

POPE'S USE OF CRITICAL PERSONAE IN SELECT
ANNOTATED MORAL ESSAYS AND HORATIAN SATIRES

by

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A B S T R A C T

This paper examines Alexander Pope's use of critical personae in select annotated Moral Essays and Horatian Satires. Specifically, the satires discussed are as follows: "Epistle I (To Cobham)," "Epistle II (To a Lady)," "Epistle III (To Bathurst)," "Epistle IV (To Burlington)," "The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated," "Sober Advice from Horace," "An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot," "The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated," "The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace, Imitated," "Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue I," and "Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue II." Various critical personae are identified, such as the knowledgeable critic, the naive critic, "Bentley," "pseudo-Bentley," and "Curl." There is a detailed analysis of the relationship of these personae to the notes in which they appear, as well as an examination of their relationship to the poetical personae which exist in the poems.

The thesis addresses the manner in which the notes, and their respective critical personae, "amplify, complicate or ironically deepen" the poetry. The

critical personae interact with the poetical personae, both supporting and challenging the position assumed by the dominant poetic speaker. The effect of so doing is that Pope successfully speaks to his main issues: false taste, bad sense, the misuse of riches, vice, and corruption. Furthermore, the subtle interaction between the poetical and the critical personae exhibits Pope's skill and ability as a writer, and allows him an opportunity to demonstrate his writing skills.

Although the absence of the notes does not affect the integrity of the poetry - it is amusing, provocative, and clever without the annotations, as well as with them - the addition of the critical commentary increases the humour and the sharp socio/political satire. Pope achieves this by allowing the critical personae both to echo his own sentiments (i.e. the knowledgeable critic), and challenge his basic propositions (i.e. "Bentley"). In fact, "Bentley" regards the "Imitator" as an incompetent who cannot read Latin. However, Pope manipulates this persona in such a way that "Bentley" damns himself, thereby increasing the distance between himself and the "Imitator." Ultimately, it is Pope who emerges triumphant.

The Moral Essays and Horatian Satires were written with the intention of addressing the moral ills which Pope perceived in his world. He believed that modernism ("madness"), corruption, and vice had gripped the universe. Only something as forceful as specific satire could potentially restore moral order. His poetry embodies just that: specific attacks on specific individuals. The critical personae aid him to this end, and their interaction with the poetical personae strengthens Pope's cause. The result of this "collaboration" (unconscious on the part of some of the personae), enriches the reader's experience with the poetry.

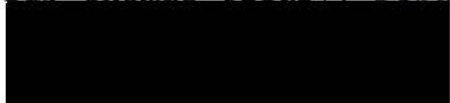
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TABLE OF SIGLA^a

DCQ	Dictionary of Classical Quotations
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
SA	"Spence's Anecdotes." Osborn, James M., ed. <u>Joseph Spence. Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men.</u>

^a Please see Works Consulted for full publication details.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I wish to thank my committee for their invaluable assistance in the writing of this thesis. In particular, I am grateful to Dr. Peter Smith for helping me with the Horatian Latin in the section on "Sober Advice from Horace." I am also indebted to Dr. Thomas Cleary for his extensive corrections of my paper. He provided terrific suggestions and ideas which I have used throughout. My greatest debt is to my advisor, Dr. Patricia Köster. We spent numerous hours on the telephone, discussing many, many changes, additions, and deletions in the thesis. Furthermore, she kindly buoyed up my spirits when they occasionally flagged, offering timely encouragement and advice. For all of this, I am deeply grateful.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The poetical personae which appear throughout Alexander Pope's Satires reflect not only the attitudes of Pope, the man outside of the poems; in several instances, an adversary is also present who goads the speaker and attempts to corrupt him. In fact, as the satires progress, there is a movement away from general satire to specific attacks on named individuals. The calm, occasionally outspoken speaker of the Moral Essays gradually evolves into the angry, righteous persona of Dialogues I and II. He fights for the existence of Truth and Virtue against the corrupt "Friend" who embodies the madness of the world.

These poetical personae are distinct and separate from the critical personae which exist in the commentaries to many of the poems. Just as the poetical personae are an integral aspect of each of Pope's poems, so the critical personae are an essential part of the notes. In fact, the critical personae enhance and enrich the poetry. The subtle tension between the poetical speaker and his adversaries co-exists with the tension created by the multiple critical personae. The latter personae at times support, and at others

contest, the poetical speaker and/or his adversaries. Particularly in the cases of the naive persona, "Bentley," "pseudo-Bentley," and "Curl," this tension serves to underline the ironic subtext of the satires.

Furthermore, in the notes to the Moral Essays and Horatian Satires, the poet derides and pokes satiric fun, not only at his poetic subjects, but also at the reader who may or may not correctly interpret his critical commentaries. For the cognoscenti, his explanations gave cause for delight and ire as they recognized themselves and/or others.

In fact, the notes reveal critical personae which provide an added dimension to the poetry and deserve discussion. These personae are as lively and interesting as any developed in the poetry, and extremely funny in the case of "Bentley." They reinforce or enhance our image of Pope as a perfectionist with so much wit and cunning that it overflows into his critical commentaries. Pope uses his notes to ridicule textual criticism, insult his enemies, and mock pedants, moderns, and fools. He uses a normally dry technical tool to effect his own ends. Similar effects are produced by the ironical notes to The Memoirs

of Martinus Scriblerus and Peri Bathous (1728), the work of Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Gay. In these works, the notes help to satirize the corruption in politics and religion, the encroachment of modernism, and the Madness which they perceive as the result of this corruption in the "modern" world.

Prior to a discussion of Pope's personae in the notes to the Moral Essays and Horatian Satires, a brief examination of some of the scholarship pertaining to his employment of personae in his poetry may be useful. Such examination will provide some insight into Pope's manipulation of texts, both poetical and critical.

Rebecca Price Parkin has examined the concept of the implied dramatic speaker. She defines "the speaker as the implied fictional character, not identifiable with the author, who speaks the poem" (Parkin 137).¹ This "implied fictional character" also appears in the notes, as Pope assumes various personae. Maynard Mack has written that Pope's

dramatic personality who speaks to us from
the satires and epistles of the 1730's--

¹ Please see Works Consulted for full publication details of all parenthetical references.

[is] a personality who is at once the historical Alexander Pope and the fictive hero of a highly traditional confrontation between virtuous simplicity and sophisticated corruption. (Mack, GARDEN 8)

In The Garden and the City, Mack stresses the dichotomy between Pope's place of retirement at Twickenham and the corrupt city (Mack, GARDEN 3). Pope, who views himself as being "To Virtue Only and Her Friends, A Friend" (Imit. Hor. Sat. II i 121), lashes out at Vice Triumphant from his pastoral seat. Such presumption or arrogance, one would expect, would have alienated him from society, and, in fact, he was aware of his moral (and physical) isolation. However, he reached a disparate audience on several different levels. William Youngren notes that his

intimacy of tone...depends on the assumption that we share enough of his experience to understand what he means if he uses words in [a certain] way. (Youngren 206)

In addition, the whole notion of being a friend to Virtue and an enemy of Vice Triumphant depends on the existence of "accredited sentiments" (Youngren 206). Pope employs truisms in individualized portraits of political and literary figures to illustrate his satire of the socio/political scene. What then emerges is a fusion of the universal and the specific, and out of

this fusion arises the satire.

For instance, while Pope respects Robert Walpole, the private man, Pope's condemnation of the corrupt political figure appears in his poetry on more than one occasion. Specific satire of Walpole allows Pope to attack simultaneously the corrupt political system. Similarly, "Waters'" appearance in Pope's poetry signals not only Sir Peter Walter's misuse of riches and personal moral corruption; it also points to the general decay of morals which Pope perceives in his world. This double effect is important. In fact, James M. Osborn finds that Pope addresses "the dilemma of the satirist" (Osborn 547) in the "Epilogue to the Satires." This dilemma involves "being forced to choose between the advantages and disadvantages of writing personal particulars or abstract generalizations" (Osborn 547). What good can be achieved by satirizing lawyers in general, for instance? Does the legal system change thereby? Pope finds that it does not. Furthermore, he believes that the most effective method of amending the situation is to satirize carefully chosen, representative individuals. His targets were well-known to Pope's readers, and, for the uninformed, as well as for later generations, his critical personae

provide explanations. In this manner, public figures are publicly ridiculed, and, at the same time, through this derision, Pope attacks at least his society's corruption. He ultimately admits that the task which he had originally undertaken is an impossibility; however, he remains hopeful that his satire will effect some change.

Significantly, it should be noted that

Pope's theme [was] his conviction that general satire is useless, and that living examples must be made if any reform is to be effected. (Osborn 547)

As will be illustrated in this paper, Pope provides copious references to specific individuals, and many of his unnamed satiric portraits, such as Narcissa, are but thinly-veiled attacks on real personalities (in this instance, Anne Oldfield). The persona I call the "satiric adversary," or, "opponent," serves several functions in a dialogue. It enlivens the satiric discourse, diversifies style, tone, and statement, provides dramatic immediacy, and, perhaps most importantly for Pope's purposes, lends a sense of objectivity (although that objectivity may be false) (Aden 3). In fact, a friendly adversary aids the satirist by supporting his position. A hostile persona, however, even more effectively justifies his

satire by providing proof of the satirist's provocation (Aden 3).

