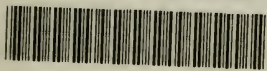


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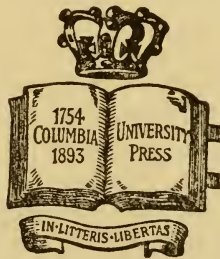
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LEWIS THEOBALD

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH SCHOLARSHIP
WITH SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

BY

RICHARD FOSTER JONES, PH.D.



New York

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER AND MOTHER
THIS BOOK
IS
DEDICATED

*This Monograph has been approved by the Department of
English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University
as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication.*

A. H. THORNDIKE,
Executive Officer

PREFACE

THE purpose of this dissertation is two-fold: to give a biography of Theobald, and to establish a thesis. With the exception of one or two written before 1728, none of the eighteenth century accounts of the scholar is in any way reliable, especially in matters touching *The Dunciad*. They all present the same picture of Theobald as is found in the variorum edition of Pope's satire, from which, indeed, the bulk of their information was derived. Early in the nineteenth century John Nichols, in the second volume of *Illustrations of Literature*, produced a much longer and more accurate sketch of Theobald than had yet appeared, together with the major part of his voluminous correspondence with Warburton. Though Nichols showed signs of appreciating the critic's learning and scholarship, he continued to accept as true many of the baseless charges advanced by Pope. The last century witnessed an amazing contrast in the estimates placed upon Theobald; Shakespearean scholars, almost unanimously, asserted that he was one of Shakespeare's greatest editors, while the biographers and critics of Pope, still continuing to echo the latter's slanders, proclaimed the unfortunate man a dunce. Finally, John Churton Collins, first in an essay called *The Porson of Shakespearean Criticism* — which might better have been called *The Bentley of Shakespearean Criticism* — and later in the *Dictionary of National Biography* clearly established his greatness as a scholar. Yet even Mr. Collins did not attempt to refute many of Pope's accusations. This worthy task was accomplished by the late Professor Lounsbury in *The Text of Shakespeare*, an admirable work

to which I am heavily indebted. By minutely investigating *The Dunciad* and its surroundings, Professor Lounsbury has given us a true and comprehensive account of its hero, laying to rest, once and for all, the evil spirits loosed by Pope. To his biography I could have added little, had I not discovered a number of unpublished letters, written to Warburton, which throw some light on the period following the great satire, and make clearer the later relations of the two men.

The thesis that I attempt to uphold asserts that the basic principles of critical editing in English were derived directly from the method employed by Bentley in the classics. In his work on Shakespeare Theobald adapted this method to a new field, and in turn was followed by scholars who did not confine their labors to the great dramatist. I have not carried my discussion beyond that remarkable period of critical activity, the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, because by 1760 the method had become so prevalent that its connection with Theobald is no longer apparent. This fact explains why I have not mentioned some of the best known scholars of the latter half of the century such as Tyrwhitt and Ritson, both of whom admired Theobald and followed his lead. I think that it is necessary only to show that the method which Theobald derived from Bentley and handed on to succeeding scholars is the same in essential details as that employed now.

This dissertation owes its being to Professor W. P. Trent. He first suggested the possibility of Bentley's influence on Theobald, and his abiding confidence in the thesis later sustained me through many discouragements. He also read both manuscript and proof, and made many criticisms compliance with which has added materially to the value of the book. I am also indebted to Professors A. H. Thorndike and E. H. Wright for reading the manuscript and making a number of helpful suggestions. Professor O. F. Emerson and Doctor D. H. Miles kindly read part of the manuscript

with results beneficial to the work, while my colleague, Mr. R. F. Dibble, went through the whole of the page proof. To the officials of the libraries of Columbia, Harvard, Yale, and Western Reserve universities, and also to the officials of the British Museum, I wish to acknowledge the obligation of many courtesies.

I wish publicly to express to my wife my heartfelt gratitude for her dear assistance. Besides performing the tedious and mechanical tasks necessary to publication, she was ever ready with affectionate sympathy and intelligent criticism, allowing neither my efforts to lag nor my perseverance to fail. To my brother, Doctor E. H. Jones, I am happy to return thanks for most substantial aid in publishing this book. Finally, Mr. John J. Lynch of the Columbia University Press has been of no small assistance to me in matters with which I was not familiar.

R. F. J.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
January 25, 1919.

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LEWIS THEOBALD

CHAPTER I

THEOBALD'S EARLY LIFE

IN writing the life of a man like Theobald the biographer would like to take up the story at the point where his hero first raised himself above mediocrity, and proved worthy of a written biography. What precedes appears but a collection of few and scattered details, too trivial to arrest attention, too dry to arouse interest. To weave these uninspiring facts into a narrative that will escape boring the reader to extinction is a task that sorely tries one's patience and ability. Yet the demands of modern research must justly be satisfied to the extent of leaving nothing half done. Nor is this the only reason for adopting such a course. A single great achievement, if kept in mind, induces interest and significance in events that otherwise would be surrendered to oblivion.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to delve deep into the genealogical past, unearthing maternal and paternal ancestors, to show how this or that trait can be explained. It is sufficient for us to know that in the early part of 1688 Lewis Theobald was born in Sittingbourne in Kent, where, according to a contemporary biography, his father was an eminent attorney.¹ He was named after a friend of the family, Lewis Watson, Earl of Rockingham, who made

¹ "About 1692," says Nichols and the biographers, but he was baptized on the 2d of April, 1688, as the parish register testifies." — J. C. Collins, *Essays and Studies*, p. 312.

Nichols' mistake is due to a wrong date, given in Giles Jacob's

his namesake companion to his son, Viscount Sondres, at a school conducted by the Rev. Mr. Ellis at Isleworth in Middlesex. The instruction—and it must have been thorough—received here was improved by a sojourn passed under the roof of his kinsman, John Glanville of Broadhurst, Wiltshire, at a time when he had “but the Indigested Learning of a School-boy, and wanted Judgment to make Use of Those Talents I either owed to Nature, or the Benefits of my education.”² It was in appreciation of this kindness that Theobald dedicated his first attempt at poetry, a Cowleyan Pindaric in praise of the union of Scotland and England—a sample of which is given us by the late Professor Lounsbury³—as well as his translation of Aristophanes’ *Clouds*.

At some date not later than 1708 Theobald removed to London, where he followed his father’s profession. His practice, however, which was more profitable in the latter part of his life, was neither so interesting nor extensive as to prevent his engaging in various literary activities, the most noteworthy of which were translations. His knowledge of the classics was sufficient to recommend him to Bernard Lintot, “a no inconsiderable patron of literature and an enterprising bookseller,” who in 1713 paid Theobald five guineas for a translation of Plato’s *Phaedo*.⁴ Earlier in the year the translator had taken advantage of the great popularity of *Cato* to publish a life of the Roman hero,⁵

Poetical Register, of the acting of *The Persian Princess*, in the preface to which Theobald said it was written and acted before he was nineteen years old. The date given by Jacob is 1710. See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 707–708.

² Dedication to his translation of the *Clouds*, 1715.

³ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 125.

⁴ *Plato’s Dialogue of the Immortality of the Soul*. Translated from the Greek by Mr. Theobald, 1713.

⁵ *The Life and Character of Marcus Portius Cato Uticensis*: MDCCXIII.

and to push his advantage farther translated this dialogue of Plato, "it being the very treatise, which Cato read no less than twice before he killed himself."

The same year Theobald entered into a contract with Lintot to translate all of the tragedies of Aeschylus for the modest sum of ten guineas, a contract that developed into his most ambitious attempt in this kind of work. Beginning with the purpose of merely translating the Greek, by 1736 he was entertaining the idea of publishing the text, with notes and emendations, on the opposite page to the translation. Though none of the plays was published, evidence seems to show that the work was completed a year or two after the contract was made, for in a note to verse six of his translation of *Electra* (1714) he says, "I shall refer the reader for it [the story of Io] to my Prometheus of Aeschylus, which will shortly be published," while in the notes to his rendition of *Oedipus* (1714) he speaks of his translation of the *Seven Captains against Thebes*.⁶ Some eight or ten years later Theobald issued proposals to publish the tragedies by subscription, setting the date of publication for April, 1724. At the end of *Shakespeare Restored* he found it necessary to apologize to his subscribers for the delay, offering as compensation the fact that he had been at additional expense in procuring copper plates for each volume, and that in his dissertation to be prefixed to the translation he designed a complete history of the ancient stage in all its branches.

⁶ Two selections from it were indeed published. The first, consisting of two passages, appeared in Theobald's periodical, the *Censor*. The second, entitled "The Siege From a Chorus of Aeschylus," appeared in *The Grove*, a miscellany compiled by Theobald in 1721. This seems to be all that was ever published, although later Dennis, in *Remarks on the Dunciad*, speaks of having seen a specimen. Giles Jacob is authority for the statement that Theobald completed the translation of all seven tragedies. *Poetical Register*, vol. 1, p. 259.

With the success of *Shakespeare Restored* and the consequent incentive to continue work on Shakespeare, Theobald must have found little opportunity for the farther prosecution of the undertaking at this time. But no longer was this lapse allowed to pass unnoticed. When *The Dunciad* was published, this line appeared,

And, last, his own cold Æschylus took fire.

and a note on the line in the editions of 1729 read: "He had been (to use an expression of our poet) about Aeschylus for ten years, and had received subscriptions for the same, but then went *about* other books."⁷ For such criticism Pope had only the specimen in *The Censor* upon which to base his belief. In a note to another line in *The Dunciad* he sought to disparage Theobald's translation,⁸ and continued his attacks in *The Grub-street Journal*. In one number Theobald is accused of bad faith in the collection of subscriptions,⁹ and in another he is warned of failure by being reminded of the poor success of his translation of Aristophanes.¹⁰

But he still persisted in his purpose, growing more ambitious as time went by. In his edition of Shakespeare¹¹ he speaks of his forthcoming translation of Aeschylus, and in a letter to Warburton, March 5, 1734, he comments on errors in Stanley's edition, with the assurance that he sees a method of correcting the text on the basis of the correspondence of antistrophe and strophe. A few months later,

⁷ Bk. I, l. 210. The note continues: "The character of this Tragic Poet is fire and boldness in a high degree, but our author supposes it cooled by the translation; upon sight of a specimen of which was made this Epigram,

Alas! poor Aeschylus! unlucky dog!

Whom once a Lobster kill'd, and now a Log."

⁸ Bk. III, l. 311 of the editions of 1729.

⁹ *Grub-street Journal*, No. 59, October 6, 1730.

¹⁰ *Idem*, No. 37, September 17, 1730.

¹¹ Vol. 7, p. 44.

in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, soliciting a subscription to his Aeschylus, he says that he has been advised to put on the opposite page to the translation the Greek text, which he thinks can be corrected with great certainty, especially since he is fortunate in having a collation of the Laurentian manuscript made for him by Dr. Conyers Middleton. This enlargement of plan, to be sure, increased the burden of the undertaking, and we find Theobald showing signs of wearying. On February 12, 1734, he writes, "By God's leave I mean to print that work off this ensuing summer." And again, October 18, 1735, he hopes "in God" *Aeschylus* shall appear in the spring. But the only results of this enterprise that are left us are the few selections mentioned above, some emendations contributed to a magazine of the day, and those of his notes written in his *Stanley*, which Bloomfield used in his edition of the Greek dramatist.

Of Theobald's other translations we have more remains. In the spring of 1714 he entered into another contract with Lintot to translate the whole of the *Odyssey*, and the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus Coloneus*, *Trachiniae*, and *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, together with explanatory notes, into English blank verse. He also contracted to translate the satires and epistles of Horace into English rhyme. For the translations of Homer and Sophocles he was to receive fifty shillings for every four hundred and fifty lines, while for Horace the price was one guinea for every one hundred and twenty lines.¹² While Theobald may have translated the four tragedies mentioned above, only one, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*,

¹² "All these articles were to be performed according to the time specified, under the penalty of £50 on the default of either party." Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 708.

In a footnote on this passage Nichols says, "These particulars appear from Lintot's *Accompt-Book*: but the entry respecting the *Odyssey* has a line drawn through it, as if the agreement had been afterwards canceled."

was published.¹³ The next year, however, Lintot published a translation by Theobald of a play of Sophocles, the *Electra*, not mentioned in the contract.¹⁴ This was dedicated to Addison, whose friendship the translator enjoyed.

By the same publisher there was issued a translation of *Ajax*¹⁵ which later biographers of Theobald have attributed to him. The only evidence for such an attribution seems to be a line in *The Dunciad*, which reads

And last, a little Ajax tips the spire.

and a note on this line, "In duodecimo, translated from *Sophocles* by Tibbald."¹⁶ Jacob, in his *Poetical Register*, although mentioning the *Oedipus* and *Electra*, as well as the two plays from Aristophanes, makes no mention of a translation of *Ajax*. Neither does Nichols in his account of Theobald. The *Biographia Dramatica* (1782) not only fails to attribute any such work to Theobald, but definitely states that the translation was made by Mr. Rowe, and on another page, that the *Ajax* is said, in the second volume, p. 190, of Hughes' letters, to have been translated by a Mr. Jackson.¹⁷ Hughes was in a position to know, inasmuch as he was associated with Rowe in a translation of the *Pharsalia*. In a list of books printed for Lintot, found at the back of the translation of *Electra*, there is advertised a translation of *Antigone* and the notes to *Ajax*, both by Mr. Rowe. There is no record that Theobald was ever assisted,

¹³ *Oedipus, King of Thebes: A Tragedy. Translated from Sophocles, with Notes By Mr. Theobald.* London, 1715.

¹⁴ *Electra: A Tragedie. Translated from Sophocles, with Notes.* London, 1715.

¹⁵ *Ajax of Sophocles. Translated from the Greek, with Notes.* London, 1714.

¹⁶ Editions of 1729, Bk. I, l. 42.

¹⁷ *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. 1, p. 5, and vol. 2, p. 253.

or needed to be, in any of his translations.¹⁸ Since Pope in search of material for the *Dunciad* investigated its hero's past with some thoroughness, he must have learned of his adversary's translations for Lintot. Hence he would naturally suppose that an anonymous translation of one of Sophocles' plays, published at this time and by Theobald's publisher, came from the pen of his enemy.

It is possible that Theobald translated all the plays contracted for. There is no evidence of the contract having been canceled. One of the translations was published, and a selection from another, the *Philoctetes*, appeared in *The Grove* under the title, "Description of the Plague at Thebes, and Invocation of the Gods to their Assistance, from a Chorus of Sophocles." In the "Publisher to the Reader," prefixed to the translation of *Ajax*, Lintot says,

I have by me the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, translated into English blank verse; they are all, as I have been assured by several gentlemen of allow'd judgment in these matters, very exactly done from the Greek.

Then he continues to speak of the literalness of the translations, and the critical and philological notes, adding,

I have given the public the *Ajax* of Sophocles as a specimen of my undertaking. If they think fit to encourage it, I intend to give 'em one every month, till I have gone through all the Greek Tragedies.

It is almost certain that Theobald translated Aeschylus. The four tragedies of Sophocles he contracted to translate, plus his *Electra*, plus the *Antigone*, advertised as being by Mr. Rowe, and plus the *Ajax*, by Jackson and Rowe, give us

¹⁸ The single copy of this translation in the British Museum is entered in the catalogue under Sophocles, N. Rowe, and Jackson, as being translated by — J., assisted by Mr. Rowe. But it is also entered under Theobald's name.

all the tragedies of Sophocles. Furthermore, we have Theobald's own statement that he had little time for anything but translation in and about 1714.¹⁹

The success of the translations published must not have been such as to warrant Lintot in carrying out his ambitious undertaking. Perhaps Pope's translation of Homer, the proposals for which appeared in October, 1713, interfered with it also. The next April Theobald contracted with Lintot to translate the *Odyssey*, the publisher doubtless hoping to profit by the interest in Homer aroused by Pope's proposals. But in November, 1714, Lintot received, at a very high price, the contract for publishing the *Iliad*, the fulfillment of which must have left him little time or inclination for any other of the classics. For his translations from Aristophanes, 1715, we find Theobald turning to another publisher. Later, with Tickell threatening a version of *The Odyssey*, it seems probable that Lintot put forth one book of Theobald's translation as a feeler.²⁰ Professor Lounsbury demolished the theory advanced by some that Theobald's rendition of the *Odyssey* accounts for his place in *The Dunciad*, but I can hardly agree with him in thinking the work was stopped because of lack of subscriptions.²¹ It was begun by contract, and the appearance of one book was due, perhaps, to Lintot's desire to see if the publication of the whole would be worth while. Unfortunately there does not seem to be extant a copy of this production. It was, probably, in connection with

¹⁹ "I am so deeply engaged in the Translation of Works of more Moment, that I had no Time to throw away in Amendments." Preface to *The Persian Princess*, 1715.

²⁰ Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 1, p. 80) gives November, 1716, as the date of publication, while Pope says 1717 (*Dunciad*, 1729, note on Bk. I, l. 106). Cibber agrees with Nichols. (*Lives of the Poets*, vol. 5, p. 287.)

²¹ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 133, 134.

his translation of the *Odyssey* that Theobald in 1714 translated a French treatise on the *Iliad*, an offshoot of the controversy in France between the ancients and moderns.²²

After breaking with Lintot, Theobald did not give up his idea of translating certain of the classics. He turned from tragedy to comedy, and in 1715 appeared his English versions of Aristophanes' *Clouds* and *Plutus*, the first dedicated to his kinsman, John Glanville, and the second to the Duke of Argyle.²³ In a prefatory discourse Theobald says, "If these find an Acceptation sufficient to Encourage my Attempt, I have a Design on some of the rest, that have equal Charms of Humour and Sprightliness." No other comedy appeared, however. A contributor to the *Grub-street Journal*, in speaking of the folly of translating classic poets into English prose, remarks,

And yet I am told that Mr. Theobald has a translation of even Aeschylus himself, whether in prose or verse I don't know, ready for the press; not deterr'd from the ill success his translation of Aristophanes had.²⁴

In later years when, owing largely to the influence of *The Dunciad*, it had become the custom to sneer at Theobald, his translations were subject to further attacks. In 1742 Henry Fielding and William Young issued a translation of *Plutus*, in the preface to which it is insinuated that Theobald

²² *A Critical Discourse upon the Iliad of Homer: written in French by Monsieur de la Motte, a Member of the French Academy; and translated into English by Mr. Theobald. 1714.*

Professor Lounsbury (p. 132) comments on the scarcity of this work. A copy was advertised in a recent catalogue of P. J. & A. E. Dobell of London.

²³ *The Clouds. A Comedy. Translated from the Greek of Aristophanes. By Mr. Theobald. London, MDCCXV.*

Plutus: or the World's Idol. A Comedie. Translated from the Greek of Aristophanes. By Mr. Theobald. London, 1715.

²⁴ *Grub-street Journal*, No. 37, September 17, 1730.

did not understand Aristophanes, and that his version was taken almost entirely from a French translation by Madame Dacier, issued in 1692.²⁵

I own we have more to answer to the lady than to Mr. Theobald who, being a critic of great nicety himself, and great diligence in correcting mistakes in others, cannot be offended at the same treatment. Indeed there are some parts of his work, which I should be more surprized at, had he not informed us in his dedication, that he was assisted in it by M. Dacier. We are not therefore much to wonder, if Mr. Theobald errs a little, when we find his guide going before out of the way.

While it may appear significant that the only plays translated by Theobald were those rendered into French by Madame Dacier, yet he showed a readiness to go on with the rest, had these first two plays succeeded. His later emendations of Aristophanes prove conclusively that he was master of the Greek. In places he does follow the French rather closely, but in the dedication he admits as much, excusing himself on the ground that since he is trying to make his readers understand Aristophanes, he is entitled to all the help possible. All through their notes Fielding and Young sneer at Theobald as "pious," "M. Dacier's good friend," and the like. When he refuses to be absolutely literal, as in the phrase "sharpen-eyed as an eagle," instead of "as a lynx," they ridicule him for not translating correctly; where his and Madame Dacier's translations agree, they accuse him of translating the French and not the Greek. What they translate "sweetmeats" and Madame Dacier "confitures," Theobald translates "sugar-plums" and is accused of following the French. The whole attack is unjust and unsupported by a comparison of the French and English translations. Many of the words Theobald is accused of

²⁵ Cf. Professor Lounsbury's Remarks on Disraeli's doubt of Theobald's knowledge of Greek. *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 133.

taking over from the French may just as well have come from the Greek.

Of the satires and epistles of Horace no translation appeared, and Theobald's only work in the Latin poets was a version of the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a poet who was almost as popular as Horace. There is no copy of such a translation now, but Jacob mentions it, and John Dennis, while smarting under the appellation of "Furius" which Theobald had imposed upon him in *The Censor*, speaks of the latter having "lately burlesqued the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid by a vile Translation."²⁶ Inasmuch as circumstances largely controlled Theobald's literary activities, this translation may have been a product of the interest in Ovid excited by Dryden and promoted by Garth.

While Theobald's next work in the classics is not a translation, it is well to consider it under that head. This is an historical romance garnered from Galen, Appian, Lucian, Julian, and Valerius Maximus.²⁷ The author says he first thought of making a play of this subject, but after reading Corneille's *Antiochus* decided it would make a better narrative than drama. He treats the story rather freely, changing the parts he thinks necessary to make Christian readers better understand it. The last translation of Theobald, the *Hero and Leander* of the mythical Musaeus, appeared in *The Grove*, 1721. In this same miscellany appeared the selections from Aeschylus and Sophocles spoken of above, and also an imitation of the twenty-first idyl of Theocritus, entitled "The Fisherman; A Tale." These contributions do not merit critical comment.

A modern critic calls Theobald's translations meritorious, and speaks of the "free and spirited blanck verse" of the

²⁶ *Remarks of Pope's Homer*, p. 9; quoted in Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 719.

²⁷ *The History of the Loves of Antiochus and Stratonice*: London, 1719.

version of Sophocles and the "vigorous and racy colloquial prose" of the rendition of the two plays of Aristophanes.²⁸ But not many years after his death there was an attempt to depreciate the worth of his work. The effect of *The Dunciad* grew with the years, and Pope's slanders were perpetuated by Warburton and Johnson. In 1753 Thomas Franklin, Fellow of Trinity College and Greek Professor in the University of Cambridge, issued proposals for translating Sophocles into English blank verse. These proposals were printed at the end of a rather long poem called *Translation*,²⁹ a satire upon translations and translators in general, praise being bestowed only upon Pope's *Homer* and Rowe's *Pharsalia*. But Theobald is especially marked for abuse, it being the custom then to consider him legitimate prey. Franklin places the blame for the low esteem in which translation was held on such translators as Theobald:

The great translator bids each dunce translate,
And ranks us all with Tibbald and with Tate.

And he brings the aged accusation of pedantry against him:

Or some dull pedant whose encumber'd brain
O'er the dull page hath toil'd for years in vain,
Who writes at last ambitiously to show
How much a fool may read, how little know.

Tis not enough that, fraught with learning's store,
By the dim lamp the tasteless critic pore.

But a champion rushes to the aid of the abused originals:

Genius of Greece, do thou my breast inspire
With some warm portion of the poet's fire,
From hands profane defend his much-lov'd name;
From Cruel Tibbald wrest his mangled frame.

²⁸ J. C. Collins, *Essays and Studies*, p. 276; and the article on Theobald in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁹ *Translation: a Poem*. By Thomas Franklin. London, 1753.

And in a note on this last passage: "Tibbald (or Theobald) translated two or three plays of Sophocles, and threatened the public with more."³⁰ Much pleasure seemed to be derived from misspelling Theobald's name, but Franklin was scholar enough not to find fault, as Fielding did, with his knowledge of Greek.

Although Franklin's work is much better known, I do not think that there is much to choose between their translations. The earlier translator differs from the later in that he is evidently trying to popularize the Greek drama, going to some pains to make the meaning of obscure passages clear to those not versed in the classics. In the two plays of Aristophanes he translates the idioms and phrases into the idioms and expressions of his own time to such an extent that he was accused, as we have seen, of incorrect translation.

While the translations represent the bulk of Theobald's work for this period, he also engaged in original composition. In 1707 his first attempt at poetry appeared, a Pindaric ode on the union of Scotland and England.³¹ Six years later he published *The Mausoleum*, a poem written in heroic couplets and dedicated to Charles, Earl of Orrery.³² This lugubrious effort, stilted and affected, was composed in imitation of several of the classical poets, chiefly Ovid, with the imitated passages subjoined, and is full of praise for Pope and Addison. In 1715 Theobald translated Le Clerc's observations on Addison's travels, prompted by his ad-

³⁰ In marked contrast to Franklin's estimate of Theobald's work stands that of the first of classical scholars in literary taste, Richard Porson, by whom Theobald's translations "were highly esteemed." See *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ed. P. Bliss, 1869, vol. 3, p. 137, note.

³¹ Cibber gives 1707 as the date of this poem. *Lives of the Poets*, vol. 5, p. 287.

³² *The Mausoleum. A Poem. Sacred to the Memory of Her Late Majesty Written by Mr. Theobald.* London, 1714.

miration for the subject of the treatise.³³ An entirely different motive is discernible in a poem he gave to the world about this time, which was written on the recovery of the Duke of Ormonde from a dangerous illness.³⁴

This same year Theobald's most significant poem was published, *The Cave of Poverty*,³⁵ in imitation of Shakespeare. A contemporary critic declared it to be excellent.³⁶ It seems to have found its way across the channel, and was the cause of an exchange of letters between Theobald and the Zurich professor of History and Politics, Johann Jacob Bodmer, who characterized it as a splendid poem, possessing not only the style of Shakespeare but his spirit itself.³⁷ This extravagant praise is worthy of notice when we remember that Bodmer, one of the forerunners of German Romanticism, "prepared the way for a new poetry of emotion and sentiment."³⁸ He translated *Paradise Lost*, and his *Critical Disquisition on the Wonderful in Poetry*, written in defense of Milton, brought about the feud with Gottsched (who upheld French classicism), which resulted in the complete discomfiture of the latter. The unsolicited praise of such a man is not to be underestimated.

Professor Lounsbury has shown how plain an imitation of Shakespeare the poem is :

³³ *Monsieur Le Clerc's Observations upon Mr. Addison's Travels Through Italy, etc. Also Some Account of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; chiefly with regard to their Trade and Riches, and a Particular Account of the Bank of Amsterdam. Done from the French by Mr. Theobald.* London, 1715.

³⁴ I have found no trace of this poem, but Theobald mentions it in his dedication of the *Persian Princess* to the Duchess of Ormond.

³⁵ *The Cave of Poverty, A Poem. Written in Imitation of Shakespeare. By Mr. Theobald.* London.

³⁶ Giles Jacob, *Poetical Register*, quoted in Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 711.

³⁷ Appendix, p. 339.

³⁸ Calvin Thomas, *History of German Literature*, p. 211.

The truth is that the production throughout adopts and reflects Shakespeare's phraseology. There is frequently in it a faint echo of his style, and of the peculiar melody of his versification. Such characteristics could have been manifested only by one who had become thoroughly steeped in his diction, and especially in that of his two principal poems. These were so far from being well known at that time that they were hardly known at all.³⁹

He continues to show how Theobald uses the six-line stanza of *Venus and Adonis*, and points out the number of compound adjectives which he took directly out of Shakespeare's plays and poems. The use of compounds, however, he may have derived from the classics as well as from Shakespeare. In the essay prefixed to his translation of *Hero and Leander* he explains the use of compound epithets in the poem :

Whether the Greek poem be as old as it is pretended, it was certainly designed to be thought as old; and Compound Epithets were the darling Labour of those Times, as is plain to observe from ten thousand Instances in *Homer, Hesiod, Pindar*, and in *Aeschylus* particularly, among the Tragicks.

The poem strives somewhat after the crepuscular. It consists of one hundred and twenty-one stanzas of six iambic pentameters, and is divided into two parts. The first gives us a description of a terrible cave, with horrible pictures on all sides, where the Queen of Poverty harasses mankind. The place resembles Hades, and among its inhabitants Theobald is careful to include dissipated noble-men who failed to help needy men of letters. The second part describes two brass horns that collect all the sounds arising from the woe of poverty, and send them resounding to the ear of the queen. The complaints, reflecting in a pale way the soliloquy in the third act of *Hamlet*, lament the shifts to which one is put, the neglect of merit, and exaltation of vice.

³⁹ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 184.

Curse on the envious Fate, that tyes me down
 To Servile Ills my gen'rous Soul disdains!
 Curse on the Shifts my needy Age has known;
 The hated shifts which mighty Need constrains!
 O Comfort-Killing State! Heart-Wounding Grief!
 O Sorrows that admit no kind Relief.

O dull Ingratitude! dost thou not shame
 To let Desert be brow-beat, and despis'd,
 To let Oppression with Contempt and Blame
 Brand its fair Cheek, and keep true Worth Dispriz'd?
 Or let it bear the Whips and Scorns of Time,
 Be spurned by Insolence, and deem'd a Crime.

Shakespeare is not the only writer imitated in the poem, for the description of Poverty and her cave resembles closely the second and eighth books of the *Metamorphoses*. Theobald may have been influenced by Spenser, yet the descriptions in the *Faerie Queene* are not so similar as those in Ovid's poem, and at that time Theobald was much more intimately acquainted with the Roman than with the Elizabethan poet. This part of *The Cave of Poverty* furnished Pope with a handle to his attack on Theobald's indigence in the opening of *The Dunciad*, where the *Cave of Poverty and Poetry* is mentioned. It could also have suggested to Churchill some of the descriptions in the *Prophecy of Famine*.

The same year, 1715, there was published a key, which has been ascribed to Theobald, to the *What D'ye Call It*.⁴⁰ Professor Lounsbury calls attention to the fact that the only evidence we have for such an attribution is a note by Pope to an edition of his letters, 1735, where it is given to Griffin, a player, assisted by Theobald.⁴¹ The evidence is indeed slight. But if Pope wished to father it upon his opponent,

⁴⁰ *A Complete Key to the last New Farce The What D'ye Call It*. 1715.

⁴¹ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 417.

why should he bring in the actor? The work has no significance except in so far as the writer has been thought to attack Pope. Gay said the author called him a blockhead and Pope a knave, which statement, however, is a great exaggeration. While the author resents the satire on the plays of Shakespeare and Addison, he praises Pope's genius, and in no place abuses him.⁴² In the preface the derivation of the word "burlesque" and the reference to Dr. Bentley are in Theobald's manner. In the wide and various citations from the plays of Shakespeare the author shows a knowledge of the dramatist wholly consistent with Theobald's later accomplishments. His comment on Othello's putting out the light is somewhat similar to the note on the same passage in Theobald's edition of Shakespeare. The high praise of Addison and the reference to the jealousy of Dennis are in keeping with the pronounced opinions in *The Mausoleum* and *The Censor*. Nor is the evinced knowledge of the chorus of Greek tragedy beside the point.

Early in 1715 Theobald began the publication of a tri-weekly periodical, *The Censor*, fashioned after the *Spectator*. This ran for thirty numbers, from April 11 to June 17. It then suspended publication until January 1, 1717, when it again appeared and continued to June 1, ending with the ninety-sixth number. Theobald attributed the failure of the undertaking to its following "too close upon the Heels of the inimitable *Spectator*." Many of its numbers deal with trivial subjects in a satiric fashion, but the humor is heavy and the satire weak. It follows the *Spectator* in its attacks on antiquaries, virtuosi, and pedants. Some of

⁴² "These two lines are an excellent copy of the Author's Wit and Manners, Popery and Knitting are so admirably well put together, as things of equal Importance, that any man, who has but read the Celebrated Rape of the Lock, cannot be at a loss for the Author of these Lines." — P. 22.

the numbers, however, are devoted to the drama, it having been the author's plan to give one issue a week to a discussion of the stage, and they frequently have something to say about Shakespeare. This periodical also gives us an idea of Theobald's interest in the classics and classical scholarship, for discussions of the Greek drama are second only to those of Shakespeare.

One would think that Theobald had fared badly enough at the hands of Pope and succeeding generations without being represented as the object of any more satires than those of which he is actually the butt. Yet an attempt has been made to find an attack on him in Parnell's *Life and Remarks of Zoilus* appended to a translation of the *Batrachomomachia*, 1717. Goldsmith appears to be the original authority for the idea that the satire was written at the request of Parnell's friends and directed against Theobald and Dennis. Mr. Aitken repeats the statement without giving any reasons for the onslaught.⁴³ Mr. Seccombe follows him, though implying that the cause of the attack was the fact that the two writers were objects of Pope's aversion.⁴⁴ A recent biographer of Dennis, Mr. Paul, says the satire was probably due to Theobald's attacking *Three Hours after Marriage* and to the fact that he was a good representative of needy authors.⁴⁵ I do not know of any attack that Theobald ever made upon *Three Hours*, and besides, this play was not produced until 1717, while *Zoilus* was completed in the spring of 1715.⁴⁶ The basis of Mr. Paul's conjecture may be a letter from Pope to Parnell, 1717, where, after speaking of the criticism *Three Hours* had aroused, the writer adds, "The Best revenge upon such fellows is now in my hands,

⁴³ *The Poetical Works of Thomas Parnell*, 1894, p. xlvi.

⁴⁴ *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. IX, p. 188.

⁴⁵ H. G. Paul, *John Dennis*, 1911, p. 93.

⁴⁶ Elwin and Courthope, vol. 7, p. 457.

I mean your *Zoilus*." The fact of the matter is that the original purpose of *Zoilus* was to anticipate criticism of Pope's translation of Homer. It was intended for the first volume of the *Iliad*, but since the author arrived in London too late, it was printed in the translation of the *Odyssey*.⁴⁷ *Zoilus*, I should conjecture, sprang out of Parnell's essay on Homer, in which the irascible ancient is held up to abuse. Pope, fearing criticism of his translation, perhaps because of his slight knowledge of Greek, probably prompted Parnell to the undertaking in order to forestall hostile attacks. In a joint letter from Pope and Gay to Parnell, March 18, 1715, Gay speaks of the indignation the *What D'ye Call It* had aroused, and asks, "Then where will rage end when Homer is to be translated? Let *Zoilus* hasten to your friend's assistance, and envious criticism shall be no more."⁴⁸ Elwin and Courthope do not think it an attack on modern critics. If Pope had any particular critic in mind when he urged Parnell to write the treatise, I would hazard the guess that it was Bentley. Throughout this critic's long controversial career, *Zoilus* was the name most frequently applied to him. As early as 1699 he had been so called. Furthermore, Parnell's description of *Zoilus* tallies so closely with that of Bentley given by the Christ Church Wits that it is difficult not to think the great critic was in Parnell's mind.⁴⁹ There

⁴⁷ *Idem*, vol. 7, p. 457.

⁴⁸ Elwin and Courthope, vol. 7, p. 464.

⁴⁹ "But what Assurance can such as *Zollus* have, that the world will ever be convinc'd against an established Reputation, by such people whose faults in writing are so very notorious? Who judge against Rules, affirm without Reasons, and censure without Manners? who quote themselves for a support of their Opinions, found their Pride upon a Learning in Trifles, and their Superiority upon Claims they magisterially make? Who write of beauties in a harsh Style, judge of Excellency with a Lowness of Spirit?" and so on.

"But what appears extremely pleasant is, that at the same time

is nothing in the production satirically appropriate to Theobald at that time, and probably Pope had never heard of him.

Theobald lost no opportunity of turning to his own account any passing interest of the day. In 1719 George Sewell, Theobald's friend and the future editor of a supplementary volume to Pope's edition of Shakespeare, produced his tragedy *Sir Walter Raleigh*, which enjoyed considerable success, reaching a fifth edition within three years. The same year Theobald wrote a life of Raleigh, a slight and incomplete tract of no intrinsic value, but significant in being his first work dealing with the Elizabethan period.⁵⁰

Two years later Theobald collected and published a volume of miscellanies,⁵¹ which contained his translations from Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Musaeus, and a few of his poems; two prologues, one spoken by Mr. Keene, the other occasioned by his death; and a poem, *To Cloe, upon her Retreat at Fulham*. The largest contributor was a certain Dr. Kennick, a glowing account of whom is given in the preface. The collection is more remarkable in that it con-

he condemns the passage, he should make use of it as an Opportunity to fall into an Ample Digression on the various Kinds of Mouse-Traps, and display that minute Learning which every critic of this sort is found to show himself Master of. This they imagine is tracing knowledge thro' its hidden Veins, and bringing Discoveries to daylight which time had cover'd over. Indefatigable and useless Mortals! who value themselves for knowledge of no consequences, and think of gaining Applause themselves by what the Reader is careful to pass over unread."

⁵⁰ *Memoirs of Sir Walter Raleigh*: London, 1719. Defoe, deeming Theobald's work unsatisfactory, himself undertook a slight sketch of Raleigh's career under the title *An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh . . . Humbly proposed to the South-Sea*. [1720 but dated 1719.]

⁵¹ *The Grove; or a Collection of Original Poems, Translations, etc.* London, 1721.

tains Dr. Bentley's only attempt at verse, a poem entitled *A Reply* and dealing with the hardships incurred by scholars.⁵²

From the very beginning of his career the future editor was interested in the drama. As early as 1708 his *Persian Princess* was acted at Drury Lane, when he was only twenty years of age.⁵³ The play was not a success, and in his preface the dramatist speaks slightingly of it, but the fact that it was accepted by the only theater in London argues something in its favor.⁵⁴ The author, however, thought it necessary to explain that since he was too deeply engaged in translating to try to amend it in any way, only the repeated importunities of friends forced him to publish it. The plot does not seem to be derived from any incident in Persian history, so that the play is one of Theobald's few original pieces.

The same year that saw the publication of this drama witnessed Theobald's second attempt on the stage, which had no better success than the first, but which reflects in an unfavorable way on his reputation. This was a tragedy called *The Perfidious Brother*.⁵⁵ In the preface to the published play the author states that the report that the whole performance belonged to Meystayer, a watch maker, was prevalent among mechanics, that he did nothing but supervise, correcting an odd word here and there. He admits that the

⁵² Cibber attributes to Theobald a work entitled *The Gentlemen's Library, containing Rules for Conduct in all Parts of Life* in 12 mo. 1722.

⁵³ *The Persian Princess, or The Royal Villain*. 12 mo. 1715. 4to, 1717. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 708, following Giles Jacob, makes a mistake in saying it was not published until 1717.

The precocity shown in this production gained Theobald some notoriety. See *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ed. P. Bliss, 1869, vol. 3, p. 137.

⁵⁴ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 125.

⁵⁵ *The Perfidious Brother, A Tragedy; As it is Acted at the New Theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields*. By Mr. Theobald. London, 1715.

play was put in his hand by Meystayer, but claims it was in such a condition that it required several months' work to make it presentable, so that he considered himself entitled to it. The following year the watch maker published his version of the play, with a dedication to Theobald, in which he speaks of his adversary in no uncertain tones. The latter made no reply. Both versions are wretched enough and the similarity is obvious, but since Meystayer's version was published after Theobald's, its evidential value is destroyed. What Theobald admits, however, is enough to condemn him for taking all the credit, or discredit, for the production.

On December 10, 1719, Theobald's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Richard II* was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and met with some success, being acted seven times.⁵⁶ In his alterations he omitted Acts I and II, with the exception of some speeches which he transposed, and introduced a love story. Genest points out one absurdity into which Theobald fell, and thinks his "additions are flat and his alteration on the whole is a very bad one; but considerably more than half the play is Shakespeare's."⁵⁷ Some of Theobald's lines seem to be very good; in fact, they constitute the best poetry he wrote, and show clearly how closely he had studied Shakespeare.

In the preface to this alteration Theobald states that his purpose was twofold: "to interweave the many scatter'd Beauties into a regular Fable"; and to do Shakespeare "some Justice upon the Points of his Learning and Acquaintance with the Ancients." All his life he held to the belief that the dramatist had more classical learning than was

⁵⁶ *The Tragedy of King Richard the II; As it is acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields. Alter'd from Shakespeare, By Mr. Theobald.* London, 1720.

⁵⁷ *History of English Stage*, vol. 3, p. 34.

generally accredited him, though his later discovery of Elizabethan translations was very disconcerting to this view. Here, however, Theobald argues that in *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare depended more upon Homer than upon Lollius or Chaucer, and that *Timon* shows the poet to have been familiar with Plutarch in the original.⁵⁸ His ignorance of North's *Plutarch* and *The Three Destructions of Troy*, both of which he later discovered, shows that he had not dipped very deep into the literature accessible to Shakespeare. Yet he had broken ground in his life of Raleigh, and this attempt at proving Shakespeare's learning shows him approaching the poet rather from a scholar's point of view than from that of a literary critic.

Theobald's most persistent appearance on the stage was not in the legitimate drama.⁵⁹ There arose during his lifetime a new species of entertainment known as the pantomime. The first to claim credit for introducing these performances into England was John Weaver, a dancing master, who in 1702 put forth a production, *The Cheats of Scapin; or The Tavern Bilkers*, of which he said that it was the first performance on the English stage to carry on the story by dancing and motion only. Fourteen years later he produced *The Loves of Mars and Venus*,⁶⁰ in imitation of the ancient pantomime and, according to his claim, the first to appear since the Roman Empire. This was rapidly followed by several others of similar names and nature — *Perseus and Andromeda*, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, and *Cupid and Bacchus*. In 1728 Weaver published a list of all the pantomimes, which

⁵⁸ Theobald accepted "Lollius" in good faith.

⁵⁹ Giles Jacob, in his *Poetical Register*, vol. 1, p. 259, speaks of Theobald having a tragedy, *The Death of Hannibal*, ready for the stage before 1720. It was never acted or published.

⁶⁰ This is probably the performance to which Cibber refers when he speaks of a succession of monstrous medleys following a story of Mars and Venus.

he divided into two classes, those "in imitation of the Ancient Pantomime," and those "after the manner of the modern Italians." His own seem to have been chiefly of the first class, which consisted in relating some classical fable by motion and dancing, without any Harlequin entertainment.

In 1716 John Rich opened his Lincoln's Inn Fields theater, where, in his competition with Drury Lane, he was forced to produce a new species of performance. At first this consisted of entertainments in the Italian style introducing the conventional characters, Harlequin, Pantaloon, Columbine, and the like. As early as April, 1716, he appeared as Harlequin in an unnamed production. Such entertainments he continued to give with some success until 1723, when he produced *The Necromancer or Dr. Faustus* to outdo a pantomime of a somewhat similar title at Drury Lane.⁶¹ His success was great, and from that time on pantomime continued to draw crowded houses, much to the disgust of the literati. Rich himself does not seem to have taken much pride in this sort of genius, and frankly admits that necessity compelled him to take such a course. In the dedication to *The Rape of Proserpine*, 1726, the actor says:

As for the other Parts, it might, perhaps, seem an Affectation in me to detain you with the History of the Antient Pantomime Entertainments, or to make a long Apology for the Revival of them at present. This much, however, may be said in their favor, that this Theatre has of late ow'd its support in great Measure to them. I own myself extremely indebted to the Favour with which the town is pleased to receive my attempts to entertain them in this kind; and do engage for my own part, that whenever the public taste shall be disposed to return to the works of the drama, no one shall rejoice more sincerely than myself.

⁶¹ "Rich had produced some little Harlequinades in the taste of the Italian Night-scenes, but his genius does not seem to have blazed forth till about 1723." Genest, vol. 3, p. 155.

The typical Rich pantomime was a combination of the Harlequinade and Weaver's classical pantomime. Rich, however, reversed the order of things. Whereas in the continental performances of Harlequin the actors spoke, in the English pantomime it was all dumb show; and while Weaver told his ancient fable by motion only, verse and song were used in Rich's entertainment. The backbone of this performance was a versified love story from Ovid or some other classical author, written in a most serious vein and interspersed with dances and songs, — in fine, an opera, — while between the divisions of the story comic interludes were supplied by the capers of Harlequin in an entirely separate plot which generally hinged on the courting of Columbine. The stage setting for both parts was most elaborate and surprising, the serious part being represented with most spectacular scenery, while the comic was carried out by means of ingenious devices for transforming scenes and objects.

So prevalent became this type of pantomime that Rich has been called the father of English pantomime. Perhaps the opportunity for spectacular scenes led him to combine the two incongruous elements contained in the show, though Fielding says it was for the sake of contrast :

This entertainment consisted of two parts, which the inventor distinguished by the names of serious and comic. The serious exhibits a certain number of heathen gods and goddesses who are certainly the worst and dullest company into which an audience was ever introduced; and (which was a secret known to a few) were actually intended so to be in order to contrast the comic part of the entertainment and to display the tricks of Harlequin to the better advantage. This was perhaps not very civil of such personages, but the contrivance was nevertheless ingenious enough and had its effect. And this will now plainly appear if instead of serious and comic, we supply the words duller and dullest; for

the comic was certainly duller than anything before shown on the stage and could be set off only by that superlative degree of dullness which composed the serious.⁶²

In the constructing of these pantomimes Theobald was very closely associated with his friend, John Rich. He furnished the serious or vocal parts described above, from which, as a rule, pantomime, took their names. In all he contributed the verse to nearly a third of Rich's repertoire. Previously, however, he had composed several trivial pieces, all presented at Lincoln's Inn Fields. One was a one-act opera, *Pan and Syrinx*, produced in 1717. In 1718 he furnished the songs and a little of the poetry to Elkanah Settle's *The Lady's Triumph*, as well as the masque of *Decius and Paulina*, which occurs in the last act of Settle's production.⁶³ Two of the songs were also inserted in the opera *Circe*.

Theobald began his pantomimes with *Harlequin Sorcerer, with the Loves of Pluto and Proserpine*, 1725, which drew crowded houses even after its revival at Covent Garden in 1753. The same year, 1725, saw the production of *The Rape of Proserpine*, which was extremely popular and consequently called forth the wrath of the critics of this species of literature.⁶⁴ The following year appeared *Apollo and Daphne, or The Burgo-Master Trick'd*, and after intervals of four years each appeared, respectively, *Perseus and Andromeda* and *Merlin; or the Devil of Stone-Henge*. This last

⁶² *Tom Jones*, Pt. 5, Chap. 1. Fielding satirized pantomime in *Tumbledown Dick, or Phaeton in the Suds*, 1744.

⁶³ James Miller, in his *Harlequin-Horace*, 1731, p. 9, has reference to this when he says,

"Why should to modern Tibbald be denied
What antient Settle would have own'd with Pride?"

⁶⁴ Pope, *Dunciad*, Bk. 3, l. 310 and note. *Grub-street Journal*, No. 98, November 18, 1731. James Miller, *Harlequin-Horace*, p. 27.

was the only one to appear at Drury Lane, and is the most wretched of these dull productions.⁶⁵

Theobald's last pantomime, *Orpheus and Eurydice; an Opera*, was produced at Covent Garden February 12, 1740, but had been published the preceding year. Genest says this entertainment "was very successful . . . the description of it occupied the bills for a considerable time, and the plays were advertised without the characters."⁶⁶ It was revived in 1747, and again in 1755, when it ran for thirty-one nights. It was again presented in 1768, and in 1787 was performed by royal command.⁶⁷ As an example of Theobald's work in this field it may be well to quote a synopsis given by Mr. Broadbent in his history of the pantomime.⁶⁸

The following was the argument and the curious arrangement of the scenes: — Interlude I. Rhodope, Queen of Thrace, practising art magic, makes love to Orpheus. He rejects her love. She is enraged. A serpent appears who receives Rhodope's commands, and these ended, glides off the stage. Here the comic part begins. In the Opera (as practically it was) a scene takes place between Orpheus and Eurydice. Eurydice's heel is pierced by the serpent, behind the scenes. She dies on the stage — after which the comic part is continued. Interlude II. Scene: Hell. Pluto and Orpheus enter. Orpheus prevails on Pluto to restore Eurydice to him. Ascalox tells Orpheus that Eurydice shall follow him, but that if he should look back at her before they shall have passed the bounds of Hell, she will die again. Orpheus turns back to look for Eurydice, Fiends carry her away. After this the comic part is resumed. Interlude III. Orpheus again rejects Rhodope's solicitations. Departs. The scene draws, and dis-

⁶⁵ Some of the pantomimes were unusually long-lived. *The Rape of Proserpine*, for instance, has been performed once or twice in this century.

⁶⁶ Genest, vol. 3, p. 618.

⁶⁷ See *A History of Pantomime*, by R. J. Broadbent, p. 160.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, p. 158. Broadbent's account was taken from Genest, vol. 3, pp. 618-620.

covers Orpheus slain. Several Baccants enter in a triumphant manner. They bring in the lyre and chaplet of Orpheus. Rhodope stabs herself. The piece concludes with the remainder of the comic part.

The above pantomime was the cause of an attack on both Rich and Theobald. The number of well-known love stories of the ancients, which formed the basis for the serious parts of these entertainments, was rather limited; and so, with the increasing demand for pantomime, repetition was inevitable.⁶⁹ In December, 1738, John Hill, an apothecary, published an opera, *Orpheus*, in the preface to which he accuses Rich of being about to produce an opera stolen from a rejected copy of his.⁷⁰ The next year Rich published his pantomime, in the advertisement to which he speaks of Hill's "chimerical suggestions." He followed this up with a detailed defense of his conduct in *Mr. Rich's Answer to the many Falsities and Calumnies Advanced by Mr. John Hill, Apothecary, and Contained in the Preface to Orpheus, an English Opera, as he calls it, Published on Wednesday the 26th of December last.* Hill waited some time and came back in 1741 with his *An Answer to the many Plain and Notorious Lyes Advanc'd by Mr. John Rich, Harlequin; and contain'd in a Pamphlet, which he vainly and foolishly calls, An Answer to Mr. Hill's Preface to Orpheus.* If judgment is based upon these two productions, Rich seems to be in the right. He goes very

⁶⁹ There were some five operas and pantomimes under the title of *Orpheus and Eurydice*.

⁷⁰ This was the notorious Sir John Hill, half quack and half scientist, whose life was a series of controversies: with the Royal Society because they would not admit him to membership; with Fielding, who replied in the *Covent Garden Journal*; with Christopher Smart, who honored him with *The Hilliad*; and with several actors including Garrick — in all of which he invariably got the worst of it. "Hill was a man of unscrupulous character, with considerable abilities, great perserverance, and unlimited impudence." — *D. N. B.*

minutely into detail, produces many testimonies, points out many dissimilarities between the two works, and indulges in little abuse. Hill pursues the opposite course, and while producing no proofs makes up the deficiency with constant revilings. These are especially severe against Theobald, whom he accuses of stupidity and impertinence and styles Rich's poet, friend, and privy counselor. He calls Pope to witness against Theobald, and refers his readers to the *Bathos* and *The Dunciad*. Rich says that he was informed by Hill that the latter had one thousand pounds put up by a gentleman, to back him. By the praise of Pope and abuse of Theobald, one is led to wonder whether the former was still persisting in his efforts to injure the hero of *The Dunciad*.⁷¹

The tremendous popularity of these performances was due to spectacular scenery, unusual costumes, and the tricks and "stunts" done on the stage. They were a combination of the New York Hippodrome and Ringling Brothers' Circus. And just as a circus is considered vulgar, and every one goes, so pantomimes were considered very low, and drew crowded houses. The sanctimonious upholders of the legitimate drama lifted their hands in holy horror at such a desecration of the stage, and bewailed the passing of the drama. Pantomimes could find no defenders but the box office. Even those responsible for their production — composer, producer, and actor — spurned their own handi-

⁷¹ Another production of similar nature, though not a pantomime, and the last to come from Theobald's hand, appeared in 1741, entitled *The Happy Captive, an English Opera, In Two Comick Scenes, Betwixt Signor Capaccio, a Director from the Canary Islands; and Signora Dorima, a Virtuosa*. The story, which, like *Double Falshood*, is founded on the first part of Don Quixote, is contained in three short acts, between which are two comic interludes written to ridicule the Italian opera. These last, Genest says, possess much greater merit than the serious part. The opera was never performed.

work. Cibber detested them, Rich apologized for them, and Theobald had nothing to say in their favor.⁷² The last named had least right to be proud of this popularity, for his part in the entertainments was universally considered wretched.

His persistent appearance in this low species of dull verse emphasizes one fact that stands out prominently in his life previous to *Shakespeare Restored*. With a pronounced preference for literary over legal affairs, law being his nominal profession, he did not discover his true interest or powers, and was forced to resort to all kinds of shifts in earning a livelihood,

The hated Shifts which mighty Need constrains!

Besides his various poems of eulogy and dedications addressed to popular noblemen, such works as the lives of Cato and Raleigh show that he was ever on the alert to turn to his own account any success of the day. Although again and again he shows his close study of Shakespeare, it is doubtful whether he would ever have discovered the work for which he was fitted had he not seen a possible opportunity to ride to success on the interest created by Pope's edition. Furthermore, he lacked originality. Most of his dramatic ventures were adaptations or reworkings. His best poem is an avowed imitation. It is in his translations that the Theobald of this period is seen at his best. In these he seemed to take more pride than in other productions, and his interest in the Greek drama was genuine and intelligent.

⁷² See the dedication of *Shakespeare Restored* to John Rich, a remarkable performance, where Theobald apologizes for dedicating his work on Shakespeare to the man who had done so much to drive him from the stage, on the ground that he had received some financial assistance from Rich.

CHAPTER II

THE RAGE FOR EMENIDNG

THEOBALD marks the beginning of a new era in Shakespearean textual criticism. Adequate recognition of his services has been slow in coming, but now his reputation is fairly well established. In the study of his work on Shakespeare, it has been the custom to approach the subject from the tradition of the text.¹ This is the more logical and profitable process as far as the mere results of scholarship are concerned, but if attention is turned to the method by which these results were obtained, it becomes necessary to depart from the beaten path and seek a source elsewhere. The direction from which I have seen fit to approach this first great editor is from the classical scholarship of his day.

Classical scholarship prior to the nineteenth century has been divided into three periods: the Italian, the French or Polyhistorical, and the English and Dutch.² The chief concern of the Italians was with the form of the classics. Politian, Poggio, Erasmus, and others studied Latin and Greek writers with the end in view of reproducing these models in their own productions. They were not so much interested in the accuracy or content of texts as they were with literary form. The members of the French school, on the other hand, turned their attention to the subject

¹ *The Text of Shakespeare, its history from the publication of the quartos and folios down to and including the publication of the editions of Pope and Theobald.* By Thomas R. Lounsbury, L.H.D., L.L.D., New York, 1906.

² See Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2, p. 1; R. C. Jebb, *Richard Bentley*, pp. 202, 203; and Jebb's article on Bentley in the *D. N. B.*

matter of the classics. Viewing antiquity as a whole, they sought to discover and preserve the history, thought, and manners of the Greeks and Romans. The most important productions of this period were J. Scaliger's investigations in the chronology of the ancients and Casaubon's work on their life and manners.³

The English and Dutch school began a few years previous to the eighteenth century, and had for its concern historical, literary, and verbal criticism, especially the latter.⁴ The father of this school was Richard Bentley.⁵ Never have the pursuits of scholars been so dominated by a single influence as those of the eighteenth century were dominated by Bentley. A study of the scholarship of this period resolves itself chiefly into a consideration of this one man. He turned the attention of scholars in a new direction,

³ Textual criticism was not ignored in these two periods. In the preparation of manuscripts the early scholars and monks exercised their emending ingenuity whenever they saw fit, tacitly introducing their conjectures into the text. (See W. M. Lindsay, *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation*, 1896, p. 1.) Two of these early scholars, Niccoli (1363-1437) and Laurentius Valla (1407-1457), achieved some valuable results. In 1567 Robortelli laid the foundation of textual criticism in his *De Arte sive Ratione Corrigendi Antiquos Libros Disputatio, nunc primum a me excogitata*, while in the same period J. Scaliger pointed the way to a sounder method of emendation founded on the genuine tradition of the manuscript. See Sandys, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 43, 69; vol. 2, pp. 142, 201.

James Harris (*Philological Inquiries*, 1781, Pt. 1, p. 32) says that at first the business of this early textual criticism "was painfully to collate all the various Copies of authority, and then, from amidst the variety of Readings thus collected, to establish by good reasons either the true, or the most probable." In 1582 Victorinus published thirty-eight books of *Variae Lectiones*, while from 1559 to 1585 Muretus published nineteen books. Yet during these two periods emphasis was not placed on verbal criticism, and no method was established.

⁴ Sandys, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 1.

⁵ R. C. Jebb, *Richard Bentley*, p. 216; J. H. Monk, *Life of Richard Bentley*, vol. 1, p. 15; and article on Bentley in *Enc. Brit.*, ninth ed.

causing them to pattern their pursuits after his.⁶ He established a new attitude toward the classics by placing a pronounced stress upon one phase of their study, and he inaugurated a method that was to have a great influence with succeeding scholars. Owing to his success in this new and individual field, a shifting of values took place; so great was this shift and so permanent was Bentley's influence, there was little diminution in the value attributed to textual criticism throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. That this century to-day stands for a period of textual criticism, not only in the classics but also in English, is due almost entirely to the tremendous impetus given this particular study by Bentley and his critical method.

Although Bentley's first great work in the classics was concerned with literary and historical criticism,⁷ he soon departed on a path more essentially his own — verbal criticism.⁸ His interest in this phase of scholarship was apparent from the very beginning. The pages of his *Epistle to Mill* and his "Immortal Dissertation" are strewn with emendations.⁹ No matter what argument he is engaged

⁶ I have reference chiefly to English scholars, although his influence was almost as pronounced on some of the continental scholars, especially the Dutch.

⁷ His *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* is considered the first piece of scientific research.

⁸ R. C. Jebb, *Richard Bentley*, p. 215.

⁹ "He seemed gifted with an intuitive sagacity not merely to detect error, but to trace the source of it — words which seem thrown together at random, receive sense and meaning at one touch of his wand. . . . On the whole it might be fairly asserted of the *Epistle to Mill*, that no work of classical criticism had yet appeared since the revival of letters, which in the same number of pages contained such variety of information, so many happy emendations, or which so clearly showed that a new school of criticism was about to commence, which would own Bentley as its legitimate parent." — De Quincey's review of *Monk's Life of Bentley*, *Quarterly Review*, vol. XLVI, p. 125.

upon, he never hesitates to stop and correct a faulty passage he may have occasion to quote. The fragments he contributed to Graevius' edition of Callimachus are brilliantly corrected in many places, while the three critical epistles attached to Kuster's Aristophanes are composed entirely of emendations on that poet.¹⁰

Bentley may well be considered the first modern scholar, for the elements underlying his scholarship are still operative. First there was a massive erudition gained from most accurate and extensive reading of books and manuscripts. He is reported to have said that he would be ready to die at eighty, since by then he would have read everything worth reading. A glance through any of his notes and a notice of the many authors therein cited will convince any one of the extensiveness of his erudition. But this erudition could not have been of much use had it not been in working shape. Scholars like Joshua Barnes had learning, but they did not know how to handle it. Bentley systematized his knowledge. He constructed a Hexapla, in the first column of which he inserted every word of the Hebrew Bible, and in other columns the corresponding words in Chaldee, Syriac, the Vulgate, Latin, and the Septuagint.¹¹ The collection of the fragments of Callimachus which he sent to Graevius, collected from innumerable sources, shows at once that he must have had some sort of index of writers

¹⁰ After speaking of Erasmus, Scaliger, and Casaubon, Jebb says Bentley "feels the greatness of his predecessors as it could be felt only by their peer, but sees that the very foundations on which they built — the classical books themselves — must be rendered sound, if the edifice is to be upheld or completed. He does not disparage "higher" criticism in which his own powers were so signally proved; rather his object is to establish it firmly on the only basis which can securely support it, the basis of ascertained texts." — R. C. Jebb, *Richard Bentley*, p. 216.

¹¹ Monk, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 14.

quoted by subsequent commentators, which, indeed, Monk says he had.¹² Not only did he systematize his knowledge in actual ways, as the above, but his mind must have contained it in some such state. Whenever he wishes to prove a point, he has a way of bringing forth all the stores of ancient literature that pertain to it. I think it hardly fair to Bentley or his critical method to attribute to chance, as De Quincey does, the out-of-the-way evidence he calls in to support his thesis.¹³ The spirit of modern scholarship is the desire to gain with minute accuracy all the information and evidence on the subject of the investigation, arranged and ordered in its proper relations. Imbued with this spirit, Bentley, instead of losing himself in a maze of unorganized knowledge, learned to systematize his material in such a way that he could focus upon a point, however minute, almost all that could throw any light upon it.

Another support of Bentley's method was logic. In this, together with judgment, he seemed to take most pride. In the Phalaris dissertation he frequently twits Boyle (and with him his collaborators) for his lack of logic.¹⁴ While depreciating a discovery of his own Bentley says, "Such a discovery is but a business of chance, or at the best of bare industry, neither is there any sagacity or judgment required to it."¹⁵ Again, "If I do not make false judgments of things, and if I reason truly from premises, for a bare error of the memory I shall not be solicitous."¹⁶ He had perfect command over the materials of his learning, and built up his proofs with all the sureness and accuracy of a master builder. There had been scholars of as great if not greater

¹² *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 16.

¹³ *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*, by David Masson. London, 1897, vol. IV, pp. 198, 215.

¹⁴ A. Dyce, *Works of Richard Bentley*, vol. 2, p. 16.

¹⁵ A. Dyce, *Works of Richard Bentley*, vol. 1, p. 428.

¹⁶ *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 27.

erudition, but none whose reasoning was so close and clear. Whether he is eradicating a textual error, controverting atheists, or establishing the spuriousness of the Phalaris letters, the same powerful analytical spirit is active.

In addition Bentley's work has the touch of the modern spirit in its insistence on minute accuracy. He spends a score of pages of his *Epistola ad Millium* proving that "Malelas" should be written with an "s." This insistence upon "trifles" was the ground of the bitterest attacks on him as a pedant. His enemies believed that only the large things, such as sentiment and philosophy, were of importance. In the preface to his examination of Bentley's dissertation Boyle characterizes the Phalaris controversy as trivial and frivolous.¹⁷ "I am not very fond of Controversies even where the Points debated are of some importance; but in trivial matters, and such as Mankind is not at all concern'd in, methinks they are unpardonable." Another feature of this minute study that attracted the scorn of the wits was the establishment of chronology, to which Bentley had paid considerable attention in his dissertation. They ask the question what use it is to know that a writer was born in such and such a consulship or Olympiad; better spend the time comprehending and studying the works of the ancients. Bentley used his extensive learning, not to express a general view of antiquity, but to establish some particular point. He was master of his knowledge, and wielded it with ruthless logic toward the correction of error and the establishment of truth. In comparing Bentley with Scaliger Jebb says,

While Scaliger had constantly before him the conception of antiquity as a whole to be mentally grasped, Bentley's criticism rested

¹⁷ *Dr. Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Aesop examin'd By the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq.* London, 1698.

on a knowledge more complete in detail; it was also conducted with a closer and more powerful logic.¹⁸

As stated previously, Bentley's work falls into the two divisions of "higher" and textual criticism. He himself laid the emphasis upon the latter, and it was this that exerted such an influence over English scholarship in the eighteenth century. The critical method employed in both these fields was practically the same, although directed toward different ends. Compare, for instance, his works on Phalaris and Horace. There is in both the abandonment of tradition for the deductions of reason from knowledge, in the one the tradition of authorship, in the other the tradition of old readings; the same systematic use of all the stores of his knowledge toward the establishment, in one, of a historical or chronological fact, in the other, of a new reading; and the same copious and pertinent citing of authorities. Nor is his logic more conspicuous in one than the other, although in textual criticism it led him into more mistakes, because logic and poetry do not always agree so well as logic and fact.

Since we are concerned chiefly with the textual side of Bentley's criticism, it will be well to analyze his notes, the concrete expression of his critical method. Practically all of them conform to the same model. The passage with the common or accepted reading is first introduced, and together with the various manuscript readings and previous emendations is critically examined.¹⁹ One by one

¹⁸ R. C. Jebb, *Richard Bentley*, p. 213.

¹⁹ Cf. *Latin Manuscripts*, by Harold W. Johnston, Chicago, 1897. The method here given by Professor Johnston for modern textual criticism tallies almost exactly with that employed by Bentley, the only difference being that, owing to the improved study of paleography and manuscripts, more attention is now paid to diplomatic criticism. Practically all the technical terms we use are derived from this book. Grammatical criticism has to do with violations of the laws of the

the different readings are subjected to a searching examination. Where grammatical, historical, or aesthetic tests prove a corruption in the manuscript and failure on the part of previous scholars to remove it, Bentley flashes upon us his emendation. Immediately he begins to apply the tests again in support of his conjecture. He brings forth his knowledge of grammar, metrics, history, and the customs of the ancients, and shows the consistency of his correction with the rest of the passage. As one of his main supports he quotes from various authors passages in which the word he puts forward is used in a similar way, or passages which prove a historical or grammatical fact which he asserts in support of his emendation.²⁰ Even where his corrections are absolutely unconvincing, these commentaries are often of value, so that Bentley teaches even when he is wrong.

So well defined is this method that the qualities that came to be attributed to critics can with some definiteness be localized. Judgment (*judicium*) operated in ascertaining that there was an error in the text, sagacity (*sagacitas* or *ingenium*) invented the emendation, and learning (*eruditio*)

language, and with passages where there is unintelligibility or contradiction in thought. Historical criticism is operative when the passage contradicts knowledge gained from other sources. Aesthetic criticism levies upon what offends the taste, as unpoetical, unoratorical, undignified, etc. Professor Johnston's method falls into three divisions: the critical doubt, and the failure of diplomatic criticism to eradicate it; the emendation; and the conjectural criticism, which brings to bear all the tests to support the emendation. pp. 86-112.

²⁰ For example see his note on Horace, Bk. III, Carm. VI, v. 20, where, to "sustain the audacity of this conjecture by weight of numbers and thick phalanxes," he quotes four separate passages from Virgil, one from Ovid, four from Martial, three from Statius, one from Ausonius, one from Prudentius, one from Lucilius, one from Cicero, and one from Claudian.

tested and supported the emendation.²¹ Of course learning was brought to play on all parts of the method (as was, to a less degree, judgment), but it was shown more conspicuously in supporting a reading.

The success of Bentley's method was noticeable from the start. His *Epistle to Mill*, published 1691, contains a large number of emendations, the quality of which led one scholar to say, after reading the proof sheets of the work, that Bentley was the only living person competent to restore the remains of the Greek poets from the depredations of time. A few years later his notes sent to continental scholars drew from their lips the highest encomiums, and expressions such as "the new light of learning" became quite the order of the day.²² In England scholars were somewhat slower in appreciating Bentley. Since he had been on the unpopular side in the Phalaris controversy, and was engaged in a long drawn-out dispute in Trinity College, personal feelings and prejudices operated against recognition of his genius. But with the publication of Horace, 1711, there was no dodging the issue; English scholars began to show an awakened interest and appreciation. John Davies, who had spoken highly of Bentley in the preface to his edition of Cicero's *Tusculans*, 1709, a few years later calls him "literae Britanniae decus."²³ Clark, in the preface to his edition of Caesar, 1712, speaks of Bentley as a "vir in hujus modi rebus peritia incredibili, et criticus unus omnes longe longaque judicio et sagacitate antecellans." Francis Hare judged

²¹ See the close of Styvan Thirlby's dedication of his edition of Justin Martyr, where he says Grabius is no critic, lacking genius, judgment, and learning: Casaubon very learned, but in want of judgment and genius. Here genius (*ingenium*) means sagacity, or that quality in a critic that must be rather innate than acquired.

²² See the *Letter to the Bishop of Ely*, where Bentley enumerates the scholars who held him in high esteem, a passage ridiculed by Swift in *A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff*.

²³ "Lectori" to edition of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, 1717.

him to be easily the first in critical matters,²⁴ and Jeremiah Markland in various places praised him in exaggerated terms.²⁵

Scholars of the old school, such as Joshua Barnes, and believers in the polite type of learning, such as the Christ Church group and their attendants, set themselves in opposition to Bentley and all he stood for. But the rising generation of scholars — Hare, Markland, Pearce, and the like — soon fell in behind him. More and more attention began to be paid to the obscurity of texts. The impulse toward textual criticism came from him, and his method was adopted; even the manner of correcting and the form of textual notes resembled his more or less closely.²⁶ Bentley began an epoch; he established a new school of criticism, to which the greatest scholars of later times have belonged.²⁷

The greatest fault with Bentley's criticism was his predilection for conjecture beyond reasonable limits. While his work was by no means confined to this single phase — his collation was thorough and his elucidations very instructive — he soon made it apparent that he considered conjectural criticism his forte. It was in this that he ex-

²⁴ Hare's edition of Terence. London, 1724. Praefatio, p. xxvi.

²⁵ For further appreciation of Bentley, see *Bibliographia Literaria* (1723), No. 6, Article 3, and the two poems addressed to Bentley at the end of the article, the first in Greek trochaics, "Clarissimo Viro R. Benteio post Lambinium et Torrentium suas in Horatium Animadversiones evulganti"; the other in Latin elegiacs, "In Horatium nitori pristino restitutum VI Idus Decembris, die quo natus ipse est, a Summo Viro R. B." This article was written by Wasse, who in the prefaces to his edition of Salust, 1710, called Bentley a "vir in omni literarum genere maximus."

²⁶ For example, see J. Markland's edition of Statius, London, 1728, p. 117. For less conspicuous examples, see the notes in Zackary Pearce's edition of the *De Sublimitate* of Longinus, 1724.

²⁷ See Monk, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 15; vol. 2, p. 418; and the article on Bentley in *Enc. Brit.*, ninth ed.

perienced most joy and won most praise. The older he grew, the more inclined he became to trust his own judgment as to what an author wrote, until his rashness came near dimming the luster of his earlier brilliant work.

