


1776: Additions to Pope, i. 173-5, as by Lady Mary.

As Chloris on her downy Pillow lay
'Twixt sleep and wake the morning slid away,
Soft at her Chamber door a tap she heard,

Title On Mrs Jane Lowther, and the Person who Dyed for her Longleat;
On Mrs Lowther Cornell: The Disappointed Lady 1729, 1749.

1 Chloris Cloe BM Add, Longleat.
2 sleep and wake wake and sleep BM Add.
3 she was 1729, 1776.

1 Cf. an otherwise unrelated song beginning "As Cynthia on her downy pillow lay" (Bod. MS Rawl. po. 152, ff. 171-2).
She listen'd, and again, no one appear'd.

Who's there? the sprightly Nymph with courage cries.

Ma'am 'tis one who for your La'ship dies.

Sure 'Tis delusion! what a dying Lover,

Yet speak once more, what is't you say however.

A second time, these Accents pierc'd the air,

Sweet was the sound, transported was the Fair.

At length mankind are just, her La'ship said,

Threw on her Gown, and stepping out of Bed

Look'd in her Glass, confess'd him in the right.

Who thinks me not a Beauty 'tis mere spite.

"Assemble you Coquets! with envy burn

"To see the wonders that my eyes have done.

4 Another -- and a third -- yet none appear'd Longleat; punctuation editorial.
5 sprightly/ curious Longleat; Nymph/ Dame Cornell; question-mark editorial.
6 Ma'am 'tis one/ Mem, 'tis the Man 1729, 1749.
7 delusion/ Illusion Longleat.
8 say however/ want however Longleat, Cornell, 1729, 1749; say, discover 1776.
9 these Accents pierc'd the air/ those accents pierc'd the air BM Add, altered from her ear/ Cornell; her Ears the Words receiv'd Longleat; these Accents pierc'd her Ear 1729; those accents pierc'd her ear 1749.
10 With the soft Accent, pleasingly deceiv'd Longleat.
11 are/ Is BM Add.
12 Threw/ Throws BM Add; Slips Longleat; Drew 1749.
13 in her...in the/ in the...in the BM Add, 1729, 1749; on the...in the Cornell; in her...to be 1776.
14 For when all's done -- we've all our Inclination Longleat.
15-25 omitted, Longleat.
16 you...burn/ ye...own 1729; ye...burn 1749; ye...frown 1776.
17 To see...that/ To see...which BM Add; For see...which Cornell; And view...which 1749.
18 The mighty Wonders, which these Eyes have done 1729.

LM was ironic among the spiteful: "Your old Freind Mrs. Louther is still fair and young and in pale pink every night in the parks" (Letters, ii. 23).
"In vain your pert and forward airs you try,
"Mankind the more you Court the farther fly
"And 'tis for me and only me they dye.

But how shall I receive him? cry'd the dame,
Prudence allows not pitty, I must blame,
Perhaps poor Soul! has sigh'd in Secret long
E'er the presumptuous thought fell from his tongue.

I am the cause yet Innocent by Heav'n,

Why were these Eyes for such destruction giv'n?
'Tis not my fault, I did not make one feature.
Then turn'd the look to view the dying Creature.
But ah! who should the enamour'd Swain now prove,
A wretch who dyes by Trade and not by Love.

No mortal pen can figure her surprize
Willing to trust her Ears but not her Eyes,
The approaching Storm her swelling bosom show'd
A while now pale, then Red with anger glow'd,
She wept, she rav'd, invok'd the powers above

Who give no Ear when old Maids talk of Love,

17 your pert...airs / you prate...airs BM Add; the best /with query/
...
air Cornell.
20 cry'd / coy 1729; cries 1749; question-mark editorial.
22 has / he has BM Add, 1749, 1776; he Cornell, 1729.
23 fell from / escap'd 1775.
24 yet / itt /sic/ BM Add.
25 question-mark editorial.
27 turn'd the look / turn'd the lock BM Add, Cornell, 1749; turns the
Key Longleat; turn'd the Key 1729; turn'd her look 1776.

after 27 Longleat concludes with the couplet;
Who bowing low, with most obsequious Tone,
Madam, said he, I've just brought home your Gown.

29 who dyes by...by / who dyes by...for BM Add; that dy'd by...by
Cornell; who dy'd by...for 1729, 1749.
31 trust / belive BM Add; Cornell, 1749, end here.
32 show'd / shows BM Add.
33 A while now pale...glow'd / Now pale a while...glows BM Add.
35 give / lend BM Add.
Fruitless her prayers and impotent her rage  
Yet fierce as when two Females do engage.  
At length the fire was spent, all was serene,  
A calm succeeded this tempestuous Scene  
And thus She spoke.

"Ye blooming Maids! let my example prove  
"How oft your Sex mistaken are in Love,  
"When young we're cruel and with beauty play  
"Which while we vainly Parly fades away,  
"When old, to increase the rigour of our fate  
"We wish and talk of Lovers when too late  
"As idle travellers who've lost the day  
"And hope in Night throu' shades to find the way  
"Forlorn they tread the thorny paths in vain,  
Not of themselves but their hard fate complain,  
"So peevish Maids when past their youthful bloom  
"On sad remains and fancy'd charms presume,  
"Lonely they wander, no companion find,  
"Then rail and quarrel with all humankind.  
"But let us to our selves for once be just  
"And see our own decays and wrinkles first,
"When e'er to melting sighs we lend an ear

"Think youth and beauty make the Man sincere,

"No other powers their stubborn hearts can move,

"Did ever Vertue light the torch of Love?

"From sad experience I this truth declare,

"I'm now abandon'd, thô I once was Fair."

57 When e'er / Then -- Ere BM Add.
58 Man / Men 1729, 1776.
59 powers / Pow'r 1729; hearts / Hart BM Add.
If Lady Mary composed the song, she must have done so before it was printed.

MS: H MS 255, f. 29, copied by Lady Mary after 1723.
Printed: 1723: The Hive [dated 1724], p. 185, first two stanzas only.

Quickly Delia learn my passion,
Lose not pleasure to be proud,
Courtship draws on Observation
And the whispers of the Croud.

5 Soon or late you'll hear a Lover
Avoid it how you can,
I won't the Joy discover,
Let me then be the Man.

In such a young beginner
10 I hate this formal Cant,
You spoil a Charming Sinner
To make an Aukard Saint.

Nor by time his truth can prove; 1723.
Ages won't a heart discover, 1723.
Trust, and so secure my love. 1723 (last line).
The copyist of this song ascribed it to "Ly M. Wortley" — an ascription which carries some weight as it comes from the collection of friends of Lady Mary. On the verso of the same sheet another hand copied a poem entitled "On the Scituation of Chatsworth. Sept. 1727" (also in BM Harley MS 7318, f. 14).

MS: Portland MS (Longleat), xvii. 73; unknown hand.

Wither soever thou shalt rove,  
Oh bear me with thee in thy mind;  
If walking in some Shady Grove,  
Or on a Bank of Flowers reclin'd;  
Still let my Faithfull Image be  
Retir'd amongst the Shade with thee.  
When perch'd upon some piercing Thorn,  
The Nightingale renews her Strain;  
Let it remind thee, how forlorn,  
When thou art absent, I complain:  
Or when You see the Widow'd Dove,  
Think I like her Implore my Love.  
If You should wander, where some Brook  
Does on the Pebbles murm'ring flow;  
As on the Silver Stream You look,  
Think how I weep oppress'd with Woe.  
And should its Current want Supplies,  
I could recruit it from my Eyes.
As You behold the setting Ray
   Tremble upon the lower Sky;
The Solemn Gloom of closing Day,
   May represent me to thy Eye:
For Languid, as departing Light,
Am I, when banish'd from thy Sight.

Think, as among the Spreading Leaves
   You Listen to the whispering Breeze,
How with Soft Sighs my Bosom heaves,
   When I lament my ruin'd Peace:
Calm is my Grief, as Silent Showers;
Or Dews, that hang on painted Flowers.
Epigram

On Lord and Lady H———

This epigram is related to one by J. B. Rousseau, "La Peine Inutile" (Œuvres choisies, 1714, i. 229-30). In his version the husband, far from showing off his wife, suffers miserable jealousy; but the conclusion is the same:

Eh! mon Ami, ne pren point tant de peine,
Tu serois bien Cocu sans tout cela.

Lady Mary kept a translation by Hervey of another of Rousseau's epigrams, that "contre les Femmes" (H MS 255, f. 30; Bristol MSS 53/1, p. 506; Rousseau, Œuvres, i. 228); he and his wife are the most likely subjects for this wit. Lady Mary had complained of their fondness soon after their marriage; she was always a close friend of the husband though not of the wife, upon whose complexion and popularity she made acid comments in 1725 (Letters, ii. 8, 48, 56).

Hervey became a lord on the death of his elder brother on 14 Nov. 1723. This epigram probably dates from before his serious illness and departure abroad in June 1728.

MS: H MS 255, f. 26, copied by Lady Mary after 1723.

Young Colin's Wife is oft in Public shown,
Her face he praises, and extols her Wit,
Swears all that Rosy Blossom is her own,
And she writes better, than e're Voiture writ.

I'm vex'd to see him thus perplex his Brains,
He would be cuckolded with halfe that pains.

thus altered from this

4 Lady Hervey's letters were published in 1821.
6 Sir Charles Hanbury Williams believed that Lady Hervey's "total, real indifference to mankind has hindered her ever having a lover" (Hervey, 1931, i. xvii).
Lady Mary's copy of this verse probably pre-dates its first known printing.

MSS: H MS: 255, f. 6; Lady Mary's hand, probably copied early.
BM: Stowe MS 970, f. 52.
Printed: 1729: The Choice, pp. 4-5.
1736: The Cupid, p. 17.

Shepherd when thou seest me fly
Why should that thy fear create?
Maids may be as often shy
Out of Love, as out of Hate,

When from you I fly away
'Tis because I fear to stay.

Did I out of Hatred run
my
Lesse would be/Pain and Care
But, the Youth I love to shun,

Who can such a Tryal bear,
Who that such a Swain did see?

A Song BM, 1736.
Cruel Duty bids me go,
Gentle Love commands my stay,
Duty still to Love's a Foe,
Shall I that, or this, obey?
Duty frowns, and Cupid smiles
That defends, and this beguiles.

Ever by this Crystal Stream
I could sit, and hear thee sigh,
Ravish'd with the pleasing Dream,
Oh tis worse than Death to fly!
But the Danger is so great,
Fear gives Wings instead of Feet.

If thou lovest me, Shepherd leave me,
If I stay I am undone,
Oh thou mayst with Ease deceive me,
Prithee Charming Boy begone,
Heaven decrees that we must part,

30 He has my vow, but thou my Heart.

29 must should 1736.
30 He...vow That...Vows 1736; thou you EM, 1736.
Verses upon the Lady Abergavenny

Katherine, née Tatton, wife of the 4th Baron Abergavenny, had been surprised by her husband in bed with a friend of his. She was immediately turned out of the house and sent to London with no money, no friends to go to, and within two weeks of lying in. On 13 Nov. 1729 her misfortune was providing "the Chitt-Chatt of every Tavern, Coffe-House, and Ruelle in London"; Hervey wrote that she should be whipped and her servants hanged (to Stephen Fox, Bristol MS 47/4, pp. 88-90). After bearing her child she died, it was said of grief and shame. Her husband went on to recover £10,000 damages from the adulterer (Daily Post-Boy, 17 Feb. 1730). On 21 Dec. 1729 Hervey wrote to Lady Mary:

I would have sent you one Epitaph on Lady Ab: which I recieved with Volumes of trash but that I believe twould be like sending the Gazette to the Cabinet-Counsel to tell them News. In short 'tis so just, so easy, so unaffected and so true that I could think of nobody but your-self to be the author

(Bristol MS 47/2, pp. 51-52).