In fact, the fusion of the specific and the universal which occurs in the poetical personae, occurs also in the critical personae. For instance, when Pope assumes the critical persona of "Bentley," his ridicule extends beyond a personal attack on Bentley as an individual: Pope manages to satirize textual criticism, pedantry, and comma critics in general. Conversely, the knowledgeable critic iterates the poet's disdain for widespread political corruption as he derides various named and unnamed political figures. All of the critical personae reflect Pope's confrontation with Vice, and this is discussed at length in the following pages.

These critical personae include: the knowledgeable critic, the naive critic, "Bentley," "pseudo-Bentley," and "Curl." One critical persona in particular, which I call the knowledgeable critic, is very much an extension of the poet's ego. This critic appears at times to have two separate identities. Although he gives straightforward information, is reliable, and, above all, maintains a sense of continuity throughout the notes, he also on occasion colours his remarks with irony and innuendo. Both, however, are simply aspects of a single persona.

In contrast to the knowledgeable persona, the naive critic provides mis-information and deliberately misleads and misinterprets. He moves between innocence and ignorance, and, in fact, represents the knowledgeable critic's alter ego, and his opposite.

"Bentley," controversial, but wickedly funny, serves several purposes. First, he allows Pope to vent his disdain for Richard Bentley. Second, he makes it possible for the poet to comment on textual criticism and textual critics. This is the double effect referred to at my page five. "Bentley" is also foolish and pompous, and we are aware of Pope's ironic voice speaking to us behind each Benteleian syllable. Although this is true, at times, of the other critics, "Bentley" provides the most hilarious vehicle for Pope's satire. Both "Bentley" and "Curl" are satirical, and both are very much in the spirit of the adversarial personae which Pope assumes in the poetry. While attacking Pope, they damn themselves by exposing their ignorance, stupidity, and foolishness. There is also a "pseudo-Bentley" persona who affects the Benteleian-style. Through him, Pope comments not only on Bentley, but also on the issue of "false taste."

With the exception of the strictly informative notes provided by the knowledgeable critic, the poet's

ironic voice simmers beneath the notes. This creates tension between the notes and the poems, and this tension enriches the experience of reading Pope's work. The double entendres, puns, and deliberate errors which punctuate the notes serve to highlight various passages in the poetry which Pope desires to emulate.

In this paper, I shall briefly examine the poetical personae which appear in the following annotated poems: the Moral Essays, including "Epistle I (To Cobham)," "Epistle II (To a Lady)," "Epistle III (To Bathurst)," "Epistle IV (To Burlington)," and, from the Horatian Satires, "The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated," "Sober Advice from Horace," "An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot," "The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated," "The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace, Imitated," "Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue I," "Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue II." Furthermore, I shall analyze indepth some of the critical personae from the annotations to the above-mentioned poems. Certain characteristics of these critical personae have already been addressed in this paper, and will be discussed in greater detail in conjunction with the appropriate poems.

The critical personae are an integral part of the

notes, and the notes themselves play a significant role in terms of the satires. Certainly, the poems can be read and enjoyed without the aid of the critical commentaries. The absence of the notes would not affect the integrity of the satires; neither the humour nor the biting socio/political statements would be compromised. However, with the addition of the annotations, the humour greatly increases, and the serious statements are rendered more effective. The manner in which the notes "amplify, complicate or ironically deepen"² the poetry must be analyzed. In order to arrive at an effective conclusion regarding the notes, one must examine the relationship of the notes to the poetry, and, similarly, the relationship between the critical and the poetical personae.

² This idea was suggested by Dr. T. Cleary.

C H A P T E R O N EMORAL ESSAYS

The Moral Essays address the issue of the "Ruling Passion," the misuse of riches, and the "convention that 'Most Women have no Characters at all'" (Wimsatt xlii). There is a predominant poetical speaker who interacts with various friendly adversaries, including "Burlington," "Bathurst," "Cobham," and "Martha Blount." Similarly, there is a predominant critical persona in the Moral Essays. This persona, the knowledgeable critic, provides consistent, reliable information which assists the reader in these poems. The naive critic, conversely, misleads the reader. However, his appearance serves to highlight the credibility of his alter ego, the knowledgeable critic.

In Moral Essay IV, the "Epistle to Burlington," the poetical persona reflects Pope's attitudes regarding architecture, gardening, and the misuse of riches. This persona clearly expresses his disapproval of bad taste, and the reader can accept his sentiments as a reliable expression of Pope's thoughts. In fact, the persona

speaks in the guise of the Twickenham garden-philosopher who understands and respects nature, and who therefore knows...that the criterion of true possession is not ownership but enjoyment. (Mack, GARDEN 85)

Because the poem satirizes by using fictitious names (Timon, Bubo, Villario), rather than real ones, the knowledgeable critic's commentary enhances the experience of reading it. He provides explanations regarding the the fictitious individuals, and also discusses the real persons to whom the poet refers (Mead, Sloane, Topham). Further, he makes ironic observations about those who demonstrate bad taste and other faults. The predominant critical persona serves his most important function, however, by echoing Pope's fight against corruption.

When Pope published the "Epistle to Burlington" in December of 1731, his intention was to ridicule the gross misuse of wealth. He achieves this with a satirical attack on the fictitious figure of Timon, whose villa embodies a flagrant waste of riches. Ultimately, the reader is directed to the Earl of Burlington as an example of the proper use of wealth. The poetic speaker considers the Prodigal

[Who] buys for Topham, Drawings and Designs.
(Ep. IV 7)

Richard Topham (d.1735) had been the Keeper of the

Records in the Tower. He bequeathed his collection of drawings, portraits, and engravings to Eton College Library (Bateson 134), and the knowledgeable critic appropriately explains that Topham is

A Gentleman famous for a judicious collection
of drawings. (Bateson 134)

The poet derides the prodigal who needs someone else to choose his paintings (or books, etc.), because the prodigal himself cannot appreciate what to buy. Furthermore, the prodigal attains these items so that when Topham visits his home, at least he will be able to appreciate them. The knowledgeable critic, in fact, understands the aesthetic value of the collection, as does Topham. Only the prodigal remains ignorant of this. As the poetic speaker remarks:

Is it less strange, the Prodigal should waste
His wealth, to purchase what he ne'er can taste?
(Ep. IV 4-5)

Surely, it is a waste of wealth to buy things for which the buyer can never hope to have any use. This argument continues, as the speaker refers to

...Books for Mead, and Butterflies for Sloane.
(Ep. IV 10)

Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754) was Physician in Ordinary to George II and Queen Caroline. He also administered to Pope in 1743, and very much valued Pope's friendship

(Bateson 136). Mead, in fact, was one of the executors of Topham's estate. Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) was First Physician to George II and President of the Royal College of Physicians. His butterfly collections "were bought by the nation after his death and formed the nucleus of the British Museum" (Bateson 136). The knowledgeable critic describes Mead and Sloane as

Two eminent Physicians; the one had an excellent Library, the other the finest collection in Europe of natural curiosities; both men of great learning and humanity.
(Bateson 136)

Mead and Sloane, like Topham, appreciate these collections. This section ridicules those who pretend to have good taste, and the actual examples of good taste contrast with the false taste most grossly embodied by Timon's villa.

The critic then attacks "Ripley" (Ep. IV 18):

This man was a carpenter, employ'd by a first Minister, who rais'd him to an Architect, without any genius in the art, and after some wretched proofs of his insufficiency in public Buildings, made him Comptroller of the Board of works. (Bateson 137)

Thomas Ripley (d. 1758) was boldly brought up through the ranks by Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745). Pope resented the corruption of the First Minister's administration, which included the practice of promoting and rewarding incompetence. Not only does Pope sneer at Ripley's

architectural capabilities, but also at Walpole and the politics of patronage. The irony in the situation described by the knowledgeable critic lies in the fact that Ripley receives his promotion after proving his incompetence. Just as the prodigal is unworthy of the paintings, et cetera, in his possession, this man is unworthy of his political appointment. As a subtext of the proper use of riches, Pope explores the question of worth. What defines the relative worth of an individual? His argument suggests that the real worth of a person can only be based upon his personal qualities. This point develops as the poem progresses.

In the next example, Pope writes:

You show us Rome was glorious, not profuse,
And pompous buildings were once things of Use.
(Ep.IV 23-24)

The knowledgeable critic simply explains that

The Earl of Burlington was then publishing the
Designs of Inigo Jones, and the Antiquities of
Rome by Palladio. (Bateson 139)

The critic's admiration of the Earl of Burlington reflects the significance of the poet's words. If he had lacked good sense, the Earl might have perverted the beauty of Roman architecture in his book, as Timon has done in his villa. However, this is not the case. Instead, Burlington's book demonstrated that

Architecture was to be henceforth not baroque, not overladen with academic details, but Roman in its forms, Roman in simplicity and grandeur. (Fiske Kimball; see Bateson 139)

Furthermore, the poetic speaker asserts that "Sense" is

A Light, which in yourself you must perceive;
Jones and Le Nôtre have it not to give.
(Ep. IV 45-46)

The knowledgeable critic describes Inigo Jones as "the celebrated Architect" and Le Nôtre as "the designer of the best Gardens of France" (Bateson 141). Good "Sense" is something inherent in certain individuals; Pope is not suggesting that Jones and Le Nôtre are lacking in good sense. He is saying that if you do not have the sense they had, you cannot hope to understand this concept. In fact, people who imitate do not have the sense of the originator. This reiterates the image of the prodigal collecting things which are meaningless to him.