This emphasis upon emendatory criticism was made known to the public in a most emphatic way in his edition of Horace, 1711. In the preface to that work the great critic first declared, in so many words, that he considered conjecture more certain than manuscript reading, and reason and the sense of the passage itself stronger than a hundred manuscripts. In his previous emendations he had often departed from the manuscripts, but his conjectures were made nearly entirely on Greek authors where the manuscripts were very corrupt and their meaning unintelligible. On the other hand, the manuscripts and editions of Horace were numerous and fairly good; much care, also, had been expended upon the text in the way of collation and emendation. Thus Bentley did not find as broad a field for conjecture as formerly. Before, he had restricted himself to passages where the meaning was almost or entirely obscured; but in this edition unintelligibility ceased to be the main reason for conjecture. He tried to introduce into Horace a verbal accuracy and logical consistency, and trusted his judgment of what was elegant or smooth to such an extent as to make it a determining factor in his conjectures.

The effect of this performance was twofold. Jebb says, "But while the *Horace* shows Bentley's critical method on a large scale and in a most striking form, it illustrates his defects as conspicuously as his strength."²⁸ The defect was a readiness, doubtless engendered by previous success in corrupt Greek texts, to correct, by strict logic and the normal usage of words, passages which made very good meaning as they stood—a readiness that proved disastrous to

²⁸ R. C. Jebb. *op. cit.*, p. 125.

Bentley because he possessed a *judicium logicum* rather than *judicium poeticum*. The liberty of emending was naturally resented by a few scholars. Bishop Hare represents this feeling in saying,²⁹

The foremost men in criticism have bound themselves with such reverence to trust in the parchments in the recension of the writings of the ancients, that they always considered it wrong to withdraw the least particle from these, unless in a case that is completely understood, or to insert conjectures into the text of an author which are not clear, transparent, certain, and plainly necessary. This was the plan of the critics in handling the writings of the ancients, this their religion, until Bentley, "that new light of our Britain," arose, who as if he had obtained, sole and alone, the highest place in Criticism, denied that laws applied to him, and does not suffer himself to be restrained by any rules; he recognizes no limit to the power of his criticism; by virtue of his arbitrary authority he riots with impunity in the writings of the ancients; and allows whatever pleases.

But the more powerful effect of the *Horace* was to strengthen a growing attitude toward texts. Scholars began to view them with suspicious eyes. In his edition of Statius, Markland says there are things in the *Aeneid* which he, although the worst poet in the world, would not admit into a poem of his — many passages contradictory, languid, trifling, defective in the spirit and majesty of heroic poetry. He exclaims what a divine poet Virgil would have been had he always written as he did in the second, fourth, and sixth books. Then he adds, "Et tu quidem sic omnia Scripsisses, si tibi permissent Tempus et male feristi Homines: sed nunc pars minima es ipse Tui."³⁰ Texts were judged, *a priori*, to be corrupt, blame being laid upon time and the grammarians. It was of no moment that a reading was perfectly

²⁹ *Epistola Critica*, p. 4 (translated from the Latin).

³⁰ Statius, 1728. Praefatio, p. viii.

intelligible and no corruption evident; one might lurk deep beneath the surface. To correct an obvious obscurity was glory enough, but to correct an unsuspected reading was more glorious still. In a letter to Warburton, Theobald says with much pride, "I have been so impudent as to suspect that Eustathius sometimes wants *restoring*, where he has never before, that I know, been suspected of being faulty."³¹ Men sought for faults, and because they read texts with this idea in mind, discovered many obscurities that were merely their own hallucinations. They were obsessed with this idea of faulty texts. Bentley's *Horace* had opened their eyes to many interpretations of which they had never dreamed. Atterbury might well express his alarm over finding so many places in Horace that he had not understood before.

This distrust of accepted readings became something like a psychological prepossession, wherein conjecture assumed an added glory. What else can explain Bentley's *Milton*? In this skeptical attitude towards books and manuscripts and in the search for possible inconsistencies, the wish became father of the thought, and self-deception tended to destroy all sense of values. Perhaps the worst example of the mania is to be found in Jeremiah Markland, who, after Bentley, was one of the foremost English scholars of his day. In his edition of Euripides he declares that after all the pains he and others have taken to explain Horace, there is not a single ode, epode, or satire which he can truly and honestly say he perfectly understands. Of this Hurd asks,

Was there ever a better instance of a poor man's puzzling and confounding himself by his own *obscure diligence*, or a better exemplification of the old remark *nae intelligendo faciunt ut nihil intelligant*? — After all, I believe the Author is a very good man,

³¹ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 552.

and a learned; but a miserable instance of a man of slender parts and sense, besotted by a fondness for his own peculiar study, and stupefied by an intense application to the *minutiae* of it.³²

One of Markland's emendations shows very clearly this searching for faults and this unnecessary correcting, together with the joy of it all. Although the note is long, it gives such a true picture of the correcting craze, that it may not be amiss to quote the larger part of it. It is on the twenty-ninth verse of the first Sermo. Horace is here speaking of how every man is dissatisfied with his own vocation and envies that of another. For example he takes four men — farmer, merchant, lawyer, and soldier. These he first calls miles, mercator, agricola, and legum peritus. When he mentions them again, they are miles, mercator, consultus, and rusticus. In their next appearance they are

Ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro
Perfidus hic caupo, miles, nautaeque per omne.

Markland objects to caupo, which means huckster or peddler, being introduced and the lawyer left out. He proceeds about his emendation in this manner :

Perfidus hic caupo, miles, nautaeque per omne — which is the same as if he had narrated in this fashion, "these four men, forsooth agricola, miles, mercator, and," what was the other? Juris consultus, I think you will say: rightly but where will you find it? It has gone, and in its place there has been substituted this caupo, in truth perfidus, inasmuch as it has by the greatest fraud

³² Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 4, p. 290. Markland expresses a similar sentiment in the preface to his *Statius* (p. v), where he says there are hardly ten consecutive lines of the eclogues that hitherto he had understood: "Statim enim deprehendi, non cum Punctis et Apicibus et Minutiis hisce Criticis rem mihi futuram; sed debellanda esse monstra horrenda, informia, ingentia, (ut ille ait) quibus omne lumen ademtum."

ejected an innocent man from his legitimate possession. For you who best understand the genius of Horace and his skill in literary art, will never, I believe, bring yourself to think that the divine Mnemosyne played such tricks with our Venusinus that, although a little before he twice made mention of *Juris peritus*, now suddenly and in the same series of representations he pokes *caupo* at us. This is the same as to make a woman beautiful in the upper part of her body, but like a fish beneath: it is impossible ever to find this levity in Horace, with whom this is the rule, that a poem is sustained to the end as it commenced. If Tully, when he speaks of beauty, shows this, "Since there are two kinds of beauty, in one of which there is grace, in the other dignity, we ought to consider grace a womanly quality, and ill-will (*malitia*) a manly quality;" does not this seem wonderful? What did this same critic [Bentley] do? Did he not against the authority of all the MSS substitute *dignitatem* for *malitiam*? certainly, for Cicero could not have written otherwise: nor would he believe Cicero, if Cicero himself affirmed he wrote otherwise: for this would be, as Quintilian facetiously remarks, to begin in a storm and end in flames and ruin. This place of Flaccus is altogether in an equal circumstance. Besides I ask what does *hic caupo* wish for itself? as if something about *caupo* had preceded. Which must have happened in order that "*hic*" should hold its place rightly. You have the reasons, and indeed very strong ones, why I number this passage among the corrupt: would that with the same labor it were permitted to replace it among the restored, for that is sound as it is now borne about, persuasion herself, could never persuade me — Indeed, I have often suspected that the word *consultus* or *causidicus* lurked in this place, as the sense entirely demands unless you wish to argue Horace guilty of inconsistency and absurdities. And, for very truth, unless my eyes deceive me, that which I wish, I dream, I see approaching in the manner of the Sabines, that very Trebonianus himself, under the mask of this *perfidus caupo*; but so changed that Deiphobus, whom Virgil mentions, scarcely wore a worse habit. Therefore, let us look more attentively in this manner,

Perfidus hic caupo

Behold when these letters, *fidus hic cau*, are reversed a little, there comes out the word *causidicus* of the same number of syllables, as the word which we are seeking: for *s* and *f* (as Bentley notes elsewhere) are the same in the MSS; and vowels or the aspirate *h* are very often elided in the middle of words, as in *Jul. Firmicus. Astrologia. VIII. 21.* instead of *nobilis faciet nothos*, write *notos*. Now why, good man, do you look askance? Do you consider it of no significance that all these letters that make up the desired word, although interchanged, yet have assembled in this place where it is most necessary for them to be? For beware how you object that Epicurean objection, the fortuitous concurrence of letters; since I have a response ready for you from Cicero, indeed from the *Iliad* of Homer, and the *Annals* of Ennius.

But I grant, you will say, that this *causidicus* has been restored to its old place, what will be done about the rest of the verse? Indeed, it is not clear to me; and I am forced to ask the aid of the *tribuni*; and the labor is between you and Bentley; for you two, or no one, are those who can restore Horace to Horace. But since he who has once transgressed the bounds of modesty ought to be entirely impudent, I proceed to make sacrifices to the god of laughter. An adjective for the word *causidicus* seems to be desired, which must be forged out of the two syllables *Po* and *Per*: Let us try whether Mercury can be fashioned out of this rude stick, in this manner,

Causidicus vafer,

which agrees so well with this passage, that if Flaccus has not given it thus, nevertheless he could have given it thus in a correct and happy manner. For elsewhere, *Sermo. I. 3. de juris consulto.*

Ut Alsenus Vafer, omni

And *II. 2. v. 131*

Illum aut nequitias, aut vafri incitiam juris.

Therefore the whole passage I restore thus

Causidicus vafer hic, miles, nautaeque.

For you have the four genuine *dramatis personae*; and at the same time you will notice how aptly balanced *hic* and *ille* are, and

how beautifully through the whole narration the phases are varied; so that him whom before he called *Agricola*, and *rure extractus*, and *rusticus*, now he calls him who turns the earth with his plow; whom before a merchant now a sailor who hurries over every sea; whom before a *juris legumque peritus*, and *consultus*, now a *causidicus*; most likely to avoid tedium which is wont to arise in the minds of the readers from the excessive repetition of the same word.³³

Then he goes on to give examples where letters have been disordered and reversed, but our patience is exhausted, and we can sympathize with Pope :

For thee, explain a thing till all men doubt it,
And write about it, Goddess, and about it.

To such length was this mania carried. The above note occurs in Markland's *Epistola Critica*, 1723, a book of some two hundred pages consisting entirely of emendations from nearly fifty different authors. It was quite the fashion to issue notes on one or more authors independent of any text. In such manner Bentley published his emendations of *Philemon* and *Menander*. And to works of this kind *Shakespeare Restored* exactly corresponds. Since a correction stood on its own footing, there was nothing to prevent an emendation of *Homer* standing side by side with one of *Lucian*.

There were several factors at work fostering this rage for emending. The success and convincing nature of Bentley's method inspired scholars with a sincere faith in the efficacy of conjectural criticism.³⁴ From this belief there developed

³³ Translated from the Latin.

³⁴ In his preface to *Statius*, Markland stoutly upholds the need and power of conjecture, saying that what we now read is not *Statius*, but some unknown person; that to pass by obscure places is a disregard of duty, which leads to "Incertitudo in Studiis," "Despicatio," and "contemptus." Of five hundred such places in his edition he feels

a joy in seeing literature rescued from the ravages of time. A somewhat romantic feeling accompanied the restoration of ancient writings to their pristine purity, a certain feeling of partnership with the author, so that critics felt as though they were actually assisting him. In speaking of the preface to Bentley's *Phaedrus*, Hare says Bentley promised great and glorious things, "Phaedrus sick and ulcerous up to now, would at last be restored to his pristine integrity by his powers, as though he were another Aesculapius."³⁵ According to Markland conjecture may well be deemed the preserver of all antiquity :

For you best know that access to an exact knowledge of antiquity and to perfect erudition is altogether denied without this art; and he has accomplished little in reading the antients, whoever has not seized upon many errors of this kind in their writings.³⁶

In the dedication to his Justin Martyr, Thirlby goes still farther :

Whatever pleasure or utility there is in universal knowledge, criticism demands in its own right all of this to be placed to its credit, since on it depends the whole knowledge of antiquity, and to it we owe whatever of ancient books is extant in no less degree than to the authors themselves, whom, were it not for the critics, we would not have read, but in their place we would have read the comments and errors of stupid librarians, and thus no one would ever understand authors, nor could he understand them, unless he knew criticism.

uncertain about only fifty, while some of his conjectures he regards as possessed of almost mathematical certainty. Of one of his emendations (p. xii) he asks, "Quis tam inepte fautor Veterum Lectionum, ut non hoc concedat? nemo certe: nisi si quis tam durus reperi queat, ut fateatur se Vetera et Falsa quam Recentia et Vera malle; cujus Sinisteritatem pro Judicio suspicari, nae esset iudicium mentis infirmae, & Veritatis Numine parum contactae."

³⁵ Hare's *Epistola Critica*, p. 5.

³⁶ Markland's *Epistola Critica*, p. 2. Both quotations are translated from the Latin.

And a little farther down he says he would not place criticism "lower than any art either in dignity of matter or utility of gift."³⁷ He even goes so far as to say that the very worst critics, bereft of judgment and reasons, stupid and dull, sometimes make corrections that cannot be called into doubt.

Another has paid his tribute to criticism, but rather as one who appreciates than as one who has indulged in it. Owing to his prominence in this work his words have an added significance. Writing in *The Censor*, April 20, 1715, Theobald expresses his regard for antiquity and criticism :

I am so professed an Admirer of Antiquity, that I am never better pleased with the Labours of my Contemporaries, than when they busy themselves in retrieving the sacred Monuments of their Forefathers from Obscurity and Oblivion. . . . We Lovers of Antiquity have our Foibles of this Nature, which we keep up with a very innocent Superstition. For my own part, the Shelves of my Study are filled with curious Volumes in all sorts of Literature, that preserve the Fragments of great and venerable Authors. These I consider as so many precious Collections from a Shipwreck of inestimable Value; comforting myself for the loss of the general Cargo, by the greater Price and Esteem that ought to be set upon the injured Remains. In opposite Columns to these stand the Restorers of ancient Learning who are continually snatching delicious Morsels from the Mouth of Time, and forcing that general Robber to a Restitution of his ill-gotten Goods. . . . When upon stumbling over the first Shelves I have discovered an uncommon Beauty and Strength of Wit in an imperfect Paragraph, I grieve as much that I cannot recover the Whole, as a brave man would for the Amputation of a Limb, from a strong and vigorous Body that had done his country great Services, and seemed to promise it yet greater. If upon these Occasions any of the learned happen to have supplied that Defect, by restoring a maimed Sentence to

³⁷ It is well to keep in mind that throughout this period criticism means textual criticism, and that, for the most part, conjectural.

its original Life and Spirit, I pay him the same Regard as the ancient Romans did to one who has preserved the life of a fellow-citizen. In the disposition of Homer's Battles, we find that excellent Poet has placed the Physician at a convenient Nearness to the fighting Hero to be in readiness to cure his Wounds, and my generous Critics observe the same Order, and stand prepared to come into the Assistance of an injured Author.

Another element underlying this prepossession was the fascination of emending. There are all the attractions of a puzzle in seeing what can be substituted and still satisfy the requirements of the passage. Men engaged in it as a *tour de force*. One eighteenth-century scholar has expressed this idea well :

Authors have been taken in hand like anatomical subjects, only to display the skill and abilities of the Artist; so that the end of many an Edition seems often to have been no more than to exhibit the great sagacity and erudition of an Editor. The Joy of the Task was the Honour of mending, while Corruptions were sought with a more than common attention, as each of them afforded a testimony to the Editor and his Art.³⁸

This fascination grew so strong as to be almost irresistible, as is well testified to by Bentley's *Milton*, speaking of which Harris says, "But the rage of Conjecture seems to have seized him, as that of *Jealousy* did *Medea*; a rage, which she confest herself unable to resist, altho' she knew the mischiefs, it would prompt her to perpetrate."³⁹ This same fascination Theobald has expressed in other terms, where in his letters to Warburton he speaks of looking forward to the letters containing Warburton's emendations like a boy for a letter from his sweetheart, and how he reads

³⁸ *Philological Inquiries*, by James Harris, 1781. Pt. I, p. 35. See also the story of the Empiric on the same page.

³⁹ *Idem*, p. 37. Whalley calls conjecture "the darling passion of our modern critics." *An Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare*, 1745, p. 15.

the letter slowly, like a boy with a sweet morsel, afraid to eat it up; while in another place he calls himself an avaricious husbandman of emendations.⁴⁰ In the preface to his edition of Shakespeare Johnson speaks of Upton as being unable to restrain the *rage of emendation*, tho his ardour is ill seconded by his skill. Every cold empirick, when his heart is expanded by a successful experiment, swells into a theorist, and the laborious collator at some unlucky moment frolicks in conjecture.

. . . It is an unhappy state, in which danger is hid under pleasure. The allurements of emendation are scarcely resistible. Conjecture has all the joy and all the pride of invention, and he that has once started a happy change, is too much delighted to consider what objections may arise against it.

A third incentive to this enticing pursuit was the reputation that waited upon a plausible conjecture. In his *Dissertation on Phalaris* Bentley speaks of the glory and honor attendant upon emendations.⁴¹ His first essay drew from continental scholars, as we have seen, the highest words of praise. From that time on more and more honor began to accrue to a convincing or ingenious emendation. Hurd says that it was the high regard in which emendatory criticism was held that naturally tempted Warburton to make some effort for distinction in a department of scholarship for which he was little fitted.⁴² Hare, perhaps maliciously, attributed Bentley's excessive emendations to his inordinate desire for glory.⁴³ In defense of his first work on Shakespeare Theobald says, "The Alteration of a Letter, when it restores Sense to a corrupted Passage, in a learned Language, is an Atchievment that Brings Honour to the Critic who advances it."⁴⁴ In his burlesque notes on

⁴⁰ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 257, 557, 283.

⁴¹ Dyce, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 155, 276.

⁴² J. S. Watson, *Life of Warburton*, p. 67.

⁴³ *Epistola Critica*, p. 148.

⁴⁴ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 193.

Bentley's *Horace*, which we shall notice soon, Dr. William King touches frequently on this glory and praise. Apropos of one of Bentley's notes, he says, "From such achievements as these men attain the titles of Accurate, Illustrious, Learned, Acute, the star of Criticism, the North Pole of Erudition." King depreciates the method and laments the honor it receives:

What a noble art is Criticism, when an excursion into a Vocabulary, or a tolerable progress made in an Index, shall be deemed an Achievement, an Adventure, and accordingly entitle a man to everlasting honour and glory.

There was, however, a reaction against the popularity of conjectural criticism. For a long time there had been in England a feeling against pedantry, though the ideas of what constituted a pedant were subject to change. A pedant might be a Holofernes who paraded his learning in his conversations; or else a writer larding his works with quotations from all the ancients. With the establishment of the Royal Society and the controversy between the ancients and moderns that followed soon after, the virtuoso became a pedant. At the time of and during the Phalaris controversy a pedant seems to have been considered one who spent much time and showed great learning in the searching out of trifles. Many were the charges of pedantry brought against Bentley on this score, his opponents even going so far as to say that the whole Phalaris controversy was over a trifle. Swift, Pope, and their cohorts for nearly half a century carried on this fight against the "abuses of learning."

The trouble lay in the placing of emphasis. The polite scholars and literati insisted that minute knowledge of fact was useless, or at least infinitely below knowledge and appreciation of the thought and sentiment of the ancients. St. Evremond, an apostle of taste, says of critics that "The whole Mystery of their Learning lies in what we might as

well be ignorant of, and they are absolutely strangers to what's really worth knowing."⁴⁵ Another upholder of taste, the philosopher Shaftesbury, says,

A good poet and a honest historian may afford learning enough for a *Gentleman*. And such a one, whilst he reads these authors as his diversion, will have a truer relish of their sense, and understand 'em better, than a *pedant*, with all his labours, and the assistance of his volumes of commentators.⁴⁶

And he asks what good will become of the Phalaris controversy though "the world out of curiosity may delight to see a *pedant* expos'd by a man of better wit, and a controversy thus unequally carry'd on between two such opposite partys."⁴⁷

It was the same cry with them all. Wit was a knight errant who, with his squire Good Sense, was bound on the consecrated adventure of rescuing fair Taste from the foul clutches of Pedantry. It is somewhat hard to realize just how bitter these attacks were. Wotton, Bentley, Jortin, and others all bear witness to the hardships undergone by scholars. The constant attacks must have so influenced popular judgments that it was possible for Atterbury and his tribe seemingly to discomfit Bentley, and for Pope to attempt to brand Theobald with the mark of his satire. The general public was far more appreciative of the flashes of wit than of the researches of scholars; good taste was a fairer object to defend than a restored reading or established fact in science. Even after full allowance is made for satire based on spite, and the unusual suitability of research to the satire of a predominantly satiric age, it is rather hard

⁴⁵ *The Works of Monsieur De St. Evremond, Made English from the French Original. By Mr. Des Maizeaux. In three volumes, 1714, vol. III, p. viii.*

⁴⁶ *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, In three volumes. 1711, vol. I, p. 122.*

⁴⁷ *Idem, vol. 3, Miscell. 1, Chap. 1.*

not to believe that the satirists were sometimes sincere in their championship of taste, that they looked upon the prevailing type of research as injuriously wrong.

With the publication of Bentley's *Horace* the pedant becomes the verbal critic. Years before this there had been a feeling against verbal criticism. N. Heinsius, in the preface to his edition of Claudian, 1665, spoke of "importuna quorundam superstitio, qui aut nihil omnino in antiquis scriptoribus mutari sinuunt." And a year before the appearance of the *Horace* this feeling is echoed by Wasse, who says, "mentes tantam superstitionem occupasse, ut multo patientius librariorum quam editoris judicia ferant."⁴⁸ In the same year Gronovius, in answer to Bentley's emendations on Menander, made a very rabid attack on Bentley's conjectural criticism, wherein, among other things, he called the critic a frenzied Numidian, and thought it a matter of public concern how Menander had been treated. He constantly spoke of the praise, fame, and glory that ought not to come from such trivial or wicked accomplishments.⁴⁹

As long as Bentley confined his labors to such writers as Malelas, Phalaris, and the fragments of the Greek poets, he was beyond the ken of many of the wits, but when he laid hands upon Horace, he was desecrating the literary idol of the day.⁵⁰ It was because of this popularity that

⁴⁸ J. Wasse, Preface to his edition of Sallust, 1710.

⁴⁹ *Infamia Emendationis in Menandri Reliquias . . . Lundini Bataavorum*, 1710.

⁵⁰ Some idea of the popularity of Horace may be gained from this contemporary account: "The singular esteem which some critics have always expressed for the works of Horace became at last so fashionable, that scarce a man who affected the character of a polite scholar ever travelled ten miles from home without an Horace in his pocket. The last E. of S. was such an Admirer of Horace that his whole conversation consisted of quotations out of that poet: in which he often discovered his want of skill in the Latin tongue, and always his want of taste. But the man whom I looked on (if I may be allowed

Bentley edited him, because he "was familiar to men's hands and hearts." Immediately a small host of publications came into existence, directed against Bentley in particular and emendatory criticism in general.⁵¹ A fair sample of the pointless abuse heaped upon the scholar is furnished by a quotation from Dr. King's "Some account of Horace's Behaviour":

But I never heard that Horace whilst in college, "Kept Chapel" himself; but that he has hindered other persons from minding Divinity, which should have been their proper study, rather than to find out ques, and atque's, and vel's, and nec's, and neque's at the expense of a thousand pounds a year and upwards, designed for much better usages than to correct an old Latin Song-book, not to say worse of it, notwithstanding all the graces and beauties of its language.

The cleverest satire on the edition, however, is to be found in a poem called *Bibliotheca*, published in 1712.⁵² After granting Boyle the victory in the Phalaris controversy, the satirist turns on Bentley's *Horace*.

Bentley immortal honour gets,
By changing Que's to nobler Et's:
From Cam to Isis see him roam,
To fetch stray'd Interjections home;

the expression) as Horace-mad, was one Dr. Douglas." — *Political and Literary Anecdotes of His Own Times. By Dr. William King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxon.* London, 1819, p. 70.

In his essay *On Translating the Odes of Horace* Professor Trent calls attention to a Dr. Biram Eaton, who had read Horace many hundred times. The *Oxford Book of American Essays*, ed. B. Matthews, 1914, p. 497.

⁵¹ Among attacks published in 1712 were *Horatius Reformatus*, *The Life and Conversation of Richard Bentley*, and *Five Extraordinary Letters*, all published anonymously and all full of abuse, both personal and general.

⁵² See Appendix A.

While the glad shores with joy rebound,
 For Periods and lost Commas found:
 Poor Adverbs, that had long deplor'd
 Their injur'd rights, by him restor'd
 Smil'd to survey a rival's doom,
 While they possessed the envied room;
 And hissing from their rescued throne
 Th' Usurper's fate, applaud their own.
 The Roman nymphs, for want of notes
 More tender, strain'd their little throats;
 Till Bentley to relieve their woes
 Gave them a sett of Ah's and Oh's:
 More musically to complain,
 And warble forth their *gentle pain*.
 The suffering fair no more repine,
 For vowels now to *sob* and *whine*;
 In softest air their passion try,
 And, without spoiling metre, die:
 With Interjections of his own,
 He helps them now to weep and groan;
 That reading him, no lover fears
 Soft vehicles for sighs and tears.⁵³

Another attempt to ridicule Bentley's *Horace* and his method was made in a complete translation of the edition, notes and all, from the Latin into English.⁵⁴ Monk says the translation "adopts such a vulgar phraseology as would give a ludicrous character to any book." Not only this, but the translator foists in whole phrases, adds words, and mistranslates so as to exaggerate Bentley's propensities, as when he translates the epithets applied to the grammarians as "Ruffy, Spark, Blade." Of the notes upon notes, some seriously try to refute Bentley's notes, some try to prove him inconsistent, some make fun of his method and charac-

⁵³ John Nichols, *A Select Collection of Poems*, vol. 3, p. 60.

⁵⁴ See Appendix B.

teristics, while others turn his notes into pure farce. Some are tiresome, but many have humorous turns and comical applications. The author has analyzed Bentley's method and has ridiculed it with some success; the critical doubt, the emendation, and the conjectural criticism all come in for their share of scorn. The satirist especially finds fault with Bentley's dogmatism and his way of speaking both of those he likes and those he dislikes. Nor does he fail to attack the triviality of verbal criticism in general.

Bentley's work did not escape condemnation even on the continent. Le Clerc, at this time Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Amsterdam, who had reasons for disliking Bentley, issued a restrained pamphlet against him, which was straight-way translated into English and published in London.⁵⁵ It is something of a prototype of Edwards' *Canons of Criticism* directed against Warburton's edition of Shakespeare, only it is serious and everywhere treats Bentley with respect, although condemning him at times. Le Clerc draws up a list of seven "Critical Rules and Remarks," which may be summed up as saying we do not have sufficient knowledge and judgment to correct the ancients with surety, and therefore should not speak too confidently of our emendations.

Another work written about this time, though not published until many years later, is *Virigilius Restauratus*, written by Arbuthnot, although perhaps assisted by other members of the Scriblerus Club. It seeks to disparage Bentley's method by useless emendations of the Aeneid, given in notes burlesquing Bentley's method, some of which are very clever and logically plausible.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Mr. Le Clerc's Judgment and Censure of Dr. Bentley's Horace; And of the Amsterdam Edition compar'd with that of Cambridge. Translated from the French.* 1713.

⁵⁶ Later the *Dunciad* indulges in the same kind of sport. Pope found the ground fallow for his attack on Theobald, and his comparatively poor success speaks volumes for his adversary's merits.

Bentley's *Horace* awakened the slumbering resentment against conjectural criticism; while attacks at first were generally leveled against him for his boldness, this feeling gradually extended against all performers in the field.⁵⁷ It became more and more necessary for critics to speak out against such opposition. Furthermore, if we may judge by the defense of verbal criticism made by classical scholars, this feeling seems to have been more widely spread than is apparent from its expression in print. Of the hostility to verbal criticism Markland says,

I know there will not be wanting those who will slander this phase of learning as being trivial, and contributing nothing either to usefulness or pleasure in life: for none are more free to judge than those who either do not read or do not understand.⁵⁸

The first serious attempt at an answer to these attacks of the "indocti" and "literati," as they were called, is found in the dedication to Lord Craven of Thirlby's *Justin Martyr*, a rather tedious array of long involved Latin sentences written in a barbarous style. While Thirlby attacks certain phases of classical studies, especially chronology, textual criticism is most stubbornly defended. He claims that people who do not know criticism comfort themselves with the thought that it is futile and trivial. To those who attack criticism on the ground of triviality he answers that all arts sometime deviate into triviality: physicians, lawyers, physicists, metaphysicians, theologians, all deal in trifles. He is especially severe on mathematicians and those who indulge in the study of chronology. He replies to those who

⁵⁷ One irate objector proposed a plan whereby the infallibility of critics could be tested. He suggested that passages be transcribed from some poet and lacunae purposely left. Then emenders could set to work to fill up deficiencies. See Des Maizeaux's preface to *The Works of St. Evremond*, 1714.

⁵⁸ *Epistola Critica*, p. 2.

say that criticism is not conducive to convenience in life or the public good, by asserting that on this basis all arts would be overthrown. And as for delight, whatever pleasure there is in knowledge, criticism can claim for itself, for without it we should be reading grammarians instead of original authors:

We should wonder that this art, whose prerogative and duty it is to correct the writings of the Ancients, incredibly depraved by the various injuries of a long time, and to restore them to their pristine splendour, should seem a futile, absurd, and entirely useless undertaking to learned men, and especially to those who profess themselves the greatest admirers of these writers.⁵⁹

Thus there was developing among the literati an opposition to textual criticism almost as strong as the prepossession in favor of the same among scholars. The arguments introduced against the pursuit were repeated again and again. The study of words was a trivial matter, and not worthy of the attention of intelligent men. The study was useless, for it conferred no real benefit upon mankind. These were the two main contentions, which also had furnished the basis of the attacks on the new science and on pedantry. In the third place criticism was inefficient, for it could not restore the original reading, but merely gave the guesses of the conjecturers. Furthermore, the insertion of readings, unsupported by manuscripts, was wrong and an injustice done to the author. Lastly, criticism was injurious to a man's disposition, making him proud, arrogant, and altogether an undeserving person, given to quarrels and vituperation. These arguments the enemies of verbal criticism marshaled against it throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

But these attacks did not lessen indulgence in the pursuit. By his marvelous success Bentley had drawn the attention of scholars to his own favorite study. The success of his

⁵⁹ Translated from the Latin.

method inspired others with confidence in the undertaking; in emulation of the great critic scholars turned their attention more and more to the study of texts. So great became their enthusiasm that the correcting of texts, especially by emendation, amounted to an obsession with which the classics were read by critical and suspicious eyes. Even the term "criticism," when unmodified, meant verbal criticism.⁶⁰ Although the opposition to this peculiar study was energetic enough and indulged in by the foremost wits of the time, ultimately their attacks failed, Bentley's labors reaching their flower in Porson, and Theobald's in the later capable critics of Shakespeare.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See preface to William Broome's *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1727.

⁶¹ See *Museum Criticum*, vol. 1, p. 489. Here Porson says literary criticism is nothing compared with verbal criticism, and though at one time the latter was thought lowest of all literary expression, "in this age of taste and learning it would not be considered trifling."

CHAPTER III

SHAKESPEARE RESTORED

IN an age so obsessed with the idea of correcting and so prodigal of praise, as well as blame, for the corrector, it was only natural that sooner or later the critical spirit should break through classical bounds and seek unconquered worlds beyond. Shakespeare was the first to attract attention. In spite of the attacks of the Aristotelians and the predilection of the age for classical regularity, he was the most highly admired of English poets. Furthermore, the progress of the originally poor text through four folios had left the plays in a worse condition than many manuscripts of the classics. Here, then, was a rich field for the textual critic, and the reward promised to be proportional to the popularity of the poet. By the time Pope undertook to edit Shakespeare the resemblance of the text to a classical one was rather generally recognized, as well as the need of similar treatment. After speaking of the critical care expended upon classical authors, Dr. George Sewell says,

What then has been done by the really Learned to the dead languages, by treading backward into the Paths of Antiquity and reviving and correcting good old Authors, we in Justice owe to our great Writers, both in Prose and Poetry. They are in some degree our Classics; on their foundations we must build, as the Formers and refiners of our Language.¹

But if the similarity between the classics and Shakespeare's text was noticed, it was not until two editions had been

¹ Preface, dated November 24, 1724, to Seventh Volume of Pope's Edition of Shakespeare, 1725.

printed that the classical method was applied. Rowe suggested comparing the text with earlier editions, but seems to have based his chiefly on the fourth folio.² While some of his emendations have proved satisfying, and while he rendered real service in giving the lists of *dramatis personae* to the plays lacking them, as well as dividing some of the plays into acts and scenes, his edition was not a critical one. Nearly all his corrections were introduced on his own authority and without any support beyond that of suitability. If he recognized the necessity of collating early editions, he seems not to have profited much by the discovery. The method of carefully collating manuscripts and editions and of bringing to bear all possible knowledge upon the restoration of a passage, a method such as was used in the classics, Rowe certainly did not follow. He noticed the need of correcting the text, suggested a way, and then contented himself with following the line of least resistance in his correcting.

Pope's edition, 1725, represents a more critical treatment of the text. One portion of an editor's duty, the most important, he recognized and clearly stated, that of collating the text with the old copies. But this, for the most part, he failed to do, although possessing, according to his own word, the means. When it came to the removing of obscurity either by explanation or conjecture, he failed signally. For this task there is necessary the most critical spirit and the broadest knowledge of Elizabethan and pre-Elizabethan literature. Pope lacked both. Emendations he did make, but the majority were adopted to reduce Shakespeare's meter to eighteenth-century regularity. For the rest of his conjectures he was wholly dependent upon his judgment, and anything that did not appeal to his taste ran the risk

² *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. V, pp. 298-299; and Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 73-76.

of being relegated to the bottom of the page. Unwilling as he was to collate carefully, he must have been all the more unwilling to investigate, analyze, and study corrupt passages, or undertake to become familiar with the literature current in Shakespeare's time. Nor does he seem to have made any study of the peculiarities of Shakespeare's grammar or diction. The only supports of his critical method are collation, carelessly followed, metrical skill, and taste. A few of his emendations based upon taste have found their way into most modern editions, as well as a larger number of his metrical emendations; yet these are upheld by no evidence and draw on no authorities. Elsewhere we find even his judgment unsafe, and we perceive no inclination to scrutinize carefully every doubt and draw out stores of knowledge to remove it.³

It seems rather strange that Pope should ever have undertaken the "dull duty of an editor." Tonson appealed to him for an edition because he knew the poet's reputation would enhance the popularity of any undertaking, but why did Pope yield? His inveterate animosity to textual critics finds expression as early as the *Essay on Criticism*, when he says

Some on the leaves of ancient authors prey,
Nor time nor moths e'er spoiled as much as they.

In the preface to his *Homer*, and elsewhere, he speaks in a most derogatory manner of commentators. He was a member of the Scriblerus Club, and his associates were men of polite learning, antagonists to the new scholarship from the time of the Phalaris controversy. It hardly seems possible that money was the motive, as Johnson asserts, when we remember that his *Homer* had removed all danger of financial

³ For a full description and criticism of Rowe's and Pope's editions, see Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, Chaps. IV, V, VI.

needs; nor does Pope appear to have been very avaricious. The only explanation I can find for his undertaking such an uncongenial task is the desire for glory, always a ruling passion with Pope. Realizing the honor that was attendant upon the restorer of classical texts, and knowing himself incapable of accomplishments in that field, he undertook to achieve glory in restoring Shakespeare.⁴ This change of face necessitated some explanations to his friends, and "dull duty of an editor" was the compromise. On the publication of Shakespeare, Broome was ready with a panegyric,

Shakespere rejoice! his hand thy Page refines,
Now every Scene with native Brightness shines.⁵

But Pope's edition brought forth the first truly critical work on Shakespeare. This appeared in March, 1726, under the title, *Shakespeare Restored: or a Specimen of the Many Errors, as well committed, as Unamended, by Mr. Pope In his Late Edition of this Poet Designed Not only to correct the said Edition, but to restore the True Reading of Shakespeare in all the Editions ever yet publish'd*. It is a large quarto volume, dedicated to John Rich and containing one hundred and ninety-four pages. The first one hundred and thirty-two pages are in large print and are devoted primarily to *Hamlet*. The rest, under the title of Appendix, is in smaller print and contains remarks on nearly all the plays. *The Merchant of Venice* and *Troilus and Cressida* lead the list with five remarks each, while *Macbeth* and *Coriolanus*

⁴ In the preface (p. xxxix) to his edition of Shakespeare Theobald frankly states that the reputation consequent upon textual work in the classics "invited me to attempt the method here." And in the introduction (p. v) to *Shakespeare Restored* he says he "shall venture to aim at some little Share of Reputation" in his emendations. On p. 193 of this work he refers again to reputation as the inspiration of the work.

⁵ *To Mr. Pope, On his Works, 1726.*

follow next with four each. A number of the plays are commented on only once. The first half of the "Appendix" is devoted to showing Pope's mistakes under these heads: emendation where there is no need of it; maiming the author by unadvised degradations; bad choice in various readings and degradation of the better word; and mistakes in giving the meaning of words. Besides these the critic shows Pope's mistakes in pointing and "transpositions," and the inaccuracies due to inattention to Shakespeare and his history. The rest of the "Appendix," from page one hundred and sixty-five to the end, is devoted entirely to emendations. The nature of each remark is designated in the margin, so that the reader may be apprised of the content, by such terms as "false printing," "false pointing," "various reading," "passage omitted," "conjectural emendation," "emendation," and the like. There are nearly a hundred corrections on *Hamlet* and a few over a hundred on the other plays. The only plays not mentioned by Theobald are *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *As You Like it*, and *Twelfth Night*.

In his preface Theobald states that he had often declared in a number of companies the corrupt state Shakespeare's text was in, and had always expressed the wish that some one would retrieve its original purity, but being disappointed in Pope's effort, he had attempted it himself. While this statement may be essentially true, it hardly seems possible that the number of emendations and the numerous and pertinent passages quoted in support of them could have been assembled within the compass of a single year; especially when we consider that all these were but a specimen drawn from "an ample Stock of Matter."⁶ For steeped as Theobald was in classical criticism, to recognize the corrupt state of Shakespeare was to contrive, in a more or less definite way, corrections. A statement of Theobald seems to

⁶ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 133.

prove this. In speaking of Pope's emendation of "siege" for "sea" in Hamlet's famous soliloquy, he says,

"The Editor is not the *first* who has had the same Suspicion: And I may say, because I am able to prove it by Witnesses, it was a *Guess* of mine, before he had enter'd upon publishing **Shakespeare.**"⁷

The interest created by Pope's edition made possible the completion and publication of his efforts.

Theobald was unusually well equipped for the office of a textual critic on Shakespeare. He was a poet, a poor one indeed, but still with talent enough to make him escape the pitfalls that proved disastrous on more than one occasion to the purely logical mind of Bentley. Furthermore, the very fact that his poetic genius was slight served him in good stead, for besides admitting of tireless industry, it prevented him from seeking to merge his own ideas with those of the work under consideration, and restrained him from relying too much upon his own judgment of the poetic value of a passage.

Besides this he was thoroughly conversant with the stage. The author himself of several dramas and various operas and pantomimes, he had been thrown into intimate relations with John Rich, lessee of Lincoln's Inn Fields theater. Both by experience and observation he was familiar with stagecraft and the theater, and thus in a position better to understand the causes of many of the corruptions in Shakespeare, especially stage directions that had crept into the text and lines assigned to the wrong characters.

But more important than either of the above qualifications was his intimate knowledge of Shakespeare's thought and diction. We have already seen that the phraseology of

⁷ *Idem*, p. 82. Also see his letter to the *Daily Journal*, November 26, 1728, where he speaks of having spent twelve years studying the text of Shakespeare.

The Cave of Poverty showed an unusual knowledge of Shakespeare's style. The passages quoted in *A Complete Key to the What D'ye Call It* (if by Theobald) further prove his familiarity with the plays. The ninety odd numbers of *The Censor* are strewn with references to or discussions of them, in which *Hamlet* and *Othello* seem to be his favorites.⁸ In some of his comments he shows a distinct departure from current ideas. Speaking of *Julius Caesar*, he says,

As to particular Irregularities, it is not to be expected that a Genius like Shakespear's should be judg'd by the Laws of *Aristotle*, and the other Prescribers to the Stage; it will be sufficient to fix a Character of Excellence to his Performances, if there are in them a Number of beautiful Incidents, true and exquisite Turns of Nature and Passion, fine and delicate Sentiments, uncommon Images, and great Boldnesses of Expression.⁹

The final testimony to his study of Shakespeare is his adaptation of *Richard II*, where he seeks to imitate the great dramatist's style.

And last of all, Theobald brought to his work a wide knowledge of the classics and the methods of classical scholarship. He says,

As my principal Diversion in reading is a strict Conversation with the best old classics, Virgil was the Choice of my last Night's Study. In Authors of this Sort where I am sure to be entertained in every Page, my Custom is to take my Chance for the Subject, and begin my Amusement where the Book first opens.¹⁰

Elsewhere he styles himself "an admirer of antiquity" and "a lover of antiquity."¹¹ Especially worthy of note is his interest in the Greek drama, clearly disclosed in his translations from the same, in an age that, devoted to the

⁸ References to *Hamlet* in Nos. 18, 54, 83, 90, 93; and to *Othello* in Nos. 16, 95, 36.

⁹ *Censor*, No. 70.

¹⁰ *Censor*, No. 18.

¹¹ *Idem*, No. 5.

study and imitation of the later classics, knew the Attic drama chiefly through Aristotle.

I could wish heartily, the Poets of our Times would follow the Model of Sophocles, and rather lay their Distresses on Incidents produced by some such uncontrollable Impulse than to let the Dagger and poison Cup be at the Discretion of a Villain.

Apropos of this he praises *Othello*. But Aeschylus more than any interested him. The translation of his plays was the only translation upon which Theobald attempted to embark on his own account. In *The Censor*, No. 60, he discusses Greek tragedy, but soon confines himself to Aeschylus, translating a long passage from *Prometheus*; he refuses to subscribe to the "critics of every age," who rank him below Sophocles and Euripides. He anticipates Victor Hugo in seeing a similarity between Aeschylus and Shakespeare in the majesty and sublimity of their verse.

There were some phases of classical scholarship with which Theobald was not in entire sympathy, influenced, as he undoubtedly was, by the attitude of the literati and polite schools of scholarship. Throughout *The Censor* we find slurs at antiquaries and the Royal Society. This last had been the center of the ancients and moderns controversy, and Theobald was a stanch upholder of the ancients, although not admitting any particular degeneration in the moderns. Any attempt to reduce the antiquity of a production to a more recent date he resented with the accusation that the moderns did not wish to allow any more than necessary to the ancients. When higher criticism made use of historical philology and chronology in disputing the antiquity of an author, Theobald was prone to disagree and to doubt the value of those two studies. Nor was he loath to stigmatize efforts in such minute studies as pedantic.¹²

¹² For attacks on virtuosi, chronologers, and other minute scholars, see *Censor*, Nos. 68 and 91.

This naturally led him to disagree with Bentley in regard to Phalaris, although he always mentions the great critic with respect:¹³

I remember the learned Dr. Bentley has made it one of his Exceptions to Phalaris's Epistles being Genuine, that the Tyrant has made use of some proverbial Sentences which are recorded as the Inventions of Authors of a much later Date, and therefore *Phalaris* could not write those Epistles, because he has used some Sayings that were not in Being in his Age. I confess, I am not totally satisfied with this Argument, I look upon it as a Hardship next to an Impossibility to determine strictly the Periods, and Origins of such Sentences; and were it not a work that would savour too much of Pedantry and Affectation of Book-Learning, I could produce several of their sententious Fragments, which have been severally attributed to five or six distinct Authors, and that on the Testimonies of great Hands.¹⁴

He maintains the same opinion of the poetry of Musaeus, for whom he had a special liking.¹⁵ In his essay on the *Hero and Leander* prefixed to his translation of the same in *The Grove*, he does attempt "a Piece of Chronological Criticism." Although expressing his inability to come to a decision con-

¹³ It is possible Theobald may have been influenced by regard for his patron, Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, to whom he dedicated his *Richard II*.

¹⁴ *Censor*, No. 26.

¹⁵ *Censor*, No. 39, May 23, 1715: "I have always read this small Remain of *Musaeus*, with Pleasure enough to consider it the Product of that Antique Greek, however his Title to it has been of late disputed. There has reigned a Spirit of Detraction for some Years in the World, which has labour'd to strip the Ancients of their Honours, on purpose to adorn some more Modern Brow. I cannot conceive that this springs from a fair and generous Emulation; but that finding themselves unable to come up to the Strokes of Antiquity, as Chronologers often do to gain a Point, they draw down Authors to their own Dates, to prove that all Merit in Writing was not confin'd to the Aeras of Paganism."

cerning the antiquity of the poem, and declining the "Pedantry of amassing all the Authorities and Opinions," he mentions Stobaeus, Athenaeus, Pausanias, and opposes Scaliger and Heinsius to Vossius, Isaac Casaubon, and Paraeus. He shows little sympathy with historical philology, as is evident from the following passage, where he seems to be looking at Bentley:

There are Critics in the World, I know, who look upon Greek to have such a certain Mark in its Mouth, that they can precisely determine upon the Age of any Composition in that Language. For my own Part, I confess myself a Novice in these niceties; and therefore design to let the Matter rest barely upon the fact of Probability.

Yet he pays a tribute to the robust critic, when he says,

The Objection which is of the greatest Weight with me against the Antiquity of this Poem, is what a Great Man in Critical Learning made against the Epistles of Phalaris, the Silence and Pre-emption of Authors during a long Series of Ages.

This attempt at higher criticism is of no worth and little significance, although in the mention of authors and authorities Theobald shows his wide and careful reading of the classics and classical critics. But on one phase of classical scholarship, the most prevalent during this time, Theobald placed great value. We have already quoted the passage from *The Censor* which expresses in most exaggerated language his regard for textual criticism.¹⁶ Even if he was not in sympathy with much of the minute scholarship and learning of his time, he was a complete convert to the new pursuit of scholars. In this respect he resembles Thirlby, who, as we have seen before, scoffed at chronology and other phases of scholarship, but was praise itself in regard to verbal criticism. Such was the impression Bentley's critical accomplish-

¹⁶ *Ante*, Chap. II, p. 49.

ments made on men of his day, that literal criticism was allowed honor where investigations of a different nature were denied it.

Furthermore, Theobald was intimately acquainted with the work of the great textual critic. We have already noticed his interest in the dissertation on Phalaris, and references to the controversy occur elsewhere.¹⁷ He quotes from Bentley's Epistle to Mill a passage which encourages him in his work on Shakespeare.¹⁸ He expresses the highest praise for Bentley's emendations of Menander and Philemon.¹⁹ He even models his edition of Shakespeare upon Bentley's Amsterdam Horace.²⁰ Everywhere he mentions Bentley with respect, and often praise, styling him the "learned Dr. Bentley"²¹ and "a Great Man in Critical Learning."²² In upholding the value of literal criticism he appeals to Bentley's success, "But I no more pretend to do justice to that Great Man's Character, than I would be thought to set my own poor Merit, or the Nature of this Work, in Competition with his."²³

Thoroughly conversant as Theobald was with classical criticism, it was only natural that he should have been struck with the similarity between the state of the text of Shakespeare and that of the texts of Greek and Latin authors. Nor was this similarity superficial,²⁴ a fact clearly stated in the preface to *Shakespeare Restored*:

¹⁷ *Censor*, Nos. 8 and 9. Preface to *A Complete Key to the What D'ye Call it* (if Theobald wrote it).

¹⁸ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 313.

¹⁹ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 193.

²⁰ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. II, p. 621.

²¹ *Censor*, No. 26.

²² Essay prefixed to his translation of *Hero and Leander*, published in *The Grove*, 1721.

²³ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 193.

²⁴ "Such is the process by which the text of Shakespeare has been

“As Shakespeare stands, or at least ought to stand, in the Nature of a Classic, and indeed he is corrupt enough to pass for one of the oldest Stamp, every one who has a Talent and Ability this Way, is at Liberty to make his Comments and Emendations upon him.”

Having recognized the similarity, he had only to apply the classical method. This method Theobald got directly from Bentley. As noted above, he was familiar with the most important works of the editor of Horace, and in this very work of *Shakespeare Restored* refers to him twice, once in a most complimentary way. A comparison of a few of Theobald's notes with some of Bentley's shows conclusively that the former was consciously imitating the method of the latter.

A line in Horace, Bk. I, ode 3, l. 19, reads in the main, “Qui vidit mare turgidum.” Bentley comments thus:²⁵

The Venetian edition, 1478, which I think was the first of all, has “turgidum,” but the German edition of Loscherus, 1498, “turbidum.” However, that first reading has occupied almost all the editions since. Furthermore, the manuscripts, even the best, are divided, some showing this reading some that, and surely either can be tolerated with sufficient propriety.

Prudentius — Quae turgidum quondam mare

Avienus — Fluctibus instabile et glauci vada turgida
ponti.

Thus Virgil — Timidum mare; and the Greek ἄλιον οἶδμα. I have scarcely any doubt that “turbidum” came from Horace's hand, because it is the braver epithet, and excites the greater terror.

Lucretius v. 999 — nec turbida ponti Aequora

Ovid. Tristia I, 10. Pectora sunt ipso turbidiora mari

evolved — a process precisely similar to that undergone by any classical text. The quartos and folios represent the work of copyists — that of editing follows.” — *Cambridge History of English Lit.*, vol. V, p. 297.

²⁵ This and other notes of Bentley are translated from the Latin.

The same, Hero and Leander —

Ipsa vides caelum pice nigrius, et freta ventis
Turbida.

And the same — Cumque mea fiunt turbida mente freta
concussi fretum

Seneca — Herc. Oet. 456 — Cessante vento; turbidum
explicui mare.

Avienus in Arateis, — Non tum freta turbida pinu Quis
petat.

And again — Quantum suspenso linquit vada turbida
caelo.

And — Turbida certantes converrunt aequora Cauri

And — Si fugiunt volucres raptim freta turbida Nerei

So that it is almost to be feared that in the passages from Prudentius and Avienus, cited above, "turbidum" ought to be substituted.

Let us now turn to a note of Theobald's on a line in Hamlet, Act I, Sc. 7. Hamlet is speaking to the ghost.

So *Horridly* to shake our Disposition.

I suspect in the Word *Horridly*, a literal Deviation to have been made from the Poet by his Copyists . . . I think it ought to be restored thus

So *Horribly* to shake our Disposition

The change of *Horridly* into *Horribly* is very trivial as to the Literal Part; and therefore, I hope, the Reason for the Change will be something more considerable. 'Tis true, *horrid* and *horrible* must be confess'd to bear in themselves the same Force and Signification as *horridum* and *horribile* were wont to do among the *Latines*. But *horrid*, in the most common acceptation and Use, seems to signify rather *hideous*, *uncouth*, *ugly*, *enormous*, than *terrible* or *frightful*; and it is generally so applied by our Author. I remember a passage in his *King Lear*, where it particularly stands for ugly.

Lear, p. 77.

. . . See thy self, Devil;
 Proper Deformity seems not in the Fiend
 So *horrid* as in Woman.

I cannot, however, deny, but that our Poet sometimes employs the Word *horrid* in the sense of *frightful*, *terrible*. But every observing Reader of his Works must be aware that he does it sparingly, and, ten times for every once, seems fond to use *horrible* and *terrible*. It is obvious that he prefers both these Terms, as more sonorous and emphatical than *horrid*; and the Proof that he does so, is, (which laid the Foundation of Conjecture here,) that he almost constantly chuses them, even when the Numbers of his Verse naturally require *horrid*. I shall subjoin a few Instances of both for Confirmation; to which I could have amass'd twenty times as many, but these are enough, at least, to excuse me, tho' I should be deceived in Judgment, from the Censure of being too *hypercritical* in my Observation.

Tempest pag. 73

Where but ev'n now with strange and several Noises
 Of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling chains,
 And more Diversity of Sounds, all *horrible*,
 We were awak'd.

Lear pag. 41.

And with this *horrible* Object, from low farms,
 Poor pelting Villages, etc.

And again *pag. 55*

I tax not you, you Elements, with Unkindness;
 I never gave you Kingdom, call'd you Children,
 You owe me no Subscription. Then let fall
 Your *horrible* Pleasure; —

And again, *pag. 83*

Glouc. Methinks the Ground is even.
 Edgar. . . . *Horrible* steep.
 Hark do you hear the Sea?

Antony and Cleopatra, *pag.* 342

Hence *horrible* Villian! or I'll spurn thine Eyes
Like Balls before me!

Macbeth, *pag.* 561

. . . Hence, *horrible* Shadow!
Unreal Mock'ry, hence! . . . ²⁶

I have chosen these two emendations because the changes advocated are so similar. Bentley prefers "turbidum" to "turgidum," Theobald "horribly" to "horridly," and both on the ground of taste and preponderance of usage, yet at the same time allowing the possibility of the regular reading. There is in both the same critical attitude toward the text, the same kind of emendation, and precisely the same method of supporting the emendation.²⁷

Again, consider Bentley's note on Horace, Bk. III, Carm. VI, v. 20.

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In Patriam populumque fluxit.

²⁶ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 41.

²⁷ Dr. King has a burlesque note on this emendation of Bentley's, which is equally applicable to Theobald's if we change "G" to "D." "There is a great controversie in this place; the two candidates are 'turgidum' and 'turbidum'; the doctor takes the poll, summons the authors to vote, then casts up the books, and declares in favor of 'turbidum';" which, says he, "is more forcible and more terrible than 'turgidum.' Now all the difference lies between two letters B and G: and the Dr. is for the first. As for G, I own there is much to be said in its behalf; there are several sorts of oaths of great force and terror, in which it is of singular use and virtue: 'Gog, Gorgon, Gun-powder'; and many other frightful things begin with this very letter. As for B, I do not find, though it stands high in the Alphabet, that it is altogether so terrible; there is indeed a conjurer or two, and some few devils whose names set out with a B; but I had forgot that our high and mighty Scholiast gives his 'Mark': and therefore let all readers keep their distance, and for the future approach this dreadful letter with fear and reverence." *The Odes Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace. In Latin and English: 1713.*

Thus indeed all the MSS read without exception, but never will they prevail upon me to cast my ballot for this reading. For why should I? He says that disasters arising from adulteries as from a fountain, flow into the people and the fatherland. What difference is there between fatherland and people? unless, perchance, those most vicious morals flowed into patriam terram only. Our poet was not so jejune or lacking in judgment as to foist in that superfluous synonym, as if it were something different. I have little doubt but Horace wrote thus

Hoc fonte deriva clades
Inque Patres populumque fluxit:

into the patres and the populus, that is into all of Roman citizens both patricians and senators, as well as Plebs. This solemn formula is in every kind of writing which we will collect in full measure in order that we may sustain the boldness of this conjecture by weight of numbers and thick phalanxes.

Virgil Aen. IV, 682.

Extincti me teque, soror, populumque patresque
Sidonios, urbemque tuam.

IX. 192

Aeneam acciri omnes populusque patresque
Exposcunt.

Ovidius Metam. XV.

Extinctum Latiaeque nurus, populusque patresque
Deflevere Numan.

Martialis VIII, 50

Vescitur omnis eques tecum populusque patresque.

And he continues to give many more passages where the phrase is used.

With the foregoing compare this note of Theobald:

Macbeth, Page 554.

We have *Scorch'd* the Snake, not kill'd it . . .
She'll *close*, and be herself; . . .

This is a Passage which has all along pass'd current thro' the Editions, and likewise upon the Stage; and yet, I dare affirm,

is not our Author's Reading. What has a Snake, *closing* again, to do with its being *scorch'd*? Scorching would never either *separate*, or *dilate*, its Parts; but rather make them instantly *contract* and *shrive*. Shakespeare, I am very well persuaded, has this Notion in his Head, (which how true in Fact, I will not pretend to determine) that if you cut a Serpent or Worm asunder, in several Pieces; there is such an unctious quality in their Blood, that the dismember'd Parts, being only plac'd near enough to touch one another, will cement and become as whole as before the Injury was receiv'd. The Application of this Thought is to Duncan, the murther'd King, and his surviving Sons; *Macbeth* considers them so much as Members of the Father, that tho' he has cut off the old Man, he would say he has not entirely kill'd him; but he'll cement and close again in the Lives of his Sons to the Danger of Macbeth. If I am not deceived therefore, our Poet certainly wrote thus;

We have *Scotch'd* the Snake, not kill'd it . . .
She'll close, and be herself; . . .

To *Scotch*, however the Generalities of our *Dictionaries* happen to omit the Word, signifies to *notch*, *slash*, *cut* with Twigs, Sword, etc., and so Shakespeare more than once has used it in his works. So Coriolanus, Page 182.

He was too hard for him directly, to say the Troth
on't;

Before Corioli, he *Scotch'd* him and notch'd him,
And so again, Anthony and Cleopatra, Page 393.

We'll beat them into Bench-Holes, I have yet
Room for six Scotches more.

To show how little we ought to trust *implicitly* to *Dictionaries* for *Etymologies*, we need no better Proof than from Bailey in his Explication of the Term Scotch-Collops; he tells us that it means slices of Veal fix'd after the *Scotch* Manner: But, besides that that Nation are not famous for the elegance of their Cookery, it is more natural, and I dare say more true, to allow that it ought to be

wrote Scotcht-Collops, i.e. Collops, or slices *slash'd* cross and cross, before they are put on the coals.²⁸

The same method is apparent in both notes. First we have the critical doubt. Bentley is unwilling to let the usual reading stand because it produces tautology, Theobald because it is repugnant to the context. Both are willing to depart from all manuscripts or previous authorities. Both adopt an interrogatory attitude, and express their doubts in rhetorical questions. Here, as elsewhere in his notes, Theobald follows Bentley in introducing first the customary reading, viewing it from all sides, examining and rejecting explanations, and thus reducing the reader to a state of perplexity and expectancy until the psychological moment for the emendation. Bentley very seldom introduces his emendation first, a characteristic that is one of the ear-marks of his method. By necessity Theobald's preliminary remarks are shorter than Bentley's, for the classical critic has far more readings to consider, more explanations to overturn, owing to the previous work done on the classics.²⁹ There

²⁸ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 185.

²⁹ The irrepressible Dr. King has taken off these preambles in humorous fashion: "One of the greatest pleasures in Poetry is expectation, and next to this is surprise; the first is more lasting, the other more moving — Now that which is so much admired in poetry, the Dr. is resolved to try in criticism; when he found his readers divided in this place about two different lections, Daunias and Daunia, with what pomp and ostentation he sets out in discussing this affair? How he leads us thro many great and noble adventures, the confutation of Nic. Heinsius, the power of a Greek declension, the story of the Apian Fountain, Direction how to pick up a whore in Rome, the magnificance of Agrippa, the Travels of Daunus the Illyrian, the stupidity of the librarians, and so on; till having filled us brimful with expectation of the issue, he at last bursts out at once upon us with this final decision. 'That we may read it which way we please.'" *The Odes, Epodes and Carmen Seculare of Horace. In Latin and English.* MDCCXIII. Note on Bentley's note on Bk. I, Ode 22, l. 14.

is cleverness in this method, for when the reader is convinced that the accepted reading is wrong, and is completely perplexed as to what the real reading is, the plausibility of an emendation is magnified several fold.

After the emendation has been proposed the next step in the process is the conjectural criticism or the supporting of the change. Before applause at their sagacity has died away, Theobald and Bentley are hard at it reinforcing their emendations. It becomes Bentley's task to show that the expression "patres populusque" is a usual and preferred one, which he does by quoting from Virgil, Ovid, Martial, and others where the phrase is found. In a similar manner Theobald takes it upon himself to show that Shakespeare uses "scotch'd" in a sense agreeable to his correction; this he does by quoting passages from *Coriolanus* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, where the word is used. While this is by no means the only method employed by both critics in support of a correction, it is the one most generally used and relied upon. A glance through the *Horace* and *Shakespeare Restored* will show how consistently this means of substantiating readings or conjectures is adopted.

But Theobald's remarks are by no means devoted entirely to emendations. In overthrowing a definition of Pope's he follows Bentley's method. In *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. 5, Pope defines "unanel'd" as meaning "no knell rung."

I don't pretend to know what *Glossaries* Mr. Pope may have consulted, and trusts to; but whose soever they are, I am sure their Comment is very *singular* upon the Word I am about to mention. I cannot find any Authority to countenance *unaneal'd* in signifying *no knell rung*. This is, if I mistake not, what the *Greeks* were used to call an ἀποξ λεγόμενον an Interpretation that never was used but once. Nor, indeed, can I see how this *participial Adjective* should be formed from the *Substantive Knell*. It could not possibly throw out the **K**, or receive in the **A**. We have an Instance

in our Poet himself, where the *participial Adjective* of the *Verb simple* from this *Substantive* retains the K; and so Mr. Pope writes it there.

Macbeth, pag. 598.

Had I as many Sons as I have Hairs,
I would not wish them to a fairer Death;
And so his **Knell** is **Knoll'd**.

The *Compound Adjective*, therefore, from that Derivation must have been written, unknell'd; (or, *unknoll'd*;) a word which will by no Means fill up the Poet's Verse, were there no stronger Reasons to except against it; as it unluckily happens, there are. Let us see then what Sense the Word *unanel'd* then bears. **Skinner** in his *Lexicon of Old and Obsolete English Terms*, tells us, that **Anealed** is **unctus**; a *Praep. Teut.* **an** and **die Oleum**: so that *unanealed* must consequently signify, "Not being anointed, or not having the *extream Uncction*."

Theobald then substitutes a variant reading, "disappointed," for "anointed," which follows "unaneal'd," and ends his note thus:

So that, this Reading and this Sense being admitted, the Tautology is taken away; and the Poet very finely makes his Ghost complain of these four dreadful Hardships, viz: That he had been dispatch'd out of Life without receiving the (**Hoste**, or) *Sacrament*; without being *reconciled* to Heaven and *absolved*; without the Benefit of *extream Uncction*; or, without so much as a *Confession* made of his Sins. The having no **Knell** rung, I think, is not a Point of equal Consequence to any of these; especially, if we consider that the *Roman Church* admits the Efficacy of *Praying for the Dead*.³⁰

In a note on line 450 of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, contributed to Kuster's edition of that poet, Bentley takes up the word *ματιολοιχός*.

This word the scholiast, Photius, Suidas, Eustathius and others allow. Hesychius has *ματαιολοιχός*. Some of them derive

³⁰ *Shakespeare Restored*, pp. 53-55.

the word from *μάταιος*, others from *μάτιον* (which they wish to mean *ἐλάχιστος*) or from *μάτιον*, a kind of measure. All these explanations flow from this one place in Aristophanes, and a faulty one, too, if I am not mistaken. For by the law of anapaests *ματιολοιχός* should have the first syllable long; therefore it is not from *μάτιον* which has the first syllable short. Indeed with whom as sponsor should we admit this *μάτιον*, whether a 'very small something' or a 'measure'? Who has said it elsewhere, who by hearsay has heard it? But granted that we conceded the grammarians this, then what sense arises here? *ματιολοιχός*, 'a licker of vanities,' a 'vain licker': and *ματιολοιχός*, 'a licker of infinitesimals,' or a 'licker of measures.' Surely here are the deliriums of grammarians. With the slightest change I correct thus *Στρόφισ, αργαλέος ματτυολοιχός*. Moreover you well know what *Ματτή* is; without doubt, desserts, rich viands; as turdi; and other things of that nature. You know that line of Martial — 'Inter quadrupedes mattya prima lepus —' You also know from Athanaeus that Aristophanes has used the word *ματτή* elsewhere. *Ματτυολοιχός*, therefore, as *κνισολοιχός*, licker of sweetmeats; which not only can signify gluttony but also impudence, so that it agrees with the other epithets here, *θρασύς, τολμηρός* etc.

Although arranged in somewhat different order, the elements of both notes are the same. Bentley claims that the explanations of *ματιολοιχός* are based on a single occurrence of the word, and likewise Theobald holds that Pope's definition of "unanel'd" is an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* "an Interpretation *that never was used but once*." Bentley insinuates that the current explanations of the Greek word makes no sense in the passage; Theobald says that Pope's definition "is not a point of equal Consequence" to the other hardships. Bentley shows that *ματιολοιχός* cannot be derived from *μάτιον* on metrical grounds; Theobald makes it plain that "unanel'd" cannot be derived from "unknell'd," for the "k" could not have dropped out or the "a" been inserted, and that "unknell'd" cannot stand for metrical

reasons. Bentley bases his reading upon *ματτύη*; Theobald bases his upon "anealed." For authority Bentley refers to Martial and Athenaeus, Theobald to Skinner's *Lexicon*. Bentley concludes by stating that his correction agrees with the other epithets; in his conclusion Theobald asserts that his reading is on a plane of equality with the other hardships suffered by Hamlet's father.

Theobald has been criticized for his elaborate corrections of punctuation, but in this he was also following Bentley. One of the latter's notes on Horace reads: ³¹

Proeliis Audax neque te silebo Liber. From the times of the scholiast Acron, there has been no one who has not punctuated the verse in this manner, just as if Liber proeliis Audax was said by Horace. We ought justly to be indignant at that which has been so carelessly done. For although it must be confessed that the victorious Bacchus with the dance of his satyrs, and Maenads had penetrated to farthest India; whence on this account he is called brave by Valerius Flaccus.
V. 494.

quotque ante secuti

Inde nec *audacem* Bacchum nec Persea reges.

And in the Gigantomachia he lacerated Rhoecus in the form of a lion: but not from one or two acts, but from the continued nature and character of Bacchus, must this epithet have been given. And yet Bacchus is nearly always ridiculed by the poets, as if he were the most meticulous and effeminate of all the gods. Only look at the Batrachi of Aristophanes; where the most facetious of poets makes wonderful jokes of his cowardice and timidity. Why say more? This epithet must be referred to Pallas, not to Liber; and the faulty pointing corrected in this manner:

Proximos illi tamen occupavit

Pallas honores

Proeliis audax. Neque te silebo,

Liber.

³¹ Bk. 1, Carm. 12, v. 21.

Which suits Pallas as aptly as can be, and he evidently must be blind that does not see it. The poets adorn her here and there with these titles: Bellica, bellatrix, bellipotens, belligera; etc. and also the Greeks.

Virgilius Aen. XI.

Armipotens belli praeses Tritonia Virgo.

Statius Silv. IV. 5.

Regina bellorum Virago.

Theobald corrects the punctuation in a passage from *Troilus and Cressida*, Act. IV, Sc. I.³²

Troilus and Cressida, Page 74.

Aene. *And thou shalt hunt a Lion that will flie*
 With his Face back in human gentleness:
Welcome to Troy . . . Now, by Anchises's
Life,
Welcome indeed . . .

Thus this passage has all along been read, and never understood, as I suppose, by any of the Editors. The second and fourth *Folio* Editions make a small Variation of the Pointing, but do not at all mend the Matter. I don't know what Conception the Editors have had to themselves of a *Lion's flying in humane Gentleness*: To Me, I confess, it seems strange Stuff. If a Lion fly with his Face turn'd backward, it is fighting all the Way in his Retreat; And in this Manner it is *Aeneas* professes that He shall fly, when he's hunted. But where then are the Symptoms of *humane Gentleness*? Mr. Dryden, in his Alteration of this Play from Shakespeare, has acted with great caution upon this Passage: For not giving himself the Trouble to trace the Author's Meaning, or to rectify the Mistakes of his Editors, he closes the Sentence at . . . *with his face backward*; and entirely leaves out, *in humane Gentleness*. In short, the Place is flat Nonsense as it stands, only for Want of true Pointing. I think, there is no Question to be made, but that Shakespeare intended it thus:

³² *Shakespeare Restored*, pp. 147, 148.

*And Thou shalt hunt a Lion, that will flie
With his Face back. . . . In humane Gentleness,
Welcome to Troy; . . . Now, by Anchises' Life,
Welcome, indeed: . . .*

Aeneas, as soon as ever he has return'd *Diomedes*' Brave, stops short and corrects himself for expressing so much Fury in a Time of Truce; from the fierce Soldier becomes the Courtier at once; and, remembering his enemy as Guest and an Ambassador, welcomes him as such to the *Trojan* Camp. This Correction, which I have here made, slight as it is, not only restores good Sense, but admirably keeps up the Character which *Aeneas* had before given *Agamemnon* of his *Trojan* Nation, Page 27.

Courtiers as free, as debonair, unarm'd,
As bending Angels; that's their Fame in peace:
But when they would seem Soldiers, they have Galls,
Good Arms, strong Joints, true Swords, and Jove's Accord,
Nothing so full of Heart.

Each critic calls attention to the fact that the passage has long labored under the wrong pointing. Bentley shows that the phrase "proeliis audax" is not applicable to Bacchus, by quotations from various sources, while Theobald shows that the phrase "in humane gentleness" is not applicable to the lion described, by appeal to common sense and reference to Dryden's alteration of the play. Bentley asserts that his pointing gives an epithet to Pallas which suits her "as aptly as can be," and for proof quotes passages from Virgil and Statius, where such a character is given her. Theobald's pointing gives the disputed phrase to the Trojans, which, he says, "admirably keeps up the Character" of those people, and for proof he quotes from the play under discussion, where such a character is given them.

The notes quoted above are by no means exceptional, and it would not be a hard matter to find parallels in Bentley's *Horace* for the majority of the notes in *Shakespeare Restored*.

In general, the selections have been made because of small resemblances; the more general and fundamental similarities are apparent in nearly all the notes. In proposing an emendation, correcting punctuation, and defending a variant or explaining a current reading Theobald follows closely in the footsteps of Bentley. No example has been given of the defense or explanation of a reading, but it is easy to make a comparison of the notes on Horace, Bk. I, Ode XVIII, v. 14; Bk. III, Ode XXVII, v. 48; and Bk. I, Sermo VI, v. 79, with the notes found on pages 61, 109, and 128 of *Shakespeare Restored*. Yet there is little use in particularizing, as almost any two notes having a similar purpose will serve.