Of the many verses on Lady Abergavenny, those which follow here seem to fit Hervey's description best. He did not mean An Epistle from Calista to Altamont, about which he wrote to Lady Mary separately (below p. 765). A manuscript note on his letter identifies the poem as one printed as by Sir Charles Hanbury Williams; this poem, beginning "Ye Muses all, and pitying virgins, come", is in Lord Oxford's collection ascribed to "a Lady" (BM Harl. MS 7318, ff. 128-9; Williams, Works, i. 122-3). It is, however, unlikely that Hervey would praise as easy and unaffected a piece which cites the example of Christ's teaching "when God himself was here below". Another poem on the affair, which begins "Young, thoughtless, gay, unfortunately fair" (or in an expanded version "With native Charms adorn'd, improv'd by Art"), was variously attributed to at least four different authors, and ascribed Lady Abergavenny's death to the previous death of her honour. Hervey may or may not have been right in attributing these much less affected "Verses" to Lady Mary.

MSS: BM: Harl. MS 7318, f. 129, scribal copy, unattributed.
Longleat: Portland MS xx. 106, unknown hand, no variants, unattributed.
Oh cou'd I sooth the poor Calista's Ghost
I'd weep the hapless hours her fault has cost,
Tell the sad Tale of Her misfortunes o'er
Till hearts like mine, shou'd her hard fate deplore,

In ev'ry Face shou'd tender Grief appear
And ev'ry Gen'rous eye shou'd drop a Tear.
What breast does not a soft Compassion feel
Whose ev'ry thought's not tip'd with harden'd steel?

Is it a Crime kind Pitty to afford
And must all Copy Her inhumane Lord?
Sure now the loudest tongues may deign to cease
And let her poor remains be left in peace.
One certain Good attends the silent Grave,
There calmly rest the Monarch and the Slave,

Calista too may find that quiet there
Which a harsh merc'less World deny'd her here.
before 7 Nov. 1730

These lines were printed with excerpts from a poem which Lady Mary ascribed to Hervey (below p. 767), as "two enclosed Imitations of Horace, Ode 28 Lib. 3"— to which neither bears much resemblance. This version, said to make Horace "speak in a Christian Dialect", voices some of Lady Mary's ideas and quotes the still unpublished "Wednesday", lines 81-82, with two variants, one from Pope's transcript (above p. 361). Perhaps the newspaper had got wind of a verse contest between Lady Mary and Hervey.


While silly Beaux, and hapless Women stray
In the broad Path of Sin's destructive way,
Allur'd by luscious Baits, and gilded Toys,
To catch at sensual Pleasure's empty Joys;

"So quickly follow'd by the wretched Train
"Of cutting Shame, and Guilt's Heart-piercing Pain;
Let you and I to nobler Bliss aspire,
Warming our Hearts with pure Celestial Fire,
To taste the good, immortal Mind's Desire,

Approv'd by Reason, to Reflection sweet;
That satisfies, yet whets the Appetite;
'Twill heal our Sickness, and asswage our Pain;
Age cannot damp, nor Death put out the Flame;
Ever increasing in the Realm of Bliss,

'Till perfected in endless Happiness.
The designation "Lady M. M---" is suspicious; for Lady Mary "Lady M. W." or "M. W. M." would have been more usual. It is not known when or whether she visited Bath.


1768: pp. 102-4.

To all you ladies now at Bath,

And eke, ye beaus, to you,

With aking heart, and wat'ry eyes,

I bid my last adieu.

5 Farewel ye nymphs, who waters sip

Hot reeking from the pumps,

While music lends her friendly aid,

To cheer you from the dumps.

Farewel ye wits, who prating stand,

10 And criticise the fair;

Yourselves the joke of men of sense,

Who hate a coxcomb's air.

The opening imitates Dorset's well-known "To all you ladies now at land", but he uses a six-line stanza.
Farewel to Deard's, and all her toys,
    Which glitter in her shop,
Deluding traps to girls and boys,
    The warehouse of the fop.

Lindsay's and Hayes's both farewel,
    Where in the spacious hall,
With bounding steps, and sprightly air,
    I've led up many a ball.

Where Somerville of courteous mein,
    Was partner in the dance,
With swimming Haws, and Brownlow blithe,
    And Britton pink of France.

Poor Nash, farewel! may Fortune smile,
    Thy drooping soul revive,
My heart is full, I can no more --
    John, bid the coachman drive.

13 "Deard's Toy-Shop" at Bath is mentioned in a squib of 1728 (An Essay Against Too much Reading, p. 21). There were at least three toymen or jewellers named Deard or Deards in London at this period (Musgrave's Obituary). LM left England in 1739 with an unpaid bill owing to Elizabeth Chenevix, née Deard (Letters, ii. 357).

17 The rival assembly rooms in Bath (the second built in 1726) were owned by Mrs. Lindsay and Mrs. Hayes, later Lady Hawley (Barbeau, p. 59, n. 1).

20 LM had led up a ball at court in 1723 (Letters, ii. 31).

21-24 These people are unidentified, except "Haws", who is probably Frances Hawes (b. c. 1715), later notorious as Lady Vane. Her "Memoirs of a Lady of Quality" relate her social triumphs at Bath in her thirteenth and fourteenth years (Smollett, Peregrine Pickle, chapter lxxxviii). The Brownlow girls who were early friends of LM had all married by 1712 (Letters, i. 23; Lady E. Cust, Records of the Cust Family, ii, 1909, pp. 152-3).

25 Richard ("Beau") Nash (1674-1761).
before 1732

This could plausibly be Lady Mary's, though the ascription comes from an unknown hand. The "Mr Cavendish" of this ascription (title variant) is probably Richard Chandler, whose name was elsewhere linked with hers (above p. 438) and who took the name of Cavendish in 1752. He married in 1732.

MSS: Longleat xix: Portland MS xix. 94, unknown hand, unascribed.
Longleat xviii: Portland MS xviii. 58; different unknown hand, copied after 1752, as by Lady Mary.

Go Lovely Youth, some happier fair Address,
If she has merit you must meet Success,
On such a form none ever Coldly Gazed,
She must be Stupid or she must be pleased.

Lost to delight thus far Even I am Moved,
I see one Object worthy to be Loved,
No Longer left at Liberty to Chuse
Wish when I gaze and sigh when I refuse
Yet Arm'd with reason firmly I withstand

Your pleading Eyes, your softly pressing hand.
But Let not this Confession of my Mind
Sooth a Vain hope I shall be one day kind,

Title /
Lady Mary Wortley to Mr Cavendish on his first Addresses Long-

leat xviii.
5 thus /
so Longleat xviii.
7-10 omitted in Longleat xviii.
11 But Let not this /
Let not this free Longleat xviii.
Not like the Gay Coquet who seems to fly,
Fly's to be follow'd, Courted wou'd Comply,

A Double Meaning dwells in Every Glance
And Each denial is a Strong Advance.

Passion like mine's a Stranger to all art,
Without disguise my tounge declares my Heart,
So Lovely Youth does my Affections bear,

Soft are my Meanings and my Soul Sincere,
But least thy presence my resolves shou'd shake
And I for thee My Honour shou'd forsake
Without reserve by Every power I swore
On No Occation I wou'd see you More.

13 the Gay / a vain Longleat xviii.
21 shake / break Longleat xviii.
23 I / I've Longleat xviii.
24 you / thee Longleat xviii.

20 This echoes Congreve's translation of Ovid's Art of Love, iii:
"Mild are his /a poet's/ Manners, and his Heart sincere" (1709:
Works, iv. 106), quoted by LM in 1758 (Letters, iii. 170).
This ballad was written during Hervey's Vice-Chamberlainship (line 55). It refers to his embroilment with his mistress Miss Vane and the Prince of Wales. In Dec. 1731 Hervey, abandoned by Miss Vane for Frederick, determined to suffer this affront in silence; but by April, resenting his loss of influence with the Prince, he wrote to Miss Vane threatening to reveal her past. The scheme back-fired and Hervey remained in disgrace with all the royal family until early the next year (Ilchester, pp. 127-8; Memoirs, 1931, i. xxxix-xl). Summer 1732 is therefore a likely date; but a review of Croker's edition of the Memoirs quotes the last two lines as referring to 1736, when Hervey, now restored to Miss Vane's favour, dictated to her letters to be sent to the Prince (Quarterly Review, lxxxii, 1848, p. 523).

Perhaps on account of its scandalous nature, Dallaway apparently doubted Lady Mary's authorship of the ballad and printed it as "Among Lady M. W. Montagu's MSS." Moy Thomas, reprinting, added a note: "It is very improbable that Lady Mary wrote this poem". In fact she may equally well have written or simply transcribed it.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 48-49, Lady Mary's hand, slanting as if in haste. Printed: 1803, v. 235-9; 1837, iii. 418-19; 1861, ii. 496-7.

Ungodly papers every week
Poor simple Souls persuade
That Courtiers good for nothing are
Or but for mischeif made.

But I who know their worthy hearts
Pronounce tis we are blind
Who disapoint their honest schemes
Who would be just and kind.

Title Ballad, On a Late Occurrence. eds.
tis that eds.
For in this vile degenerate Age

Tis dang'rous to do good

Which will when I have told my Tale

Be better understood.

A puppy Gamesome blithe and young

Who plaid about the Court

Was destin'd by unlucky boys

To be their noon-day's sport.

With Flattering words they him entice'd,

Words such as much prevail, they
And then with cruel art/ty'd

A Bottle to his Tail.

Lord Harvy at a window stood

Detesting of the Fact

And cry'd aloud with all his might

I know that bottle's crack'd.

Do not to such a dirty hole

Let them your Tail apply,

Alas, you cannot know these things

One halfe so well as I.

---

13 puppy: the Prince.
20 Bottle: Miss Vane.
Harmless and young you dont suspect

The Venom of this deed

But I see through the whole design
Which is to make you bleed.

This good advice was cast away,
The puppy saw it shine

And tamely lick'd their treacherous hands
And thought himselfe grown fine.

But long he had not worn the Gemm

But as Lord Harvy said
He run and bled, the more he run

Alas the more he bled.

Greiv'd to the Soul this Gallant Lord
Tripp'd hastily down stairs
With courage and compassion fir'd
To set him free prepares.

But such was his Ingratitude
To that most noble Lord
He bit his lilly hand quite through
As he unty'd the Cord.
Next day the maids of Honour came

As I heard people tell,
They wash'd the wound with brinish tears
And yet it is not well.

Oh Generous Youth my Council take
And warlike Acts forbear,
Put on White Gloves and lead folks out
For that is your affair.

Never attempt to take away
Bottles from others' Tails
For that is what no Soul will bear

From Italy to Wales.

49-52 Parody of a stanza of Chevy Chase:
Next Day did many Widows come
Their Husbands to bewail,
They wash'd their Wounds in brinish Tears,
But all would not prevail
(quoted in Spectator, no. 74; A Collection of Old Ballads, 1723, p. 118).