Similarly, Pope comments on landscaping:

...cut wide views thro' Mountains to the Plain,
You'll wish your hill or shelter'd seat again.
(Ep. IV 74-75)

The knowledgeable critic shrewdly observes that

This was done in Hertfordshire, by a wealthy citizen, at the expence of above 5000 l. by which means (merely to overlook a dead plain) he let in the north-wind upon his house and parterre, which were before adorned and defended by beautiful woods. (Bateson 144)

He criticizes the misuse of riches, and wryly notes the stupidity of this "wealthy citizen" who wasted a great sum of money to destroy natural beauty. This individual lacked the sense to realize what effect his actions would have on his home, both practically and aesthetically. Perhaps he, unlike the prodigal, did not have the benefit of an "Artist" to direct the landscaping of his home. In fact, the critic explains that there are

The two extremes in parterres, which are equally faulty; a boundless Green, large and naked as a field, or a flourished Carpet, where the greatness and nobleness of the piece is lessened by being divided into too many parts, with scroll'd works and beds, of which the examples are too frequent. (Bateson 146)

He also comments on the "mournful family of Yews" to which the speaker refers (Ep. IV 94-95). This

Touches upon the ill taste of those who are so fond of Ever-greens (particularly Yews, which are the most tonsile) as to destroy the nobler Forest-trees, to make way for such little ornaments as Pyramids of dark-green, continually repeated, not unlike a Funeral procession. (Bateson 146)

In this manner, the critic sets the groundwork for Pope's attack on Timon's villa, which occurs several lines later in the poem. The opinions expressed in these two notes reflect those of the poet. This is the usual pattern of the comments of the knowledgeable critic.

We are then invited to "pass a day" at Timon's villa

(Ep.IV 99). Before Pope relates any details of this home, the knowledgeable critic explains that

This description is intended to comprize the principles of a false Taste of Magnificence, and to exemplify what was said before, that nothing but Good Sense can attain it.
(Bateson 147)

This refers back to lines 41-42 of the poem:

Something there is more needful than Expence,
And something previous ev'n to Taste--'tis
Sense:
(Ep.IV 41-42)

"It" is the true taste of Magnificence set out by Pope early in the poem. Timon's villa does not manifest the virtue of magnificence and good sense; instead, it embodies bad taste and bad sense. The knowledgeable critic understands Pope's argument, and his comment directs us to expect this example of bad taste.

Conversely, Burlington shows us that "Rome was glorious, not profuse" (Ep.IV 23), and he is a constant reminder of all that these prodigals are not.

Touring Timon's garden, Pope notices that

There Gladiators fight, or die, in flow'rs;
(Ep.IV 124)

We are presented with the incongruous image of petrified feats of bravery and tragedy displayed in the unlikely surroundings of flowers. The knowledgeable critic explains that the "Gladiators" refer to

The two [famous 1731abc] Statues of the
Gladiator pugnans and Gladiator moriens.
 (Bateson 149)

Our critic's inclusion of "famous" in some of the editions lends an ironic tone to his note, and reflects the disdain which the critic also feels for bad taste.

The poetic persona continues his tour through the grounds of the villa, noting the size of the terrace:

First thro' the length of yon hot Terrace
sweat,
 (Ep.IV 130)

and the knowledgeable critic understands that the speaker of the poem means

The Approaches and Communications of house
 with garden, or of one part with another, ill
 judged and inconvenient. (Bateson 150)

His explanation reaffirms his function as Pope's spokesman. Furthermore, it aids our comprehension of the image being presented, and we are aware of the total waste of the money spent to build this terrace.

When Pope moves us inside the villa, the critic elaborates upon Pope's mention of Timon's "Books" (Ep.IV 134-140). He continues to provide reliable information which enriches the lines of the poem:

The false Taste in Books; a satyr on the
 vanity in collecting them, more frequent in
 men of Fortune than the study to understand
 them. Many delight chiefly in the elegance
 of the print, or of the binding; some have
 carried it so far, as to cause the upper

shelves to be filled with painted books of wood; others pique themselves so much upon books in a language they do not understand as to exclude the most useful in one they do.
(Bateson 150)

The critic refers to an issue already raised: a lack of good sense prompts these prodigals to collect books which they are unable to understand. He also points out the absurdity of remaining ignorant, when, in fact, these prodigals have access to education. The foolishness of collecting books (and pseudo-books) parallels the foolishness of buying art that cannot be appreciated. The action of surrounding themselves with articles which others have deemed to be of worth does not imbue the collectors with great worth. This touches on the issue of the relative worth of an individual which Pope addresses in Moral Essay III.

Pope then focuses on Timon's hospitality. When the speaker asks, indignantly:

Is this a dinner? this a Genial room?
(Ep. IV 155)

the same knowledgeable critic comments on the vice of pride:

The proud Festivals of some men are here set forth to ridicule, where pride destroys the ease, and formal regularity all the pleasurable enjoyment of the entertainment.
(Bateson 152)

His observation is a reflection of Pope's fight against both moral corruption and cold hospitality. The ostentation and display at such a dinner is for the benefit of the host, not his guests. This flagrant waste of wealth, in fact, serves only to demonstrate the bad taste of the host.

Two years later, in January of 1733, Pope published a second Moral Essay, the "Epistle to Bathurst" (Moral Essay III, Of the Use of Riches). Pope once again addresses the problem of the right and wrong use of riches. The "Epistle to Bathurst" delineates two worlds:

that which contains Bathurst, Oxford, and the Man of Ross, on the one hand, and that which contains Cotta, Villiers, Hopkins, Cutler, and all the rest who manifest "want with a full... purse," on the other. (Mack, GARDEN 87)

Here, the poetic persona does not shy away from directly naming those guilty of the misuse of riches. Just as the speaker of Moral Essay IV venerates Burlington, in whom the speaker sees an exemplar of good taste and generosity, so the speaker in Moral Essay III venerates Bathurst. Although Bathurst and the speaker had "briefly disagreed," ultimately, the speaker finds their "tenets just the same at last" (Ep. III 16) (Weinbrot 175). Moral Essay III details the specific example of the Man of Ross, and this contrasts with the fictional character of

"Balaam." The knowledgeable critic dominates the critical commentary of this poem, as he had in Moral Essay IV. His presence again reinforces the moral position of the poetic persona, as he condemns the profligate waste of riches. The naive critic's appearance serves to underline the ironic subtext which exists throughout much of this satire.

The poetic persona and his adversary (who in this case appears to be Bathurst) observe the following:

Both fairly owning, Riches in effect
 No grace of Heav'n or token of th' Elect;
 Giv'n to the Fool, the Mad, the Vain, the
Evil,
 To Ward, to Waters, Chartres, and the Devil.
(Ep.III 17-20)

Francis Chartres (1675-1732), a notorious rapist and rogue in Britain, built his fortune through gambling and usury (Butt 353). The knowledgeable critic calls him

a man infamous for all manner of vices...in a word, by a constant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he acquired an immense fortune. His house was a perpetual bawdy-house. He was twice condemn'd for rapes, and pardoned: but the last time not without imprisonment in Newgate, and large confiscations. (Bateson 85)

In fact, Arbuthnot, in a satirical epitaph, refers to Chartres as "the most UNWORTHY of/ALL MORTALS" (Bateson 86). John Ward (d.1755) was convicted of forgery in the court of the King's Bench, and expelled from the

House of Commons in 1726. Significantly, the knowledgeable critic concludes his description of Ward by discussing his monetary worth:

...To sum up the worth of this gentleman, at the several aera's of his life; at his standing in the Pillory he was worth above two hundred thousand pounds; at his commitment to Prison [Newgate 1735ab], he was worth one hundred and fifty thousand, but has since been so far diminished in his reputation, as to be thought a worse man by fifty or sixty thousand. (Bateson 85)

The same critic similarly closes his comment about Chartres by explaining that

...This Gentleman was worth seven thousand pounds a year estate in Land, and about one hundred thousand in Money. (Bateson 86)

Neither man has any personal qualities to commend him. The only measure of their self-worth appears to be a monetary one, and Ward's self-worth diminishes with his shrinking fortune. Peter Walter (or "Waters") was a Clerk of the Peace for the county of Middlesex and Land Steward to the Duke of Newcastle (Butt 392). He also represented Bridport in Parliament from 1715 until 1727. Infamy attaches to his occupation as a "money scrivener." His questionable business as money-lender-in-chief to the aristocracy prompts the critic to remark that

Mr. Waters, the third of these worthies, was a man no way resembling the former in his military, but extremely so in his civil capacity; his great fortune having been

rais'd by the like diligent attendance on the necessities of others. But this gentleman's history must be deferred till his death, when his worth may be known more certainly. (Bateson 86)

Just as Ward made money through forgery, Chartres made "a fortune by gambling and usury" (Bateson 86), and Walter made money on usurious interest. All of these individuals are reprehensible, and all are morally bankrupt. They have nothing to recommend them beyond their respective fortunes, and the knowledgeable critic's repeated references to their "worth" reflects an underlying irony. They are, finally, worthless.