Theobald's notes easily fall into the divisions made for classical textual criticism — the critical doubt, emendation, and conjectural criticism.³³ In the critical doubt he brings grammatical, historical, and aesthetic tests to play upon the various readings. By a close study of the passage and the context he may show where there is bad grammar or a violation of metrical laws. Sometimes he points out that the current reading is contrary to the context, or that the passage possesses little or no meaning. Sometimes he proves that there stands in the text a word which does not exist, or which cannot have the meaning necessary to the intelligibility of the passage. All this he does by scrutinizing the text with critical care and producing his proofs with learning and logic. In these last Theobald may be far inferior to Bentley, yet their presence is apparent on every page. There is no jumping to conclusions, neither is there any blind acceptance of unintelligible passages, but in their stead a careful weighing of evidence, a logical handling of facts toward the ascertaining of a corruption. In a critical light he examines everything.

³³ See *ante*, Chap. II, note 29.

Bentley's grammatical criticism contains the same elements. Especially does he study the context, even summarizing it in many of his notes. In such cases he shows that the suspected word is either directly contrary to the context, or else renders the whole passage absurd and unintelligible. Again he may prove, by etymology or otherwise, that a certain word is impossible, or that it cannot bear the meaning necessary to the sense of the passage. He is quick to note a mistake in grammar and is thorough in his investigations of a grammatical law. In some of his notes he shows faults in meter, a far more certain element in the classics than in English, though Pope depended largely upon it in his corrections, and Theobald not infrequently emended for metrical reasons. Intelligibility, grammar, and meter are the fundamentals of grammatic criticism with both Theobald and Bentley. Also the style and manner of showing violations in these are the same. Especially prominent is the use of rhetorical questions, and they are asked with the same gusto by both critics.

Historical criticism proves a corruption by showing that knowledge derived from other sources contradicts the passage under observation. Bentley's extensive and organized knowledge enabled him to use this with wonderful success, evidence of which is seen throughout all his works. One of the notes quoted above furnishes an example of this kind of criticism. According to the current punctuation Bacchus was characterized as warlike, but knowledge gained from other writers shows that he was of quite an opposite nature. Theobald likewise uses historical criticism a great deal. Pages 159-165 are entirely devoted to showing the mistakes of Pope due to inadvertence to history. From his knowledge of the story of Theseus, Theobald shows that in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* "Pergenia" should be "Pergune";³⁴

³⁴ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 159.

from his knowledge of English history he shows that in *King John* "Anjou" should be substituted for "Angiers";³⁵ and from his knowledge of Latin literature he believes that "love" should be changed to "Jove" in *Much Ado About Nothing*.³⁶

Both Theobald and Bentley make bold to engage in aesthetic criticism, the most dangerous of the three. Here it would not be rash to grant the Shakespearean critic precedence over the classical scholar. The logical nature of Bentley's mind, which was of so much assistance in establishing fact and restoring meaning to unintelligible passages, was more of a hindrance than a help in judging literature by artistic standards. He could not overcome the tendency to inject logical consistency into a poetical passage. Though his *Horace* furnishes many instances of this fault, the shining example is his edition of Milton, where his notes are logical enough, but with a logic that makes poetry prose. In his classical notes he depended upon his literary judgment with every sign of assurance, expressing his criticisms with such words as "jejune," "otiose," "rough," and the like. Aesthetic criticism requires more than knowledge, more than logic. It requires a certain innate perception, nourished by a close and sympathetic study of the best in literature. An aesthetic critic must be a potential artist.

Here Theobald shows his superiority. He was a poet, poor indeed but with judgment superior to his accomplishments. His criticisms are worth reading when he speaks of a passage as possessing energy or elegance, as being bald and mean, marred by tautology or indifferent English. He condemns one line as being "a dragging Parapleromattick," and makes a truly wonderful emendation.³⁷ A passage in

³⁵ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 161.

³⁶ *Idem*, p. 175.

³⁷ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 190.

Romeo and Juliet read

As is the bud bit with an envious Worm
 E're he can spread his sweet leaves to the air
 Or dedicate his beauty to the same.

Logic or knowledge could find no fault with this passage. It is perfectly clear and consistent. Bentley could have found little to cavil at. But the poetic sense of Theobald made him hesitate at the last line as being prose rather than poetry, and the same artistic feeling suggested "sun" for "same." It is hard to conceive of the great classical critic making an emendation that would show such a delicate poetic feeling. Perhaps we shall never know whether Shakespeare wrote "sun," but the emendation will always remain a contribution to things beautiful. We even find Theobald escaping where Pope erred. His appreciation of poetic license made him reject Pope's conjecture of "siege" for "sea" in Hamlet's famous soliloquy, even though there seemed to be a violation of reason.³⁸

As has been noticed on a previous page, after the critical doubt Bentley and Theobald use similar expressions in introducing their emendations. The tone in these introductory phrases — and often the wording itself — is the same, ranging all the way from the greatest surety to a doubting diffidence, with the former more frequent. Statements such as "It must certainly be read thus," "It must be

³⁸ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 82. We can well imagine how Bentley would have attacked this passage: "*Or to take arms against a sea of Trouble.* Thus all the editions I have ever seen, but never will they prevail upon me to agree with them. For who would do such a thing as arm against the sea? How could one fight with water? Surely this is wretched nonsense. It is true that Xerxes ordered the sea whipt, but who would believe that the poet was thinking of him? Correct, as the poet most certainly wrote, 'a siege of trouble.' This figure is often employed by the poets." And then would come a long list of quotations in which "siege" was used.

corrected in spite of all copies," "Without doubt it must be corrected," as well as more modest assertions, such as "I suspect that," "I scarcely doubt that," "I dare affirm our author wrote thus," are found on nearly every page of the *Horace* and *Shakespeare Restored*. Although this is a trifling correspondence, it is so prevalent as to give a certain tone or atmosphere to the English and Latin notes.

In the actual emendation the two critics both show almost uncanny sagacity. Though Bentley shows in his notes more learning and sheer mental power, Theobald's emendations give just as clear proof that he was possessed of that peculiar indefinable gift necessary to any great corrector. Furthermore, Theobald evinces more respect for manuscript authority than Bentley (the earlier editions of Shakespeare corresponding to the manuscripts of classical authors). While the latter calls attention to "the slightest change" or "the change of a single letter" required for an emendation, he is not loath to restore with an air of certainty where there is little or no trace of the true reading in the manuscripts. Theobald also calls attention to the slight change in the current text necessary for his emendations, but where all traces are lost he puts his emendation on the basis of pure conjecture.³⁹ It is really remarkable that, living in an age when so much license was granted the restorer, and being among the very first to correct English texts, Theobald should have kept so close to the various readings. It is on this ground that he defends himself against unjust censure:

³⁹ "We have not, indeed, so much as the Foot-steps, or Traces, of a corrupt Reading here to lead us to an Emendation: nor any Means left of restoring what is lost but Conjecture. I shall therefore offer only what from the Sense of the Context seems to be required. I am far from affirming that I shall give the Poet's very Words, but 'tis probable that they were, at least, very near what follows in Substance." *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 108.

But it is high Time now that I turn my Pen to one promised Part of my Task, which is yet in Arrears, viz. an Endeavour to restore Sense to Passages, in which, thro' the Corruption of successive Editions, no Sense has hitherto been found: Or to restore, to the best of my Power, the Poet's true Text, where I suspect it to be mistaken thro' the Error of the *Press* or the *Manuscript*. The utmost Liberty that I shall take in this attempt, shall generally confine itself to the minute Alteration of a *single* Letter or *two*: An Indulgence which, I hope, I cannot fear being granted me, if it retrieves Sense to such Places as have either escaped Observation or never been disputed or understood by their Editors.⁴⁰

As regards manuscript assistance, Bentley was far more fortunate than Theobald in his *apparatus criticus*. Many are the manuscripts and editions of Horace that figure in his notes. Theobald, however, for his remarks on *Hamlet*, had to rely on the second folio,⁴¹ the 1637 quarto, a 1703 quarto, and Hughes' quarto. For part of his work he had an opportunity of examining the fourth folio. For the rest of the plays he had to content himself with the folios just mentioned, the 1600 quarto of *Much Ado About Nothing*, the 1611 quarto of *Titus Andronicus*, and a 1655 quarto of *Lear*. He also, perhaps, derived some slight assistance from later alterations of the plays.

In the conjectural criticism, where an emendation is tested and supported, the process is pretty much the same as in the critical doubt. Grammatical, historical, and aesthetic tests are applied. Both critics show how the sense is restored or improved, or grammar rectified. In case the correction has to do with history, the restored word is shown to agree with knowledge derived from other sources. Often the emended passage is shown to be more poetical or effective than the old reading. But the main support of an emen-

⁴⁰ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 165.

⁴¹ This, Theobald says, was "in the Generality esteemed the best Impression of Shakespeare." *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 70.

dation, one emphasized by Bentley both in words and in practice,⁴² is a long list of passages from various works quoted to show a similar or usual use of the word restored, or to support a stated fact of history, grammar, metrics, and the like. Theobald also emphasizes this method, and a glance through his remarks on *Hamlet* will reveal the large number of passages quoted. If there are not quite so many quotations in the appendix to *Shakespeare Restored*, it is more because of lack of space than of inclination. On more than one occasion he calls attention to this method:

As every Author is best expounded and explained in *One Place*, by his own Usage and Manner of Expression in *Others*; wherever our Poet receives an Alteration in his Text from any of my Corrections or Conjectures, I have throughout endeavour'd to support what I offer by *parallel Passages*, and *Authorities* from himself: which, as it will be my best Justification, where my Attempts are seconded with the Concurrence of my Readers; so it will be my best Excuse for those *Innovations* in which I am not so happy to have them think with me.⁴³

The majority of Bentley's notes on Horace are concerned with various readings, and there are almost as many "corrections from various readings" in Theobald's remarks on *Hamlet* as there are conjectures, though we have, in the previous discussion, been chiefly considering the latter. Yet there is little difference in the process requisite for the establishment of both. An accepted variant reading is a conjecture with manuscript authority, while the rejected reading is the corruption. The suspected reading is subjected to the scrutiny of the critical doubt, and the preferred

⁴² See *ante*, Chap. II, note 30.

⁴³ *Shakespeare Restored*, Introduction, p. viii. See also p. 128, where Theobald says that to expound an author by himself "is the surest Means of coming at the Truth of his Text."

one is subjected to all the tests and supported by all possible authority. The process involved is practically the same, and appears so in both Latin and English notes. Omitted passages stand in the light of various readings, while the correcting of "false printing" and "false pointing" is merely a detail of conjectural emendation.

Theobald's method extends to the formulation of certain metrical and grammatical rules followed by Shakespeare, together with certain characteristics of his poetic style. He notices that the poet often introduces an extra syllable into his verses, and he refuses to reduce them to classic regularity.⁴⁴ His corrections for meter are generally based on the absence of a syllable. He proves certain grammatical peculiarities, such as the use of nouns and adjectives as verbs,⁴⁵ the use of adjectives as nouns,⁴⁶ the frequent change of number,⁴⁷ and the use of the nominative case in pronouns instead of the accusative. He notices Shakespeare's custom of repeating a word to give force, and the redoubling of pronouns. He reached these conclusions by a most thorough and systematic study of the plays, and for proof of them he quotes extensively from Shakespeare, where the rule is seen in operation. Though this may seem an obvious method, it does not appear to have been employed before in the study of English texts. Bentley, to be sure, is most consistent in the use of such a method when he is proving a metrical or grammatical law, and if there was any source for Theobald's method, it must be here.⁴⁸

There are a few other slight similarities between the two critics. Theobald follows Bentley's method of correcting

⁴⁴ *Shakespeare Restored*, pp. 2, 20, 24.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, pp. 8, 11.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, p. 35.

⁴⁸ For example, see notes on Horace, Bk. III, Ode XVI, v. 31, and Bk. III, Ode XII, v. 1.

a passage "on the run," so to speak; that is, quoting a passage in support of an emendation and then correcting it, or correcting the passage before presenting it for proof.⁴⁹ He also is like Bentley in claiming credit for an independent emendation later verified by another reading.⁵⁰ The reason Theobald gives for selecting *Hamlet* as the subject of most of his remarks, not because it was the most faulty, but because it was the most popular of the plays, is the same as Bentley gave for editing Horace. Besides these echoes of Bentley, there are a few references to other scholars. The motto, taken from Virgil and appearing on the title page,

. . . Laniatum Corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi et lacerum crudeliter Ora,
Ora, manusque ambo, . . .

evidently looks back to a note of Markland's *Epistola Critica*.⁵¹ In comparing the corrupt text of Shakespeare to a sick person,⁵² Theobald was employing a figure used in classical scholarship,⁵³ and his characterization of Pope's "abhorrence of all innovation" as "downright Superstition"⁵⁴ had been given to others.⁵⁵

This critical treatise contained several discoveries — since become commonplace — the most remarkable of which was that he who undertakes to edit an author has a duty to perform. Theobald claimed that the failure of Pope's edition was explained by the fact that the poet declined the duty of an editor, a duty that every editor owed Shake-

⁴⁹ *Shakespeare Restored*, pp. 111, 148.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Shakespeare Restored*, pp. 82, 102, with note on Horace, Bk. III, Ode XVII, v. 5.

⁵¹ See *ante*, Chap. II, p. 45.

⁵² *Shakespeare Restored*, Introduction, p. vi.

⁵³ See *ante*, Chap. II, p. 48.

⁵⁴ *Shakespeare Restored*, Introduction, p. iv.

⁵⁵ See *ante*, Chap. II, p. 54.

speare — that of being a critic on him.⁵⁶ This duty he further defined as the exertion of every power and faculty of the mind to supply the defects of corrupt passages, and to give light and restore sense to them. Thus he was unwilling to pass by, as he accused Pope of doing, passages he did not understand, but earnestly set about clearing up the obscurity with what materials he had at hand. His conception of what an editor was obligated to do was prophetic of the modern idea. There are three ways of removing textual obscurities: one is by explaining the passage on the basis of the current text; another is by the adoption of a variant reading, when there is one; and the last lies in emendation. Now the first two are emphasized; Theobald was inclined to emphasize the last two. Yet the substance of his idea of an editor's duty remains the same to-day — the expenditure of the greatest critical care and diligence toward making a text as intelligible as possible.

Besides, as we have seen, he worked according to a definite method, one of which he was perfectly conscious. In one of his remarks on *Hamlet*, he says the other plays of Shakespeare can be restored “with the same method.”⁵⁷ The secret of this method he states in another place, where he claims emendations are more substantial than mere guesses when supported by reason or authority.⁵⁸ Here is the spirit of scholarship that refuses to accept anything that cannot be buttressed with proofs and reasons — knowledge ordered by logic, the basis of all sciences. The term “authority” covers a multitude of things, but Theobald relied, to a great extent, on parallel passages quoted to up-

⁵⁶ Stated on p. v of the Introduction and repeated on p. 133 of *Shakespeare Restored*.

⁵⁷ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 60.

⁵⁸ *Idem*, p. 133.

hold a reading or sustain a statement.⁵⁹ References to classical writers of every description show his wide acquaintance with Greek and Latin literature, while his quotations from Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Spenser display his familiarity with them. But the lack of any reference to Elizabethan literature in general, with the exception of Spenser, and the drama in particular is rather surprising.⁶⁰ The only Elizabethan drama referred to is *The Humorous Lieutenant* of Beaumont and Fletcher. This lack of knowledge of the literature of Shakespeare's age was a defect, and a serious one, in Theobald's method. As we shall see later, it was in overcoming this deficiency that Theobald's edition makes a pronounced advance over his first critical effort.

The work is also unique for its time in that it is permeated by a sincere desire for truth rather than victory, a desire that makes the critic confess and correct a mistake made on an earlier page.⁶¹ There is a ring of sincerity in the statement, "Whenever I am mistaken, it will be a Pleasure to me to be *corrected*, since the Public will at the same Time be undeceived."⁶² Though Theobald speaks of the "Applause of the Readers" and implies that he acted on a "View of Reputation,"⁶³ he did not let his desire for glory overcome his love for truth. Even if his attempt should fail, he hopes that others will be led to read Shakespeare more diligently, so "that better Critics will make their own Ob-

⁵⁹ Cf. *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 159. Here Theobald, to give "authority" to a statement of his, quotes Plutarch, Athenaeus, Diodorus, Siculus, Apollodorus, and Pausanias. He focuses evidence from wide sources upon a point under discussion in the same manner as Bentley.

⁶⁰ Professor Lounsbury says these extracts are taken from other dramatists of Shakespeare's time, but I suspect he was thinking of Theobald's edition. See *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 160.

⁶¹ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 191.

⁶² *Idem*, p. 194.

⁶³ *Idem*, pp. 133, 193.

servations, with more Strength than I can pretend to." ⁶⁴ Nor was Theobald disappointed in the hope that others might be influenced to spend more time over the text of Shakespeare, as well as over the texts of other English poets.

He was perfectly aware of the novelty of his work which he justly declared to be "the first Essay of literal Criticism upon any Author in the English Tongue." ⁶⁵ Yet the very novelty of the undertaking made him regard the outcome with some trepidation. Knowing of the attacks that had been made upon the mighty Bentley and the Royal Society, it is no wonder he felt that he ran a risk. ⁶⁶ Furthermore, the consciousness of his own attitude in the past perhaps had something to do with his explanation that "No Vein of Pedantry, or Ostentation of useless Criticism invited me to this Work." ⁶⁷ He was somewhat doubtful of the way Pope would receive his book, but was fatuous enough to rely upon the generosity of a man whose regard for Shakespeare and truth was considerably less than his vanity.

I must expect some Attacks of Wits, being engag'd in an Undertaking of so much Novelty: The Assaults that are merely *idle*, or merely *splenatick*, I shall have the Resolution to despise: And I hope, I need be under no great Concern for Those, which can proceed from a generous Antagonist. . . . And whenever I have the Luck to be right in any Observation, I flatter myself, Mr. Pope himself will be pleas'd, that Shakespeare receives some Benefit. ⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *Shakespeare Restored*, Introduction, p. vi.

⁶⁵ *Idem*, p. 193.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, p. 193.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, p. vi.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, p. 194. Compare also the passage on p. 134, where he says that he runs a great risk in correcting Pope's emendations, but where he is wrong he is willing to be Pope's foil. This brings to mind the famous couplet of Garth on the Phalaris controversy; and, indeed, the controversies between Boyle and Bentley and between Pope and Theobald were more than superficially similar.

But while Theobald had some misgivings over his innovation, there was one man who clearly saw the importance of the volume. His friend, Mathew Concanen, communicated to *The London Journal* for September 3, 1726, a letter of Theobald containing some emendations, to which the former prefixed a significant introduction worthy of being quoted in full.

It is a debt which the World owes to those who have deserved well of it, to preserve their reputations as long as the materials of which they are formed can be made to last. To this kind of reward I think no sort of men better entitled than the Poets; whether we consider them as seldom receiving any other, or as they really are Benefactors in a very high degree to mankind. This is in a great measure confessed by the practice of other Countries towards the memory of such as have excelled among them, and by the consent of all Nations in their admiration and applause of the Antients. We are the only people in Europe who have had good Poets among them, and yet suffer their reputation to moulder, and their memory as it were to rust, for want of a little of that *Critical* care, which is as truly due to their merit as to that of the antient Greek and Roman Writers — You perceive what I aim at. It is to observe to you, that some tolerable Comments upon the Works of our celebrated Poets are not only expedient, but necessary. Every Writer is obliged to make himself understood of the age in which he lives; but as he cannot answer for the changes of manners and language which may happen after his death, those who receive pleasure and instruction from him are obliged, as well in gratitude to him as in duty to posterity, to endeavour to perpetuate his memory, by preserving his meaning. This is what the French have done by their *Marots*, *Rabelais's*, and *Ronsards*; nay even *Boileau*, who died within our memory, is thus armed against the assaults of Time. The Italians, who are not thereto provoked by a changing Language like ours, have not a tolerable Writer in their tongue whose Works are not illustrated by some useful Notes; while we, whose manners are so variable, and whose Language so visibly alters every century, have

not one Poet (though there are several whom we admire) who has met with the good fortune of a kind hand endeavouring to secure him against mortality. Strange humour! Much pains have been taken to preserve to us the Picture of Chaucer, while nobody has thought it proper to render that better picture of him, his writings, intelligible to future ages. Butler has had a Monument erected to his memory in Westminster-Abbey; how much more emphatically might it be *erected to his memory*, if it were a Comment upon his excellent Hudibras: which, for want of such illustration, grows every day less pleasing to his Readers; who lose half his wit and pleasantry, while they are ignorant of the facts he alludes to. I own, it grows daily more difficult to perform this duty to old Authors; and therefore the Italians say, that a Comment ought to be made when the Work does not need it, for that it will be impossible to make one when it does. I have been thrown into these thoughts by a Letter from a Gentleman, who has first in our language given proofs of an ability to do justice to an excellent Writer. Sorry I am that he is not allowed to indulge the inclination, which is accompanied by so much knowledge and genius to execute it. The Letter (which I send you with this) was occasioned by some discourse I had with him upon a passage in Shakespeare which, through the error of the text, neither he nor I could then discover the meaning of; but such is his zeal for the Author, and such is his penetration in matters of Learning, that in a day or two he perfectly cleared it up. I cannot conclude without observing, that such a Critick as this might bring the name of a Commentator into the repute which it has lost by the dull and useless pedantry of some Pretenders to it. Such a Gentleman, and none but such, ought to republish an old Writer, since it is in his power to make reprisals upon his Author, and to receive as much glory from him as he gives to him.⁶⁹

The significance of Theobald's production is twofold. First, he brought to the study of English letters the spirit and the method of sound scholarship. He conducted his

⁶⁹ Reprinted in Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 189-191.

investigations with critical care, and supported his conclusions with the most thoroughgoing evidence of which the materials of his knowledge were capable. Second, he showed by the favor with which his work was received that English writers were worthy of the same study given the classics. He dignified scholarship in English literature, raising it to a level with the traditional objects of research. It does not seem to have entered the minds of others that the texts of English writers deserved the same minute care as the classics, and Theobald himself was not sure of the value of his labors; even his success did not completely assure him. Later we find him turning his attention away from English to Greek and Latin writers, and seeking to bolster up his reputation by corrections on them. Nor is this strange. From days immemorial the classics had been the source and object of investigation, yet during the first quarter of the eighteenth century the researches of Bentley had been subjected to the bitterest taunts of the wits. If such were the attitude toward Bentley, what would it be toward one who brought Bentley's method to bear on an English poet? Yet Theobald's effort met with wider and more complete favor than Bentley's *Dissertation on Phalaris*. Only the persistent virulence of Pope and the misrepresentation of his later admirers succeeded in belittling the critic's work. At the time, *Shakespeare Restored* met with great success, and this, together with the convincing nature of Theobald's remarks, influenced others to turn their attention to English writers.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF "THE DUNCIAD"

Shakespeare Restored met with a substantial success, as is attested by the notices and commendations in the periodicals of that day; its popularity is also seen in the fact that Theobald came to be known as "the author of *Shakespeare Restored*."¹ At the end of that work Theobald declared that its success governed his "prosecuting a Design, that savours more of *public Spirit* than *private Interest*"; so the appearance a few months later of an emendation of his shows that he was sufficiently pleased with the immediate reception his first effort secured to continue in this critical field. Henceforth work on Shakespeare became his chief interest and delight. Recognition of his capacity as a textual critic, based upon his first published emendations, is well attested by the number of men who were glad to render him assistance. Among these latter was Mathew Concanen, a lawyer by profession and literary man by choice, who, soon after Theobald's appearance as a Shakespearean scholar, praised his ability, and regretted that he had not revised the whole text.²

When this favorable criticism was written Concanen did not know the scholar, but he must have made his acquaintance soon after, for a correspondence was begun between them. He contributed one of Theobald's letters to *The London Journal*, September 3, 1726, together with his expressed recognition of the significance of Theobald's work,

¹ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 177, 179.

² *Mist's Journal*, May 7, 1726.

quoted in the previous chapter.³ He also introduced the critic to his circle of literary friends, who later went under the title of the "Concanen Club." Among these were Dennis, James Moore-Smythe, and Thomas Cooke. It was at a meeting of this group that Theobald first met Warburton, who was introduced by Concanen on New Year's Day, 1727.⁴

On meeting Warburton Theobald must have immediately engaged him on the subject of Shakespeare, ever uppermost in the critic's mind, for in a letter written the following day to Concanen, Warburton speaks of papers he promised to his new acquaintance and of offering to "Mr. Theobald an objection against Shakespeare's acquaintance with the Ancients."⁵ Nothing came of their meeting until March, 1729, when a correspondence began between them, which, devoted largely to criticism of Shakespeare, continued until the summer of 1736. This friendship with Warburton, although the divine proved to be absolutely faithless, was of considerable assistance to Theobald in rendering him sympathy, encouragement, and inspiration to pull through the dark years following *The Dunciad*.

In December of 1727 Theobald brought forth a drama purporting to come from the pen of Shakespeare.⁶ In his

³ This letter contained the emendation of "Osprey" for "Asprey" in a passage in *Coriolanus*, which is thoroughly proved and supported in the true Bentleian manner, notice being called to Pope's evident ignorance of the meaning of the passage.

⁴ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 195.

⁵ This letter contains criticism of Dryden, Milton, and Addison, as well as the famous statement that Pope borrowed for want of genius. Akenside called attention to it, as well as Warburton's correspondence with the dunces in general, in a note on his *An Ode to The Late Thomas Edwards*, written in 1761, though not printed until 1765.

⁶ *Double Falshood; or, The Distrest Lovers. A Play, As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. Written Originally by W. Shakespeare; And now Revised and Adapted to the Stage by Mr. Theo-*

dedication to George Dodington, he calls *Double Falshood* an orphan play and claims the credit of rescuing this remnant of Shakespeare's pen from obscurity. Against those who would attribute the work to his own pen, he objects that they pay him a greater compliment than he deserves. In his preface he says that the success the acted play met with, together with the reception it found from those great judges to whom he communicated the manuscripts, makes a preface unnecessary; so his intention is rather to wipe out a flying objection than to prove the play Shakespeare's. Of the three manuscripts he possessed, one was sixty years old, in the hand-writing of Mr. Downes, the famous old prompter, and had been early in the possession of Betterton, who designed to publish it. Another he purchased at a good price, and the third he received from a noble person who told him the tradition that Shakespeare wrote it while in retirement from the stage, and gave it to a natural daughter. To show that chronology was not against the ascription he states that *Don Quixote*, from which the play was taken, was published in 1611, while Shakespeare died in 1616. He says those do not deserve an answer who think that in coloring, diction, and characters, the play is nearer Fletcher; so he leaves it with better judges, "tho' my Partiality for Shakespeare makes me wish that Every Thing which is good, or pleasing, in our Tongue, had been owing to his Pen." The preface to the second edition differs in a few points from the first. Here he gives the date of the first part of *Don Quixote*, upon which only the play is based, as 1605. He also says that he had once planned to show the play was Shakespeare's by the peculiarity of the language, but had finally decided no proof was necessary. Instead of

bald the Author of Shakespeare Restored. London: Printed by J. Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincolns-Inn-Fields, MDCCXXVIII.

the phrase, "in our Tongue," in the passage quoted above, the second edition has "in that other great poet" (Fletcher), a substitution that leads me to believe Theobald saw signs of Fletcher in the play.

Theobald's growing reputation as a Shakespearean scholar carried sufficient weight to cause a certain amount of concurrence in the ascription of the play to Shakespeare, though some thought it belonged to Fletcher, while others gave Theobald the honor. Some ten years later Pope said that he never supposed it to be Theobald's, but took it to be of the age of Shakespeare.⁷ This statement is certainly contradictory to a note of his in *The Dunciad*, where he ridicules Theobald's weak reasons for ascribing the play to Shakespeare, registers his belief in the critic's authorship, and makes a number of satirical emendations. Furthermore, there were two references to the play in *The Grubstreet Journal*, with which Pope may have had some connection. The first was a passage in a poem entitled "The Modern Poets":

See Tibbald leaves the lawyer's gainful train
 To wrack with poetry his tortured brain;
 Fir'd, or not fir'd, to write resolves with rage,
 And constant pores o'er Shakespeare's sacred page.
 Then starting cries — I something will be thought:
 I'll write — then — boldly swear 'twas Shakespeare wrote.
 Strange! he in Poetry no forgery fears,
 That knows so well in Law he'd lose his ears.⁸

The other was a bill against the importation or sale of any book pretended to be written by a dead author:

Provided, nothing herein contained, shall be construed to prejudice L. T——d, Esq; or the heir of his body, lawfully begotten,

⁷ Letter to Aaron Hill, June 9, 1738. Elwin and Courthope, vol. 10, p. 53.

⁸ *Grub-street Journal*, No. 98, November 18, 1731.

in any right or title, which he or they, may have, or pretend to have of affixing the name of William Shakespeare, alias Shakespear, to any book, pamphlet, play, or poem, hereafter to be by him, or them, or any other person for him, or them, written, made, or devised.⁹

Since its appearance the play has been attributed to several authors: Farmer gave it to Shirley, Malone to Massinger, and Reed was of the opinion that Theobald wrote it. Gifford, however, objects to this last ascription on the ground that the scholar had not sufficient ability to write it, and defends the genuineness of the text because of the use of one word, *comparison* for *caparison*.¹⁰ In recent years there have been several attempts to establish its authorship. One critic has attempted to identify it with a play called *Cardenna* or *Cardenno*, acted in 1613 by the King's men, which is perhaps the same as *The History of Cardenio, By Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare*, entered in the Stationer's Register, 1653, for Humphrey Mosley.¹¹ This theory has been opposed by Mr. Schevill, who thinks the play was taken from an eighteenth-century version of Cervantes' story, with Theobald the most likely author.¹² Besides the dates being directly

⁹ *Idem*, No. 97, November 11, 1731.

¹⁰ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 151. It is interesting to observe that one of Pope's emendations, mentioned above, was the change of *comparisons* to *caparisons*.

¹¹ Gamaliel Bradford, *The History of Cardenio, By Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare, Nation*, vol. 88, No. 2283, April 1, 1909; and *M. L. N.*, xxv, 51. Mr. Bradford sees signs of Fletcher in the fact that the story was taken from Cervantes, in the development of the plot, and in the characterization of Violante. He also calls attention to stylistic qualities in the latter part of the play (from III, 3, to the end), which resemble those of Fletcher — double endings, alliteration, and repetition, especially of such Fletcherian words as "extremely" and "now." In the first part he claims to detect the presence of a strong masculine hand, but does not go so far as to ascribe it to Shakespeare.

¹² Rudolph Schevill, *Theobald's Double Falshood, Modern Philology*, vol. IX, p. 269.

opposed to Mr. Schevill's theory, which makes necessary some unwarrantable hypotheses, the same evidence that proves the play based on the novel can prove the novel drawn from the play.¹³

Professor Lounsbury is of the firm opinion that Theobald was not the author, since his claims concerning the manuscripts could have been easily disproved, and would have been, had they been false. But whatever Theobald's part in the work, I am rather confident that he did not himself really believe Shakespeare was the author. It is entirely probable that he obtained manuscripts bearing Shakespeare's name, and attended by a tradition, but a man of Theobald's thoroughgoing scholarly nature, who insisted that all conclusions should be supported by proof and authority, would not have rested content with the feeble reasons, justly satirized by Pope, which were given in the preface. He would have continued in the design, he said he once had, of proving Shakespeare's authorship by the peculiarity of the language, a task he was entirely competent for, and one which he would have thoroughly done. Had he believed the work Shakespeare's, he certainly would have made some mention of it in his edition, and he would probably have drawn on it for illustrative or evidential material in his notes. Nowhere does he allude to the play, and even in his

¹³ In a recent contribution to *Modern Philology* (XIV, 269) Mr. Walter Graham has conclusively proved that the play is based upon Skelton's translation of *Don Quixote*. Besides reinforcing Mr. Bradford's contention of a duality of authorship and bringing forth more evidence tending to show that the latter part of the drama belongs to Fletcher, Mr. Graham has pointed out the dissimilarity in style between *Double Falshood* and some of Theobald's acknowledged plays. He omits, however, what should not be omitted in any discussion of Theobald's connection with the drama, namely, the critic's adaptations of *Richard II*, 1721, and of *The Duchess of Malfi* (*The Fatal Secret*), 1735.

correspondence with Warburton, where many of his personal affairs find a place, he is without exception silent on the matter. As has been stated, he probably felt that Fletcher was concerned in the authorship of the play, though we have no evidence that he had ever heard of *The History of Cardenio*. The whole affair is the most faint-hearted undertaking with which Theobald has favored us.

On December 5, 1727, Theobald was given a royal license, granting him the sole right of printing and publishing the play. Its first appearance on the stage was in December, when it enjoyed a considerable success, running for ten nights. In July, 1728, Theobald sold the copyright for one hundred guineas;¹⁴ the play does not seem to have entered his mind again save once.

In the second edition of *Double Falshood*, which appeared early in 1728, Theobald first gave notice of his design of correcting all the plays of Shakespeare :

I am honored with so many powerful Sollicitations, pressing me to the prosecution of an attempt, which I have begun with some little success, of restoring Shakespeare from the numerous Corruptions of his Text; that I can neither in Gratitude, nor good Manners, longer resist them. I therefore think it not amiss here to promise that, tho private Property should so far stand in the way, as to prevent me from putting out an Edition of Shakespeare, yet, some way or other, if I live, the public shall receive from my hand his whole Works corrected, with my best Care and Ability.

This notice was followed by a letter, communicated by a friend to *Mist's Journal*, though evidently written for publication.¹⁵ In introducing the letter the friend said it was but a continuation of the criticisms which Theobald had begun to give to the public. Only one other criticism had ap-

¹⁴ Lounsbury, *The Text of Shakespeare*, p. 147.

¹⁵ March 16, 1728. Nichols (*Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 199) says Concanen was the friend.

peared,¹⁶ and it is possible that Theobald was intending to print his corrections of all Shakespeare's plays in periodicals.

This letter contained three of Theobald's emendations and one explanation. In *Coriolanus*, Act. I, Sc. 4, he changes *Calvus* to *Cato's*; in *Timon*, Act. II, Sc. 1, "And have the dates in. Come" to "And have the dates in compt"; and in the *Tempest*, Act IV, Sc. 1, "a third of my own life" to "a thread of my own life." In these emendations he uses the same method employed in *Shakespeare Restored*. But his explanation of the "Sagittarry" in *Troilus and Cressida* is more significant. He shows that the character was taken from *The Three Destructions of Troy* printed by Wynken de Worde in 1503. Previously he had thought that in the play Shakespeare had depended chiefly upon Homer.¹⁷ It is merely one evidence of the extent to which Theobald was reading the literature to which Shakespeare had access. The period between *Shakespeare Restored* and his edition of all the plays is marked by a tremendous expansion in his reading of literature which could assist in correcting or illustrating the text. As regards this particular passage, in one of his letters to Warburton he proves conclusively, by citing a number of details, that Shakespeare depended upon this product of Wynken de Worde's press.¹⁸ The ability and learning shown in these criticisms were sufficient to make the editor of the journal to which they were contributed say that if they were a sample of the critic's work, the world would be pleased with Theobald's promise of the whole works corrected by his hand.

But it was not permitted for things to continue so smoothly for Theobald. Pope, feeling very keenly the exposure of the defects of his edition, had been nursing his wrath and

¹⁶ See *ante*, p. 101.

¹⁷ See preface to his alteration of *Richard II*.

¹⁸ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 611.

preparing his counter stroke in silence. The time had now come for his revenge. The first blow fell with the publication of the third or so-called "last" volume of Pope and Swift's *Miscellanies*, March, 1728. Two volumes of prose miscellanies had appeared early in the preceding summer, in the preface to which Pope said the verses were set apart in a volume by themselves, and perhaps a third volume of prose would appear. This arrangement was broken into by the insertion, in the volume devoted to verse, of a prose treatise, "Martinus Scriblerus ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ; or of the Art of Sinking in Poetry. Written in the year MDCCXVII." It is generally thought now that the treatise was written with the set purpose of calling forth attacks upon Pope, so that he would seem justified in retaliating with *The Dunciad*; the delay in the publication of the "last" volume of the miscellanies is attributed to the desire to have *The Dunciad* ready for publication. That such was the purpose of the *Bathos* I have no doubt, but I am inclined to attribute the delay in the publication of the "last" volume to the fact that the treatise itself was not ready. In a letter written to Swift sometime in January, 1728, Pope says that he has entirely methodized the *Bathos* and written it all. Furthermore, it contains strictures on *Double Falshood* which was not published until 1728.

The *Bathos*, which was commonly known as the *Profund*, describes the true genius of the profound, and lays down rules whereby a person may sink in poetry. Under its various chapters there appear as examples of the profound three passages from *Double Falshood*.¹⁹ The majority of

¹⁹ In Chapter 7, "Of the profound, when it consists in the thought," is placed a passage from Act III, Sc. 1:

"Is there a Treachery, like This in Baseness
Recorded anywhere? It is the deepest:
None but Itself can be its Parallel."

the selections are drawn from the poems of Sir Richard Blackmore and Ambrose Philips, though Rowe, Waller, Addison, and others are represented. Some selections are even taken from Pope's own works. All this might be considered genuine literary criticism, but no such defense can be brought forward for Chapter 6, "Of the several kinds of Genius's in the profound, and the marks and characters of each." Here Pope lists the different kinds of writers under various animals, adding the initials of living authors. Theobald appears under the eels and the swallows.²⁰ The only other authors to receive the honor of a double entry were Charles Gildon, William Pulteney, Leonard Welsted, and William Broome, but the initials of nearly twenty men were given once. This example of literary mud-slinging could have had but one purpose — to provoke the infuriated victims to retaliation.

But this was not the only attack on Theobald made in the volume. There appeared in the verse a poem entitled Under the caption "Hyperbole or the Impossible" in Chapter 2, the selection is made from Act I, Sc. 3:

"The Obscureness of her Birth
Cannot eclipse the Luster of her Eyes,
Which make her all One Light."

In Chapter 12 a line from the same act and scene is chosen as an example of "The Financial Style, which consists of the most curious affected, mincing metaphors, and partakes of the *alamode*":

"Wax, render up thy Trust: Be the Contents
Prosperous, or fatal, they are all my Due."

²⁰ "The Swallows are authors that are eternally skimming and fluttering up and down, but all their agility is employed to catch flies. L. T., W. P., Lord H." This same figure is used in Dryden's "An Essay of Dramatic Poesy."

"The Eels are obscure authors, that wrapt themselves up in their own mud, but are mighty nimble and pert. L. W., L. T., P. M., General C."

“A Fragment of a Satire,” part of which had been published as early as 1723 in a miscellany of Curll’s called *Cythereia*, and is the first appearance of Pope’s attack on Addison. To this satire, however, the author had now added satires on other men. After thrusts at Gildon and Dennis, Pope turns to Theobald :

Should some more sober critics come abroad,
 If wrong I smile; if right, I kiss the rod.
 Pains, Reading, Study, are their just pretence
 And all they want is Spirit, Taste, and Sense.
 Commas and Points they set exactly right;
 And ’twere a sin to rob them of their Mite.
 In future Ages how their Fame will spread,
 For routing Triplets and restoring *ed*.
 Yet ne’er one Sprig of Laurel graced these Ribbalds,
 From sanguine Sew—— down to piddling T——s.
 Who thinks he reads but only scans and spells,
 A Word-catcher that lives on syllables.
 Yet even this Creature may some Notice claim,
 Wrapt round and sanctified with Shakespeare’s name;
 Pretty in Amber to observe the forms
 Of Hairs, or Straws, or Dirt, or Grubs, or Worms;
 The Thing, we know, is neither rich nor rare,
 But wonder how the Devil it got there.²¹

The attack on Theobald follows the lines of the attack on the sciences and learning: the triviality and inconse-

²¹ As Sewell had been dead some two years, the only apparent reason for this attack on his memory is the fact that he was associated with Theobald in the preparation of *Shakespeare Restored*, and was spoken highly of in one or two passages in the work.

Later, when the poem was incorporated in *An Epistle to Doctor Arbuthnot*, lines seven and eight were omitted, “slashing Bentley” was substituted for “sanguine Sew——,” and in the last line but one “Thing” was changed to “Things” and the necessary grammatical changes made. In fine, the changes are introduced to make the passage throughout applicable to Bentley as well as Theobald.

quence of the work and the lack of the finer possessions of taste and good sense. "Pains, Readings, Study," which Pope grants Theobald, can hardly be held against any one now, but at that time scholarly methods were not held in high repute among the wits. This is the first appearance of Pope's spelling of Theobald's name, which later became so general as to render it probable that some knew of no other. Even to-day some curious mistakes arise. The sneer embodied in "A Word-catcher, that lives on Syllables" Theobald seems to have resented more than any other leveled at him.

This "last" volume of miscellanies succeeded in drawing forth some attacks contained in verses, letters, and the like in the current newspapers. There were a score of these, four of which Professor Lounsbury attributes to Pope.²² After the publication of *The Dunciad* they were collected and published with a preface ascribed by Pope to Concanen.²³ According to Pope, the contributors were Concanen, Roome, Theobald, Dennis, Oldmixon, James Moore-Smythe, and Cooke. The first two were not mentioned in the *Bathos*. Five notices Pope attributed to James Moore-Smythe. From the large majority of the authors satirized in the *Profund* there was no response.

The only reply that can be definitely ascribed to Theobald was contained in *Mist's Journal*, April 27. In this letter Theobald refrained from all abuse, claiming that he had

²² *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 207.

²³ *A Compleat Collection of All the Verses, Essays, Letters, and Advertisements, which have been occasioned by the Publication of Three Volumes of Miscellanies, by Pope and Company. To Which is added an exact List of the Lords, Ladies, Gentlemen and others, who have been abused in those Volumes. With a large Dedication to the Author of the Dunciad, containing some Animadversions upon that Extraordinary Performance.* London; Printed for A. Moore, near St. Paul's MDCCLXXVIII.

always treated Pope with deference and respect, yet because he had set Shakespeare right, he was subjected to personal attacks, which he did not intend to answer. He then proceeded to justify, in a most thorough and convincing manner, the three passages from *Double Falshood* by quoting remarkably analogous passages from Seneca, Plautus, Terence, and Ovid. Nor did he confine himself to the classics, but made *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Winter's Tale*, and *Hamlet* furnish precedents for his lines. One verse which struck Pope as being extremely ridiculous, and which, slightly changed, found a place in *The Dunciad*,²⁴

None but thyself can be thy Parallel.

he showed to be absolutely paralleled by a line from the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca :

. . . quaeris Alcidem parem?
Nemo est nisi ipse.

Theobald did not content himself, however, with defending the passage attacked. Knowing full well that his strong forte was Shakespearean criticism, he brought forward as proof of his ability, somewhat irrelevantly perhaps, another emendation which has stood the test of time.²⁵ He also gave

²⁴ Bk. III, v. 272. In a note on this line Pope answers Theobald's proof by saying that whether *Double Falshood* is Theobald's or not, he has shown that Shakespeare has written as bad, and that no one doubts that in such passages the critic can imitate the dramatist.

All references to the *Dunciad* are to Lawton Gilliver's Second Edition, 1729.

²⁵ *Merchant of Venice*, Act III, Sc. 2.

"You lov'd: I lov'd for intermission.
No more pertains to me, my lord, than you."

Theobald changed the lines to,

"You lov'd; I lov'd: (for intermission,
No more pertains to me, my lord, than you)."

notice that he intended to publish his remarks on Shakespeare, adding that whatever merit his work on the dramatist might have, it would awaken Pope to a greater accuracy in his forthcoming second edition of Shakespeare.

And as my remarks upon the whole works of Shakespeare shall closely attend upon the publication of his edition, I'll venture to promise without arrogance that I'll give about five hundred more fair emendations that shall escape him and all his assistants.

One production that Pope chose to ascribe to Theobald appeared in *Mist's Journal*, March 30, 1728,²⁶ the title being *An Essay on the Art of a Poet's Sinking in Reputation; being a Supplement to the Art of Sinking in Poetry*. This essay in laying down rules whereby a poet may sink in reputation makes use of many phrases used by Pope, but so twisted as to reflect on him. It sums up in brief and caustic manner some of the current accusations against the poet. To sink in reputation let him undertake the translation of the *Odyssey* in his own name and get a great part done by assistants. As regards Shakespeare, let him publish such authors as he has least studied, and then lend his name to promote an exorbitant subscription. The *Miscellanies* are but second-hand stuff, and in the *Bathos* he wrests constructions for the sake of a sneer. Pope was evidently sincere in giving the authorship to his rival. Later he speaks of having been much injured by one lie contained in this article.²⁷ Indeed, he had plausible reasons for thinking the work Theobald's. The author corrected a mistranslation in the first book of the *Odyssey*, a book translated by Theobald. His opinion of Pope's edition of Shakespeare

²⁶ In the "Testimonies of Authors," prefixed to *The Dunciad*, p. 25, Pope accepts it as Theobald's, but on the next page he speaks of the author as "one whom I take to be Mr. Theobald." In the Appendix, p. 187, he speaks of the essay as supposed to be by Mr. Theobald.

²⁷ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 223.

tallies closely with that expressed by the critic, the preface especially being ridiculed. He strongly resents the passage in "A Fragment of a Satire" referring to Theobald; two phrases, "how the devil it got there" and "wrapt round and sanctified with" are turned against Pope. In giving the names Pope bestowed on authors he mentions Word-catchers Routers of Triplets, Restorers of *ed*, Things, Creatures, Wretches, Ribalds, and Scoundrel.²⁸ All these were applied to Theobald in the "Fragment." Either the latter wrote the essay, or else some one was taking up cudgels for him with a vengeance.²⁹

Pope was evidently satisfied with the rather poor results of the provocative treatise on the *Bathos*, for on May 18, 1728, appeared *The Dunciad*.³⁰ Uncertain about the success of the work, Pope so worded the title-page as to make it appear that the poem was the product of Ireland. Nor was he unsuccessful in this purpose, though his caution was unnecessary.³¹ In "The Publisher to the Reader," really

²⁸ These appellations, especially Word-catcher, rankled in Theobald's breast. In a letter to Warburton, March 10, 1730 (Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 551), he gives a specimen of a projected essay on Pope's judgment, wherein he corrects some of Pope's mistakes in the first book of the *Odyssey*, and constantly throws up to the poet the epithet "Word-catcher."

²⁹ "The Reason Mr. Pope struck so home at Mr. Tibbald was because there was more than a Supposition of his writing an *Essay on the Art of Sinking in Reputation; or a Supplement to the Art of Sinking in Poetry*." *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Alexander Pope, Esq.; By William Ayre, Esq.*; London, MDCCXLV. This last is ascribed to Curl in *Remarks on Esquire Ayer's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Pope in a Letter to Mr. Edmund Curl*. London, 1745.

³⁰ *The Dunciad An Heroic Poem in Three Books*. Dublin Printed; London Reprinted for A. Dodd. 1728.

³¹ See Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 230. Also see *Sawney* (by Ralph), 1728, where Swift is joined with Pope as author of the *Dunciad*; and the preface to Edward Ward's *Durgen*, where Ward conjectures the author is of Hibernian extraction.

written by Pope, we are told that when a man of the highest distinction is injured, there is no one to rise up in his defense, but the case is reversed when a known scoundrel is touched upon. For the last two months the town has been full of pamphlets, advertisements, letters, weekly essays, and the like against the wit, writing, character, and person of Mr. Pope. Yet none of his one hundred thousand admirers has come to his defense, except the author of this poem. He says it is of no concern how he became possessed of the manuscript, and that he shall have gained his end if it provoke the author, whom he does not know, to give a more perfect edition of the poem. The authors satirized, he claims, were made for the poem, and much unjust scandal is saved by calling the hero Theobald, which by good luck happens to be the name of a real person.

The poem as it appeared in this edition was nearly one hundred lines shorter than in the last edition of 1729. The dedication to Swift was entirely left out. There were very few notes, mostly of an explanatory character. Theobald's name was consistently spelled "Tibbald," but only the initial, and sometimes the last letter, was given of the names of the other men assailed. Jacob and Eliza appeared in full, as did also Brown and Mears, whose only fault was publishing Theobald's works.³² This version was incomplete and was put forth only as a feeler; Pope saved much of his material for the next year, when *The Dunciad* appeared with all its appendages.

From the various replies called forth by the poem two deductions are obvious: first, that Theobald was made

³² Pope's note on this line, Bk. III, v. 20, in the editions of 1729, reads, "Booksellers, Printers for *Tibbald*, Mrs. *Haywood*, or any body. . . . The Allegory of the souls of the Dull coming forth in the form of Books, and being let abroad in vast numbers by Booksellers, is sufficiently intelligible."

the hero of the satire because of his work on Shakespeare; and second, that his was the clearest case against Pope in that his criticisms were universally recognized as far superior to his adversary's edition. It is remarkable how the outraged dunces rushed to their king's assistance. Anxious for a weapon to use against Pope, the most formidable one they could find was Theobald's reputation as a Shakespearean critic. A few were Theobald's friends and these were anxious to protect him; others admired his ability as a scholar; but there were still others who only saw in him and his work the surest answer to Pope.

Theobald had abused Dennis most persistently in *The Censor*, but since then had probably made friends with him, for he praises the ponderous critic in *Shakespeare Restored*.³³ In the preface to *Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the Lock*, 1728, a work Dennis said he prepared in the latter days of Queen Anne's reign, but had held back to terrify Pope, the author speaks of "several ingenuous men" abused in *The Dunciad*,

among whom I am obliged, in Justice, to name Mr. Theobald, who by delivering Shakespeare from the Injuries of Time, and of lazy, or ignorant and stupid Editors, has obliged all who are concern'd for the Reputation of so great a Genius, or for the Honour of Great Britain.

He claims that Pope libeled Theobald for no other reason than that he had been surpassed by him, and denounces the attack on Theobald's poverty and that of others "who have deserv'd a thousand times better both of the country and the Commonwealth of Learning." The following year Dennis again stands up for the "hero" in his *Remarks upon Several Passages in the Preliminaries to the Dunciad*, which

³³ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 20. Here Theobald says that in his opinion "no Man in *England* better understands Shakespeare" than Dennis.

is addressed to Theobald, deposed from his throne because he "is incapacitated to hold an empire of that unbounded Extent, by some unfortunate Qualities, as Learning, Judgment, Sagacity, and that Modesty which always attends Merit." Dennis also speaks of seeing a specimen of his translation of Aeschylus which "would make Pope blush for his Homer."

It is not strange to find Concanen upholding Theobald against Pope. He was the first to recognize the critic's ability and the importance of his work. After becoming acquainted with him, he introduced him to his circle of acquaintances and remained to the last his truest friend. It was as a friend that he took the scholar's part in the dedication to the author of *The Dunciad* of a miscellany that appeared soon after the satire,³⁴ where he said that when Theobald began the dispute he laid down a method Pope would have done well to follow: not the least indecent reflection was cast upon the poet in the whole work. The only crime Theobald committed was in presuming Pope was not infallible like his namesake of Rome, and could be mistaken. He warned the poet that his satire would cause his *thousands of admirers* to inquire as to what provocations Theobald had been guilty of to deserve such usage, in answer to which

the Truth may and has come out, that Mr. Theobald has taken more Pains to understand Shakespeare than Mr. Pope cared to do: But sure Mr. Pope must have more Wit in his Anger, than to do anything which might revive a Controversy he made so bad a figure in.

Two poetic attacks on Pope that appeared the same year as *The Dunciad* were *Sawney, An Heroic Poem. Occasion'd by the Dunciad* and *Durgen, or a Plain Satyr upon a Pompous Satyrist*. James Ralph, the author of the first, was not

³⁴ See *ante*, note 22.

mentioned in *The Dunciad* of 1728, but was introduced into the editions of 1729 because of this poem. Ralph holds that on the publication of *Shakespeare Restored* Pope, Swift, and Gay, with the aid of Envy, wrote *The Dunciad*. Speaking of these three, he says in his preface,

I confess myself heartily tir'd in following them so far already, and am in such a degree affected with my Subject, that I can scarce forbear *sinking* like them, into the lowest Recesses of Dulness; but Shakespeare Restor'd very luckily relieves me, and, in gratitude, I think myself oblig'd, at once to thank Mr. The——d for that excellent Critique, and condole with him for its being the innocent Occasion of such an execrable Lampoon as the *Dunciad*.

The poem itself is full of praise for Theobald's critical work. Edward Ward in *Durgen* is more serious. He attacks personal satire, implores Pope to cease prostituting his muse to such vile lampoons, and though attacking Pope bitterly, praises him at times. In his preface he calls Theobald a man of learning, probity, and distinguishing merits, while in the poem he styles *Shakespeare Restored* a meritorious work that must meet with the approbation of all good judges.

There were other defenses of Theobald this same year. One who signed himself W. A. contributed a letter to *Mist's Journal* of June 8, in which he severely censures Pope for his reflection on Theobald's poverty and for making him the hero of *The Dunciad* because his revision of Shakespeare was so much better than Pope's; in fact, no flaw could be found in it.³⁵ Thomas Cooke, a translator whom Theobald as-

³⁵ In a note on *The Dunciad*, Bk. I, v. 106, Pope definitely ascribed this letter to Theobald, but in the Appendix, p. 190, he says it was written "by some or other of the Club of Th——, D——s, M——re, C——n, C——ke, who for some time, held constantly Weekly meetings for these kind of performances." Relying implicitly on Pope's word later scholars have often attributed this letter to Theobald and made it the cause of *The Dunciad*!

sisted this same year, after speaking of the latter as Shakespeare's friend, says the critic's part is not to abuse but to convince.³⁶ A few years later, Giles Jacob in his *The Mirror: or, Letters Satyirical, Panegyric, Serious, and Humorous*, 1733, addressed one of the letters, on the encouragement given to learned and ingenious men, to Theobald.

The general attitude of that part of the literary world who had escaped the satire and were competent to judge Theobald's work was that while Pope was supreme in poetry, the other was just as surely the better critic. William Duncombe, known, if at all, for his adaptation of Voltaire's tragedy *Junius Brutus*, and entirely removed from the quarrel, expresses this feeling in an epigram entitled *The Judgment of Apollo, on the Controversy between Mr. Pope and Mr. Theobald*, 1729 :

"In Pope's melodious Verse the Graces smile;
In Theobald is display'd sagacious Toil;
The Critick's Ivy crowns his subtle brow,
While in Pope's Numbers, Wit and Music flow.

These Bards, to Fortune will'd, were mortal Foes,
And all Parnassus in their Quarrel rose:
This the dire Cause of their contending Rage,
Who best could blanch dark Shakespear's blotted Page.
Apollo heard — and judg'd each Party's Plea,
And thus pronounced th' irrevocable Decree;
Theobald, 'tis thine to share what Shakespeare writ,
But Pope shall reign supreme in Poesy and Wit."³⁷

It is well to note that an unconcerned observer attributed the quarrel to *Shakespeare Restored*.

³⁶ *The Battle of the Poets*, revised edition, 1728, p. 32.

³⁷ This was printed in *A New Miscellany*, London, printed for A. Moore, 1730. It is now to be found in John Nichols, *A Select Collection of Poems*, vol. 6, p. 7. See also *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ed. P. Bliss, 1869, vol. 3, p. 167.

Theobald did not reply to the attack on him, but in a letter to *Mist's Journal*, June 22, took occasion to comment on *The Dunciad*. In a poetical war of this kind he held that attacks should only be made on the faults in poetry, and that none should be satirized except those who failed as poets. When a writer drew private character into the quarrel and satirized men whose activities lay outside the field of literature, he became a common enemy to mankind and should consider himself lucky if he was not hunted down as a beast of prey. Here Theobald is defending the other "dunces" rather than himself, but he does defend himself against one unjust attack. In one passage of the satire Pope, knowing that Theobald had contributed a few letters to *Mist's Journal*, a Tory newspaper, represents him as leaving literary pursuits and taking up party writing on the side of the Tories.³⁸ This representation Theobald characterized, indirectly, as a malevolent lie of an angry wit, which if imputed to inspiration made him content with a little sober sense, although bright genius deemed it dullness. He claimed, and justly, that his communications to this journal were not concerned with politics

³⁸ Bk. I, ll., 189-196 (lines 179-186 in editions of 1728),

"But when can I my Flaccus cast aside,
Take up th' Attorney's (once my better) Guide?
Or rob the Roman geese of all their glories,
And save the state by cackling to the Tories?
Yes, to my country I my pen consign,
Yes, from this moment, mighty Mist! am thine."

In a note on this passage, in the editions of 1729, Pope farther strengthens his accusations by stating that Theobald had a part in *Mist's* famous Tory paper.

Professor Lounsbury, in *The Text of Shakespeare*, p. 312, thinks the reference to Flaccus may be an allusion to Theobald's intended translation of the poet. I think Horace is used merely as a symbol of interest in literature, he being the model and inspiration of this period.

but only with learning or entertainment; that he had no inclination to meddle in politics, since his pursuits were of an entirely different nature; and that such an accusation would hinder his obtaining subscriptions among the nobility, since he could boast but a slender reputation in literature. He turned the charge of cackling to the Tories against Pope, who, he said, was shrewdly abused or else made a practice of cackling to more than one party.

With the above letter Theobald sent his proposals for publishing critical and explanatory remarks upon Shakespeare in three octavo volumes at the price of one guinea.³⁹ He claimed that all the corruptions of former editions would be removed, over a thousand emendations introduced, the pointing of some passages rectified so as to make the meaning intelligible, and all obsolete words and difficult places explained. Furthermore, the work was then ready for the press and would be issued to subscribers on the first day of December. He declared that he would not reply to Pope's scurrilities, but would treat him with deference. Theobald must have met with some success with his subscriptions, for in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane at the beginning of the following August he says that in Sloane's profession he has been favored by Dr. Friend, Dr. Mead, and Dr. Pellet.⁴⁰

His plans for the publication of the remarks were broken into by the appearance of Pope's second edition of Shakespeare in November of this year. Theobald's emendations had met with such a wide acceptance that Pope felt compelled to introduce some of them into the text. This he did with poor grace, failing to acknowledge some and caviling at others.⁴¹ At the end of the eighth volume he made a

³⁹ I am dependent upon Professor Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 311, for the content of these proposals.

⁴⁰ See Appendix, p. 259.

⁴¹ One investigator, ignorant of *Shakespeare Restored*, comes to the conclusion that Theobald based his edition on Pope's second edition.

general acknowledgment of the aid he had received from Theobald, estimating it at twenty-five words introduced into the text, and added several pages of his opponent's corrections, on the ground that if thought trivial or wrong, they could at worst spoil only half a sheet that happened to be vacant. He also brought the charge against Theobald that although he publicly advertised for the assistance of all lovers of Shakespeare, while his edition was preparing for the press, yet this critic would not communicate his notes. He ended with a slur at Theobald's ability to correct errors of the press.

The latter was not slow to reply to this misrepresentation. In a letter to the *Daily Journal*, November 26, 1728, he called to mind the assurance he gave in *Mist's Journal* that he would be able to give over five hundred emendations that Pope and all his assistants would miss.⁴² At the time his friends thought this promise rash, yet Pope had been so generous, he could more than fulfill it. He claimed that instead of Pope's accepting twenty-five of his readings, he had really adopted about one hundred.⁴³ After stating that he had declared over and over again that no provocation would lead him to lose his temper and force him to reply with scurrility, he proceeded to name, negatively, five qualities of an editor of Shakespeare: industry in collating, knowledge of history, knowledge of modern tongues, judgment in digesting text, and judgment in restoring it. Pope's deficiency in all these made him absolutely unequal to the task of editing. Theobald was not content with stating

The evidence cited are those readings that did not appear in Pope's first edition, but which appeared in his second and also in Theobald's. Unfortunately these are those taken by Pope from *Shakespeare Restored*. See *Mod. Phil.* IV, 501.

⁴² I am dependent upon Professor Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 316-321, for the contents of this letter.

⁴³ Professor Lounsbury shows the true number to be fifty-one.

this deficiency; he proved it by citing examples where Pope had failed in each of the stated qualities. As regards Pope's complaint of his not communicating his notes, he said he considered it rash to bestow the labor of twelve years' study upon a bookseller to whom he owed no obligations, or an editor who was likely to prove thankless. He then added a bold assertion:

I'll venture to tell Mr. Pope that I have made about two thousand emendations on Beaumont and Fletcher; and if he should take it in his head to promise us a correct edition of these poets, and require all assistances by his royal proclamation, I verily believe I shall be such a rebel as to take no notice of his mandate.

In this letter he pointed out the *Historica Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus as the source of *Hamlet*, and stated that he had just lately had access to the first folio. By it he had collated the shortest play of Shakespeare, and found over forty material variant readings which Pope had not noticed. As regards his own remarks on Shakespeare, he claimed that the necessity of reading the eight volumes of this edition made him postpone publication until the following January. To assure his subscribers he offered his manuscript for inspection at his house by any one desiring to see it.

The emendations contributed at various times to periodicals, as well as his repeated assertions regarding the progress of his *Remarks*, show that Theobald had spent the two years since *Shakespeare Restored* in close study of the dramatist. Yet in 1728 he found time for two other undertakings. One was an edition of Wycherly's posthumous works;⁴⁴ the other was in the form of notes contributed to Cooke's trans-

⁴⁴ *Posthumous Works in Prose and Verse, By William Wycherly, 1728.* The reputation as an editor Theobald gained from *Shakespeare Restored* was responsible for Captain Shrimpton placing Wycherly's papers in his hands. For Pope's false and malicious characterization of this performance see Elwin and Courthope, vol. 5, p. 182.

lation of Hesiod. This last represents Theobald's first attempt at textual criticism in the classics. It also shows the regard his friends had for his scholarship not only in English but also in Latin and Greek. Even his enemies admitted his scholarship.⁴⁵ Pope objected to him because he was a scholar. Scholarship and scientific investigation, from the time of the controversy between the ancients and moderns until after Pope's death, were looked upon almost as crimes by the Wits. The Phalaris controversy, the Scriblerus conspiracy, the Shakespearean quarrel, and the fourth book of *The Dunciad* are only notable battles in a continual war.

In a postscript to the translation Cooke says,

I cannot take my leave of this work without expressing my gratitude to Mr. Theobald for his kind assistance in it. Much may with Justice be said to the advantage of that gentleman, but his own writings will be testimonys of his abilitys, when perhaps, this profession of my friendship for him, and of my zeal for his merit, shall be forgot.

To this he added that as a matter of justice he had been careful to distinguish all remarks of his friends from his own. Theobald's contribution comprised two complete notes and four parts of notes. These last consist of collections of passages illustrative of some remark of Cooke, and are introduced by "The rest of the note by Mr. Theobald."⁴⁶ They are insignificant except as showing Theobald's wide acquaintance with the classics.

Of his two whole notes, one corrects the pointing of a passage in the original, and gives what Theobald considered

⁴⁵ See "Fragment of a Satire."

⁴⁶ In a note on *The Dunciad* (Bk. I, l. 168) Pope speaks of these notes as having been carefully owned by Theobald. The latter had nothing to do with the owning: Cooke, like Theobald and unlike Pope, was scrupulous in giving credit for all assistance.

a new explanation of it. The pointing in modern editions is practically the same as his, and while there is still dispute regarding the meaning of the passage, some of the editors of Hesiod hold Theobald's view.⁴⁷ Theobald discusses and defends his pointing in true Bentleian manner, supporting whatever he says with numerous quotations. The other note suggests an emendation, the first the Shakespearean critic made in the classics and put forward as "a private suspicion."⁴⁸ There is undoubtedly much obscurity in the passage, and Theobald defends his beliefs convincingly. Modern editions escape the difficulty by judging the lines spurious because of the presence of some non-epic forms. These notes, while by no means wonderful, are entirely creditable to Theobald; any classical critic could own them without a blush.

Early in the next year Theobald began his correspondence with Warburton. The exchange of letters was very frequent up to the end of 1731, and continued with diminishing frequency until the spring of 1736, when it was broken off under circumstances hardly creditable to Warburton. In these letters Theobald and his friend exchanged their remarks and conjectures on Shakespeare and gave their opinions of them. In a letter dated March 18, 1729, Theobald speaks of having received the second paper of criticisms from the divine, and mentions having promised to write him troublesome inquiries.⁴⁹ From this it could be inferred that Warburton had as great a part as Theobald in

⁴⁷ See *Works and Days* (Paley's edition of *Hesiod*, 1883), l. 145. In a note discussing the passage, Paley says it is difficult to determine the meaning, and gives an explanation of the German editor, Goettling, which is the same as Theobald's.

⁴⁸ *Works and Days* (Paley's edition), l. 261: *δῆμος ἀταβαλλίας*. Theobald would change *δῆμος* to *τῆμος*. See Paley's note on this and the following lines.

⁴⁹ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 204.

establishing the correspondence, an inference that has some bearing on later developments.

Hardly had this correspondence been begun when *The Dunciad* again loomed up on the horizon. In the letter mentioned above Theobald writes,

You will hear, I doubt not, by our friend Concanen, that the Parnassian war is like to break out fiercely again. The *Dunciad* is pompously re-printed in quarto, and the publication of it every day expected.

The next month *The Dunciad Variorum* made its appearance.⁵⁰ Some knowledge of its contents may be gained from the description given in the advertisement below. Never had an English work been issued into the world with all the elaborate paraphernalia common to the much satirized editions of the classics. Indeed, Pope seems to be intending a satiric thrust at them; the fact that he first planned the notes to be in Latin gives evidence of some such intent.⁵¹

⁵⁰ "This day is published, in a beautiful Letter in 4to, a complete and correct Edition of the *Dunciad*: with the Prologomena, Dissertations and Arguments of Martinus Scriblerus, Testimonia Scriptorum, *Notes Variorum*, Index Autorum, Appendix of some curious Pieces, Virgil Restored, or a Specimen for a new Edition of that Poet, a Parallel of Mr. Dryden and Mr. Pope, etc.; wherein the Errors of all the former Editions are corrected, the Omissions supplied, the Names rectified, and the Reasons for their insertions given; the History of Authors related, and the Anonymous detected; the obscure Passages illustrated, and the Imitations and Allusions to ancient and modern Poets collected; with a Letter to the Publisher, by W. C., Esq. Printed for Lawton Gilliver, against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street." — *London Evening Post*, April 12, 1729. Quoted in Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 220.

⁵¹ See note on Bk. II, l. 134. As stated before all references are to the second edition, octavo, of Lawton Gilliver. As regards Theobald the changes introduced, from the first appearance of the variorum edition to this edition, are inconsequential. This edition was regarded by Pope as the standard. (Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 255.)

But the real purpose of all this heterogeneous matter was to justify *The Dunciad* and continue the satire on its victims. Since the first publication of the poem, those attacked had been spurred to unusual activity in their replies, which were anything but complimentary to the poet. These opinions of him he listed in such a way in the "Testimonies of Authors" that to the casual reader, without thought of chronology, they would appear as sufficient cause for the satire. For the same purpose, doubtless, he listed in the appendix those attacks on him that appeared after as well as before the satire. Even in the notes to the poem, he quotes, as tacit reasons for the inclusion of some authors in the satire, works they had written after its first appearance. In drawing the parallel between the treatment accorded himself and Dryden, he quotes many of these subsequent criticisms, and in the "Testimonies" he contrasts the opinions of himself given before and after *The Dunciad* in such a manner as to make their authors appear ridiculous. In short, he made capital of everything his victims wrote in reply to the first edition of the poem.

The notes consist largely of the material he gathered concerning his opponents while composing the poem, as well as material drawn from works published after its appearance, but it is often given in a distorted and false form. It is well to notice a few of these misrepresentations of Theobald. In the single note giving his life there are no less than five.⁵² He speaks of Theobald praising his own productions in anonymous letters to *Mist's Journal*, for which statement there is no foundation. He makes Theobald the author of a communication to the same journal, June 8, 1728, which

For discussions of the various editions of 1728 and 1729 see Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, Chaps. 12 and 13, and *Notes and Queries*, 1854, Vol. 2, pp. 69, 108, 129, 148, 238, 277.

⁵² Bk. I, l. 106.

claimed there was no flaw in *Shakespeare Restored*; but the satirist has nothing upon which to base his assertion. He repeats the accusation made at the end of his second edition of Shakespeare that Theobald concealed his design on the dramatist until after Pope's edition. He adds, however, that satisfaction had been promised to those who would assist him. To make matters worse, according to his account, Theobald at that time was soliciting favors from him. Lastly, he insinuates that Theobald had a part in the cry that Pope had joined with the bookseller to raise an extravagant subscription. We have seen how Theobald answered the charge about concealing his design, yet Pope quotes this same letter as admitting the indictment.⁵³ We shall see later how completely the critic demolished the accusation of ingratitude. As for the last charge, the only basis Pope had was the *Essay on the Art of Sinking in Reputation*, concerning the authorship of which he himself was not certain.⁵⁴ There are other misstatements scattered through the work. In one place the author says that Theobald published once a week or fortnight some poor conjecture in *Mist's Journal*, when Theobald's contributions of that nature before *The Dunciad* number only two.⁵⁵ And there are the two lies we have noticed above — his carefully owning his notes to Cooke's *Hesiod* and his cackling to the Tories.

Yet with all this elaborate commentary the very book that was in a large way responsible for the poem was mentioned but once.⁵⁶ It was not even included in the list of

⁵³ There is a passage in *Shakespeare Restored* (see supra, p. 132) that might be interpreted as suggesting that Pope joined with the bookseller in raising a subscription.

⁵⁴ See *ante*, p. 113.

⁵⁵ Note on Bk. I, l. 164.