55 White Gloves: equipment of the Vice-Chamberlain.
60 Wales indicates the Prince; Hervey had recently returned from Italy.
The leaf bearing these lines has been bound among poems which mostly stem from Lady Mary's friendship with Pope, but it also bears verse from 1734 (above pp. 558, 560 ). This and the following piece read as if written by a man; so do many of the doubtful songs.

MS: Pierpont Morgan MS, M.A. 347, item ' 24, Lady Mary's hand.

Venus to the courts above
Confirm'd that you were born for Love,
For this endu'd with every grace,
Minerva's wit, her own dear face,
A Heart sincere. O matchless prize
The thoughts apparent in the Eyes,
Eyes which glow with warm desire,
Melting wishes, gentle Fire.
This own'd; does your perfections prove
I am the Object of your Love?
Nor that the Fopling you commend
Whose follys warmly you defend
Is cause that quiting masks and plays
In solitude you spend your days.

10 altered from Tho
11 altered from O
12 altered from you
14 altered from I
See headnote to preceding poem.

MS: Pierpont Morgan MS, M.A. 347, item 24, Lady Mary's hand.

While languishing upon this Breast
Of all my Soul can wish possess'd
How Idle is the pomp of Kings
And all the Joys Ambition brings,

But when I think some moments more
I must from these dear arms be tore
I'd condescend a King I'd be
To make -- one Act for freeing thee.

---

Divorces were possible only through Act of Parliament.
in the Draw room to her Majesty on a Birthday

This verse could have been written in almost any year between the Queen's accession and death (if by Lady Mary, any year when she attended court). In 1734 she was at Twickenham (above p. 547). Hervey commented on the sameness of all royal birthdays (Ilchester, pp. 16-17, 144). Lady Mary had given her earlier, equally unflattering, opinion of Queen Caroline in her "Account of the Court of George the First at his Accession" (1861, i. 133-4); by this time satirical attacks on the Queen were common and violent.

MS: H MS 255, f. 75, title and corrections only in Lady Mary's hand, copied after 1738.

Thou awkward piece of ill Shap'd Clay
So meanly proud, so sensless gay;
Know solid greatness only lyes
Among the Virtuous and the wise,
5
Princes to our respect have right
When justly Stiled mankind's Delight.
The Shining Robe, and Diamonds blaze
Can't gain one mortall's real praise,
The trappings that the Queen adorn
10
Can't sheild a fool from Publick scorn.

5 respect have altered by LM from respective

1 Cf. "Thou aged Lump of lifeless Clay" (opening line of James Heywood's "To a very old Batchelor, intending to marry a very young Maid": Poems And Letters On Several Subjects, 1722, p. 29; reprinted in Fog's Weekly Journal, 14 Nov. 1730.
So have I seen a Country mare
Set out for Show at Smithfield fair,
With ribbons deck'd her flowing main,
Her tail as Ample as your Train,
15
In vain is all this Pomp displayd
For if we know the beast a Jade
She charms not the judicious eye,
Jockeys will sneer, and pass her by.

"So have I seen" recalls Dorset's lampoons on Catherine Sedley, and Pope's early imitations of them (Twickenham, vi. 49, 50).
Written as from Lady Mary Wortley to Monsr Algarotti. before 6 Sept. 1736

Si mihi difficilis forman /sic/ Natura negavit
Ingenio formae damna rependo meae. Ovid. Sapho to Phaon.

This epistle echoes verse by both Lady Mary and Hervey; either of them could have written it. Lady Mary's letters before and immediately after Algarotti's departure (ii. 103) express her feelings more cautiously and obliquely than the verse. The title suggests Hervey impersonating Lady Mary, though its phrasing may be due to the Italian scribe's misunderstanding of English usage. The balance of probability favours Hervey; "recieve" (line 11) is a characteristic spelling of his, perhaps copied by the scribe.

MS: BM Eg. 23, f. 239; copied in an Italian hand, among Algarotti's papers. Scribal errors (e.g. Cramss for Cramp, Forte for Force) have been silently corrected.

Since common forms could never be design'd,
To check the free and Cramp the noble mind,
And that the dumb Intelligence of Eyes,
My Prose, my Verse, my Languishings and Sighs,

5
In Vain have hinted what I fain would prove,
Without a farther Preface Know -- I Love,
Perhaps, too delicat, thou mayst upbraid,

This frank Confession which my Pen has made,

1-2 Cf. "Since language never can describe my pain" (opening line of Hervey's "Monimia to Philocles": Dodsley's Collection, iv, 1755, p. 82; H MS 255, f. 43, and lines 612-13 of Cadenus and Vanessa: That common forms were not design'd Directors to a noble Mind.

6 Cf. Hervey's "The Countess of ---- to Miss ----", lines 7-8: "let this remove / All doubt, all Ignorance, and know I love" (H MS 255, Appendix ii p. 762).
But if I break my Sex's rigid Laws,

Pardon the Crime reflecting on the Cause:

Nor with contracted Brow recieve severe

This Rhapsody of Wishes and despair:

The Venial Fault behold with partial Eyes,

Nor chide my Weakness, tho you may despise,

My forcd Complaint indulgently attend,

For if unwelcome tis the last I'll send.

Nor this I would if Judgment coul/d/ Command,

But oh! when Love and nature prompt my Hand,

What Art, what skill can stop their rapid Course,

Or what Philosophy can tame their Force?

Not ev'n thy Far wise Newton this could do,

He could discover Nature, not subdue,

And might by his Philosophy as soon

Hinder the Tide's obedience to the moon,

Bid each attracted orb it's Sphere forsake,

And vagrant Courses through this System take,

As free my Soul from Love's resistless Laws,

Or make another of that Love the Cause.

14  For parallels to this line see "Wednesday", line 66 and note (above p. 360), and "Monimia to Philocles", line 28: "Nor chide that weakness I myself despise."

15-20  Cf. "Monimia to Philocles", lines 31-36:

Without a frown this farewell then receive

For 'tis the last my hapless love shall give;

Nor this I wou'd, if reason cou'd command,

But what restriction reins a lover's hand?

Nor prudence, shame, nor pride, nor int'rest sways,

The hand implicitly the heart obeys

(Dodsley's Collection, iv. 83).

21  Algarotti's Newtonian dialogues were written though not yet published (LM, Letters, ii. 101 n. 2).
Oft to divert my headlong Passion's Course,
I've try'd by turns both Pride and Reason's Force,
But call'd alas! for ineffectual Aid,
When thus, unheard, those Monitors have say'd,
"Thy vain Pursuit unhappy Wretch forbear,
"Nor you nor England is this Stranger's Care,
"The Bark un moor'd, now waits to waft him o'er,
"He Like Æneas Seeks the latian Shore
"Whilst you, Like Dido, may his Flight deplore."

But what avail Remonstrances of art,
To Combat Nature in the Lovesick Heart;
I found these Friends a useless Pow'r apply'd.
Be dumb, yee Phlegmatic, dull Churls, I cry'd
In Vain you tell me he prepares to fly;
Must we not live because we once must dye?

35-38 Cf. Hervey's "Arisbe to Marius Junior":
The guards deceiv'd, and ev'ry danger o'er,
The winds already waft him from the shore
(Dodsley's Collection, iv. 99).
42-43 Cf. Etherege's "To a Lady, Asking Him How Long He Would Love Her":
It were a madness to deny
To live because we're sure to die
Verses wrote under General Churchill's Pictour 1737-July 1738

Horace Walpole recorded that Lady Mary hated Charles Churchill: "the verses which she wrote behind his picture at Vanloo's are a proof." Lady Mary's biographer and the most recent editor of her verse agree with his later opinion that "these lines were Mallet's, and Lady Mary, as she was a little apt to do, seized them for her own" (Corr. xiv. 246 and n. 22; Halsband, p. 233, n. 4; 1861, ii. 498 note). Yet three contemporary manuscript sources attribute the poem to her by name or sex. It was first printed, unattributed, soon after composition, and first claimed by Mallet twenty-one years later. Mallet gave the epigram uninformative titles and seemed uncertain of its hero's age. A posthumous edition of his poems added a six-line introduction which alters the whole emphasis of the piece. Robert Gore-Brown, having compared the two versions, feels that the lines "have the authentic venom of Lady Mary's pen" (Gay was the Pit, The Life and Times of Anne Oldfield, 1957, p. 151 note).

Churchill was an ensign in 1688 and died in 1745. Walpole hinted at his impotence (C. Dalton, George the First's Army, 1910-12, i. 120, n. 1; Corr. xvii. 174, n. 13a). Jean-Baptiste Vanloo (1684-1745), French painter, was in London 1737-41, with an extensive court clientele.

MSS: Manchester: Bagshawe MS 3/7/5, John Rylands Library; copied by Sir James Caldwell from Lady Mary's papers, 1746, as by her. EM: Add 32096, f. 186, collected by George Harbin, librarian to 1st Viscount Weymouth, as by "a Lady of Quality".

Printed: 1738: L. Mag., July, p. 357, unascribed. 1759: Mallet, Works, i. 48. 1762: Universal Museum, Jan., p. 59, as by "lady W—— M——". 1779: Mallet, Poems, p. 340, with six extra lines. 1837: iii. 420 "From a 4to. MS. of Political Songs, &c. collected

Title 7 Writ under Genil Ch--ll's picture, at Vanlowe's EM; Supposed to be wrote on a Captain's Picture at Vanloe's 1738; On an Amorous Old Man 1759; An extempore Epigram...on seeing a picture of general Ch--l 1762; Inscription for a Picture 1779; Lines Written under the Picture of Colonel Charles Churchill 1837.
by Lady Mary Finch, Lord Aylesford's daughter. Dated 20th June, 1733, now in the possession of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq."

1957: Gore-Browne, p. 151 (from BM).

Still hovering round the fair at fifty four,
Unfit to Love, unable to give o'er,
A flesh fly that still flutters on the Wing
Awake to Buz, but not alive to Sting,
Brisk where he cannot, backward where he can,
The teasing Ghost of the departed Man.

---

before 1 six extra lines in 1779:
With no one talent that deserves applause;
With no one awkwardness that laughter draws;
Who thinks not, but just echoes what we say;
A clock, at morn, wound up, to run a day:
His larum goes in one smooth, simple strain;
He stops: and then, we wind him up again.

1 round o'er 1738; fifty four 1759.
2 Woe to the man that's aged sixty-four 1762.
Spectator, see poor Charles at fifty-four 1955.
3 to Love, unable for love, unwilling 1762, 1955.
A very flesh-fly, hov'ring on the wing 1762.
4 still just BM, 1759, 1779, 1837, 1957; but 1738.
Brisk Pert 1738; Bold 1762.
6 departed departing 1738.

6 Hanbury Williams wrote that the ageing Churchill "yet Grasps at the shade of his departed wit" (Works, 1822, i. 77).
Though never a supporter of the Opposition, Lady Mary was quite capable of writing this dialogue.

MS: H MS 255, f. 79, copied by Lady Mary after 1743.

Courtier — I'll tell you news will make you curse,
                The King's to cross the main.
Patriot.     I'll tell you news is ten times worse,
                The King comes back again.
Mrs. Piozzi, who attributed this epigram to "our Lady Mary Wortley" under the date 27 November 1784, was too young to have had her information first-hand.