Colepepper was also

a person of ancient family, and ample fortune, without one other quality of a Gentleman, who, after ruining himself at the Gaming-table, past the rest of his days in sitting there to see the ruin of others; preferring to subsist upon borrowing and begging, rather than to enter into any reputable method of life, and refusing a post in the army which was offer'd him. (Bateson 90)

Sir William Colepepper (1668-1740) abused the privileges of his position. Although he had the good fortune to be born with wealth and lineage, he lacked the good character to use them properly. Colepepper gambled, lost everything, and then did not even have the self-respect to avoid borrowing and begging when the opportunity presented itself. Colepepper is contrasted

with the Earl of Bathurst, as is Wharton in another note. The Earl knows how properly to apply his fortune; Wharton, however, is

A Nobleman of great qualities, but as unfortunate in the application of them, as if they had been vices and follies. See his Character in the first Epistle. (Bateson 94-95)

Not only does the knowledgeable critic have personal knowledge of Wharton, he also knows the contents of all of Pope's poems, and directs us to a relevant one. He is aware of Pope's disapproval of Wharton. As Pope later writes about him, Wharton is "the scorn and wonder of our days, / Whose ruling Passion was the Lust of Praise" (Ep. I 180-181). Although Wharton was intelligent, he misused his intelligence. Philip, the Duke of Wharton (1698-1731) adopted the cause of "James III" in 1726, urging a Spanish invasion of England, and he also became a Roman Catholic. After serving on the wrong side of the siege of Gibraltar in 1727, he was outlawed in 1729 (Bateson 30). Bateson suggests that Pope's anger with Wharton's behaviour may have been related to Wharton's acquaintance with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. According to Lady Mary, Pope became jealous of this, and a subsequent breach between Pope and Lady Mary ensued (Bateson 30).

The knowledgeable critic speaks ironically in his description of "Hopkins" and "Japhet" (Ep.III 87-88) and "Turner" (Ep.III 82). Richard Turner (d. 1733) was a Turkey merchant. John Hopkins (d.1732) was so commonly known by the name Vulture Hopkins, that his tombstone reads:

In a vault under this stone lies interred the body of John Hopkins, Esq., familiarly known as "Vulture Hopkins", who departed this life the 25th April, 1732, Aged 69. (Bateson 95)

Hopkins, in fact, willed nothing to a living person, and arranged his will so that nothing would be inherited until after the second generation (although this was ultimately changed by Chancery). Hopkins

...lived worthless, but died worth three hundred thousand pounds, which he would give to no person living, but left it so as not to be inherited till after the second generation... (Bateson 95)

Japhet Crook (1662-1734), alias Sir Peter Stranger, was found guilty of forging certain Deeds of Conveyance of two thousand acres of land, which he then mortgaged for £4,500. As the knowledgeable critic explains, Japhet

...was punished with the loss of [nose and ears], for having forged a conveyance of an Estate to himself, upon which he took up several thousand pounds. He was at the same time sued in Chancery for having fraudulently obtain'd a Will...By these means he was worth a great sum, which (in reward

for the small loss of his ears) he enjoy'd
in prison till his death... (Bateson 96)

Turner also "possessed more than three hundred thousand pounds," but "sav'd both cloaths and other expences" when his "Interest was reduced from five to four per cent" (Bateson 94). Japhet and Hopkins are as worthless in human or moral terms as Turner, Walter, Ward, Chartres, and the "misers of great wealth."

When the speaker refers to "Didius" (Ep. III 128), the knowledgeable critic explains that he was

A Roman lawyer, so rich as to purchase the
Empire when it was set to sale upon the death
of Pertinax. (Bateson 102-103)

This is ironically placed in juxtaposition to the naive critic's comment about Peter Walter, which will be dealt with later. Further, Didius' extravagance is contrasted with the generosity of the Man of Ross (Ep. III 243-250). The critic's comments about the Man of Ross are devoid of irony:

The person here celebrated, who with a small
Estate actually performed all these good works,
and whose true name was almost lost (partly by
the title of the Man of Ross given him by way
of eminence, and partly by being buried without
so much as an inscription) was called Mr. John
Kyrle... (Bateson 113)

The example of the Man of Ross (d. 1724) is essential to this Epistle, as it demonstrates the selfless use of

limited funds for the benefit of the greatest number possible. Our critic's comment merely complements the portrait drawn by Pope. He measures the worth of the Man of Ross by his virtues, not by his money.

The critic also comments on "Great Villiers" (Ep. III 305), the Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham resided at Cliveden. For years, he had carried on a notorious illicit affair with the Countess of Shrewsbury, and the poetic speaker describes the palace (Cliveden) as

The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury and love;
(Ep. III 308)

The knowledgeable critic describes the Countess as

a woman abandon'd to gallantries. The Earl
her husband was kill'd by the Duke of
Buckingham in a duel; and it has been said,
that during the combat she held the Duke's
horses in the habit of a page. (Bateson 119)

However, Pope gave Joseph Spence a somewhat different account of the incident:

The witty Duke of Buckingham was an extreme
bad man. His duel with Lord Shrewsbury was
concerted between him and Lady Shrewsbury. All
that morning she was trembling for her gallant,
and wishing the death of her husband; and,
after his fall, 'tis said the duke slept with
her in his bloody shirt. (Bateson 119)

While on one level, the knowledgeable critic relates the details of the duel; on another level, Pope is cognizant of the gossip surrounding the duel, and we must assume this is implicit in the critic's note. He snickers while

withholding the most scandalous rumours. George Villiers, the second Duke of Buckingham (1628-1687), in fact, was a foolish and vain man who had "a restless desire for power, which he was incapable of using when obtained" (DNB 344). This partially explains Pope's attack on him. The Duke was both unreliable and untrustworthy (DNB 337-347), and disgraced himself in both the political and the private spheres.

The naive critic makes a brief appearance in this Moral Essay. The reappearance of "Wise Peter" reminds us of the knowledgeable critic's lengthy discussions about relative worth. However, the naive critic comments quite literally that Peter Walter was

a person not only eminent in the wisdom of his profession, as a dextrous attorney, but allow'd to be a good, if not a safe, conveyancer; extremely respected by the Nobility of this land, tho' free from all manner of luxury and ostentation: his Wealth was never seen, and his bounty never heard of, except to his own son, for whom he procured an employment of considerable profit, for which he gave him as much as was necessary. Therefore, the taxing this Gentleman with any Ambition, is certainly a great wrong to him. (Bateson 102)

The critic seems blithely unaware of the odious nature of this man, but behind this remark, Pope is being ironical. Therefore, the placement of the knowledgeable critic's comment about Didius immediately following the

note about Walter (Bateson 102-103) satirizes Walter's ambition.

In Moral Essay I, the "Epistle to Cobham," published in January of 1734, the speaker of the poem emphasizes the importance of recognizing the Ruling Passion which motivates each individual. Lord Cobham acts as the speaker's adversary, not in a confrontational sense, but in the friendly manner discussed at page six of this paper. The speaker admires him, and uses him as an example for others. The knowledgeable critic re-emerges to comment on "Narcissa." His absences are never lengthy, and this reflects his position as an echo of the dominant poetic persona's ideology. He reiterates and reinforces the statements made by the speaker, with the result that the ignoble are doubly-damned and the virtuous twice-acclaimed.

In reference to the following lines:

"Odious! in woollen! 'twould a Saint provoke,
 (Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke)
 "No, let a charming Chintz, and Brussels lace
 "Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face:
 "One would not, sure, be frightful when one's
 dead--
 "And--Betty--give this Cheek a little Red."
 (Ep.I 246-251)

the knowledgeable critic observes that

This story...is founded on fact, tho' the author had the goodness not to mention the [name]. Several attribute this in particular

to a very celebrated Actress, who, in detestation of the thought of being buried in woollen, gave these her last orders with her dying breath. (Bateson 36)

The critic could have named Anne Oldfield, who died in 1730, because this was presumably a well-known story at the time. Granted, Pope calls her "Narcissa," rather than Oldfield, and, furthermore, it is true that she cannot be embarrassed because she is already dead. However, because she was a celebrity who had recently died, in all likelihood, she probably was recognized as Pope's target. The critic's ironical observation about the author's "goodness" is indicative of the intimate relationship between the speaker, the poet, and this critical persona.

Moral Essay II, the "Epistle to A Lady," published in 1735, finds the poetic speaker with yet another adversary, Martha Blount. The poem is addressed to her, and the speaker venerates Martha Blount as the ideal woman. This recalls the other Moral Essays, in which Burlington, Bathurst, and Cobham are held up as exemplars. Again, it is the knowledgeable critic who explains many of the speaker's references. The naive critic appears only once, to comment on the "poet's politeness." This reinforces the ironic subtext referred to at my page two.