⁵⁶ "What is still in memory is a piece now almost two years old; it had the title of *Shakespeare Restored*." Note on l. 106, Bk. I.

productions written against Pope, which was inserted in the "Appendix." Professor Lounsbury notes that the word "Book" which began the poem in the first edition of 1728 was speedily changed to the plural.⁵⁷ In the poem proper references to the work are conspicuous by their absence. The following passage contains the only allusion.

"There, thy good Scholiasts with unwear'd pains
 Make Horace flat, and humble Maro's strains;
 Here studious I unlucky moderns save,
 Nor sleeps one error in its father's grave,
 Old puns restore, lost blunders nicely seek,
 And crucify poor Shakespeare once a week.
 For thee I dim these eyes, and stuff this head,
 With all such reading as was never read;
 For thee supplying, in the worst of days,
 Notes to dull books, and prologues to dull plays;
 For thee explain a thing till all men doubt it,
 And write about it, Goddess, and about it;
 So spins the Silk-worm small its slender store,
 And labours, 'till it clouds itself all o'er."⁵⁸

In the notes the allusions are more numerous but still infrequent. They are generally to some phrase or sentiment expressed in *Shakespeare Restored*, but no hint is given in the note as to the source of the allusion.⁵⁹

Most of the satire in the poem hinges on Theobald's other

⁵⁷ *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 290.

⁵⁸ Bk. I, ll. 159-172. The allusion in the second line is to Bentley's *Horace*. Judging from the way Pope continued to couple these two critics, I would conjecture that he was aware of the similarity of their methods.

⁵⁹ Bk. III, l. 272. Anadyptosis (*Shakespeare Restored*, p. 13); Bk. II, l. 175, marginal corrections (p. 11); Bk. I, l. 162, Shakespeare guilty of anachronisms (p. 134); Bk. I, l. 1, spelling of Shakespeare's name (p. 193); Bk. III, ll. 28 and 272 ridicule Theobald's method by mock emendations.

works. The satirist is especially severe on pantomimes in general and Theobald's in particular, mentioning by name three or four of his most popular. Of his translations, the *Phaedo*, *Ajax*, and Aeschylus are honored, though the second Theobald probably did not write, and the last he never published. His dramas are represented by *The Persian Princess*, *The Perfidious Brother*, and a line from *Double Falshood*. *The Cave of Poverty* is the only one of his poems to find a place in the satire.

Then there is the general accusation of dullness and stupidity, besides slanders in the notes about his party writings and ingratitude. His poverty was more than hinted at, and it was on that ground that the opponents of Pope took the satirist most to task.⁶⁰ In the "Letter to the Publisher," signed by William Cleland though written by Pope, the poet tries to excuse himself on the ground that the poverty of the dunces was the result of their being outside of their proper field of activity, and that he was performing a service by forcing them to leave off their attempts. On this basis, Theobald, when he attempted Shakespeare, was not following his natural bent.

Theobald's method and verbal criticism in general are subjected to the lash of the poet's scorn. Mock emendations of Virgil are scattered through the notes and gathered together in the appendix under the title of *Virgil Restored*. These, written mainly by Arbuthnot, were taken from a production of the Scriblerus Club, which was originally

⁶⁰ "She ey'd the Bard, where supperless he sate." Bk. I, l. 109. In raking over Theobald's past, Pope has perused his *Censor*, as is shown by a quotation from it about Dennis. (Note on Bk. I, l. 104.) Is it possible that the above line was suggested by a passage in No. 38, January 17, 1717? "I am so far of Opinion that our Common Dreams proceed from Repletion and Indigestion, that, to prevent this fantastic Disturbance of my slumbers, I have for some Years accusom'd myself to go supperless to Bed."

directed against Bentley.⁶¹ Pope also gives burlesque corrections of *Double Falshood* to mock Theobald's emendations on Shakespeare,⁶² and ridicules the out-of-the-way reading with which the critic proved his assertions. Caxton's "Sagittary" seems to have irritated him very much; the specimen of the publisher in the appendix is quoted merely to give people a sample of the kind of reading in which Theobald indulged.

As regards the purpose of *The Dunciad* even that ardent admirer of Pope, Johnson, was skeptical:

That the design was moral, whatever the author might tell his readers or himself, I am not convinced. The first motive was the desire of revenging the contempt with which Theobald had treated his Shakespeare, and regaining the honour which he had lost by crushing his opponent.

Revenge was the poet's motive, no matter what he might say about being moved by public spirit in killing off bad writers. Of this motive the variorum edition itself convicts him. Why such care in seeking out and publishing the titles of all productions written against him, except to justify him in hitting back? In "A Letter to the Publisher" it is frankly stated that the satire is a reply to attacks, and the author himself says that he promised to remove from *The Dunciad* any who could give him assurance "of having never writ scurrillously against him."⁶³ In Pope's mind a bad writer must have been one who wrote against him. The moral idea was an afterthought, for which his rising reputation for virtue secured wide credence.⁶⁴

Pope never openly admitted that Theobald was made hero of *The Dunciad* in revenge for *Shakespeare Restored*.

⁶¹ See *ante*, Chap. II, p. 57.

⁶² Note on Bk. III, l. 272.

⁶³ Note on Bk. III, l. 146.

⁶⁴ See Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 283 ff.

Indeed, he tried to hide the real reason under a number of fictitious ones. In the preface to the first edition he facetiously remarked that he gave his hero the name *Theobald*, which just happened to be that of a real person. In the edition of 1729 he gave a variety of reasons. First, he had to have for his hero a man who was a party-writer, dull poet, and wild critic; he found Theobald to be such.⁶⁵ Later the unfortunate man is the hero because there was no better to be had.⁶⁶ But that which Pope characterized as the real reason is the charges contained in the note giving Theobald's life, charges that are practically baseless.⁶⁷

Pope had some grounds for feeling incensed at his adversary. A book whose title-page proclaimed it to be "A Specimen of the many Errors, as well committed, as unamended by Mr. Pope" could hardly find favor in his eyes. And in the body of the work there are passages such as the following that would have disturbed a far less sensitive man than he:

There are many Passages of such intolerable Carelessness interspersed thro' all the six Volumes, that were not a few of Mr. Pope's Notes scatter'd here and there too, I should be induced to believe that the Words of the First Volume, . . . COLLATED and CORRECTED by the former EDITIONS, By Mr. POPE, . . . were plac'd there by the *Bookseller* to enhance the *Credit* of his *Edition*; but that he had play'd false with his *Editor*, and never sent the Sheets to revise. And, surely, this must have been the case sometimes: For no Body shall persuade me that Mr. *Pope* could be awake, and with his Eyes open, and revising a Book which was to be publish'd under his Name, yet let an Error, like the following, escape his Observation and Correction.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ "Martinus Scriblerus of the Poem," p. 42.

⁶⁶ Note on Bk. I, l. 102.

⁶⁷ See *ante*, p. 127.

⁶⁸ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 75. See also p. 97.

Theobald proved his charges, but justice could not take away the sting. He felt no animosity toward the poet, for in his introduction he praises him and his works extravagantly, as he had done in *The Censor*. Having lived in obscure mediocrity all his life he suddenly found himself able to prove publicly his superiority to the most popular poet of his time, and overwhelmed with his success, he thought to magnify the virtues of his own work by emphasizing the failures of Pope.

It is this variorum edition of *The Dunciad* that was largely responsible for the character of Theobald that has come down to recent times. Had the poem remained as it first appeared, it would have been relished with much gusto, but the picture of Theobald would have been accepted as a creation of the imagination, a license granted to satiric genius, a brilliant caricature. Pope's readers would have been willing to agree with him when he satirically says in his preface that he had to have a name for his hero, and selecting *Theobald* found it to be the name of a real person. But when he sought to impress upon people the reality of the picture, and, turning biographer, gave by means of lies and half-lies a biography that would suit the hero of his poem, the real Theobald was lost in the dunce and the one Pope created took his place. Well might the author when he changed heroes, bid the phantom Theobald to vanish and wholly disappear, for phantom he was of Pope's own making, having no existence in flesh and blood.

Furthermore, this edition served as a source of much of the material used by later biographers of Pope and the men he satirized.⁶⁹ Rather than go back to original sources, they accepted the mass of incorrect quotations and statements found in the same volume with the satire. In this way

⁶⁹ For example see the account of Theobald given in Theophilus Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, 1753.

they spread broadcast Pope's unjust characterization of the critic, giving as historic fact what was half the invention of the poet's malice. In short, they accepted as truth Pope's own account of *The Dunciad* and the dunces. The effect produced by this procedure, together with the slanders propagated by Warburton and supported by Johnson, was to give such a permanent character to Pope's charges as to make them pass current even to-day.

Theobald did not long remain silent. In a letter to *The Daily Journal*,⁷⁰ written by him for publication though communicated by another, he says he will be silent under the slander of Pope's wit, but not of his malice. As for the charge of ingratitude that he was soliciting favors at the same time he was refusing to help the poet with his edition, he declares that he asked Pope to assist him with a few tickets for a benefit, and a month later received a reply stating that Pope had been out of town until it was too late. This encouraged him sometime later to ask the poet to recommend his design of translating Aeschylus, to which request Pope answered he would do what he could; yet from that time to the publication of *Shakespeare Restored* there had come no line from him, nor intimation of one subscriber by his interest. He excused himself for troubling the public with his defense, but as his slight merit was easily shocked, this was the only way he had of appealing to those of the nobility whom he had not the honor of approaching for their favor.

Theobald did not stop here. He proceeded to carry the war into his opponent's territory. Knowing wherein his strength lay, he again calmly pointed out errors in Pope's edition of Shakespeare, duly numbered and arranged in order. Against Pope's wrong explanations of "reechy,"

⁷⁰ April 17, 1729. Printed in Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 220.

"germins," and "element,"⁷¹ he gives the correct definition. Then he gives several emendations, concerning the majority of which there is now little doubt.⁷² This manner of answering his opponent's attack was exceeding distasteful to the latter, for the public were ever reminded of the deficiencies of his edition. Here lay the cause of his grossly inaccurate accusation of Theobald's having published conjectures weekly or fortnightly, a charge that has operated against the scholar up to the present time.

Pope at first did not find many to take up his side of the quarrel.⁷³ But in 1729 Savage came under his dominion and worked most assiduously as his tool and informer.⁷⁴ The first result of his labors was "An Author to Let," which is in the form of a proposal from Iscariot Hackney (Roome) to the members of the "Society of the Bathos." In its heaps of scandal and slander the author can find no grounds to attack Theobald but that of word-catching. Savage speaks of having found the "dunces" at Ship Tavern, Charing Cross, bellowing against the indecencies of *The Dunciad*. Among these he includes Mrs. Haywood, James Moore-Smythe, Theobald, Welsted, Cooke, Bezaleel Morris, Concanen, and Roome, a group of writers who later were

⁷¹ *Much Ado*, Act. III, Sc. 5, *King Lear*, Act. I, Sc. 2; *Henry VIII*, Act. I, Sc. 1.

⁷² *King Lear*, Act. I, Sc. 6, "Courtesy" for "curiosity" (Pope, "nicety").

Measure for Measure, Act. III, Sc. 4. "eat, array" for "eat away."

Love's Labor's Lost, Act. III, Sc. 3, "Senior-Junior" for "Signior Junio."

Idem, Act. IV, Sc. 3, "imitari" for "imitary."

Titus Andronicus, Act. III, Sc. 3, "Cask" for "Castle."

Twelfth Night, Act. I, Sc. 3, "Curl by nature" for "Cool my nature."

⁷³ Thomas Hearne says Pope was much blamed for his barbarous treatment of Theobald. *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, 1869, vol. 3, p. 137.

⁷⁴ We find Savage's name, as well as that of Mallet, in the list of subscribers prefixed to Cooke's *Hesiod*.

called the *Concanen Club*. In the appendix to *The Dunciad*, Pope speaks of a club composed of Theobald, Dennis, Moore, Concanen, Cooke, who held weekly meetings to write against him. There is little truth in the statement. There was undoubtedly a literary group, to whom Concanen had introduced Theobald and Warburton in the latter half of the year 1726. Later Theobald contributed assistance to the literary endeavors of some of the members.⁷⁵ This group was largely represented in *The Dunciad*; thus there is little doubt that the satire and its author made up much of its conversation, and caused them to be joined together more closely for a common cause. Later Theobald speaks of a poem of Welsted as "our ware."⁷⁶ They did not hold these meetings, however, to abuse Pope, for they had held them before, yet the poet must have been the center of interest with them after *The Dunciad*.

The title-page of Savage's pamphlet reads "Number 1. To be continued." For some reason, however, the project was dropped. It may be that the death of Roome, who is represented as the author, near the close of the year caused a change in plan. The next year *The Grub-street Journal* took up the work along the same lines. This was a weekly periodical which ran from the beginning of 1730 to the end of 1737. It was first under the editorship of John Martyn, a botanist, and Russel, a nonjuring clergyman, but Pope was the moving spirit and furnished many of its contributions.⁷⁷ His enemies are attacked; he and his friends are handsomely praised. The former are known as "Theobaldians," "Grubeans," "Knights of the Bathos," while

⁷⁵ A Prologue to James Moore-Smythe's comedy *Rival Modes*, acted January 27, 1727, and the notes to Cooke's *Hesiod*, February, 1728. Mrs. Haywood was a friend of Theobald. See *Notes and Queries* for 1854, Vol. II, p. 110.

⁷⁶ See Appendix, p. 295.

⁷⁷ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, Chap. XIX.

the latter are termed "Popeans" and "Parnassians." The periodical gives the weekly proceedings of a fictitious Grubean society. Its verses, epigrams, and essays ridicule learning, antiquarianism, sciences, and particularly medicine, in fact, everything that would now be listed under scholarship or science.⁷⁸ While Theobald receives frequent notices, Smythe at first is the main butt of its satire, but after Cibber became laureate, he takes Smythe's place. The attacks on Theobald follow the lines laid down by *The Dunciad*: his pantomimes, translations, and critical method are ridiculed. In this last he divides honors with Bentley, whose propensities are frequently noticed.⁷⁹

In 1730 Edward Young came to the poet's assistance with *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope, Concerning the Authors of the Age*, but spends most of his ammunition against Welsted and Smythe. The following year the Reverend James Miller sought the poet's favor with *Harlequin-Horace or the Art of Modern Poetry*. This is a general attack on Pantomimes, and Theobald, being the foremost creator of the serious parts, comes in for his share of abuse. One naturally looks for some word from Swift. At the beginning of the century he had plenty to say about Bentley, and according to Pope he saved *The Dunciad*. In *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, written in 1731, he sarcastically mentions Theobald in the rôle of a reviser. In the introduction to his *A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation* he touches on the critic twice.⁸⁰

The most persistent method of attacking Theobald and lessening the regard of the public for his labors lay through repeated depreciation of verbal criticism. As I tried to

⁷⁸ See the satirical article on botany in No. 23, June 11, 1730.

⁷⁹ Cf. Nos. 2, 28, 37, and 98.

⁸⁰ If *Dean Jonathan's Parody on the 4th Chap. of Genesis*, 1729, be his, he seems to take Theobald's part as regards Shakespeare.

show in the second chapter of this work, the stimulus given textual criticism by Bentley had called forth so much criticism as to put scholars upon the defensive. The enemies of Theobald found the ground fully prepared for them; all they had to do was to continue the attack along the same lines laid down by the enemies of Bentley and his school, but to include English as well as classical scholars. This amplification was all the easier inasmuch as the methods employed by Bentley and Theobald were identical. Hereafter it is not unusual to find the two scholars joined in the attacks leveled at literal criticism. The accusations remain the same — the triviality, uselessness, and uncertainty of the pursuit.

Shakespeare Restored caused a revival in the war against this form of criticism. William Broome fired the first shot. In 1726 he had praised Pope's *Shakespeare*, telling the great dramatist to rejoice, since revised by Pope's hand every line shone in native brightness, a sentiment that is certainly a tribute to textual criticism as well as to the poet. But by March of the next year he has experienced a change of heart, for he has much to say against the study of texts.⁸¹ Since Theobald's first criticisms of Shakespeare had appeared in the interim, it doubtless had much to do with this sudden reversal of opinion. Broome holds that while criticism — he means verbal criticism by this general term — was useful in earlier ages, it has outlived its usefulness :

It is ridiculous to make it the supreme business of life to repair the ruins of a decay'd word, to trouble the world with vain niceties about a letter, or a syllable or the transposition of a phrase, when the present reading is sufficiently intelligible. These learned triflers are mere weeders of an author, they collect the weeds for their own use, and permit others to gather the herbs and flowers. It would be of more advantage to mankind when once an author

⁸¹ Preface to *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1727.

is faithfully published, to turn our thoughts from the words to the sentiments, and make them more easy and intelligible. A skill in verbal criticism is in reality but a skill in guessing, and consequently he is the best critic who guesses best: A mighty attainment! And yet with what pomp is a trivial alteration usher'd into the world?⁸²

It is strange that Broome could not see that Theobald, unlike Pope, sought to separate conjecture from guess work, and to establish it upon reason and authority.

The following year Pope joined in the fray. In "A Fragment of a Satire" he stigmatizes Theobald's work as the trivial pursuit of wrong-headed industry. Then in *The Dunciad* there are frequent slurs at his scholarship and several general attacks on verbal criticism. In the third book are found these lines,

"There, dim in clouds, the poreing Scholiasts mark,
Wits, who like Owls see only in the dark,
A Lumberhouse of Books in ev'ry head,
For ever reading, never to be read."

to which the following note is appended :

These few lines exactly describe the right verbal Critic: He is to his author as a Quack to his patients, the more they suffer and complain, the better he is pleas'd; like the famous Doctor of that sort, who put up in his bills, *He delighted in matters of difficulty*. Some one well said of these men, that their heads were *Libraries out of Order*.⁸³

In another place he brings forward a more serious accusation :

Two things there are, upon the supposition of which the very basis of all Verbal Criticism is founded and supported: The first,

⁸² His reference to weeds undoubtedly looks at a passage in the introduction to *Shakespeare Restored*, where Theobald compares the text of Shakespeare to an unweeded garden gone to seed. The last of the quotation reads like one of King's burlesque notes on Bentley's *Horace*.

⁸³ ll. 187-190, and note.

that an Author could never fail to use the best word, on every occasion: The second, that a Critic cannot chuse but know, which that is? This being granted whenever any word doth not fully content us, we take upon us to conclude, first that the author could never have us'd it, and secondly, that he must have used that very one which we conjecture in its stead.⁸⁴

The poet and his associates carried on the attack in *The Grub-street Journal*. But here Bentley more frequently than Theobald became the object of their satire, for Pope was coming to recognize in the classical critic the creator of the critical method and the great bulwark of textual criticism. Moreover, Bentley's personal characteristics, if not his reputation, made attacks on him more popular, though he never felt them. His vigorous condemnation of those who disagreed with him Pope satirized in *A Sermon against*

⁸⁴ A note at the beginning of the second book. I will also take the space to quote a note on a line in the third book, which is a clever burlesque of the notes contributed to Cooke's *Hesiod*.

"V. 28, And length of Ears.] This is a *sophisticated* reading. I think I may venture to affirm all the Copyists are mistaken here: I believe I may say the same of the Critics; *Dennis, Oldmixon, Welsted*, have pass'd it in silence: I have always stumbled at it, and wonder'd how an error so manifest could escape such accurate persons. I dare assert it proceeded originally from the inadvertency of some Transcriber whose head run on the Pillory mention'd two lines before: It is therefore amazing that Mr. Curl himself should overlook it! Yet that *Scholiast* takes not the least notice hereof. That the learned *Mist* also reads it thus, is plain, from his ranging this passage among those in which our Author was blamed for *personal Satire* on a *Man's Face* (whereof doubtless he might take the *Ear* to be a part); So likewise *Concanen, Ralph, the Flying-Poet*, and all the Herd of Commentators — *Tota armenta sequuntur*.

"A very little sagacity (which all these gentlemen therefore wanted) will restore to us the true sense of the Poet, thus

By his broad shoulders known, and length of years.

See how easy a change! Of one single letter! That Mr. Settle was old is most certain, but he was (happily) a stranger to the Pillory. This Note is partly Mr. Theobald, partly Scriblerus."

Adultery, the authorship of which he was forced by Bentley's son to deny. It was also during this period that Pope added a chapter to *The Memoirs of Scriblerus* and changed the Don Quixote of learning into the verbal critic.⁸⁵ He introduced Bentley into his *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*; and had the second book of his *Essay on Man* made its appearance, the classical scholar doubtless would have figured, among scientists and virtuosos, as the greatest example of the misapplication of learning to a useless science.⁸⁶ Such a position he holds in the fourth book of *The Dunciad*.

By 1731 the feeling against criticism of this sort reached such a height as to cause one scholar to contemplate writing a pamphlet in its defense.⁸⁷ This was Jortin, a man of high character and true scholarly instincts. Though he gave up the idea of his pamphlet, he has something to say about the matter.⁸⁸ After remarking that critical learning has met with both humorous and serious adversaries, he defends it in somewhat the same manner as Thirlby :

They who say that critical learning is trifling and useless, talk at random. Every unprejudiced person must allow that there are as many triflers in all other parts of learning as in this, and that criticism deserves to be reckoned among those studies which please and instruct. It does not indeed tend to make a man better and more virtuous, and therefore falls infinitely short of Ethics. It is not very beneficial to the commonwealth, and therefore by my consent, may be placed beneath those studies, which tend to encrease the wealth and strength of a nation. It does not make bread cheaper, as Malherbe, though a poet, used to say of

⁸⁵ Chap. IX.

⁸⁶ Ruffhead, *Life of Alexander Pope*, 1769, pp. 267, 269.

⁸⁷ John Jortin, *Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors Ancient and Modern*, 1731. Preface to vol. 2.

⁸⁸ *Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors Ancient and Modern*, Preface to vol. 1.

poetry. It is like poetry upon another account also; it brings home usually but little profit to those who spend their time in it.

The greatest injury to the science, however, came from within the ranks of the critics themselves, from the greatest of them. Early in 1732 Bentley's remarkable edition of Milton appeared. News that Bentley had undertaken the work had spread abroad sometime before its appearance. Near the last of the previous October Theobald writes to Warburton, "As to Milton, Dear Sir, Dr. Bentley is so far from having laid aside the Thoughts of it, that the whole Paradise Lost is work'd off, and the Book will be publish'd before Christmas."⁸⁹ Satiric emendations of Milton, reading astonishingly like those of Bentley that were to appear, were published in numbers of *The Grub-street Journal* as early as March, 1730.⁹⁰

To justify the many violent changes which he advocated, Bentley devised a theory. This theory was that Milton dictated his poem to a friend who saw it through the press. The friend was ignorant, malicious, careless, and everything else imaginable; he introduced words, lines, and passages into the text. The corruptions were then increased by the carelessness of the printers. Yet Bentley had hopes of restoring the original text by his sagacity. Fortunately he left the text as it was, putting his emendations and discussions in the margin or at the bottom of the page.

It is hard to understand why the classical scholar ever produced such a work. There is a tradition that he undertook it at the desire of the queen, who wished to see the great critic employ his faculties on an English poet. More probably the critic had become obsessed with the idea of correcting, especially as his own efforts had done so much to weaken confidence in texts, and consequently respect for

⁸⁹ See Appendix, p. 278.

⁹⁰ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 425.

them. Furthermore, the popularity of *Shakespeare Restored* may have inspired him to seek laurels in other fields. Yet he did not follow his own method, the method that the Shakespearean critic had employed with such good results. The only evidences of the classical scholar to be found in the work are seen in the vigorous logic of some of the notes. Of poetic appreciation there is no sign anywhere.

As was the case with the edition of Horace, this work increased the intensity of the attacks on verbal criticism. Immediately there sprang into existence a host of small productions written against Bentley and his form of criticism. Yet in such high regard was emendation held that some of the condemnations take Bentley very seriously.⁹¹ Such a one was *A Review of the Text of Milton's Paradise Lost*, 1732, written by Zachary Pearce, a scholar of some reputation. In his preface he says,

Dr. Bentley is deservedly distinguish'd for his superior Talents in Critical knowledge; they are owned by the unanimous Consent of the Learned World, and have gain'd him a Reputation which is real and substantial: but this will be understood with the Exception to what he has done on Milton's Poem: In which tho' he has given us some useful and judicious Remarks, yet at the same time he has made many Emendations, which may justly be called in question.

Though the unlearned might make free with Bentley's name, scholars were coming to feel more reverence and fear toward the great critic. Yet the desire to emend Milton seized even the critics of Bentley's edition. Pearce opposes Bentley's emendations and then gives some corrections of his own.

⁹¹ Francis Peck held that "as there are a great number of fine notes in the edition, there is no man who reads what the Doctor says, but, I fancy, will often agree with him." *New Memoirs of . . . Milton*, 1740, p. 211.

Theobald did exactly the same things. He very emphatically resented Bentley's new departure. Before its appearance he had deprecated the great scholar undertaking a work wherein the ladies and children were prepared to laugh at him. After he had examined the notes, he gave Warburton his estimate of the production :

You want my opinion you say on Dr. Bentley's performance: and I'll give it you freely, but under the Seal of Friendship; I had a very great veneration for him as a classical Critic; and was very much afraid of his descending to the Levell of Women and Children; that is, of his putting himself in the Power of Coquets and Toupets to discant on. He has not infrequently, you know, run riot on the dead Languages; but here, to use the Cibberian phrase, he has outdone his usual Outdoings. He had never certainly attain'd the serious Reputation of a Critick, *si sic omnia Dixisset*. I hope he does not write maliciously to turn the Art into Ridicule; but as Rose says of Sir Martin Mar-all *Indeed, he has a rare way of acting a Fool*, and does it so naturally, it can be scarce distinguish'd.

So ridiculous appeared the notes to the English scholar that he entertained fears lest they were written to ridicule the art. Well might he fear such, for if the great classical scholar made such an appearance in an English author, what would be the value placed upon his own work. Furthermore this edition strengthened the growing tendency to associate Theobald with Bentley. Though there was some pleasure in being joined with so great a man, the *Milton* could not but cast a bad light on the coming edition of Shakespeare. That the possible injury to Theobald was seen by others is evinced by the fact that one pamphlet attacking Bentley was fathered on Theobald.⁹²

While condemning so heartily Bentley's notes, he did not disdain in the privacy of the same letter to give an emenda-

⁹² See Appendix, p. 299.

tion. He also successfully defended the text against one of Bentley's emendations. The latter critic could not understand Milton's peculiar use of the word "pernicious" and advocated a change. Theobald showed that the word was not derived from "pernicies" but from "pernicitas," thereby defeating the classical scholar in his own field.

A little less than a year before the publication of Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, there appeared a poem entitled *Of Verbal Criticism*, issued anonymously but written by David Mallet. In the advertisement to the poem the author said the design was to rally the abuse of verbal criticism, and in the process he could not overlook the editor of Milton or the restorer of Shakespeare. The poem, he claimed, was written several months before its publication, but he had waited until the subscription for the new edition of Shakespeare had been closed. The satire was addressed to Pope, though the author asserted that it had been written without his knowledge.⁹³

While the title would suggest a general satire on the science, the attacks are made almost entirely against the two critics mentioned in the advertisement. Later versions of the satire tend to give Bentley a more prominent place. The poem is a miserable production, most of the charges being taken from "A Fragment of Satire" and *The Dunciad*. The triviality of the scholiast's pursuits, his reading of obscure and dull authors, his clearing up of minor obscurities, are all stressed. In Bentley, Mallet sees the creator of the school of verbal critics, though he implies that in his edition of Milton the critic was imitating Theobald:

"Yet he, prime pattern of the captious art,
Out-tibbalding poor Tibbald, tops his part."

There was nothing new in the attack. The same things had been said about Bentley's *Horace* years before, which

⁹³ See Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 434-436.

were then but a variation of the charges brought against the Royal Society. In that age scientific investigation and scholarly methods had to fight for existence.

It was in the midst of feelings engendered by attacks of this kind that Theobald's edition appeared. It was successful in spite of them. Yet the feeling against textual criticism continued to exist. Fielding made a belated attack on Bentley's methods.⁹⁴ Pope enlarged his charges in the fourth book of *The Dunciad*. George Turnbull, a dissenting minister with an interest in art, upheld the larger comprehension of the thoughts and philosophy of the ancients against the useless study of words.⁹⁵ One of the last blasts was heard in Richard Hurd's letter to Jortin *On the Delicacy of Friendship*, 1755, where Pope's charges are revived and passages from his works quoted. This attack on Jortin was as unjust as it was uncalled for, yet Warburton, though Jortin's friend, hailed it with glee, and transferred his affections to the author. Later he had cause to rue the change, for he made a sorry figure in his quarrel with Hurd.

After the death of Pope the opposition began to weaken. Johnson upheld the minute study of texts, though uncertain about conjecture; he wanted to hear no more about "the dull duty of an editor." The able editors of Shakespeare of the last quarter of the century placed scholarship in a more favorable light. So far had the victory been won, the victory of Bentley and Theobald against the poets and wits, that at the end of the century Porson could claim for verbal criticism a high place in the activities of man.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ See the notes to his translation of *Plutus*, and *Amelia*, Book X, Chap. 1.

⁹⁵ See Preface to his *Three Dissertations*, 1740, and *Observations upon Liberal Education*, 1742. This last work is remarkable in that it upholds the study of English grammar and composition against Latin and Greek.

⁹⁶ *Museum Criticum*, vol. 1, p. 489.

But in spite of the slanders of Pope and the attacks of his flatterers, Theobald's reputation did not wane. Professor Lounsbury has shown that by no means all the "Dunces" were dunces, and that instead of being annihilated by the satire, they were spurred to greater activity.⁹⁷ This was essentially true of Theobald. The man who continued to enjoy the ardent assistance of Lady Delawar, the favor of Sir Robert Walpole, and the liberal patronage of Lord Orrery could hardly have been acclaimed a dunce. Theobald's persistence with his edition of Shakespeare, the encouragement he received, and the success of the work can point only to one conclusion. But striking evidence of the ineffectuality of his adversary's abuse is seen in his candidacy for the laureateship in December, 1730, certainly not the action of a man crushed in spirit and reputation. He was introduced by Lord Gage to Sir Robert Walpole, who recommended him warmly to the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Chamberlain, and this recommendation was seconded by the Prince of Wales. He was defeated, however, by his successor in *The Dunciad*, to the surprise of many.⁹⁸

Theobald's purpose in seeking the position was to get a competence that would permit him to pursue his work on Shakespeare unhampered by financial cares. After his disappointment he asked Warburton whether he should spend any more time levee hunting.⁹⁹ But though he failed in his object, his efforts were not altogether fruitless. The

⁹⁷ *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 259 ff.

⁹⁸ "But the vogue of our few honest folks here is, that Duck is absolutely to succeed Eusden in the laurel, the Contention being between Concanen or Theobald, or some other hero of the *The Dunciad*." Swift's letter to Gay, November 19, 1730. F. E. Ball, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, vol. 4, p. 180.

⁹⁹ Letter dated December, 1730. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 616.

favor of Walpole had a good effect on the nobility, who were more likely to side with wit than scholarship, but whose money was very necessary for a subscription. In the dedication to his *Orestes*, Theobald, after thanking Walpole for his kindness in recommending him, says his action

ought to have a good Effect upon our Nobility, by curing that false and ungenerous Notion, upon which they proceed when they call a Man dull, because he is poor; and poor because he is dull: A piece of Sophistry which they have copied from some bad Wits among us, who judge in their own Case what they would allow in no other; and consider Success as the only Argument and Test of Merit.

Walpole remained Theobald's friend for some time after the appearance of his Shakespeare, but never granted him what he so much wished, — a pension.

Soon after the appearance of *The Dunciad* Theobald decided on a course of action from which he never swerved. This course was not to answer Pope's scurrilities with the like, but to rely upon his edition of Shakespeare to wipe out all scores.¹⁰⁰ That he felt the sting of Pope's satire is evident enough from the various references to Pope in his private correspondence with Warburton. But he was wise enough to know that in one field only could he get the better of the poet. Once indeed he was almost tempted to reply. In a letter to Warburton he outlines his plan :

As it is necessary I should now inform the publick, that I mean to attempt to give them an Edition of that Poet's text, together with my corrections, I have concluded to give this notice, not only by advertisements, but by an occasional pamphlet, which in order to retaliate some of our Editor's kindnesses to me, I mean to call, *An Essay upon Mr. Pope's Judgment, extracted from his own*

¹⁰⁰ See *Mist's Journal*, June 22, 1728; *Daily Journal*, November, 26, 1728; and Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 248, 618, and 621.

Works; and humbly addressed to him. In this, I have determined not to confine myself to his Shakespeare, but to some Criticisms that he has made, and some that he might have made upon Homer.¹⁰¹

He then proposed an emendation on Eustathius. Warburton approved of his design, and in his next letter Theobald sent attacks on two of the notes to the translation. It was only unwillingness to hurt Broome, who had assisted Pope, that kept him from carrying out his purpose, though he thought he saw in Broome's verses on Pope's *Shakespeare* a tacit insult to *Shakespeare Restored*. The real object in this undertaking, besides the exposure of Pope's ignorance, was to display the author's own ability as a classical scholar. Textual criticism in English had not established itself, and, as later in the preface of his edition of Shakespeare, Theobald thought to improve his reputation in a more orthodox field. In this same letter he says, "I have been so fond as to exercise this office in some other language besides English."

One attack on Pope has been attributed to Theobald, but without any apparent reason. In December, 1731, the poem *Of False Taste* appeared. The immediate suspicion was that the Duke of Chandos was satirized under Timon. The duke evidently thought so, too, for a short time afterwards he took out his revenge by subscribing for four sets of Theobald's edition of Shakespeare.¹⁰² The following month appeared *A Miscellany on Taste*, written to satirize Pope's taste in various fields, and containing among other things Theobald's letter to *The Daily Journal* of April 17, 1729, introduced to show Pope's taste in Shakespeare.¹⁰³ It is

¹⁰¹ See Letters dated March 10, March 17, March 26, 1730. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, pp. 551, 565, 581.

¹⁰² See Appendix, p. 298. The animosities aroused by Pope assisted Theobald in his subscriptions. See *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, vol. 3, p. 142.

¹⁰³ If Nichols is right in thinking that this letter was addressed to Concanen, the latter probably was the author of the *Miscellany*, for in it the letter is headed "To the Author."

probable that the work has been ascribed to Theobald on the strength of this letter, since all other evidence seems to point against the ascription. Only a few days before its appearance Theobald had occasion to write to Warburton about Pope's epistle; he mentions and quotes one attack on it, but has nothing to say of the *Miscellany*.¹⁰⁴ It hardly seems possible that had he been concerned in a production that was so soon to make its appearance, he would have said nothing of it to Warburton, to whom he readily enough communicated his design in regard to the contemplated essay on Pope's judgment. At another time when asked by Warburton concerning the authorship of an anonymous pamphlet he replied that had he written it, he would have made his friend his confidant.¹⁰⁵ Hence it is reasonable to suppose he would have followed the same course in this case. That he had no intention of attacking Pope's poem is evident from the following passage of the letter written about the *Epistle*:

'Tis thought by some here, that this piece has not contributed much more to the Credit of his Poesie, than of his Morals; but this is a Criticism I do not take upon me to meddle with. I mention it only, as it has occasion'd another satirical Poem by a Gentleman of our Faction, Mr. Welsted, of Dullness and Scandal.

This reliance on his edition to answer in full Pope's charges of stupidity wrought good results in that it intensified his study of Shakespeare's plays. But he was subject to many interruptions in his work, most of which were due to the necessity of earning a livelihood; it was to obviate such hindrances that he tried to secure the laureateship. His legal profession, while never very exacting, required a certain amount of time.¹⁰⁶ About the middle of 1730 he was

¹⁰⁴ Letter to Warburton, January 8, 1732. Appendix C.

¹⁰⁵ Letter to Warburton, March 21, 1732. Appendix C.

¹⁰⁶ See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 597.

incapacitated for a month because of a broken arm, an accident all the more unfortunate in that it caused him to miss seeing Lady Delawar, who at that time was arranging terms with Tonson.

While preparing his edition of Shakespeare Theobald was also writing for the stage. In November, 1729, and January, 1730, he speaks of theatrical affairs interfering with his critical labors.¹⁰⁷ He was then hard at work upon his *Orestes*,¹⁰⁸ for in a letter of February 10, 1730, he notifies Warburton "that Orestes is now upon a Rehearsal; and that my whole present time from morning to night, is employ'd in a Copy by his Royal Highness's Command."¹⁰⁹ Though styled an opera, the production is really a drama, with the introduction of a few songs and dances. Theobald confessed to Warburton that in the play he imitated Shakespeare, especially *Macbeth* and *Lear*; it might also be noted that some passages show the influence of Aeschylus. While not extraordinarily successful, the play was by no means a failure.

During the summer of the following year Theobald constructed another tragedy, some selections from which he sent to Warburton. It must be confessed that his purpose was mercenary as well as artistic:

In order to make Domestic affairs run as smoothly as may be, till I can bring this greater Affair to a Crisis, I have apply'd my uneasie Summer Months upon the Attempt of a Tragedy. Sit Verbo venia! I have a Design upon the Ladies' Eyes, as the Passage to their Pockets.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, vol. 2, pp. 288, 401.

* ¹⁰⁸ *Orestes: A Dramatic Opera As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. Written by Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for John Watts at the Printing Office in Wild-Court, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields. MDCCXXXI.*

¹⁰⁹ Appendix C.

¹¹⁰ Letter dated December 18, 1731. Appendix C.

The play was an adaptation of *The Duchess of Malfi* under the title *The Fatal Secret*,¹¹¹ but with the names of Webster's characters retained. It was booked to appear early in 1732, but since Rich had fallen into difficulties, Theobald did not press the matter. In a letter dated March 10, 1733, he says, "I have for some Time past had the additional Fatigue of bringing my Tragedy on which is to make its Appearance immediately after Easter Holidays."¹¹²

Some of Theobald's activities lay in fields that could offer no financial reward. He had always been a close student of the classics, and success in textual criticism in English authors inspired him, as we have seen, to include the classics in his field. Near the end of 1730 he writes Warburton that he has gone through the whole of Aristophanes and his scholiast.¹¹³ The following year he contributed a number of emendations on Athenaeus, Suidas, Eustathius, and Aeschylus to Jortin's periodical *Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors*. Most of these had previously been communicated to Warburton, and will be considered in another chapter. In this same periodical appeared his emendations on Shakespeare's poems.¹¹⁴ Theobald prefaced this article with an account of its origin :

¹¹¹ *The Fatal Secret, a tragedy*. London, 1735.

¹¹² Appendix C.

¹¹³ Appendix, p. 276.

¹¹⁴ Some of the poems are not Shakespeare's. The following emendations are generally accepted now.

Venus and Adonis : Stanza 153, "Scowling" for "Scolding."

Stanza 169, "Stories" shown to be a verb.

Theobald's change of "tombs" to "domes" is not accepted.

Stanza 198, "here in my breast" for "here is my breast."

Rape of Lucrece : Stanza 5, "ears" for "cares" (ascribed to Gildon).

Upon our casually talking together of Shakespeare's poems, you ask'd me if they were in the same corrupt state as his Plays are found to be; and whether I had taken notice of any errors in them. I told you I had; and I now send you the correction of a few passages, from a cursory view, in which they have suffered injury from the Printer, and not found redress from the Editor.

In spite of all his efforts, there is no doubt that at times Theobald keenly felt the pinch of poverty. Especially unfortunate it was that at the time when his mind should have been unembarrassed with financial care, he was worried and harassed with making ends meet. As we have seen, he speaks of "the uneasie months" of the summer of 1731, and toward the end of the year he communicates his hardships to Warburton:

Whelm'd as I have been with Distresses (enough to sink One of my obstinate Phlegm) yet at your Instigation I have rous'd and exerted [myself] against the strongest Attacks of Calamity.¹¹⁵

A month later he is in even worse circumstances.

I have received the pleasure of yours, which comes fraught with kindness even beyond my own Prepossessions. And it is no small comfort to me to find, that if Extremity be the Test of Friendship, as it has ever been reckon'd, I have one sincere and cordial Friend left me in my Extremity. I think the present Period of my Life may timely fall under that Denomination; for however the Affair, which I am now bringing to bear may in time retrieve me from Necessities; yet at present, when I should set down with a Mind and Head at ease and disembarass'd, the Sever-

Stanza 90, "Hast thou command" for
"Ha'st thou commanded."

Stanza 152, "graft" for "grass."

In the *Passionate Pilgrim* he changes "girdle" to "kirtle," and supports the change by quotations from Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Jonson. He also notices that from this poem Milton got the thought and concluding turn for *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*.

¹¹⁵ Letter to Warburton, October 30, 1731. Appendix C.

ity of a rich Creditor (and therefore the more unmercifull) has strip'd me so bare, that I never was acquainted with such Wants, since I knew the use of Money. But when I am labouring at so much Philosophy in practice, as to persuade myself, not to feel Adversity; I am angry with myself for giving my Friend a part of that Pain which I am professing to get rid of in my Bosom. It convinces me (tho' I wanted not the Proof) that I am in no degree the Philosopher.¹¹⁶

Such was the condition of the man whom Pope, ably assisted by the "rich creditor," was pursuing with a cold and relentless malice. A mighty achievement and worthy of the man! As for the "one sincere and cordial friend" in his extremity, who was at the time enjoying a comfortable living at Newark in Nottinghamshire, we are tempted to forget ourselves in our indignation. This same divine a few years later begrudged his friend the profits of his edition, and still later joined in the chorus of detraction and falsehood from which Theobald's reputation has so long suffered.

This period marks the low ebb of Theobald's affairs. Soon prospects began to look brighter, owing in some degree to the patronage of John Boyle, Earl of Orrery. The earl's father, who had nominally been Bentley's chief opponent in the famous controversy, had been Theobald's patron in the past, and to him the scholar had dedicated several of his early productions. In later years, however, he seems to have forgotten the future critic. Soon after the earl's death, his son came forward with aid. In a letter to Warburton, written near the close of 1731, Theobald speaks of assistance from "my good friend Lord Orrery," a phrase he uses a number of times.¹¹⁷

In March the earl placed his father's letters in Theobald's

¹¹⁶ Letter to Warburton, November, 1731. Appendix C.

¹¹⁷ Letter to Warburton, December 18, 1731. Appendix C.

hands to be regulated.¹¹⁸ The late earl had been ambassador at Brussels during the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, so that the correspondence represented letters from many of the greatest men of that time. Especially was Theobald delighted with the correspondence of Bolingbroke, who did not confine himself to state affairs. The time required for the task detracted from Theobald's study but aided his finances. A month or two later he addressed *An Epistle* to Orrery devoted mainly to praise of the earl's father,¹¹⁹ which verses Theobald said his patron made golden to him.¹²⁰ The dedication of all seven volumes of the edition of Shakespeare to the lord was the final form Theobald's gratitude took, and for this he was handsomely rewarded.

¹¹⁸ Letter to Warburton, March 21, 1732. Appendix C.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix, p. 302.

¹²⁰ Letter to Warburton, June 20, 1732. Appendix C.

CHAPTER V

THE EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE

THEOBALD'S edition of Shakespeare was slow in making its appearance. In the spring of 1728 he had first made known his purpose of publishing remarks on all the plays. When Pope's second edition made necessary the postponement of publication, the work was promised for January of the following year. For some reason the date was again postponed, but in April of the same year Theobald writes Warburton that his remarks "will now shortly appear in the World."¹ Yet no volumes were forthcoming. It is possible that as he realized how he had underrated the task he had set himself, he saw that more time was imperative. It is also probable that his subscriptions were meeting with such success as to inspire him with the more ambitious purpose of editing the plays, though at first he was under the impression that Tonson had the right of property in Shakespeare's text. Professor Lounsbury thinks that the subscriptions to the *Remarks* were not sufficient to justify Theobald in prosecuting his design; ² yet in November, 1729, he speaks of Lady Delawar's assistance among the nobility, and of having the honor of the king's name.³ It is more probable that the success of his subscriptions encouraged him to the larger undertaking, for in the same letter he says,

¹ Letter of April 15, 1729. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 222.

² *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 422.

³ Letter of November 6, 1729. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 254.

"I may venture to join the *Text* to my *Remarks*." By March of the following year he had definitely decided to edit Shakespeare.⁴

At this time Theobald, having read through the eight volumes of Pope's second edition, was beginning to collect all his notes, and toward this end he asked Warburton to return him his letters, promising to send them back if they were desired.⁵ He had made such progress with his labors that he was arranging for the publication of the edition.

By the way that gentleman [Tonson] and I are coming to a Treaty together. He has been with my Friend, the Lady De la Warre, and submits to make her the Arbitratress of Termes betwixt us for my publishing an edition of Shakespeare. He says, a brace of hundreds shan't break Agreements. This is talking boldly; and I wish heartily his name was John. I shall know the Issue in about a fortnight; and so soon as known, with great pleasure communicate it.⁶

But the summer wore on, and no agreement was made. It is possible that the contract would have been closed had Theobald not missed seeing Lady Delawar who had interviewed Tonson before she left for the country.⁷

In the last week of October the contract with Tonson was finally signed. Out of the depths of distress and discouragement Theobald tells Warburton that

The Call of Reputation so justly urged by my Dearest Friend, startled me from my Lethargy, and you'll begin to think I have

⁴ Letter of March 10, 1730. *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 551.

⁵ See Appendix, p. 265.

⁶ Letter of April 25, 1730, Appendix C.

⁷ This lady was of no little assistance to the scholar. She carried her labors in his behalf into those circles to which he had no access; the large number of nobility, some of them Pope's friends, who subscribed to the edition, was in great part due to her efforts. That she was watchful for Theobald's interest is seen in the excellent terms she finally secured from Tonson.

been awake, when I have done myself the Pleasure to let you know, I have at last fix'd the Proteus. No longer ago than Thursday, Tonson and I exchang'd Articles for the Publications of Shakespear. Till I could bring this agreeable Point to bear, I was determined to be silent; and do me the justice in your kind thoughts to believe, that neither awkward Disgust, Disregard, nor Indolence have kept me dumb: but only the strong Desire of opening my Correspondence with this important Piece of good News, upon which I know, I shall have your heartiest Congratulations.⁸

Before Lady Delawar had approached Tonson, Theobald had begun negotiations with some other booksellers, whose terms, however, were so much more unsatisfactory than those of Pope's publisher, that they were not to be considered. After the contract with Tonson had been closed, these publishers complained to Warburton of the treatment they had received. In response to Warburton's query about the matter Theobald wrote in the same letter,

As to the Booksellers, Dear Sir, who once made some Overtures to me, you hinted that they complain'd I had not dealt so honourably with them. I fancy, you will be satisfied I can turn the Tables upon them, when I tell you, Tonson has acceded to double the Termes they offer'd me. I was by their Contract to have had the labouring Oar upon me, to have been entituled only to a first Payment, and they to have received the Second: I have now closed my Agreement to have the Work publish'd in 6 Vols. in 8vo, to have 400 Copies, compleat in Sheets, deliver'd me on a Genoa paper, free from all Expence whatever; and 100 Copies more on Fine Royal Paper, I only paying for the Paper: So that if I can have my compliment of Subscriptions, the small paper will bring me in 800 guineas; and the Books in Royal 300 more: besides which I have reserv'd the Liberty of prefixing a Dedication to each Volume.

From this account it is clear that the booksellers had no case at all; they were simply outbid. They may have joined

⁸ Letter of October 30, 1730. See Appendix C.

with Tonson in the publication, but it is evident that Theobald's contract was with Tonson alone.

These liberal terms compare most favorably with the £215 Pope received for his edition.⁹ The list of subscribers shows that Theobald fell short of his complement by only two sets, which probably were subscribed for with the understanding that the subscriber's name should not appear in print. While many of Pope's friends had no aversion to seeing their names in the edition, there must have been a few who feared to incur the poet's wrath. It was with great difficulty that Theobald wrung from the Earl of Tyrconnel a reluctant consent to publish his name. For this reason it is safe to infer that the editor profited to the extent of 1100 guineas. When to this sum there are added the 100 guineas he received from Lord Orrery for the dedication and the twenty pounds from the Prince of Wales for his set, no one can complain that Theobald did not receive adequate compensation. At least he obtained more for his work than any other editor of Shakespeare, with the barely possible exception of Johnson.

The next month Pope, reading of Tonson's contract with Theobald in *The Grub-street Journal*, wrote in great perturbation to the publisher regarding the truth of the notice. Tonson replied that it was true, excusing himself on the ground that other publishers were negotiating with Theobald, and that the edition would be brought out regardless of his part, so that it was for Pope's interest as well as his own that he should be one of the publishers.¹⁰ The poet pre-

⁹ It is worth noting how eager the publishers were to undertake the "Dunce's" edition. That a scholar's edition should appear more profitable than a poet's is a significant fact in the history of English scholarship.

¹⁰ This was not the motive that inspired Tonson to underrate the edition. He deliberately outbid the others, and with him alone were the articles drawn up. It was to conceal the real motive that he had Theobald change a passage in the preface, which in the first draft

tended to be satisfied with this explanation, since, he asserted, it was possible for the publisher to protect his reputation. He soon set to work, however, to devise a scheme whereby he might injure his adversary. In a letter addressed to the younger Tonson he enclosed an unsealed letter to the publisher's father, in which he spoke of having a plan whereby not only Shakespeare but all the other best English poets could be published with much profit. If Tonson read the letter, he expressed no interest in the project, but returned the communication to Pope, with the suggestion that it could better be sent direct to its destination. No further mention of the plan was made.¹¹

As the year 1731 drew to a close, Theobald, considering his critical labors over, was at work on the preface.¹² He expected the edition to appear early in the following year,¹³ and Tonson had told him that already there were great expectations of it.¹⁴ By the last of December everything was ready for the printer, upon whom the editor placed the responsibility for the early publication of the work: "To guess yet at the likely time of publication is impossible,

read, "I must do him [Tonson] the Justice to declare, that he with great Readiness came into a Treaty with me for this Work; But having just then glutted the Trade with a large edition by Mr. Pope in Twelves, he frankly told me, he could not with any Face or Conscience, pretend to throw out another Impression, before those Books were a little vended: And so Time was unavoidably lost." (See Appendix, p. 284.) In the printed passage the reason for delay is given as follows: "The throwing my whole Work into a different Form to comply with this proposal was not the slightest Labour: And so no little Time was unavoidably lost."

¹¹ See Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 241-245.

¹² See Appendix, pp. 283, 284, and Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 626.

¹³ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 621. Warburton said it would appear by March. Nichols, vol. 2, p. 13.

¹⁴ See appendix, p. 290.

till our printers give us experience what dispatch they can make on their part.”¹⁵

Nothing was heard of the edition for nearly a year when Theobald informed Warburton that Shakespeare was groaning under two presses.¹⁶ In January of the next year he speaks of “the constant Attachment to which I am pinned down in the correction of Shakespeare,” and later adds, “My Author goes on apace; and I hope in six weeks the Presses will get through the seven Volumes.”¹⁷ The number of volumes had been increased from six to seven, owing doubtless to the expansion of his notes. Two months later he shows signs of impatience at the delay: “As to Shakespeare, I thank God, I am now venturing to advertise that it will be ready to be deliver’d to the Subscribers by the latter end of next Month.”¹⁸ He then adds that he has had the luck to enrich his “list with her Royal Highness, the Princess Royal, and many Names of the highest Distinction.”

May came and went, and still no edition. In June Theobald gave Warburton a full explanation of the cause of the delay. After explaining his lapse in the correspondence on the ground that he was waiting until his edition was printed, he adds,

But such has been the State of Printing with us the last Season that with all the Industry and Sollicitation imaginable on my

¹⁵ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 626. The date of the letter is missing, but it lies between December 18, 1731, and the end of the year.

¹⁶ Letter of September 19, 1732. Appendix C.

¹⁷ Letter of January 10, 1733. Appendix C. The fourth day of the following month Warburton wrote Stukely, “If you have an opportunity, pray ask Watts, by-the-by, when Theobald’s Shakespeare is like to come out.” Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 19.

¹⁸ Letter to Warburton, March 10, 1733. Appendix C.

part, I have not yet been able to bring it to the wish'd Period. However, the *Comfort* is, *Hamlet* and *Othello* are All that want to be completed. The Source of this slow Proceeding, Dear Sir, has been this. The great number of our weekly Subscriptions, set on Foot by Journeymen Printers has caus'd such a general Desertion of them from the established Presses, and render'd them so very peremptory and insolent, that it has been half the Work of the Printers to hawk out for Men; so that tho' I received 8 Sheets per Week from each Press at my setting out, that Number has been too often reduc'd to two. This is a Fact so well known with us in Town, that as I advertis'd that compleat Volumes might be seen at my House, to the Intent the Diffident might have the Opportunity of convincing themselves, I hope my Subscribers will do me the Justice to make this Distinction that I am the Editor, and not the Printer; so, at least they will allow for a Delay which cannot be thrown at my Door; and so, not be too busie with my Reputation.¹⁹

When Warburton, beginning to get uneasy over the postponement of the edition, took occasion to write Theobald about the matter, the latter replied, "I thank God, the 7 Volumes are quite printed off, and nothing remaining to do but the Dedication, Preface and List."²⁰ Later in October it was promised that Shakespeare would be published sometime in November.²¹ Yet the year came to a close without witnessing the appearance of the work. At last, in January of 1734, it reached the public, copies being delivered to subscribers at Theobald's home in Great Russel Street.

In the printed preface Theobald attributed the delay to his change in plan and to his disinclination to hurry anything crude into the world. Yet from the above account it seems clear that the slow process through which the edition went

¹⁹ Letter of June 30, 1733. Appendix C.

²⁰ Letter of October 17, 1733. Appendix C.

²¹ Letter of October 25, 1733. Appendix C.

was due rather to the publishers than to the editor's own desires or necessities. Tonson's unwillingness to issue the volumes before he had disposed of Pope's second edition and the difficulty experienced in the printing explain the apparent procrastination. There is no doubt that the edition profited by the delay, for Theobald continued at his labors up to the last minute, but it was not of his own choosing.

In discussing the edition it first becomes necessary to trace the development of the preface, for that part of the work has been made the basis of an unjust accusation of theft. When Warburton heard that an agreement had been reached with Tonson, he expressed anxiety as to the preface the editor might prefix to the production. There seems no reason to doubt that as early as this the egotistical clergyman had designs on that part of the work. If so, Theobald easily fell into the trap.

I am extremely obliged, for the tender concern you have for my reputation in what I am to *prefix to my Edition*: and this part, as it will come last in play, I shall certainly be so kind to myself to communicate in due time to your perusal. The whole affair of *Prologomena* I have determined to soften into a *Preface*. . . . But, Dear Sir, will you at your leisure hours, think over for me upon the contents, topics, orders, etc., of this branch of my labour? You have a comprehensive memory and a happiness of digesting the matter joined to it, which my head is often too much embarrassed to perform; let that be the excuse for my inability. But how unreasonable is it to expect this labour, when it is the only part in which I shall not be able to be just to my friends: for, to confess assistance in a *Preface* will, I am afraid, make me appear too naked.²²

²² Letter of November 18, 1731. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 621. This letter was among those returned to Theobald, but Warburton was careful to make a transcript of it, which he placed with the letters he had retained. See Appendix, p. 344.

This last sentence ran counter to Warburton's desire, but had he been unwilling to proceed on these terms, he should have stated his objections.

The ambitious divine, however, acquiesced so completely in Theobald's proposal that the latter hastened to communicate what he had done on the preface :

I received by your Last (no. III) of the 22 of Nov. your kind Assurances with Regard to my Preface; the contents of which I am endeavouring to modell in my Head, in order to communicate them to you, for your Directions & Refinement. I have already rough-hewn the Exordium and Conclusion: the Latter of which I now send you a Transcript of, to shew you how methodical I am; and by my next, I shall submit the Opening to your Perusal. I beg earnestly, Dear Sir, you will not be tender of altering, everywhere (except in my Acknowledgments to my Friends); I would have the Whole both amuse and strike. What I shall send you from Time to Time, I look upon only as Materials: which I hope may grow into a fine Building under your judicious Management. In short, Dirue, aedifica, muta quadrata rotundis, etc.²³

Since I have not been able to find Theobald's next letter, it is impossible to say how much of the preface he communicated to his assistant.

Upon reading the parts communicated to him, Warburton made several criticisms in which Theobald immediately acquiesced. When the squeamish divine expressed a fear that certain prejudices might be aroused by a clergyman engaging in criticisms of this kind, his friend removed a phrase about his becoming "a Labourer in the Vineyard," and promised to submit to his approval everything that should be said upon that head, as well as the other contents of the preface.²⁴ Fault was also found with the disconnected

²³ Letter of December 4, 1731. Appendix C.

²⁴ Cf. Preface to Warburton's edition of Shakespeare, 1747.

nature of the specimens presented, to which Theobald replied :

I make no Question of my being wrong in the disjointed Parts of my Preface, but my Intention was, (after I had given you the Conclusion, and the Manner in which I meant to start) to give you a List of all the other general Heads designed to be handled, then to transmit to you, at proper Leisure, my rough Working off of each respective Head, that you might have the Trouble only of refining and embellishing with additional Inrichments; of the general Arrangement, which you should think best for the whole; and of making the proper Transitions from Subject to Subject, which I account no inconsiderable Beauty. If you think right to indulge me in this Scheme my next shall be employ'd in Prosecution of it.²⁵

This proposal evidently met with Warburton's approval, for in his next letter Theobald says: "I intend very soon to trouble you with a prosecution of the Preface."²⁶ Since there has been discovered no letter giving the topics to be discussed, it is impossible to say just how large was Warburton's contribution to the preface.

In the same letter the editor first mentioned his purpose of inserting classical emendations in the preface and notes to his edition of the dramatist, a procedure that has gained him the charge of pedantry from his time to ours. Yet even in regard to this matter he was careful to ask his friend's advice, at the same time cautioning him against too ready an approval, for he felt that every opportunity of decrying him as a pedant would be seized.

The occasional Insertion of a few Emendations from some Greek Authors, I certainly think may be of signal Service to my Reputation: if you think they may safely be interspers'd without suspicion of Pedantry. I would not voluntarily draw that Ridicule

²⁵ Letter of December 18, 1731. Appendix C.

²⁶ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 621. The date of the letter lies between December 18, 1731, and the end of the year.

upon me from the Sneerers. You are anxious, Dear Sir, for every Part of my Character: but do not let me, like a Fondling, be dress'd up in too glaring colours. To be a little diffident, will secure one from much Envy and Detraction.

In spite of the caution his friend thought they could be inserted without seeming pedantic. Not only did Warburton approve, he actually encouraged the unfortunate editor in following this wholly unnecessary course.²⁷

For over a year the preface does not figure in the correspondence, but early in 1733 Theobald writes that he will shortly "sit down upon that fine Synopsis, which you so modestly call the Skeleton of a Preface."²⁸ It is hard to tell exactly what is meant here by *Synopsis* or *Skeleton*, but it is plain that by no stretching of the terms can they be forced to signify anything finished. Yet that Theobald took over passages from Warburton cannot be denied. The latter, although fully aware of the terms upon which he was assisting his correspondent, had not hesitated to mention to some of his friends his participation in the work. Thus when he saw the printed preface, he at once informed the editor that it contained passages which his friends knew to be his. It is not improbable that he was trying to force Theobald to make a public acknowledgment of his assistance, as indeed the editor might have done.

If this was his intent, he was unsuccessful, for Theobald replied, with unnecessary modesty for himself and unwarrantable admiration for his friend, "Let those preacquainted Friends frankly know, I embraced them in a just preference to what I could myself produce on the Subject." Then he adds, as if divining Warburton's motive, "Nor would I have chose tacitly to usurp the Reputation of them, but as I formerly hinted, and you joined with me in senti-

²⁷ See Letter of September 17, 1732. Appendix C.

²⁸ Letter of January 10, 1733. Appendix C.

ment, it would have looked too poor to have confess'd Assistance towards so slight a Fabrick as my Preface." ²⁹

Yet Warburton was not content to let his part in the performance go unrecorded. In his copy of Theobald's Shakespeare he marked all the passages which he considered his own. Upon this basis Mr. Smith accuses the scholar of dullness and theft, the first because he called upon his friend for assistance, the second because he did not publicly acknowledge that assistance.³⁰ It was only an habitual lack of self-confidence and a greatly exaggerated idea of his friend's ability that made Theobald quick to take advantage of the insinuated offer of help. As for "theft," if the accepting what is freely given, with the mutual understanding that no open acknowledgment can be made, comes under that head, he is guilty. From our point of view the editor should not have taken credit for what was not his, but some term other than the one given above must be used to express the fault.

Mr. Smith has taken some pains to show that Warburton was truthful in the passages he marked, pointing out that four of the thirteen can be proved his, and expressing the belief that we have no reason to doubt the others. He thinks Theobald confirmed the authenticity of Warburton's claims by omitting in his second edition several passages either claimed by Warburton or known to be his. Since the editor omitted some passages that were not claimed by his assistant and retained some that were, little reliance can be placed upon evidence of this kind. Yet from what I have learned of Theobald's nature, I think it probable that, after his break with his friend, he omitted all the passages not his own.

²⁹ Letter of March 5, 1734. Appendix C.

³⁰ D. Nichol Smith, *Eighteenth-century Essays on Shakespeare*, 1903, Introduction and Preface.

If this is true, Warburton claimed more than his share. In one instance, at least, some proof is available. Warburton marked the passage explaining the difference between Theobald's edition and Bentley's *Milton*. After the publication of Shakespeare, Theobald, being somewhat fearful of the way Bentley might receive the distinction, wrote as follows :

As to Dr. Bentley (whatever the penetration of some readers may divine on this head) in shaking off the Similitude betwixt our Tasks, I hope that neither he, nor his Friends will see cause to suspect any Sneer. The Stating the Difference was absolutely necessary on my own side, and I think I have avoided saying anything derogatory on his.³¹

This last sentence forces the belief that Theobald was the author of the passage ; had he received assistance from his friend, some mention of it would have been made.

While a few of Warburton's observations may be acute, Theobald's reputation would not have suffered much, had he been denied his friend's assistance. In fact, he has suffered more in receiving it, for Warburton was not high-minded enough to keep silent about a gift he freely made. A little over a year after he broke with Theobald, he wrote the Reverend Thomas Birch,

You will see in Theobald's heap of disjointed stuff, which he calls a Preface to Shakespeare, an observation upon those poems which I made to him, and which he did not understand, and so has made it a good deal obscure by contracting my note; for you must understand that almost all that Preface (except what relates to Shakespeare's Life, and the foolish Greek conjectures at the end) was made up of notes I sent him on particular passages which he has there stitched together without head or tail.³²

³¹ See Appendix, p. 324.

³² Letter dated November 24, 1737. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 81.

This was a gross exaggeration of Warburton's part in the treatise, as well as too harsh a criticism of Theobald's. The poems referred to are *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, and Johnson later, in his life of Milton, showed the observation to be incorrect. Furthermore, having encouraged Theobald to throw in "the foolish Greek notes," he had approved of them when they appeared.³³ Whether he approved or disapproved of the notes is of no moment, for his Greek was not sufficient to make him a competent judge, but the complete change in opinion is only another instance of that gentleman's character, interesting in this case in that it shows his opposition to Theobald even before he became associated with Pope.

These Greek notes — and they have been condemned by all the students of the edition — are ostensibly inserted to uphold the value of literal criticism. The real reason, however, for their insertion was, as Theobald confessed,³⁴ to help his reputation. To us who live at a time when scholarship in English letters is based on a sound foundation of respect, these critical attempts in an alien field seem entirely out of place, but when Theobald wrote, he was really the first to examine critically an English text. The classics had long been the subject of investigation by scholars, and Bentley had given a great impetus to textual criticism. Yet even the dignity of classical studies had not been sufficient to prevent the attacks of satirists. What, then, was Theobald to expect, who, by undertaking a task devoid of the sanction of tradition, had laid himself all the more open to satire? Thus it is only natural that he should have attempted to defend himself by showing his ability in a subject which the public regarded with some favor.

³³ "I am very glad the Greek Criticisms strike you." Theobald's letter to Warburton dated March 5, 1734. Appendix C.

³⁴ See *ante*, p. 165.

The preface, though not bad, is by no means extraordinary. The life of Shakespeare, with which it begins, is mainly from Rowe's account. This is followed by a discussion of Shakespeare's character as a writer, including his love of music and knowledge of nature. To throw light on the latter, the dramatist is compared with Milton, Addison, and Jonson. Shakespeare's learning is subjected to a short and indecisive discussion, in which attention is called to his use of Latin derivatives. Then follow in rapid succession the disadvantages under which the poet's reputation rested, reasons for corruptions in the text, and the method of curing them. There is also a rather extended defense of verbal criticism, the editor replying most energetically to Mallet's poem *Of Verbal Criticism*. The preface closes with the Greek notes and an acknowledgment of assistance, in which he is especially eulogistic of Warburton.

It is not upon the preface that Theobald's reputation rests, but upon the edition proper. This was a success because he brought to his task the true idea of an editor's duty, and enunciated and employed a method that was sure to gain results. Early in his correspondence he made clear to Warburton his conviction concerning fidelity to the text. "I ever labour," he writes, "to make the smallest deviations that I can possibly from the text; never to alter at all, where I can by any means explain a passage into sense; nor even by any emendations to make the author better where it is probable the text came from his hands."³⁵ A note in the edition reads to the same effect: "where the Authority of all Books makes the Poet commit a Blunder, (whose general Character it is, not to be very exact;) tis the Duty of an Editor to shew him as he is and to detect all fraudulent tampering to make him better."³⁶ It was

³⁵ Letter of April 8, 1729. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 210.

³⁶ Vol. 4, p. 112.

this conscientious scruple that made him restore to their proper places the passages Pope had degraded. Since few men are as good as their creed, it is not surprising to find Theobald departing at times from this high standard, yet the spirit of such a conviction is seen throughout the whole work.

He also realized that it was incumbent upon an editor to be thorough in whatever he undertook. In his intended essay on Pope's judgment, he rebuked the poet's own haphazard methods with the assurance that "we word-catchers, Sir, are a strange species of animals that love to go thorough-stitch with everything we take in hand."³⁷ Against Pope's strictures about his restoring lost puns, he dauntlessly replied, "Tho' my Correction restores but a poor *Conundrum*, yet if it restores the Poet's Meaning, it is the Duty of an Editor to trace him in his lowest Conceits."³⁸ This scholarly feeling for thoroughness constantly appears in his private correspondence. When he falls short of his ideal, it is owing chiefly to the lack of materials rather than to indolence.

Not only was Theobald the first to insist that the editor of an English classic had any duties at all; he was the first to analyze the work to be done. In his preface he divides an editor's province into three divisions: the emendations of corrupt passages; the explanation of obscure or difficult ones; and an inquiry into the beauties and defects of composition. This last, more strictly termed "literary criticism," he hinted, did not necessarily belong to an editor, and since it required no special qualifications of learning, was open to all who were willing. What Theobald was concerned with — what every editor is primarily pledged to — was to give the best text possible illuminated with all necessary explanations. By emendation he meant not only correcting

³⁷ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 554.

³⁸ Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 2, p. 149.

by conjecture, but also the restoring, by collation, of a better variant reading.

After this analysis Theobald points out the method by which he gained the ends mentioned above. To establish a correct text he first resorted to "a diligent and laborious Collation" of the old copies. Then he collated the plays with their respective sources, chronicle, classic story, or Italian novella. If an obscurity still remained, and its sense could be restored by a slight alteration of the text, he thought the change could be made without the necessity of proof beyond common sense. But when it was necessary to take a greater liberty with the original, he was careful to support his emendation with parallel passages and authorities from Shakespeare, which he says, repeating the conviction expressed in *Shakespeare Restored*, was "the surest Means of expounding any Author whatsoever." As regards the method employed in the explanatory notes, he held that since the obscurities in Shakespeare are due to the times in which he lived, the kind of writing he followed, and his own peculiar nature, to be able to explain the obscurities of the first class an editor must "be well vers'd in the History and Manners of his Author's Age"; to explain the second class he must have a wide acquaintance with the dramatic poets; while to explain the last he should be intimately acquainted with Shakespeare's style and phraseology, as well as possessing a deep insight into his genius.

Never before had even the need of research in editing an English text been emphasized, to say nothing of any plan of procedure. Thus the preface may justly be considered the first expression of the modern method employed in critical editions. Yet Theobald claimed the credit not of originating but only of adapting this method to a new field. Amplifying the opinions he had expressed in his first critical effort, he traces his plan to its true source:

Shakespeare's Case has in great Measure resembled that of a corrupt Classic; and, consequently, the Method of Cure was likewise to bear a Resemblance. By what means, and with what Success, this Cure has been effected on ancient Writers, is too well known, and needs no formal Illustration. The Reputation consequent on Tasks of that Nature invited me to attempt the Method here; with this View, the Hopes of restoring to the Public their greatest Poet in his Original Purity: After having so long lain in a Condition that was a Disgrace to common Sense.³⁹

In the next sentence, however, Theobald lays claim to a just credit of originality: "To this End I have ventur'd on a Labour, that is the first Assay of the kind on any modern Author whatsoever." And it was, for Pope's edition, whatever its intentions, must be considered a failure both in method and results, while Bentley's *Milton* cannot be taken seriously, though Theobald thought it necessary to point out that "that Great Man" was more concerned in showing how Milton should have written than how he did write, the most plausible excuse possible, but still absurd.

Since the method was drawn from the classics, a model had to be derived from the same source. As would be expected, the editor turns to the man from whom he had learned so much. "I mean to follow the form of Bentley's Amsterdam *Horace* in subjoining the notes to the place controverted."⁴⁰ This plan became the standard for eighteenth-century editions.

But it was not in form only that Theobald followed the *Horace*. In a previous chapter it has already been shown how in the critical doubt, the emendation, and the conjectural criticism he adopts the same attitude and employs the same method as the more illustrious critic. It has also been shown how in conjecture and explanation he marshals his evidence

³⁹ Preface, p. xxxix.