Great Jupiter each Form & Shape had try'd
Then came a Husband to Amphytryon's Bride;
And in a Husband's Form could pleasing prove,
Who but must own Th'Omnipotence of Jove?
This was Lady Mary's reaction to news of the death of Henry Pelham's two young sons.

MS: H MS 74, ff. 336-7, Lady Mary's hand, part of a letter to her husband.

Printed: 1803, iii. 212; 1837, ii. 281; 1861, ii. 53.

1966: Letters, ii. 166.

'Tho Solomon with a thousand Wives
To get a wise successor strives,
But one, and he a Fool, survives.
To John Duke of Argyle  

To John Duke of Argyle  

? May 1740

Argyll was uncle to Lady Mary's son-in-law Bute and her friend Mackenzie. He was disgraced by Walpole in 1740; on 1st May he was "out of all his posts" (Hertford-Pomfret, i. 236). After the fall of Walpole he was again given office, which he later resigned.

MS: H MS 255, f. 79, copied by Lady Mary after 1743, as is shown by its position in the album and the correction to the title (Argyll died and was succeeded by his brother Archibald in Oct. 1743).

What could our Gracious King do more?
All he could give was thine before;
Titles, Ribands, Riches, Place,
Ev'ry Honor but Disgrace;
This only Trial still remain'd,
Thus to lose what Virtue gain'd.

Title: John altered from the

3 Ribands: Argyll had received the Garter in 1710.
Place: He had been Lord Steward of the Household, Master-General of Ordnance and Governor of Portsmouth.
Horace Walpole quoted this couplet twenty years after it was written, with the explanation:

Admiral Forbes told me yesterday, that in one of Lady Mary's jaunts to or from Genoa she begged a passage of Commodore Barnard. A storm threatening, he prepared her for it, but assured her there was no danger. She said she was not afraid, and going into a part of the gallery, not much adapted to heroism, she wrote these lines on the side (Corr. xxii. 473). For the date, see Letters, ii. 231 n. 1.


Mistaken seaman, mark my dauntless mind,

Who, wrecked on shore, am fearless of the wind.
after Sept. 1739

Lady Mary met M. du Cange (born c. 1692, a native of Dutch Flanders) at Venice, and continued to ask their friend Mme Michiel for news of him as late as 1746 (Letters, ii. 294 and n. 1, 381).

MS: H MS 81, f. 192, unknown hand.

Do not, Du Cange, your candour now forsake
But spare the verses for the Poet's sake
For while I write 'em they've no farther end
Unless they'll make you recollect your Freind.
Lady Mary wrote down this couplet in Italy, among her notes on the position of old women and records of topics she had used in letters to her daughter; but she could have been recalling something composed earlier or by someone else.

MS: CB, f. 7, Lady Mary's late hand.

So huntsmen fair unto the Hares give law,

First find them and then civilly withdraw.
See headnote to preceding fragment.

MS: CB, f. 8, Lady Mary's late hand.

Our freedom in our Poetry we see

The child of Joy, begot by Liberty.
The following poems were transcribed by Lady Mary into her miscellany album before the date at which she added her initials to other poems in that album. Some seem more likely than others to be her own; all are doubtful.


Philander and Silvia a gentle soft pair
Whose busyness was pleasure, and Loving their Care,
Ah Silvia (said he) and sigh'd as he spoke,
Your cruel resolves will you never revoke?

No; never (she said) How never! he cry'd,
'Tis the damn'd that shall only that Sentence abide.
She turn'd her about, and look'd all around,
Then blush'd, and her pritty Eyes fix'd on the Ground,
Ah Philander (she said) tis a dangerous bliss,

Ah never ask more and I'll give thee a kiss.
How never! he said, and shiver'd all o're,
No never, she cry'd and trip'd to a bower.
She stop'd at the Wicket, he cry'd, let me in,
She answer'd; I wou'd, if it were not a Sin,

Heaven sees, and the Gods will chastise the popr Head
Of Philander for this -- Strait trembling he said,
Heaven sees I confess, but no Tell tales are there.
She kiss'd him, and cry'd, you're an Atheist my Dear,
And should you prove false, I should never endure.

How never! he said, and so down he threw her.
See headnote to preceding poem.

MS: H MS 255, f. 26, Lady Mary's hand.

Natural Religion, easy first and plain,
Tales made it Mystery, Offerings made it gain.
Then Feasts and Sacrifice were next prepar'd,
The Priest eat Roast meat, and the people star'd.
Song

before 1758

See headnote to "Philander and Silvia a gentle soft pair", above p. 711.

MS: H MS 255i f. 26, Lady Mary's hand.

Prithee Cælia no more your Deceiver persue
Nor flatter his Pride by the Pain you endure,
You lov'd him because you believ'd he was true;
You know he is false and let that be your Cure.

Tho' Strephon is perjur'd, the next may be kind,
She only is blest, who can change with the Wind.

Cleopatra tho' once of her Cæsar bereft
By Sorrow and tears would not injure her charms,
She never repin'd that by one she was left
But found out another to die in her Arms.

New light up your Eyes, and Fresh Conquests prepare,
What need she be wretched who knows she is fair?

New altered from F
It seems unlikely that Lady Mary wrote this ballad; she does not elsewhere in her verse combine narrative mode with uniformly romantic treatment.


As Caelia's fatal Arrows flew
   Amongst the Youthfull Train
A Glance ill levell'd miss'd the Crew
   And piere'd an humble Swain.

The Nymph was sorry for his smart
   And blam'd her erring charm,
Alas! she cry'd poor bleeding Heart
   To thee I meant no harm.

But whilst her pity she suppress'd
   And feign'd a cold Disdain
Her rigours chill'd his Aching Breast
   And still encreas'd his Pain.

By Absence next his Cure she trys
   And fled his Amorous moan,
The Swain was banish'd from her Eyes
   And left to sigh alone,
But now she longs again to hear
   The soft complaining Tale,
What harm she thought to please her Ear
   With what could n'ere prevail.

The Swain bless'd with a second View
   Was with a frown dismiss'd,
He humbly begg'd a soft Adieu,
   He wept, ador'd, and kiss'd.

How sweet was even the parting kiss
   To the poor hapless Swain,
No hopes had he of Future Bliss
   But thus to part again.

She saw him twice, she saw him thrice
   And us'd her utmost Skill,
He mended not by her Advice
   But she her selfe grew ill.

Yet Cetelia's Heart was chill'd with Pride
   Tho melting with Desire,
On Heclos summit thus abide
   At once the snow and Fire.

35 Mt Hekla in Iceland: cf. Thomson's "Winter" (1730), line 888.
Her Love and Honnor rule by Turns
By Moments not by Days
And now she freezes, now she burns
And both alike obeys,

But Flame too fierce to be confin'd
Within her tender breast
Burst forth and thus to sooth his mind
Her passion she confess'd.

Avenge thy Love on my proud Heart
For so the Fates decree,
Act in thy Turn the Scornfull Part
And kindly fly from me,

Yet gentle still forgive a wrong
Attended with its Curse,
If ill I treated thee so long
My selfe I treated worse.

Veild with feign'd scorn I strove to hide
The Love I durst not own
While Cupid every look bely'd
And peep'd through every frown.
See this fair flower that long has strove
    Against the Winter's frost,
It peeps, is crop'd, so fares our Love
    Still fated to be lost.

'Ere yon Full Moon that shines so bright
    Shall end its fading wane
Cælia shall vanish from thy sight
    Neer to return again.

Hymen no longer Time allows,
    Then, then's my Nuptial Day,
Another claims my plighted vows,
    I cannot, dare not stay.

This chrystal Stream shall backward glide
    And leave this craggy Shore,
But I, the Fatal knot once ty'd
    Shall never see thee more.

Too true, next Circling Month, the same
    That saw her first a Wife,
A Quicker, and less cruel Flame
    Cut short her Thread of Life.
Him too the Fever did invade,

Ah Fever too unkind!

'Twas meant to waft him to her Shade

But left him lost behind.
The change in rhyming, here a happy one (lines 13-16), is characteristic of Lady Mary; so is the image of the beggar (cf. "An Answer to a Love letter", line 30, above p.460).

MS: H MS 255, f. 6l, Lady Mary's hand.

When absent I from Phillis am
And Judge my Merit by my Love
Strait I resolve to own my Flame
And hope I may successfull prove,

But when her Beauty I behold
And each surprizing Charm admire
I think a Monarch were too bold
If he should to her Love aspire.

Then quite despairing of my Fate
I all amaz'd and silent stay
Nor dare (so much I dread her Hate)
One sigh or tender look betray,

Thus some who most our Alms deserve
Asham'd to beg, unpity'd starve,

While oft with false and clamorous greife
The saucy Beggar gets releife.
See headnote to "Philander and Silvia a gentle soft pair", above p. 711.

MS: H MS 255, f. 62, Lady Mary's hand.

Gay fresh looks in youth appears,
Prudence waits on dull grey Hairs,
'Twould be too much at once to prove
The toils of wisdom and of love.

Then banish this untimely guest
Who on eighteen has rudely pres'd,
Bid the ill natur'd Hag begone
And then receive your Coridon.

Listen to him, to Love, and Joys,

One Frown ten thousand charms destroys,
Defer those looks, till length of Time
Makes Smiles, instead of Frowns a Crime.

11 Defer altered from If
These lines seem characteristic of Lady Mary, but occur on a page which also carries notes from her reading.

MS: CB, f. 10, Lady Mary's hand.

To Woman how Indulgent Nature's kind,
No sorrow long afflicts her happy mind,
Compliance to her Fate supports her stil 1,
If Love won't make her happy mischief wilt 1.
It is not absolutely certain that the third line belongs with the couplet. The "tremendous name" could belong to William Bond (who used it as a pseudonym), to the 1st Earl Stanhope (whom Lady Mary admired: *Letters*, iii. 26), to the 2nd (from whom in 1759 she hoped for literary diversion: *ibid.* 227), or even to Lord Chesterfield, for whom she seems to have had scant respect.

MS: CB, f. 10, Lady Mary's hand.

Yet wretched Quibles low as these
Made Cibber, Plope, and Poultney plese,
Nay Stanhopes's self; tremendous name.
This fragment has a confusing number of links among Lady Mary's manuscripts. It is written on the verso of her French prose fable on the same subject -- the turkey and the ants (H MS 80, ff. 308-9; printed in Halsband, "Algarotti", pp. 237-8). Apparently Lady Mary told the whole story (perhaps borrowed from one of Gay's fables) in prose, but versified only part of it. Halsband assigns the prose fable to a late date, because in Feb. 1755/ Lady Mary told Algarotti she meant to write an epistle on the same theme (Letters, iii. 120-1). But a complete French verse rendering does exist (Appendix I, p. 757), related to this fragment and probably copied from Lady Mary's prose, if not the other way round. The French verse fable is one of a whole group in H MS 81 (ff. 241-85 passim, cf. above p. 621); they include versions of an English fable by Lady Mary, of the "hare and many friends" story, the peacock and barnyard fowls, and the partridge and cocks. Several of these are stories used by Gay, but his Fables bear no apparent relationship to these French ones.

MS: H MS 80, f. 309, Lady Mary's hand, on verso of prose fable.