The knowledgeable critic explains the title,
 "The Characters of Women, to a Lady," as

treating of this Sex only as contra-
 distinguished from the other. (Bateson 46)

Further, he notes

That their particular Characters are not so
 strongly mark'd as those of men, seldom so
 fix'd, and still more inconsistent with
 themselves. (Bateson 47)

The critic's remarks mirror those of the poetic speaker,
 and set the tone for the critic's responses throughout
 this poem. He also comments that the speaker's examples
 (Ep. II 21-100) represent

Instances of contrarieties, given even from such
 Characters as are most strongly mark'd and
 seemingly therefore most consistent. (Bateson
 50)

In fact, his basic function here is to provide such
 clarification, as well as organization (Bateson 52-55,
 57,68) for the benefit of the reader. He refrains from
 the ironic innuendo which he has demonstrated on
 occasion.

In his final appearance in the Moral Essays, this
 critic makes some astute observations. According to
 the poetic speaker:

In Men, we various Ruling Passions find,
 In Women, two almost divide the kind;
 Those, only fix'd, they first or last obey,
 The Love of Pleasure, and the Love of Sway.

sex is observable in this instance, amongst others, that, whereas in the Characters of Men he has sometimes made use of real names, in the Characters of Women always fictitious. (Bateson 48)

This statement recalls the portrait of "Narcissa" from Moral Essay I. The author feigns innocence by using the naive critic as his spokesman here. Nonetheless, Bateson observes that Warburton may have had something to do with this note. He believes it may derive from Pope's note to Warburton (possibly 1744):

I have just run over y^e Second Epistle frō Bowyer, I wish you c^d add a Note at y^e very End of it, to observe y^e authors Tenderness in using no living Examples or real Names of anyone of y^e softer Sex, tho so free with those of his own in all his [?] other satyrs. (Bateson 48)

In any event, what is important in the critical personae of the Moral Essays is the predominance of the knowledgeable critic. The naive critic occasionally appears to mislead us; however, the knowledgeable critic provides useful, reliable information which assists us in reading the poems.

As an extension of Pope's thought processes as encountered in the poems, the knowledgeable critic reflects the attitudes of the poetic speaker, and, going one step further, of Pope himself. Basically, this critic assails pretenders and fools, and promotes

the exposure of corruption. The critic is also sufficiently well-informed to discuss not only the situations presented within the poems, but to direct us to further references made by Pope, the author of the poems.

Moreover, this critic appears throughout the Imitations of Horace, as well, and he consistently exhibits the qualities on which we rely to interpret names, places, and incidents. As the poetic speaker's confrontation with Vice builds, the knowledgeable critic is not drawn up into the fray. Instead, he continues calmly to relay factual information. It is the other critical personae who mirror the heated emotions of the dominant poetical speaker. However, their reactions, as we shall see, result in misinformation.

C H A P T E R T W OIMITATIONS OF HORACE

A special feature of the Imitations of Horace is that commentary on the satires is presented along with the original Horatian Latin. The commentary on each satire involves one or more of the critical personae. We have dealt already with two of the critical personae in Chapter One: the knowledgeable critic and the naive critic, as well as several poetical personae, including the dominant poetic speaker, and several of his adversaries. The dominant poetic speaker, in fact, reappears throughout these satires, as do the knowledgeable critic and the naive critic. There are several new poetical personae which interact with the dominant speaker. Furthermore, some new critical personae are introduced: "Bentley," "pseudo-Bentley," and "Curl."

"The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated" enunciates the poetic speaker's position as "To Virtue Only and Her Friends, A Friend." This reflects the philosophical stance of Pope, the man, and establishes the speaker's position as one who is against

the transgressors of virtue and reason.

In this satire, the "Virtuous Friend" speaks from within "an imagined ideal community of patriarchal virtues and heroic friends: a community of the garden and the 'grot'" (Mack, GARDEN 66). Walpole is merely a symptom of that which the speaker confronts in this satire; the poem is a broad indictment of "a land of Hectors, /Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors" (Mack, GARDEN 68). In this poetic conversation between the satirist and his lawyer, Pope's presence makes itself felt beneath the two persons engaged in the dialogue; in short, each is a "voice" of Pope's. Unlike the Horatian original, in which Horace informs us that he writes satire "because it is his nature to do so" (Maner 561), Pope "insists that his writing satire is a virtuous response to provocation" (Maner 561).

At line 105, Pope tells Fortescue that he is

arm'd for Virtue when I point the Pen
(Imit.Hor.Sat.II i)

thus drawing on Horace, who regards his stilus

as both my dagger and my pen... (Sat.II i 40)

In this note, Pope casts aside all pretence, irony, and alien personae to champion his cause directly:

I am in no concern whether people should say this is writ well or ill, but that this was writ with good design--'He has written in the cause of virtue, and done something to mend people's morals': this is the only commendation I long for. (Butt 14)

The fact that Pope has chosen to imitate this satire-- "the one satire by Horace that deals most explicitly with the character or ethos of the satirist" (Maner 560)-- implies that he sees his situation as being "like Horace's, and that both of them have faced the kinds of attacks that all satirists must endure" (Maner 560). As the author explains in the "Advertisement":

An Answer from Horace was both more full, and of more Dignity, than any I cou'd have made in my own person... (Butt 3)

Not only does he rely on certain sections of Horace to make his answer, but that answer is coloured by critical personae, as well as poetic personae.

"Sober Advice from Horace" draws a "comic analogy between an imaginary interior dialogue and the question period in the House" (Mack, GARDEN 166). The speaker openly uses Walpole's name, and takes issue with the overt hypocrisy and questionable activities of the "Members." Although Alexander Pope did not acknowledge authorship of this satire, it is definitely his work. The critical annotations simply fuel the controversy surrounding this poem. The notes allow Pope to parody

textual criticism and textual critics, while simultaneously enhancing the humour and biting satire of the poem.

In "Sober Advice from Horace" (Serm. I ii), the knowledgeable critic disappears for a time, and is replaced by the comical Bentleian persona. The satire itself is highly controversial; it has been regarded as unduly pornographic (certainly not something "Every School-boy" would know about!) However, it is extremely funny, and the Notae Bentleianae add to the humour.

This poem is entitled, "Sober Advice from Horace, Imitated from his Second Sermon;" "Bentley" takes issue with the subtitle, contesting the word "Imitated":

Imitated. Why Imitated? Why not translated?
Odi Imitatores! A Metaphrast had not turned
Tigellius, and Fufidius, Malchinus and
Gargonius, (for I say Malchinus, not Malthinus,
 and Gargonius, not Gorgonius) into so many
 LADIES. Benignus, hic, hunc, &c. all of the
 Masculine Gender: Every School-boy knows more
 than our Imitator. (Butt 74)

First, "Odi Imitatores" refers to a Horatian Ode (38) which begins, "Persicos odi...apparatus..." This corresponds to the idea of highly decorated poetry, and Pope is saying basically that Bentley has a "tin ear" for poetry. Anne Oldfield had recently passed away, and

the poetic persona, a "Restoration rake,"³ takes advantage of the opportunity of insulting different groups of people all over London who are in mourning over her death. He uses "Tigellius" to represent Oldfield, and "Bentley" claims that the poetic speaker is so stupid, he does not know that "Tigellius" is a man. In fact, the poetic persona translates "Benignus" to suggest that Oldfield was "charming." It is "Bentley" who lacks the wit to follow the thought here. "Hic" and "hunc," two male adversaries, also become ladies in paragraphs two and three of the "Imitation." The original Horatian Latin is as follows:

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae,
mendici mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte
Tigelli...
 (Sat. I ii 1-3)

(The flute-girls' guilds, the drug-quacks, beggars, actresses, buffoons, and all that breed, are in grief and mourning at the death of the singer Tigellius.) (Fairclough 19)

Horace's "Fufidius" (Sat. I ii 12) becomes the poetic speaker's "Fufidia" (Imit. Hor. Serm. I ii 18), and "Malchinus," who "walks with his garments trailing low" (Fairclough 25), becomes "Peg":

³ G. Douglas Atkins discusses this application of the Restoration rake speaker (see Works Consulted). Dr. P. Köster suggested his article to me.

Nothing in Nature is so lewd as Peg,
 Yet, for the World, she would not show her Leg!
 (Imit.Hor.Serm.I ii 32)

"Gargonius" smells "like a goat" (Fairclough 27), while "Rufillus" smells of some expensive scent (Fairclough 27). These two become "Jack" and "Sweet Moll" (Imit. Hor.Serm.I ii 30). Therefore, "Gargonius" has become "Jack," a male, not a female, and "Bentley" is in error.

"Bentley's" comments indicate that he is playing the supreme comma critic. He has an overt interest in the question of masculine/feminine gender, as well as in the area of exact translation. These points are observed to the exclusion of the poetic concerns of the lines. The fact that there was often no poetic point in Richard Bentley's work irked Pope, and he resented Bentley's comments on such things as poetic metre, when Bentley had no real appreciation for poetry. The fact that Bentley was a true Latin scholar, whose grammatical comments were often beyond his range, did not interest Pope.