⁴⁰ Letter to Warburton, November 18, 1731. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 621.

with the same logic and thoroughness. Yet one difference was pointed out. Bentley had command over the whole range of classical literature; whether defending an emendation, settling an historical fact, establishing a grammatical usage, or elucidating a metrical law, he draws his evidence from every conceivable source and focuses it upon the question in such a manner as to leave little doubt in the minds of his readers. Theobald, however, in his first work was chiefly dependent upon his knowledge of Shakespeare, upon, as he says, expounding an author by himself. It is true he occasionally resorted to Chaucer and Spenser, sometimes consulted the chronicles for historical facts, and made diligent use of the reference books at hand, yet he was not well versed in the literature essential to a study of Shakespeare.

This deficiency was one of material rather than method, but it had to be overcome before the best results could be obtained. During the preparation of his edition, the lack was remedied by an enormous expansion in his reading of earlier English literature, the results of which are easily seen in his notes. One example is sufficient to show how he was searching the literature of the past, and to what good use he was putting his finds. Near the beginning of his correspondence with Warburton, he was puzzled over the phrase *Basilisco like* in *King John*; he could make nothing of it all. Some months later the difficulty was removed by his reading *Soliman and Perseda*.⁴¹ Had he not adopted the policy of reading the literature of Shakespeare's age, he must either have left the passage in obscurity or resorted to an unnecessary emendation.

His wide reading is especially seen in his reference to early dramas and in quotations from them. In the preface he claims to have read over eight hundred old English plays.

⁴¹ See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 205, 256. Also compare pp. 358 and 518, 517 and 527.

Though this statement is a palpable exaggeration — a fault to which Theobald was inclined — yet there was some basis for it.⁴² His notes prove him familiar with the works of Marlowe, Kyd, Jonson, Chapman, Heywood, Dekker, Marston, Webster, Ford, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger, to say nothing of the number of anonymous plays he has occasion to mention. Particularly numerous are his references to the many plays of Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher.

Moreover, he was a diligent reader of a different species of literature. The antiquaries Stowe, Camden, and Dugdale he used to good advantage. Besides the chronicles of Hall and Holinshed, he was familiar with such semi-historical works as Hakluyt's voyages. Lydgate and Caxton were known to him, though he seems to have been ignorant of Gower. With Chaucer and Spenser he was intimately acquainted, and, in a much less degree, with the sixteenth-century lyricists such as Wyatt, Surrey, Daniel, and Lodge. Then there was a mass of ephemeral and inconsequential literature from which Theobald gleaned something, as for example *The Discovery of a London Monster*, 1612.

One result of this investigation of the literature surrounding Shakespeare was the weakening of Theobald's confidence in the poet's learning. Several years before the appearance of *Shakespeare Restored* he had most determinedly argued the dramatist's direct knowledge of the classics, on the ground that in *Troilus and Cressida* the author had depended more on Homer than on Chaucer, and that in the plays based on

⁴² See account of Theobald's library in Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 551-553. Professor Lounsbury thinks Theobald's library contained "several" hundred plays. Also see *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Theobald, Seward, and Sympson, 1750, where in "An Account of the Present Edition" Seward speaks of Theobald's valuable collection of quartos.

classic story he must have read Plutarch in the original.⁴³ Later he discovered his mistakes in reading Wynken de Worde's Troy story and North's *Plutarch*. He even took the field against Gildon and Pope, who produced the *Comedy of Errors* as proof of Shakespeare's Latin, and called attention to the fact that a translation of the *Menaechmi* was extant in the poet's time.⁴⁴ These discoveries, and in a small degree Warburton's influence, forced him to the conclusion that Shakespeare went to translations rather than to the classics themselves.⁴⁵ Still he was not sufficiently shaken from his old belief to come out openly on the opposite side. In the notes to the various volumes of his edition he quotes some sixty-two passages from Latin and Greek writers, which, he holds, bear a resemblance to Shakespeare's sentiments. In his preface he claimed that these passages were produced, not to prove that Shakespeare consciously imitated the classics, but to show how happily he expressed the same sentiments; yet some are introduced with the statement that Shakespeare must have had them in mind. It was easy for Theobald, whose memory was stored with classical lore, to see similarities in thought, and for this reason he did not take, as Farmer did later, a firm stand against Shakespeare's first-hand knowledge of ancient literature.

With this increased range of observation Theobald's notes approached Bentley's even more closely. He called to his assistance not only what classical literature held, but also what English history and literature lent. With the same pertinency and the same logical handling of evidence that were so characteristic of his exemplar, he proved and elucidated as no one had ever done before in English studies.

⁴³ See preface to his alteration of *Richard II*, 1721.

⁴⁴ Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 3, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 565.

Just as Bentley's notes, even when upholding an unwarrantable correction, were notable for the instruction they contained, so one critic says that Theobald's notes "are a mine of miscellaneous information, clearing up fully and once for all what might have remained undetected for generations."⁴⁶ In increasing his knowledge along the necessary lines, Theobald had removed the only fundamental dissimilarity between the two scholars. A comparison of notes would easily show that the methods employed were one and the same, but since such a comparison has been made in the chapter on *Shakespeare Restored*, it becomes necessary only to point out this single improvement in Theobald's notes.⁴⁷

The secret of this method was the insistence upon proof for any conclusion. It differed from previous methods in that there was less of random guessing, haphazard arrivals at conclusions from isolated points or insufficient evidence. A note on the first act of *Macbeth* furnishes an excellent example of the manner in which Theobald worked. In the old reading of this passage the witches called themselves "weyward sisters." The adjective struck the critic as inappropriate. Unwilling to rely on his first impression, he investigated Shakespeare's use of the word, and proved by quotations from three other plays that the dramatist never used the adjectives in a sense suitable to the passage under discussion. Then his reading of Chaucer stood him in good stead by bringing to his mind a passage in *Troilus and Cressida*, where fortune is called "executrice of wierds." In dictionaries and glossaries he sought the correct meaning

⁴⁶ J. C. Collins, *Studies and Essays*, p. 279.

⁴⁷ "Mr. Theobald, who was a much better critic on Shakespeare than Dr. Bentley had been on Milton, yet followed the Doctor's Stile and Manner." *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1750. Preface, p. lxii.

of *weird*, and found it appropriate to the passage. Yet on this evidence alone he did not wish to insert the word. In the course of his wide reading he came across the story of Macbeth and the witches in Heylin's *Cosmography*, where the adjective is used in reference to the hags. Still this was not confirmation sufficient.

I presently recollected, that this Story must be recorded at more Length by *Holinshed*; with whom I thought it was very probable that our Author had traded for the Materials of his Tragedy: and therefore Confirmaton was to be fetch'd from this Fountain.

His investigation revealed several passages in which the witches are called "weird sisters."

This is the method of the true scholar, one who loves "to go thorough-stitch" with whatever he takes in hand. A new procedure it was in English letters. Yet it is very discoverable in those passages of Bentley's *Dissertation on Phalaris*, where Boyle's statements are laid bare, and the author's are supported with inevitable proofs.

It has already been hinted that the similarity between the Boyle-Bentley and Pope-Theobald controversies was not merely superficial. Pope's edition of Shakespeare and Boyle's edition of Phalaris were both examples of careless scholarship and insufficient and inexact research. On the other hand, just as *Shakespeare Restored* was a review of Pope's work, intended to show its defects, Bentley's first dissertation was secondarily a review of Boyle's edition with the same purpose in view. It is true that the primary object of the treatise was to prove Phalaris's letters spurious, but after Boyle's slur at his humanity Bentley kept a close watch for errors in the edition.⁴⁸ The last pages of the dis-

⁴⁸ Bentley said that had Boyle acknowledged that he had been mistaken concerning Bentley's conduct, "all the errors of his Edition had slept quiet in their obscurity." A. Dyce, *Works of Richard Bentley*, vol. 2, p. vii.

sertation are given over entirely to showing the faults of Boyle's work, which faults are styled only a specimen.⁴⁹ The famous critic is especially severe with his adversary because of slack collating, a charge Theobald never wearied of bringing against Pope.

Furthermore, Boyle's *Examination* bears a close resemblance to *The Dunciad*, for though he attempts a serious defense, differing therein from Pope, it is plain to see that Boyle's main reliance is upon banter and satire,⁵⁰ the last resort of careless study exposed to the relentless attacks of careful scholarship. Even the accusations remind one of Pope's satire—pedantry, insistence on trifles, out-of-the-way reading.⁵¹ Nor did satire suffice, for Boyle's malice went so far as to deal in misquotation and false statements, though hardly to the degree reached by Pope.⁵²

Theobald's edition and Bentley's second dissertation are, of course, works of different natures, but the spirit animating them and, in a general way, some of the methods employed are similar. They both represent the efforts of true scholars, by reliance upon fact, proof, and authority, to silence forever the arguments of inaccurate investigation and malicious satire. The authors are vitally concerned, not so much in gaining the victory, as in ascertaining the truth.⁵³ This fact is seen in their readiness to admit an error in a statement or in a conjecture when shown to be wrong.⁵⁴ This dislike

⁴⁹ Dyce, vol. 2, pp. 173–181.

⁵⁰ I refer to all the authors of the *Examination* under the name of Boyle.

⁵¹ Dyce, vol. 1, pp. liii–lviii, lxix, 84, 325.

⁵² *Idem*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 168, 218, 266, 270, 364, 367.

⁵³ See Dyce, vol. 1, p. lxix, and preface to Shakespeare, p. xlix.

⁵⁴ "I design nothing but a search after truth; and will never be guilty of that mean disingenuity, to maintain a fault that I am convinced of." Dyce, vol. 1, p. lxxiii. See also p. 97. Compare edition of Shakespeare, vol. 5, p. 193. See also Appendix, p. 325, and

of error caused them both to be minutely accurate in the spelling of proper names,⁵⁵ and made them insistent on the production of authority and proof for any conclusion or conjecture.⁵⁶

Since the purposes of the two critics were different, it is not the part of reason to seek any close resemblance in method, yet we find isolated examples of similar treatment scattered throughout both works. The emendations dispersed through the *Dissertation* are merely incidental to a greater object; for this reason nothing need be said of them. But the chronological method, used to such good advantage in proving the Epistles of Phalaris spurious, appears frequently in the edition.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the manner of producing evidence and the amount and widely diverse sources of proof are seen in the handling of detached questions. One example will suffice. Boyle and Pope had been so unfortunate as to fall foul of certain expressions their opponents had used: Boyle objected to Bentley's "first inventor," and Pope to that line of the *Double Falshood* satirized in *The Dunciad*. Never did the ridicule of two wits receive such a severe jar from the cold array of evidence presented against them. The classical scholar proceeded to give passages

Shakespeare Restored, p. 191, where the author says, "I should reckon it very disingenuous, as well as ridiculous, in a Work which I have profess'd to have undertaken for the restoration of *Shakespeare*, if I should be asham'd to own myself mistaken, and retract the error."

⁵⁵ See Dyce, vol. 1, pp. lvii, lviii. With these references compare edition of Shakespeare, vol. 6, p. 398, and see Pope's note at the first of the *Dunciad*, where he satirizes Theobald for his accurate spelling of Shakespeare's name.

⁵⁶ See Dyce, vol. 1, pp. 54, 117, and preface to Shakespeare, pp. xl, xliii.

⁵⁷ Preface to *Shakespeare*, pp. lx, x, and vol. 1, p. 235. See also Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 613, where Theobald demolishes one of Warburton's emendations, and p. 654, where he discusses some points of Jonson's Life.

from Terence, Lucretius, Pindar, Herodotus, Plato, and a Greek inscription, while Theobald was not far behind with quotations from Plautus, Ovid, Seneca, Terence, Shakespeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher.⁵⁸

So far this treatise has concerned itself mainly with Theobald's method and its origin. Something might be well said, however, regarding the results obtained. It would be supererogatory to speak in general terms concerning the merits of the edition; every editor of Shakespeare now concedes as unquestioned the importance of Theobald's contribution to Shakespearean textual criticism. Yet a few statistics will, perhaps, make more evident the quantity and quality of his criticisms.⁵⁹

Since Theobald easily stands at the head of all emenders of the text, his conjectures first come up for consideration. In the following count there have been considered only those corrections that necessitated the substitution of a word entirely different from the current reading, the omission of a word or words, or the introduction of a word or words. When the emendation consists only of a change in the form of the word or an expansion of an abbreviation, it has not been included in the calculation. After corrections of this nature are eliminated, there still remain some four hundred and twenty-nine emendations for which Theobald had to rely upon his genius and learning alone. Of these, one hundred and fifty have been accepted, so that a little less than thirty-seven per cent of his corrections have stood the test of time and the scrutiny of scholars.

When consideration is paid to the large number of correc-

⁵⁸ Dyce, vol. 1, p. lxi, and *Shakespeare*, vol. 4, p. 188. Compare also the discussion of anachronisms in Dyce, vol. 1, p. 183, and the edition of Shakespeare, vol. 6, p. 42, where Theobald makes use of Bentley's list and adds more examples of his own.

⁵⁹ The basis of these calculations is the Globe edition of Shakespeare, edited by Clark and Wright.

tions attempted and the almost total obscurity of many of the corrupt passages, this percentage is amazing. Certainly no other corrector, either in English or the classics, can boast such a high ratio of accepted readings. Bentley falls far short of the mark. Warburton, who, according to Johnson, supplied Theobald with the best part of his emendations, was successful in only thirteen per cent of those substitutions which Theobald saw fit to introduce into his edition. Undoubtedly the percentage would be much lower, had not the bishop's notes passed through his friend's sifting hands, so that only the more probable corrections were given to the public. These numbered one hundred and thirty-five, thirty-six of which the editor refused to insert in the text. Theobald's judgment in rejecting, if not in selecting, his assistant's notes is vindicated by the fact that only one of the thirty-six has been accepted. Still there are some critics who look upon Warburton as Theobald's guardian angel, saving him from himself.⁶⁰

Besides his emendations, Theobald introduced other changes into the current text as represented by Pope's edition. In some two hundred places he restored and defended variant readings where Pope had either emended the text or chosen the inferior reading. In a score of places he rescued whole lines and even passages from the old editions. To these he called attention in his notes, but in one place he says that he has made many such restorations without notice.⁶¹ In a large number of places he restored stage directions, gave lines to their proper speakers, and in four

⁶⁰ See D. N. Smith *op cit.*, p. xliv. In the correspondence between the two critics, for every correction of Theobald that Warburton finds fault with, Theobald corrects a half dozen of his friend's.

⁶¹ "Thus is the Verse left imperfect by Mr. *Rowe* and Mr. *Pope*; tho' the old Copies all fill it up, as I have done. I have restor'd an infinite Number of such Passages tacitly from the first Impressions: but I thought proper to take notice, once for all, here that as Mr.

plays introduced new act divisions, half of which have been accepted.⁶² His changes in punctuation are innumerable, ranging from the most trifling alteration to corrections that restore meaning to unintelligible lines. For introducing notes to argue his changes correct he has been subjected to criticism. In a previous chapter attention has been called to his following Bentley in this respect, and if another excuse is needed, he can furnish it himself. In *Shakespeare Restored* he had stigmatized as mere drudgery corrections in which there was no pleasure nor any merit except that of diligence.⁶³ In his edition he is somewhat of the same mind, for he says he would willingly spare himself the trouble of making notes on mere changes in punctuation, did he not fear that printers, not having their attention fixed on the passage by a note, would revert back to the old corrupt pointing.⁶⁴

Theobald believed that while the establishing of the genuine text was the first duty of an editor, it also devolved upon him to clear up obscure and difficult passages by explanatory notes. Especially was explanation necessary in an age when the tendency was to alter what could not be understood. The number of such notes in his edition amounts to well over two hundred, nearly forty of which Warburton supplied. They vary in nature. Some explain the meaning of words by parallel passages; some clear up a difficulty by showing the peculiarities of Shakespeare's usage. Many allusions are traced to their sources in con-

Pope follows Mr. Rowe's Edition in his Errors and Omissions, it gives great Suspicion, notwithstanding the pretended Collation of Copies, that Mr. *Pope*, for the *Generality*, took Mr. Rowe's Edition as his guide." Vol. 1, p. 384.

⁶² *Love's Labor's Lost*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *King John*, and *King Henry V*.

⁶³ Introduction, p. vi.

⁶⁴ Preface, p. xlvi.

temporary literature and history, while many obscure passages are explained by going to the source from which Shakespeare got his material. These explanatory notes reveal, perhaps even more than his emendations, Theobald's wide reading and diligent research in the literature of his author's age.

In his analysis of the science of criticism the editor grants a minor place to "an Inquiry into the Beauties and Defects of Composition." He admits that his work has little to do with this branch of criticism, though in a number of emendations he had to consider it. There are a few notes given entirely to blame or praise, but the amount of aesthetic criticism is, as we should expect of a man of Theobald's nature, small and inconsequential. Most of these notes are by Warburton; for he prided himself on his critical faculties in such matters, and his friend was only too quick to foster his delusion.

Not only in those particulars that most closely concern an editor was Theobald interested; unlike previous editors, he showed a curiosity in that threefold field of research that has since engaged the activities of so many scholars — the chronology, authorship, and sources of the plays ascribed to Shakespeare. While never directly undertaking any of these problems, he was careful to note any point in his research that might throw light upon them. Some of his deductions are made from insufficient evidence, while for many of his opinions he gives no reason; yet one cannot but be struck by his approximation to the present results of long and careful research.

He did not date definitely any of the plays. Relying upon external evidence, he placed *Timon of Athens* before Elizabeth's death, because, not knowing of a previous play by a similar name, he thought Shakespeare's tragedy was hinted at in a production issued in 1601, *Jack Drum's Enter-*

tainment.⁶⁵ He dated *Henry V* before 1598 on the ground that in *Every Man in his Humour*, produced in this year, Jonson ridiculed a passage in the chorus following the first act.⁶⁶ Relying on internal evidence, he thought *Othello* could not have been written before 1597 because the tragedy takes some matter from Sir Walter Raleigh's *Travels*.⁶⁷ The tragedy *Macbeth* was placed after Queen Elizabeth's death by reason of its containing compliments to James I, while *Henry VIII*⁶⁸ was attributed to Elizabeth's reign because the queen is complimented in it. As regards this last play, the editor thought the compliment to James I was inserted after the monarch's accession to the throne. Relying upon both external and internal evidence, he placed the date of *The Tempest* between 1610 and 1613; the first date because the drama contains references to the Bermudas, visited in 1609 by Sir John Sommers; the second date because Shakespeare had by that time retired from the stage.⁶⁹ The *Merry Wives* was dated after 1598 by virtue of a reference to the Guiana of Raleigh's *Travels*, and not later than 1602, for Theobald possessed a quarto of that date.⁷⁰ Of course, in some of these conclusions he was beside the mark, yet in a number he comes reasonably close.

As regards the authorship of some of the doubtful plays, Theobald stated opinions that curiously enough coincide with many of the conclusions of modern scholarship. He followed Pope in omitting *Pericles* and the six other plays introduced into the third folio, yet he was far from the opinion that the first was not indebted to Shakespeare's pen. He held it "was not entirely of our Author's penning, but he has

⁶⁵ Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 5, p. 303.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, vol. 4, p. 19.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, vol. 7, p. 393.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, vol. 5, pp. 39 and 443.

⁶⁹ *Idem*, Preface, p. x.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 235. Also see Appendix C, p. 282.

honour'd it with a Number of Master-Touches, so peculiar to himself, that a knowing Reader may with Ease and Certainty distinguish the Traces of his Pencil." ⁷¹ In another place he says, "some Part of it is certainly of his [Shakespeare's] writing." ⁷² Theobald was too timid to defy the precedent set by Pope in rejecting the tragedy, yet it seems probable that at one time he was considering its inclusion in his edition. ⁷³ Theobald also declared his belief in Shakespeare's part-authorship of another play in which many scholars to-day see evidences of the great dramatist, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, which he called Fletcher's, though he was of the opinion that in the writing of the play "Shakespeare assisted; and indeed his workmanship is very discoverable in a number of places." ⁷⁴

Of some of the plays included in Pope's and his own editions he denied Shakespeare complete authorship. His opinion of *Titus Andronicus* was, indeed, very low. ⁷⁵ He inclined to the theory that there was an old play by that name, which Shakespeare retouched. For proof he cited a passage in the introduction of *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, where Jonson speaks of an *Andronicus* of about thirty years of age. ⁷⁶ Pointing out a number of Shakespeare's historical mistakes in the three parts of *Henry VI*, he maintained that the dramas were brought to Shakespeare and merely retouched by him. ⁷⁷ Nor was Theobald guided by external evidence alone; he did not hesitate to apply aesthetic tests.

⁷¹ Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 2, p. 490.

⁷² *Idem*, vol. 4, p. 20.

⁷³ Theobald sent Warburton a copy of *Pericles*, with the injunction to look over it with a strict eye. See his letter of May 20, 1730. Appendix C.

⁷⁴ *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 623.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 512.

⁷⁶ *Idem*, vol. 5, p. 307.

⁷⁷ *Idem*, vol. 4, p. 109.

He says the diction of *Andronicus* is beneath that of the three parts of *Henry VI*, which he says is "more *obsolete*, and the Numbers more *mean* and *prosaical*, than in the Generality of his genuine Compositions."

Little fault can be found with these opinions. Had Theobald's life been less fraught with adversities, and had he received more encouragement in this field of investigation, perhaps he would have established his opinions on firmer grounds. *Double Falshood* was the only play the authorship of which he ever intended to settle. From this task he was deterred, so he says, by the town's accepting the play as Shakespeare's. The more probable reason, however, was that, with his keen sensitiveness to Shakespeare's style, he could discover no traces of the dramatist.

However, Theobald's main contribution, after his work on the text, to the wide field of Shakespearean research lies in his discovery of sources. In the preface he speaks of having read over the chronicles of Hall and Holinshed, as well as the Italian stories and those lives of Plutarch upon which some of the plays were founded. He was the first to discover how closely Shakespeare followed Holinshed.⁷⁸ He also was the first to point out Whetstone's *Promus and Cassandra* as the source of *Measure for Measure*, at the same time asserting that he could prove his point, but, as was too often the case, he left his task unfinished.⁷⁹ He discovered a copy of the old *Leir*,⁸⁰ and designated the *Historia Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus as the original source of the Hamlet story. Early in the preparation of his edition

⁷⁸ See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 398.

⁷⁹ Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 1, p. 398. See also Appendix, p. 281. The age had placed such a great value upon textual criticism that research in other fields was considered much less important than it deserved. Only in the latter half of the century were such questions investigated.

⁸⁰ Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 5, p. 217.

he perceived the indebtedness of *Troilus and Cressida* to Wynkin de Worde, which in a letter to Warburton, he proved by showing agreement in a number of details.⁸¹ Finally, in various places he pointed out small debts to sources such as for the grave-digger's song in *Hamlet*.

Yet seldom has a man been so deprived of the credit for discoveries; in some cases the theft has come down undetected to the present. One scholar, to whom I have had occasion to refer before, praises Johnson in this fashion :

It is especially remarkable that Johnson, who is not considered to have been very strong in research, should be the first to state that Shakespeare used North's translation of Plutarch. He is the first also to point out that there was an English translation of the play on which the *Comedy of Errors* was founded, and the first to show that it was not necessary to go back to the *Tale of Gamelyn* for the story of *As You Like It*. There is no evidence how he came by this knowledge. The casual and allusive manner in which he advances his information would seem to show that it was not of his own getting.⁸²

Mr. Smith thinks the informant might have been Farmer. About the only correct detail in the above quotation is the suspicion that Johnson's knowledge was second-hand, as will be shown.

There is plenty of evidence how Boswell's hero came by his information: "the casual and allusive manner" shows, as Kenrick said, that "though Dr. Johnson hath made very few discoveries of his own, he hath discovered the method of making more of Theobald's at second hand, than ever the author could do when they were spick and span new."⁸³ In a note on Timon's epitaph Theobald says,

⁸¹ Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 611.

⁸² D. N. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.

⁸³ *A Review of Doctor Johnson's New Edition of Shakespeare by W. Kenrick*, 1765.

I once imagin'd that Shakespeare might possibly have corrected this translator's Blunder from his own acquaintance with the Greek Original: but, I find, he has transcribed the four Lines from an old *English* Version of *Plutarch*, extant in his time.⁸⁴

In the very first note on the very first page of volume three, Theobald remarks that "the *Menaechmi* of *Plautus* was translated in *English*, (which our Criticks might have known from Langbaine,) and printed in *Quarto* in the year 1515, half a century before our Author was born."⁸⁵ In the preface to his edition, while speaking of the verses in *As You Like It*, Theobald says,

Dr. Thomas Lodge, a Physician who flourished early in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and was a great Writer of the Pastoral Songs and Madrigals, which were so much the Strain of those Times, composed a whole Volume of Poems in Praise of his Mistress, whom he calls Rosalinde. I never yet could meet with this collection; but whenever I do, I am persuaded I shall find many of our Author's Canzonets on this Subject to be scraps of the Doctor's amorous Muse.⁸⁶

Fortunately for Johnson, Theobald did not succeed in his search for Lodge's *Rosalinde*, while the later critic, following the path so clearly pointed out by the man he slandered, met with success.

Notwithstanding the value of Theobald's contribution to the correcting and illustrating of Shakespeare's text, his edition has its faults. These defects Professor Lounsbury has clearly stated.⁸⁷ Some were due to personal

⁸⁴ Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 5, p. 303. See also Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 500, 505, 508.

⁸⁵ The italics in both quotations are Theobald's. Theobald made a mistake in the date; it should be 1595.

⁸⁶ Preface, p. xvii. Theobald was mistaken in the nature of the work, but not in the matter of indebtedness. For this fact, as well as for much other information, Theobald was indebted to Langbaine.

⁸⁷ *Text of Shakespeare*, Chap. XXIV.

whim, such as the failure to number scenes. Others were occasioned by the eccentricities of the times in which he lived. These are chiefly the tendency to emend too much and the proneness to show erudition. Bentley, guilty of both, had set the fashion for his age. When compared with many of the scholars of his time, Theobald appears conservative in his conjectures and modest in his citations. His willingness to emend, however, caused him in some cases to miss the obvious meanings of passages, and in others to make good his lack of knowledge by conjecture. What might be called another blemish in his work was his treatment of Pope. Again and again he drags in the unfortunate editor to sneer at his incompetency and expose his carelessness. This practice was deprecated by his admirers, and denounced by his critics, though not till sometime after Pope's death. The living generation knew how great the provocation had been, and that this was the only way the abused man had of quitting scores. Later generations were prone to forget the sequence of events, even to such an extent as to consider the edition some justification for *The Dunciad!* When the causes of the two men are compared, there appears more justification for the notes than for the satire. Furthermore, Theobald's accusations were almost as universally true as Pope's were false.

The most reprehensible defect in the edition was the tacit adoption of many of Pope's metrical emendations.⁸⁸ The poet had sought to improve Shakespeare's versification by reducing the lines to eighteenth-century regularity. In the majority of cases Theobald followed him, although knowing, and indeed stating, some of the peculiarities of Shakespeare's verse and pronunciation, as well as reproving Pope for his ignorance of these peculiarities and his attempt to make the verse smooth. The adoption of the changes was a dis-

⁸⁸ Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 527 ff.

tinct injury to the text and the neglect in acknowledging them no credit to his character. The only defense that can be pleaded in his behalf is that Pope's second edition was the basis of his own.⁸⁹ Thus the later editor, not meaning to be dishonest, may have thought it necessary to specify only where he had departed from the text that was in the possession of the public. The ethical obligation of giving every man his due was not generally recognized then, but Theobald has suffered more on this account than Pope or any other editor.

The faults of Theobald's edition seem trivial when compared with the difficulties he encountered. His study was hampered by the misfortunes and hardships with which his life was beset. The aids to research were few and scattered. As there were no large libraries where material could be found, he had to rely upon his friends and the booksellers for the accumulation of an *apparatus criticus*. Dictionaries and books of reference were both few and unreliable, while there was little previous research from which to obtain aid. Though he had the advantage of being the first to enter an almost unexplored field, yet he had not the advantage of approaching the text with that wealth of sympathetic intelligence that centuries of study have given to modern scholars. The great difficulty, however, lay in finding a method. As scholarly methods had not been employed on England's literature, he was forced to adapt to an English text the method employed by Bentley in the

⁸⁹ Mr. Sidney Lee (*Life of William Shakespeare*, 1904, p. 316) is wrong in thinking Theobald based his edition on the first folio. Theobald introduced into the current text so many readings from this folio as to give some reason for the belief. Writing to Warburton in November, 1731, the editor says, "Tonson has sent me in a Shakespeare interleav'd; and I am now extracting such Notes and Emendations, as upon maturest Deliberation, I am certain will stand the test." See Appendix, p. 280.

classics.⁹⁰ This duty he performed so effectively that he blazed the trail succeeding editors have always followed.

⁹⁰ Old English scholarship flowed in a channel entirely separate from that of the scholarship devoted to editing later English classics. In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries it was concerned with the collating and printing of manuscripts, the compilation of dictionaries, grammars, and catalogues, with the material where-with an editor works. While Junius stands out as a great figure, his practices were not adopted. Manuscripts were still largely a matter of antiquarian interest, and in the eighteenth century men like Hearne were still more eager to publish editions than to publish accurate editions. They were more interested in showing their curious relics than in correcting or illustrating them. While antiquarians in general were of great service to the editors of the eighteenth century, Anglo-Saxon scholarship had developed no method of editing that exerted the slightest influence upon the editions of later writers. Interest in Old English rapidly declined during the eighteenth century, not, as Miss Adams affirms, because the period tended to social expression rather than minute scholarship — witness the many editions and critical treatises — but because the period was too much absorbed with more modern writers. See E. N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800*, *Yale Studies in English* LV, 1917, pp. 70, 74, 83, 94, 97, 103, 108.

CHAPTER VI

THEOBALD'S LATER LIFE

IN his edition of Shakespeare Theobald had vindicated himself against Pope. It was not, however, with a feeling of complacency that he faced the future. Confident though he was of the worth of his labors, he could not but feel uneasy about the attacks that might follow. The eight years intervening between his first and last works on Shakespeare had seen Pope tireless in his underhanded attempts to injure the scholar, with the result that the latter justly expected his edition, with its repeated sneers at the satirist, to bring further trouble to his door. With such fears in mind the editor wrote Warburton that when the cynics began to bark, it would be necessary for the two critics to look to their shelters and to marshal their forces for the spring campaign which he felt sure would be directed against him.

But these attacks never materialized. For once Pope realized that silence would do him more good than satire. With the memory of how little his efforts had injured Theobald's interest¹ and with the consciousness of the

¹ The futility of Pope's satire in this respect is readily seen in the long list of subscribers prefixed to Theobald's edition. It contained the names of the most illustrious of England's nobility. The literary world was represented by Colley Cibber, Theophilus Cibber, Henry Fielding, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Samuel Richardson, James Thomson, and Edward Young. Among the scientists and antiquaries were Martin Folkes, John Friend, Richard Mead, Thomas Baker, and Sir Hans Sloane. Classical scholarship made a brave showing with the names of Richard Bentley, Thomas Bentley, John Davies, Nicholas Hardinge, Styvan Thirlby, John Taylor, and John Upton.

severe strains he had been put to in misquoting and misrepresenting his opponent, he could not but feel that he had made a very poor showing in the controversy, and that for the future he could hardly hope to prevail upon the public against their own judgment.² *The Grub-street Journal* did contain one or two attacks early in the year, but even that filthy periodical was soon forced to restrain its abuse.³ So effectively had Theobald closed the mouths of his enemies that nearly four months after his edition had been made public, he could say that he had seen nothing written against it, save one "idle invective."

Instead of attacks, his edition met with approval on all sides. Warburton was one of the first to congratulate him: "I rejoice heartily in your good fortune, and am glad to find the town in a disposition to do you justice."⁴ Later he sent his friend thirteen notes, which, he said, indicated all he could find to cavil at.⁵ Lord Orrery, in appreciation of the honor shown him in the dedication, presented the editor with a hundred guineas, while the Prince of Wales paid twenty guineas for his set. In May a benefit play was given him as editor of Shakespeare, for the entertainment of the Grand Master and Society of Free-Masons.

² Pope was angry enough; he was "extremely nettled with Mr. Theobald for publishing Shakespeare, and animadverting upon the said Pope, and Mr. Pope, as I find, in defense of himself, uses nothing but scurrility and the most indecent unbecoming language agreeable to his pride." *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, 1869, vol. 3, p. 142.

³ No. 219, March 7, 1734, and No. 220, March 14, 1734. See Lounsbury, *Text of Shakespeare*, pp. 446-447. The first article was written in answer to Theobald's fling at Mallet, and was signed by that gentleman. The other was anonymous, and must have been the invective to which Theobald refers. There is no evidence that Pope had a hand in either.

⁴ Letter of May 17, 1734. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 634.

⁵ Letter of June 20, 1734, *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 645.

The public was fully aware of the excellence of the work, and did not hesitate to voice its approval. Nothing but praise reached Theobald's ears, and his reputation was firmly established for many years to come.⁶

As soon as Shakespeare's plays were off his hands, the editor turned to other labors both classical and English. When Bentley's edition of Milton appeared, it had inspired him to send some textual remarks on the poet to Warburton. His investigations were now carried farther. One passage in *Lycidas* — a favorite poem with Theobald — contained an allusion of which the scholar could make nothing. The lines read,

“Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old
Where the great vision of the guarded mount
Looks towards Namancos and Bayona's hold.”

Not being content to pass over the passage in ignorance, he wrote Warburton for information regarding the proper names. The latter replied most dogmatically that the explanation would be found in Sir James Ware's *Antiquities and History of Ireland*. Theobald immediately consulted this authority and, as was his wont, several others, but to no avail. When Warburton was notified that his reference was wrong, he replied that judging by the circumstances he had thought the allusion was to an old Irish fable, and “that is all I know.”⁷ It would be hard to find a clearer example of the contrasting spirits that animated the scholarship of the two men. One is willing to jump at a conclusion, and state that conclusion as a fact; the other exhausts every means at hand to clear up an obscurity, and refuses to be satisfied until he can find authority for an explanation.

This inquiry is typical of the widening of his scholarly

⁶ Letter of May 9, 1734. Appendix C.

⁷ See Appendix, p. 328, and Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 634, 645.

interest in English literature. As will be seen later, he was carrying on his investigation in other native poets. Yet he was not entirely through with Shakespeare. In the summer of 1734 he told Warburton that he was "prepared to put out an Edition of Shakespeare's Poems with a copious Glossary to all his Works."⁸ The poems never appeared, though in October of the following year, Theobald wrote Warburton that

As to Shakespeare's Poems, my Design is by no means dropt, only deferr'd to Spring, when that and Aeschylus, I hope in God, shall Both appear; and an Act be obtain'd to preserve the property of Them together with That of more valuable Productions.⁹

The failure to obtain this act may account for the suppression of the undertaking.

Though prompted by personal considerations, Theobald's effort to secure a copyright law was most praiseworthy. The statute of Queen Anne, probably written by Swift, gave the sole right to authors or assigns to publish books already printed for twenty-one years from April 10, 1710, when the statute went into effect. For books that had never been printed the time was limited to fourteen years with the possibility of a renewal for an equal length of time. When the first twenty-one years expired, numerous lawsuits arose over the question whether the statute took away

⁸ See letter of August 27, 1734. Appendix C. One emendation, on the thirteenth stanza of *Venus and Adonis*, he sent to his friend. Theobald's copy read,

"Being Red, she loves him best; and being white
Her Breast is better'd with a more delight."

After arguing very convincingly against this reading, he recommended "fetter'd" for "better'd" and supported the change with an imposing array of quotations from the classics. He was right in suspecting a corruption, but hit upon the wrong word. Warburton, disagreeing with this correction, advocated "o'er delight" for "more delight."

⁹ Letter of October 18, 1735. Appendix C.

common law rights. After much debate the question was not settled until the latter part of the century. In 1734 the copyright was extended to prints and engravings.

Perhaps the interest created by these lawsuits inspired Theobald to seek an extension of the copyright. In April of 1735 he wrote to Warburton :

I don't know whether you have heard what pains I am taking to carry thro' a Bill for the Encouragement of Learning and securing of Property in Authors. I hope, I shall get it thro', unless my Application is cut short by an abrupt Rising of the Houses.¹⁰

Two months later he was forced to acknowledge his failure to get the bill through the House of Lords, but showed determination to persist in the effort.¹¹ Later he expressed the hope that the act would be obtained in the spring of the following year, but nothing came of the undertaking.¹² Though there is no direct evidence of the nature of the bill, Theobald's phrase "for the advancement of learning" and his desire to protect his translation of Aeschylus and

¹⁰ Letter of April 26, 1735. Appendix C.

¹¹ Letter of June 24, 1735. Appendix C.

¹² It was probably Theobald's interest in this field that first turned Warburton's mind in the same direction. "It would be unjust to quit Warburton without drawing attention to one or two instances in which his vigor was not employed in the maintenance of a paradox. At a time when copyright was generally regarded as a legal monopoly, he argued the natural right of an author in the produce of his mind." Mark Pattison, *Essays*, vol. 2, p. 174. Warburton's pamphlets on the subject number three: *A Letter from an Author to a Member of Parliament concerning Literary Property*, 1747; *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Literary Property*, 1762; and *A Vindication of the Exclusive Right of Authors to their own Works*, 1762. The first and last works argue an author's natural right in his productions, but the second takes the opposite view, and was evidently written to afford the bishop an opportunity of answering it. The last effort calls the authors of the previous pamphlets shrewd, ingenious, learned, a fact which bespeaks the authorship of all three, even though they appeared anonymously.

edition of Shakespeare's poems seem to indicate that he wished copyright extended to the productions of scholarship.

While the critic must have relied chiefly upon the influence of his patron, Lord Orrery, his hopefulness of carrying through such legislation is plainly indicative of his prestige. His letters written at this time also show that his edition had entirely removed any stigma that might have been incurred from *The Dunciad*, and that he occupied a favorable position in the eyes of the public. He was closely associated with Lord Orrery, being constantly engaged in legal work for his lordship. Again, his frequent mention of Sir Robert Walpole shows him to have been on terms of some intimacy with the prime minister, who unfortunately never succeeded in giving him any substantial aid. All in all, the years immediately following his edition were the brightest of his career.

This period also marks a renewal of his interest in the classics. Indeed, he seems always to have looked to them for a substantial reputation. He was never quite sure of the honor to be derived from scholarship in English letters. Although it was his success in Shakespearean criticism that encouraged him to try his hand at the classics, he was not fully confident of the dignity of the innovation.

His first work in classical criticism was the notes he supplied to Cooke's *Hesiod*. The majority of his classical observations, however, were contained in three papers contributed to Jortin's *Miscellaneous Observations*, 1731. In writing for this periodical Theobald joined the ranks of such scholars as Pearce, Masson, Taylor, Wasse, Robinson, Upton, Thirlby, names that occupy a substantial place in the history of classical scholarship. Jortin, a scholar of no mean ability, complimented Theobald's first article, expressing the hope that "the Gentleman, to whom I am

indebted for this, will give me opportunities of obliging the Public with more of his observations." ¹³ In his articles the Shakespearean scholar covered a very broad field, commenting on such writers as Eustathius, Athenaeus, Suidas, Staius, Aristophanes, scholiast on Aristophanes, Hesychius, Aeschylus, scholiast on Aeschylus, Paterculus, Strabo, Anacreon, and Platonius. In regard to this last writer, it was Theobald's intention at one time to contribute to Jortin's magazine a translation of the fragment on the difference between the old and middle comedy of the Greeks, but he did not carry out his purpose. The principal fault with most of Theobald's emendations is that they are unnecessary, a criticism that applies to the corrections of all the scholars of the day. Yet never are they absurd. He studies the passage closely, gives fully his reasons for believing a correction necessary, and supports his reading with evidence gathered from wide sources. ¹⁴

Mention has already been made of the emendations introduced in the notes and inserted in the preface of Theobald's edition of Shakespeare. The latter comprise, besides several corrections on Platonius and attempted rectifications of the opinions of earlier scholars, emendations on three Greek inscriptions published by Sir George Wheler in 1728. In one of these our scholar made his most ambitious correction. The inscription styled the "Votive Table" by Theobald had been considered the prayer of a heathen to Zeus Urius in gratitude for a prosperous voyage. With the help of his conjectures the unfortunate critic made it the prayer of a Christian to the Almighty. Less than two months

¹³ *Miscellaneous Observations*, vol. 1, p. 144.

¹⁴ In some cases it is almost impossible not to agree with his emendation (see Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 582), while in at least one instance his correction has been accepted: ἀσφαλῆς for ἀσφαλῶς, l. 85 of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*.

after the new interpretation had been made public, its author wrote Warburton,

I am very glad the Greek Criticisms strike you. The major part of them, I believe, will stand their ground. But in one of them I have been most miserably mistaken: I mean miserably, as not knowing a Fact; as a Schollar and Conjecturer at large, I think the mistake will not affect me in Credit. It is the *Votive Table*, as I called it, which led me into the Error.¹⁵

Two months later an anonymous contribution to *The Grubstreet Journal*, after calling Theobald undoubtedly the first English critic, attacked the propriety of introducing classical criticism in an edition of Shakespeare, and took pains to show that this particular emendation was wrong.¹⁶ The critic pointed out that Theobald's mistake was due to his ignorance of a more correct copy of the inscription by Monsieur Spon, a fellow-traveler of Sir George.

Theobald was naturally surprised that an article so fair to himself should have been printed in a periodical so vehemently hostile. Although a little wary of the apparent compliment, he made a reply in a later issue of the same paper, in which he readily admitted his error in correcting the manuscript, the corruption of which was due to Wheler's inaccurate copy, and gave reasons why he had happened to overlook the previous publication of the fragment.¹⁷ Then he added the perfectly true statement that he had discovered his own error several months before his critic had attacked it. But he turned the tables on the latter by giving him a full history of the inscription, of which his opponent was ignorant, and by informing him that the inscription itself

¹⁵ Letter of March 5, 1734. Appendix C.

¹⁶ No. 229, May 16, 1734.

¹⁷ No. 3, June 6, 1734. In the same issue one of the editors, signing himself Baevius, when forced to acknowledge the truth of Theobald's case, contented himself with dragging in a trivial point utterly foreign to the discussion.

was in Dr. Mead's museum, where the writer had made a collation which proved both of them wrong. Few could get ahead of Theobald in a matter of research.

The classical writer in whom the Shakespearean scholar was most interested was, as we have already seen, Aeschylus. As early as 1714 he had contracted with Lintot to translate all seven tragedies. Although it is probable that he performed his task, nothing came of the contract. Later he issued proposals for subscriptions to his translation, but still it did not appear, and in the notes to *The Dunciad* Pope sarcastically remarked on his failure to fulfill his obligation. Yet Theobald never dropped his design. In February following the appearance of his *Shakespeare* he was receiving subscriptions for the undertaking and promising to print it off the following summer.¹⁸ Furthermore he began to cherish designs for an edition as well as a translation of Aeschylus. When Warburton raised some question regarding the text of the dramatist, and gave his usual advice, Theobald replied that Stanley's text, although the best, was by no means perfect, and that there remained much to be done in adjusting the meter of strophe and antistrophe by a principle that he considered a most certain basis for correction.¹⁹ He continued his work on the text throughout the summer and communicated some of his emendations to Warburton.²⁰ In the autumn of the same year he wrote Sir Hans Sloane for a subscription to the work which he said he then had under the press, and which he described as "a Translation of Aeschylus's Tragedies, with Notes Critical and Philological; and an History of the Greek Stage in all its Branches, in a Dissertation to be prefix'd."²¹ He added further that he

¹⁸ Letter of February 12, 1734. Appendix C.

¹⁹ Letter of March 5, 1734. Appendix C.

²⁰ Letter of July 11, 1734. Appendix C.

²¹ Letter of September 21, 1734. Appendix C.

had been advised by some friends to publish the Greek text on the opposite page, and repeated the statement made to Warburton about the certainty of corrections made on the basis of meter. He claimed to have by the kindness of Dr. Conyers Middleton a collation of the famous Laurentian manuscript, which he offered to send to Sir Hans if it was desired.

Neither text nor translation appeared, but his emendations have not been entirely lost. Those remarks that had been published in *Miscellaneous Observations*, and some others that were written on the margin of Theobald's copy of the Greek dramatist, were used by Bloomfield in his edition of Aeschylus, 1810, a fact that is evidence enough of the respectable quality of the earlier critic's work in the classics.²² Furthermore, Middleton's enlisting in his service testifies to the high regard in which his scholarship was held by contemporaries.

But there is still more remarkable evidence of the study Theobald put upon Greek. In October of 1735 he tells Warburton that,

as, I think I mention'd to you, that I was prepared to amend and account for above 20 thousand Passages in Hesychius, I am labouring hard to draw out those Stores, that they may not be quite lost, in case I myself should be snatch'd away. It is very odd, what a great number of Places I shall be able to set right, that are corrupt, Both by Explanations being divided from their Themes; and by Themes, as mistakenly sunk, and standing as Explanations of what they have, indeed, no Reference to. I could give you an ample Specimen; but, perhaps, you trade very little with that Author.²³

²² In the "Index Codicum Manuscriptorum quorum lectiones adhibui" appears this item: "L. L. Ludovici Theobaldi notae, ad marginem libri Windhamiani scriptae. Harum ipse nonnullos vulgavit in *Miscell. Obs. II. p. 164.*"

²³ Letter of October 18, 1735. Appendix C.

Although these "20 thousand passages" probably take their place by the side of the two thousand emendations of Beaumont and Fletcher and the eight hundred old English plays, yet when all due allowance is made for Theobald's proneness to exaggerate, the unusual extent of his investigation is still striking. Furthermore, he had hit upon a work that offered a wide field for conjecture. Bentley is said to have undertaken "the stupendous task" of publishing a complete edition of Hesychius, "an author in whom he professes to have made upwards of five thousand corrections";²⁴ and at the beginning of the next century Porson expressed surprise that after so many first rate critics had worked on the lexicographer, so much room for emendation was still left.²⁵ Had his work on Aeschylus and Hesychius been put before the public, the editor of Shakespeare would have occupied a creditable position among the classical scholars of the eighteenth century.

The history of the two years following the edition of Shakespeare clearly discounts the influence of *The Dunciad* in either discouraging its hero from undertaking any enterprise, or in lessening the estimation in which the discerning part of the public held him. These years mark the most active and ambitious portion of his life. His designs in both English and the classics reached an extent little dreamed of in his younger days. Nor would he have entered upon such plans, had not the favor of the public seemed probable to him.

In the midst of his ambitious projects there came what must have been a grievous disappointment and a real injury. Revealing at last his true nature, Warburton broke off the friendship under circumstances by no means creditable to

²⁴ Hartley Coleridge, *The Worthies of Yorkshire and Lancashire*, 1836, p. 71.

²⁵ *Museum Criticum; or Cambridge Classical Researches*, 1814, vol. 1, p. 122.

the divine. While Theobald did not stand in any need of Warburton's critical aid, he was a man of little self-reliance, and that little had been rudely shaken by Pope. No one reading the correspondence between the two men can fail to be struck by the way the elder leaned upon the younger for encouragement and approval. The shock of having this prop removed must have done much toward weakening his perseverance and increasing a despondency evident at times in previous years. In the disruption of the friendship may lie the cause why all save one of his various designs were never carried out.

Evidence that Warburton was not entirely pleased with his fellow critic appears early in the correspondence. In the fall of 1730 the former remarked on the latter's disapproval of many of his notes, and proposed to restrain his criticism. To the implied complaint Theobald answered,

I would by no means wish you to restrain your genius, or the scope of your suspicions, so long as you are pleased to indulge me in such a labour; for, though every conjecture should not upon trial prove standard, give me leave to say, without flattery, there is something so extremely ingenious in all you start, that I would with great regret be defrauded of such a fund either of entertainment or erudition.²⁶

It is hard to see how any critic could find fault with disagreement when couched in such flattering terms. And the above quotation is typical of the judgment Theobald frequently passed on the other's learning. Because of such undue praise he was able to preserve the partnership for a number of years.

When the edition of Shakespeare appeared, Warburton at once noticed that some of his remarks had been omitted. To this omission he called the editor's attention, laying the

²⁶ Letter of September 15, 1730. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 607.

blame upon his own loose unmethodical papers, and then added, seemingly as a threat, that he intended to compose a complete critique on Shakespeare. Theobald explained the omission on the ground that he foresaw that opportunities to improve on Shakespeare would arise; therefore it would be neither fraud nor bad policy to keep a good fund of notes in reserve. But he was clearly concerned over the other's threat. This concern prompted him to express the unwarrantable inference that his acknowledgment of his assistant's aid in the edition "*has given me a Right (through your generous Grant) to demand all your Capacities for my Service.*" Furthermore, he sought to discourage his friend's undertaking by insincere depreciation of Shakespeare and fulsome flattery of the threatening critic:

To say a word to your intention of composing a full and compleat Critic on Shakespeare, I own, it would be a treasure to me to see it; but to speak for the World, and throw off those Prepossessiones which I have for our Author, I am afraid, the generality will regard him as too irregular a Writer to deserve such a Critic.²⁷

Of course, the poor quality of the notes was the first reason why he suppressed so many; yet he may have reserved some, as he said he did, to answer the attacks which he expected to be made upon his edition. In the early days of the controversy with Pope, his most potent weapon of offense and defense had been the publication of some emendation or explanation of Shakespeare. It is possible, therefore, that he wished to carry on the warfare in the same way, for which purpose it was necessary to have a supply of ammunition on hand.²⁸

Theobald's explanation of the omission probably suggested

²⁷ Letter of March 5, 1734. Appendix C.

²⁸ In a previous letter of February 12, 1734, Theobald had asked Warburton's leave to copy his letters before returning, on the ground that they contained a "rich vein of ore still undrained." Appendix C.

to Warburton the accusation made in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare, 1747; namely, that the previous editor has sequestered a part of the divine's notes, for the benefit, as he supposed, of some future edition. This statement Warburton made not as an excuse for breaking with his correspondent, but in justification of his treatment of the unhappy man in his own edition. Since Theobald, many years before, had returned his letters and renounced all interest in them, and since neither in his second edition of Shakespeare nor elsewhere had he made any use of Warburton's notes, his faithless friend knew the charge to be absolutely false.

Warburton, not satisfied with Theobald's excuse, notified the latter that he had selected fifty of the rejected notes, which were better than any of those printed. These, he said, he would send to be published in the edition of Shakespeare's poems,²⁹ and Theobald could explain that they had been mislaid when the edition of the plays was prepared. But since the careful scholar did not intend to run any risk in admitting notes to any work of his on Warburton's recommendation alone, he requested that the remarks be sent as soon as possible, "For as, on the one Side, I would not press you in time; so, on the other, I would have time fully to weigh them."³⁰ Though provoked by the thought that his criticisms required scrutiny,³¹ Warburton sent the fifty together with comments on thirteen of Theobald's remarks.³²

²⁹ Letter of March 17, 1734. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 634.

³⁰ Letter of May 30, 1734. Appendix C.

³¹ See Letter of June 2, 1734. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 635. Warburton begins this letter "Dear Sir," whereas his usual form of address was "Dearest Friend."

³² Letter of July 11, 1734. Appendix C. Warburton used strong terms in complimenting Theobald's edition: "I know it will be a pleasure to receive it [the letter containing the thirteen criticisms]

Still chafing under the treatment his notes had received and were receiving at the hands of his friend, the "theological bully" in his next letter made a second threat about doing some independent work on Shakespeare :

I have a great number of notes, etc. on Shakespeare *for some future edition*. I have given you a specimen in two or three from the *Tempest*, and *Mid-summer Night's Dream*, in the *fifty*, and in this edition. How forward are you got towards the Edition of the Poems? ³³

Possibly Warburton was designing to edit Shakespeare, but it is more probable that his threat of a future edition was intended to spur Theobald on to publish the poems, in which his own invaluable notes were to appear. His solicitude about the appearance of the edition points to this inference. Moreover, after nearly a year had elapsed, he asked his correspondent if he had dropped his design entirely, to which query the latter replied in the negative, promising that the work would appear in the spring of 1736.

Finally when the poems showed no promise of appearing at the stated time, Warburton's patience broke down. On the fourth of May he wrote a letter, no longer extant, it would seem, but the contents of which can readily be gathered from Theobald's straightforward reply, which effectually disposed of the weak and contemptible charges made against him.

and it is no small compliment to your Edition; for I have been so exact in my inquisitorial search after faults, that I dare undertake to defend every note throughout the whole bulky work, save these thirteen I have objected to." Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 645. Compare the above with what he has to say of the same work in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare.

³³ Letter of October 14, 1734. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 561. The italics are Warburton's.

Wyan's Court. 18 May 1736

DEAR SIR,

I reced yours of the 4th Instant, and should have reply'd to it the next Post, but that I was willing to get over the Surprize its contents gave me. It is now retorted upon Me, that you gave Me your Notes with a Generosity I could not complain of. I thought on the other hand, I had not only confess'd the obligation in private but to the World. But why am I told that I had all the Profit of my Edition? I am sure, I never dreamt to this day, but that the Assistance of my Friends were design'd gratuitous; and if I misunderstood this Point, I should have been set right by some Hints before the Publication. I used, you say, what Notes, I thought fit. I own as Editor, I believ'd I had a discretionary Power of picking and chusing my Materials: and I am certain during the Affair, you conceded this Liberty to me: the remaining Notes (in an Epistolary Correspondence) being yours, or no, is a piece of Casuistry which I shall not dispute upon. Tho' I foresee, they are now to be turn'd upon me, and I am to be in the State of a country conquer'd by its Auxiliaries, yet tho my Bread and Reputation depended upon my Compliance, I would sacrifice both Regards at any Price to approve Myself Dear Sir, your obliged Friend and very humble Servant.

LEW. THEOBALD.

Since Theobald's failure to publish all of his assistant's notes was the chief irritant to Warburton's pride, it is natural to infer that the demanding of them back was due to the desire to make them public. The inferior scholar had been rising in the world, and had been praised for the notes he contributed to Theobald's edition.³⁴ With his unjustifiable confidence in the excellent quality of his notes strengthened by this fact, he became all the more eager to give his criticisms to the world. At all events, Theobald, thinking that his

³⁴ After making Warburton's acquaintance, Bishop Hare praised his Shakespearean notes. Watson, *Life of Warburton*, 1863, p. 58. This same year Warburton published his *Alliance between Church and State*.

assistant was intending to publish an edition, realized that his wisdom in rejecting the notes would be publicly put upon trial. This must be what he means by being "in the State of a country conquered by its Auxiliaries."³⁵

In rejecting the notes of which he could not approve Theobald was acting not only within his right, but in accordance with his duty. Yet even more amazing than this charge of omission is Warburton's complaint of not having any part in the profit of the edition. It was the custom at that time for one scholar to render what gratuitous assistance he could to another. Bentley had given of the stores of his knowledge even to scholars on the continent, such as Graevius, Kuster, and Hemsterhuys. For this reason Theobald was certainly right in supposing that his friend's assistance was freely given, and in reminding him that any thought to the contrary should have been made known early in the correspondence. Furthermore, Warburton "appears rather to have been recommended to him than he to Warburton. Warburton seems to have been quite as eager to offer notes on Shakespeare as he was to receive them."³⁶ After *Shakespeare Restored* Theobald's reputation was high enough to warrant Tonson's saying that the critic would have the assistance of all lovers of Shakespeare, so that Warburton might well have been proud to have a part in the projected edition. Finally, for the avaricious critic,

³⁵ In October of the following year Warburton wrote the Reverend Thomas Birch that he believed he would give an edition of Shakespeare to the world; and in September of 1738 he repeated his intention to the same gentleman. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 72, 96. Warburton's first effort, however, to get his notes published was in Hanmer's edition, but he fell out with that editor for reasons somewhat similar to those that made him break with Theobald.

³⁶ Watson, *Life of Warburton*, p. 301. See also Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 242, where Warburton encourages Theobald in the correspondence, telling him it should by all means be kept up.

who was fully cognizant of Theobald's financial straits, to begrudge his friend the profits of his edition while he himself was enjoying a comfortable living, was certainly not becoming a Christian, much less a clergyman.³⁷ Nor was this charge merely an excuse to break up the friendship. Immediately after Theobald announced Tonson's terms, Warburton wrote Stukely that the editor was to have for his edition "*eleven hundred guineas, and your humble servant for his pains one copy of the royal paper books.*"³⁸

Our critic was by no means ungrateful for the assistance he received. He made a most handsome acknowledgment of Warburton's services in his preface, while in the body of the work each note belonging to the other was acknowledged with high praise. Furthermore, he was eager to repay his debt in kind. When he first heard of the other critic's intention of editing *Paterculus*, he rejoiced in the undertaking and assured him that when Shakespeare was off his hands, he would repay the least part of his debt by perusing the Latin author to find corruptions, a task he would embrace with great satisfaction.³⁹ In his subsequent correspondence he frequently mentioned Warburton's design, at the same time sending him such notes and transcripts as he thought might be helpful.⁴⁰

Warburton's part in the disagreement was nothing short

³⁷ At this time Warburton possessed the living of Brant-Broughton, worth £560, and of Frisby, worth £250.

³⁸ Letter of November 10, 1731. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 13. From this source (or from Theobald's controversy with the publishers) may have come the report that Johnson heard and recorded in the proposals he issued in 1756 for an edition of Shakespeare; namely, that Theobald "considered learning only as an instrument of gain."

³⁹ Letter of November 20, 1729. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 283.

⁴⁰ See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 570, and letters of 20 June, 4 July, 29 July, 1732. Appendix C.

of contemptible. Two or three years later he was to be on intimate terms with the man who had abused his friend. Not only that, he himself was to slander that friend who had always dealt honorably by him, a friend who, though suffering grievous injuries at his hands and placed in a position to make things very unpleasant for Pope and his newly acquired champion, maintained a high-minded silence.⁴¹ But there was one who did not forget the past. When, in 1748, Mathew Concanen, Theobald's truest friend, returned from Jamaica, where for seventeen years he had held the post of attorney general, he avoided coming near Warburton, which conduct the latter in characteristic fashion attributed to his "scoundrel temper."⁴²

In September Theobald returned his correspondent's letters with the explanation that the delay was caused by neither negligence nor reluctance, but by the fact that he had been busily employed for self and friends. He renounced all the privilege he might have in the notes, and said that as he was preparing to throw out three supplementary volumes to Shakespeare on the old footing, he claimed the right to revoke all Warburton's notes that were to have appeared in them.⁴³ If Theobald was seriously undertaking such a project, he never carried it through to completion.

From this time on there is little to be found on Theobald's life. That his reputation as a scholar was not declining is

⁴¹ Besides the material Theobald had in his letters for revealing to Pope Warburton's opinion of the satirist, he could very easily have called attention to three anonymous contributions his former associate had made to *The Daily Journal*, wherein Pope is soundly berated. (Professor Lounsbury discovered these. *Text of Shakespeare*, Chap. 17.) Warburton's attack on Theobald was publicly made only after the latter's death, an event of which the former must have learned with a sigh of relief.

⁴² Watson, *Life of Warburton*, p. 30.

⁴³ Letter of September 4, 1736. Appendix C.

clearly evidenced by the fact that in 1737 Thomas Birch, a friend of Warburton, who was at work on some lives of the poets, sent to him a number of queries regarding Ben Jonson.⁴⁴ These Theobald answered in scholarly fashion, producing his proofs and arriving at his conclusions with sound reasoning. In 1740 appeared the second edition of his *Shakespeare* in eight volumes, from which those notes and parts of the preface which he owed to his former assistant were excluded. He also omitted the conclusion of the preface, in which he had acknowledged the assistance he had received, and had mentioned the works read in the preparation of the edition.

The profit realized on the first issue of his work was sufficient to remove all want from his door for several years, but by the time the second edition was published he was again in straitened circumstances. In the spring of 1741 he wrote the Duke of Newcastle that "a loss and disappointment" made it necessary for him to appeal to that nobleman.⁴⁵ About this time also he published in *The London Daily Post* his last address to the public, "delivered in a most humble strain of supplication," in which he requested assistance at the performance of a benefit.⁴⁶ It was probably the pressure of finances that incited him to attempt his last critical work. In 1742 he entered into an agreement with the Tonsons to edit the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, upon which he had been working for fifteen years. Being unwilling to venture on the undertaking alone, he publicly advertised for assistance, and was rewarded with offers from two gentlemen, Thomas Seward and a man by the name of Sympson.⁴⁷ Neither of them,

⁴⁴ See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 654.

⁴⁵ See Appendix, p. 346.

⁴⁶ May 13, 1741. See Nichols, vol. 2, p. 745.

⁴⁷ Seward was canon of Lichfield and Salisbury, a friend of Johnson, and father of the "Swan of Lichfield." I have not been able to find anything about the other gentleman.

however, was able to render very valuable assistance. They possessed only the later editions, were not well read in earlier English literature, and Seward, at least, was afflicted with a vanity almost equal to Warburton's.

It is not remarkable, then, that as soon as the first volume had been printed, trouble arose. Theobald, following the practice he had adopted with his first helper, refused to admit notes that did not meet with his approval. Immediately the two assistants were up in arms, nor would they be pacified until the reluctant editor had promised to publish the rejected notes in a postscript at the end of each volume. Furthermore, Seward found fault with what he thought was Theobald's dogmatic manner of speaking, a vice he later piously claimed to have cured by pointing out that it was neither right nor politic.

Death cut short the first editor's part in the work. The responsibility of the edition then fell upon Seward, although Sympson saw several volumes through the press. Notwithstanding the fact that they claimed to have received the deceased editor's valuable quartos, with his notes written on the margin, the two men were not prepared to produce a good edition. Yet, incompetent and rash as they were, they tried to follow the method set before them. They were not careful in their collating, yet they recognized the value of collation; they were to a great degree ignorant of Elizabethan history and literature, but they realized that a knowledge of such was essential to an editor.⁴⁸ Owing to their ignorance of Elizabethan language, the supports to their bold emendations are weak, but they evidence the feeling that changes in the text should not be arbitrary, but should be supported by some authority.

⁴⁸ Seward says it is necessary for a critic to know "*every single work, History, Custom, Trade, etc. that Shakespeare himself knew.*" Introduction, p. lxxiii. The italics are his.

The edition did not appear until 1750.⁴⁹ Although now recognized as the first serious attempt toward a critical reconstruction of an eclectic text, formed by collation and emendation, it is not held in very high regard. Yet subsequent editors have made the mistake of not considering Theobald's part separately from the rest.⁵⁰ Even a superficial examination of the volumes reveals in his portion a more careful collation, more variant readings, and a more manifest hesitancy to depart from the text than can be found in the plays edited by the other two men. Seward himself testified to the fact that Theobald collated with accuracy,⁵¹ while there is an abundance of evidence that the latter realized the value of the old quartos, and recognized that a careful collation of them was necessary to the establishment of a good text.⁵² His emendations have been so overshadowed by his Shakespearean criticism that they have not received due attention, but one editor, at least, has praised them.⁵³

⁴⁹ *The Works of Mr. Francis Beaumont, and Mr. John Fletcher. In ten Volumes. Collated with all the former Editions, and corrected. With Notes Critical and Explanatory. By the late Mr. Theobald, Mr. Seward of Eyaur in Derbyshire, and Mr. Symson of Gainsborough. London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper in the Strand 1750.*

⁵⁰ Under Theobald's care were printed all of volume one, including *The Maid's Tragedy, Philaster, A King and No King, The Scornful Lady*; volume two to page 233, comprising *The Custom of the Country, The Elder Brother*, and nearly four acts of *The Spanish Curate*; and volume three to page 69, consisting of the first four and a half acts of *The Humorous Lieutenant*.

⁵¹ Vol. 2, p. 276.

⁵² Theobald is constantly correcting from the old quartos, which, he says, are the most to be depended on, and "are worth their Weight in Gold." Vol. 2, p. 102; vol. 1, 148. "I am sorry, I have Occasion so often to trouble the Readers with these *Minutiae Litterarum*: I am very far from pleading any Merit in it; but it is the dull Duty of an Editor to shew, at least, his industry in a faithful Collation of the old Copies." Vol. 1, p. 109. His last slap at Pope!

⁵³ See the introduction to Weber's edition of Beaumont and Fletcher.

They employ the same method and evince the same acumen and broad scholarship so characteristic of his earlier work.⁵⁴ Finally, in his illustrative notes are found a wealth of parallel passages drawn from the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Of Theobald's last days nothing is known except that they were embittered by a severe disease. After suffering from a jaundice for several months, he met a peaceful death on September 18, 1744. Two days later he was buried in St. Pancras cemetery, attended by one friend.

"He was of a generous spirit, too generous for his circumstances; and none knew how to do a handsome thing or confer a benefit, when in his power, with a better grace than himself."⁵⁵ Thus wrote one who had known him for thirty years. And in looking back over his career there appears little to blame and much to praise. Continually battling against adversity, the disheartening demands of poverty, and the cruel attacks of Pope, he bravely struggled through the task he had set himself. Sensitive, modest, lacking in self-confidence, his nature was all the more open to the thrusts of satire and the falsehoods of malice. Though for the most part suffering in silence and passing over with manly dignity the libels of his adversary, at times he showed a seeming vindictiveness, which, after all, was but the natural reaction of an oversensitive and underconfident nature to almost unendurable taunts. Even then he took no mean advantage, he indulged in no falsehood; he attacked only

⁵⁴ See vol. 1, pp. 30, 45, 142. Theobald wrote emendations and variant readings on the margin of his copies. It was his custom to put his initials where he intended a note or thought he had made an unusually good emendation. Seward tells us that in one place Theobald's initials, following a correction, are written in "old ink," while "First Quarto" is written in new, showing that his emendation independently made had been verified by collation. Vol. 2, p. 315.

⁵⁵ See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 745.

what was manifestly reprehensible. He made by far the best figure in the *Dunclad* war. In the midst of all the dirt and filth thrown up by both sides, he alone was free from stooping. Sympathetic, liberal, true to his friends, it is not strange that they so anxiously defended him. Only one proved recreant. Possibly it would be hard to find in history a man who has suffered more injustice at the hands of posterity.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROGRESS OF THE METHOD

THE early years of the eighteenth century witnessed numerous editions of the English classics, produced with little or no care.¹ The close of the century saw the modern method of critical editing fairly well outlined and established. In a way the change was gradual. Earlier editions were studied more carefully and their respective merits determined. The feeling for accuracy in collation gradually grew, fostered by the successful restorations made by each succeeding scholar. Investigation of earlier literature and history produced accumulative results that became the heritage of each subsequent critic and suggested further fields of research. Yet, as in most gradual changes, there was one point where development was turned in the right direction, where the path was so plainly pointed out that thereafter none needed to go astray.

In the first quarter of the century two methods had been followed in bringing the poets of the past before the public. One was employed by publishers who, thinking that some profit might be derived from reviving an old poet, issued an edition of him generally taken verbatim, with some extra errors, from the last printed copy. Such a production was

¹ The years intervening between Rowe's and Pope's editions of Shakespeare produced editions of Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton. In nearly all editions of earlier poets Tonson had a hand. Sufficient credit has not been given this publishing house for its part in these and later productions.

The Works of Ben Jonson, 1715–1716, which is purely a reprint of the folio of 1692 — itself a reprint of the 1640 folio — and contains neither introduction nor notes. Another was the edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, issued by Tonson in 1711, which is only a reprint of the folio of 1679, and with the exception of a preface contains nothing but the bare text.² The method, however, that grew in favor with the publishers was the engaging of some living poet to edit an older one. In this way they hoped to increase their profits since the fame of the editor would give luster to his edition. The procedure followed by these poetical editors was very simple. They depended chiefly upon the last edition of the poet, though sometimes pretending to collate older copies, prefixed a preface giving some details of the life of the poet and some remarks on his works, and sometimes added a glossary. Rowe's edition of Shakespeare made popular the prefatory biography, and Gildon added a glossary to Rowe's second edition.³ In his edition of the *Faerie Queene*, 1715, Hughes followed Rowe, while Fenton wrote a life for Tonson's edition of Milton, 1725.⁴ The climax in this kind of editing was reached in Pope's edition of Shakespeare, which, though the best and most ambitious of its kind, rang down the curtain on all such performances. The poetical editors were

² The preface, entitled "Some Account of the Authors and their Writings," mentions the quartos and the folios of 1645 and 1679 but says nothing of collation. It gives, however, something of the lives of the dramatists and the sources of many of their plays, all of which material was drawn from Langbaine.

³ Rowe revised the works of Massinger, and at one time intended to publish them. See advertisement prefixed to an edition of *The Bondman*, 1710.