Mais croyez vous bien barbare,
    Reprit un ancien myrmidon,
Croyez vous qu'il est permis
    Pour faire un simple dejeuner,

5
Immolant tout a vostre gloutonie,
    D'avaler une nation de fourmis?
Vous qui tentes L'umaine Tyrannie
    Sachez, sachez que vous voiant au proye

10
    Au juste doigt qui plume vostre peau
Nous sentons avec joie
    De nostre race écraser le fleau.

before 5 D'avaler une nation de fourmis struck out.
before 11 Ecraser struck out.
Epigram Anonymus

before 20 Feb. 1762

It is at least possible that Lady Mary wrote this and the following epigram after her return to London on 27 Jan. 1762 (Letters, iii. 286). Sir James Caldwell, visiting her in spring 1762, used the present tense: "she writes a great deal" (Bagshawe MSS, John Rylands Library, quoted in Halsband, p. 282). Walpole explained to Mann on 25 Feb. how Thomas Charles Bunbury, who was engaged to Lady Sarah Lenox, intended putting a motion on the German war before the House of Commons, but kept crying off at the last moment (Corr. xxii. 7-8).

MS: H MS 255, f. 81, Lady Mary's hand.

If Lady Sarah means to wed
And take a Man into her Bed
She's much mistaken in her Notion
For what's a Man without a Motion?

2 a Man into/young B—b—y to / 1762.
3 She's much mistaken in her/ I pity her mistaken 1762.
See headnote to previous epigram. Henry Earl of Pembroke abandoned his wife and eloped with Miss Elizabeth Catherine Hunter on 18 Feb. 1762; Walpole sent a version of this "indifferent epigram" to Montagu on 25 Feb. (Corr. x. 14 and n. 8, 17). Mason also joked on this subject (Gray, Corr., 1935, ii. 780).

MS: H MS 255, f. 81, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1818: Walpole's Letters...To George Montagu, Esq., p. 283; reprinted in later eds.

Lord Pembroke a Horseman always was counted
But now on a runaway hunter is mounted.

---

1-2 As P---e a horseman by most is accounted,
'Tis not strange that his lordship a H-n-r has mounted 1818.
Lady Mary may well have written either this or the following poem; she is unlikely to have written both. The shepherd, lady, and previous suitors are perhaps real people, but unidentifiable.

MS: H MS 255, f. 71, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 246; 1837, iii. 422; 1861, ii. 499-500.

Cease Fond Shepherd, cease desiring
What you never must enjoy,
She derides your vain aspiring,
She to all your Sex is coy.

5 Cunning Damon once persu'd her
Yet she never would encline,
Strephon too as vainly woo'd her
Th' his Flocks were more than thine.

At Diana's shrine she's vow'd
10 By the Zone about her waste,
Thrice she bow'd, and thrice she vow'd
Like the Goddess to be chaste.

8 were/ are eds.
9 she's vow'd/ aloud eds.
10 about/ around eds.
See headnote to previous poem.

MS: H MS 255, f. 71, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 247; 1837, iii. 423; 1861, ii. 500.

Tho I never get possession

'Tis a pleasure to adore,
Hope the Wretches only blessing
May in time procure me more.

5 Constant Courtship may obtain her
Where both Wealth and Merit fail
And the lucky minute gain her,
Fate and Fancy must prevail.

At Diana's shrine she's vow'd

10 By the Bow and by the Quiver
Thrice she bow'd and thrice she vow'd
Once to love and that for ever.

1 get? got eds.
9 she's vow'd? aloud eds.
For the name used in the first line cf. "Between your sheets you soundly sleep", line 9 (above p. 600).

MS: H MS 255, f. 73, Lady Mary's hand.

See where Lindamira Lyes
Beneath a Lawrel Shade reclin'd,
Her Glowing cheek and wishing Eyes
Betray her tender Mind.

Shepherd the Lucky moment seize,
'Tis lost, if you defer it,
This happy Hour you may please
For Opportunity is Merit.

Cf. previous poem, line 7.
Another form of this epigram was recorded by an unknown hand, later than 1727, in Bod. MS Percy c. 8, f. 131:

The Jews to get a God, as we are told
Did even part with their most precious Gold.
How Times are chang'd to me seems very odd,
Now to get Gold they'll even part with God.

The version in Lady Mary's album could be one of her adaptations (cf. above pp. 94-5). It appears among Bible quotations and references.

MS: CB ., f. 27, Lady Mary's hand.

The Jews as we in sacred writ are told
To buy a God gave Aaron all their Gold
But Christians now, times are so monstrous odd,
To heap up Gold, will even sell their God.
APPENDIX I

Verse Related to Lady Mary's

I have not included here the French and Latin poems which Lady Mary translated or adapted, nor those by Pope, Swift, Peterborough and Lyttelton which she answered.
Literal translation by Lady Mary's interpreter; see "Turkish Verses" (above p. 390).

MS: H MS 253, pp. 247-9, Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: with Lady Mary's verse rendering.

Stanza 1st

1 The Nightingale wanders in the Vines,
   Her Passion is to seek Roses.

2 I went down to admire the beauty of the Vines,
   The sweetness of your charms has ravish'd my Soul.

3 Your Eyes are black and Lovely
   But wild and disdainfull as those of a Stag.

Stanza 2nd

1 The wish'd possession is delaid from day to day,
   The cruel Sultan Achmet will not permit me to see those
   cheeks more vermilion than roses.

2 I dare not snatch one of your kisses,
   The sweetness of your charms has ravish'd my Soul.

3 Your Eyes are black and lovely
   But wild and disdainfull as those of a Stag.

Stanza 3rd

1 The wretched Bassa Ibrahim sighs in these verses,
   One Dart from your Eyes has pierc'd through my Heart.

2 Ah, when will the Hour of possession arrive?
   Must I yet wait a long time?
   The sweetnesse of your charms has ravish'd my soul.

3 Ah Sultana stag-ey'd, an Angel amongst angels,
I desire and my desire remains unsatisfy'd.
Can you take delight to prey upon my heart?

Stanza 4th

1 My crys peirce the Heavens,
   My Eyes are without sleep;
   Turn to me, Sultana, let me gaze on thy beauty.

2 Adeiu, I go down to the Grave;
   If you call me I return.
   My Heart is hot as Sulphur; sigh and it will flame.

3 Crown of my Life, fair light of my Eyes, my Sultana, my Princesse,
   I rub my face against the Earth, I am drown'd in scalding Tears -- I rave!

Have you no Compassion? Will you not turn to look upon me?
An Epistle from Arthur Gray to Mrs M———y

amor omnibus idem

See above p. 412.

MSS: H MS 81, ff. 16-17, unknown hand.
BM Add. MS 28101 (Cowper Miscellany), f. 172.
BM Harley MS 7316, ff. 139-40 (following "Virtue in Danger"), scribal hand.
Panshanger: Cowper MSS in Herts. County Record Office, unknown hand.

Awhile harsh fair forgoe your gay delights,
And hear what Arthur's moaning muse indites;
No artfull touches in his verse shall shine,
But unaffectted woe in every line.

Here undissembled words my flame reveals,
And the pen sketches what the bosome feels.

Think not my hated Life I sue to gain,
(For scorn'd by you, life is my greatest pain)
Nor your kind pity do I hope to move,
But let me justifye my il star'd love.

Who that has really felt Love's fatal dart,
The racks, the torments of a wounded heart,
Did his hard lot depend on him alone,
But soon wou'd drive the Tyrant from his throne.

Needless of rank, Love does his arrows throw,
Wounds the lac'd footman, and the toupee'd beau;
No one condition only makes his care,
But goes before, as well as in the chair.
What tho' no mechlin does my linnen grace,
Or Bezen's Curls flow waveing near my face;
What tho' no silver loops adorn my cloaths,
Or broider'd clocks half way my worsted hose;
What tho' my feet, on Verdun's heels dont rise,
Hant I a heart? and cant I know you've eyes?
Too well I feel the restless raging flame,
That too, too, oft has made poor me to blame;
When near your chair at dinner, I've drop'd down
A dirty plate, and greas'd a bran new gound.
When e'er a trifling message you convey'd,
Remember with what pleasure I obey'd,
Swift as your wishes quick away I flew,
And lost my dinner many a day for you:
Oft has the Butler (e'er my tender crime)
Said, sure all servants must have dineing time:
Were I you Arthur tho' away I'm turn'd,
Before I'd lose a meal I'd see her burn'd.
Regardless of th'advise, away I'd go
To Drury Lane and get the foremost row;
Where wile at mimick deaths a tear you shed,
You never thought of him who realy bled.
The Curtain drop'd, I always ready stood,
With blazing flambeau, and the velvet hood;
By King, John Trot and Lovelace sadly curs'd
For Mrs M———'s Coach was ever first.

Who can express my rapture and delight,
When the green stocking stood confest to sight,
The taper leg I doat on as I stoop,
And with what care I trembling plac'd your hoop;
When got at home, what pleasure did I feel,
How did I gard you, from the tarry wheel;
Officiously my willing arm extend
And down the falling step with care attend.
When to your own apartment you'd retire,
Pensive I'd loll me by the kitchen fire,
Think o're the tortures of the ended day,
Curse the pert fop who led you from the play,
Lament my rigid destiny's decree,
That made my mind and station ill agree.
Too partial Providence (I've sighing said)
What have I done to be thus wretched made?
If my fond wishes to ambitious prove,
Consider t'was you form'd my heart for love;
These creuel agonies I ne'er had known,
Had I been struck with Sally's Scour'd gound;
And did not this high Passion fill my head,
I might have sigh'd successfull, and been wed.

Poor Arthur! mention not a tender wife,
Newgate's (not marriage) bonds shall last thy life
But scorn the chains that bind thy mortal part,
The fetters I complain of, load my heart;
And were I from this loathsome dungeon free,
Condemn'd to love, cou'd ne'er have liberty.
Death the lost Lover's last and only freind,
Shall to my painfull sufferings put an end:
75  Calm all my sorrows in the silent grave,
And crown with peace, him you refus'd to save.
I ask not pity, but the wellcome stroke,
To finish his sad pangs whose heart is broke;
The rest-restoring noose the hangman tyes,
80  Only compleates what left undone your eyes.
Yet, when prepare'd and ready to explore,  }
Eternity's yet undiscover'd shore  }
And the last sentance of the Creed is o'er,
When for mild mercy earnestly I sue,
85  Believe the heaven I wish for most, was you.
To Mr Fox

Written at Florence 1729. In imitation of the 6th Ode of the 2d Book of Horace. By Lord Hervey

See "So sung the Poet in an Humble Strain", above p. 484.

MSS: H MS 81, f. 66, scribal hand.
BM Harl. MS 7318, ff. 130-1, scribal hand.

1748: Dodsley's Collection, iii. 240-2.
1803, v. 161-3; 1837, iii. 376-9; 1861, ii. 460-1.

Thou Dearest Youth! who taught me first to know
What Pleasures from a real Friendship flow;
Where neither Intrest nor Deceit have Part,
But all the Warmth is Native of the heart:

Thou knows't to comfort, Sooth, or Entertain,
Joy of my health, and Cordial to my Pain.