In relation to these lines:

A Self-Tormentor, worse than (in the Play)
 The Wretch, whose Av'rice drove his Son away.
 (Imit.Hor.Serm.I ii 25-26)

"Bentley" directs the reader to

See My Terence, Heautontimorumenos: There is
 nothing in Dr. Hare's.BENT.(Butt 77)

According to Fairclough, the "white-robe" was something worn by Roman matrons. "Bentley" states:

*CUNNI CUIENNIUS ALBI, Hoary Shrine. Here the Imitator grievously errs, Cunus albus by no means signifying a white or grey Thing, but a Thing under a white or grey Garment, which thing may be either black, brown, red, or parti-coloured. BENT. (Butt 78)

"Bentley" wants the "Imitator" to be literally exact. Although the poetic speaker has created a witty pun from the Latin, "Bentley" misses the point, and assumes that the speaker does not understand what he has translated. "Bentley" realizes that "albi" means "in white." However, because of the "i" ending, "cunni...albi" could also be interpreted as "white thing." He is saying that this is not what Horace meant at all, and that the "Imitator" (poetic speaker) is mistaken. In Horace's version, she is a high-class Roman lady, who can afford bleached white wool, and in the "Imitation" she is also old. This explains the poetic speaker's use of the word "hoary." In fact, Mary Hill, Viscountess Hillsborough ("Hi--sb--w"), wife of Trevor Hill, attended the Spa with Jeffries (J--s) "on a Party of pleasure"

where they were found together by Mrs Heysham and Lady Buck, friends of Lady Hillsborough, who reported the incident to her husband... Two months after the publication of Sober Advice... Lord Hillsborough laid his petition

before the House of Lords for bringing in a bill to dissolve his marriage... (Butt 366)

"Bentley" also questions the poetic speaker's translation of the following:

numquid ego a te
magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum
velatumque stola, me cum conferbuit ira?
(Sat. I ii 69-71)

("...Do I ever, when my rage is at its worst, ask you for a dame clad in a stola, the offspring of a great consul?") (Fairclough 25)

The "Imitator" twists this into:

"Did I demand, in my most vig'rous hour,
A Thing descended from the Conqueror?..."
(Imit. Hor. Serm. I ii 89-90)

"Bentley" is displeased:

*Magno prognatum deposco consule Cunnum. A
Thing descended from the Conqueror. A Thing
descended--why Thing? the Poet has it Cunnum;
which, therefore, boldly place here. BENT.
(Butt 82)

"Cunnum" basically means "cunt." "Bentley" is simply demanding that the "Imitator" use the rude word, not caring about the poetic effect of so doing. Furthermore, he once again draws attention to his correction with an asterisk, which results in overemphasis on an already ridiculous point.

In the passage beginning at line 167, "Bentley" claims that the "Imitator" errs at line 175:

No furious Husband thunders at the Door;
 No barking Dog, no Household in a Roar;
 From gleaming Swords no shrieking Women run;
 No wretched Wife cries out, Undone! Undone!
 Seiz'd in the Fact, and in her Cuckold's Pow'r,
 She kneels, she weeps, and worse! resigns her
 Dow'r.

Me, naked me, to Posts, to Pumps they draw,
 To Shame eternal, or eternal Law.
 Oh Love! be deep Tranquility my Luck!
 No Mistress H--ysh--m near, no Lady B--ck!
 (Imit.Hor.Serm.I ii 167-176)

In the original satire, Horace wrote:

nec vereor ne, dum futuo, vir rure recurrat,
ianua frangatur... (Sat.I ii 127)

"Bentley" explains that

Here the Imitator errs. The Latin has it
dum futuo, a most necessary Circumstance!
 which ought to be restored; and may, by the
 change of a single Word, be the same with
 that of the Author, and one which wou'd
 marvelously agree with the Ladies in the
 second Line. BENT. (Butt 88)

He again insists on the use of the obscenity as he had
 done with "Cunnum." Dum futuo is translated in two
 places, and at line 167, the "Imitator" does translate part
 of the original line of Horace. His pun occurs at lines
 175-6. He has actually worked around dum futuo ("while
 in the act of intercourse with a woman," or, "while
 fucking") with a couple of clever plays on words. For
 instance, he writes:

Seiz'd in the Fact (italics mine)
 (Imit.Hor.Serm.I ii 171)

and

Oh Love! be deep Tranquility my Luck!
 No Mistress H--ysh--m near, no Lady B--ck!
 (Imit.Hor.Serm.I ii 175-6)

The "Ladies" to which "Bentley" refers are Lady Heysham and Lady Buck, referred to at my page 43. It is quite possible that he means "Fuck," not "Luck," just as "Fact" can be changed to "Fuck," without altering the poetic metre. This is the same point raised earlier.

According to "Bentley," the "Imitator" must use the rude words ("cunt": my page 44; "fuck": my page 45). There is also a suggestion that Richard Bentley is not refined; furthermore, that Classical scholars are a dirty-minded lot. The rakish "Imitator" cleans up the Latin, yet draws the reader's attention to the ease with which the obscenities can be inserted. Another effect of using "Bentley" to question all the subtle alterations in Pope's "imitation" of Horace certainly is to guarantee that the reader will pay attention to the "Imitator's" subtle and humourous jesting. Pope is a master at directing the reader's responses, and "blowing his own horn."⁴ Similarly, the alliteration and context of the last couplet of John Dryden's Mac Flecknoe (1678)

⁴ This was suggested by Dr. T. Cleary.

prompt one to read "Fart" when one reads "Art"⁵:

Sinking he left his Drugget robe behind,
 Born upwards by A subterranean wind.
 The Mantile fell to the young Prophet's part,
 With double portion of his Father's Art.
 (214-217)

Although "Bentley" dominates the notes to "Sober Advice from Horace," there are several other personae, one of which is "Curl." Pope had contempt for this publisher, who was infamous for his indiscriminate taste. The "Imitator" writes:

And all applaud the Justice--All, but Budgel.
 (Imit.Hor.Serm.I ii 60)

This agrees with the original Latin:

"iure" omnes: Galba negabat.
 (Sat.I ii 46)

("That's the law," cry all, Galba dissenting.)
 (Fairclough 23)

Although not a literal translation, the "Imitator's" version suggests that Budgell dissents because he himself is guilty of whatever is being punished. "Curl" explains that "Budgel" is

A Gentleman as celebrated for his Gallantries
 as his Politicks; an Entertaining History of
 which may be published without the least
 Scandal on the Ladies.E.CURL.(Butt 80)

⁵ Suggested by Dr. T. Cleary.

adversaries (particularly in the "Epilogue") unwittingly become proof of Pope's provocation in writing the Satires.

A new persona emerges to remark on the following:

Hath not indulgent Nature spread a Feast,
And giv'n enough for Man, enough for Beast?
(Imit.Hor.Serm.I ii 96-97)

He remarks that:

The original Manuscript has it,

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

but we prefer the present as the purer Diction.
(Butt 83)

The critic is talking about pure diction, but this example indicates that it is the scansion which is off. This "pseudo-Bentley" critic is yet another vehicle for Pope's satire of textual criticism. The critic disregards the essential subject of poetic metre, and uses the Bentleian style: he is arrogant, and assumes the editorial "we." While he exhibits these Bentleian characteristics, he does not sign his note. It is this fact which separates him from his namesake. "Bentley" does everything possible to draw attention to himself as the author of his notes. He uses asterisks, and consistently signs his name. "Pseudo-Bentley," however, lets his style speak for itself.

"Bentley" calls attention to his namesake's literary deficiencies, for his comments "are parodic and clearly designed to convict Bentley" (Aden 67). His insistence on exact literal translation emphasizes the nature of the poem itself, which is a satire on adultery, or the sexual urge. "Bentley's" remarks are base, as is the subject. Pope realizes that by using "Bentley" in this manner, he can simultaneously address several different issues: textual criticism and textual critics (both of which point at Richard Bentley), pedantry (Bentley was a pedant), and perhaps the inability to appreciate versification. This last issue recalls the prodigals of "Epistle IV," who presume to profess interests about which they know nothing. Clearly, "Bentley's" remarks in this satire indicate that he has no sense of poetic metre, and even less of the subtle wit demonstrated by the "Imitator." The critic misses the poet's intent, and "Bentley"/Bentley is both the subject and the object of Pope's double-entendres.

In the "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot" (1735), "a satirist's apology" (Wimsatt xix), the speaker addresses Arbuthnot, telling him that "To live and die is all I have to do" (Ep. Arb. 262). He is blameless for his satiric attacks, insofar as he has written them only in

answer to extreme provocation: "Abuse on all he lov'd,
or lov'd him, spread" (Ep.Arb. 354). This poem represents
a "self-portrait of the poet, ...one who wills peace and
retirement, but who is forced by circumstances to play
a different role" (Rogers 86). Not only is the "Epistle
to Dr. Arbuthnot" an apology, it is also a "study of the
character and conduct proper to a successful writer"
(Rogers 87).