⁴ William Broome carried to completion Urry's edition of Chaucer, 1721. Fenton's edition of Waller, 1729, shows the influence of *Shakespeare Restored* in its emphasis upon collation and in the explanation of words and historical allusions, wherein he quotes passages from various authors and "expounds the author by himself."

not averse to revising their poets, but their corrections were purely arbitrary though occasionally happy.⁵

Such was the state of editing when Theobald appeared on the scene. Familiar with the care employed by classical scholars on Greek and Roman writers, stimulated by the unusual interest in the new textual criticism, and thoroughly conversant with Bentley's method, he saw that to get results, it was necessary to treat Shakespeare's text as that of a classic. This realization led him to adapt Bentley's method to his own purposes in *Shakespeare Restored* and his edition of the dramatist. These mark the beginning of an epoch in English scholarship just as plainly as the *Epistle to Mill* and *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* mark a new era in classical research. The importance of Theobald's work lies in the fact that it inspired scholars with an interest in their native literature, created a demand for critical editions of English poets, and made popular a method which, with amplifications and modifications, has come down to the present day.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the service Theobald did for research in English literature when he turned the attention of scholars to a new field of investigation, a field that had either been unnoticed or scorned before. As long as editing remained in the hands of poets who were not scholars, there was no hope for any critical work. It was Pope's fame and not the worth of his edition that increased the interest already felt in Shakespeare. The merits of the work attracted no scholar, created no interest in the text. Its defects aroused Theobald, but Pope can be

⁵ Theobald constantly speaks of "poetical editors," and Zachary Grey divides Shakespeare's editors into critical and poetical. See preface to *Critical, Historical and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare*, 1745. See also *An Attempt to Rescue that Aunciente English Poet, and Play-Wright, Maister Williaume Shakespeare*, 1749, p. 20.

given no more praise for that result than can be granted Boyle for Bentley's *Dissertation*. Had not the scholar reviewed the poet's edition, textual criticism in the great dramatist could hardly have been awakened. On the other hand, the success of Theobald's method opened the eyes of scholars as well as of general readers of Shakespeare :

No sooner therefore were Criticisms wrote on our English poets, but each deep read scholar whose severer studies had made him frown with contempt on Poems and Plays, was taken in to read, to study, to be enamour'd; He rejoiced to try his strength with the editor, and to become a critic himself. ⁶

Theobald's first work on Shakespeare had created an unusual interest in the text, and when it became known that he was seriously intending an edition, many assistants were glad to render aid.⁷ Among these were several scholars, foremost of whom was Styvan Thirlby, editor of Justin Martyr, 1721. At first he had intended to edit Shakespeare, but upon learning that the task had fallen into able hands, he gave up the design and sent to Theobald his copy of the dramatist with marginal corrections together with a long list of emendations. He also promised, if his health permitted, to gather enough material to make an appendix to the edition.⁸ Another student of the classics who assisted Theobald with observations was Dr. Thomas Bentley,

⁶ Seward's introduction to edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1750, p. lviii.

⁷ When Theobald first closed his contract with Tonson, the latter assured him that he would have the assistance of all admirers of Shakespeare. Among those who contributed were Thomas Coxeter, Hawley Bishop, Martin Folkes, and an anonymous correspondent, L. H., who prefaced his corrections with the remark, "As I am very well satisfied with Mr. Theobald's capacity for the province he has undertaken, perhaps there may be none of these observations new to him." Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 631.

⁸ Nichols, *Illustration of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 222.

nephew of the great Bentley and editor of the "Little Horace."⁹ Still another was Nicholas Hardinge, who was a graduate of Cambridge and enjoyed some reputation in his day.¹⁰

The attention of scholars was turned not only to the Shakespearean text but also to the texts of other English poets. It is very probable that *Shakespeare Restored* inspired Bentley to his fatal edition of Milton.¹¹ For a number of years after the appearance of that monstrosity there persisted a feeling that it was the first critical edition of an English poet. Theobald, in claiming that honor for his *Shakespeare*, felt called upon to point out that his rival intended to show not how Milton wrote but how he ought to have written. Yet many years later Seward called Bentley, "the first remarkable introducer of Critical Editions of our English Poets," and said that the

strange Absurdities in his Notes on Milton has this good effect, that they engag'd a Pierce to answer, and perhaps were the first Motives to induce the greatest Poet, the most universal Genius, one of the most industrious Scholars in the Kingdom, each to become Editor of Shakespeare.¹²

Of course, the *Milton* is not a critical edition; it merely shows one phase of textual criticism gone mad. Yet while the editor established no method, he did call the attention of scholars to the text of the great epic.

Another classical critic to do pioneer work in the textual study of English classics was the Reverend John Jortin, a

⁹ Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, vol. 7, p. 427.

¹⁰ *Idem*, vol. 3, p. 367. Dr. Bentley praised one of his emendations on Horace. See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 1, p. 728.

¹¹ Jebb says Bentley first wrote criticisms on Milton in 1726, the year Theobald's treatise appeared.

¹² Introduction to *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1750, p. lviii. Seward is obviously wrong in implying that Pope, Theobald, and Hammer drew their inspiration from Bentley's *Milton*.

friend of Theobald and "a scholar in every sense of the word." Owing to the influence of *Shakespeare Restored* his first interest was in the subject of that treatise. He and Theobald had discussed the need of a revision of Shakespeare's poems, and had Thirlby published his edition of the dramatist, Jortin would have assisted in pointing out the passages wherein the classics seem to be imitated. Turning away from Shakespeare, however, in 1734 he published his *Remarks on Spenser's Poems and on Milton's Paradise Lost*, practically all of which are concerned with verbal criticism, though the author is somewhat fearful of emending.¹³ He points out Spenser's peculiarities in spelling, pronunciation, meter, and diction. He carefully studies the context of the passages he emends, and some of his remarks show Theobald's fondness for parallel passages.¹⁴

In the next quarter of a century nearly all the men who attempted critical editions of English poets were recognized classical scholars — Morell, Upton, Church, and Whalley — and those who were not, with one or two exceptions, had no claim to the title of poet. Shakespeare's first real editor showed that critical care could be expended on English classics with just as much profit and reputation as upon Latin and Greek authors. He took the task of editing out of the hands of poets and hacks, and gave it to those whose interest and abilities lay in research.

¹³ Theobald thought Jortin's work suffered from being too conservative, the author having been frightened by Markland's excessive emendations in the classics. See Appendix, p. 329.

¹⁴ See *Tracts, Philological, Critical, and Miscellaneous*, 1790, vol. 1, p. 192. While Jortin's notes are not very valuable, he at least realized their insufficiency, and acknowledged that he was unable to spend the time and application necessary for a critical edition of Spenser. He expressed the desire, however, to see the exact text restored by collation and by comparing the author with himself, a procedure Theobald had repeatedly emphasized.

Although scholars were the first to awake to the significance of the innovation that had been introduced into the study of English texts, the public became more and more interested. Theobald's edition of Shakespeare showed that careful textual and explanatory notes enabled the less learned to read older literature with a greater degree of pleasure and understanding. Thence gradually arose a demand for critical editions, and the incentive of praise, so powerful before in producing editions of the classics, prompted scholars to undertake English poets.

The favorable reception which the labours of those applauded men have met with from the public, who have given new and correct editions of our English poets, illustrated with notes, was a principal inducement for publishing the works of Jonson in the same manner.¹⁵

With both critics and general readers, English scholarship, was rising to an equal dignity with classical, and its value was firmly asserted :

To publish new and correct editions of the works of approved authors has ever been esteemed a service to learning. It is not material whether an author is ancient or modern. Good criticism is the same in all languages. Nay I know not whether there is not greater merit in cultivating our own language than any other. And certainly next to a good writer, a good critic holds the second rank in the republic of letters.¹⁶

¹⁵ Preface to Whalley's edition of Ben Jonson, 1756. Eleven years before, Whalley had said that although Shakespeare had been considered below his contemporaries, now he was extolled above all, owing to the labors of his editors. *An Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare*, 1745, p. 11.

Seward says that "Almost every one buys and reads the works of our late critical editors, nay almost every man of learning aims at imitating them and making emendations himself." *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1750, Introduction, p. lix.

¹⁶ Preface to Thomas Newton's edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1749. Another classical scholar of this period speaks to the same effect:

One of the elements underlying the romantic revival was an awakened interest in old poets.¹⁷ To Theobald belongs no small part of the credit for this movement. His critical method inspired scholars to resurrect poets who had lain in partial obscurity, and who, for the most part, had been looked upon only as objects of interest to antiquarians;¹⁸ while his numerous quotations from early writers tended to excite curiosity concerning them. Undoubtedly the growing appreciation of the literary heritage of the past was first stimulated by the efforts of critics and editors.¹⁹

Every reader of Taste must congratulate the present age, on the spirit which has prevailed of reviving our Old Poets. Within

“For the honour of criticism not only the divines already mentioned but others also, of rank still superior, have bestowed their labours upon our *capital* poets, suspending for a while their severer studies, to relax in these regions of genius and imagination.” James Harris, *Philological Inquiries*, Chap. IV, p. 25.

¹⁷ See W. L. Phelps, *The Beginning of the English Romantic Revival*.

¹⁸ “I cannot dismiss this section [Spenser’s imitations of Chaucer] without a wish, that this neglected author whom Spenser proposed in some measure, as the pattern of his language, and to whom he is not a little indebted for many noble strokes of poetry should be more universally and attentively studied. Chaucer seems to be regarded rather as an old poet, than as a good one, and that he wrote English verses four hundred years ago seems more frequently to be urged in his favor, than that he wrote four hundred years ago with taste and judgment. We look upon his poems rather as venerable relics, than as finish’d patterns; as pieces calculated rather to gratify the antiquarian than the critic. When I sat down to read Chaucer with that curiosity of knowing how the first English poet wrote, I left him with the satisfaction of having found what later and more refin’d ages could hardly equal in true humour, pathos, or sublimity.” Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, 1754, p. 141.

¹⁹ Seward speaks of “the merit of Criticism in establishing the taste of the age, in raising respect in the contemptuous and attention in the careless readers of our old poets.” *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Introduction, p. lix.

these few years, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, and Milton have been published with elegance and accuracy.²⁰

The opening of a new field for scholarship, however, and the promoting of a general interest in the literature of the past were but the result of the method Theobald established. The object of this method was twofold: the establishment of the most correct text possible, and the elucidation of that text. The first step taken was a careful collation of the earliest editions. Both Rowe and Pope claimed to have collated, but had done little in that direction. Again and again Theobald lashed their carelessness and insisted upon the need and value of a careful comparison of the various editions. While he left much to be desired in recording variant readings, he did note a large number, and where necessary, gave reasons for the selection or rejection of readings. If collation failed to remove obscurities, recourse was had to emendations, not the arbitrary changes characteristic of preceding editors, but changes supported by some evidence and made only where the need was shown. In the elucidation of the text, the plan most frequently followed was the quoting of parallel passages that illustrated the meaning of unfamiliar expressions. Obscure allusions were explained by quotations from the literature and references to the history of Shakespeare's time. Diligent use was made of

²⁰ *An Impartial Estimate of the Reverend Mr. Upton's Notes on the Fairy Queen*, 1759, p. 1. This sentence is immediately followed by another giving the reason for the popularity of critical editions: "They [the poets mentioned above] have been explained from a diligent examination of the writings of their contemporary authors; and in proportion as they have received this rational method of illustration, they have been studied with new pleasure and improvement. Among the rest Spenser, as he best deserves, has engaged the attention of ingenious critics." When we consider that "this rational method" was wholly unknown before Theobald made it popular, we see what he contributed to romanticism.

histories, dictionaries, glossaries, antiquarian productions, and such other works of reference as were then available. Finally, both textual and explanatory notes show a close study of the author and knowledge of his peculiarities in thought and style.

While the impulse to edit Shakespeare came from Theobald, directly or indirectly, the editors immediately following him did not show much familiarity with his method.²¹ Hanmer followed Pope, but used some of Theobald's material. Warburton contented himself with his former friend's collation, and stole from him to add to his own frequently absurd notes. And Johnson, intent on his common sense remarks, did not advance collation or investigation very far.

With the later editors of Shakespeare, however, the case is different: "So far as any later editor achieved success," says Professor Lounsbury, "it was by following and improving upon the methods which Theobald had adopted."²² In speaking of Theobald's death Warburton's biographer says,

Such was the end of him who first showed how Shakespeare's text was to be amended and illustrated, and whom succeeding commentators have followed, if not exactly, to borrow the illustration of Holofernes, *as a hound his master*, yet assuredly, at least the best of them, with close imitation.²³

One scholar, by no means friendly to Theobald, is of the opinion that by a careful collation of quartos and folios he pointed the way to the modern editor.²⁴ When the same

²¹ Johnson's interest in the text was probably inspired by Hanmer's edition, which, in turn, grew out of the interest aroused by Theobald's work. Warburton's study of the plays is directly traceable to his association with Theobald. See D. N. Smith, *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, Introduction, p. li.

²² *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 544.

²³ Watson, *Life of William Warburton*, p. 43.

²⁴ D. N. Smith, *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, p. xxix.

investigator later remarks that the best commentary on Shakespeare is the literature of his own age, he could very well have given Theobald the credit for the discovery of this fact also.²⁵ As Professor Lounsbury says, Theobald was the first to attempt a real collation of the sources of the text, and the first to illustrate its meaning by a study of contemporary Elizabethan literature.²⁶ Johnson gave Pope the credit for pointing the way toward collation; but though the poet spoke of collating the old editions, his failure to follow his own advice gave no weight to the suggestion. It certainly did not teach Hanmer, Warburton, and Johnson to be more accurate. To Steevens has been given the credit for first following Johnson's plan of illustrating Shakespeare by the writers of his time, but the method had been exemplified some forty years before.

The influence of Theobald's treatment of the text is immediately seen in those critical treatises, modeled upon *Shakespeare Restored*, which appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1740 Francis Peck published his *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton*, which contained a section entitled "Explanatory and Critical Notes on divers Passages of Milton and Shakespeare." Peck claims that his remarks on the dramatist were written in 1736, two years after Theobald's edition had been given to the public. Though he is not very fortunate in his emendations, which he advances in Theobald's manner, his explanatory notes are often valuable, for he followed his predecessor in bringing his extensive antiquarian knowledge to bear upon allusions to the customs and history of former times. In his explication of words and phrases he is fond of "expounding the author by himself," so that notes of this kind are exact copies of Theobald's. Another praiseworthy

²⁵ D. N. Smith, *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, p. xxxii.

²⁶ *Text of Shakespeare*, p. 544.

feature of the essay is the bibliography of Shakespeare's works, placed at the end of the chapter, and arranged in chronological order, which, besides being much more complete than any previous one, contains remarks on the various editions quoted from Theobald and Langbaine.

Another work which adopted the new method was Peter Whalley's *An Inquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare with Remarks on several Passages of his Plays* published in 1745. Only a minor part of the production is devoted to the question of Shakespeare's knowledge of the classics, the author adopting the moderate view that the dramatist had more learning than was generally accorded him. To support this opinion he lays much emphasis on the fact that the Hamlet story is contained in Saxo Grammaticus, and quotes a number of passages from Latin and Greek authors whom, he thinks, Shakespeare imitated. Throughout his discussion of the plays he adopts the historical point of view, explaining passages and allusions in Shakespeare by reference to the thought, customs, and literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There could hardly be a more emphatic testimony to the remarkable change that Theobald had introduced into the study of Shakespeare than this small publication which, besides drawing much unacknowledged information from Theobald's edition, follows his method in explaining Shakespeare by the times in which he lived, even touching on the dramatic history of that period.

Besides being the editor of one splendid edition, John Upton, prebendary of Rochester, was the author of three critical treatises on English poets. The first of these was *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, 1746. This volume is divided into three books. The first is concerned chiefly with a discussion of the plots and characters of the plays together with an account of the rise and development of the classical drama. The second is confined strictly to verbal

criticism, the first part defending the text against previous emendations, the second containing the author's own corrections. The third book contains, besides a treatise on the meter of English verse, a series of rules governing Shakespeare's stylistic and grammatical peculiarities.

The two great handicaps under which Upton labored were his failure to collate and his firm belief in Shakespeare's first-hand knowledge of the classics.²⁷ Being a good classical scholar, he was prone to explain everything as an allusion to the classics and to find classical parallels for almost every line.²⁸ Yet in the defense of the text against the emendations of others and in the support he gives his own corrections he shows that he has been to school to Theobald. He upholds the texts in a line in the fourth act of *Macbeth*, "Then, my queen, in silence sad," by quotations from Shakespeare, Milton, and Spenser, which show the meaning of "sad" to be "sober." He likewise supports emendations of his own by quoting parallel passages from Shakespeare and the classics.²⁹ In one place he adds many more examples to Theobald's account of the old Vice, and in the same manner. In supporting his change of "Adam Cupid" for "Abraham

²⁷ A different attitude to Shakespeare's learning is taken by the author of *An Attempte to Rescue that Aunciente English Poet, and Play-Wrighte, Maister Williaume Shakespeare*, 1749, who, following Theobald's lead, holds that the dramatist got most of his learning from translations. The writer is very much opposed to emending the text, on the ground that Shakespeare is too modern a writer to require anything more than correction of printer's errors and the restoration of passages found in the quartos. Yet he approves of a number of Theobald's emendations, praises his collation and bitterly attacks Warburton for his failure to acknowledge emendations derived from the earlier edition.

²⁸ Such, for instance, is his explanation of "We have scorched the snake" in the third act of *Macbeth*, which, he says, is an elegant and learned allusion to the Hydra.

²⁹ See pp. 192, 198.

Cupid" in the second act of *Romeo and Juliet*, he makes use of information furnished by Theobald's edition, and refers his readers to *Much Ado About Nothing*, "where Mr. Theobald's note is worth reading."³⁰ The method employed in drawing up the rules in the third book of the volume is exactly the same that had been used in *Shakespeare Restored*.³¹

In 1754 Zachary Grey published his *Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare, with emendations of the Text and Metre*, in the preface to which he says that in spite of the many editions of Shakespeare references to a great many laws and many allusions to historical incidents have been overlooked. As would be expected from this statement, most of his notes are explanatory; what emendations he does make are confined to meter. His investigation followed the lines laid down by Theobald, being devoted to Eliza-

³⁰ This manner of introducing Theobald's discoveries as if his own, only mentioning him toward the last, is seen again on page 255 where he gives the story of the Egyptian robber recounted in Heliodorus, refers to the passage in the fifth act of *Twelfth Night* where Theobald has given the story, and incidentally mentions the latter's note. It is strange that Theobald after having made the discoveries should have missed these two corruptions.

³¹ Upton is continually mentioning Bentley, whom he both admires and condemns, and often joins Theobald with him: "As Mr. Theobald and Dr. Bentley often tell us, that they had the happiness to make many corrections, which they find afterwards supported by the authority of better copies," etc., p. 236.

Three years later appeared *Remarks on Three Plays of Benjamin Jonson*, which has been attributed to James Upton, John's father, but which certainly belongs to the son. In addition to comments on *Volpone*, *Epicoene*, and the *Alchemist*, it contains a number of remarks on Shakespeare. The majority of the notes are devoted to showing classical parallels, and the remainder are chiefly explanatory. Upton draws on Theobald's edition for much of his information, while he employs the latter's method in illustrating Jonson by means of the literature and customs of his age.

bethan history and literature, as well as Chaucer and Skelton.³²

Besides being the occasion of many pamphlets, Warburton's edition of Shakespeare inspired Benjamin Heath's treatise on the dramatist, but the latter was not published until Johnson's edition made its appearance.³³ The author says he carefully collated Pope, Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*, and Johnson's *Remarks on Macbeth*. Not possessing the quartos or the two early folios, he relied mainly on Pope's and Theobald's collation. He claims that the explication of the true meaning of the old readings removed many obscurities; and, indeed, in attacking or supporting an emendation he relies chiefly on explaining the passage. Little evidence or illustrative material is introduced. For this reason he resembles Theobald only in the close study of the text. Most of his time is spent in agreeing with the latter's corrections, and attacking those of Warburton, whose "licentious criticism" he lashes most mercilessly.

The application of Theobald's method was not confined to Shakespeare. Although the great Elizabethan offered the most inviting field, the need for critical work on other writers impressed itself upon scholars, who soon saw that the treatment accorded the Shakspearean text could be applied with equal success to any poet of the preceding centuries.³⁴

³² Grey was handicapped in having only the folio of 1632 to collate. Many of his corrections are introduced from this edition and, therefore, are likely to be wrong. His notes bear a close resemblance to Theobald's. See pp. 2, 13.

³³ *A Revisal of Shakespeare's Text, wherein the Alterations introduced into it by the more modern Editors and Critics are particularly considered.* 1765.

³⁴ "Beaumont and Fletcher are another field of criticism next in beauty to Shakespeare, and like him over-run with weeds, many of which are, we hope, now rooted out." Introduction to *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1750, p. lxxiii.

Thus within a quarter of a century after the appearance of Theobald's epoch-making work critical editions of the most important English poets were attempted.

The first poet to benefit by the new criticism was Chaucer. In the sixteenth century two editions of him had appeared, Thynne's, 1532, and Speght's 1598, both of which made use of collation. The second work was immediately reviewed by Thynne's son, Francis, and had his *Animadversions* been printed, Theobald could not have claimed for *Shakespeare Restored* the honor of being the first attempt of its kind on an English poet.³⁵ Over two hundred years later John Urry undertook to edit Chaucer, but dying before the completion of his design, left the task to be finished by William Broome. Although agreeing with Tyrwhitt in thinking this edition the worst that had appeared, Professor Lounsbury is of the opinion that by a comparison of the manuscripts it made plain the path that must be taken.³⁶

Urry's work, however, was such a failure that the editor can hardly be said to have pointed the way to a good edition any more than the two earlier editors who had also employed collation. But the next attempt to edit the poet shows distinctly the influence of Theobald's method. In 1737 Dr. Thomas Morell, a classical scholar, issued a specimen of a new edition under the title *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer in the original, from the most authentic manuscripts, and as they are turned into Modern languages by several Eminent Hands, with references to authors ancient and modern, various*

³⁵ *Animadversions upon the Annotations and Corrections of some imperfections of impressions of Chaucer's Workes* was printed for the first time by H. J. Todd in *Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer*, 1810. Thynne refutes Speght's remarks and emendations by explaining allusions to history and literature, and upholds his own conjectures by quoting authorities. In short, Chaucer is treated like a classic text.

³⁶ *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. 1, p. 294.

readings and explanatory notes. The plan adopted was the same as that given to the world three years before: the collation of the best manuscripts, the recording of the most important variant readings, the explanation of allusions to history, mythology, and contemporary social life, and the defining of obsolete words by parallel passages. Professor Lounsbury holds that while the edition was by no means perfect, it contained much of value and was very good for its day:

The notes at the bottom of the page, with parallel passages explanatory of the use of words, frequently contained information of value, which has more than once been rediscovered in modern times and announced with a good deal of ostentation.³⁷

Another work that showed Theobald's influence was Zachary Grey's edition of Butler's *Hudibras*, 1744.³⁸ The editor was vicar of St. Giles and St. Peters, and a man of wide reading. Being a strong churchman, he got into many quarrels with dissenters, in the course of which he wrote numerous controversial books and pamphlets, and acquired an extensive knowledge of the puritan literature of the seventeenth century, so essential in illustrating Butler. The new field of scholarly activity opened by Theobald inspired him to put a critical hand to the *Hudibras*.³⁹

³⁷ *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. 1, p. 297.

³⁸ *Hudibras, in three parts, Written in the Time of the Late Wars; Corrected and Amended. With large Annotations, and a Preface.* By Zachary Grey LL.D. 1744.

³⁹ In his praise of *Shakespeare Restored* Concanen called especial attention to the opportunities *Hudibras* offered to the critic. While there is no evidence to the effect, Grey may possibly have read Concanen's statement. The large amount of illustrative material in the notes compels the belief that the editor was a number of years collecting it, which fact, together with Grey's high opinion of Theobald and the numerous references to his *Shakespeare*, makes it probable that the work was undertaken not long after Theobald's edition appeared.

Since the text of *Hudibras* offered no particular difficulties, most of the notes, as is mentioned in the preface, are explanatory, though there are a few places where new readings are introduced.⁴⁰ The pages are filled with references to every kind of writing:⁴¹ "Grey's knowledge of puritan literature enabled him to illustrate his author by profuse quotations from contemporary authors, a method comparatively new."⁴² Not only does Grey make use of puritan literature, but he also levies upon antiquaries, chronicles, medieval romances, Spenser, Chaucer and the Elizabethan dramatists. He is continually profiting by information given in Theobald's edition of Shakespeare,⁴³ and his notes explaining customs, words, or historical allusions are but copies of the Shakespearean scholar's.⁴⁴ So thorough was Grey's investigation that his notes are still valuable⁴⁵ and to him has been ascribed the method first exemplified in Theobald's work.

The poet whose influence was most widely felt throughout the declining years of classicism was Milton. The close of the previous century had seen his reputation slowly rising, and had witnessed at least one ambitious edition.⁴⁶ Interest

⁴⁰ See vol. 1, p. 10.

⁴¹ In his preface to his *Voyage to Lisbon*, Fielding speaks of the edition as the "single book extant in which above five hundred authors are quoted, not one of which could be found in the collection of the late Dr. Mead."

⁴² *D.N.B.*, vol. XXIII, p. 219.

⁴³ See vol. 1, pp. 6, 33, 42, 45, 50.

⁴⁴ See vol. 2, p. 33, where he makes use of information furnished by Theobald, and adds, "I do not advance this without some Authority, and a Quotation from *Ben Jonson* will do." See also vol. 1, p. 19, where he explains the meaning of "hight."

⁴⁵ See *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VIII, p. 463.

⁴⁶ Tonson's edition with Patrick Hume's annotations, 1695, "the first attempt to illustrate an English Classic by copious and continued notes." See J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition*, p. 148.

in the poet, however, received a tremendous impetus from Addison's criticisms in the *Spectator*.⁴⁷ The fruits of this interest are seen in Tonson's two editions, 1719 and 1725, in the first of which the publisher made use of Addison's remarks, and in the second prefixed a life written by Fenton. Though these editions and criticisms did much toward making the public more familiar with the epic, they did not stimulate interest in the text. This result was accomplished by Bentley's performance, which, though worthless itself, aroused other scholars to efforts in the same direction.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the extremity of Bentley's views made later critics more cautious. In his review of the edition Pearce is sane and sober, never hesitating to demolish the editor's belligerent corrections, though always treating him with respect. Jortin's notes, while in general uninteresting, throw some light on the text. John Hawkey, in his edition of *Paradise Lost*, published at Dublin in 1747, sought to establish the true text by a collation of the original editions. In every case the methods employed were Theobald's, not Bentley's.

But the one eighteenth-century edition of *Paradise Lost* that has claim to the title "critical" was prepared by Thomas Newton in 1749.⁴⁹ At one time a fellow of Trinity College

⁴⁷ Principally his *Critique on Paradise Lost*, which appeared during the first three months of 1712.

⁴⁸ For the various critical and biographical treatises on Milton, as well as editions of his poetry, see J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition*, chap. VI.

⁴⁹ *Paradise Lost. With Notes of Various Authors. London, 1749. Two Volumes.* "By the middle of the century there was full preparation already made for an extensive work on the part of a judicious critical editor. . . . The great work was the first various edition of *Paradise Lost* (May 20, 1749) which was indeed the first variorum edition of an English classic. . . . The work was generally applauded; and in various modifications became the standard edition of *Paradise Lost* for the remainder of the eighteenth century." — J. W. Good, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

through Bentley's favor, the editor later became chaplain to Pulteney, Earl of Bath, by whose aid he secured the rectory of St. Mary-le-Bow. In his preface Newton speaks of the esteem in which correct editions were then held, and argues in behalf of their value. Like Theobald he went to the classics for a model :

My design in the present edition is to publish the *Paradise Lost* as the work of a classic author cum notis variorum. And in order to this end, the first care has been to print the text correctly according to Milton's own editions.⁵⁰

These he took as the basis of his text, and realizing that there was less room for emendation in Milton than Shakespeare, claims never to have emended without noting the old reading and without giving some reason for the change. He followed Theobald in describing the purpose of his notes, which, he says, are critical and explanatory — to correct errors of former editions, discuss various readings, establish the true text of Milton, illustrate sense, clear syntax, explain uncommon words, and show imitations.

Many of the notes in this edition, especially the remarks of Hume and Addison, are concerned with aesthetic criticism, but Newton's annotations are devoted mainly to explana-

⁵⁰ Newton used notes of the following critics: Hume, Bentley, Pearce, Upton, Heylin, Jortin, Addison, Thyer, Fenton, Richardson, Birch, and Warburton. Though styling the remarks of the great scholar as the "dotages of Bentley," he considered some very useful. In this judgment he was doubtless influenced by Pope's copy of the marvelous edition, wherein the poet had commended many of the critic's corrections. Newton praises Pearce, and confesses that he was led by the latter's remarks to edit Milton. Upton's comments were taken from *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, while Thyer and Heylin sent manuscript notes. Some of Warburton's notes were taken from his contributions to the *History of the Works of the Learned*, 1738, while others were sent in manuscript by the author. Among the latter may have been Theobald's explanation of "pernicious," for Newton gives the same definition of the word. See vol. 1, p. 427.

tion and textual criticism, though his emendations are negligible. He defends the text against the corrections of earlier critics by quoting passages from Milton; in other words, by expounding Milton by himself. In giving explanations of words he draws on the literature known to the poet — Spenser, Shakespeare, Harrington, Bacon, and others. In short, he walked in the path that was fast becoming popular, and while Milton was almost too recent a writer to receive the treatment accorded Spenser and Shakespeare, Newton's notes are recognizably similar to Theobald's.⁵¹

With the exception of Shakespeare, Spenser was the subject of closer study than any other poet. The age of Pope, fettered with its critical prepossessions, had little knowledge of the poet and less appreciation of his poetry. Yet a series of satiric and burlesque imitations, as well as the serious admiration of a few men like Prior, had at least kept him in the public eye. Furthermore, the frequent references to the *Faerie Queene* in such critical works as had appeared attracted the attention of scholars burning with inquisitive zeal. As early as 1734 Jortin had made the poem the subject of a textual treatise; but it was not until the sixth decade of the century that critical interest in the poet reached unusual proportions. Within this period there appeared no less than four editions and three critical treatises.

The uncritical method employed in the first two of these editions⁵² prompted Upton to write his *A Letter Concerning*

⁵¹ See vol. 1, pp. 119, 400, 423, 428, and notes on Bk. II, ll. 108, 494, and Bk. III, ll. 335, 562.

⁵² A second edition of Hughes' edition, 1750, and Birch's reprint of the folio of 1609, 1751. Upton was among the first to realize that the proper editing of an English classic required learning and industry. He praised Jortin's refusal to edit Spenser because he lacked the requisite time, and lamented the fact that hasty editors with little learning or application were wont to hire themselves to booksellers. Their conduct, he says, could only be excused on the ground of poverty, an

a New Edition of Spenser's Faerie Queene. To Gilbert West, Esq. 1751. A large part of the letter is devoted to telling the story of the poem, explaining the religious symbolism, describing historical personages, who, the author thought, were disguised in the characters, and to pointing out classical imitations and imitations of Chaucer. The rest of the book is concerned with emending and explaining the text, in which task he follows the new method closely.⁵³ Furthermore, in giving the requirements of an editor, he merely restates what Theobald had established, that "an editor of Spenser should be master of Spenser's learning: for otherwise how could he know his allusions and various beauties." The fault with Upton's work, first evident in his *Remarks on Shakespeare*, is his constant introduction of the classics where they have no business, and his addiction to absurd etymologies, which, if credited, would force the inference that English was derived directly from Greek.

The most important contribution made at this time to Spenserian criticism was Thomas Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser*, 1754. To the author of this treatise has been given the honor of laying the foundations of historical criticism because he sought an explanation of the poem in the literature of and before the sixteenth century and in the customs and manners of the Elizabethan age.⁵⁴

excuse which did not apply to Rowe and Pope, between whom there was little to choose. Upton was the first to emphasize the duty of recording variant readings: "Methinks every reader would require that the last editor should faithfully and fairly exhibit all the various readings of even the least authority."

⁵³ See his correction of *bilive* for *alive* in Bk. 1, Canto II, St. 19. As a subscriber to Theobald's *Shakespeare*, Upton was in a position to learn the previous editor's method.

⁵⁴ Clarissa Rinaker, *Thomas Warton A Biographical and Critical Study. Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol. II, No. I, p. 47. The reviewer of Upton's edition of the *Faerie Queene*

But he can hardly claim this credit. The preface to Theobald's Shakespeare distinctly stated that an editor "should be well vers'd in the History and Manners of his Author's age," while the notes to the various volumes gave ample evidence of the editor's practice of acquainting himself with the literature accessible to Elizabethans. Possibly the consciousness that he was stealing another man's thunder induced Warton to omit Shakespeare when, in propounding Theobald's gospel, he says,

in criticism upon Milton, Johnson, Spenser, and some other of our older poets, not only a competent knowledge of all ancient classical learning is requisite, but also an acquaintance with those books, which though now forgotten and lost, were yet in repute at the time in which each author respectively wrote, and which it is most likely he read.⁵⁵

Warton approaches Theobald more closely than any other critic, a fact especially evident in his use of out-of-the-way reading to establish Spenser's sources. Compare, for instance, the passage in which he shows that Spenser was indebted to the *Morte D'Arthur* rather than to Geoffrey of Monmouth with Theobald's note showing that Shakespeare went to Wynken de Worde rather than Chaucer.⁵⁶ Further-

says of Warton: "Not content with the petty diligence of recovering lost syllables nor acquiescing in the easy talk of praising without reason, he has attentively surveyed the learning and the fashions which prevailed in the age of his poet. He had happily discovered the books which Spenser himself had read, and from whose obscure and obsolete sources he derived most of his principal fictions. By means of these materials, judiciously selected and conducted, he has been enabled to give the world a more new and original piece of criticism. than any before extant." *An Impartial Estimate of the Reverend Mr. Upton's Notes on the Fairy Queen*, 1759, p. 2.

⁵⁵ *Observations*, p. 243.

⁵⁶ *Idem*, pp. 15 ff., and ed. of Shakespeare, vol. 7, p. 14. Theobald's discovery first appeared in *Mist's Journal*, March 16, 1728. Warton makes the same use of the "Blatant Beast" that Theobald made of

more, the Spenserian critic makes the same use of parallel passages as the Shakespearean. When he says that to produce an author's imitations of himself is particularly useful in explaining difficult passages and words, he is merely stating in different language Theobald's dictum, "To expound an Author by himself is the surest Means of coming at the Truth of his Text."⁵⁷ In showing Spenser's peculiarities in spelling, versification, and language, and in defending a reading against Upton or explaining the meaning of a word, the critic produces, in Theobald's manner, a number of quotations from Spenser or contemporary literature.⁵⁸ Warton's textual criticism tallies in almost every detail with that of the previous scholar who must have been his model.⁵⁹

the "Sagittary." Because of his explanation the latter was impaled on Pope's satire for reading "All such reading as was never read." No wonder Warton took Pope to task for the line!

⁵⁷ *Observations*, p. 181, and *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 128.

⁵⁸ Compare *Observations*, pp. 84, 123, 201, 206, with *Shakespeare Restored*, pp. 8, 40, 110, 151. Below is a typical note from Warton:

"Because I could not give her many a *Jane*.

So Chaucer.

Of Bruges were his hosin broun,
His Robe was of Chekelatoun
That cost many a *Jane*.

Many a *jane*, that is, much money. Skinner informs us, that *Jane* is a coin of Geneva; and Speght Gl. to Chaucer, interprets *Jane*, half-pence of Janua, or galy half-pence:

As . . . Dere ynough, a *Jane*

And in other places."

⁵⁹ In the introduction to his edition of Ben Jonson, Gifford gave Warton the credit for originating the "cheap and miserable display of learning" shown in quoting many parallel passages. Yet the more modern editor adopted the practice — Theobald's not Warton's — in his own notes, and confessed that "Uncommon and obsolete words are briefly explained, and where the phraseology was doubtful or obscure, it is illustrated and confirmed by quotations from contemporary authors."

The year 1758 saw two critical editions of the *Faerie Queene*. The preface to the first, edited by Ralph Church, a master of arts of Oxford and a scholar of some note, gives a careful account and full description of the old editions.⁶⁰ Since the various editions are denoted by letters and numerals, the first instance of such a procedure, and since many variant readings are recorded at the bottom of the page, the volumes present a very modern appearance.⁶¹ For the first three books of the poem Church adopted as the standard text the quarto of 1590; for the second three books the quartos of 1596; and for the two cantos of the incomplete book the folio of 1609. He held that the later editions were of no authority, but in his footnotes he gave readings from them. Church's collation was careful and thorough; his faithfulness in recording variant readings surpassed that of any previous editor.

Church was incited to his work by the realization that Spenser needed a critical editor, a realization that was becoming more and more prevalent not only as regards Spenser but as regards all old poets. The method he employed was that originated by the man who first pointed out the need and value of critical research. When the Spenserian editor refused, without giving due notice, to introduce into his text any word differing from the editions he had accepted as standard, he was only following that radical departure from the ways of poetical editors which Theobald had established.⁶²

⁶⁰ *The Faerie Queene, By Edmund Spenser. A New Edition, with Notes critical and explanatory, by Ralph Church, M.A. Late Student of Christ Church, Oxon. In four volumes.* London 1758.

⁶¹ He refers to the quarto of 1590 as P. 1., the quarto of 1596 as P. 2., the folio of 1609 as L., the folio of 1611 as L. 2., Hughes' editions as H1, H2, and the edition of 1751 as B.

⁶² "Whenever I have ventur'd at an emendation, a Note is constantly subjoined to justify and assert the Reason of it." Edition of Shakespeare, preface, p. xliii.

From the latter also was derived the procedure employed in the explanatory notes. Church studies Spenser's metrical peculiarities and quotes numerous passages from the *Faerie Queene* to substantiate his conclusion. He has recourse to dictionaries, antiquaries, chronicles, and histories. In elucidating Spenser's expressions and allusions he makes extensive use of parallel passages quoted from the literature of the poet's time, such as Jonson, Sidney, Raleigh, Shakespeare, Fairfax, as well as Chaucer and Geoffry of Monmouth. In short, he has given to Spenser the same treatment accorded Shakespeare.⁶³

The other edition was by John Upton, a man whom we have had occasion to mention frequently, and who occupies a respectable place in early English scholarship.⁶⁴ He gives

⁶³ In his preface Church says that his edition "is intended for the use of the *English Reader*, but is submitted likewise to the judgment of the learned." Scholars were beginning to write for scholars and were willing to have their work judged by scholarly standards. Theobald had expressed the same sentiment: "As to my *Notes* (from which the common and learned Readers of our Author, I hope, will derive some Pleasure;)" etc., Edition of Shakespeare, preface, p. xliii.

Church seldom introduces his conjectures into the text. In the notes he produces them in Theobald's manner. See his emendation on the *Faerie Queene*, Bk. III, c. 11, st. 50: ". . . and boldly bad him bace. So all the editions. But I incline to think that Spenser gave

. . . and boldly bad *the* bace . . .

i.e. they boldly challenged each other to run after Ollyphant,

And each did strive the other to outgoe.

So Warner in his *Albion's England*, printed at London, 1598.

The Romaines *bid the bace* . . . (page 71) i.e. gave the challenge.

And again, page 73.

Even we do dare to *bid the bace*."

See also vol. 1, pp. 98, 179.

⁶⁴ *Spenser's Faerie Queene. A New Edition with a Glossary, and Notes explanatory and critical. By John Upton, Prebendary of Rochester and Rector of Great Rissington in Gloucestershire. In Two Volumes, London: MDCCLVIII. Upton intended to add a third volume consisting of Spenser's other works.*

an account of the old quartos and folios and takes as standard the same editions as Church. Although he consulted and mentions in his notes the later editions, he holds them of little authority; he cannot conceal his contempt for Hughes' production and the edition published under Dr. Birch's care, though really Mr. Kent's. While Upton is not as thorough in recording variant readings as Church, he gives a large number of those he thinks worth while. Refusing to introduce any of his conjectures into the text, he consistently relegates them to the notes. In this respect he was far ahead of the times.

Upton's notes contain a wealth of information. His illustrative material is drawn from authors contemporary with Spenser — Shakespeare, Sidney, Raleigh, Fairfax, Drayton. He also makes extensive use of the literature that may have played a part in the making of the *Faerie Queene*, many passages being quoted from Chaucer, Ariosto, Boiardo, Lydgate, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Besides these he consulted chroniclers, historians, and antiquarians. Most numerous are his quotations from the classics and references to the Bible. He practices Theobald's theory of "expounding an author by himself" by quoting many lines from Spenser, especially when showing the peculiarities of Spenser's spelling or meter. Generally speaking, his notes are valuable in that he brings to the study of the epic an extensive knowledge of the literature accessible to Spenser.

Upton's edition is one of the best of the eighteenth-century editions of any poet.⁶⁵ This fact is apparent even in the

⁶⁵ "To Upton, a man of rare learning and sagacity, the student is more indebted than to any other writer for elucidation of the authors whom Spenser had read or had imitated. Much is due to Warton and Jortin." F. G. Child, preface to edition of Spenser, 1855. In the preface to his edition of Spenser, 1805, the Reverend H. J. Todd says, "Of the *Faerie Queene* two separate editions by Mr. Upton and Mr.

glossary, which is a marked improvement on any previous one. Hughes' glossary was almost entirely copied from that of the folio of 1679, which was itself in large part taken from the glossary of E.K., the annotator of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. In two respects Upton departed from the model set by Theobald. Probably influenced by Johnson's dictionary, he introduced into his glossary rather than his notes many parallel passages illustrating the meaning of words. He also relegated the notes to the end of the second volume, leaving the pages free for the text.

More than any other, Spenserian investigation profited by the method first applied to Shakespeare. With this investigation Theobald was not directly associated. He was certainly a friend of Jortin and probably of Upton, but at no time showed any critical interest in the Elizabethan poet, though he gave evidence of his familiarity with the *Faerie Queene* by numerous quotations from it. Yet the fact that Jortin, Warton, Upton, and Church used a method which did not exist before Theobald, and which is almost identically the same as was used by the latter, forces the conclusion that they learned their handicraft from the subject of Pope's satire.

Not only as regards Spenser but also as regards other writers was the middle of the eighteenth century a period of unusual critical activity, during which the dramatists contemporary with Shakespeare came in for their share of

Church appeared in 1758, in which the diligence and utility of collation, more especially by the latter of these gentlemen, are as obvious as they are important." After speaking of the "excellent illustrations of Upton" and "important remarks of Church," Todd places before us his own method, the same as we have been tracing: "My own notes on the several poems, which I have presumed to lay before the public, consist not only of regulations of the text; but also of explanations arising from some attention to the literature of the age in which Spenser lived."

attention. As early as 1744 the appearance of Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays* gave notice that a part of the public was coming to some appreciation of Elizabethan drama. Since that footman-poet-publisher was in no way equipped for the office of editor, it is not strange that the dramas received little care, but the very fact that a publisher should think it to his profit to publish such a work is indicative of the changing taste of the times. In the following decade critical editions of Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and Massinger were attempted.

With each of these three editions Theobald was in some way associated. His part in the edition of Beaumont and Fletcher has already been discussed, but it may be well to repeat some of the points made. While the work is "the first serious effort toward a reconstruction of the text,"⁶⁶ it is not satisfactory. Those plays that came under our editor's supervision show a much more careful collation than the others. While he introduced into the text a number of his conjectures — the value of some has never received sufficient recognition — he drew most of his corrections from the old copies, the worth of which he fully appreciated. Although at his death, Seward and Sympson received "his valuable collection of old quartos," the remaining plays did not receive careful collation, and the license of emendation was indulged in to a much greater extent. The younger editors' ignorance of Elizabethan history, language, and literature caused them to emend where they should have explained, while they fell into the habit of collating only where there was some difficulty.⁶⁷ Yet the method they strove to follow was Theobald's, and their ill success was due to their own insufficiency.

⁶⁶ *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, edited by H. S. Murch, 1908, Yale Studies in English, xxxiii. Introduction, p. iv.

⁶⁷ Murch, *op. cit.*, p. iv.

The first critical edition of Ben Jonson appeared in 1756.⁶⁸ The editor, Peter Whalley, was a graduate of Oxford and vicar of Horley in Surrey; early in his career he had been a schoolmaster in Christ's Hospital. Although Whalley claimed that his edition was based on the folio of 1611 and the old quartos, he made the same mistake Theobald made with Shakespeare; he based his text upon the last printed edition, introducing into it the various readings drawn from the old copies, a procedure which militated against accurate collation. Furthermore, he recorded few variant readings, and did not always give a note when he deviated from the text.⁶⁹

Whalley's remarks on how to handle the text, remarks that have been styled "very just,"⁷⁰ read so much like those given by Theobald that it is difficult not to suppose that his preface was largely modeled upon the preface to Shakespeare.⁷¹ He himself bears witness to the fact that his methods were Theobald's. He had obtained the latter's copy of Jonson with marginal notes:

But altho the advantages of this copy were not so many as I had at first expected, it was a satisfaction to me to find that had Mr.

⁶⁸ *The Works of Ben Jonson. In Seven Volumes. Collated with all the Former Editions and Corrected; with Notes Critical and Explanatory. By Peter Whalley, Late Fellow of St. John's College in Oxford.* London. 1756. See *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VI, p. 470.

⁶⁹ See *The Alchemist*, edited by C. M. Hathaway, 1903, p. 10.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, p. 10.

⁷¹ Whalley says his plan is to exhibit the correct text and explain all obscurities due to Jonson's peculiar habit of thought and to obscure allusions to the times. He claims the right of correcting flat nonsense especially where the emendation follows traces of the text, though he believes no emendation should be made to improve the author himself. He states that many allusions need no correcting, but can be explained by expounding the author by himself. He gives warning that some of his notes are introduced merely to show imitations.

Theobald published an edition of Jonson's works, he would have proposed the same plan, and executed in the manner that I have done.⁷²

The notes bear out this statement. Many allusions are explained by references to the literature and customs of Jonson's time, while the meanings of many words are illustrated by quotations from Jonson and his contemporaries. Unlike Theobald, Whalley seldom supports his emendations, which are sometimes introduced without notice, but they are few and unimportant. Yet his own words, together with the fact that he frequently makes use of material furnished by Theobald's *Shakespeare*,⁷³ show whom he was imitating.

In 1759 appeared the first modern edition of Massinger, ostensibly edited by Thomas Coxeter.⁷⁴ The latter was a student at Trinity College, Oxford, but removed to London in 1710. Here he became acquainted with the booksellers and collected materials for some biographies of the old poets. Having gathered together many old plays, he once entertained the idea of publishing a selection from them, a plan afterwards executed by Dodsley. Though he did not follow up his design, he put his old quartos to good use. When Theobald began work on the edition of Shakespeare, Coxeter made his acquaintance and assisted him with various black letter plays, an obligation the former adequately acknowl-

⁷² Whalley, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, preface, p. xxix. Besides receiving help from Zachary Grey, Whalley was assisted by Theobald's collaborators, Seward and Sympson.

⁷³ *Idem*, vol. 1, pp. 39, 46, 77 and vol. 4, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *The Dramatic Works of Philip Massinger, Compleat in Four Volumes. Revised, Corrected, and all the various Editions Collated. By Thomas Coxeter, Esq., with Notes Critical and Explanatory, of various Authors. To which are prefixed Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers. Addressed to David Garrick, Esq.; London: Printed for T. Davies. 1761.* The first edition was issued by Dell in 1759, and did not contain the "Critical Reflections" (written by Colman).

edged in his preface. At the time of his death in 1747 Coxeter was engaged upon this edition of Massinger.

Some years later a bookseller named Dell took over the incomplete work and gave it to the public. The preface bears the statement that Coxeter spared no diligence in making the text as correct as possible by conjecture and collation and had prepared "several observations and notes for his intended edition," which were inserted. The reader is then assured that had the editor lived, he would have completed his design which would have met with a favorable reception from all persons of taste and genius. Thus it seems that about all for which Coxeter was responsible was the collation which wrung from unwilling Gifford an acknowledgment of the "ignorant fidelity of Coxeter."⁷⁵ In other respects Gifford was not so complimentary. He said that the editor did not have sufficient learning to correct corrupt passages; that his "conjectures are void alike of ingenuity and probability, and his historical references at once puerile and incorrect." Had Coxeter's labors not been cut short, he doubtless would have supported his corrections with some evidence, and the absence of such evidence must have been responsible for Dell's confession that the corrections had been tacitly inserted in the text for fear notes would only interrupt the reader.⁷⁶ In a few places there are emendations in Theobald's manner, while some of the explanations of words and allusions are fashioned in the standard mold.⁷⁷

Had the work been completed by the original editor, no doubt it would have been a creditable performance. Coxeter had the materials necessary for a good edition and the example of his friend as to how to use them. As the edition

⁷⁵ *The Plays of Philip Massinger*, edited by Gifford, 1805. Introduction, p. lxvi.

⁷⁶ See vol. 4, p. 254.

⁷⁷ See vol. 2, p. 372, and vol. 4, pp. 44, 312.

stands, it is impossible to tell to whom belongs the credit or discredit of the work. There are practically no critical notes on the text, and all others are rather scant. A large part are concerned with interpretative criticism, while others content themselves with parallel passages showing imitations. Yet a number explain old customs and historical allusions, thus throwing some light on Massinger.⁷⁸

Throughout this period every attempt at critical work on English texts was sure to show Theobald's influence. Some critics fell short of his standard, others improved on his practice, but in every instance the outline of his method is discernible. Yet there has survived to the present day the belief that the eighteenth century constantly associated his name with dullness. It must be admitted that if reliance is placed upon the comments made by the editors of Shakespeare who followed Theobald, his reputation declined rapidly after his death. These men unfortunately chose from various causes to depreciate and slander their predecessor. Warburton for obvious reasons had no good word to say in behalf of his erstwhile friend. Johnson was under obligation to Warburton for a timely word of praise and naturally took his side. Capell, Steevens, and others followed in the path thus marked out for them, sustained by the increasing credence Pope's fame lent to his libels.

Yet, for a considerable time after his death, Theobald's reputation was high, especially with scholars. Johnson

⁷⁸ The preface affords an interesting example of the way Theobald's idea of an editor's duty was taken over by others: "'Tis true, the Business of an Editor is to amend such Passages that he finds corrupt, to explain what is obscure and difficult, and to mark the Beauties and Defects of Composition." Theobald had said, "The Science of Criticism, as far as it affects an Editor, seems to be reduced to these three Classes: the Emendation of corrupt Passages; the Explanation of obscure and difficult ones; and an Inquiry into the Beauties and Defects of Composition." Preface to edition of Shakespeare, p. xl.

himself, in his *Observations on Macbeth*, 1745, had nothing but praise for the man he later attacked. The following year John Upton spoke highly of him.⁷⁹ In 1754 Zachary Grey singled him out to say that he had thrown a great deal of light on Shakespeare's obscurities.⁸⁰ Grey was of the opinion that the editor, "a person seemingly in other respects very modest," treated Pope too harshly notwithstanding *The Dunciad*; but he could not understand Warburton's treatment of Theobald. As late as 1765 Benjamin Heath, while speaking disparagingly of Shakespearean editors in general, made an exception of Pope's rival, saying that the public was under real and considerable obligation to him.⁸¹ The same year William Kenrick, in his review of Johnson's edition, treated Theobald with respect, while in his defense of the review he said that the critic was the only commentator on Shakespeare that had acquitted himself with reputation.⁸²

It was not until the last half of the century was well under way that the satire of Pope and the slanders of other editors obscured his fame. Even then the very things for which he had been satirized won a complete triumph over *The Dunciad*. The fact is apparent not only in the method employed by later critics, but in the definite stands some of them took. Johnson did not hesitate to attack Pope's "dull duty of an editor": "The duty of a collator is indeed dull, yet like other

⁷⁹ *Critical Observations on Shakespeare, passim.*

⁸⁰ *Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare*, preface.

⁸¹ *A Revisal of Shakespeare's Text*, preface.

⁸² *Defence of Mr. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnson's Shakespeare*, 1766, p. 9. Seward spoke of Theobald as one "who is most obliged to Shakespeare, and to whom Shakespeare is most obliged of any man living," and affirms that he was unblasted by the lightning of Pope. Edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1750, preface. See also the preface to Whalley's edition of Ben Jonson, 1756, where Theobald is indirectly complimented.

tedious tasks, is very necessary; but an emendatory critick would ill discharge his duty, without qualities very different from dulness." Especially did Pope's line "All such reading as was never read" arouse the ire of later scholars. Of this line Warton said,

If Shakespeare is worth reading, he is worth explaining; and the researches used for so valuable and elegant a purpose, merit the thanks of genius and candour, not the satire of prejudice and ignorance.⁸³

Farmer, though perpetually sneering at Theobald, was forced to the confession that, "In the course of this disquisition, you have often smiled at 'all such reading as was never read'; and possibly I may have indulged it too far: but it is the reading necessary for a comment on Shakespeare."⁸⁴ Strange as it may seem, Pope's characterization of Theobald was complacently accepted, yet the specific charges advanced by the satirist were denied. The editor was considered dull for the very offenses his calumniators were glad to commit.

One reason why in the end Theobald's reputation was unable to overcome the misrepresentations of Pope lay in the fact that as his method became more general, its source was obscured. The generation who knew Theobald and his works realized his importance and patterned their own procedure after his. Their work in turn became new centers of influence, so that by the last quarter of the century the later tribe of critics considered the method anybody's. Not only was he deprived of the honor of formulating and practicing a method by which results could be obtained, but his own results were continually pillaged by critics, to whom have been attributed discoveries made many years before.

⁸³ *Observations on the Fairie Queene*, 1807, II, p. 319.

⁸⁴ D. N. Smith, *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, 1903, p. 214.

Theobald the editor disappeared; Theobald the dunce survived.

Because Theobald's work ceased to be the actual model for later critics, it is unnecessary to trace the method any farther. Yet it has come down to the present day and constitutes the basic principles of modern editing. In the construction of an accurate text — the first duty of an editor — collation and the recording of variant readings are the most important considerations. Theobald first emphasized and established the importance of collation, and was the first to take any steps toward noticing variant readings. Emending has fallen from the high place it once held, but the imperative need of it is sometimes recognized, and in such cases the only method entitled to respect is Theobald's. He placed the science on the firmest foundation of which it is susceptible. In the explanation of a text the critical editor of to-day only enlarges on the earlier procedure. He must acquaint himself with the history, customs, and manners of the age in which his author lived; above all, he must study the literature and language of that age. This Theobald was the first to do. As for the parallel passages, which the first editor used on all occasions, and which flourished so luxuriantly throughout the rest of the century, their need is now largely supplied by dictionaries,⁸⁵ without which, however, it would be necessary to return to the old plan. The scholar of to-day has every aid to investigation, so that his research is naturally more thorough and his feeling for accuracy more pronounced; still, take away what Theobald contributed to the science of editing, and little is left.

⁸⁵ Johnson is generally given the credit for inaugurating the method of illustrating the meaning of a word by quotations. He probably took it over from the notes of critics and editors who followed the example set by *Shakespeare Restored*.

To Bentley, however, really belongs the credit for stimulating textual work in English, and in some part for formulating the method.⁸⁶ Theobald's treatment of collation and variant readings was derived from his study of the great scholar, while his emendatory notes were closely modeled upon the other critic's. In explanatory notes the parallelism is not so close, owing to the dissimilarity of their tasks, but the same spirit that informs Bentley's work is apparent in the Shakespearean annotations. In both there is the same unwillingness to deal in random guesses and unfounded hearsay, the same reliance on reasoning based upon fact, upon evidence gathered from wide investigation and focused upon obscurity; a spirit first seen in the members of the young Royal Society, with whom Bentley was closely associated, and who, in spite of many freakish experiments and outlandish notions, broke away from tradition and superstition, and sought the reassuring conclusions drawn from observed fact and logical thought.

⁸⁶ The late Professor Flügel was certainly wrong in saying "Shakespearean scholarship, from Rowe to Malone, does not even find a standard of textual criticism to be applied to Shakespeare's works: Bentley's influence is not felt on this field." This is the very field in which Bentley's influence was most potent, as we would expect from the emphasis he himself placed on textual criticism. See *Flügel Memorial Volume, Univ. of Cal. Publications*, 1916, pp. 18, 20, 30.

APPENDIX A

“BIBLIOTHECA: A Poem, Occasioned by the sight of a Modern Library. With some very useful episodes and digressions,” is to be found in the third volume, page 19, of *A Select Collection of Poems*. 8 vols. London. 1780, printed for and by J. Nichols. In a footnote Nichols says, “This is ascribed to Dr. King upon conjecture only. It was published in 1712, the winter before he died, by his bookseller, inscribed to his patron, and is very much in his manner. His name is accordingly affixed to the author’s notes.” It is now given to Thomas Newcomb, though on what grounds I do not know. It seems to be written very much in King’s manner, especially when we compare this quotation with that from *Some Account of Horace’s Behaviour*, given in Chapter II.

The idea of the poem was evidently derived from *The Battle of the Books*. The poet goes into a modern library, and, the books impersonating their authors, the poet discusses them one by one; Defoe especially comes in for some hard knocks. Nichols (p. 65) points to the similarity between the Oblivion of this poem and the Goddess of *The Dunciad*, and adds that there are many more points of similarity. He then compares the first two lines of the passage quoted with these two in *The Dunciad*.
Bk. IV, line 219,

“’Tis true, On words is still our whole debate
Disputes of Me or Te, of aut or at.”

Compare the following selections also :

Bibliotheca :

Beneath a dark and gloomy cell
A lazy Goddess chose to dwell

· · · · ·
Oblivion was her dreaded name ;
On verse and laudanum she feeds,

· · · · ·
Each weeping wall bedew'd appears
With Cloe's sighs, and Strephon's tears ;
Sad dirges, breathing Lover's pain,
And soft complaints of Virgins slain :
While Female Sonnets, Poet's Themes,
Beaux Stratagems, Projectors' Dreams,
Around the lonely structure fly,
Slumber awhile, and gently die.

Dunciad :

Here stood her opium, here she nursed her owl.

· · · · ·
Hence hymning Tyburn's elegiac lay,
Hence the soft sing-song on Cecilia's day,
Sepulchral lyes our holy walls to grace
And New-year-Odes and all the Grubstreet race."

Other parallels between the two satires could be shown.

APPENDIX B

The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace. In Latin and English; with a Translation of Dr. Bentley's Notes. To which are added Notes upon Notes. In 24 Parts complete. By several Hands. London; Printed for Bernard Lintott at the Cross-Keys, between the two Temple-Gates in Fleetstreet, MDCCXIII.

This work is a collection of twenty-six pamphlets, the first two being a translation of Bentley's dedication and "The Life of Horace with Bentley's Preface, Latin and English." The other twenty-four are devoted to a translation of Horace and Bentley's notes, to which are added the notes on notes. These last are rather abundant at first, but toward the end become short and scarce, many odes being passed over entirely. Of the twenty-four parts, seventeen appeared in 1712 and seven the following year. Monk thinks they were issued fortnightly.

As regards authorship, Monk says (*Life of Bentley*, vol. 1, p. 319): "There appears once to have been a notion that the author was no other than Bentley's old enemy, Dr. King. A copy of the book, in an old binding, shown to me by Mr. Evans, the eminent book seller of Pall-Mall, is lettered *King's Horace*. But Dr. King was dead some time before the completion of the work. The writer might have been another person of the same name." Now it is generally attributed to William Oldisworth (*Notes and Queries*, 1865, vol. 2, p. 229; and article on Oldisworth in *Dictionary of National Biography*). A translation of the poems alone,

issued in 1719 as the second edition, bears Oldisworth's name as translator. On this evidence, however, I hardly think it safe to attribute the whole work to him. The title page of the 1713 edition says specifically "By several Hands." It seems natural that Oldisworth should have been selected to translate the poetry, for Lintot says (Carruther's *Life of Pope*, p. 141) "he translated an ode of Horace the quickest of any man in England." Nor do I think it improbable that King translated the notes and wrote the notes upon notes. He did not die until late in December, and, according to Monk's calculation of two weeks for each part, the work must have been completed some three months later. It seems possible that King might have completed his task before Oldisworth had done his, since it would certainly take longer to translate the odes than Bentley's notes and since the notes on notes are very scarce toward the end. The notes are in King's manner and contain allusions to his works. Bentley is called Bentivoglio (Pt. I. p. 13), a name used in the *Dialogues of the Dead*, and a similar description of him is given. There are two references (Pt. 4, p. 6, Pt. 15, p. 31) to the Trinity College Buttery which figured in King's *Some Account of Horace's Behaviour*, and a picture of Bentley which must have been made from the same plate used in the *Some Account*. One note (Pt. I. p. 23) reads much like *Useful Transactions*, and the doggerel poems scattered through the notes are the same in purpose, spirit, and nature as those in the *Transactions*.

APPENDIX C

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF THEOBALD

THE originals of the following letters, with a few exceptions, are to be found in the British Museum, Egerton MSS. 1956, contained in a small volume labeled "Letters of L. Theobald and Dr. Warburton." They supplement those given by Nichols in *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 189-656, beginning with December, 1729, and extending to the fall of 1736. Nichols said he obtained the originals of the letters he published from a gentleman who had received them from Theobald's son. In this case the letters herein printed must have remained in Warburton's hands, a conclusion further supported by the fact that there is contained among them a statement in Warburton's handwriting to the effect that he had returned many of Theobald's letters. In April, 1730, the latter wrote for his letters, and the following month acknowledged their receipt, promising at the same time to return them, which promise must not have been fulfilled. There are four more of Theobald's letters, all containing notes on Shakespeare, given in the *Illustrations*, which Warburton must have returned at some later date, as well as five of Warburton's which Theobald missed when he sent back his friend's correspondence in 1736.

Warburton made it a point to return all his friend's manuscripts which contained notes on Shakespeare. For that reason there is little Shakespearean criticism to be found in the following letters, a fact much to be deplored. Yet they have some value in the light they shed on Theobald's feelings and activities in the years following the

Dunciad, and especially in making clear the cause of the break between the two friends.

I have tried to print the letters as Theobald wrote them, making no effort to correct punctuation, capitalization and the like. In the Greek quotations I have not sought to emend in accent and form. I have made few omissions, and those only in cases where the passages are already in print. To each omission attention is called in a footnote, and the place specified where it can be found. With a few exceptions, which are noted, all the letters are addressed to Warburton.

[*To Sir Hans Sloane*]

¹ Sir,

I presume on the privilege of a Neighbour to inclose herewith One of my Proposals, & beg the Honour of yo^r Name to grace one part of my List. In your own Profession Sir, I have been indulg'd wth. the Encouragem^t. of D^r. Mead, poor D^r. Friend, D. Pellet &c having a pardonable Ambition, as I hope, of desiring such Names as may do my Subscription most Credit. Forgive Sir my not personally attending you, & please to impute it to a Fear of being too intruding; as I never had the Happiness of Access to you. If you please to think me worthy of your Commands, I shall with great Pride embrace the Favour, & esteem myself

S^r.

your most obliged, as well
as obedient humble

Serv^t.

Wyan's Court
Great Russell Street
Mond. 5 Aug^t. 1728.

Lew. Theobald

¹ British Museum, Sloane Mss. 4049, f. 214.

(4). p. 71.²

The fairest grant is the Necessity:] I don't clearly comprehend, at least satisfy myself in the connection of This.

(5). p. 73.

I wonder that Thou (being as thou say'st thou art, &c) As being born under Saturn may carry two different Influences, I am a little doubtfull concerning the Exposition or the Truth, of the Text here. Does he mean, I wonder y^t thou, being born under such a malevolent planet, should'st give such good & moral counsel? — Or are we to read — I wonder not that thou &c & then we may expound, I don't wonder, y^t Thou being born under such a heavy, plegmatic Aspect, should'st be so moral in thy Advice, but I cannot hide what I am &c.

(6). p. 74.

Being entertain'd for a Perfumer, as I was *smoaking* in a musty Room.] This is ag^t the Authority of the 3 oldest Editions, w^{ch} all read more rightly to y^e Poet's Intention — as I was *smoaking* a musty Room. i.e. fumigating, perfuming, taking off the ill scent.

(7). p. 77.

Bene. Well, I would you did like me.] This and the two subsequent little Speeches, y^t are given to Benedict, I think ought to be placed to Balthazar. Pedro, you will observe talks to Hero: Balth: to Margaret: Ursula to Antonio; & then Beatrice & Benedict advance their Dialogue.

² The beginning and end of this letter are missing, but its date lies between November 29 and December 4, 1729. Its proper place in Nichols is after p. 299, vol. 2. The play commented on is *Much Ado about Nothing*.

(8). p. 81.

Huddling jeast upon jeast, with such IMPOSSIBLE conveyance upon me, that I stood like a Man at a Mark, with a whole Army shooting at me;] This impossible conveyance communicates no sensible Idea to me, & I have of old suspected it should be — with such IMPASSABLE conveyance. i.e. not to be put by, parried, avoided. We have a sentence very near to This in Sense in Twelfth Night. p. 232. And he give me th —— ³ STUCK in with such a MORTAL MOTION that it is INEVITABLE.

(9). p. 83.

Claud. And so she doth, Cousin.	}	Should not this be rather, Good Lord, our Alliance! i.e.
Beatr. Good Lord, for Alliance		

how presently are we related, now you are going to marry my Kinswoman.

(10). p. 84.

She is never sad but when she sleeps, and not ever sad then; for I have heard my Daughter say, She hath often dreamt of Unhappiness. &c.	}	I have suspected this should be, — She hath often dream'd of an happiness, &c i.e. She hath often had

merry Dreams, ergo as is premis'd, She is not ever sad when She sleeps.

(11). p. 88.

We'll fit the kid-fox with a pennyworth.]	}	With a penny worth
of what? I don't well take his Allusion.		

³ MS. is torn.

(12). *ibid.*

Note this before my *Notes*. There's not a *Note* of mine
that's worth the *noting*.

Pedr.	Why these are very Crotchets that he	}	Sure from Balthazar's
	speaks		
	Note Notes foresooth, & <i>nothing</i>		own Words it must be—and noting.

(13). p. 91.

O She tore the Letter into a thousand HALFPENCE] This is a very whimsical Expression, yet I think I understand it. Does he not mean into a thousand Pieces of the same Bigness. There is a passage in AS YOU LIKE IT p. 350, that favours this explanation — There were none principal: they were all like ONE ANOTHER as HALF-PENCE are. And both these Passages seem to allude to the Old Piece of money that was struck with a cross in such a Manner, that it might be split into Halves or Quarters, to pass for Half-pence or Farthings.

Now as my Queries on the second Act are finish'd here, give me leave, Dear S^r. to fill up the Remaining Paper wth Matter occasionally necessary. I confessed the Rec^t. of Two of yours by mine of y^e 27th Instant; & yesterday yo^r. 3^d. arriv'd on TIMON all glorious Dissertation and Emendation! If this be *deviating*, 'tis to me delightfull Excursion; & gives even Business the Air of Entertainment. Yet while I wish for the Repetition of such Discourses, I cannot but look on them wth Emulation; I might almost be pardon'd, if I said wth Envy. I find myself so obscur'd by Inequality; You shew such a Fluency of Thought & Expression, such a clearness of Ideas, & such a Compass of general Reading, y^t. I can much easier admire than express my admiration. Make no rash Vows, that you will *start out* no more; permit me both to be pleas'd wth. Order, & ravish'd with *Escapades*,

as Dryden expresses it. Nor grudge me, Dear S^r., the benefit of y^r Explanations, by paying a compliment to my narrow Sagacity — But how shall I sufficiently thank you for that overkind Opinion you are pleas'd to entertain of my Task in Hand? Believe, S^r., I will faithfully consult my Reputation as well as private Honour, in this Respect; that if I live to any little portion of Posterity, I shall be so just to confess you One of my *Supporters* in y^t. Rank. & take a Pride to acknowledge both what Emendations I am indebted to you for, & where I have the pleasure of your concurrence to Mine.

But as our Author's Hamlet says — Something too much of This. —

The small compass of paper I have left shall be employ'd to inform you how I had cur'd three passages in Timon of w^{ch} you have given me your Emendations.

p. 117.

Serving of Becks &c] You ingeniously correct *serring* of becks. I wish the phrase be not a little too quaint. I have read, wth. very trivial Deviation from the Letter, *Seruing of Backs*, & *jutting out of Bums*. For *Apemantus*, I think, is observing on the unreasonable Distortions practis'd in their *Congees*.

p. 130.

Of the same piece is ev'ry Flatterer's SPORT.] You say COAT. & This is countenanc'd by *piece*. I had read, (as, the World's Soul, are the Words in the preceding Verse) Of the same piece is ev'ry Flat'rer's SPIRIT: i.e. all Flatt^rs are of a piece one with another.

p. 168.

— let him take his TASTE]. You read TATCH. This word is in Skinner, but I'm afraid a little too obselete for

Sh. I had read — let him take his HASTE. i.e. let him make use of his best Speed. As in Haml: p. 314. Take thy fair hour Laertes: i.e. make Use of the Hour y^t favours y^r Embarking. And Plutarch telling this very Story of Timon in the Life of M. Anthony (& our Author you know is very faithfull where he borrows:) seems to give a Sort of Authority for this Reading, where part of Timon's Words are; To the End that if any more among you have a Mind to make the same Use of my Tree they may do it SPEEDILY before it is destroy'd.

I have yet a scrip left & therefore I'll trouble you wth. 2 Passages that I think are notoriously corrupted in the Pointing, a little deeper in this play, & w^{ch} I wonder have escap'd you.

My dear Friend,

Pardon me for once, that I am oblig'd to give you the Ex-
pence of a Letter, without our delightfull Affair going on. I thought it however my Duty to give you a Line, y^t. I might not seem remiss where you are so kindly diligent. But I flatter myself y^t. you will not be displeas'd to know, y^t. Orestes is now upon a Rehearsal; & y^t my whole present Time from Morning to Night, is employ'd in a Copy by his Royal Highness's Command. By Thursday's post notwithstanding I hope to fetch up Arrears. Excuse for the present, strong as my Heart is, the tir'd Hand of Dearest S^r.

Y^r. most affectionate
& ever oblig'd Friend & hum^{ble}.
Serv^t.

Lew: Theobald.

Wyan's Court
10 Feby. 1729. [1730]

14 Feb. 1729. [1730] My Dear Sir, I have now finish'd this part of my Task, & have given you all the Remarks, Conjectures & Emendations I have made upon y^t Author whom I have read for your Service. Your Merit & Goodness make me wish them of more Worth I have now nothing to do but to follow you, & w^t Emendations, or Conjectures, or Explanations I shall hit upon will arise from the Hints your Queries will afford.

I am, Dearest Sir,
y^r most sincere & affectionate
Friend.