When life Seem'd failing on her latest Stage,
And fell disease Anticipated Age,
When wasting Sickness, and afflictive Pain,

By Asculapius' Sons oppos'd in Vain
Forc'd me reluctant, desperate to Explore
A warmer Sun, and seek a milder Shore;
Thy Steady Love, With unexampled Truth,

Forsook each Gay Companion of thy Youth;
Whate'er the prosperous, or the Great Employs,
Business, and Intrest, and love's softer Joys;
The Weary Steps of misery to Attend,

If o'er the Mountain's snowy Height we stray,
Where Carthage first explor'd the venterous way;
Or thro' the tainted Air of Rome's parch'd Plains,
Where Want resides, and Superstition reigns;
Chearful, and unrepineing, still You bear
Each dangerous Rigour of the various Year,
And kindly anxious for thy Friend Alone,
Lament his Suff'ring's, and forget thy own.
Oh! would kind Heaven, those tedious Suff'ring's Past,
Permit me, Ickworth, Rest, and Health at last,
In that Lov'd Shade, my Youth's Delightful Seat,
My early Pleasures, and my late Retreat,
Where lavish Nature's favourite Blessings flow,
And all the Seasons all their Sweets bestow,
There might I trifle, carelessly, Away
The milder Evening of life's clouded Day,
From Business, and the world's Intrusion free,
With Books, With Love, With Beauty, and With thee,
No farther Want, No Wish Yet unpossess'd,
Could e'er disturb this unambitious breast;
Let those who fortune's Shining Gifts implore,
Who sue for Glory, Splendor, Wealth, or Power,
View this unactive State with Scornful Eyes
And Pleasures, they can never taste, despise;
Let them still court that Goddess' falser Joys,
Who, wilst She grants their Pray'r, their Peace Destroys.
I Envy not the formost of the Great,
Not Walpole's Self Directing Europe's Fate,
Still let him load Ambition's thorny Shrine,
Fame be his Portion, and Contentment mine.

But if the Gods, Sinister, Still deny

To live in Ickworth, let me there but die;

Thy Hand to close my Eyes, in Death's long Night,

Thy Image to Attract their latest Sight;

Then to the Grave Attend thy Poet's Hearse,

And love His Memory, as You lov'd his Verse.
The Request


MS: BM Harley MS 7316, f. 153.

1.
Psyche adorn'd with every Grace,
   By every Muse Inspir'd,
   Where poys'ness Envy finds no place
   Cannot but be admir'd.

2.
But since the silly World denies,
   The debt of Praise and Love,
   Let Psyche nobly Mount the skies
   For Justice reigns above.

3.
To the First Fair restore her Heart,
   And Love as she is Lov'd,
   He'll solid Happiness impart
   By Time or Place unmov'd.

4.
She'll find what cannot be express'd,
   (Nor seek abroad for Bliss)
   The Soverign Good in her own Breast,
   No Company like His!
5.

Source of Delights! how sweet! how dear!

That Fill, but never cloy!

Reflection gently swells the stream,

Absorpt in endless Joy!
Song By the Countess of Hartfort


Dear Colin prevent my warm Blushes
Since how can I speak without pain,
My Eyes have oft told you my Wishes,
Why don't you their meaning explain?

My passion will lose by expressing
And you too may cruelly blame,
Then do not expect a confession
Of what is too tender to name.

Since yours is the province of speaking
How can you then hope it from me,
Our wishes should be in our keeping
Till yours tell us that they should be.
Alas; then why don't you discover,
Did your heart feel such torments as mine,
Eyes need not tell over and over
What I in my Breast would confine.
An Elegy To A Young Lady, In the Manner of Ovid.

By James Hammond. See "The Answer to the foregoing Elegy", above p. 528.

Printed: 1733 (copy-text).
1755, 1759, 1779, 1787 (see above).
1768: A Select Collection of Poems, Edinburgh, i. 240-1.
MS: lines 1-38 copied in an eighteenth-century hand and bound at the end of Hammond's Love Elegies, 1743 (Bod. 2799 c. 21).

Oh! say, thou dear Possessor of my Breast!
Where is my boasted Liberty and Rest?
Where the gay Moments which I once have known?
Oh, where that Heart I fondly thought my own?

From Place to Place I solitary roam:
Abroad uneasy, nor content at home.
I scorn the Beauties common Eyes adore,
The more I view them, feel thy Worth the more.
Unmov'd I hear them speak, or see them fair,
And only think on thee -- who art not there.
In vain wou'd Books their formal Succour lend:
Their Wit and Wisdom can't relieve their Friend.
Wit can't deceive the Pain I now endure,
And Wisdom shows the Ill without the Cure.

When from thy Face I waste the tedious Day,
A thousand Schemes I form, and Things to say:
But when thy Presence gives the Time I seek,
My Heart's so full, I wish, but cannot speak;
And cou'd I speak with Eloquence and Ease,
(Till now not studious of the Art to please)

Cou'd I, at Woman who so oft exclaim,
Exposé, nor blush, thy Triumph, and my Shame?
Abjure those Maxims I so lately priz'd,
And court that Sex I foolishly despis'd?

Own thou hast soften'd my obdurate Mind,
And thou reveng'd the Wrongs of Womankind.
Lost were my Words, and fruitless all my Pain,
In vain to tell thee what I write in vain;
My humble Sighs shall only reach thy Ears,
And all my Eloquence shall be my Tears.

And now (for more I never must pretend)
Hear me not as thy Lover, but thy Friend:
Thousands will fain thy little Heart ensnare,
For, without Danger, none like thee are fair:
But wisely chuse who best deserves thy Flame,
So shall the Choice itself become thy Fame:
And not despise, though void of winning Art,
The plain and honest Courtship of the Heart.
The skilful Tongue in Love's persuasive Lore,
Tho' less it feels, will please and flatter more;
And, meanly learned in that guilty Trade,
Can long abuse a fond, unthinking Maid;
And since their Lips, so knowing to deceive,
Thy unexperienc'd Youth might soon believe;
And since their Tears in false Submission dress'd,
Might thaw the icy Coldness of thy Breast;
Oh! shut thine Eyes to such deceitful Woe,
Caught by the Beauty of thy outward Show:
Like me, they do not love, whate'er they seem,

Like me -- with Passion founded on Esteem.
Melinda's Complaint
To the Tune of Collins

See "By the side of a halfe rotten wood" (above p. 550): those lines which are omitted occur unchanged in Lady Mary's version.

MSS: H MS 255, ff. 58-59, copied by Lady Mary after 1730.
Bod. MS Mont. e. 13, ff. 33a-33b, unknown hand.
BM MS Add. 28101 (Cowper Miscellany), ff. 130-2, as by a "Cambridge Schollar".
BM MS Add. 32463, ff. 123-4, unknown hand, dated 1731.
Printed: 1737, L. Mag., Oct., p. 574.
1837, iii. 410-12; 1861, ii. 490-1, which observes, "It does not appear to have been written by Lady Mary."

1
By the side of a glimmering Fire
Melinda sat pensively down
Impatient of a rural 'Squire
And vex'd to be absent from Town,

5
The cricket from under the Grate
With a chirp to her sighs did reply
And the kitling as grave as a Cat
Sat mournfully purring hard by....

16
And Quadrille to enliven the Nights....

4

25
What thô I have skill to ensnare
Where Smarts in bright Circles abound,
What thô at St James's at prayers
Beaux ogle devoutly around.
Fond Virgin thy Power is lost,

On a Race of dull Hottentot Louts,

What Glory in being the Toast

Of noisy dull Squires in Boots?

And thou my Companion so dear...

Call Jenny to help to undress....

While here I am left in the Lurch,

Forgot, and excluded from view....
A Familiar Epistle, By Way of Nosce Teipsum. Directed to his Worthy Friend, Sir Privilous Insipid, alias Sir ----

By Robert Wolseley (1649-97), friend of Rochester. His verse controversy with William Wharton, younger brother of the future Marquess, ended c. 1690 in a duel of which Wharton died (notes by Thorn-Drury in Bodleian copy, Thorn-Drury d. 28). See "A Character", above p. 610; those passages not relevant to Lady Mary's adaptation are omitted.


....In slight and senseless Songs, like Nice delight,
Laugh without Jest, and without Reading, Write;

Despis'd by Men, Piping at Ruels sit,
And let vain Coquets take thee for a Wit:
May all thy Minutes their Applauses meet,
And be an able Coxcomb in thy Feet:

By fawning Beaux, in league with Court Knaves grow,
And smile on Ladies, whom thou scarce do'st know:

Then acting ill the Reserv'dness of a Lover,
The no Intrigue endeavour to discover.

For Jests, whose cheating Form thy Fancy fill,
Prepare Men oft, and disappoint 'em still:

Still aim at Wit in an unlucky Hour,
Have the perpetual Will, without the Power:

Feel endless Motions, without Fruit, but Pain
By thy curs'd Stars, doom'd all thy Life in vain
To struggle with a Strangury of Brain;

Thinking all want that do not boast their Store,
Tho they talk less, because they know much more:

In Visiting, Chat, and frivolous Buzz abound,

As empty Vessels give the greatest Sound.

Conceit for Breeding, Rude for Familiar, take

Horse-play for Wit, and Noise for Mirth still make,

Be it like Smith, thy Talent to Mistake.

Full of thy self, and looking wondrous Wise,

Repeat thy own sharp Sayings and Replies:

When most thou aim'st to Please, give most Offence,

And be the perfect Pater of false Sense:

If Women who have Wit, come in thy way,

And with thee half an hour unwilling stay,

Sneer thy false Youth and Hectick Shape away;

Look as if something did about thee stink,

And always talk as if thou ne'er didst think:

Joy in thy flippant Folly, and remain

A merry Blockhead, Treacherous and Vain.
A Familiar Answer To A Late Familiar Epistle, By Way of Welcom Joan Sanderson.

Only the relevant passage of this sequel to the previous poem is given here. The whole controversy, including an account of the duel, takes up 24 pages.

Printed: 1698: PAS, pp. 5-9.

35 ....Since Friends by thy Example may be free,
   Allow me to advise thee — En Amy.
   Know then thou hast a most un furnish'd head,
   Remember, the great Rochester is Dead;
   Thy Wit was but repeating what he said.

40 Of thee a necessary Tool he found,
    Still proud to Father all that he Disown'd:
    For which, he let thee of his Jests dispose,
    As Servants Flutter in their Lord's old Cloaths.
    But now his Wardrobe is quite Thread-bare grown,

45 Thy Nakedness appears through all thy own....
The Thirteenth Satyr Of Juvenal, Translated into English Verse

By Thomas Creech (1659-1700). See "Th'o old in ill", above p. 637; only those passages relevant to Lady Mary's adaptation are given here.


I

He that commits a Sin, shall quickly find

The pressing Guilt lie heavy on his Mind;

Tho' Bribes or Favour shall assert his Cause,

Pronounce him Guiltless, and elude the Laws:

None quits himself; his own impartial Thought

Will damn, and Conscience will record the Fault.

II

This first the Wicked feels: Then publick Hate

Pursues the Cheat, and proves the Villain's Fate.

III

But more, Corvinus, thy Estate can bear

A greater Loss, and not implore thy Care;

Thy Stock's sufficient, and thy Wealth too great

To feel the Damage of a Petty Cheat.

IV

Nor are such Losses to the World unknown,
A rare Example, and thy Chance alone;

Most feel them, and in Fortune's Lottery lies
A heap of Blanks, like this, for one small Prize....

What, start at this? When sixty Years have spread
Their gray Experience o'er thy hoary Head!
Is this the All observing Age cou'd gain,
Or hast Thou known the World so long in vain?....