The speaker refers to those writers who influenced
him in his youth:

...Granville the polite,
And knowing Walsh, would tell me I could write;
Well-natur'd Garth, inflam'd with early praise,
And Congreve lov'd, and Swift endur'd my Lays;
The Courtly Talbot, Somers, Sheffield read,
Ev'n mitr'd Rochester would nod the head,
And St. John's self (great Dryden's friends
before)
With open arms receiv'd one Poet more.
(Ep.Arb. 135-142)

These esteemed individuals are juxtaposed with

the Burnets, Oldmixons, and Cooks
(Ep.Arb. 146)

who the knowledgeable critic informs us are

Authors of secret and scandalous History.
(Butt 106)

Basically, the poetic speaker is claiming that these
authors influenced him; that they were his personal
friends; that they admired and encouraged his youthful

efforts; and that they were previously friends of Dryden. He does not claim Dryden as a personal friend, but as a predecessor, who shared the friendship and admiration of these good judges. Furthermore, the "snob value" of the list of distinguished friends should not be overlooked. In direct contrast to this list, the three enemies are nonentities.⁶

The speaker, then refers to

Abuse on all he lov'd, or lov'd him, spread,
A Friend in Exile, or a Father, dead;
(Ep. Arb. 354-355)

and the knowledgeable critic explains that this abuse is

Namely on the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Burlington, Bishop Atterbury, Dr. Swift, Mr. Gay, Dr. Arbuthnot, his Friends, his Parents, and his very Nurse, aspers'd in printed Papers. (Butt 121)

The "Friend in Exile" refers to Atterbury (Butt 122). This list, like the one previously discussed, covers many of those whom Pope had respected and admired during his life. Pope, the "Friend to Virtue," recalls all the slights and insults which he has received, and the perpetrators are then placed in opposition to his distinguished friends. He carries this adversarial perception of the world into his poetry, and there are both poetical and critical adversaries. The knowledgeable critic remains apart from this conflict. Still, his role throughout the

⁶ Suggested by Dr. P. Köster.

Moral Essays and the Horatian Satires is that of a friend to the poet, someone who is sympathetic towards him and who understands him completely. In the "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot," the poetical adversary is a friendly one (Dr. Arbuthnot), as is the predominant critical adversary. The main poetical speaker (who represents the "self-portrait" of Pope), addresses the author's "adversarial perception of the world." It is in various other satires that we meet poetical and critical adversaries who challenge the poet.

In the "First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated" (1737), the poetical speaker "is not, as in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, an idealized projection of Pope himself; he is rather a rhetorical contrivance, an ingénu approaching his king with humility and esteem" (Rogers 89). The falseness of this pose underlines the resultant mockery. In fact, Pope's intent in writing this satire was to "defend the dignity and vitality of letters against George II, and others like him, whose indifference was a challenge to Pope's conception of the importance of letters to a society" (Rogers 90).

The knowledgeable critic dominates the notes to this satire, as well. In reference to these lines:

beastly Skelton Heads of Houses quote:
(Imit.Hor.Ep.II i 38)

this critic explains why Skelton has been introduced in the poem:

[Skelton was] Poet Laureate to Hen.8 a Volume of whose Verses has been lately reprinted, consisting almost wholly of Ribaldry, Obscenity, and Scurrilous Language. (Butt 196)

Pope remarked at one point that

Skelton's poems are all low and bad: there's nothing in them that's worth reading. (Butt 196)

Another factor in the critic's opinion, however, may be that Pope never had access to the position of Poet Laureate. His Catholicism excluded him from many things, including, as Mack points out: "taking degrees at public school or university, ... entering several of the learned professions, ... sitting in parliament or holding office" (Guerinot 30). Although he was the finest poet in England during the earlier eighteenth-century (between the death of Dryden in 1700 and his own death), he had to accept the fact that such an inferior poet (in his opinion) as Skelton was lauded by the monarchy, and that he himself would never be recognized in like manner. Furthermore, Pope was offended by Skelton's diction, and the lack of poetic artifice in his work.

Pope does not limit his criticism to John Skelton and Richard Bentley; he also finds fault with William Shakespeare. He believed that Shakespeare wrote too

A similar attitude is apparent in these lines:

It is, and it is not, the voice of God.
To Gammer Gurton if it give the bays...
(Imit.Hor.Ep.II i 90-91)

The knowledgeable critic observes that "Gammer Gurton" is

a piece of very low humour, one of the first printed plays in English, and therefore much valued by some Antiquaries. (Butt 202)

The point is that antiquarians value things because they are old, not because they are inherently valuable. They do not understand why they value what they value. This is again reminiscent of the attack on the prodigals in Moral Essay IV. The Antiquaries have no taste, or bad taste, and this explains their "appreciation" of a play such as "Gammer Gurton." The term "Antiquaries" conjures up an image of men like John Woodward (1665-1728), another much-satirized Duncie. Not only does "duncie" mean an unlearned dullard; it also indicates a follower of John Duns Scotus (d.1308), a pedant "whose followers were ridiculed by sixteenth-century humanists and reformers as enemies of learning" (OED). This section refers to Horace's lines:

si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas,
ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet,
errat.
(Ep.II i 64-65)

(If they admire the ancient poets and cry them up so as to put nothing above them, nothing on their level, they are wrong.) (Fairclough 403)

This argument is related to Pope's emphasis on "Good Sense" and "true taste." Many people lack the sense which is requisite to make valid judgements about poetry. The complaint is that such people presume to pass judgement on work which they do not understand.

The predominant critic in "The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated" is the knowledgeable critic. His position remains consistent as an echoer of the main poetic speaker's sentiments. He also continues to clarify and explain certain references.

In "The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace, Imitated," the knowledgeable critic imparts a significant piece of information about "Hales" (Imit.Hor.Ep.I i 173). He is

The Doctor of Bedlam. (Butt 291)

The context in which Hales appears in this poem is extremely important, and should be considered.

Of far greater significance than the fact of Hales' employment, is the implication regarding "Madness." The knowledgeable critic is cognizant of the corruption and madness which is being confronted in Pope's Satires. "Bedlam," the mental hospital, represents a microcosm of the madness which the poetic speaker, and Pope himself, see as having gripped the world. The dominant poetical persona remarks that

You think this Madness but a common case,
Nor once to Chanc'ry, nor to Hales apply;
(Imit.Hor.Ep.I i 172-3)

"Madness" has a wider application than in this satire.

Pope and his cronies were concerned with the encroachment of modernism in all areas: science, education, religion, literature. The Moderns, as they had rejected the learning of the Ancients, especially offended Pope. This, in itself, makes Pope's choice of Horace as a satirical model doubly interesting. Pope regarded modernism as "Madness."

In his Essay on Criticism(1711), Pope notes that:

Horace still charms with graceful negligence
And without Method talks us into Sense,
Will like a Friend familiarly convey
The truest Notions in the easiest way.
(Ess.Crit. 653-6)

Horace's critical and satiric writing sets the standard for Pope. It appears to be effortless. Furthermore, it is from Horace that Pope imitates such thoughts as:

Virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima stultitia caruisse.

(Ep.I i 41-2)

(To flee vice is the beginning of virtue, and to have got rid of folly is the beginning of wisdom.) (Fairclough 255)

and

scilicet uni aequus Virtuti atque eius amicis.

(Sat.II i 70)

(kindly in fact only to Virtue and her friends.)
(Fairclough 133)

Horace represents an ideal model for Pope. Pope sees his world succumbing to vice and corruption, modernism and madness. When he looks to Horace, he finds someone whose thoughts and words are as relevant in the eighteenth-century as they were in the first century B.C. Horace's "largeness of soul" and "open-minded concern for the sensitive flesh of human character" (Bovie 10) reflect Pope's feelings. Just as Horace and his friends comprise the subject matter of Horace's Satires, so do Pope and his friends (and enemies) comprise the subject matter of Pope's poems. Pope echoes Horace's purpose:

to improve the shape and durability of...satire,
to form it into a thing of wit to annoy forever
those who would cling to second-rate lives and

be content with inaccurate guesses in place of self-knowledge. (Bovie 9)

Fr. tells P.:

...Horace, Sir, was delicate, was nice;
(Dia.I 11)

but Pope believes in the necessity of specific satire. He spares no one who he feels should be the subject of his derision, unlike Horace, who did not offend others.

Although there were three major Roman satirists who used a satiric adversary to create tension in dialogue (Horace, Persius, and Juvenal), it is Horace with whom Pope appears to feel the greatest affinity. His style "made it possible for him [Horace] to walk abroad among his fellow men, to talk with and about them" (Bovie 3). This is certainly what Pope does as he wanders through the myriad scenes of his life. He discourses with friends and enemies, while he assumes various poetical personae. Pope also applies the concept of the satiric adversary, not only in his poetry, but in the critical commentaries, as well.