Dear Sir

I am now to acknowledge the Rec^t of yours (No 32) of the 13 Instant, & to thank you for yo^r kind promise of reading over M^r P's preface for Me. The question of Shakespeare's Learning, I believe you'll find so very doubtfully decided by him, that the argument will put you in Mind of — *Jean a dancé mieux que Pierre, et Pierre a dancé mieux que Jean; etc* — And now, Dear S^r, that we have on each side run through all the 8 vols. I must beg the favour that you will set what mark you think fit on my poor Sett of letters, & transmit 'em to me; & I will promise faithfully, they shall be returned again to you, if you think fit, et si res tanti est. As I could keep no copies, it will be impossible, in so long an intercourse to recollect all my reasons for the Conjectures I have submitted to you; and to have them in hand to compare with your answers, will be absolutely necessary to my task in hand. I beg you will favour me with a letter of advice, how, & when, you are pleased to send them. You once asked me about Tonson's Greek Edition of Plutarch; He has now advertis'd the pub-

lication of it — By the way, that gentleman & I are coming to a Treaty together. He has been wth my friend, the Lady De la Warre, & submitts to make her the Arbitress of Termes betwix us for my publishing an edition of Shakespeare. He says, a brace of hundreds shan't break agreement. This is talking boldly; & I wish heartily his name was John. I shall know the Issue of this Proposition in about a fortnight; & so soon as known, wth great pleasure communicate it. These things premis'd, you will indulge me in a few conjectures, (to fill up,) which I am always pleased to submit to you. You have not Locrine, you say, by you; but the passage, I am going to amend, will ask no Reference, I think for the certainty of my conjecture.

Act 3. Sec 5.

The Arm-strong offspring of the DOUBTED KNIGHT,
Stout Hercules, Alcmena's mighty Son,
That tamed the Monsters of the threefold World; etc.

The good editors that passed this stuff unsuspected, have had so little of the Herculean Spirit in them, subduing monsters, 'tis plain is none of their office. The *Doubted Knight*, I make no question, they look on content for Amphitryon; either as his fatherly Pretensions to Hercules were to be disputed, by Reason of the Pains Jupiter took in begetting him: or as the epithet *doubted* hero, by an *apocope* warrantable enough among the old English poets, might stand for *redoubted*; the valiant renown'd Amphitryon. — But, in my opinion, Hercules is sufficiently distinguished by being called Alcmena's mighty son; & therefore we may spare the Mention of his Father. But can we throw out the Father, without making *the Blank Verse halt for it*? I'll venture by the alteration of one Mistaken Letter, & the Rejection of another, which is but an Inter-

loper, to restore a Reading truly Poetical & consonant to the Tradition concerning the Begetting of Hercules. As thus.

The valiant offspring of the Doubled Night.⁴
Stout Hercules, Alcmena's mighty son, etc.

As M^r Rowe was so well acquainted with poetical story, tis much, methinks, he did not remember this noted circumstance of the Fable, that Juppiter for the fuller enjoyment of his pleasure with Alcmena, ordered two nights to be clapt together, & that the sun should not rise at the expected hour. Seneca, or whoever else has left us the Latin Tragedy of Agamemnon, is express to this point — *Roscidae Noctis gemnavit horas, jussitque; Phoebum tardius celeres agitare currus,* — Propert. l. 2. El. 22. Jupiter Alcmenae geminas requieverat Arctos Et Coelum *noctu bis sine rege fuit.* Martian: Capella speaks of these two nights clap'd together, & of Hercules in his cradle strangling the Serpents, as Testimonies of his Divine Origin. In *ortu Herculis geminatae Noctis* obsequium, serpentesque; *idem parvus, oblidens, vim numinis approbavit* — And S^t Jerom against Vigilantius says, that Jupiter coupled two nights caressing Alcmena, that Hercules might derive the more strength & vigour. In *Alcmenae adulterio duas noctes* Jupiter Copulavit, ut *magnae fortitudinis Hercules nasceretur.* I might multiply quotations, but these seem sufficient to justify my Conjectures. Glancing over the 2^d p^t of Henry IV p. 303. I started a suspicion upon the following passage: —

When your own Percy, when my heart-dear Harry
Threw many a Northward Look, to see his father
Bring up his powers, but he did L O N G in vain! —

⁴ The emendation is adopted and ascribed to Steevens in Tucker Brooke's edition of the Shakespeare apocrypha.

I think the turn & elegance of the Sentiment, to say nothing of the common usage of our poet, determine that we should read;—but he did LOOK in vain! When I made this emendation, a passage of Aristophanes immediately recurred to my memory, upon which I have ventured to make a conjecture. Thesmoph. v. 853.

ἸΛΛΟΣ γεγενημαι προσδοκῶν ὁ δ' οὐδέπω. Mnesilochus, who is under guard and under terrible apprehensions of being severely mauled by the women for intruding into their mysteries very earnestly expects Euripedes to come to his rescue; & complains that he has almost turned his eyes a-Squint, with thus expecting him. Keuster, you see, determines the passage to be corrupt; because *expectation never made any man Squint*. He would therefore substitute ἌΤΟΣ γεγενημαι — the use of which phrase in his sense, I confess, he very satisfactorily supports. I would only observe that this learned man, when he but few years before published his Suidas, & met with this word under the article ἀνεφερε — Τὰ μὲν αὐτός ην ὑπο φοβου — Scil. Partim vero a Timore exsiccatus, is for Changing it into ἀνέως; mutus prae Timore, *Vulgata enim Lectio inepta mihi videtur*. I agree with him that literally, expectation never made any Man Squint: but, in expecting we may turn our Eyes so long one Way, thro' Eagerness of looking out for the expected Object that we may strain the Nerves so as to squint, till we unbend & recover them to their right Tone. Again, Ἴλλος possesses not only all the Copies of Aristophanes but of Suidas too, who quotes a part of this very Verse. Ἴλλος γεγένημαι ὁ δ' οὐδέπω. My Suspicion then dear Sir is that if there be any Corruption, it may be on the Word προσδοκῶν, which is not quoted by Suidas. Might not Aristophanes possibly have wrote? Ἴλλος γεγένημαι ΠΡΟΣΔΡΑΚΩΝ ὁ δ' οὐδέπω. Conversis ad eum intente oculis, Strabus factus Sum: Ille vero nusquam adhuc

apparet. *προσδερχεσθαι* you know is a very emphatic Verb, & I need not incumber you with Proofs of its Usage in this Signification, particularly with the Dramatic Writers — And now I am in for It expect to be plagued with a little more Greek.

The Pleasure you say, my Explanation of Suidas gave you, about Sophocles declaiming for a Chorus to be granted to some of Thespis & Choerilus's Pieces, invites me to trouble you with another Attempt I have made upon that Author in which I think, I can both correct & explain him. I wish my Emendation were upon a more decent Subject; but where the cause of Learning is concerned & Modesty preserv'd as far as may be, I hope, we need not stand on Niceties — ΦΑΝΗΣ ἐν τοῖς ὀρφιχοῖς εἰσηνεχθη ὁ φάνης, αἰδοῖον ἔχων περιτήν ΠΥΓΗΝ — What a drole Figure have we here represented to us in the Statue of a Deity, Penem habentis JUXTA NATES! Methinks considering how near Neighbours these Parts are in their Situation, there is nothing particular enough in such an Image, y^t it should deserve to stand recorded on that Account. I do not much admire, that this Passage escaped the Suspicion of the learned Keuster in so long a Task as republishing this whole Lexicon: opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum: but I am surprized that D^r Bentley should let it slip without Notice; who, in his Epistle to D^r Mill, has been so copious in speaking of *Phanes, Metis & Ericapaios*. But before I proceed to my Emendation, let us examine by the way who this Deity called Phanes was; & we shall find him to be Apollo or the Sun. *φαναῖος ὁ Ἀπολλων*, says Hesichius. And Macrobius in his Saturnal. line 1. c 17; Pleriq; autem a specie et nitore Phoebum: i.e. *καθαρον λαμπρόν* dictum putant; item Phaneta appellat, ἀπό τοῦ φαίνειν; et φαναῖον, ἐπειδὴ φαίνεται νεός. Again the same Deity who in some places was called Phanes was also called Priapus, Orpheus, or Onomacritus, in his hymns.

κατὰ κόσμον

λαμπρὸν ἄγων φαος ἀγνὸν, ἀφ' οὗ σε ΦΑ'ΝΗΤΑ

κικλησκω,

Ἡ δὲ ΠΡΙ'ΗΠΙΟΝ ἄνακτα.

And by the Egyptians, Orus. Suidas, in *πριαπος* — τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ πριάπου, τοῦ Ὄρου παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις κεκλημένον ταυτὸν καὶ τῷδε ΗΛΙΩ δοξαζουσι. But let us see how the Lexicographer describes to us the Statue of this Priapus, or Egyptian Orus: ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον κατέχων ὡσανεὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐντεταμένον, διότι τα κεκρυμμένα ἐν τῇ γῆ σπέρματα φανερα καθιστησι. Which the Latin Translator of Chartarius, *De Imaginibus Deorum*, has thus rendered. *Dextra Sceptrum continebat, perinde ac Dominus omnium esset, quae hic oriuntur: SINISTRA autem PUDENDA tenebat nam gemmalis Virtus ab eo proficisci credebatur* — Ger. Vossius has commented thus upon this passage. *De Idolotria* l.2.c.7. Ex quo loco eadem cognoscimus, cur Priapus, hoc est H O R U S sive sos, manu una Sceptrum, A S T E R A rubentem illum ac pedalem teneat F A S C I N U M: Nemp̄e Priori significatur Solis Imperium ac Potestas in Orbem universam. Altero autem notatur vis Solis generativa, quae quia fit longe maxima; eo commodissime visa est denotari membri magnitudine. Now, here is not the least Notice of this Orus, Penem J U X T A N A T E S habente, sed illum M A N U tenente. From these authorities therefore, I think, I shall be sufficiently warranted to correct Suidas thus in *φανης* — *εἰσηνεχθη ὁ φανης, αἰδοιον ἔχων παρα την πυγμην*. Scil. In Pugno (sive in manu constricta) virilia tenens. And again where he says in the third article of the Word ΠΡΙΑΠΟΣ — *εἶχε δε το ΑΙΔΟΙΟΝ ἐπάνω εἰς την πυγῆν*; (which Keuster renders *habebat autem Penem erectum, & AEmilius Portus, habebat autem Pudendam Superne*

J U X T A N A T E S) surely we must read ΠΥΓΜΗΝ, tenebat autem virilia Sursum in Manu. For I confess I am at a loss to understand the other Expression in the Greek. Plutarch I remember, in his Discourse concerning Isis & Osiris, speaking of this Statue of Orus which was set up at Coptos in Egypt, describes the figure as not handling its own Nudities, but as holding in its hand exsecta Typhonis virilia. — But Suidas ever copied the author before him.

I am, Dearest S^r

Yo^r most affectionate & obliged

Friend, & humble Servant

Wyans Court

Lew: Theobald

25 Apr. 1730.

Dear S^r.

I thank you most heartily for the Letter I rec^d by Yesterday's Post. The Emendations in it are as certain, as they are accurate & ingenious — Herewith attends you the volume of Shakespeare's Poems; & my poor Attempt in Manuscript. I am afraid the Obliterations in the 5th Act will give you some little Trouble in the Reading; but I hope, you will be able to make them out. Pray, D^r. S^r., be not tender or partial in y^r. Censure. I cannot judge properly for myself; but should be very sorry to hear when tis too late to correct, that Something is Extravagant, This passage puerile & That ridiculous; &c. Tis in y^e power of y^r Friendship to secure me from these Fears; & the free Exercise of that Power will much encrease the obligations of

Dearest S^r.

Y^r most affectionate Friend

Wyan's Court.

& humble servant

Tuesd. 12 May 1730

Lew: Theobald.

Dear S^r.

Inclosed I return yo^r Tryal of Col. Charteris,⁵ & the Play of Pericles, w^{eh} you were so kind to say, tho' bad you would take the Trouble of reading over wth. a strict Eye; & I am

S^r.

Y^r. most affectionate & oblig'd

Friend & humble serv^t.

Wensday morn^g

Lew. Theobald.

20 May 1730.

Dear S^r.

I am vastly concern'd y^t. I have been so unfortunate to miss the pleasure of y^r. Company no less than three times lately, when you did me the Favour of a Calling. For fear of the like Unhappiness on my Side, pray be so kind to appoint when it best sorts wth. yo^r. Leisure to give me an Hour, & I will take care to reserve Myself from all trifling Avocations: being most sincerely,

Dear S^r.

Y^r. most affectionate & obliged Friend & humble Serv.^t

Wyan's Court.

25 May 1730.

Lew. Theobald.

I am indebted for yo^r accurate Animadversions on Orestes; but I'm afraid you have been sparing to its Faults, And touch'd them wth. the Pencil of a Friend.

⁵ Francis Charteris (1675–1732), a noted rake and guilty of every sin in the decalogue, started his career as a soldier, but after being expelled from the army again and again, turned to gambling, by which he made an immense fortune. He was considered a symbol of vice and as such figures in Pope's poems and Hogarth's *Progress of a Rake*. His trial for rape in 1730, to which the above title refers, attracted much attention. He and Shakespeare are incongruous company.

⁶ Dear S^r.

Fancying the repeated Showers Yesterday would indulge our Town wth one day more of yo^r Company, I call'd at Squire's, & found my Suspicions confirm'd: and meant to have taken a second Leave, had I been happy enough to have found you at home. Meeting with the Volume, w^{ch} attends this, ready bound, I take the Freedom to send it, & beg you'll take an absolute Freedom of censuring its Weaknesses, in our ensuing Correspondence. All good Wishes most sincerely wait you,

from

Dearest S^r.

Y^r. most affectionate & obliged

Friend & humble Serv^t.

Lew: Theobald.

Wyan's Court

Thursd. 11 June, 1730.

⁶ Dear S^r.

I received the pleasure of yours on Monday last which I designed to have answerd my self this night but that my blindness has led me into the worst Mischance that ever befell me for walking apace on tuesday night I did not see a set of railles sow tumbling over them with force broke my wright arme and am now confined to my bed where I am afraid I must do Penance for at least a week longer. I thank God I have as yet scaped any symptoms of a fever and live low in order to prevent one. I can only now beg the favour that you will continue to throw your Eye over Shakespeare Restored, and mark freely all that appears any thing amiss to you. You will be so good to let me

⁶ This letter is in another's handwriting.

conclude now because I am forced to trouble a female hand to subscribe myself,

Dear S^r.

Your most affectionate
friend and obliged Humble
Servant.

Wyans Court
July y^e 2.1730

L. Theobald.

⁷ Dear S^r.

I received the favour of yours of the 7th Instant, and should not have troubled you with another Epistle by proxy, but that I have your Commands to let you know the progress of my Recovery. I thank you for your kind cautions against lying a-bed and low Living; but I confined myself to the first but three days, & have since that time been allow'd a temperate Refreshment of wine. The most unlucky Circumstance that has attended this Accident, is, that the next day I was sent for by Lady Delawarr, who had that morning seen M^r. Tonson. What was the Substance of their Conference I yet know not, for the next day my Lady took flight into the Country for the Summer: but I have directions where to write to her, and in a short time shall be able to inform you what Measures I am to take. My Confinement at home gives me no Opportunity of entertaining you with any news either from the great world, or the World of Letters. I have only to tell you that the Grubstreet continues to make a devil of our frind Moore.⁸ They have placed him in too Ridiculous a light by

⁷ This letter is in another's handwriting.

⁸ James Moore-Smythe (1702-34), a member of the "Concanen Club," is best known by his *Rival Modes*, to which Theobald furnished

inditing a whole Letter to him from Worm-powder More, who calls him-self his Uncle, & requires him as a mad-man to put himself under his care; & cautions him against falling under the hands of a Graduate Physitian, who wants the Management of him. They besides renew the charge of Cowardice so strongly against him, that, I confess, I should chuse to have two broken arms rather than be so stigmatized in print; but no more of him in present: if I have not tired you, I am sure I have my scribe, so will at once dismiss her by subscribing myself

Dearest S^r.

Your most affectionate
Friend & Obliged Humble
Servant

Wyans Court
14 July 1730.

L. Theobald.

P.S. You will perceive, dear S^r. the above letter was writ a full week ago; but by negligence, or forgetfulness, of my family was omitted to be put in the post House. I hope my arme continues to mend gradually.

Dear S^r.

I received the pleasure of yours of y^e 19th of last Month; w^{ch} was a great Satisfaction, because from your Silence, Both M^r. Concanen & I fear'd you might be ill. I deferr'd acknowledging the Receipt of this Favour till now; because I was resolv'd to attempt my Answer propriâ manu. But you'll easily observe, Dear S^r., from my characters, that I

a prologue. Pope has satirized him in the *Bathos*, *The Dunciad*, *The Grub-street Journal*, and the later version of the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*.

John Moore was a well known apothecary in his day, who because of some notoriety gained by a particular kind of worm powder, elicited Pope's poem "To Mr. John Moore, Author of the Celebrated Worm-powder."

have yet neither a command of my Strokes, nor the Pen of a ready Writer.

I am very glad to find, y^t Shakespeare Restored is in your Judgment neither full of gross faults, nor yet of many venial slips. And I the rather flatter myself, that you have not been partial in this Opinion, because if either had been the case, It scarce would have escaped the Attacks of my Sneering Antagonist.

I beg to be resolv'd by your next, whether one of yours has not miscarried! The Reason of my doubt is this; your Last beginning abruptly wth. the Word *Appendix* wthout any preceding Address as usual; & the Last before That w^{ch} I received from you upon the Subject of my Book bears Date above ten weeks ago. As Reading has been a great Part of the Amusement in my Power during my Confinement at home I have run thro' all Aristophanes & his Scholiast; upon which I shall take the Liberty to trouble you wth. some Remarks in proper Time. Our Town is so very empty, that I am quite destitute of my small circle of Friends; so cannot pretend to entertain You wth. any News; only that the World of Pleasure, I am afraid, are likely to lose M^{rs}. Oldfield: for she lies extreamly ill of an inveterate Ulcer *in Matrice*: Upon w^{ch} a polite Clergyman with us observ'd in a circle of Ladies, that she was punish'd in that Part, wth w^{ch} she had so greatly offended God & Mankind. But my Hand now calls upon me to favour its Weakness: as my Inclination does to subscribe myself

Dearest S^r.

Yo^r. most Affectionate &
obliged Humble serv^t.

Wyan's Court
3^d Sept^r. 1730.

Lew. Theobald.

Dear S^r.

I hope I shall yet have so much Credit with you that you will beleive, tho' I had not yesterday recēd the Pleasure of yours, I was fully determin'd this Evening to salute you by letter: & I am convinced presently you will believe me.

You may, perhaps, imagine from my late Silence, that I really took y^r. last kind Letter, as you there hinted, for the rudest I ever received; but I assure you by my Honesty (if I have any) I prize it as a most cordial Testimony of a Friendship, that shall ever be dear to me; & tho' for reasons yet unknown to You, I have seem'd to slumber over Gratitute, & postpon'd my Acknowledgments till now; yet I dare assure You, yo^r. Counsel has not lost its Effects.

Whelm'd as I have been with Distresses (enough to sink One of my obstinate Phlegm) yet at y^r Instigation I have rous'd & exerted [myself] against the strongest Attacks of Calamity. The Call of Reputation so justly urged by my Dearest Friend, started me from my Lethargy, & you'll begin to think I have been awake, when I have done Myself the Pleasure to let you know, I have at last fix'd the Proteus. No longer ago than Thursday, Tonson & I exchang'd Articles for the Publication of Shakespeare. Till I could bring this agreeable Point to bear, I was determin'd to be silent; & do me the Justice in yo^r kind Thoughts to believe, that neither awkward Disgust, Disregard, nor Indolence, have kept me dumb: but only the strong Desire of opening my Correspondance wth. this important Piece of good news: upon w^{ch} I know, I shall have your heartiest Congratulations. As to the Booksellers, Dear S^r., who once made some Overtures to me, you hinted that they complain'd I had not dealt so honourably wth. them: I fancy, you will be satisfied I can turn the Tables upon them, when I tell you, Tonson has acceded to double the Terms they offer'd me: I was by their Contract to have had the la-

bouring Oar upon Me, to have been entitled only to a first Payment, & they to have reced the Second: I have now closed my Agreement to have the Work publish'd in 6 Vol^s. in 8^{vo.}, to have 400 copies, compleat in Sheets, deliver'd me on a Fine Genoa paper, free from all Expence whatever; & 100 copies more on Fine Royal Paper, I only paying for the paper: so that if I can have my Compliment of Subscriptions, the small paper will bring me in 800 guineas; & the Books in Royal 300 more: besides w^{ch}. I have reserv'd the Liberty of prefixing a Dedication to each Volume. — And so much for that Affair.

As to Milton, Dear S^r., D^r. Bently is so far from having laid aside the Thoughts of it, that the whole Paradise Lost is work'd off, & the Book will be publish'd before Christmas. I own, I venerate him so far as a Classical Critic, that I am sorry he has now dabbled in a Province, where even the Ladies are prepar'd to laugh at, & confute him.

I am much oblig'd to your Friend M^r. Taylor,⁹ for his kind Intentions of having subscrib'd to my Remarks. I don't know, whether the alteration in my scheme, may not occasion an Alteration in his Intentions: therefore I wait y^r. Commands on that Head.

I thank you, Dearest S^r. for yo^r Conjectures last communicated, but indeed I have not yet had time to weigh them sufficiently. In Return, I'll send you an Emenation I made but the other Night, upon a Passage w^{ch}. I am sure, you will be surpriz'd wth me, how it could scape us Both. But to see how blind Pleasure & prepossession may sometimes make one in Shakespeare!

Merry Wives ——— and I was like to be apprehended for
of Wind^r. p. 282. the Witch of Brainford, but that my

⁹ Robert Taylor (1710–62), physician and member of the Royal Society, was educated under Warburton at Newark. His Harveian lecture, 1755, was highly valued abroad.

admirable Dexterity of Wit, my counterfeiting the Action of AN OLD Woman deliver'd me, the Knave Constable had set me i' th' Stocks &c.

Sure this Reading is no great Complement to the Sagacity of our . . . ¹⁰ etic Editors. What! was it any Dexterity of Wit in S^r. Jⁿ. Falst — to counterfeit the action of an *old* Woman, in Order to escape being apprehended for a Witch? Surely, one would imagine, this was the readiest means to bring him into such a Scrape: for None but *old* Women have ever been suspected of being Witches. If I am not strangely deceiv'd, Shakespeare wrote and meant — my counterfeiting the action of A WOOD Woman &c., i.e. a crazy, frantick, delirious Woman; one too wild & silly, & unmeaning to have either the Malice, or Mischievous Subtlety of a Witch in her. Perhaps the Pronunciation & Writing of Shakespeare's Times, or his County, might call & spell this Word, a WOLD or WOULD woman; & that might facilitate the corruption to OLD. And now my Dearest Friend, permit me to live in hopes of hearing a fresh from you, as well as to confess myself inviolably

Y^r. most obliged & affectionate humble
Serv^t.

Wyan's Court
30 Octo^r. 1731.

Lew Theobald.

Dear S^r.

I have reced the pleasure of yours, w^{ch}. comes fraught wth. Kindness even beyond my own Prepossessions; And it is no small comfort to me to find, that if Extremity be the Text of Friendship, as it has ever been reckon'd, I have

¹⁰ MS. is torn.

one sincere & cordial Friend left me in my Extremity. I think the present Period of my Life may truly fall under that Denomination; for however the Affair, w^{ch}. I am now bringing to bear, may in time retrieve me from Necessities; yet at present, when I should set down with a Mind & Head at ease & disembarass'd, the Severity of a rich Creditor (& therefore the more unmercifull) has strip'd me so bare, that I never was acquainted with such Wants, since I knew the Use of Money. But when I am labouring at so much Philosophy in practice, as to persuade myself not to feel Adversity; I am angry with myself for giving my Friend a part of that Pain w^{ch} I am professing to get rid off in my Bosom. It convinces me (tho' I wanted not the Proof), that I am in no degree the Philosopher. — Sed ad alia quaedam dulciora.

I have great Satisfaction in the News you tell me, that you have a fresh Fund of Entertainment for Me upon 6 of our Author's Tragedies: & I shall live in a sweet Expectation of their Arrival. Tonson has sent me in a Shakespeare interleav'd; & I am now extracting such notes & Emendations, as upon the Maturest Deliberation, I am certain will stand the Test. For the Censures, that may succeed, make me reflect in Time, that I had much better smother uncertain Suspicions than appear too boldly peremptory. There are some Passages in w^{ch}. I shall be obliged to retract my own Emendations; & even where they have met with your Concurrence. For instance; —
Love's Lab^r. lost. p. 301

A wife, a beard, fair health & honesty;
With threefold Love I wish you all these *Three*

It seem'd to me, you may remember, that She wish'd him here *four* things, & therefore I was for changing *Health* into *Youth*, & putting it into parenthesis, as if She call'd her

Lover so. — This Change you were pleas'd to approve: & I own, it struck me with a present conviction of its being certain. But Upon a more accurate Collation w^{ch} I have since made of our Author wth the first folio Edition, I am persuaded Nothing must be alter'd but the Pointing, & That upon the Authority of the old Book, thus —

A Wife! a Beard, fair health & honesty;

i.e. as we say: — A Wife! — Marry come up, such a Stripling as you shall come a wooing indeed! No, no; I'll first wish you a Beard &c. — But I am to thank my Friend Pope's singular Inaccuracy, for many an Increase of our Labour of this sort. I'll now submit to yo^r Judgement a slight suspicion upon a Passage of Meas. for Meas. p. 335.

Claud. Now, Sister what's the Comfort?

Isab. Why as all Comforts are: most good INDEED! This Reply at present conveys no satisfactory Idea to me; nor is so significant an Answer as I should expect from Isabella to a Brother under his Circumstances. She is grave & in earnest; & as she knows his Doom is arbitrarily fix'd, she would at once wean him from all flattering Expectations, & would have him look upon the Completion of his Fate as a solid Comfort. I suspect, the Poet meant; Why, as all Comforts are; most good IN DEED; I don't bring you any airy Comfort, built only on fallacious Hope; but a Comfort solidly such, as all Comforts must be deem'd, when they are put in Execution; when we receive the actual Benefit of them. I think, I conceive a little more from this Reading; but I shall wait y^r. Thoughts upon it, before I make it standard. Á propos, a Word, by the by, on Measure for Measure. Tis certain the Foundation of this Story is from Cynthio Gerald's Hecatombuthi; but I find the Stage had likewise borrow'd the Fable before our Author's Time, under different Characters; & I have by me the old Play in

two Parts, printed in the black Letter, in 1578, call'd, The right Excellent & famous History of Promos & Cassandra, divided into two Comical Discourses; in the first part whereof is shewn the unsufferable Abuse of a lewd Magistrate & the virtuous Behaviours of a chaste Lady: And in the second part is discovered, The perfect Magnanimity of a noble King, in checking Vice & favouring Virtue: wherein is shewn the Ruine & Overthrow of dishonest Practices; with the Advancement of upright Dealing. So much for the Title: for the play itself, execrably bad as it is, I am confident that our Author had consulted it; & it adds if possible, to my Admiration of the Man, to have such a Testimony, how finely he could improve upon a Predecessor, without the modern Advantages of Stealing.

I cannot remember whether I ever have communicated to you a Discovery that I have made with regard to the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. M^r. Pope speaks of an Old 4^o Edition of this play printed in 1619; & of a tradition of it's being written by Queen Elizabeth's Command. But a play printed 17 years after her Death gives this Tradition but a very poor Authority. I can now support it a great Deal better; for I have by me another Edition, printed in 1602, in the Title of which we are told it had been diverse times acted by the right honourable the L^d. Chamberlain's Servants, *Both before her Majesty* & elsewhere. Whether it was wrote by the Queen's Command, or no, is not very material; however, we derive some Light as to the Time of the Poet's Writing it; for as Harry the Fourth, I can prove, was not earlier in its Date yⁿ. 1599¹¹ (from w^{ch} the Publick had their first acquaintance wth S^r. John Fal-

¹¹ Later Theobald must have found reason to doubt his proofs, for in his edition, vol. 3, p. 349, he says the drama "had been play'd, and was well known" before 1599. Furthermore he does not mention *Henry IV* in dating the *Merry Wives*.

staffe) this reduces the Intervall betwixt That & the first Sketch of the Merry Wives to about two Seasons.

As to the *Loci desperati*, U'll take Notice of them as I go along, & reduce them into a List for your Enquiry.

I should be very glad, Dear S^r., if you can give me any Account of Platonius the Grammatician, whose fragment upon the 3 Sorts of Greek Comedy is prefix'd to Aristophanes. I expected to have had some Information from Fabricius in his *Bibliothaeca Graeca*, but am disappointed; & Photius I have not.

I cannot conclude the present Trouble I give You, without desiring my Respects & Thanks to your ingenious Pupill M^r. Taylor; for whom I have underwritten a subscription-Receipt for Shakespeare; & believe me, Dearest S^r., with the most inviolable Attachment

Yo^r ever obliged & affectionate
humble Serv^t.

Wyan's Court
12 — ov^r. 1731

Lew Theobald.

My Dear Friend,

I recēd by your Last (N^o III) of y^e 22^d. of Nov^r; your kind Assurances wth. Regard to my Preface; the Contents of w^{ch}. I am Endeavouring to modell in my Head, in Order to communicate them to you, for your Directions & Refinement. I have already rough-hewn the Exordium & Conclusion; the Latter of w^{ch}. I now send you a Transcript of, to shew you how methodical I am; & by my Next, I shall submit the Opening to yo^r. Perusal. I beg earnestly, Dear S^r., you will not be tender of altering, everywhere; (except in my Acknowledgm^{ts} to my Friends) I would have

¹² MS. is torn.

the Whole both amuse & strike. What I shall send you from Time to Time, I look upon only as Materials: w^{ch} I hope may grow into a fine Building, under your judicious Management. In short, *Dirue, aedifica, muta quadrata rotundis, &c.*

[Having now run thro' all these Points, w^{ch} I intended should make any Part of this Dissertation, it only remains that I should account to the Publick, but more particularly to my Subscribers, why they have waited so long for this Work; that I should make my Acknowledgments to those Friends who have been generous Assistants to me in the Conducting it: & lastly, that I should acquaint my Readers what Pains I have Myself taken to make the Work as compleat, as faithfull Industry & my best Abilities could render it.

In the Middle of the Year 1728, I first put out my proposals for publishing only Emendations & Remarks on our Poet: And I had not gone on many Months in this Scheme before I found it to be the unanimous Wish of Those who, did me the Honour of their Subscriptions, that I would likewise give them the Poet's Text corrected; & that I would subjoin those Explanatory Remarks, w^{ch} I had purpos'd to publish upon the Foot of my first Proposals. Earnest Solicitations were made to Me, that I would think of such an Edition, w^{ch}. I had as strong Desires to listen to: and some Noble Persons then, whom I had no Priviledge to name, were pleas'd to interest themselves so far in the Affair, as to propose to M^r. Tonson his undertaking an Impression of Shakespeare with my Corrections. I must do him the Justice to declare, that He with great Readiness came into a Treaty with me for this Work; But having just then glutted the Trade with a large Edition by M^r. Pope in Twelves, he frankly told me, he could not with any Face or Conscience, pretend to throw out another Impression,

before those Books were a little dispers'd & vended: And so Time was unavoidably lost: While the Publication of my Remarks was thus respited, my Enemies took an unfair Occasion to suggest, that I was extorting Money from my Subscribers without ever designing to give Them anything for it: An Insinuation levell'd at once to wound me in Reputation & Interest. Conscious, however, of my own just Intentions, & labouring all the while to bring my wish'd purpose to bear, I thought these anonymous Slanderers worthy of no Notice. A Justification of Myself would have been giving them Argument for fresh Abuse: & I was willing to believe, that any unkind Opinions, entertain'd to my Prejudice, would naturally drop & lose their Force, when the Publick should once be convinc'd that I was in Earnest, & ready to do them Justice. I left no Means untry'd to put it in my Power to do This; &, I hope without Breach of Modesty, I may venture to appeal to all candid Judges, whether I have not employ'd all my Power to be just to them in the Execution of my Task.

I come now to speak of those kind Assistances, w^{ch}. I have met with from particular Friends, towards forwarding & compleating this Work. Soon after my Design was known, I had the honour of an Invitation to Cambridge; & a generous Promise from the Learned & ingenious D^r. Thirlby of Jesus-Colledge there, who had taken great pains wth my Author, that I should have the Liberty of collating his copy of Shakespeare, mark'd thro' in the Margin with his own Mss. References, & accurate Observations. He not only made good this promise, but favour'd me with a Sett of Emendations, interspers'd & distinguish'd in his Name, thro' the Edition: & which can need no Recommendation here to the judicious Reader.

The next Assistance I received was from my ingenious Friend Hawley Bishop Esq^r. whose great Powers & Exten-

sive Learning are as well known as his uncommon Modesty, to all who have the Happiness of his Acquaintance. This gentleman was so generous, at the Expence both of his Pocket & Time, to run thro' all Shakespeare with me. We join'd Business & Entertainment together; & at every of our Meetings, w^{ch} were constantly once a Week,¹³ we read over a Play, & came mutually prepared to communicate our Conjectures upon it to each other. The Pleasure of these Appointments, I think I may say, richly compensated for the Labour in our own Thoughts; & I may venture to affirm, in the behalf of my Assistant, that our Author has deriv'd no little Improvement from Them.

To these I must add the indefatigable Zeal & Industry of my most ingenuous & ever-respected Friend, the Rev^d. M^r. Warburton of Newarke-upon-Trent. This Gentleman from the Motives of his frank & communicative Disposition, voluntarily became a Labourer in the Vineyard: not only read over the whole Author for Me with the exactest care; but enter'd into a long & laborious Epistolary Correspondance, to which I owe no small part of my best Criticisms upon my Author. The Number of Passages amended, & admirably explain'd, w^{ch}. I have taken care to distinguish with his Name, will shew a Fineness of Spirit, & Extent of Reading, beyond all the Commendations I can give them. Nor, indeed, would I any further be thought to commend a Friend, than, in so doing, to give a Testimony of my own Gratitude. How great a Share soever of my praise, I must lose from myself, in confessing these Assistances; & however my own poor Conjectures may be weaken'd by the Comparison wth theirs; I am very well content to sacrifice my Vanity to the Pride of being so assisted, & the Pleasure of being just to their Merits.

I beg Leave to observe to my Readers in one Word here,

¹³ These meetings were held by the so-called Concanen Club.

that from the Confession of these successive Aids, & the Manner in w^{ch} I deriv'd them, it appears, I have pretty well fill'd up the Interval, betwixt my first Proposals & my Publication, wth having my Author always in View & at Heart.

Some Hints I have the Honour to owe to the Information of D^r. Mead, & the late D^r. Friend: Others the Kindness of the ingenious Martin Folkes Esq^r, who likewise furnish'd me with the first folio Edition of Shakespeare, at a Time when I could not meet with it among the Booksellers: as my Friend Thomas Coxeter Esq^r. did wth. several of the old Quarto single Plays, w^{ch} I then had not in my own Collection. Some few Observations I likewise Owe to the Favour of Anonymous Persons: for all Which I most gladly render my Acknowledgments.

As to what regards myself singly, if the Edition do not speak for the Pains I have taken about it, it will be very vain to plead my own Labour & Diligence. Besides a faithful Collation of all the printed Copies, w^{ch}. I have exhibited in my Catalogue of Editions, let it suffice to say, that to clear up several Errors in the Historical¹⁴ . . . Plays, I purposely read over Hall & Holingshead's Chronicles in the Reigns o . . . n'd; all the Novells in Italian from which our Author had borrowed any . . . his Plots: such parts of Plutarch, from w^{ch} he had derived any parts of his G . . . Story; & above 800 old English Plays, to ascertain the obsolete & uncommon . . . him: not to mention some Labour & Pains unpleasantly spent in the dry task of . . . Etymological Glossaries.

But as no labour of mine can be equivalent to the dear & ardent Love I bear for Shakespeare, so if the Publick shall be pleased to allow that he owes Anything to my Willingness^g & Endeavours of restoring him, I shall reckon the Part

¹⁴ MS. is torn.

of my Life, so engaged, to have been very happily employ'd: & put Myself with great submission, to be try'd by my Country in the Affair.

Finis.

Forgive me, my dearest Friend, that I have inserted what relates to y^rself, & believe that I had certainly declin'd it, only that I am determin'd to submit the Whole to you.

Because no paper shall be lost, I'll trouble you, Dear S^r., with a second Thought upon this Passage of Hamlet, of w^{ch} you have given me an Emendation.

p. 292. Nature is Fine in Love & where 'tis Fine &c.

You conjecture Falne. But I have ruminated the Sentiment over pretty much in Head, & let us see whether the Text may not be explain'd, as it stood. I conceive that this might be the Poet's Meaning. — In the Passion of Love Nature becomes more exquisite of Sensation, is more sublimed & *refined*; & where 'tis so *refined* &c. If I mistake not our Poet has play'd with this Thought twice or thrice in some other of his Plays. The Clown in *As You like It*. Act. 2. Sc. 4. seems to glance at this Refinement, but interprets it a sort of Frantickness. "We that are true Lovers run into strange Capers, but as all is Mortal in Nature, so is all *Nature in Love* mortal in *Folly*."

But Iago in *Othello* Ac. 2. Sc. 7. delivers himself much more directly to the Purpose of the Sentiment here before us. — "as they say, base Men, *being in Love* have *then a Nobility* in their *Natures* more than is *native* to them.

And *Cressida* in *Troilus* Ac. 4. Sc. 6. I think, expresses herself concerning Grief exactly as *Laertes* does here of Nature

"The Grief is Fine, *full, perfect* that I taste;
 "And in its Sense is no less strong, than That
 "Which causeth it.

If upon Weighing these Passages, you shall determine wth Me that the Text may stand, I believe it will not be improper to refute M^r. Pope's silly Conjecture, & explain the Poet by these Quotations.

I am, with the truest Respect, Dearest S^r.,
Y^r. most affectionate Friend, & obliged
humble Servant

Wyan's Court

4 Dec^r. 1731.

Lew. Theobald.

My dear Friend,

Since my last to you, I have had the pleasure of 3 of yours, (No IV, V, & VI) to parts of w^{ch}. when I have endeavoured to reply in This, I will account to you for some portion of my present Engagements.

I am sorry the Impertinence of the Understrappers of the Post-office should prompt them to make my Franks ineffectual; but so soon as my good Friend Lord Orrery comes from Bath, I'll try if they dare dispute his Signature; & if they should, I'll not fail the Opportunity of having a Touch at them in Requit.

As to what you mention of taking off the Prejudices on Account of the Avocations, w^{ch}. your Friendship has lent me from your Profession, I join wth you in the Reasonableness of it: and will take due care to justify you ag^t. the possible Inconveniency. What I intend on this Head shall be submitted to yo^r View, as well as the other Contents of the Preface. For the same Reason, that such a palliating Caution is to be observ'd, the phrase w^{ch}. I had inadvertently used of your *becoming a Labourer in the Vineyard*, must as indispenibly be chang'd.

I make no Question of my being wrong in the disjointed Parts of my Preface, but my Intention was, (after I had given

you the Conclusion, & the Manner in w^{ch}. I meant to start) to give you a List of all the other general Heads design'd to be handled, then to transmit to you, at proper Leisure, my rough Working off of each respective Head, that you might have the Trouble only of refining & embellishing wth: additional Inrichments: of the general Arrangement, w^{ch}. you should think best for the whole; & of making the proper Transitions from Subject to Subject, w^{ch}. I account no inconsiderable Beauty. If you think right to indulge me in this Scheme, my next shall be employ'd in Prosecution of it.

I will not fail to press all the physical Quaery's w^{ch}: you have directed me, with an Encrease, upon D^r. Mead; & some Answer, upon the Strength of his written Promise, I will extort. He may easily parcell them out to his Disciples, (to save his own Pains or Credit), & so give me their Solutions in his own Name. They will embrace the Task as a Complement from him; & either Way answers my Purpose.

The Occasional Insertion of a few Emendations from some Greek Authors, I certainly think may be of signal service to my Reputation; if you think they may safely be interspers'd without Suspicion of Pedantry. I would not voluntarily draw that Ridicule upon me from the Sneerers. You are anxious, Dear S^r., for every Part of my Character; but do not let me, like a Fondling, be dress'd up in too glaring Colours. To be a little diffident, will secure me from much Envy & Detraction.

To the Critical parts of your Epistles, I reply no farther in present, than in my Thanks. It will not displease you, I know, to hear that M^r. Tonson, since our Agreement, behaves with great Candour, & professions of sincere Service. He tells me, Expectations are greatly reviv'd from the publick's being inform'd I am now in Earnest; that the Eyes of the Whole Town are upon my Work; & that he does not doubt but I shall find a good Account in my Subscription,

as well as considerable Assistance of Conjectures, &c from many Lovers of our Author.

Now a little to my late premised Engagements. In order to make Domestic affairs run as smoothly as may be, till I can bring this greater Affair to a Crisis, I have apply'd my uneasie Summer Months upon the Attempt of a Tragedy. Sit verbo venia! I have a Design upon the Ladies Eyes, as the Passage to their Pockets: if the Town be not too deprav'd, for any Remaines of Sensation; & as I shall not in This enter upon Any Part of the Preface, I'll indulge myself, in submitting a Pair of Soliloquies to you, as a Taste of my poor Workmanship. I lay my Scene in Italy. My Heroine is a young Widow Dutchess, who has two haughty Spanish Brothers, y^t. enjoin her not to marry again. She, however, clandestinely marries the Master of her Household on the Morning I open my Scene; & in the 3^d. Act, I shew her expecting her Bridegroom's private approach to her. So much, by way of Argument.

Scene changes to the Dutchess's Bed-chamber. A Bed seen & a Table wth. Papers. The Dutchess sitting undrest.

Dutch:

How tedious is Suspence, that makes one Hour
 Move slow & heavy as a Winter's Night,
 When Nights are longest! — I have strove, in vain,
 By Reading to beguile the Lazy Time:
 But my unsteady Eye, & roving Mind,
 Like two impatient restive Travellers,
 Tho' bent the same Way get the Start by Turns;
 And will not keep each Other Company —
 I know not what I read — What hideous Noise?
 It may be, 'twas the melancholy Bird,
 (The Friend of Silence & of Solitude,)
 The Owl, that schream'd: or, was it Fancy's Coinage? —

When once the Soul's disturb'd, each little Thing
Starts & alarms. — The Court's not yet at Rest,
Or He would come — My Breast is like a House
With many Servants throng'd, unruly All,
And All employ'd on Tasks of diff'ring Natures.
Doubts, Perturbations, Thoughts of Self-Conviction
Uncertain Wishes, & unquiet Longings,
Debate the Strife within. — I've heard it said,
Love, mix't with Fear is sweetest. I'm perhaps
Too much a Coward, & That spoils my Relish.

The Next, Dear S^r :, is in the 4th Act. Her Match is discover'd; Her Husband oblig'd to fly, One of her tyrannous Brothers, a Duke, employs an Agent to strangle her; and after the Order given, I produce him in the conflict betwixt Conscience & Remorse.

Enter Duke Ferdinand

Ferd :

O sacred Innocence! that sweetly sleeps
On Turtles Feathers, whilst guilty Conscience
Makes all our Slumbers worse than feavrish Dreams,
When only Monstrous Forms disturb the Brain.
Tis a black Register, wherein is writ
All our good Deeds & bad : a Perspective
That shews us Hell, more horrid than Divines,
Or Poets, know to paint it. — Hark, what Noise?
The Screams of Women, ever & anon,
Ring thro' my Ears, shrill as the Sabine cries,
When Rome's bold Sons rush'd on their frighted Virgins.
A thousand fancied Horrors shake my Soul,
E'er since I dictated this Deed of Slaughter. —
There is no written Evidence to proclaim
My order, & must coward Apprehension

Give it a Tongue? — The Element of Water
 Drops from the Clouds, & sinks into the Earth :
 But Blood flies upward, & bedews the Heav'ns. —
 The Wolf shall find her Grave, & scrape it up,
 Not to devour the Coarse, but to discover
 The horrid Murther. — Shall I let her live?
 What says Revenge to That? — Or what says Nature?
 Resentment preaches Treason still to Virtue ;
 And to repent us of a blamefull Purpose,
 Is manly pious Sorrow. — She shall live.

You see, my Dear Friend, I have feasted my own Vanity at large : I wish, I may have consulted your Entertainment in any Proportion.

I must now desire my Respects & Thanks tender'd to your Friend, young D^r. Taylor. I have sent, please to tell him, a Rec^t. over to M^r. Botham at Cambridge for his small Paper ; & inclos'd I send the other, as directed, for the Royal. M^r. Taylor not knowing the Tenour of my proposals, has sent up but a Guinea & $\frac{1}{2}$ for the first payment : but the Rule is 2 Guineas down, & so I have worded the Receipt, to prevent confusions at the Delivery of the Books. I'll tell you how I fancy the $\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea may be remitted wth. Safety & Secrecy, & wth. no trouble to you. In the Sealing your Letter, place it under a wet Wafer, & then put your Wax-Impression over it, & it will be imperceptible. I have often had this experimented here in Town.

I have only now, S^r., to tender you the good Wishes attending the approaching Season ; & to confess myself, My dearest Friend

Y^r. ever affectionate & oblig'd
 humble Serv^t.

Wyan's Court
 18 Dec. 1731.

Lew : Theobald

My dear Friend,

I hope this will find you entirely recover'd from y^t troublesome Indisposition complain'd of in the postscript of yo^r. last (No. viii) that I recēd by Inclosure from y^e Commiss^{er} of y^e Post Office, together wth yours to your Sister & M^r. Twells's to M^r. Carteret. These Remonstrances, seconded by my Representation of y^e fact before them & y^e Accident of y^e Doit being likewise intercepted, have had such an Effect, y^t I have not only had my $\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea restor'd, but y^e Letter-Carrier is dismiss'd from his Business. It may seem a little strange, perhaps, wⁿ I tell you, that I have placed myself so far on y^e side of Mercy, as to solliciting his Readmission. But my Reasons are, that Appearances only are against him, & no proof that he is tardy in y^e Affair, however y^e Resentment has settled there. Besides, he has bin a servant to the Office 18 years without Intermission, & this y^e very first complaint levell'd at him; he is a man in the Decline of Life, has a sick Wife & 3 Children, & this small Branch of Profit was their Whole Bread. — If good Nature is misemploy'd in this Task, I hope, these are seeming Motives to excuse the Frailty. And I may add to these, what I am very well convinc'd of, that the *Plectuntur Achivi* of Horace is a Lemma not yet out of Fashion in our publick Offices. There are in all of them a Sett of extravagant young Clerks, who live above their Salary, & are liable to casual Temptations: And these, I fear, whenever a Blot is hit, have Policy enough to shift the Blame off to Inferiors. I'll not venture to make this Judgment in y^e particular Case before Us; but what has been, May be; ut vulgo dicitur.

I shall wholly suspend the Affair of Shakespeare in This, because other Matter offers, w^{ch} may not be displeasing. I make no doubt, but M^r. Pope's Epistle of Taste, address'd to L^d. Burlington, has long since reach'd you, & pass'd the Censure. Tis thought by some here, that this piece has

not contributed much more to y^e. Credit of his Poesie, than of his Morals; but this is a Criticism I do not take upon me to meddle with. I mention it only, as it has occasion'd another Satirical Poem by a Gentleman of our Faction, M^r. Welsted, Of Dullness & Scandal. Now as I am willing to allow, that our Ware may not have the same Alacrity in Travelling, and so it may not have reach'd your Parts; I design you an Extract from it, from w^{ch}. you will be able to determine whether M^r. Welsted has not wip'd out his Score wth. Pope on the Topick of Slander. The Author at least seems to think so by his Motto's.

Turno Tempus adest, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta: Pallas te hoc Vulnere donat.

Virg.

The two particular Topicks w^{ch}. incense M^r. Welsted to animadvert on P — are first, his having reduced a very pretty Lady, Sr. Peter Vanderput's Widow, of Richmond, to a moping Frenzy wth. obliging her to read over a second time his version of Homer, to make her a Mistress of its Beauties; & then his being suppos'd to abuse y^e Duke of Chandos under y^e Character of Timon, in his late Epistle on Taste. Thence he passes to a tolerably-spreading Invective on P — himself, w^{ch}. take in the Poet's own Words.

Nor Innocence alone it's Inj'ry rues,
 Nor Beauty feels alone th' Assassin's Muse:
 His Felon-Arts the Patriot's Seats alarm,
 And spite assails what Dullness cannot harm.

: : : : : : : : : :
 : : : : : : : : : :

Inglorious Rhimer! low licentious Slave!
 Who blasts the Beauteous, & belies the Brave;

In scurril Verse who robs, & dull Essays,
 Nymphs of their Charms, & Heroes of their Praise
 All Laws for Pique, or Caprice will forego;
 The Friend of Cataline, & Tully's foe !

Oh ! born to blacken ev'ry virtuous Name ;
 To pass like Blightings, o'er the Blooms of Fame :
 The Venom of thy baleful Quill to shed,
 Alike on living Merit, & the Dead !
 Sure, that fam'd Machiavil, what Time he drew
 The Soul's dark Workings in the crooked Few,
 The rancour'd Spirit, & malignant Will,
 By Instinct base, by Nature shap'd to Ill,
 An unborn Deemon was inspired to see,
 And in his Rapture prophesied of Thee.

Ordain'd a hated Name by Guilt to raise,
 To bless with Libel, & to curse with Praise !
 A softling Head that spleeny Whims devour ;
 With Will to Satire, but deny'd the Pow'r !
 A Soul corrupt ! that hireling Praise suborns !
 That hates for Genius, & for Virtue scorns !
 A Coxcomb's Talents, with a Pedant's Art !
 A Bigot's Fury in an Atheist's Heart !
 Lewd without Lust, & without Wit prophane !
 Outragious, & afraid ! contemn'd, and vain !

Immur'd, whilst young, in Convents hadst Thou been,
 *Victoria, still with Rapture we had seen ;
 But now our Wishes by the Fates are crost,
 W've gained a Thersite, & an Helen lost :
 The envious Planet has deceiv'd our Hope,
 W've lost a S^t. Leger, & gain'd a Pope.

A little Monk thou wert by Nature made,
 Wert fashion'd for the Jesuits Gossip-Trade !

* Lady Van — t (Theobald's note).

A lean Church-Pandar, to procure, or lie !
 A Pimp at Altars, or in Courts a spy !

The Verse that Blockheads dawb, shall swift decay
 And Jervas's Fame in Fustian fade away :
 Forgot the self-applauding Strain shall be
 Tho' own'd by Walsh, or palm'd on Wycherley :
 While Time, nor Fate, this faithfull Sketch erase,
 Which shews thy Mind, as Reisbank's Bust thy Face,
 **Yet Thou proceed* ; impeach with steadfast Hate
 Whate'er is godlike, & whate'er is Great :
 Debase in low Burlesque, the Song Divine,
 And level David's deathless Muse to thine.
 Be Bawdry, still, thy ribald Canto's Theme ;
 Traduce for Satire, & for Wit blaspheme.
 Each chaste Idea of thy Mind review :
 Make ***Cupid's squirt*, & gaping *Tritons spew* ;
 *** All Sternhold's Spirit in thy Verse restore,
 And be what Bass & Heywood were before.

Upon the Whole, sure, Horace was in the right when he said
 — facit Indignatio Versum. And if P — be as sensible on
 these Rebukes as 'tis said he is, I wish (& don't let the Word
 undergo the Torture of an irony) his intermitting Headach
 do not turn to a setted Agony. I am, My dearest Friend,
 Y^r. most affectionate &
 obliged humble Serv^t.

Lew. Theobald.

Wyan's Court

8 Jan^y. 1731. [1732]

* Pope's Epist. p. 14 (Theobald's note).

** *Ibid.* p. 10 and 12 (Theobald's note).

*** *Ibid.* p. 14 (Theobald's note).

Dear S^r.

I reced y^e pleasure of yours of y^e 15th Instant, & had answer'd it at last Post, but for the alarm of a suddain Fire, where I had some Acquaintance in the Neighbourhood. Yours of y^e 14th of Jan'y, in answer to mine of y^e 8th of that Month, arriv'd safe: since w^{ch}. I have intermitted writing, because I would not trouble you wth. impertinent Postage. My Interval has, indeed, been fill'd up, but not with the Affair of my new Tragedy. Matters have turn'd up so ill with M^r. Rich's Theatre this Season, that I have chosen rather to weather the point without bringing it on, than to make a Sacrifice of it to his ill Fortune. I'll tell you how much more pleasingly I have been engag'd. During those Hours w^{ch} I could borrow from y^e Transcript of our Notes on Shakespeare, my good Friend my Lord Orrery has done me the Honour to put all his Father's papers under my Regulation. The late Earl, you know, was Ambassador at Brussels during the 4 last years of Qⁿ. Anne's Reign: in w^{ch}. space he reced a Number of Letters from Bolingbroke, Ormonde, Marlborough, Strafford, Argyll, Shrewsbury and Bp. of London, all w^{ch} I am transcribing in Books for my Lord. I have great pleasure in L^d. Bolingbroke's particularly, because, (besides their being extreamly well wrote) he never sends One from his Office as Secy of State, but he seconds it with a private One of Friendship. So y^t. Politicks are finely reliev'd wth. the Sentiments of a Sprightly Genius upon more desirable Topicks. I have met D^r. Stukeley more than once: & will beg the Favour of him to transmit a few of my Proposals to you. Pope, as you'll find, has lent me an accidental lift by his Poem on Taste: for the Duke of Chandos, whom I never knew or approach'd, has subscrib'd for 4 Setts of my Shakespeare on Royal Paper. I am oblig'd to the Partiality of yo^r. Cambridge

Friend, who would father a Pamphlet on me y^t is spoken well of. I suppose he means the friendly letter from Oxford, w^{ch}. has given me much Entertainment; ¹⁵ but I do assure you faithfully I have not dipt a Pen either to praise, or dispute, the Criticisms on our new Milton. There are, as you judiciously hint, many Reasons why I should not at this Crisis intermeddle in such a Controversy; & indeed I should have made you my confidant in it.

You want my opinion you say on D^r. Bentley's performance; & I'll give it you freely, but under the Seal of Friendship: I had a very great veneration for him as a Classical Critick; & was very much afraid of his descending to the Levell of Women & Children; that is, of his putting himself in the Power of Coquets & Toupets to discant on. He has not infrequently, you know, run riot on the dead Languages; but here, to use the Cibberian phrase, he has outdone his usual Outdoings. He had never certainly attain'd the serious Reputation of a Critick, si sic Omnia dixisset. I hope he does not write maliciously to turn the Art into Ridicule; but as Rose says of Sir Martin Mar-all *Indeed, he has a rare way of acting a Fool, & does it so naturally, it can be scarce distinguish'd.* Sed ἐπέχω.

You say, dear Sir, it is a Book you are not likely to see in haste. I don't know whether you speak this as to your want of Desire, or Want of Opportunity. If you have a Curiosity of dipping into his temerarious Notes & can appoint me the Method of Conveyance, you may be sure you shall command the Perusal of my Copy, together wth. D^r. Pearce's Criticism on Bentley's 4 first Books, & the Friendly Letter from Oxford above mention'd. At present our Friend Concanen has them, but he's a Man of Dispatch.

¹⁵ *A Friendly Letter to Dr. Bentley. Occasion'd by his New Edition of Paradise Lost. By a Gentleman of Christ-Church College Oxon. London, 1732. [Said to be by Z. Pearce.]*

As many violent Wrestings of the Text as the D^r. has ventur'd at, he has omitted one easy literal Emendation, in the 1st Book, w^{ch}. I cannot but think he ought to have made.

V's: 756.

At Pandaemonium, the high CAPITAL
Of Satan & his Peers. —

Thus indeed all the Editions: but it seems to me y^t it ought to be read, — the high CAPITOL &c. The argument to this Book calls it expressly the *Palace* of Satan, & v's. 710, 713, 722, 762, 792, all confine it to a single Pile. There is beside a singular propriety, methinks, in y^e Term here as the Infernals were to meet on the great debate of Peace or War: w^{ch}., you know, was always the Motive of the Romans convening at y^e capitol. Again, *celsa capitolia*, you must remember is the frequent phrase of the Classics. And Hogaeus I am apt to think, who has given us a Latin Paraphrase of this Poem, understood our Author as I do: for I find he has translated the passage — *Inferni Capitolia*. I must however take notice y^t Book X. v. 424. Pandaemonium is called city & proud Seat of Lucifer. But there, I think, our Poet does not speak so precisely, but with a Latitude of Expression: as in the jocular Song the *Cobler's Stall* is said to be his *Kitchen & Parlour* & all. But forgive the low Allusion.

I'll venture to submit 2 Passages more to you, because I know I shall be safe from Ridicule, tho' I should not have your Concurr¹⁶ . . . in Opinion. B. 1. 282. — fall'n such a pernicious Height . . . & B. vi. 520. — Part incentive Reed. Provide, pernicious wi . . . Touch to fire. — The Doct^r. will have this Epithet in both places to be stark Nonsense; & therefore substitutes different Readings of his own. I say, the Word is one of Milton's Peculiarities; an Adoption of

¹⁶ MS. is torn.

his own Coinage; that, it has not its derivation from *Pernicies* but *Pernicitas*; & that He employs it in those very Acceptations, the best Roman Writers have used their *Pernix*. If I am mistaken, I shall be glad of your better Information.

You'll excuse my entering on a Subject, from w^{ch}. I could furnish many Dissertations, would they in Value compensate for the Trouble they must give you.

I am, Dearest S^r.

Your most affectionate & obliged

Friend & humble Servant

Wyan's Court.

21 Mar. 1731. [1732]

L: Theobald.

Dear Sir,

You may reasonably think me very slack in acknowledging the Receipt of your two last of y^e 27th of Mar. & 5 May: but indeed I have been so little at my own Command & so closely attach'd to the Service of my good Friend my Lord Orrery, that it has greatly broke in upon my private Correspondances. Your former put me in a pleasant Expectation, that a convenient Opportunity should furnish me wth. a Specimen of y^e Emendations on Paterculus: & my hopes of them are not cool'd by this silent Intervention. When you have presented the Publick wth That & Arnobius, We shall be taught not to value Editions on the Number of their MSS. You are so obliging to demand some blank Rec^{ts}. & more of my Proposals; w^{ch}. I want to know how shall be transmitted to you: & now I come towards the Conclusion of my Task, I find I want my Letters on y^e latter Plays to compleat my Notes, & compare wth your answers; w^{ch}. you'll very much oblige me in sending up *per* Carrier, & then I may by the same conveyance send you down the Rec^{ts}. & Proposals. Now my Lord Orrery has taken his

Recess, I dare promise to become a better Correspondant ;
 & for the present I'll send you in MSS. a little Poem, y^t I dare
 say, has not in print travell'd so far as your Parts. I am, my
 dear Friend,

Yo^r. most affectionate & oblig'd
 humble serv^t.

Wyan's Court
 20 June, 1732.

Lew. Theobald

An Epistle, humbly address'd to the R^t. Honble John, Earl
 of Orrery.

Agnosco Procerem.

Juvenal.

If Grief, or dear Respect, have made me slow
 To wound your Bosom with Returns of Woe,
 While I presume a Patron lost to mourn,
 And pay due Tribute o'er your Father's Urn ;
 If, conscious of my weak & falt'ring Pow'r,
 I wish'd & waited, that the rolling Hour
 Some Genius, fitter to the Task, might raise
 At once to weep his Death, & sing his Praise ;
 Forgive the Motives, Sir, that sway'd my Breast,
 And choak'd a Passion, labouring tho' repress.

Forgive me too, if, when I backward trace
 And view with Mem'ry's Eye his ev'ry Grace,
 I dare confess those Transports they inspir'd ;
 I lov'd with equal Pace as I admir'd :
 Lov'd yet revered — As Men on Beauty gaze,
 But find Desire chastis'd by Virtue's Blaze ;
 Such Awe dwelt round him, it awak'd a Fear ;
 Familiar Boldness durst not press too near ;
 Love & Respect their stated Limits knew,
 Respect decreas'd not as Affection grew.

In Port majestick, & in Aspect clear
 Candid, tho' grave; reserv'd, but not severe.
 For Condescension softening decent State,
 Proclaim'd the Friendly, & preserv'd the Great.

With what a charm did He his Thoughts dispense
 How temper the resistless Force of Sense!
 Hold Wonder chain'd with fresh Delight to hear,
 And to attention tune the ravish'd Ear.
 Strong Eloquence, convey'd with winning Art,
 Surpriz'd, yet took Possession of the Heart.
 We doubted which we felt in most Excess,
 His Strength of Reasoning, or his mild Address.

That Pleasure is no more: Penurious Fate
 Lends few great Blessings, & contracts their Date.
 Heav'n's choisest Gifts to swift Discomfort turn,
 We scarce can tast' em, e'er we're doom'd to mourn.
 Your Loss, my Lord, the common Lot transcends:
 All bury Fathers, but all lose not Friends.
 Such sympathy of Soul with Him you shar'd,
 Your Thoughts were kindred, as your Actions pair'd
 Congenial Virtues in two Bosoms shewn,
 Which Neither copied, each might call his Own.
 Thence Comfort dawns: that tho' of Him depriv'd
 I see the Patron in the Son reviv'd.

Permit me, Sir, to turn my Eyes on You
 And hope new Pleasures rising to my View,
 Be, what your Father was; & sweetly blend
 A double Grace, the Patron and the Friend!
 But that's a private Wish: you must be more,
 And shine in all the Parts of Fame he bore:
 The Abstract of your Race! in Whom we find
 The Statesman, Soldier, & the Scholar join'd;
 Nor thought they so adorn'd our humble Bays,
 Wreath'd with their Laurells, stain'd the Warrior's Praise.

O for a Homer's Fire, or Virgil's Art,
 To breathe the Wishes of my ardent Heart !
 An Heart that glows with such unfeign'd Desires,
 As Zeal oft prompts, but Flatt'ry ne'er inspires !
 When that ignoble motive taints her Strain
 Punish the Muse, my Lord, with just Disdain.

Fir'd with your noble Ancestor's Renown
 Born to outshine their Annals with your Own :
 Rich in their Honours, & enlarg'd of Soul,
 Come forth & emulate the mighty Roll.
 Come forth the publick Hope & publick Care ;
 And answ'ring ev'ry Wish, & ev'ry Prayer.
 Firm to the Rules w^{ch}. Conscious Virtue lends ;
 Firm to your Country's Rights, & Honour's Friends :
 Scorning to bow you to a Court's Controul,
 With venal Voice against the Bent of Soul.

Thus had I wish'd with Fondness void of Art,
 And deck'd you up a Boyle in ev'ry Part ;
 As if perhaps ambitiously, I meant
 To share those Glories I in Fancy lent ;
 But wishes come too late, & lost their Aim,
 For you prevent them & usurp your Fame.
 While tir'd Imagination lags behind,
 Lab'ring to trace the Beauties of y^r Mind.

Virtue unenvied, but divine Estate !
 The rare, the best companion of the Great !
 The Treasure of the Wise, that still expands
 And swells beneath the glorious Spendthrift's hands !
 That when unwast'd still becomes the less,
 When blessing Others, does its Owner bless.
 This Wealth, my Lord, you hold in ample Store ;
 An ever-spreading undiminish'd Ore !
 A shining Mass so properly your Own,
 Inherited, it seems deriv'd from None.

If on your private Stock you e'er refin'd ;
 Twas when to Boyle an Hamilton you join'd
 But if in That some Avarice you shew'd
 You grew a Miser for the publick Good.

Long may She live, & still, as now, impart
 Joy to your Eyes, & Comfort to your Heart !
 In such rare Union bounteous Heav'n is proud
 To mark its Fav'rites from th' unworthy Crowd.
 Still may that bounteous Heaven propitious shed
 Its choicest Influence on your Nuptial Bed !
 And as the circling Years their Course maintain,
 May each be fruitfull, till a blended Train
 Of beauteous Offspring your just Smiles divide ;
 The Mother's Rapture, & the Father's Pride !

Nor Thou, O Boyle, disdain (when Time shall spare
 And yield you vacant from the Patriots Care :)
 In soft Paternal Pleasures to unbend :
 The tender Father & instructive Friend :
 While, pleas'd the blooming Heroes round you shine,
 Patricians all in Virtue, as in Line.

Dear F[riend]

I reced the pleasure of yours of y^e 25th of last instant & likewise the small packet of my remaining Letters by the Waggon, & will take care by That, w^{ch}. sets out on Thursday next from Wood Street, to send you D^r. Bentley's Milton, some of my Proposals, 6 blank Rec^{ts}. & one fill'd up for the Earl of Tyrconnel. I beg you will make my Duty & Thanks acceptable to His Lords^p. If He is pleas'd to insist that I may not have y^e Honour of his Name in my printed List, I must, though with Reluctance, give way to his Command: but, pray, recommend to his Lordship, that Shake-

spere I apprehend to be of no Party: & that I shall have the Names of many Persons of Quality very intimately attach'd to M^r. Pope, & Advocates for all his Merit. I was inform'd by one of D^r. Bentley's Friends, that he was hard & fast upon Homer. I am in great Expectations of something copious & elaborate upon the Æolick Digamma, because the D^r. held forth upon it pretty warmly, when I waited upon him at Cambridge.¹⁷ I beg leave to assure you that I have vehement Longings after Paterculus & Arnobius in his turn. I thank you for your observation of the Greek Usage of the word *κεινός*, 'tis certain they do employ it in the sense of *absurdus*; but does it ever wth. them signify *nugax*, for in that Acceptation, you know, our Shakespeare puts *Modern* upon Us, in some passages.

I am greatly indebted for your kind sentiments of my little Poem. My Lord, indeed, as my Patron, made the Whole set of them Golden Verses to me; but he in his Generosity, & you in your partial Tenderness, I am sensible are both over indulgent to

Dear S^r.

yo^r most affectionate Friend
& obliged humble servant

Lew. Theobald

Wyan's Court.
4 July 1732.

Dear Friend

I had designed you a letter by this post upon another Subject, but having just received yours of the 26 Inst. I will postpone the intended Theme, & hasten to execute your

¹⁷ Bentley was the first to show that the digamma existed at the time when the Homeric poems were composed. It is unfortunate that Theobald has not given us a more detailed account of his visit to the man from whom he learned his art.

Commands in the desired Transcript from Stobaeus. En passant, I doubt not but you well know the following Prefaces & Laws are likewise preserved in Diod: Siculus. li. XII cap 3 & that there are 2 elaborate Chapters by Bentley (in his Controversy with Boyle) to prove both Zaleucus & Charondas spurious. . . . I have, you'll observe, Dear Sir, not knowing what use you were to make of it, been rather redundant in my Transcript, than you should want any part of it. You'll please to let me know, if the Version of Gesner be of any Service to you, or any Transcript from Diodorus Siculus, or anything else, & without the least Scruple command the Pen of, Dearest Sir

y^r most affectionate & obliged Friend & Servant

Lew: Theobald

Wyans Court 29 July 1732.

I presume anon I shall enjoy the *αποσώσματα* of your Paterculus. Pray don't let L^d Tyrconnel slip through our Fingers as he has once given his Promise.

My Dear Friend

My very trifling Concerns in Kent have obliged me to be for some time a Wanderer, or I had much sooner confess'd the Favour of your last. The Iambics of Critias you shall command when Occasion, translated in y^e best Manner that I can give them you. My Sextus Empiricus is of Sylburgius, but I'll take Care to have the particular Verses collated with Fabricius' Edition. I came home with Pleasure designing to have tun'd a congratulatory Muse, against E. of Orrery's Return from Ireland; but to my great Concern that Theme is disappointed, for poor dear Lady

Orrery is dead. If I groan inwardly for this Loss; you will be pleased, I am sure, to hear, that Shakespeare is now groaning under two Presses. As you encouraged me now & then to throw in an occasional Philological Note in this Work: I'll submit one to you in which I have attempted Hesychius. I beg, you know, freely your Censure & would by no Means be thought, in a pedantic Ostentation desirous to trouble any Readers with Criticism that may turn to my own Disreputation. I therefore the more earnestly entreat y^r impartial Decision. I'll give you the Whole Note & valeat quantum valere potest.

Merr. Wives. Ac. I. Sc. 3. I combat challenge of this *Latin* Bilboe.] Our Modern Editors have distinguished this Word (*Latin*) in Italic Characters, as if it was address'd to S^r Hugh & meant to call him *pedantic Blade*, on account of his being a Schoolmaster & teaching Latine. But I'll be bold to say, in this they do not take the Poet's Conceit. Pistol barely calls S^r Hugh mountain-Foreigner on account of his interposing in the Dispute: but then immediately demands the Combat of Slender for having charg'd him with picking his Pocket. The old 4^{tos} write it *Latten* as it should be in the common Characters: & as a Proof that the Author designed this should be addressed to Slender, S^r Hugh does not there interpose one Word in the Quarrel. But what then signifies *Latten* Bilboe? Why, Pistol seeing Slender such a slim puny Wight would intimate that he is as thin as a Plate of that compound Metal w^{ch} is called *Latten*; & which was as we are told the old Orichalc. Mons Dacier upon the verse of Horace De Arte Poetica — Tibia non ut nunc Orichalco vincta etc — says, est une espèce de cuivre de Montagne, come son nom même le temoigne; c'est ce que nous appellons aujourd'huy du *Leton*. It is a sort of mountain copper as its very name imports & w^{ch} we at this day call *latten*. Scaliger upon Festus had said the same

thing. The Metallists tell us it is Copper mingled with Lapis Calammaris. . . .¹⁸

I am

dearest Sir

Y^r most affectionate &

humble Servant

Lew. Theobald.

Wyan's Court
19 Sept 1732.