Worse than the Iron Age, and wretched Times
Roul on; and Use hath so improv'd our Crimes,
That baffled Nature knows not how to frame
A Metal base enough to give the Age a Name:
Yet you exclaim, as loud as those that Praise
For Scraps and Coach-hire, a Young Noble's Plays
You thunder, and, as Passion rouls along,
Call Heaven and Earth to witness to your Wrong.

Gray-headed Infant! and in vain grown Old!
Art Thou to learn that in Another's Gold
Lie Charms resistless? That all laugh to find
Unthinking Plainness so o'er-spread thy Mind,
That Thou could'st seriously perswade the Crowd
To keep their Oaths, and to believe a God?

VII

This They cou'd do whilst Saturn fill'd the Throne,
E're Juno burnish'd, or Young Jove was grown....
Now if one Honest Man I chance to view,
Contemning Int'rest, and to Virtue true;
I rank him with the Prodigies of Fame,
With Plough'd-up Fishes, and with Icy Flame;
With Things which start from Nature's common Rules,
With Bearded Infants, and with Teeming Mules....

Observe the Wretch who hath his Faith forsook,
How clear his Voice, and how assur'd his Look!
Like Innocence, and as serenely bold
As Truth, how loudly He forswears thy Gold!
By Neptune's Trident, by the Bolts of Jove,
And all the Magazine of Wrath above.
Nay, more, in Curses He goes boldly on,
He damns himself, and thus devotes his Son;
If I'm forsworn, you injur'd Gods renew
Thyestes Feast, and prove the Fable true.

Some think that Chance rules all, that Nature steers
The moving Seasons, and turns round the Years.
These run to ev'ry Shrine, these boldly swear,
And keep no Faith, because they know no Fear.

Another doubts, but as his Doubts decline,
He dreads just Vengeance, and he starts at Sin;
He owns a God: And yet the Wretch forswears;
And thus he Reasons to relieve his Fears....

For Confidence in Sin, when mixt with Zeal,
Seems Innocence, and looks to most as well....

XIV

Be cool, my Friend, and hear my Muse dispence
Some Sovereign Comforts, drawn from Common Sense....

XVII

But shall the Villain 'scape? Shall Perjury
Grow Rich and Safe, and shall the Cheat be free?
Hadst thou full power (Rage asks no more) to kill,
Or measure out his Torments by thy Will;
Yet what couldst thou, Tormentor, hope to gain?
Thy Loss continues, unrepaid by Pain.

Inglorious Comfort thou shalt poorly meet,
From his mean Blood. But, oh! Revenge is sweet.

Thus think the Crowd, who, eager to engage,
Take quickly fire, and kindle into rage;
Who ne'er consider, but, without a pause,
Make up in Passion what they want in Cause.
Not so mild Thales, nor Chrysippus thought,
Nor that Good Man, who drank the pois'rous Draught
With Mind serene; and cou'd not wish to see
His Vile Accuser drink as deep as He:

Exalted Socrates! Divinely brave!
Injur'd He fell, and dying He forgave,
Too Noble for Revenge; which still we find
The weakest Frailty of a feeble Mind;
Degenerous Passion, and for Man too base,
It seats its Empire in the Female Race,
There rages; and, to make its Blow secure,
Puts Flatt'ry on, until the Aim be sure.

XVIII

But why must those be thought to 'scape, that feel
Those Rods of Scorpions, and those Whips of Steel
Which Conscience shakes, when she with Rage controuls,
And spreads amazing Terrors through their Souls?
Not sharp Revenge, not Hell it self can find
A fiercer Torment than a Guilty Mind,
Which Day and Night doth dreadfully accuse,
Condemns the Wretch, and still the Charge renews....

XX

Perpetual Anguish fills his anxious Breast,
Not stopt by Business, nor compos'd by Rest:
No Musick chears him, and no Feasts can please,
He sits like discontented Damocles,
When by the sportive Tyrant wisely shown
The dangerous Pleasures of a flatter'd Throne.
Sleep flies the Wretch, or when his Care's opprest,
And his toss'd Limbs are weary'd into rest;
Then Dreams invade, the injur'd Gods appear,
All arm'd with Thunder, and awake his Fear.

What frights him most, in a Gigantick size,

Thy sacred Image flashes in his Eyes;

These shake his Soul, and as they boldly press,
Bring out his Crimes, and force him to confess.

This Wretch will start at ev'ry flash that flies,

Grow pale at the first murmur of the Skies,

E're Clouds are form'd, and Thunder roars, afraid:

And Epicurus can afford no Aid,

His Notions fail: And the destructive Flame

Commission'd falls, not thrown by Chance, but Aim:

One Clap is past, and now the Skies are clear,

A short reprieve, but to encrease his Fear:

Whilst Arms Divine, revenging Crimes below,

Are gathering up to give the greater Blow.

But if a Fever fires his sulphurous Blood,

In ev'ry Fit, he feels the Hand of God,

And Heaven-born Flame: Then, drown'd in deep Despair,

He dares not offer one repenting Prayer;

Nor vow one Victim to preserve his Breath,

Amaz'd he lies, and sadly looks for Death:

For how can Hope with desperate Guilt agree?

And the worst Beast is worthier Life than he....
See "Mais croyez vous bien barbare", above p. 727.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 275-6, unknown foreign hand.

En un de ces beaux jours, ou le bon vieux Silène
Du jus de Son Bacchus voioit la Cuve pleine
   Un Coq d'Inde à pas Compté
   Cheminant en cérémonie
5
   Mencoit tout bouffi de fierté
   Après soi sa compagnie
   (Jamais Suivi du Senat
    Consul roman aussi fier ne marchat).
   Mes frères (disoit-il d'un ton de Suffisance
10
   En qui de Ciceron revivoit l'éloquence)
   Mes très chers frères mettons
   En valeur tous ces rares dons
   Que sur nous la Nature
    D'accord avec le Ciel a versé sans mesure.
15
   Nous avons la beauté, l'esprit, un goût (dieu sçait)
   Pour jouir à plaisir des présens qu'il nous fait

1-8 Cf. LM's prose fable, of which this may be a translation: "Dans une belle journée de l'automne un dindon marchoit a la tête de sa troupe avec autant de fierté qu'un consul Romain a la tête du Senat."
9-14 Cf. "Mes chers frères (disoit-il avec un eloquence ciceroniene), profitons des delices dont la nature nous pourvoye. Il n'y a point d'espece plus favorisée du Ciel que la nostre."
15-18 Cf. "Nous avons la Beauté et l'esprit en partage, et un Goût exquis pour sçavoir joüir de nos avantages, mais Helas! nostre vie est aussi courte que belle."
Mais nos beaux jours ne sont qu'une étincelle
Aussi courte, hélas, qu'elle est belle,
L'homme jamais asséé ivre de Sang,
De carnage toujours fumant,
Ce fier tiran de la Nature
Ne nous permet que rarement
Une tardive Sépulture,
Sans pitié, l'hinumain creuse notre cercueil,
Je le vois faisant la revue
De notre pance dodue,
Nous faire la guerre à coup d'œil,
Nous destinant pour son intemperance,
Les uns au fer aigu qui tourne aux feux cuisans,
Les autres à la daube; à des Coups si puissans
Cède notre foible innocence;
Contentons nous de parvenir
Au point décidé par le Sage,
Des fleurs qui vont passer faisons un prompt usage;
Soumettons nous à l'avenir;
La terre, de fourmis noircie au pied d'un Chêne

19-24 Cf. "L'homme, ce Tyran cruel de la nature, qui n'est jamais assouvi de sang, ne nous permet que rarement de parvenir à la vieillesse; il coupe sans pitié le fil de nos jours."
25-30 Cf. "Je le vois déjà qui regarde nostre embonpoint d'un oeil de convoitisse, et pour contenter sa volupté brutale, il nous destine peutêtre (en peu de jours) les uns à la broche, et les autres à la daube."
30-31 Cf. "Nostre foible innocence ne peut pas resister a ses forces."
32-35 Cf. "Contentons-nous de suivre les maximes de la vraie sagesse: jouissons du present et soumettons-nous à l'avenir."
36-38 Cf. "Je vois au pied de ce chesne la terre toute noircie d'une foule innombrable de fourmis."
Offre de ce Peuple à mes yeux
La conquête prochaine.
Jamais Gibier aussi délicieux
À la Santé ne convint mieux,
Gorgeons nous tous du bien que la main non avare
Du Ciel nous a destine;
Mais croirez vous bien barbare
(Lui cria une fourmi) que pour un déjeuner
Vous deviez immoler à votre gloutonnie
(Censeur de la tirannie)
Un Peuple entier à vous abandonné;
Sachés, Sachés que vous voyant en proie
Au juste doigt qui plume votre peau,
Nous Sentons avec joie
De notre race écraiser le fleau.

39-40 Cf. "Il n'y a point de Gibier plus excellent pour la santé, ni plus délicieux du Goût."
41-42 Cf. "Allons, jouissons du bien que les dieux nous envoye."
43 See above, p. 723.
43-47 Cf. "Un Fourmis lui repond -- Et vous Barbare, que vous plaignez de l'homme! Vous croyez qu'il vous est permis de massacrer tout un peuple pour un déjeuner!"
48-51 Cf. "Sachiez que quand nous vous voyons plume nous regardons cette main meurtrière comme l'instrument de la juste vengeance de la désolation de notre race" (H MS 80, ff. 308-9).
APPENDIX II

Verse Wrongly Attributed to Lady Mary
Song

Blame not that Love too cruel Fair [14 lines]

Love's power none can evade!

MS: H MS 255, f. 11; Lady Mary's hand.
Printed: 1803, v. 240; 1837, iii. 420; 1861, ii. 498.

This, following Lady Mary's "Fond Wishes you persue in vain" (above p. 497) in her album, and in the same stanza, is almost certainly a reply by the "too lovely Swain".

Written by a Lady in Praise of the Invention of Writing.

By L. M. Wortley

Blest be the man his memory at least [40 lines]

And ask an art to help us to Embrace.

MSS: BM Add. MS 28101 (Cowper Papers), f. 34, as by Lady Mary.
H MS 81, f. 145; unknown hand, headed "By Mrs. Finch".

The scribe of BM Add. MS was probably making an unsupported guess; Lady Mary must have known the poem's authorship when her copy was made, before 1712.

Melinda's Complaint

By the side of a glimmering fire (see above pp. 550, 746).

Song by the Countess of Hartfort

Dear Colin prevent my warm blushes (see above pp. 502, 742).
The Duke of Wharton's Letter to Mr. Lloyd

Dear Lloyd, they say you're Walpole's Ferret \(40\) lines/

And you how ill he paid his Pimp.

MS: BM Harley MS 7318, f. 51; Lord Oxford's collection.
Printed: 1784: New Foundling Hospital for Wit, pp. 227-8; L. S.


Miss Mahaffey's thesis on Lady Mary and Pope (pp. 187-90) identifies this with the malicious ballad on a marriage which Lady Mary mentioned to her sister in November 1723 as having been fathered on her by "Sophia" (the Duke of Wharton) (Letters, ii. 42). The identification of the "ballad" with Wharton's poem involves equating the bridegroom of Lady Mary's letter with the licentious Walpole of the poem, lover of Molly Skerrett.