The final satires to be addressed in this paper are "Dialogue I" and "Dialogue II" of the "Epilogue to the Satires" (1738), or, "One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight." These represent Pope's "finest and fiercest political satire" (Wimsatt xix). They reiterate

points made throughout the Satires: corruption is rife in high places, the populace is morally bankrupt (with few exceptions), and satire may improve things (Rogers 91). The poetic adversary in both Dialogues I and II is morally corrupt. He goads the dominant poetic speaker (Pope's spokesman), and attempts to make him defend Vice. Vice, in fact, plays a major role in Dialogue I. Because of unchecked vice in high places, corruption has flourished universally. In the second Dialogue, P. presents Truth as a divine figure or concept which must withstand Vice. Specific satire is recognized as the only method of perhaps effecting a change, if indeed any can be achieved:

Yes, the last Pen for Freedom let me draw,
When Truth stands trembling on the edge of Law:
(Dia.II 248-9)

In the first two lines of "Dialogue I," Fr., the poetic adversary, remarks that

Not twice a twelvemonth you appear in Print,
And when it comes, the Court see nothing in't.
(Dia.I 1-2)

Pope, like Horace, is "kindly only to Virtue and her friends" (Sat.II i 70). In this poem, P., the dominant poetic speaker referred to above, listens patiently to the words of Fr. who attempts to dissuade him from a defence of satire and to talk him into a defence of Vice

(Aden 19). In reference to the following lines:

An artful Manager, that crept between
His Friend and Shame, and was a kind of Screen.
(Dia.I 21-22)

the knowledgeable critic directs us to Persius:

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, & admissus circum praecordia ludit.
[Persius, Sat.i 116] (Butt 299)

According to Persius, Horace has a smiling way of satirizing people's vices: in a sly, insinuating manner:

Let into his friend's heart, he plays around with it.

Furthermore, this critic also finds the "Screen" is

A metaphor peculiarly appropriated to a certain person in power. (Butt 299)

This refers to "Walpole's policy of opposing all Parliamentary inquiries into public frauds" (Butt 299), and in particular to his screening from prosecution of many of those considered most guilty in the "South Sea Bubble" scandal. Walpole's government is synonymous with political corruption and intrigue. Lord Hervey notes:

He pursued this maxim [of opposing on principle all parliamentary inquiries] from a fear of making this retrospective manner of inquiry, by the frequency of it, so familiar to Parliament, that one time or other it might, in any reverse of fortune and by the rage of the party, affect himself, his family, and posterity; but by too strict an adherence to

this principle he was often smeared with the filth of other people, and gave his enemies occasion to say that whoever had a mind to plunder the public or defraud particulars, they had but to keep out of the reach of the slow, uncertain hands of Westminster Hall...they would be secure of protection in Parliament whilst Sir Robert Walpole had any power there. (Mack, GARDEN 131)

Pope's attitude toward Walpole in these Satires is two-fold: he attacks the political man, but admires the private man. Certainly, the government that behaved as outlined by Hervey is frequently satirized and derided by Pope. Here, the poetic speaker, P., is not intimidated by Fr. and refers to Walpole as "Screen." Walpole is regarded contemptuously by both the poetical (P.) and the critical (knowledgeable) persona.

In "Dialogue II," the hostile poetic adversary, Fr., remains soft on corruption:

Yet none but you by Name the Guilty lash...
Spare then the Person, and expose the Vice.
(Dia.II 10, 12)

This adversary does not understand the importance of specific satire, nor does he see the world as heading for destruction. Pope justifies his aggressive style in a letter to Arbuthnot:

I would indeed [manifest my disdain and abhorrence of vice in my writings] with more restrictions, and less personally; it is more agreeable to my nature; which those who know it not are greatly mistaken in. But general satire in times of general vice has no force

and is no punishment: people have ceased to be ashamed of it when so many are joined with them, and it is only by hunting one or two from the herd that any examples can be made. If a man writ all his life against the collective body of the banditti, or against lawyers, would it do the least good, or lessen the body? But if some are hung up, or pilloried, it may prevent others. And in my low station, with no other power than this, I hope to deter, if not to reform. (Butt 313)

These convictions are manifest throughout the Satires. The following lines embody the essence of what has driven Alexander Pope to write these Satires. The dominant poetical persona mirrors the writer of the poem, as he queries:

Ask you what Provocation I have had?
 The strong antipathy of Good to Bad.
 When Truth or Virtue an Affront endures,
 Th' Affront is mine, my Friend, and should be
yours.
 Mine, as a Foe profess'd to False Pretence,
 Who think a Coxcomb's Honour like his Sense;
 Mine, as a Friend to ev'ry worthy mind;
 And mine as Man, who feels for all Mankind.
(Dia.II 197-203)

C O N C L U S I O N

Pope assumes adversarial and friendly personae in his critical notes, just as he does in the poems to which they are appended. The notes to the Moral Essays and the Imitations of Horace present a variety of critical personae, both adversarial and friendly. These include the naive critic, "Bentley," "pseudo-Bentley," "Curl," and the knowledgeable critic. Through these personae, Pope extends his attacks on moral corruption. While he wages war in verse, the critics "challenge" (and thus indirectly support) his position.

In the Moral Essays, the knowledgeable critic is intimately acquainted with the poet as he is projected in the poems. He is, in fact, an extension of him, and, not surprisingly, is familiar with the "prodigal problem." Like the poet, this critic knows of exemplary individuals who embody good living and the proper use of riches: Burlington, Bathurst, Cobham, Topham, Sloane, Mead, and the Man of Ross. They rise above such satirized figures as Timon (who is actually a composite figure), Colepepper, Wharton, the Duke of Buckingham, Peter Walter, and Hopkins, to name but a few.

Pope celebrates "Good Sense" where it can be found,

and the knowledgeable critic assists him to this end. He clarifies instances of bad taste; for example, in Moral Essay IV, he reemphasizes that the poet's description of same "is intended to comprize the principles of a false Taste of Magnificence" (Bateson 146-7). He is cognizant of gossip and scandal (for instance, that concerning the Countess of Shrewsbury), and when the opportunity presents itself, he does not hesitate to snicker. However, his commentary is always factual and reliable. He is particularly low-key, or apparently neutral, in Moral Essay II, serving predominantly to organize the poem. However, this increases the contrast between him and "Bentley" in "Sober Advice from Horace."

In fact, when "Bentley" bursts on the scene, as sonorous as a braying ass, the other critical personae pale somewhat in comparison. He is brash, pompous, and arrogant, as he pontificates about how to translate Latin. "Bentley" is manipulated in such a way that he damns his namesake, and allows Pope to comment on textual criticism and textual critics in general. The humour resonates between verse and criticism. The more "Bentley" says, and the harder he tries to discredit the poet, the funnier the poem becomes, and

the more witty and skilled Pope appears.

Pope does not use the knowledgeable critic to as great a degree in "Sober Advice" as in the other satires because of the multiple effects he can achieve through "Bentley." In fact, the resonance from this persona is so great, that Pope doubles the effect by using "pseudo-Bentley." This critic mimics his namesake. Both exemplify the false taste which the poet emphasizes at the beginning of the Moral Essays. "Sense," which is an intrinsic component of "Good Taste" and of good living, is lacking in both "Bentley" and "pseudo-Bentley." "Pseudo-Bentley has no more feeling for poetic scansion than "Bentley." Pope mocks textual criticism and critics through both the pedant and the pedant's imitator.

Imitation and imitators receive a thorough treatment from Pope. He imitates Horace for various reasons, including his admiration of Horace's versification and the adversarial style of some of Horace's satires, and the fact of their similar interests. Within his Horatian poems, moreover, Pope both imitates well and attacks imitators who lack sense and judgement. This is part of his condemnation of false taste, and it is a theme which extends through the Satires.

The naive critic is not an imitator, but he is ignorant. This ignorance admits him to the not-so-exclusive club of pretenders and fools who presume too much. He allows Pope an ironic subtext through which he can further satirize the subjects at hand with impunity. The naive critic's remarks about Peter Walter, for instance, are misleading. However, beneath the veneer of innocence, there is the omnipresent voice of the poet, mercilessly satirizing Walter and other individuals and situations. The naive critic is the knowledgeable critic's alter ego. Through reliable criticism, the knowledgeable critic discredits false comments, and "Bentley," "pseudo-Bentley," "Curl," and their shortcomings are ironically exposed.

Pope intended the Moral Essays and Horatian Satires to fight the corruption and vice which he considered to be rampant in his world. Therefore, he used specific satire to attack directly individuals and circumstances because he believed "general satire in times of general vice" to be ineffective. Not only do these Satires have poetical personae which challenge and support the poet; they also have critical personae. The interaction of the poetic and critical personae results in enriched poetry. The reader experiences a definite sense of the

mission to eradicate vice which had originally moved Pope. Finally, because of the subtleties in characterization of the various critical and poetical personae, plus the intricate manoeuvring between the two, Pope provides yet another opportunity to demonstrate his skill in writing and versification.

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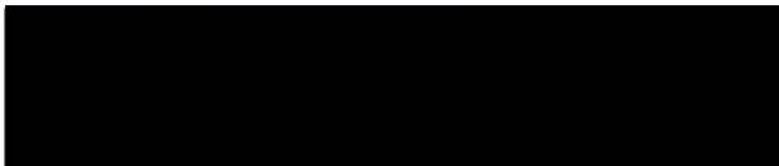
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Title of Thesis

Pope's Use of Critical Personae in Select Annotated

Moral Essays and Horatian Satires

Author



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