My dear Friend,

You are very good in making those allowances you mention for my long Silence; & indeed, (besides that I have been unwilling to trouble you with meer Postage;) true Friendship, like yours, could not but make me those allowances, could you know the Succession of all those Fatigues. I confess freely to you, & without affectation, what with my own private affairs & negociations for others, what with the necessary Attendances I am obliged to give at Levees & y^t constant Attachment to w^{ch}. I am pinned down in the Correction of Shakespeare, my poor weak Head, as the Captain says in Macbeth, is like a Cannon overcharged. However I had broke the chain of Business sooner to confess the Favour of yours wth. the little Bill at Top (w^{ch}. was properly honour'd) but y^t I have been so excessively ill as not to be able to hold my Head down to Paper. Our great Town has of late been almost universally oppress'd with an ugly complicated Cold, w^{ch}. has attacked me wth. all its troublesome Severities: but I thank God, I have pretty well master'd the Difficulty. My Author goes on apace; & I hope in six Weeks the Presses will get through the sev'n Volumes. You say, you are desirous to have a sett of the small Paper:

¹⁸ The rest of the letter is occupied with an emendation of Hesychius, which can be found in Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, vol. 1, p. 228.

but don't imagine, My dear Friend, you shall not be as well intitled to it, as the Sett of Royal. To urge the Paying for it, would be as bad as to insist on paying for your Wine at a Friend's Table. If you have Luck with any one Receipt I beg you will be so good to repay Yourself thereout; or I will find some Opportunity to ballance y^e Acco^{ts}. I should be glad to know, Dear Sir, if Lord Tyrconnel has conceded to stand in the List: or whether I must be content with his Money *tacito nomine*. I promise myself now shortly to sit down upon y^e fine Synopsis, w^{ch}. you so modestly call the Skeleton of Preface; after w^{ch}. I shall be at Leisure to give you a cool Dissertation on the great pleasure I feel in y^r. Commendatory on Vellerius Paterculus. I drank your Health heartily wth. our Friend M^r. Attorney-General¹⁹ before he went for Jamaica, & am in great Impatience to hear of his safe Arrival. I hope I shall succeed him in S^r. W^m. Yonge's good Offices, when Time serves; S^r. Robert Walpole has been so good to turn me over to him as a Remembrancer & Intercessor for me to his Favour. But these Prospects yet θεωρ εν γονασι κειται. But to pass from these Affairs to a little better Entertainment: a passage, w^{ch}. was canvass'd betwixt Us, & w^{ch}. I think I found out the Joak of but the other day while the Press waited. That I may have Room to give it you, I will at once confess Myself

Dearest Sir

Your most affectionate

obliged Friend & Serv^t.

Wyan's Court

10 Jan^y. 1732. [1733]

Lew: Theobald.

Love's Lab^r: lost. p. 294.

You will be scrap'd out of the painted cloth for this: your Lion that holds the Poll-ax sitting on a Close Stool will be given to Ajax: he will be then the Ninth Worthy.

¹⁹ Concanen.

I had discover'd, you may remember, y^t Alexander's Arms as one of the Worthies were here alluded to: but upon Alexander's being foil'd how the Jeast turn'd upon giving his Arms to Ajax, I was perfectly at a Loss to guess: & it was your Opinion that no Joak was intended any further than the plain obvious Sense. But observe the word *Closestool*, & then let us turn our Eyes on the Speaker. Costard, the Clown, seems to have a Conceit very much of a Piece with his Character. If so the Name of Ajax is equivocally used by him, & he must mean: The Insignia of such a Conqueror, as the Curate's stupid Representation exhibited, ought to be given to A-j a x: i.e. *A Jakes*: Sit Verbo Reverentia! The same sort of Conundrum is used by B. Jonson, I know, at the Close of his Poem, call'd *The Famous Voyage*:

And I could wish for their Eterniz'd Sakes
My Muse had plow'd with his that sung A-jax.

I [was] to venture the Conjecture, before my Health would permit me to communicate it; but I hope,²⁰ . . . not over-strain'd.

My dear Friend,

I should have a thousand Apologies to make, might I not persuade myself, you do not stand on Punctilios wth. me for not answering so precisely in time, for the Reasons pleaded on my Side in my Last: And to those I have for some Time past had the additional Fatigue of bringing my Tragedy on, w^{ch}. is to make its Appearance immediately after Easter Holidays. I am to make my Acknowledgments, Dear Sr., for the little Bill by w^{ch}. I am honour'd wth. your 3 Subscribers. For One of them you'll please to

²⁰ MS. is torn.

join, to your own Thanks, mine to good Mr. Taylor. I drank your Health lately wth. Dr. Stukely, who puts me in Hopes of your coming to London with him about August next. No News yet of our dear Friend Concanen; whose safe Arrival at Jamaica I am impatient to hear of. As to Shakespeare, I thank God, I am now venturing to advertise, that it will be ready to be deliver'd to the Subscribers by the latter end of next Month. You will find, I have had the good Luck to enrich my List wth her Royal Highness, the Princess Royal, & many Names of the highest Distinction. I had a Design as I believe I told you, of prefixing a Dedication to every Volume; but my Lord Orrery has been beforehand wth. me, & bespoke a part of its Patronage; & I think I can do no less than compliment him wth. the Whole, turn my Address into an Epistle Dedicatory, (more Drydenians) & therein couch all I have to say of my Author & the Edition. I must tell you, while 'tis in my Memory, of a Mistake or two we had like to have run into, w^{ch}. Time & Casual Conversation have prevented.

3 Henry vi But while he thought to steal the single Ten,
p. 271. The King was slyly finger'd from the Deck.

You thought there wanted a Consonance of the Metaphors here, & advis'd, Pack. But Deck, it seems is a county Dialect: & thus in Lancashire, & generally in the Northern Parts, it is confirm'd to me that they call the *Pack & Stock* of Cards. So no alteration is requisite.

Again Othello. The Food, that to him now is as luscious as
p. 345. Locusts, shall shortly be as bitter as
Coloquintida. You advis'd Lohock, as a proper contrast to
Coloquintida. But being, dear Sir, in company wth. Dr.
Beauford, he casually gave me the Fruit of the Locust-tree
to taste of, w^{ch}. is most egregiously luscious & the very Tree

we have growing at Russell-house in our own Street. So that as Coloquintida is the Fruit of a wild Gourd of bitter Taste, the Fruit of the Locust w^{ch}. is sweet comes more peculiarly in contrast. Will you forgive me if I should intimate an ignorant suspicion? Perhaps, the Locusts w^{ch}. (with Wild Honey) were S^t. John's Diet in the Wilderness, might be the Fruit of this Tree. For tho, I know, in Arabia & many other Oriental Parts they eat the Animal call'd the Locust, yet they eat it as a compounded Substance: They dried it thoroughly, pounded it into a Bran, & then work'd it up in their Bread: w^{ch}. could not be our holy Hermit's Case. Sed ἐπέχω.

The next Observation, Dear Sir, gives me Occasion of applauding your great Sagacity in a minute point, tho' it happens there is no Occasion for making Use of it.

Macbeth 2 Murth. He needs not *to* mistrust.
p. 226.

You very ingeniously prescribe — *We need* not to mistrust. But Pope's Ignorance had sophisticated the Text. The old Copies have it — He needs not *Our* Mistrust. i.e. the Mistrust of Us. w^{ch}. answers the purpose of your Correction. — Naming that little Gentleman gives me an Opportunity of telling you he is most handsomely depicted in a severe Poem by Lady Mary W. Mountague,²¹ occasion'd by his late Imitation of Horace in a Dialogue betwixt him and his Learned Counsel. But now, to release you. I am

Dearest S^r.

Yo^r ever affectionate,
as obliged humble Serv^t.

Lew: Theobald.

Wyan's Court.

10 Mar. 1732. [1733]

²¹ *Verses addressed to an Imitator of Horace, 1733.*

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure of yours of y^e 23^d Instant & am to account for my late long Silence from two Causes: a Desire not to be superfluous, in troubling you with an idle Letter; & a stronger Desire w^{ch}. I had of waiting till I could inform you of the Close of Shakespeare. But such has been the State of printing with Us this last Season, y^t with all the Industry & Sollicitation imaginable on my part, I have not yet been able to bring it to the wish'd Period. However the Comfort is, Hamlet & Othello are All y^t. want to be compleated. The Source of this slow Proceeding, Dear Sir, has been this. The great Number of our weekly Subscriptions, set on Foot by Journeymen Printers has caus'd such a general Desertion of them from the establish'd Presses, & render'd them so very peremptory & insolent, that it has been half the Work of the Printers to hawk out for Men; so y^t tho' I reced 8 Sheets per Week from each Press at my setting out, that Number has been too often reduc'd to Two. This is a Fact so well known with Us in Town, y^t as I advertis'd y^t compleat Volumes might be seen at my House, to the Intent the Diffident might have y^e Opportunity of convincing themselves, I hope my Subscribers will do me the Justice to make this Distinction that I am the Editor, & not the Printer: so, at least they will allow for a Delay w^{ch}. cannot be thrown at my Door; & so, not be too busie with my Reputation. I cannot omitt the present Opportunity of acquainting you with the Motto I have purpos'd. My Friends seem to reckon it a lucky One; but I shall suspend my own Opinion, till it has your Concurrence. It is This Line from our Master Virgil.

I, Decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere Fatis.

It will be no bad Compliment, I presume, to call Shakespeare the Glory of our English Poets; nor no extravagant Self-praise,

I hope, to suppose, I am giving the best Edition of him the Publick has yet had. The Respects of my little Family wait you; & believe me to be most sincerely

Dearest Sir,
Your truly obliged Friend &
faithfull humble Servant
Lew: Theobald.

Wyans Court
30 June 1733

My dear Friend,

I have reced the Pleasure of yo^{rs} of y^e 21st Instant, & am proud to hear my good Lord Orrery has so fair & just a Report from his Fellow-Collegiate; & no less pleas'd, y^t you are so well satisfied with my Motto. As to the Essays on Man, I don't know what to tell you with certainty. Many of his Intimates have taken Pains to deny Pope's Title to them; tho' I heard but yesterday, that y^e 3 parts are reprinting & together wth one more additional part, & some new Poems, are to be swell'd to 2 Volumes & make their Appearance in his Name next Season. This Opportunity just offers (before y^e Revise comes to me) to consult you upon a Passage in Hamlet, w^{ch}. never was canvass'd betwixt us. p. 310.

Being thus benetted round with Villains,
E're I could make a Prologue to my *Brains*,
They had begun the Play.

I had made a Query in my Margin, but solv'd this odd Expression to Myself thus, "ere I could in my *Brain*, or Thoughts, frame a Prologue &c." But then what was this

Prologue to be fram'd to? M^r. Chisselden the Surgeon,²² (whom, however, I have no Liberty to name), tells me it should be,

E're I could make a Prologue to my *Banes*,

i.e. my Misfortunes, the Dilemma's I was under — they had an actual Commission for his Death, before he had devis'd any Expedient how to avoid the Danger. — I shall be impatient of your Opinion upon it. I have taken y^e Liberty to dissent from a Correction of Yours in Antony; but I hope, wth. such Reason as you'll be willing to accede to. p. 35.

I'll raise the preparation of a War,
Shall STAIN your Brother.

You very justly observe, that it was a very odd way of satisfying his Wife, to tell her he should raise a Preparation for War, y^t. should stain, i.e. cast an Odium, on her Brother. You therefore advise, Shall STAYE your Brother, i.e. keep him back from invading Me. I read

Shall STRAIN your brother, i.e. put him to all his Shifts, lay him under such Constraints, that he shall not be able to injure me. For Plutarch, expressly says, Octavius was so stagger'd at Antony's preparations, y^t. he was afraid of being reduced to fight him y^t Season; & the Taxes & Exactions demanded were so severe & grievous, — (Every Man being sess'd in a Fourth of his Goods & Revenues; & the very Libertines oblig'd forthwith to raise an Eighth of their Substance) y^t. all Italy murmur'd, & grudg'd their

²² William Cheselden (1688–1752), one of the greatest of British surgeons, because of some remarkable operations became known to many eminent persons. He was intimately acquainted with Pope and is mentioned in "Imitations of Horace." This accounts for the fact that he did not allow his name to be mentioned, and later refused to assist Theobald in any way.

Contributions: & Octavius himself was full of many Wants,
& at a loss how to supply them.

I am my dear Friend

Your most affectionate
& faithfull humble Serv^t.

Wyan's Court

28 July. 1733.

Lew. Theobald

Have I leave for printing L^d.

Tyrconnel's Name? — And

Do you & D^r. Stukely hold y^e Intentions
of visiting London this next August?

My Dear Friend

I have received the Pleasure of yours of the 9th Instant (as well as the two preceding Ones occasionally mentioned) & will take the best & speediest Care in obeying your Commands with regard to the two Books you write about. Your demanding back your Papers on Paterculus has refreshed my Pleasure in giving them a parting View: & I am sure you will readily permit me to object to a single Correction, or to have the Favour of being better inform'd by you. Li II Chap. CIII — tum repulsit certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris M A T R I M O N I O R U M, dominis patrimonii etc. You would substitute M A T R O N A R U M. I confess, as yet I think the Text genuine, & have always understood it thus, that Parents might now hope to enjoy their Children, in Safety, Husbands to keep their Wives to themselves, & Men to possess their own *Estates*. Matrimonium, pro uxore, I think is very frequently us'd by the Classics. Luc. Flor. l. I. c.I. itaque *Matrimonia* a finitimis petita; quia non impetrabantur, manu capta sunt.

Justin. L. 3. C. 3 Virgines sine dote nubere jussit; ut uxores legerentur, non pecuniae: Severiusque *matrimonia*, sua

virī coercenter, cum nullis dotis froenis tenerentur. Idem li. 3. c. 5. Qui tribus proeliis fusos eo usque desperationis Spartanos adduxit, ut ad supplementum exercitus servos suos manumitterent, hisque interfectorum *matrimonia* pollicerentur, Idem li 18. c. 5. Harum igitur ex numero eo admodum Virgines raptas Navibus imponi Elissa jubet ut et juvenus matrimonia, et urbs sobolem habere posset. And we find both *conjugium* & *connubium* used in the self same acceptation. Justin li 43. c. 3. Tunc et vicinis *connubia* pastorum dedignantibus, virgines Sabinae rapiuntur. Ausonius, in Epicedio. Conjugium per lustra novem, sine crimine, concors unum habui : gnatos quatuor edidimus. Virgil AE. II. 519 Conjugiumque, domumque, patres, natosque videbit. Idem. AEn. III. 295.

Priamidem Helenum Graias regnare per urbes, conjugio Alacidæ Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum. In like manner, you know, Servitia is used for servi, Scelus for Scelestus, Ergastula for servi, (*sic*) Militia for Milites, senatus for Senatores, juvenus for juvenes, conjuratio for conjurati, clientela for clientes etc etc etc. And now as to Shakespeare, Dear Sir, w^{ch} you so kindly enquire after. I thank God, the 7 Volumes are quite printed off, & nothing remaining to do but the dedication, Preface & list. As I am obliged to defend literal criticism a little, a casual turning over of Sir George Wheler's journey through Greece, Constantinople etc. gives me a fair occasion of animadverting upon that Gentleman's Negligence or want of Talent in this point.²³ . . . But I must have fully tired you by this time, & ought at once to release you by confessing myself, Dear Sir your truly affectionate & humble Servant

Lew. Theobald

Wyān's Court, 17 Octo^r. 1733

²³ I have omitted the emendations on the inscriptions copied by Wheler, which may be found in the preface to Theobald's edition of Shakespeare.

My Dear Friend

I have just now reced the pleasure of yours & am tempted to reply to it at a heat. It gives me great Satisfaction, y^t you approve my Attempts upon the Greek Inscriptions. Your Conjectures upon the votive Table give me fresh room for Criticisms, as your objections, perhaps have inspired me to the true Reading. You offer in the 2nd Verse, ΖΗΝΑ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ πρὸς ΤΟΝ ὦνιον εκπετάσας. But, I am afraid this makes two false quantities in our Pentameter. The 1st may easily be cured by reading Ζῆνα χέρας; but τον coming before a word beginning with a Vowel, & without an Aspirate, will be for ever short in Scansion. As I have struck out a quite different Conceit, I'll once more trouble you with the corrupted Reading Ζῆνα κατὰ πρωτΟΝ Ωνιστιον ἐκπετασας ἐπὶ κυανέας δίνας δρόμους. The ΩΝ & ΟΝ seem a Reduplication of one & the same Syllable from the Carelessness of the stone cutter, or S^r George's transcript; but then, how by the same inaccuracy should ὦνιον be depraved into ωνιστιον? I believe I was too licentious in the use of ἐκπετάσας & therefore we'll now tie him down to his native Construction. I'll correct if you approve it. Ζηνα κατὰ πρώτΩΝ; ἴστιον ἐκπετασας κυανεαῖς δινησιω ἐπίδρομΟΝ.

The alteration now is very minute & the sense will be thus: Invocet aliquis ventum secundum a puppi,

Jovem vero a

prima parte Navis (vel, in primis, praecipue) dum expandat Velum accursorium super coeruleos Vortices etc. The *Epidromos*, you know, is the particular name of a sail at y^e Prow of a vessel. Your other conjecture, ἐπὶ κυανεους Δυνας δρόμους, I think can never stand at y^e beginning of an Hexameter. Sir George Wheeler, in his explanation of this inscription, led me into y^e notion of the Cyanean Islands. You very dexterously guess that Ἐβάνθη might

be y^e name of a Female; but then the nominative placed betwixt Εσδε τὸν and τὸν ἀεὶ θεόν, & then the accusatives φιλοῦντ' ἄγαθὴν divided from their substantive by Ἀντιπάτρου παῖς στήσε renders the position very harsh & the sense too obscured & inelegant for the other parts of this little poem: nor tho' εὐανθῆ may not be the epithet generally appropriated to y^e True God by the Greek Christians because applied to Idols, am I satisfied, that a poetical devotee (& perhaps a new convert) might not indulge himself in using it. For the sake of my more illiterate Readers, I have attempted to put the whole in an English Dress. A Servile version, I presume, will not be judged requisite.

Invoke who will the Prosperous Gale *behind*,
 Jove at the prow, while to the guiding wind
 O'er the Blue Billows He the sail expands,
 Where Neptune *with each wave heaps hills of Sands*:
 Then let him, when his backward *course he plows*,
 Pay to his Statued God unaiding vows.
 But to the God of Gods, for Death's o'erpast,
 For Safety *rendered* on the watry Waste,
 To native Shores returnéd, *does* Philo raise:
 This Monument of Thanks & *grateful Praise*.

Some time next month, Dear Sir, Shakespeare will make his appearance: & then I shall need a Vulcanian Armour to defend against repeated attacks. But if I have not great cause to blush, I'll endeavour to make my mind easie, & keep my temper unruffled. Chisselden has lent me no manner of Assistance; nor in this have I been disappointed, for I expected nothing from him. I am extremely pleased that I happen to be right in my remark on *Matrimoniorum*: if you insist upon it, I will with great pleasure resurvey all the other emendations & conjectures. But I am afraid,

or should be that I pester you too much with these minute Semi-Criticals. But y^r Fatigue is repaid to me in the satisfaction of hearing from you, than which nothing can afford greater pleasure to

Dearest Sir
y^r ever obliged as faithfull
humble Ser^t

Wyan's Court
25th October 1733.

Lew. Theobald

[*To Mr. Tonson*]

Sir. ²⁴

As I have very few days left before I must close my list, I beg for these next six Days, Shakespeare may every day be advertis'd in Daily post, Daily Journal, & Daily Advertiser, & in the Evening Posts. (These infrequent & scattering Advertisements Do me no manner of service). I have sent a Number of my printed advertisements herewith for this purpose. The Compliments of the Season attend you from

Sir

Your very humble

Wyan's Court

Servant

2 Jan^y. 1733. [1734]

Lew: Theobald

My Dear Friend,

I defer'd replying to the Favour of yours of y^e 30 Jan^y till I could inform you y^t. I had sent down yo^r Books, w^{ch}. set out wth. Newbal's Waggon on Monday last. You will receive 2 Parcells; in One, a Royal Paper Sett bound, for

²⁴ British Museum, add. MSS. 28275, f. 310.

Yourself, & 3 Setts on Demy; & in the other, a Royal Set in sheets for D^r. Taylor, & 3 more Setts on Demy. At the Top of this 2^d Parcell you will find the Papers you favour'd me wth. on Paterculus, because you say you want them.

I had purpos'd now Shakespeare is off my Hands, to obey you in considering them very strictly; & if it can be worth & y^t you will take the Trouble to remitt a Copy of them by one, or two, in a letter, as Leisure & Paper will extend, I will wth. the utmost Freedom, to my Power, give you my impartial Thoughts of each. À propos, to one in particular y^t occurs to me Lib. 11. cap. cxiii. Ille ad *patrem patriae* expectato revolavit maturius. You seem much better reconcil'd to this Phrase than many of the Editors. I confess it always stuck with me as a flat Reading, & too stale a piece of Flattery. I have suspected the Complement was intended another Way: & that y^e Author would insinuate, Tiberius was as much a Darling adopted Son of Augustus. I would read therefore Ille ad Patrem, Patriamque, &c. His Country was as much transported in his unexpected Return, as his Father. Velleius has chose this Manner of Expression upon some other Occasions. L.2 c. 100. Julia relegata in Insulam, PATRIAEQUE et PARENTUM subducta Oculis.— & again c. 120. Arminio territo, quem arguisse PATER et PATRIA contenti erant, &c. I don't know whether I am right: but I was willing to offer it to your better Consideration.

The Rec^t w^{ch} you return me for Aeschylus I will keep safely for you: since (by God's Leave) I mean to print y^t Work off this ensueing Summer. I thank you heartily for yo^r kind Promise of collecting in your Friends' 2^d Paym^t. It will be of singular Service to me. You are very good in accounting for, or rather excusing, my Silence. I assure you faithfully, neither Indolence nor Neglect has been the

Parent of it; but a Strict and Painful Attention to the closing of Shakespeare. I have been silent, indeed, too upon another Motive y^t gave me some little Uneasiness. I intrusted Mr. Prevost wth your letter of Directions ab^t. getting the two French Books for You. He is turn'd out a Bankrupt, & had lost y^e Letter; but I have agen recover'd it & commission'd Paul Vaillant who I daresay will soon procure the Books for you. I am at present a sort of Shop-keeper, in deliver^g out all my Subscription Books at home; but in a little Time I hope to have ample Leisure & Opportunity for conversing with you, & confessing Myself, Dear Sir

Your most affectionate &
faithfull humble servant

Wyan's Court

12 Febry. 1733. [1734]

Lew. Theobald.

P.S. If the having back the Letters you wrote to me on Shakespeare is of any Particular Use to You, you'll give me Leave first to order a Transcript of them, for They are so much a Tally to mine, y^t Mine are render'd useless without Them: & besides there is a rich vein of Oar yet undrain'd.

My dear Friend

I have the pleasure of yours, & receiv'd by it infinite satisfaction to find, that Shakespeare in the Gross makes a tolerable figure in your Eye. What Character it will bear in general, is a point on which I will not venture to determine. The Cynicks have not yet open'd: when they begin to bark, we'll begin to look to the Strength of our Shelters. But if our Adversaries have a mind to draw out Faults in Parade, I am of Opinion with you that we

need not decline to take the field. I wonder, you should think you have any obligations to acknowledge for the gratefull Confessions I have endeavoured to make. They are duties that do me as much solid honour as they afford me sincere pleasure. I will not pretend, it was a debt politickly paid; but I find, it has entail'd this rich Consequence, *y^t it has given me a Right* (through your generous Grant) *to demand all your Capacities for my Service:* An aid *y^t* I prefer to all the Cabal of Pope's Friends, however numerous they may be, *junctosque umbone phalanges.* What you mention as to my having adopted passages in my preface, w^{ch} you had shewn long ago to have been of your composure, gives me no cause of blushing. Let those preacquainted Friends frankly know, I embraced them in a just preference to what I could myself produce on the Subject. They came a free Gift to me; & as Menander finely observes, *τα τῶν φίλων κοιν' οὐ μόνον τὰ χρήματα, καὶ νοῦ δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως κοινωγία.* Nor would I have chose tacitly to usurp the Reputation of them: but as I formerly hinted, & you join'd with me in sentiment, it would have looked too poor to have confess'd Assistances towards so slight a Fabrick as my Preface. As to D^r Bentley (whatever the penetration of some readers may devine on this head) in Shaking off the Similitude betwixt our tasks, I hope that neither he, nor his Friends will see cause to suspect any Sneer. The Stating the Difference was absolutely necessary on my own side, & I think I have avoided saying anything derogatory on his. As to the Omissions I have so frequently made, in Both our Notes, to confess freely, I easily foresaw there would arise Occasion for Improvements on Shakespeare: & if I have given enough to awake the Expectation of the publick, 'tis neither a fraud, nor bad policy, to keep a good Fund in Reserve. You are very kind to attribute them to your loose unmethodical

papers, as you are pleas'd to call them. To say a word to your intention of composing a full & compleat Critic on Shakespeare, I own, it would be a treasure to me to see it: but to speak for the World, & throw off those prepossessions w^{ch} I have for our Author, I am afraid, the generality will regard him as too irregular a Writer to deserve such a critic. I am very glad the Greek Criticisms strike you. The Major part of them, I believe, will stand their ground. But in one of them I have been most miserably mistaken. I mean miserably, as not knowing a Fact: as a Schollar & Conjecturer at large, I think the Mistake will not affect me in Credit. It is the *Votive Table*, as I called it, w^{ch} led me into the Error; & for your Entertainment, I'll give you a separate Letter, in w^{ch} the Whole shall be set right & explain'd. I with great pleasure embrace the Review of your efforts on Paterculus: & they cannot visit me too soon. I thank you for the Repetition of your Advice wth regard to the text of Aeschylus: & I will consult the opinions of what Connoisseurs we have here, to determine the question for Me. By the way, Stanley's Text, tho' the best, is not so accurate as you imagine, & I have done much on the Chorus's by adjusting the Metre of the Strophes & Antistrophes to each other, in which that very learned Man was negligent or thought it was too trivial a Reformation. I own, the *Rythmus* seems to me the most certain Basis of Correction. I had like to have forgot answering your question, as to Shakespeare's poems, whether they are so good as to engage your thorough Attention in Reading. I dare not promise & vow for them all in the Bulk. I could wish them more equal: but still, to invite you, there are peculiar Douceurs in them; there is Scope for Conjecture & Explanation: & Adonis & Tarquin to my taste are the sweetest Poems y^t I have ever seen. And now, My Dear Friend, with all your fund of Alacrity about you, I

embrace your Challenge. Write as often as you dare, & I will not be silent. The Spring invites to open the Campaign; & let's be as true generals as if we were paid for it; draw out our forces, tho' against Stone-Walls. Some of our Artillery may possibly fly: but some other will batter & make a breach.

I am

Dearest Sir

Yo^r most affectionate &
oblig'd Friend & humble
Serv^t

Wyan's Court

5 March 1733 [1734]. Lew. Theobald

P.S. I am in no pain
for *spare me, James* — in spite of
Philip Sparrow.

My dear Friend

I hope according to the old Style & Fashion, This will find you as well as I am present. The Reason y^t I did not trouble you wth acknowledging yo^r Hints on the Grubb, wrote on the Road, was, y^t we had previously determin'd not to make any Reply; that I therefore imagined them struck out for Amusement & flatter'd myself I should have been saluted at yo^r coming home, on the Contents of mine w^{ch}. waited you there: tho', indeed, if I remember, it demanded no answer. Since I had the Pleasure of your Company, I have been doubly engag'd: Partly, wth. Transcripts for my Lord Orrery; & partly wth. making my Interest for a Benefit-Play given me as Editor of Shakespeare, for the Entertainment of the Grand Master & Society of Free-Masons.

By the Way as you are so good to rejoyce in all my good

Fortunes, I must let you know that the Prince of Wales generously order'd me 20 Guineas for his Sett of Shakespeare; & y^t my Lord Orrery made me y^e Complim^t of 100 Guineas for the Dedication. I hope, the Work is rising in Reputation: I have much said to me on that Side of y^e Question; & nothing in Detraction, since the idle Invec-tive you saw. I should not have made this Report, but to a Party concern'd; & to obey a particular Injunction. And so much for y^t Author at Present. I'll trouble you, Dear Sir, to look into a Passage for Me, out of Milton's Lycidas. I own I am entirely in the Dark as to the Circumstances hinted at, et Davus sum, non Oedipus.

Ay me! Whilst Thee the Shores & sounding Seas
 Wash far away, where-e're thy Bones are hurl'd,
 Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,
 Where Thou perhaps under the whelming Tide
 Visit'st the Bottom of the monstrous World;
 Or whether Thou, to our moist Vows deny'd,
Sleep'st by the Fable of Bellerus old,
 Where the great Vision of the guarded Mount
 Looks Namancos † & Bayona's § hold: &c

To sleep by a Fable — A Vision that looks — a guarded Mount — Namancos — (Dic quibus in terris). These may be all right, but they are all Mysteries to me: nor do I know one Tittle of *Bellerus Old*. I know that Milton in all his allusions is ever full of what we may call Learning, or, at least, Reading: for, indeed, he as often trades in Romance as in Classical Materials; and if I am not greatly mistaken the Fable of Bellerus & the Vision of the guarded Mount seem of the stamp of Amadis du Gaule, or some of y^t Tribe of Rhapsodists. But I shall be happy in a better Informa-

† Naymancos (Theob.)

§ Boyona's (Theob.)

tion from you, because I much admire this sweet little Poem : & therefore will not take off yo^r. Application from a Comment on it by the intermingling any other Matter whatever, than that I am Dear Sir

Y^r truly affec. as oblig'd

Wyan's Court.

Friend & humble servant

9 May 1734.

Lew : Theobald.

My dear Friend,

In yours of y^e 17th Instant you told me of some Visits you were going to pay, & therefore I forebore replying till I might imagine you return'd. I have had a dreadfull Interval of Anxiety; for my little Boy was seiz'd wth the Small Pox, of the confluent Kind; & for 12 days we had scarce the least Hopes of his Life; but by the Care of D^r. Mead & the Kindness of Nature, I thank God, we now think he is out of all Danger.

I am oblig'd to you for your Informations concerning *Bellerus*, *Naymanco*s, &c: tho' I have not been able yet to proffit from them. *Boyona's Hold*, I presume to mean some Fortress on the Boyne; but as to *Bellerus*, *Naymanco*s, & the *guarded Mount*, I have deriv'd no Light; tho' I have turn'd over page by Page, D^r. Keating's general History of Ireland in fol: (w^{ch}. is full throughout of fabulous Trash, but has no Mention of the Fable requir'd); S^r. James Ware's *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus, Disquisitiones* 8^{vo} Lond: 1654; as also his *Rerum Hibernicorum Annales*, fol. Dublin. 1664. There is, I know, in Hartley's *Catalogus Universalis*, mention'd a 2^d Edition of Ware's *Antiquities* in 1668, said to be a 4th-part enlarg'd from the first. Whether the Fable of *Bellerus* &c be contain'd amongst those Additions, I don't know: nor can meet wth y^e Book.

By the Notices you have given me, I suppose, it is either in yo^r: Custody or in yo^r. Neighbourhood. Whichever of the two is the case, I shall be extreamly glad of a Trans . . .²⁵ of what is said concerning this obscure Fable.

The omitted 50 Remarks & Explanations, y^t you have transcrib'd, you may please to send me at yo^r. best Leisure. For as, on the one Side, I would not press you in time; so, on the other, I would have Time fully to weigh them.

As to M^r. Jortin's Performance,²⁶ or rather his Scheme, I love the Gentleman, & think it savour'd rather of a Desire, than Power of Critic; or if it had the latter Quality, it was conducted in too dry & jejune a Method to heighten Expectation, or, indeed, subsist. The *Serpit humi tutus* was too prevalent a Rule with him. He had been alarm'd at some of Markland's bold Emendations; so y^t to decline splitting on the same Rock, he grows over fearfull of launching out; & by being too dubious of Every thing he advances, teaches his Readers to pass over his Conjectures as of no Weight. No man cares to believe wth. Distrust in common Points: however we may strain Opinion in a Matter of more Faith & Sanctity. Sed haec obiter et inter nos. I am

Dearest Sir,

Y^r. most oblig'd & affection^{te}.

Friend & humble Serv^t.

Lew: Theobald

Wyan's Court
30 May. 1734.

²⁵ MS. is torn.

²⁶ *Remarks on Spenser's Poems and on Milton's Paradise Lost, 1734.*

My Dear Friend

Since the Favour of your last I have been making a short Tour into my own County, Kent; & am now to acknowledge the Rec^t of your Criticism on 13 disputable passages in Shakespeare & y^r list of omitted Emendations: for both w^{ch} I desire to return my thanks. In the postscript of yours of June y^e 2nd you say, you shall order a person to bring the Four guineas to my House & leave them there. I mention this only to let you know, no such person has been near us, so that perhaps, your orders are either mistaken or neglected. Litterary News are at present quite dead. You say, you are desirous of seeing my reply to the Grubstreet. Our Controversy stands thus. He has attacked me twice; about the ὄμμα εξεστραμμένον & the Votive Table as I call'd it. I have entered my Defence to Both, in separate Letters. I will either procure you the 4 journals, if you so desire: or if that is not to be done, transcribe & send them to you. For the present I'll beg to trouble you with two Conjectural Emendations. One on Shakespeare, the other on Aeschylus in w^{ch} your opinion will decide,

Dearest Sir

y^r most obliged & affectionate

Wyan's Court

humble Servant

11 July 1734.

L: Theobald

In the 13th Stanza of the Venus & Adonis, the poet says, — The Goddess is equally enamour'd, whether the youth looks sullen or pleas'd; whether he blushes, or looks pale; & then subjoins,

“Being Red, she loves him best: & being white,

“Her *Breast* is better'd with a more delight.”

But how is her Breast better'd? Sure, this is an odd phrase, if it means she is made still happier. Have the Editors

blunder'd this out, from *best* occurring in the preceding line? Or is it a poor jingle design'd, betwixt *best* & *better'd*? To me, the Sense seems to be "If she sees him blush, she loves him to the height; & when she sees his fair cheek, her heart is still more captivated with his beauty." I suppose our Author, wrote:

"Her Breast is *fettered* with a more delight."

An "f" curtailed below the line in the M.S.S., might easily be mistaken for a "b": & there is no metaphor more classical you know, than the *Chains* or *Fetters* of Love.

Tum Pater aeterno fatur *devinctus amore*. Virg. AEn. 8
 ———in gremium qui seape tuum se

Rejicit aeterno *devinctus* volnere *Amoris*

Luc. Lib. I.

—————hunc vincula Amicitiae

Rumpere et in summa pietatem evertere fundo.

Id. Lib. III.

Ipse ego praeda recens factum modo volnus habebo

Et nova *captiva vincula mente feram*

(Ovid Amor:)

—————anima, quales neque candidiores,

Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter

Horat Sermo I.

Foelices ter & amplius

Quos inrupta *tenet copula*; Id. Od li. I; 13.

Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit

Non tuae sortis, juvenem puella,

Dives & lasciva, *tenetque gratia*

Compede vinctum Id Od IV. 11.

etc etc etc Instances from English poetry would be numberless. AEschyl. in Prometheo.

v^e. 134. κτυποῦ δ' Ἀχὼ χαλυβος διηξεν ἄντρων ἐκ δ' ἔπληξέ μου τὰν θεμερῶπιν αἰδῶ, Συθην δ' ἈΠΕΔΙΛΟΣ ὄχω πτερωτῶ
 The sea-nymphs here come to Prometheus. They tell him, "The Echo of an iron sound pierc'd to their grotto's, call'd the colour from their cheeks, & they have rushed B A R E-FOOT in their winged chariot." The elder scholiast hints y^t ἀπέδιλος here is, as in Hesiod Γείτονες ἀζωστοὶ ἔκιον. People come to the relief of a neighbour, without standing on being compleatly dressed. And the second scholiast explains it, that they were too zealous to be able to slip on their shoes. As I am venturing to give this passage a Turn, neither countenanc'd by the Text, nor the Commentators, I ought previously to give my Reasons. The learned Stanley intimates very justly, that some think the water nymphs always are without Shoes or Sandals; & that therefore Thetis has the epithet of silver-footed given her by Homer. So Philostratus, in his 21st Epistle, says y^t Venus emerged from the sea barefoot. If the sea-nymphs then were always barefooted, to say, they came ἀπέδιλοι would be idle & trivial. And besides, if we consider Circumstances, Haste had no occasion to make these nymphs leave their Shoes behind them. Tho' their passage is quick, yet their setting out was not so precipitate. They stayed to ask [leave?] of their Father Ocean, & had much ado to obtaine his Consent πατρώας . . . ²⁷ παρειποῦσα φρένας. The Context, therefore, would seem to me natural thus. "The sound of the hammering pierc'd so fearfully to our Grotto's, that it called all the colour from my cheeks, & I hasten'd trembling etc. And a very slight literal alteration of the Text will reconcile it to this Sense: if, instead of ἀπέδιλος, we may only read Συθην δ' ΤΓΟΔΕΙΛΟΣ etc. I don't find, indeed, y^t the Lexicons acknowledge the word, but Hesychius has one Synonomous & similarly compounded

²⁷ MS. is torn.

ὑποδεῆς ενδεῆς, καταδεῆς, ἐπιφοβος — In the Hecuba of Eurip-
edes, when Polyxena comes out to her, upon hearing her
violent transports of grief, she says something resembling
this sentiment of Aeschylus;

— οἴκων μ' ὥστ' ὄρνιν ΘΑΜΒΕΙ τῶ δ' ἐξέπταξας.

My dear Friend,

I have been so perpetually hurried, for this Month past
in L^d. Orrery's Affairs, y^t I cannot say I have had a Leisure
hour to myself or I should much sooner have reply'd to
the Favour of y^r. Last. I hope, you have quite got rid of
y^e uneasie cold with all its Concomitants; tho' we have had
a Season too unfavourable easily to throw off the Attacks
of any Disorder. Your Friends from Cambridge have
remitted y^e 4 Guins. pursuant to your Order, for w^{ch}. please
to receive my Thanks. The 2 Grubstreets w^{ch}. you wanted
are not to be come at with the Publishers. I shall therefore
with great pleasure transcribe them, as I am oblig'd to keep
a copy of them by me. You here receive my first letter,
& the next Post or the Post after that shall bring you the
Sequel.²⁸ . . . The next Post my dear Friend, shall bring
you M^r. Bavius's Cavil to this Letter: & after That, you
shall be visited with my Refutation of the Anonymous
Attack on my Emendation of Platonius & what M^r.
Bavius thought fit to retort to y^t.

I am Dear S^r. Y^r. most affectionate & oblig'd
humble serv^t.

Wyan's Court,
27 Aug. 1734.

Lew: Theobald.

²⁸ I have omitted the copy of this letter communicated to the *Grub-
street Journal*, No. 232, June 6, 1734.

My Dear Friend

I now transmit to you M^r Bavius's Replication or Cavil²⁹ (quocunque nomine) subjoined to my letter w^{ch} I last troubled you with: & shall only at present confess myself, Dear Sir your most oblig'd & affectionate

humble Servant

Wyans Court

Lew. Theobald.

3^d Sept^r 1734

[*To Sir Hans Sloane*]

³⁰ Sir

The encouragement you were so good to shew me in the Case of Shakespeare makes me humbly hope I shall have y^e Honour of y^r Name to the Work I have now under the Press, a Translation of AEschylus's Tragedies, with Notes Critical and Philological: & an History of the Greek Stage in all its Branches, in a Dissertation to be prefix'd. The Work will be 2 thick Volumes in 4^{to} on the best Royal Paper, & fine Copper Plates to each Play, the Subscription 2 Guineas.

I am advis'd by some Friends to give the Greek Text on the Opposite Page; because it may in many Cases be corrected with Certainty: as well as that the Metre of the Chorus's greatly wants adjusting, a Task w^{ch} even the Learned Stanley took no considerable Pains about. I mention this at pres^t. Sir, only to let you know that by the kindness of D^r Conyers Middleton I have a Collation of a Mss. of this Poet from the Laurentian Library at Florence; w^{ch}. Mss. was made for the use of Franciscus Philadelphus,

²⁹ I have omitted this, since it can be found in same issue of the *Grub-street Journal* mentioned on the preceding page.

³⁰ British Museum, Sloane MSS. 4053, ff. 275-276.

a little before the Time of Printing; & in the Margin the Learned Salvini has added here and there his Conjectures. I am transcribing the various Readings into my Stanley; & could I know³¹ . . . pt of this Collation would be acceptable to S^r. Hans . . . wth great pleasure make it at y^e same time for y^r Service. I had an ambition of mentioning this on Thursday was Sennight to you at S^r. Robert Walpole's; but as I never had the Honour of approaching you, I was fearfull of being too importunate. The Honour of yo^r Commands will very much oblige Him, who is with true Respect & Veneration

Sir

Your most obedient
humble serv^t.
Lew. Theobald.

Wyan's Court in
Great Russell Steet
21 Sept^r. 1734.

My dear Friend

The Favour of yours is arriv'd, & in Acknowledgment I give you now the only Line y^t I have attempted to write above these two Months. Man has certainly neither Reason, nor Priveledge, to complain ag^t. Nature, & my Constitution in particular has been so kindly, that I have not a Shadow for Quarrel. Whether Woodward's biliose Salts are become predominant, & playing their Tricks in Me, I can't say; but I have been so attack'd, as to think strong Texture, good Stamina &c very brittle Defences: & it shall never be an Axiom wth Me, that a Middle-aged Man has liv'd but half his Days. I was seiz'd at once wth Something like a Cold so severe y^t I was glad for my own Sake

³¹ MS. is torn.

as well as the Family's to creep out of y^e Way. A few days settled it in the fore part of my Head so intensely, that I was almost afraid for my Eyes. This Ferment has been succeeded by what I think They call a Feaver on the Spirits, w^{ch} has led me a strange Dance; for tho' I have too much Flegm to give Way to Whimsey, & have had no rub in Fortune to induce me to succumb (as some people you know would chuse to say;) to Oppression, yet I assure you it has been out of my Power not to feel myself a damn'd, insipid Animal. But too much of This, as Hamlet says, — My Head is yet but weak, & my Hand not much firmer. Excuse me a few Posts, & I hope to convince you that my Intentions are no more alter'd, than that Zeal with w^{ch}. I shall ever be proud to approve Myself

Dear Sir

Your most affect^e &
oblig'd humble Serv^t.

Wyan's Court.
7. Nov. 1734

Low: Theobald.

Dear Sir

I have receiv'd the pleasure of yours, but find I am to lose That expected one of seeing You this Spring; the hope of w^{ch}. has for a long while suspended my troubling you with any Letters. I had sooner reply'd to yo^r Last, but was then mak^g. a short Tour into Kent when it arriv'd. D^r. Stukely I have met twice at M^r. Watts,³² & once at S^r. Robert Walpole's. I will wait on Mr. Whiston,³³ who, I

³² One of Theobald's printers.

³³ William Whiston (1667–1752), an unorthodox divine and mathematician, was the author of *A New Theory of the Earth*, 1696, which enjoyed a better reputation than its merits justified. His best work is a translation of Josephus, 1737, referred to here.

hear has call'd at my House, will subscribe Myself to his Josephus, & do him w^t Service I can in recommending it. The State of literary Matters is very dull at present, & under manifest Discouragement. I don't know whether you have heard what pains I am taking to carry thro' a Bill for the Encouragem^t. of Learning, & securing of Property in Authors. I hope, I shall get it thro' unless my Application is cut short by an abrupt Rising of y^e Houses. But in a few Posts I shall be able to ascertain my Success in it to You. Would you believe that I have been saluted in the Epistolary Way by a Professor at Zurich? But I overshoot modesty even in the mention of it. Therefore to pass to another Subject, Millar,³⁴ as you say, imitates Moliere full as badly as he translates him. I will look out your Letter, mentioning the 2 or 3 books to be procured by Vaillant, & will then call upon him about them. I am

Dear Sir

Wyan's Court
26 Apr. 1735.

Y^{rs} most affectionately
Lew. Theobald.

³⁵ I am to acknowledge the Favour of Two of yours, but y^t. [I] should have done much earlier, but y^t ever since the Rising of Parliament my L^d. Orrery has engross'd me night & day. His Lordship's Affairs have now carried him into Ireland, so I hope for a little Time to be a Man more at my own Dispose. I need not tell you that it was impossible

³⁴ James Miller (1706–1744) left the church to write for the stage. Some of his plays had considerable success, the plots generally being taken from the French, especially Molière. The play alluded to above was *The Man of Taste*, produced March, 1735.

³⁵ The manuscript of this letter is in a very bad condition as the frequent lacunae show.

to get our Act (for the Propriety of Copies) thro' the Lords this Season; but I am so hardned a Wrestler, as not to give over for a single Fall; & therefore design to try t'other Bout wth. them next Session. The Roberts (an Actor) whom you mention to have wrote some Remarks on Shakespeare, never wrote any Thing that I know of, but some Remarks on M^r. Pope's Preface,³⁶ as a pretended Defence of his Fellow-Players. Nor can I yet find out any Epistle addressed to M^r. Pope, in w^{ch}. You have been drawn into a share of abuse. If I can trace any such I will not fail to give you full Notice. You desire some Account of my Zurich Correspondent. You must know, he had met w^t. a trifling Poem of mine abroad, call'd the Cave of Poverty, attempted by me near 20 Years ago in Imitation of Shakespeare. Something in it, it seems, happen'd to strike his Fancy strongly; & about 2 Years ago he express'd his Compliments in a Letter, brought to me by two itinerant Abbées, w^{ch} put me to the unaccustom'd Task of a Latine Conversation. I thought Myself oblig'd to set Pen to Paper, in reply to his great Civility; & that Compliance I suppose has drawn on the following Letter w^{ch} I'll give you totidem verbis.

Viro Cl . . . simo, Cel . . . rimoque,
Ludovico Theobaldo
Anglo

Jo. Jacobus Bodmer Tigurino — Helvetius.S.D.

Utor Libertate quam Epistola Humanitatis & egregiae in me Voluntatis plena concessisti. Quid enim jucundius, quid optabilius in Vita cuiquam accidere potest hominum Erudi . . . similium, Consuetudine? Sed, eheu! iniquum

³⁶ John Roberts, *Answer to Pope's Preface to Shakespeare, by a Strolling Player* [1730].

quo pre . . . Quam enim Tu mihi, ut ut nullis Tibi Meritis cognito, am . . . Consuetudinemque benevolè largiris, eâdem ut plene perfrua . . . Montium terrarumque Tractus interjecti, Oceanus denique interfu . . . negare videntur. Literarum equidem beneficiô id consequimur, quantumvis longissimo terrae tractu dissiti conversari & colloquia miscere possimus; sed dum viatores, quibus Epistolas parvasque sarcinas ultro citroque ferendas committimus, rarius obveniunt ac diutius per Viam morantur, Studium exspectando immuni, et consuetudinis voluptati multum derogari accidit.

Interim consuetudine hâc Epistolari fruamur, qua licet et Res et Locus fieri patiuntur. Gratulor Tibi egregiam istam juvandi liberales Disciplinas voluntatem, quâ inflammatus novam Shakespear I Editionem procurare adgressus es. Non equidem me fugit Alexandrum Popium, quem tibi Editione Shakespearii praevisse . . . bis, virum ingenio felicissimo, faman nominis longe lateque . . . neque poemata ejus miscellanea, quae ad Apinam hanc plagam usque devenêrunt, adulationis hunc rumorem ad-cusare videntur. Doctrinâ tamen, ingenio, atque ceteris dotibus animi abundè Te instructum et ornatum ad Shakespear I Fabulas inlustrandas accedere probé sentio, ex tuô de Divae PAUPERTATIS speluncâ eximio Poematiô, quod non stylum vocemque solum Shakespearii exprimit, sed ipsummet enthei Poetae Spiritum feliciter audacem undequaque Spirat. Contuli enim ad unam alteramve Shakespearii fabulam, quae jam olim ab ipso Editae, nescio quô vento secundo in meas delatae sunt Manus. Haec ipsa mirum mihi desiderium totum Shakespearium, sed a Te recognitum, habendi implantarunt in Animum. Quis enim profundos Shakespearii Sensus certius nobis exponere queat, quam qui simile sensu á rebus adficiatur? Optime porro factum, quod AEschylum Anglicé reddere allaborasti,

Poetam, si quid intelligo, res concipiendi verbisque exprimendi, pingendique more Shakespearis perquam similem; ita ut ingenii quâdam Agnatione inductum Te ad veterem Tragoedum vertendum animum adpulisse mihi persuadeam. Quod plerique, qui huic labori manus hactenus admoverunt, operam luserint, potissimum factum credo, quia a singulari illo sensu, quo poetam Graecum res adfecerunt, nimium fuerunt remoti alieni. Sed et linguam tibi vernaculam prae ceteris, quod sciam, ad reddendum AEschylî sermonem . . . am esse, certis me criteriis cognovisse puto. Quod si igitur summum mihi oblectamentum, . . . dissimum ex eorum genere, quibus vitae taedia solari soleo, non . . . Th—de optime, quam ocysimé exemplar Shakespearî tu . . . curabis. Vicissim plura ad Te mittam exempla *Del Parang* . . . quem nunc integrum accipies: nec non mittam, si non displice . . . intellexero, Apologiam Oedipodis Sophoclei, simulque Tractat . . . quorundam doctorum Italorum, variî ad Graecanicae Scenae . . . toriam facientis Argumenti, Tibi forté alicui usui futuros. . . . cumque autem librorum vel literarum aliquid ad Me perferri . . . Amstelodanum, id meâ sub inscriptione ad Viduam Van Kem . . . Et Bartholomeum van den Sandheugel transfretari cura, quae . . . porro mittendum lubenter suscipient. Ego caeterum nihil o . . . quae ad nominis tui celebritatem, cûm in Germaniâ, tum et in . . . multoque rerum virorumque usu mihi cognitâ Italiâ, augendam formandamque pertinere videbantur. Eo enim erga Te animo sum, quo ergâ virum honestissimum eruditissimumque esse . . . est. Vale. Tiguri Helvetiorum add. 14 Aprilis St. N. MDCCXXXIV.

Ne erres in Literarum Inscriptione, en Tibi eam gallicé A Jean Jacques Bodmer, Professeur en Histoire et Politique, a Zuric dans la Suisse; recommandé à Messieurs La Veuve van Kemena et Barthelmy van den Sandheugel à Amsterdam.

Now you have it, Dear Sir, & now let me have your Advice. The Gentleman's Character, I am a Stranger to: but I have no Reason to suspect any Thing but his Judgment, in expressing Himself wth such unmerited Zeal & Complaisance. Shall I send over a Sett of Shakespeare, & trust to the Returns? I mean, of Literature; not of Compliments. I shall be determin'd by your Opinion, as I shall be proud to be in all Cases, as long as I can subscribe myself

y^r. most affect^e. & oblig'd humble Serv^t.

Wyan's Court

Lew: Theobald.

24th June 17 . . . [1735]

Dear Sir,

I have delay'd some few Posts, since my Return from Kent, (an Expedition y^t I generally take ab^t y^s. Time of the Year) to reply to the Favour of Your Last of y^e 17th Sept^r., because I was desirous, if possible, to get you the pirated 2^d Volume of M^r. Pope's Poems in 12^{mo}. But the Trade, I find, will not own y^t it is to be procured by Them, or y^t They dare to meddle wth it if it was. I have been several Times at M^r. Vaillant's ab^t y^e odd Vol. of Mons^r le Clerc; & he has promis'd y^t the Warehouse Keeper shall look into the Wast; & if there be a Volume without breaking a Sett y^t the Mistake shall be rectified. I will call on him again next Week, to keep up his Memory in this affair. — You desire some little Account of Literary News; but, I am afraid, I am too much a Recluse to be able to furnish much. Milton's Paradise Lost, no Doubt you have heard, we are going to have in Greek hexameters; if the first Specimen meets wth sufficient Encouragement. The Be-

ginning of next Month will be publish'd an English version of Anacreon & Sappho, with the Greek Text on the opposite Page, by one M^r. Addison. To say the Truth, I believe him to be a natural Son of his great Namesake; & I think verily, I have formerly seen him at y^t Gentleman's Apartments. Another Embryo, y^t I can inform you of, & w^{ch} will make its Appearance in Feb̄ry next, is a new version of the 2^d. AENEIS of Virgil, wth Notes Philological & Critical: by a Relation & Namesake of Mine, a Doctor of Physick, at a $\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea Subscription. He prints it on fine Royal Paper, in 4^{to}; gives us a Bust of Virgil from Augustini's Gemms, & as he divides the Book into 4 Canto's, we shall have 4 more Copper Plates alluding to the Subject of each Division. — Perhaps, You may not have heard, y^t we have been complimented on Shakespeare by a Journal from Barbadoes. If you have not seen it, I will transmit one to M^r. Gyles, together wth. a Trifle of mine w^{ch}. I have lately printed, The Fatal Secret, a Tragedy; & w^{ch} I have dedicated to S^r. Robert Walpole, who shews me all Kindnesses, but the most important One; I mean the Setting me in some comfortable Certainty.

As to Shakespeare's Poems, my Design is by no means dropt, only deferr'd to Spring, when y^t & AEschylus, I hope in God, shall Both appear; & an Act be obtain'd to preserve the Property of Them, together with That of more valuable Productions. — And, as, I think, I mention'd to You, that I was prepar'd to amend & account for above 20 Thousand passages in Hesychius, I am labouring hard to draw out those Stores, that they may not be quite lost in case I Myself should be snatch'd away. It is very odd, what a great Number of Places I shall be able to set right, y^t are corrupt, Both by Explanations being divided from their Themes; & by Themes, as mistakenly sunk, & standing as Explanations of what they have, indeed, no Reference

to. I could give you an ample Specimen; but, perhaps, you trade very little with y^t Author.

I am,

My dear Friend

y^r most affectionate
obliged humble serv^t.

Wyan's Court.
18 Octo^r. 1735.

Lew: Theobald.

Wyan's Court. 18 May 1736.

Dear Sir,

I recēd yours of the 4th Instant, & should have reply'd to it the next Post, but that I was willing to get over the surprize its Contents gave me. It is now retorted upon Me, that You gave Me your Notes with a Generosity I could not complain of. I thought on the other hand, I had not only confess'd the obligation in private but to the World. But why am I told that I had all the Profit of my Edition? I am sure, I never dreamt to this day, but that the Assistance of my Friends were design'd gratuitous; & if I misunderstood this Point, I should have been set right by some Hints before the Publication. I used, you say, what Notes, I thought fit; & the remaining Ones are your Property. I own as Editor, I believ'd I had a discretionary Power of picking & chusing my Materials; & I am certain during the Affair, you conceded this Liberty to Me: the remaining Notes (in an Epistolary Correspondence) being your Property, or no, is a piece of Casuistry w^{ch} I shall not dispute upon. Tho' I foresee, They are now to be turn'd upon Me, & I am to be in the State of a Country conquer'd by its Auxiliaries, yet tho' my Bread & Reputation depended upon my Compliance, I would sacrifice both Re-

gards to What you expect from Me, & endeavour at any Price to approve Myself Dear Sir, y^r. obliged Friend & very

humble Serv^t.

Lew : Theobald.

Dear Sir,

I have sent to M. Gyles's all the Letters y^t. I could collect of yours in my Possession; & digested them near as I could, according to their Dates. As you revoke any permission I may imagine that I have, to use, or publish, any more of them; so I utterly renounce all suppos'd Priviledge; & as I am preparing to throw out 3 supplemental Volumes to Shakespeare, on the old Footing; these, I presume, I may claim an equal Title of Revoking. The sending these Papers has neither been delay'd thro' neglect, nor Reluctance: but indeed, for Self & Friends I have been more employ'd than I could have wish'd.

I am, Sir

Y^r. very humble servant

Lew : Theobald

Wyan's Court.

4th Sept^r. 1736

³⁷ Tibbald's Word in a letter to me, of 18 Nov^r. 1731, which I sent him at his desire with Many others — "But Dear Sir will you at your leasure hours think over for me upon y^e contents, Topicks Order &c of this branch of my labour. You have a comprehensive Memory, & a happiness

³⁷ This passage is written on a scrap of paper in Warburton's handwriting.

of digesting the Matter joined to it, which my head is often much embarrass'd to perform: let that be the Excuse for my inability, but How unreasonable is it to expect this when it is the only Part in which I shall not be able to be just to my friend; for to confess . . . assistance will I am afraid . . . make me appear too naked.

[*To the Duke of Newcastle*]

³⁸ May it please Your Grace,

You were so good some few Months ago, to do me the great Honour of subscribing to my Edition of Shakespeare's Works. The Books, my Lord, are now publish'd; and your Grace's Set waits Your Commands by the Bearer. I presume to enclose my Receipt for your Grace's Second Subscription Payment.

Permit me with the most profound Respect & Gratitude, to profess myself,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most Obedient
& most humble Servant

11th March.
1740.

Lew: Theobald.
11th. March, 1740

Reced then of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle three Guineas, being his Grace's second Subscription payment in full for one set of Shakespeare's Works in Eight Volumes with Cuts, publish'd by me

Lew: Theobald.

³⁸ British Museum, Add. MSS. 32, 696, ff. 217, 219.

[*To the Duke of Newcastle*]

³⁹ May it please your Grace,

I have had such repeated Indulgence from your Goodness upon every Application, that I am once more encouraged to address your Grace on an Emergency. The Situation of my Affairs upon a Loss & Disappointment, obliging me to embrace a Benefit at this late & disadvantageous Season, it lays me under a Necessity of throwing Myself on the Favour of the Publick, & the kind Assistance of my Friends & Well-wishers. If your Grace can be so good to honour me with your Presence, & to engage a few of your noble Friends in my Favour, it will be of the most important Service to me, & fix an Obligation that shall always be acknowledged with the greatest Humility and Gratitude, by

My Lord,

You Grace's most dutifull &
obedient humble Servant
Lew : Theobald.

Wyan's Court in
Great Russell street
12th May 1741

³⁹ British Museum, Add. MSS. 32696, f. 513.

APPENDIX D

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THEOBALD'S WORKS

A Pindaric Ode on the Union of Scotland and England, 1707.

I have not seen this poem. See Lounsbury, p. 124.

The Life and Character of Marcus Portius Cato Uticensis: Collected from the Best Ancient Greek and Latin Authors; and Designed for the Readers of Cato, a Tragedy. The Second Edition with large Additions. London: Printed for Bernard Lintot, Between the Two Temple-Gates in Fleetstreet. MDCCXIII.

Plato's Dialogue of the Immortality of the Soul, Translated from the Greek by Mr. Theobald, Author of the life of Cato Uticensis. London: Printed for Bernard Lintot at the Cross-Keys between the Two Temple-Gates in Fleet-street. MDCCXIII.

The Mausoleum. A Poem. Sacred to the Memory of Her Late Majesty Queen Anne. Written by Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for Jonas Brown, at the Black Swan without Temple-bar. 1714.

Ajax of Sophocles. Translated from the Greek, with Notes. London. Printed for Bernard Lintott at the Cross-Keys between the Two Temple-Gates in Fleet-street. 1714.

Probably not by Theobald.

A Critical Discourse upon the Iliad of Homer; written in French by Monsieur de la Motte, a Member of the French Academy; and translated into English by Mr. Theobald, 1714.

Professor Lounsbury (p. 132) comments on the scarcity of this work. A copy was advertised in a recent catalogue of P. J. and A. E. Dobell of London.

Electra: A Tragedie. Translated from Sophocles, with Notes. London: Printed for Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys between the two Temple Gates in Fleet-street, 1714.

Oedipus King of Thebes. A Tragedy. Translated from Sophocles, with Notes. By Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys between the two Temple Gates in Fleet-street, 1715.

The Clouds. A Comedie. Translated from the Greek of Aristophanes. By Mr. Theobald: Printed for Jonas Brown at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar. MDCCXV.

Plutus: or the World's Idol. A Comedie. Translated from the Greek of Aristophanes. By Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for Jonas Brown, at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar. 1715.

Monsieur Le Clerc's Observations upon Mr. Addison's Travels Through Italy etc. Also Some Account of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; chiefly with regard to their Trade and Riches, and a Particular Account of the Bank of Amsterdam. Done from the French by Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible, against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1715.

A poem written on the recovery of the Duke of Ormond from a dangerous illness (1715?).

I have found no trace of this poem but Theobald mentions it in his dedication of the *Persian Princess*, 1715, to the Duchess of Ormond.

The Cave of Poverty. A Poem. Written in Imitation of Shakespeare. By Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for Jonas Brown at the Black Swan without Temple-bar, and sold by J. Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-lane. 1715.

A Complete Key to the last New Farce The What D'ye Call It. To Which is prefixed a Hypercritical Preface on the Nature of Bur-

lesque, and the Poet's Design. London: Printed for James Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-lane 1715.

Ascribed with some justification to Theobald by Pope.

* *The Persian Princess, or The Royal Villain*, 12mo, 1715, 4to
 v 1717.

† *The Perfidious Brother, A Tragedy; As it is Acted at the New Theatre in Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.* By Mr. Theobald. London: Printed and Sold by Jonas Brown, at the Black Swan, without Temple-bar. 1715.

A Translation of the First Book of the Odyssey, with Notes by Mr. Theobald, 1716.

No copy seems to be extant. Pope says it was printed in 1717, but Nichols says it appeared in November, 1716. See Lounsbury, pp. 132-133.

The Censor. The Second Edition. London: Printed for Jonas Brown, at the Black-Swan without Temple-Bar. 1717.

Three volumes bound in one. The periodical was a tri-weekly and ran from April 11 to June 17, 1715, suspended publication a while, and continued from January 1 to May 30, 1717. See Brit. Mus. 239. g. 11-13.

Translations from Ovid's Metamorphoses. [1717?]

I have discovered no trace of them. See Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 708.

Decius and Paulina, a Masque. London: 1718.

The Entertainments . . . for the comic-dramatic opera, called The Lady's Triumph. London 1718.

These two trifles were contributed to E. Settle's opera, *The Lady's Triumph*, 1718.

Decius and Paulina, a masque. To which are added the other musical entertainments . . . in the opera of Circe. London 1719.

The entertainments were introduced into Charles D'Avenant's *Circe, a tragedy*, 1677, revived in 1719.

The Death of Hannibal.

Never acted or published. See G. Jacob, *Poetical Register*, vol. 1, p. 259.

The History of the Loves of Antiochus and Stratonice; in which are interspersed some Accounts relating to Greece and Syria. London. 1719.

Memoirs of Sir Walter Raleigh; His Life, his Military and Naval Exploits, his Preferments and Death; In which are Inserted the Private Intrigues between the Count of Gondamore, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State. Written by Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-bar. 1719.

The Tragedy of King Richard the II; As it is acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields. Alter'd from Shakespear, By Mr. Theobald. London. 1720.

The Grove; or a Collection of Original Poems, Translations, etc. By W. Walsh, Esq., Dr. J. Donne. Mr. Dryden. Mr. Hall of Hereford, The Lady E — M —, Mr. Butler, Author of Hudibras. Mr. Stepney, Sir John Suckling, Dr. Kennick, And other Eminent Hands. London: Printed for W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. 1721.

Theobald's name as collector appears on the second edition, 1732. The miscellany contains his translation of *Hero and Leander* and a few short poems.

The Gentleman's Library, containing Rules for Conduct in all Parts of Life. 12mo. 1722.

I have found no trace or mention of this trifle except in The-

ophilus Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, vol. 5, p. 287, where it is attributed to Theobald.

Harlequin Sorcerer with the Loves of Pluto and Proserpina, 1725.

The Rape of Proserpine, 1725.

Apollo and Daphne, or the Burgo-Master Trick'd, 1726.

SHAKESPEARE restored: or, A SPECIMEN of the Many ERRORS as well committed, as Unamended, by Mr. POPE In his Late EDITION of this POET. Designed Not only to correct the said EDITION, but to restore the True READING of SHAKESPEARE in all the Editions ever yet publish'd. By Mr. THEOBALD.

. . . Laniatum Corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi et lacerum crudeliter Ora,
Ora, manusque ambas, . . .

Virg.

LONDON: Printed for R. FRANCKLIN under Tom's, J. WOODMAN and D. LYON under Will's, Covent-Garden, and C. DAVIS in Hatton-Garden. MDCCXXVI.

Second Edition, 1740.

London Journal.

A letter of Theobald communicated to the issue of September 3, 1726.

Mist's Journal.

Letters communicated to the issues of March 16, April 27, June 22, 1728.

Daily Journal.

Letters communicated to the issues of November 26, 1728, April 17, 1729.

The Rival Modes: a Comedy. London: 1727 [James Moore Smythe].

Theobald wrote the prologue.

Double Falshood; or, The Distrest Lovers. A Play. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Written Originally by W. Shakespeare; And now Revised and Adapted to the Stage By Mr. Theobald, the Author of Shakespeare Restor'd. London: Printed by J. Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's Inn Fields, MDCCXXVIII.

Authorship uncertain.

Second Edition, 1728.

Third Edition, 1767.

An Essay on the Art of a Poet's Sinking in Reputation; being a Supplement to the Art of Sinking in Poetry.

Contributed anonymously to *Mist's Journal*, March 30, 1728, and attributed by Pope to Theobald. There is some reason for considering the ascription correct.

The Works of Hesiod Translated from the Greek. By Mr. Cooke. London: MDCCXXVIII.

Theobald contributed a few notes.

The Posthumous Works of William Wycherly in Prose and Verse. Published from his Original Manuscripts by Mr. Theobald. To Which are Prefixed some Memoirs of Mr. Wycherly's Life by Major Peck. 2 pt. London 1728.

Perseus and Andromeda, 1730.

∞ *Orestes: A Dramatic Opera. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. Written by Mr. Theobald.* London: Printed for John Watts at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. MDCCXXXI.

Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors Ancient and Modern.
London: MDCCXXXI. 2 vols. ed. J. Jortin.

Theobald contributed three papers to the first volume of this periodical.

An Epistle humbly addressed to the Right Honorable John, Earl of Orrery. 1732.

A Miscellany on Taste. By Mr. Pope, etc. London: 1732.

Ascribed without reason to Theobald. Possibly it was compiled by Concanen.

The Works of Shakespeare: in seven volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected; with Notes explanatory and Critical: By Mr. Theobald.

I, Decus, i, nostrum: melioribus utere Fatis. Virg.

London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. Tonson, F. Clay, W. Feales, and R. Wellington. MDCCXXXIII.

The edition did not appear until January, 1734.

* *The Works of Shakespeare: in eight volumes. With notes, explanatory, and critical, by Mr. Theobald. The Second Edition.* H. Lintott, C. Hitch, J. and R. Tonson etc. London 1740. 12°.

The Works of Shakespeare . . . With Notes by Mr. Theobald. The Third edition. 8 vol. J. & P. Knapton: London, 1752. 12°.

Another edition, 1757. 8 vols. 8°.

Another edition, 1762. 8 vols. 8°.

Another edition. *Printed verbatim from the octavo edition* 1767. 8 vols. 12°.

Another edition, 1772. 12 vols. 12°.

Another edition, *Printed verbatim from the octavo edition.* 1773. 8 vols. 12°.

Another edition [c. 1777]. 12 vols. 8°.

Macbeth . . . Edited by L. Theobald. Dublin. 1739.

Merry Wives of Windsor. . . . With notes explanatory and critical by Mr. Theobald. Dublin. 1739.

As you like it. A Comedy; as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Aungier-Street, Dublin. . . . Collated with the oldest copies and corrected, by Mr. Theobald. Dublin. 1741.

The Tempest. . . . with notes by L. Theobald. London. 1755.

Measure for Measure . . . Edited by L. Theobald [Edinburgh & London] 1778.

Much ado about nothing . . . edited by L. Theobald [Edinburgh] 1778.

Much ado about nothing . . . As it is acted at the Theatres Royal in Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden . . . London. 1778.

Grub-street Journal.

Theobald made contributions to issues of June 6, June 20, 1734.

† *The Vocal Parts of an Entertainment, call'd Merlin; or The Devil of Stone Henge* . . . With a Preface containing a succinct Account of Stone-Henge and Merlin. Written by Mr. Theobald. . . . London: 1734.

† *The Fatal Secret*. A Tragedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal, in Covent-Garden. By Mr. Theobald. London: Printed for J. Watts; And Sold by W. Feales at Rowe's Head, the Corner of Essex-Street in the Strand. MDCCXXXV.

An adaptation of Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*.

Orpheus and Eurydice, An Opera As it is Performed at the Theatre Royal In Covent Garden. Set to Musick by Mr. John Frederick Lampe. London 1739.

The Happy Captive, an English Opera, In Two Comick Scenes, Betwixt Signor Capaccio, a Director from the Canary Islands; and Signora Dorinna, a Virtuosa. London 1741.

The Works of Mr. Francis Beaumont, and Mr. John Fletcher In ten Volumes. Collated with all the former Editions, and Corrected. With Notes Critical and Explanatory. By the late Mr. Theobald, Mr. Seward, and Mr. Sympson of Gainsborough. London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, in the Strand. 1750.

Theobald edited the entire first volume, the second to page 233, and the third to page 69.

The Works of Ben Jonson. In Seven Volumes. Collated with All former Editions and Corrected; with Notes Critical and Explanatory. By Peter Whalley, Late Fellow of St. John's College in Oxford. London. MDCCLVI.

Whalley used Theobald's copies with marginal corrections, and adopted some.

Αισχυλου Προμηθευς Δεσμωτης, Aeschyli Prometheus Vincit ad fidem manuscriptorum emendavit. Notas et Glossarium adjecit. Carolus Jacobus Bloomfield. Edition Tertia. 1819.

Bloomfield made use of some of Theobald's notes written on the margin of the latter's copy of Stanley's edition.

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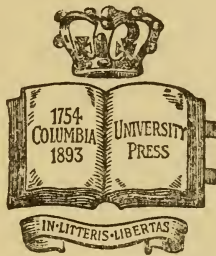
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