Invocazione alla Luna

Della notte secreta argentea Diva \(10\) lines/

Della sua ampiezza in onta, e del suo gelo.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 259, 261; probably Conti's hand (above p. 211).
Printed: 1756: Conti, Prose e poesie, ii, p. xxii.

1803, v. 219; 1837, iii. 408; 1861, ii. 488: as "Translated by Herself" following "A Hymn to the Moon".

The Countess of ---- to Miss ---- By L. Hervey

If after all I have allready done \(102\) lines/

No Heaven I ask, but what I ask, in thee.

MS: H MS 255, ff. 39-41; Lady Mary's hand, ascribed to Hervey.

Miss Mahaffey thinks that this poem, and two others in Harrowby MS 255 expressing a Lesbian attachment of one woman to another, were really written by Lady Mary to vent her own feelings, and attributed to others for reasons of secrecy.
One Epistle to Mr. A. Pope, Occasion'd By Two Epistles Lately Published

If noble Buckingham, in Metre known, \( \underline{\text{178}} \) lines including \\!

\( \underline{\text{7}} \) of asterisks\

And all the Levite to the Lover yields.

Printed: 1730: for J. Roberts on 28 April.

This poem had been advertised in February 1729 and probably circulated before publication. Pope accused Lady Mary of libelling him in September 1729; in October she heard that she was named as the author, and wrote to Arbuthnot begging him to deny this and "to set the Truth in an open Light" (Letters, ii. 91-93 and notes).

Sarah, The Quaker, To Lothario, Lately Deceased, On Meeting

Him in the Shades

No Respite from my Tortures can I have? \( \underline{\text{120}} \) lines

'And the same Musick ev'ry Hour renew.

Printed: for A. Moore, 19 Dec. 1728; 2nd ed. the same month (St. James's Evening Post, 19-26 Dec.).

On 16 Oct. 1733 anonymous verses "To Mr. Pope" deplored the "low Abuse" offered him by "the Saphian muse", continuing "Such were the Strains o'er wrong'd Lothario dead", with a note: "A scandalous Satyr published a few Days after the Death of the Person it was intended to defame; supposed to be wrote by Sapho" (The Whitehall Evening-Post). Spencer Cowper, father of Judith, had been acquitted of the murder of Sarah Stout, a Quaker who was in love with him and who was found drowned in 1699. He died on 10 Dec. 1728. Charles Beckingham wrote the poem (Thomas Whincop's "List of all the Dramatic Authors", pub, with Scanderbeg, 1747, p. 170).
The Ramble. Between Belinda a Demy-Prude, and Cloe a Court-Coquette

Tell me BELINDA, why your constant care [70 lines]

But why should we? — Since Nature still prevails.

1717: Pope's Miscellany, 2nd part, pp. 1-4, as by "Mr. Joseph Gay".

This poem represents part of Curll's attempt to cash in on the success of Court Poems, and shows that it was worth his while to use Lady Mary's name as well as Pope's. A footnote in the Miscellany says "The best Lines in it are taken from FONTAINE, and a fam'd Female Wit, (the Lady W--y M--gue,) assisted in the Translation." See Halsband, p. 54.

An Epistle To Alexander Pope, Esq; Occasion'd by some of his Late Writings

Tir'd with thy Spleen tho' with thy Numbers pleas'd, [140 lines]

A Heav'n of Truth, a Paradise of Love.


Lady Mary's copy, a fine-paper one now at Yale, bears her note on the title-page: "not by me except a Correction or two. M." Small marginal crosses by lines 1-2 and 39-40, and another mark by lines 6-7, may perhaps indicate her contributions. Line 2 reads "I wish the Muse would spare thee, thus diseas'd", lines 5-8 read

From what comes from thee, strong Corruptions rise,
And with unwholsome Flagrance /sic/ reach the Skies;
'Tis Musick all, 'tis Harmony we know,
But yet 'tis Signal when to strike the Blow:

and lines 39-40 read

Even half thy Jests are from thy Table stole,
Where needy Bard, by Piecemeal sells his Soul.
To all you Lovers who complain [42 lines including refrain]

We'll think of you, and not of them

with a fal la --

MS: Loudoun MS 9205, Huntington Library, California; Lady Loudoun's hand.

Printed: HLQ, xiii, 1950, pp. 411-12, where R. Halsband mistakenly attributed it to Lady Mary.

An Epistle from Calista to Altamont

To jealous Love, and injur'd Honour's Ear [118 lines]

Death shall divorce me from MYSELF, and THEE.

Printed: 1729: sixpenny folio pamphlet, for A. Moore; 2nd ed. pub. 10 Jan. 1730 (St. James's Evening Post).

This is an imaginary epistle from Lady Abergavenny to her husband (above p. 683). On 29 December 1729 Hervey reproached Lady Mary for letting me owe the pleasure of seeing C—a's Letter to A—t, to any Hand but that, which could alone putt it in the Power of any other to transmit it; you may think it proper to swear and forswear as much as you think fitt upon this Occasion, but if you could tell to how little purpose you would perjure your-self I fancy you would not give yourself the trouble to go about it. Your Style can no more be dis­guised by any masquerade than your Person (Bristol MS 47/2, pp. 26-27). The poem enumerates scandalous examples both ancient and modern; it was written by Beckingham (Whincop, "List of Dramatic Authors", p. 170).
The Progress of Poetry

Unequal how shall I the search begin \( \frac{242}{2} \) lines; longer as printed

And undistinguish'd Brightness charms the eye.

MS: BM Add. 28101 (Cowper Miscellany), ff. 154-7, as Judith Cowper's.
Printed: 1731: The Flower-Piece, ed. ? M. Concanen, pp. 130-40, as "a Lady".

James Caldwell, after his first meeting with Lady Mary in 1746, mentioned this poem as a "chef-d'oeuvre" among her publications (Bagshawe MSS, quoted in Halsband, p. 233). The abbé Yart, who translated it, also thought it hers (L'Idee de la poësie angloise, ii, 1953, pp. 98-122). Lady Mary wrote "progress of poetry" in a memorandum after the name (later crossed out) of the abbé's friend Mme du Boccage (CB, f. 21). The poem, however, was written by Judith Cowper in 1721 (F. Madan, The Madan Family, 1933, p. 85).

The Same \( \frac{W}{2} \) Why will Delia
Translated by Lady M. W. Montagu.

Recipe per l'Excellentissima Signora Chiara Michelli

Vi consigliate con lo specchio, e il vostro \( \frac{15}{1} \) lines
Sia bastante rimedio al vostro male.

Printed: 1803, v. 233; 1837, iii. 416; 1861, ii. 495.

This is Conti's translation, lacking its opening eight lines (H MS 81, f. 259; above pp. 211, 490). For Chiara Michiel see Letters, ii. 170.

Vois ces Colombes là que tu prends sur le fait \( \frac{28}{2} \) lines
A la fatale erreur le bandeau sur les yeux.

MSS: H MS 81, ff. 268, 284, foreign hand, two copies.
H MS 81, f. 274, same hand; 30-line version beginning "Vois ces Pigeons dans leurs airs amoureux".
Printed: 1803, v. 242-3, as "Translated by Herself".

This rendering of Lady Mary's "Verses Written in a Garden" is one of a group of French fables unlikely to have been written by her (above p. 723).
To Clio, occasion'd by her Verses upon Friendship

While Clio! ponder ing o'er thy Lines I roll

Approach the Raptures of the Bless'd above.

MS: H MS 81, ff. 139-40; unknown hand.

Printed: 1766: Philip Thicknesse, A Narrative...Relative to the Publication of some Original Letters and Poetry of Lady Mary Wortley Montague's, pp. 26-27.

1768, pp. 105-7.

These verses were among those Thicknesse offered to Lord Bute as among MSS of Lady Mary's in the possession of Mrs. Forrester. Dallaway apparently found no copy of them in her hand. P. M. Smith thought them an answer to the ode on friendship which Lady Louisa Stuart said Mary Astell copied into an album of Lady Mary's before 1730 (H MS 255, ff. 53-56; Stuart, pp. 86-87; Mary Astell, 1916, pp. 16-18); but this is more probably by Johnson. A likely author of "To Clio" is the wife of Lady Mary's admirer Aaron Hill, who addressed similar verse to her friend Martha Fowke Sansom under this name (Savage's Miscellaneous Poems and Translations. By Several Hands, dedicated to Lady Mary, 1726, pp. 264-5; Clarence Tracy, The Artificial Bastard, 1953, p. 59).

Whilst each dear Nymph is happy with her Swain

The Black's intire, no colour'd Stripes appear.

Printed: 1727: The Weekly Journal; or, the British Gazetteer, 16 Dec.

This ballad on Miss Lowther's misadventure (above p. 671) may be one of those ascribed to Lady Mary.

To Molly -- on Easter Eve

Whilst Prudes, who because they can't sin will be Good,

And Dream of my Heaven, where awake tis Possess'd.

MSS: H MS 81, f. 148; unascribed, same hand as that of an undated letter from "Lady Walpole" to Lady Mary (H MS 77, ff. 260-1).

H MS 255, f. 42; Lady Mary's hand, as by Hervey.

Printed: (lines 1-2, 5-6, 9-10 and 26-27) 1730: Fog's Weekly Journal, 7 Nov., described with some indignation as the work of a "Modern Coxcomb".

Miss L. K. Mahaffey takes this to be another of Lady Mary's disguised expressions of love to a woman (above p. 762), though nothing in the
text suggests that it was not written, as Lady Mary claimed, by Hervey.

Ardelia to Cloe going to be marry'd. by Lord Paget

Why starts my Cloe from this Fond Embrace? [32 lines]

Shrink from the touch and while your feasting ends.

MS: H MS 255, f. 60; Lady Mary's hand, ascription added later.

Ascribed to Lady Mary by L. K. Mahaffey (above p. 762).

A Caveat to the Fair-Sex

Wife and servant are the same [28 lines]

You must be proud, if you'll be wise.

Printed: 1748: L. Mag., Dec., p. 568, as by "the Hon Lady ----".

An "Answer" followed in Feb. 1749 (pp. 91-92).

1755: Poems by Eminent Ladies, i. 181-2, entitled "To the Ladies", as by Lady Chudleigh; reprinted Annual Register, 1774, p. 215, 1768, pp. 108-9.

Dallaway found no manuscript of this piece, presumably Lady Chudleigh's.
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BM MSS: Add. 5384, 26877, 28101 (Cowper Miscellany), 28095, 31152, 32096, 32463, 35335, 38488A; Add. Eg. 2560; Burney 523; Harley 7315, 7316, 7318, 7319 (Lord Oxford's collections); Lansdowne 852; Stowe 970.

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Fisher Library, University of Sydney: Lady Mary's commonplace-book.


Hertfordshire Record Office: Panshanger MSS.

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For editions of Lady Mary's poems, see above pp. 220-9; see also list of abbreviations, pp. ii-iii. Place of publication is London or Oxford unless otherwise specified; I have not necessarily consulted every issue of a periodical within the terminal dates given.

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The Agreeable Variety: being a miscellaneous collection, in prose and verse, from the works of the most celebrated authors (2nd ed. 1724).

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Fletcher, Thomas: Poems On Several Occasions, and translations (1692).

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Gildon, Charles: The Complete Art of Poetry (1718).
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The Grove; or, a collection of original poems, translations, &c. (1721).
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The History of Adolphus Prince of Russia...with a collection of songs and love-verses. By several hands (1691).

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